

A description of the empire of China and Chinese-Tartary, together with the kingdoms of Korea, and Tibet. Containing the geography and history (natural as well as civil) of those countries ... / from the French of P.J.B. DuHalde, Jesuit, with notes geographical, historical and critical and other improvements, particularly in the maps by the translator.

Contributors

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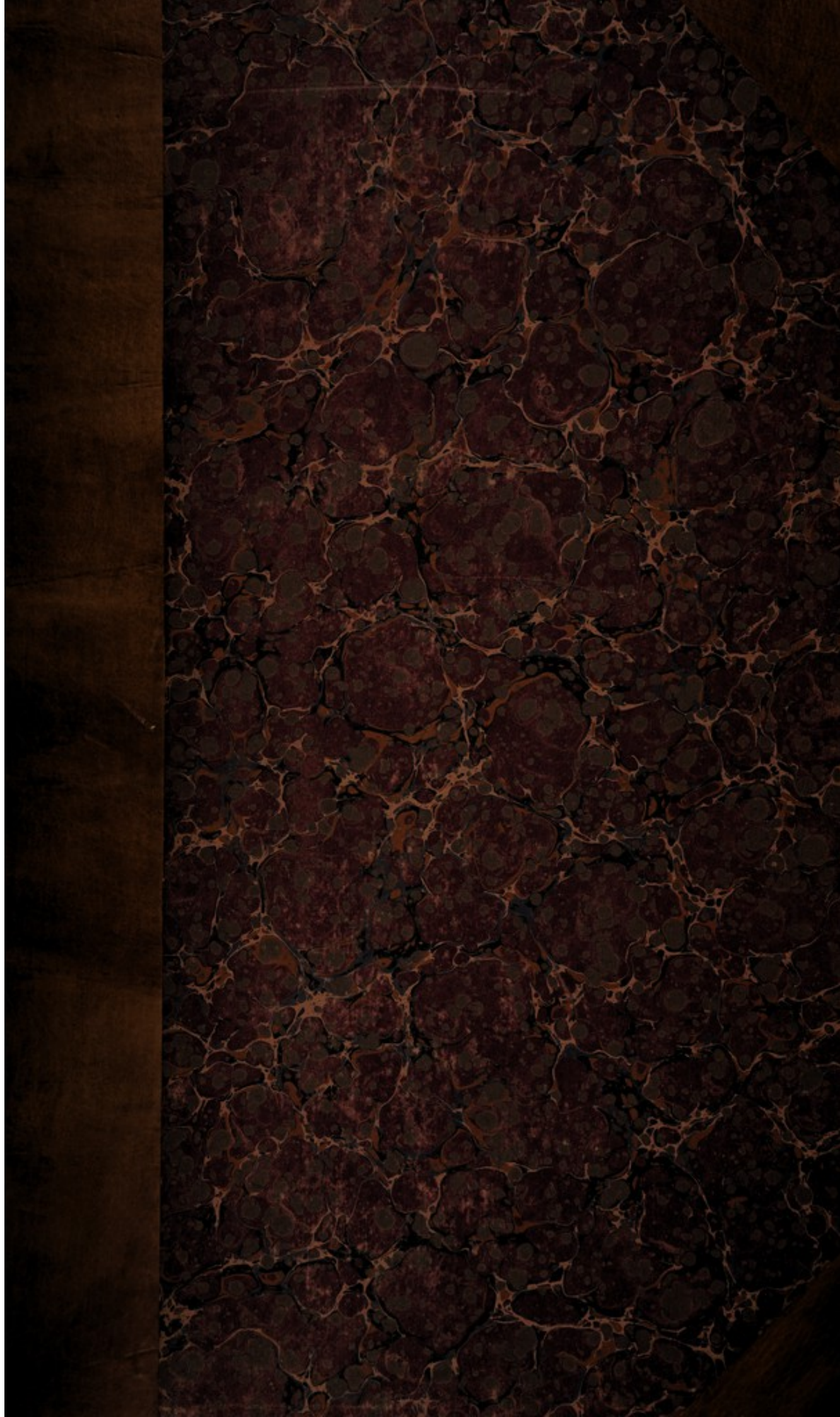
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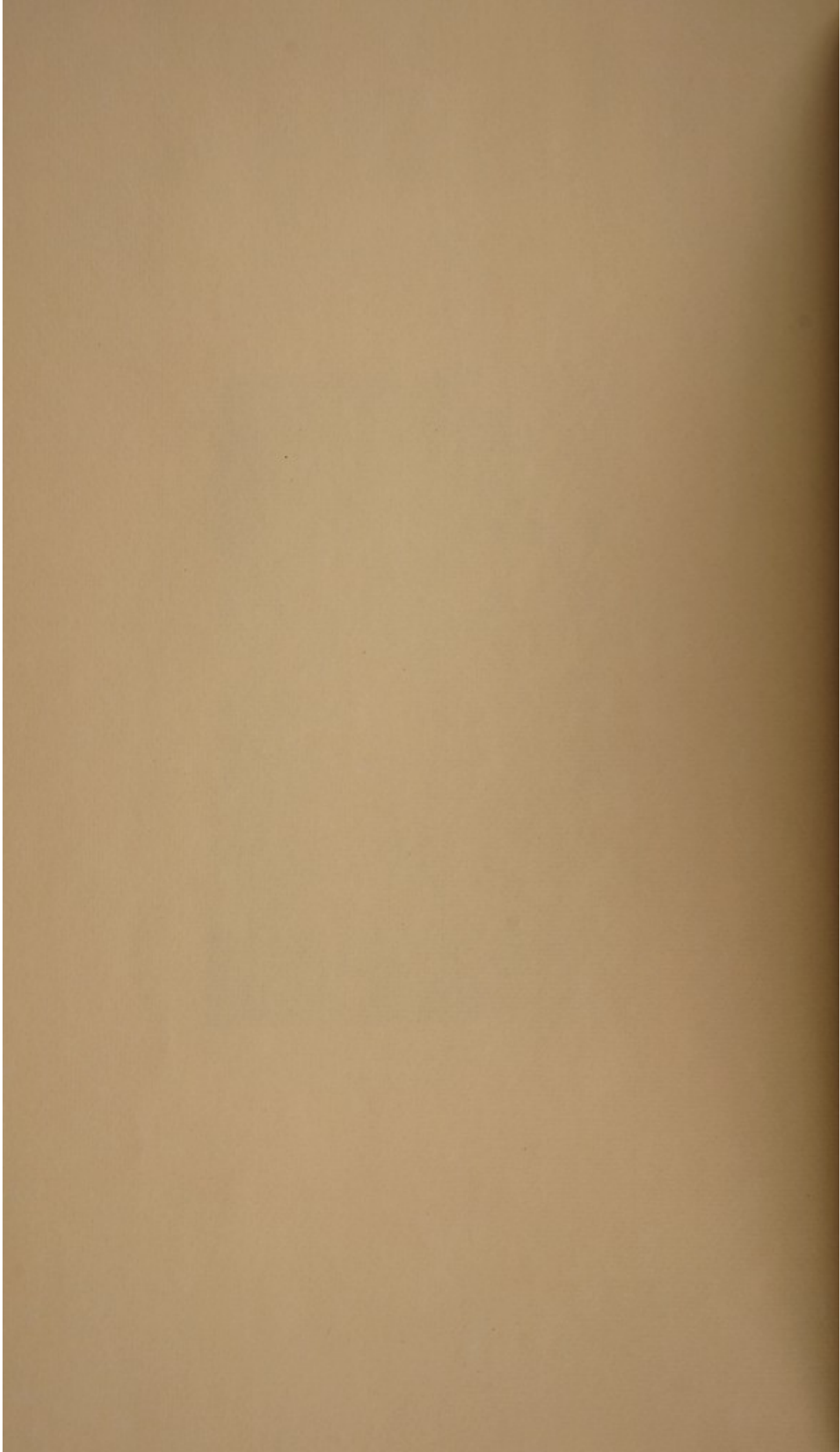


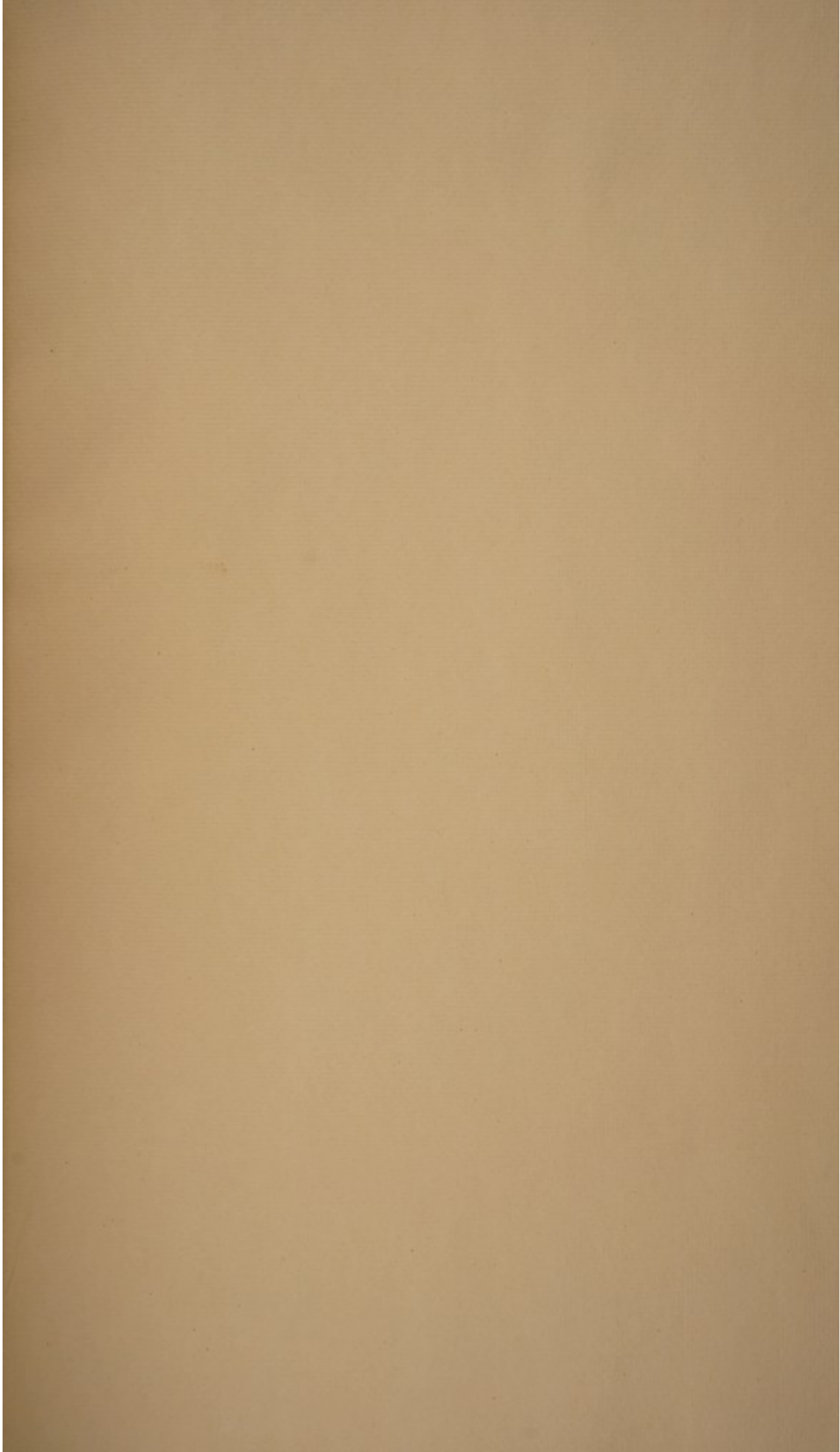
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A
DESCRIPTION

OF THE

Empire of *CHINA*

AND

CHINESE-TARTARY,

Together with the KINGDOMS of

KOREA, and *TIBET*:

CONTAINING THE

GEOGRAPHY *and* HISTORY
(NATURAL as well as CIVIL)

OF THOSE

COUNTRIES.

Enrich'd with general and particular MAPS, and adorned
with a great Number of CUTS.

From the FRENCH of P. *J. B. Du HALDE*, Jesuit:

WITH

NOTES Geographical, Historical, and Critical; and
Other Improvements, particularly in the *Maps*,

BY THE TRANSLATOR.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOLUME I.

L O N D O N:

Printed by T. GARDNER in *Bartholomew-Close*, for EDWARD CAVE,
at *St. John's Gate*. M DCC XXXVIII.

DESCRIPTION

OF THE

Empire of CHINA

CHINESE-TARTARY

KOREA and JAPAN

GEOGRAPHICAL HISTORY

(NATURE, & as well as CIVILIZATION)

BY JOHN SMITH

Printed with care and accuracy by J. Smith, at the Press of the British Museum, in the Strand, London.

1807.

Printed by J. Smith, at the Press of the British Museum, in the Strand, London.





T O

HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS

F R E D E R I C K,

P R I N C E of W A L E S.

May it please Your Royal Highness,



PRESUME to approach Your ROYAL HIGHNESS with a complete English Edition of a Performance, which was thought by its Author not unworthy the Patronage of the King of *France*: an Honour to which it was the rather entitled, as the *Maps*, and *Collection of Edicts*, that make the principal Part of it, are the Work of a great *Chinese* Monarch, the late admirable *Kang hi*, by whose express Orders they were executed.

THE *first* is a vast Improvement in Geography, a Science which can never be brought to Perfection without the Encouragement of Princes; and the *other* is a Fund of excellent Politics, which joined to the Treatises on the Government and Morality of the *Chinese*, may deserve Your *Royal Highness's* Attention, as they come from a People, who wisely make those Studies the Top of all Science, and have perhaps arriv'd to a greater Proficiency therein than all other Nations.

No Laws or Institutions appear in the general so well contrived as the *Chinese* to make both King and People happy. By them the People are taught to look on the Sovereign as their Father, and the Sovereign on all Occasions to consider his Subjects as his Children. By the Force of this single Principle the most despotic Emperors on Earth govern with the same Mildness as the most limited Monarchs; and Nations as numerous as the Sands of the Sea are restrained within the Bounds of the most perfect Submission. Hence it is that their History hitherto furnishes more remarkable Instances of intrepid Virtue,

The DEDICATION.

as well as of Fidelity in Subjects to their Sovereigns, and of Affection in Princes to their People, than that of *Great-Britain* itself, which as yet has but faintly admitted the Parental Scheme (the best and surest Basis of Government) into its Politics: Hence likewise *China* has but seldom experienced Revolutions, which have so often overturned other States; and were it not for the superstitious Sects that have been suffer'd to propagate themselves, had probably never felt any.

IN Consequence of this excellent Maxim, a *Chinese* Emperor is perpetually labouring to merit the Name of *Father of the People*. He lays up his Revenues only for the public Service: Whenever any Tax bears too heavy he immediately remits it; the Moment his Governors give him Notice of any public Calamity, he opens his Treasuries to relieve the Distressed. He looks into all Affairs with his own Eyes, and his Ears are open to hear all Complaints. He permits no Set or Profession of Men to impose on, or make a Prey of, the rest. He redresses Grievances in the Law, Religion and Government, the Instant he is inform'd of them. If an Edict appears to have an ill Effect, he causes it to be revoked before it does farther Mischief. He lets no Magistrate run on to oppress, or Foreign Power to injure, his Subjects, but calls them to Account on the first Remonstrance. He rejects every Project tending to their Detriment, tho' ever so much to his own private Interest; and pursues every Scheme which conveys the smallest Advantage to the Nation. He is particularly attentive to encourage the Manufactures; and suffers no Branch of Commerce to sink or languish for want of applying a speedy Remedy. In short, he never does any Thing contrary to the Inclinations of the People, to which he always conforms himself; and for Fear he should deviate in the least Particular from his Paternal Character, he invites his faithful Ministers to examine his Conduct, and apprise him of his Mistakes.

THIS is the glorious Light in which the *Chinese* History presents their Monarchs to our View; and this is the Light in which the Inhabitants of these Islands figure to themselves Your Future Reign. They can do no less in Justice than think thus advantageously of *Your Royal Highness*, who so professedly make the *British* Princes, most renowned for their Benevolence, Generosity and Disinterestedness, the Patterns of Your Imitation. Those sublime Qualities, which have always distinguish'd the greatest Monarchs, and shine so conspicuously in every Action of Your Life, afford an Earnest to them that they will not be deceived in their Expectations; nor can your Posterity ever want the Hearts of their Subjects, (the only sure Support of Sovereigns) so long as they tread in Your Steps.

THAT Your *Royal Highness*, in Conjunction with Your most Amiable Consort, may continue long to bless these Islands with Your Presence, and secure their lasting Happiness by a Numerous Race of Princes, who shall sit on the *British* Throne to Latest Time, is the ardent Wish of

Your ROYAL HIGHNESS'S

Most Dutiful,

Most Faithful, and

Most Humble Servant,

The Translator.



THE TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE.

PERE DU HALDE having in his Preface given a copious Account of the Materials of this Work, it remains only to say something concerning the Manner in which it has been executed, and what we have done on our Side to improve it. Remarks on the present Work,

In order to this, I shall consider the Description of each Country separately: And as this Volume, with Half of the other, relates almost entirely to CHINA, I shall confine my Remarks at present, chiefly to this Part of the Work, which for the History, Natural and Civil, is abundantly more complete than any thing before published; or indeed, than all the Relations that have been hitherto written, put together: Whole Authors, such as *Samedo, Magalbanes, Navarette, le Comte &c.* having only seen some small Part of the Country, could not be qualified to treat so fully or accurately of Matters, as those who had travelled over all *China*, and being employed by the Emperor to survey his Dominions, had an Opportunity of coming to the Knowledge of a Multitude of Things, which must have remain'd hidden from other Travellers. So that, notwithstanding the Description of *Chinese Tartary, Korea and Tibet* is also exceeding curious, and may be esteemed by many as the more valuable Part of the Work, on Account of the ample Discoveries it contains of those Spacious Countries, whereof little more than the Names were known to us before, yet if *P. du Halde* had treated solely of *China*, his Labour must needs have been acceptable to the best Judges in this Sort of Literature. Especially since this Part is enriched with Translations of several *Chinese* Books relating to their Religion, Medicine, Politics and Morality; among which the Declarations, Edicts, Speeches, &c. of Emperors and Ministers, besides giving Light into many of the Customs and Laws of *China* to be met with no where else, may be affirmed to be as noble Essays upon Liberty and Government, as ever appeared in any Country of *Europe*, not excepting *Great Britain* itself, the only Nursery of sound Politics, and Asserter of the common Rights of Mankind, on this Side of the Globe. Preferable to any former of the Kind.

In short, this Performance is valuable, if it was only for collecting into one Body what occurs most material in former Accounts of *China*; a Work very much wanted, especially as the Books treating of this Country were become very numerous, and several of them not easily to be procured. 'Tis true, certain Topics may be found which are not handled so minutely as in other Writers, some whereof I have taken notice of, and frequently supplied as I went along: But possibly the Author had his Reasons for not enlarging on those Subjects, either because they had not been confirmed by his Correspondents in *China*, or that they appeared not to be exact; which in general he observes is the Case with most former Relations, without pointing out the particular Authors, who were chiefly of his own Society. Objections answer'd.

It must be confessed likewise, that his geographical Description of *China* is not near so copious as that published by *P. Martini* in his *Atlas Sinenfis*: but then it may be presumed to be far more accurate; the Missionaries having been at every City they describe, and indeed sometimes not sparing to correct *Martini's* Performance, which is compiled almost wholly from the *Chinese* Geographers, who, as *P. du Halde* observes, are very apt to exaggerate Matters that relate to themselves or their Country. Besides, as the Author, in his Account of every District or County in each Province, has inserted whatever is most remarkable with Respect to the Trade and natural produce thereof; and as a particular Description of the Situation of every *Chew* and *Hyen* would have swelled the Work to a very great Bulk, and might be learned very justly from the provincial Maps and Plans, he might deem it needless to enter into a farther Detail. Indeed, we should have been very well pleased, if instead thereof he had inserted an Itinerary of the Roads through *China*, out of some of their Books published in every City for the Use of Travellers, or else the Journals of the Missionaries in their Progress through the Provinces, while they were making the Maps: Which would have been more proper than the Travels he has inserted of other Missionaries, and, with the Maps, would have furnished Materials to render the Geography of *China* in a manner complete.

Tho' this Work comes out under *P. du Halde's* Name, yet many of the Pieces were confessedly the Performance of the Missionaries, whose Names are prefixed: Nay, he seems to have had little Share in any of them, farther than to prepare and sometimes abridge them. In the Letter of *P. Regis*, inserted in the Author's Preface in the Name of the Missionaries concerned with him in drawing the Maps, we meet with some Expressions which seem to favour this Opinion; as, *the Work which we offer the public, — we did not think fit to insert them*, meaning their Observations of the Variation of the Needle, in this Piece of Geography. Now tho' the first of these Passages seems to relate only to the Maps, yet the last plainly refers to a distinct Geographical Treatise sent to *Pere du Halde*, as well as the Maps, with a design to be made public: Besides, we often find the Missionaries speaking in their own Persons, in the Articles not given under any Name. But Nobody, I presume, will have the worse Opinion of the Work, for the Missionaries having had the greatest Share therein: It were only to be wished, that the Editor

Editor had given us the Pieces intire just as they came from the Hands of his Correspondents, because it is to be feared some of them may have suffered by a too severe Castigation, as I have observed wherever I found occasion.

State of the
present Tran-
slation.

THUS much may suffice with Regard to the Original: I come next to acquaint the Reader with the State of the present Translation. In the first Place, I have endeavoured to give a faithful Version of the Author's Sense in the fewest Words, and to avoid a disagreeable Stile; hoping, however, that the Reader will make allowance for small Slips in both, which are inevitable in Works of such various Matters and Length. If there be any thing better than ordinary in either of those Respects, perhaps it may be found in that Part between p. 349 and 638; which, all but about five Sheets and a few Notes, was done by other Hands.

Proper
Names re-
duced to the
English Or-
thography.

Secondly, I have taken a good deal of Care to reduce the proper Names from the *French* to the *English* Idiom; tho' in doing it, I met with no small Difficulty, chiefly occasioned by the same Word being written divers Ways: For instance, we meet with *Tong, Tung*, and sometimes *Hiong and Hiung*; *Kbia, Kia and Hia*; *Kbi and Ki*; *Coan, Coan, and Koan*; *Koen, Quen and Yuan*; *Koei, Kouei, Kuey and Yuei*; *Kbing and King, Nbing and Ning*; *Ngan and Gan*; *Cien, Tien, Tien and Tien*; *Tse, tze, tee, sie, se and ce*; *Van, Voan and Ouan*; *Tsin, tsin, tein*, and a great number of the like. In short, the several Authors of the Pieces that compose the Work, have often different ways of writing the same Words: Besides, now and then, Names occur written according to the *Portuguese* and other Languages. By this various Orthography, it appears that the *French* have not yet one settled manner of writing the *Chinese* Names, owing doubtless in great measure to the Scantiness and Ambiguity of their Alphabet, which to me seems the worst of all others for expressing the Sounds in foreign Languages.

However, I have endeavoured to adjust them in the best manner I could, and believe I have succeeded pretty well, excepting in a very few Instances. Without this Improvement, the Work would have been very uncouth and defective; since the *French* Orthography must give an *English* Reader a very false Idea of the *Chinese* Language, by conveying wrong Sounds and making the Words, which are all Monosyllables, to appear of two or three Syllables. This is so obvious in itself from the above Instances, and has been so fully demonstrated of late by Letters inserted in the public Papers, in Defence of this Work and on other Occasions, that it would be needless to mention any thing farther in Defence of this Alteration. I shall therefore only observe, that *P. du Halde*, for the same Reason, condemns the *French* for using the *Portuguese* Orthography: And indeed, if all Translators would reduce proper Names to the Idiom of their own Language, it would render their Performances exceedingly more useful, as well as prevent a World of Confusion in Geography and History arising from the Neglect of it.

Notes.

I have frequently marked the Variation of the Orthography by a Note at the Bottom of the Page; which Course I have taken to supply, illustrate, or correct the Original whenever a proper Occasion offered: If at any time I appear in Opposition to the Missionaries religious Notions, it is because I judged it not honest to spread their Poison in a Protestant Country without the Antidote along with it. Nor will the well-meaning *Romish* Laity, I presume, be offended with me for shewing the great Conformity there is between the Doctrines and Practices of their Clergy and those of the Religion of *Fo*, called *Bonzas*; since it is visibly done with a benevolent design to free them, by means of the Parallel, from that deplorable Bondage of Mind which they lye under to their deceitful Guides, who palm on them, as so many religious Duties and Precepts of the Gospel, the same gainful Artifices, which they charge the *Bonzas* with inventing merely to enslave and pick the Pockets of their Followers.

Other Im-
ments.

I have distinguished the Original Notes by Symbols, and my own by Capital Letters of the Alphabet, excepting when they are tacked to the Authors, and then they are inserted between Hooks: I have observed the same Method as to Words now and then inserted for Illustration into the Text. Farther to improve the Translation, I have suited the Running Title at the Top of the Pages to the different Subjects treated of; and have added Marginal or Side Notes to give the Reader a summary View of the Matters handled in each Page. Parentheses and long Digressions that interrupt the Relation in the *French*, are thrown into the Notes (A), and large Paragraphs sometimes transposed for sake of bringing Arguments on the same Subject together (B). The four Indexes of Matters are brought into one at the End of the Second Volume, to prevent looking in three or four Places for the same thing. Lastly, the two Tables explaining the *Chinese* and *Tartarian* Words that occur in the Work, are likewise brought into one, and augmented by a great Number of Terms out of the Text. In short, a good deal of Pains has been bestowed to render this Edition commodious and correct; altho' it must be confessed, notwithstanding all our Care, several Errors have escaped the Press, especially in the Proper Names, for which we crave the Indulgence of our Readers, who will find the most material of them rectified in the Table of Errata.

The particu-
lar Maps,
their Ex-
cellencies.

HAVING given this Account of the Body of the Performance, I proceed next to consider the Maps, Plans, and Cuts that accompany it. The Maps are of two Kinds, general and particular; the particular Maps being 38 in Number, are published just as they came from the Missionaries; and however complete the rest may be, must be allowed to be the most valuable Part of the Work, which indeed seems to have been compiled chiefly with a View to usher them into the World. These Maps are an immense Treasure in Geography; and in fact, the procuring of them cost the Emperor of *China* immense Sums. Eight Missionaries were employed no less than nine Years in making of them. To this Purpose they travelled over the whole Empire, furnished with various Mathematical Instruments, Carriages, Provisions, and all other Conveniences at the Emperor's Expence: The very Mandarins of every District were ordered to attend them, to give their Assistance in all the ways they were able; so that nothing was wanting to render them accurate. Many of the Originals were fifteen or twenty Foot long, and consequently very minute in their Description: This appears also in some Measure from the great Number of Boroughs or Towns inserted in these Maps, besides the Cities; tho' for want of Room, the Names are omitted, excepting a few of the most remarkable Places, as *King te ching*, a Town of *Kyang si*, famous for making the China-Ware; *Fo shan*, another Town near *Kan ton*, eminent for its great Trade and Number of Inhabitants, &c. In short, these Maps may be truly affirmed to be the greatest Geographical Work that ever was performed by the Orders of a single Monarch; whether we consider the vast Space of Earth they describe, or the great Number of accurate Observations that were made for determining the Situation of Places. However, it cannot be said that they are all equally exact, for some Part of the Maps of Eastern *Tartary* are laid down from the Report of the Natives; and it does not appear that any Observations

(A) See the Author's Pref. p. 6.

(B) See p. 131. Note (A)

vations were made for those of *Tibet*: But the Maps of *China* seem to be drawn with very great Care throughout; and yet it is not to be presumed that every Mountain and River was actually surveyed by the *Jesuits*. It appears by the Table of Longitudes and Latitudes at the End of this Book, that they passed through all the Cities of the first Rank in every Province: They took the Latitudes of all these Capitals, and determined their Distances from one another by a Chain of Triangles; for the rest probably making Use of the topographical Surveys they found in every District. And this Method doubtless was sufficient to produce accurate Maps of any Country.

However, it must be confessed, these Maps are defective in some Particulars; (1) As wanting the Subdivisions whereby we cannot distinguish the *Cheu* or *Hyen* that belong to each *Fu* or Capital in a Province. (2) For want of the Roads, so that Places seem to lie in Confusion, and one loses the Satisfaction of travelling with the Eye over the Country. (3) Being exhibited on the plain Projection with inclining Meridians Countries are thrown out of their natural Figure and Proportion: Whence this Deformity, tho' scarce discernable in the Maps of *Pe che li*, *Shan tong*, *Kyang nan* and *Kyang si*, thro' which the Meridian of *Pe king* passes, is yet very perceptible in those of *Shen si*, *Se cheen* and *Tun nan*, which lie farthest from it.

Their Defects in the French,

As to Orthography, the Maps abound more with Faults than the Texts: For besides those already mentioned which they have in common with it, many of the Names contained in them are written according to two or three different Orthographies: For instance, half of those in the Maps of *Pe che li* and *Quey cheu* are after the Portuguese Manner, and half after the French; nay, what is still more incongruous and perplexing, often the Words or Syllables of which a Name is composed are written according to different Idioms. Thus in *Pe che li* we find *Tom tebeou*, *Tom mim bien*, *Khim tebeou*, *Teim tebeou*, *Tim tebeou*, &c. instead of *Tong tebeou*, *Tong ming bien*, *Khing tebeou*, *Tjing tebeou*, *Ting tebeou* &c. in the Map of *Ho nan*, we meet with *To xan bien*, *Lo xan bien*, *Koang xan bien*, for *Yo chan*, *Lo chan*, *Koang chan*, &c.

It is probable, that the Originals have both the Divisions and Roads; but as they are omitted in the Copies sent from *China*, it was not in our Power to supply them. 'Tis true, P. Martini's Maps of the Provinces are divided according to the *Fu*: But as Places are exhibited for the most Part in a very different Manner from what they are in P. du Halde's; and we find in one Set many *Hyen* which are not in the other, or at least have neither the same Names nor Situations, we durst not venture to insert those Divisions, any more than the Names of several Places which are inserted without sufficient Authority in the Dutch Maps, from the Travels of the *Jesuits*, published in the Work. However, P. Martini's Maps have been of Use often in determining us as to the Choice of the Names, when we found a Difference between the Maps, Tables and Text of du Halde, which frequently happened.

It was no less out of our Power to add the Roads, for want of the Itineraries already mentioned. Indeed, the Places in the Table of Latitudes and Longitudes at the End of this Work, seem to be set down in the Order the Missionaries travelled through them, and thereby we are able to trace their Progress through all the Capital Cities of each Province: But as one cannot from thence lay down the Course of the Roads through the intervening Places, and this Defect may possibly be supplied hereafter by the Communications of the *Jesuits* themselves, I thought it better to let the Maps remain without the Roads, than draw them at random.

My Intention was to have remedied the third Defect, by drawing all the Maps anew according to a circular Projection, or Dilatation of the Polar Planisphere; but some Gentlemen having been of Opinion that it was better to engrave them immediately after the French Edition, and much Time having been spent in considering what to do, that Resolution was layed aside: However, I have brought the Orthography of the local Names to the English Idiom, and consequently have introduced Uniformity in that Respect between the Maps and the Text, as well as among themselves.

As this was a Matter of no small Importance towards rendering the Maps correct and useful, the Dutch Editors tell us they have rectified an infinite Number of corrupt Names. But on Examination, it will appear that they have left most of them in the Condition they found them: Thus in their Map of *Pe che li*, we meet with *Tim him bien*, *Yom teim bien*, *Yom tehim bien*, *Ham tehim bien*, *Hiam bo bien*, *Kiam boam keou*, and Numbers of other Names according to the Portuguese Orthography, instead of *Ting him bien*, *Yong tsing bien*, *Yong tehim bien*, *Hang tehim bien*, *Hiang bo bien*, *Kiang boam keou*, &c. in short, often where they have changed the Orthography, they have done it but by halves; thus we find *Tien* for *Tien*, *Tiao* for *Chao*, *Tebuam* and *Tebuam*, *Teim*, *Teim* and *Tjing*, *Tom* and *Tong*, *Leam* and *Leang*, *Tebam* and *Tebam*, *Hoam* and *Hoang*. So that by giving the Names sometimes one way, sometimes another, they have introduced even more Confusion in the Maps than there was before (A).

Besides this Improvement as to Orthography, I have endeavoured to give the Maps some others, by inserting certain Particulars out of the Text, which ought of right to accompany them as they serve for Illustration, and to confirm their Authority. (1) In the Title of each Map, I have instanced by whom and when it was made, as far as I could gather from P. du Halde's Preface. (2) The upper Scale is adapted to the Longitude of *Paris*, that the Reader may know the Distance of the several Places of *China* from thence, which is more interesting to Europeans, as well as more consistent with their Geography, than to reckon Longitude only from *Pe king*; and I have chosen the Observation which places this last City 114 Degrees East of *Paris*, for Sake of its being the Middle, as well as a round Number. (3) To the Scale of Measures, I have added the Content of a Degree in English Miles, according to the Determination of the Academy of *Paris*, rather than that of Mr. Norwood, which makes it about 69 Miles and a Half, because the former is the Result of several repeated Operations, performed by more exact Methods. (4) All Cities, whose Latitudes were taken, have a single Line drawn under the Name, and a double distinguishes those, where both the Longitude and Latitude have been observed; that the Reader may discover at one View, all the Places where celestial Observations have been made, and pass a Judgment off Hand on the Correctness of the Map. (5) For his farther Satisfaction, I have inserted a Table of the Observations themselves,

(A) Indeed it appears plainly from what the Dutch Editors have done, that they were not able to reduce the Orthography to a Uniformity; and as they were themselves sensible of this, or at least that they had not done it, they express themselves in their Preface very cautiously on the Occasion. Their Words are: P. du Halde, in his Preface speaking of the Maps belonging to the Paris Edition, acknowledged as that Defect with Regard to the Orthography, which he imputes to the Difference between the Chinese [it should be French] and Portuguese Pronunciation. This Confession moved us to apply a Remedy wherever we judged it might

be done with Safety. From hence it appears, First, that they did not discover this Defect themselves; Secondly, that they have only remedied it in Part, which as I have shewn is a very inconsiderable one. But how they came, after making any Correction, not to pursue it, for instance, to correct *Tom* or *Kim* once, and leave it five times uncorrected, I cannot readily account for; only I should rather impute it to their Diffidence than want of taking Pains, since they have in several other Respects spared no Labour, even when there was no occasion for it, and it had been better let alone.

Advantages
of such Im-
provements
in Maps.

The general
Maps.

Plans and
Cuts.

themselves, that he may see the Authorities whereon the Map is grounded: for both in copying, and engraving Errors will unavoidably creep in (as seems to have been the Case with the Jesuits Maps themselves); and if there did not, the Situations cannot be taken so precisely from a Map as from a Table. The Capital of each Province is distinguished in a different Character, and the most remarkable Variations in the Name, Latitude or Longitude (which amount often to two or three Minutes) from the Map, are marked by a Star.

I think every Map ought to have these five Requisites, especially the last, without which, the best has nothing to recommend it more than the worst, except the Author's Name, which is of no Authority unless with a few who are acquainted with his Merit: But when such Vouchers are inserted, a Map carries its own Credentials along with it, and demands a Preference among a Crowd of others which differ from it. By this means the Curious would be directed to a right Choice, and many hindered from propagating Errors by following false Maps, for want of knowing how to distinguish the good from the bad. To this Defect, doubtless, is to be imputed the little Esteem, or rather great Contempt, that Maps are in here; for Englishmen require Certainty, and are apt to despise any Art where they meet with such endless Difference, without being able to discover where the Truth lies. In short, if this Method was duly pursued, I am persuaded Geography would soon recover the Credit it has lost among us, and be delivered from the Danger of the relapsing into Error, by putting a Stop to those spurious Compositions which are daily obtruded on the Public by ignorant or mercenary Hands; because in such Case, nobody would buy Maps for Use which wanted Vouchers, or did not agree with them: For which Reason, I would earnestly recommend this Practice to all Geographers, and those who wish well to this Science, whose Perfection is of such vast Importance to Commerce and Navigation.

I intended likewise to have inserted in every Map a large Table explaining the Geographical Terms, which would have been of great Use, tho' much the same in all; but wanting Room in most of them, the Reader is desired to have Recourse on Occasion to the Table in the General Map of *China*, which will supply that Defect. This General Map is drawn anew according to a circular Projection, and accompanied with Vouchers, &c. like the particular Maps; from whence it was copied, and not from Mr. *D'Anville's*: But the General Map of all (including *China*, *Korea*, *Tibet*, and all *Tartary* from the Eastern Ocean to the *Caspian Sea*) is engraven from his Original, without any Variation, except reducing the Names to the English Orthography. I have not altered them in any other Respect, altho' they frequently differ from those in the Jesuits Maps: Whether it was that so much Care was not taken in correcting theirs as his own, or whether he had some particular Informations concerning certain Names, as he seems to have had with Respect to the Division of *Korea*, and some small Additions below the 40th Degree of Latitude, which are omitted in the Jesuits Maps. But tho' for these Reasons I thought it proper to give the Names in the General Map as I found them written by Mr. *D'Anville*, yet I did not think them sufficient to warrant my changing those in the Jesuits Maps, or inserting several things in them on his Authority, as the *Dutch* Editors have done on a bare Presumption that they were changed, or omitted thro' the Carelessness of the Engravers: (A) For that would have been to give Mr. *D'Anville's* Work for the Jesuits, or confound them together, and, for ought we know, to insert Errors in Place of Truth. I must own, I think it very strange that such considerable Variations should appear between the General and Particular Maps, without being accounted for either in *P. du Halde's* Preface, or Mr. *D'Anville's* Dissertation concerning his General Map, inserted in the geographical Observations on *Tibet* towards the End of the last Volume.

In this Map Mr. *D'Anville* differs from the Jesuits not only with Regard to the Names, but also the Situation of Plans, as will appear by the comparative Table inserted in our Copy; and has altered that of *Asiatick* (tolerably well settled by help of astronomical Observations:) But upon what Grounds, I shall examine in a particular Dissertation at the Close of this Preface, and therefore shall say no more of it here.

The Plans of Cities, which are thirty eight, may be considered as so many Topographical Maps designed to afford us an Insight into the *Chinese* Manner of Fortification, and the Care they have taken to give their Towns the most advantageous Situation for Trade as well as Defence, in which few Nations can compare with, and none exceed them. I need not mention the Plans of Temples and other Cuts, farther than to observe that they are very curiously designed, and furnish a lively Idea of the Things they are intended to represent.

Upon the whole, this Work of *P. du Halde*, or rather the *Chinese* Missionaries, is a most noble and valuable Performance: For tho' we are sensible it is not in all Respects so complete as could have been wish'd, and that it might have been executed more to Advantage by a Person less taken up with the Functions of his Religion, and more inured to Works of this Nature than *P. du Halde*; yet is it richly intitled to the Esteem of the Public with all its Faults, which were they much more considerable than they are, would be recompensed by the Maps alone; these being a whole Atlas of Discoveries at once, and in short, the greatest Improvement in Geography that ever was published in any Age at one time. As to this English Edition, it was the Undertaker's Design to rival the *French* for Beauty of Printing, Goodness of Paper, and Elegance of Engravings in half the Number of Volumes, and at a fourth Part of the Price to Subscribers: In a Word, it is a most expensive Work to the Undertaker, but to those who subscribe to him one of the cheapest that has been publish'd in this Century.

WHAT has been say'd may suffice to give the Reader an Idea of the present Performance. But before I conclude, it will be proper to add some Remarks for justifying, as well as illustrating the Orthography of the proper Names; with an Explanation of the Coins and Measures mentioned in this Work.

(A) Tho' I cannot but blame the *Dutch* Editors for corrupting as I may say the Jesuits Maps, by inserting Things out of Mr. *D'Anville's*, or the Journals of the other Missionaries to be found in the Work, without any Certainty of their being in the Right, yet they are to be commended for some other Additions or Alterations which are grounded on the Text, particularly for inserting some Places out of the Tables of Longitude and Latitude. By this means they have supplied a few Places of Moment which seem to have been omitted by Mistake, as *Myen yang cheu* in *Hu guang*, and *Ping yueu cheu* in *Quy cheu*. However, I cannot see why in putting in the Name of *Myen yang cheu*, they should expunge that of *U yang huen*, which in

the Original stood in Place of the former; for possibly this last Name may belong to one of the Situations to be found very near it in the Map. I wonder they were not governed in this, as in most things else by Mr. *D'Anville's* Map of *China*, where the last Name is retained, and the former omitted as in the Original. They have committed the like Fault in the Map of *Chekyang*, where they have inserted *Nbin hia huan*, and left out *Nau huan*. In *Quang si*, they have made 13 *Fu* instead of 12 by inserting *Tu yang*, which in the Table by mistake is denominated *Fu*, tho' by its square Situation in the Map, it should be no more than some Ports, several Errors of this kind are to be met with.

The following TABLE shews the English Characters answering to the French, which are ranged on the Outside; with the Manner of pronouncing the Chinese Words as printed in this Work.

- A. This Vowel is commonly pronounced broad like *a* in *all*, *call*, &c. tho' often like *a* in *Father*; but the Variation is not distinguished in the Original. In our Notes the broad *a* is marked by a Circumflex *â*. The Vowels.
- e. Is commonly sounded like *e* in *Venial*. When it comes before *a*, it is changed by us into *y*; thus for *Leang*, *Leao*, I write *Lyang*, *Lyau*, to make the Word a Monosyllable; only in the Pronunciation, more of the *e* than the *i* may be sounded between the *L* and *y*, if there be any Occasion for it.
- ê. In the *French* is expressed in our Translation by *é*, and is pronounced like *a* in *Father*. *ê* or *ee* is expressed by *è*, and pronounced long.
- i. Is sounded commonly close as in *sign*; sometimes open as in *sign*, when at the End of Words, and a Consonant goeth before. Sometimes like *ee* in *seen*, and then it is marked with a Circumflex in the Notes. At the End of Words, when it comes after a Consonant and before a Vowel, it is changed into *y*. Thus *Tai*, *mai*, are written *Tay*, *may*; also for *Kiang*, *fiang*, we put *Kyang*, *Syang*. Sometimes we have omitted the *i*; thus for *Sine*, *Sinen*, *Huen*, we write *Sve*, *Sven*, *bven*.
- o. Is commonly sounded as in *bone*, open, tho' (A) sometimes, but rarely, it is obscure, as in *pxon*, *twon*, where it is pronounced soft like *e*, and very quick. Sometimes we have changed it into *w*; for *œi*, writing *Wey*; for *Fœ*, *Fwœ*, and at the End of Words after *a* into *u*, See *ao*.
- u. Is commonly sounded like *u*, sometimes it is changed into *w*. Thus for *Yuen*, *tebuen*, we write *Yœen*, *ebœen*. This often confounded with *v* Consonant, as in *Sine*, *Sinen*, *Huen* abovementioned, which are sometimes written *Sive*, *Siven*, and *Hiven* in the *French*: Frequently tis put indifferently for *v*; thus we meet with *Yong* and *Yung*, *Kong* and *Kung* &c.
- ou. Before a Vowel at the Beginning of Words, or after a Vowel at the End of a Word, is expressed by us with *w*. Thus for *Ouan* and *Keou* we write *Wan* and *Kew*. Coming after a Consonant, it has the Sound of *oo*, as in *good*, and is expressed by a Circumflex *u*: Thus for *Fou*, *Nou*, &c. we write *Fû*, *Nû*, &c.
- ao. This is a *Portuguese* Character retained by the *French*, and is expressed by *au*, which must be pronounced quick, and thro' the Nose. Thus for *Tao*, *Leao*, *Miao*, we write *Tau*, *Lyau*, *Myau*.
- C. Is always expressed with us by *K* to prevent the equivocal Sound before *e* and *i*, except in some parti- Consonants.
lar Words made Use of in *Europe*, as *Confucius*. Sometimes we have changed it into *Tj*, thus for *Gien* we write *Tjien*: Sometimes into *S*, thus for *Teing* we write *Tjing*. See *Tj* among the double Consonants.
- ç. We commonly express by *Tj*, sometimes by *S*.
- g. Before *a*, *o* and *u*, hard as in *God*. Before *e* and *i*, 'tis always changed into *j* Consonant, to prevent the equivocal Sound; thus for *gin*, we write *jîn*.
- h. Is sounded pretty strong as in *English*. But before *o* and *u* like a *W*. See *bo* among the double Letters.
- j. This Letter is expressed very exactly in *English* by *zh*, but it is doubtful whether ever it ought to be expressed by this Character, or whether it stands for our *J* Consonant or *Y*. Sometimes in the Maps it seems to be put instead of our *ch*.
- k. Is sometimes used indifferently for *c*. Sometimes as *q*. Thus for *Kœi*, *Kœue*, we write *Quey*, *que*.
- m. At the Beginning of Words is expressed by *m*. But at the End of Words by *ng*. Thus for *Tom*, *Tim*, *mim*, we write *Tong*, *ting ming*. Thus *m* final is the *Portuguese* Character, and is found in a great Number of Names especially in the Maps. For the Pronunciation of *ng* final, see the double Letters.
- n. Before the Vowels as our *n*; before *g* after another Manner, see *ng*.
- q. As *q* in *Quang tong*.
- s. Is pronounced sometimes as *s* with us, sometimes as *ts*. Thus for *se* we frequently write *tse*.
- v. Is put frequently in the Original instead of *ou*, the Character by which the *French* expresses our *W*, which they want in their Language: Thus we find *Van* and *Ouan*, &c.
- x. Occurs frequently in *Chinese* Names, especially in the Maps, and is the *Portuguese* Character answering to the *French* *Ch* and our *Sh*.
- y. Is commonly used instead of *i* Vowel at the Beginning of Words, but we always consider it as a Consonant. When put singly, or for a whole Word, we change it into a Vowel. Thus for *Tchang* and *Tang y*, we write *I chang*, *Tang i*. All other Letters are pronounced like the *English*.
- Ch. This *French* Character is expressed by *sh*, having the same Sound.
- ds. By *ds*, which is sounded nearly like *ts*, or rather seems to be used by some Missionaries instead thereof.
- ho. Is a *Portuguese* Character retained by the *French*, and is expressed by *wh*: Thus for *Hoang*, *buon*, we write *Wbang*, *wban*. *Huan* and *hoan* are both written by us *wban*; the *o* and *u* being frequently used promiscuously for each other. If there be any Difference, it is only that the *w* carries somewhat of the Sound of *o* in the one, and of the *u* in the other. Double Consonants.
- ko, ku, kou, are used in the *French* for our *qu*; thus they write *Kœan*, *Kuan*, *kœuan* for *quan*.
- ng. Is expressed by us with *ng*; at the Beginning of Words it is sounded like the *Portuguese* *n*, in a peculiar Manner thro' the Nose. At the End of Words it sounds like *n* in *seen*, *queen*, being lengthened out with a ringing Tone; the *g* being added not to be sounded, but only to indicate that ringing Tone, or distinguish this sort of *n* from the common *n*.
- ss. This Character we express by *ts*.
- tch. This is a Character made by the *French* to express the Sound of our *Ch*, which is put instead thereof.
- ts, tç, tz, and sometimes *tc*, are used indifferently by the Missionaries for *ts*, which last Character I have retained. Some use *th* for *ts*; and others *ds* as before observed.
- vo. Is expressed sometimes by *Vw*: Thus for *Voœ* we write *Vwœ*; tho' perhaps a *w* would be sufficient, as for *Voan* we write *Wan*.

*Tis difficult to ascertain the Characters sometimes when two or three different Sorts are employed to express the same Sound, as in this last Case, *ou* being the Character commonly used by the *French* instead of *w*; and what a confused Medley must we have made, had we retained the various Characters used in the Original to express the Sound of *ts*, being no less than *g*. viz. *c*, *ç*, *s*, *ss*, *th*, *tc*, *tç*, *ts*, *tz*.

(A) See the Note at *bone* in the following Table of the *Chinese* Words.

From the foregoing Table, we may likewise perceive the Barrenness both of the *Chinese* and *French* Alphabet; the former wants the a, b, d, r, x, z, which they express by ya, p, t, l, sh, ch. The latter wants the ch, j Consonant, w, and indeed properly the K and Q, which the *Chinese*, and most other Oriental Nations have, wherefore it is very unfit for expressing the Sounds of most foreign Languages.

That the Reader may have a more thorough and regular View of our Method of writing the *Chinese* Names, I have subjoined a Comparative Table of all the Words which compose the *Chinese* Language, written according to the *Portuguese*, *French* and *English* Idioms. The *Portuguese* Column is taken from *Bayer's Chinese Grammar*, in his *Museum Sinicum*, and the *French* from *Pere le Comte's Travels*; only I have changed the *m* final which the latter used, into *ng*, to make the Words more agreeable to the Orthography of the latter *French* Missionaries. I have also marked the *â* with a Circumflex, in those Words where I conceive it ought to be pronounced broad, as it is in *all, fall, &c.* I have also distinguished the other Vowels according to the Rules already layed down, so far as I found them marked in *P. le Comte's Table*, which is defective both in that and other respects.

An Alphabetical Table of all the Words which compose the *Chinese* Language according to the *Portuguese*, *French*, and *English* Pronunciation.

| Portug. | French | English. | Portug. | French | English. | Portug. | French | English. |
|---------|--------|----------|---------|--------|------------|---------|---------|-----------|
| C | C | K | fuen | fuen | fwen | hoai | hoai | whay |
| | | | fum | fung | fung | hoam | hoang | whang |
| C | Ca | kâ | | | | hoan | hoan | whân |
| cai | cai | kay | G | G | G & Jcons. | hoe | hoe | whe |
| cang | cang | kang | | | | hoei | hoei | whey |
| can | can | kân | Gai | | Gay | hoen | hoen | when |
| cao | cao | kau | gam | | gâng | hu | hu | hu |
| co | co | ko | gan | | gân | hue | hue | whe |
| cu | cu | ku | gao | | gau | hum | hung | hung |
| | cue | que | ge | | je | hun | hun | hun |
| cum | cung | kung (z) | gem | | jeng | huon | huon | whon(c) |
| | | | gen | | jen | | | |
| Ch | Tch | Ch | geu | | jew | K | K & Q | K & Q |
| | | | gin | | jin | Kao | | Kau |
| Cha | Tcha | Châ | go | | go | ke | ke | ke |
| chai | tchai | chay | goei or | guci | gwey or | kem | keng | keng |
| cham | tchang | châng | guc | | ghey | ken | ken | ken |
| chan | tchan | chân | gu | | gu | keu | keu | kew |
| chao | tchao | chau | guo | | gho | ki | ki | ki |
| che | tche | che | | | | kia | kia | kyâ |
| chem | | cheng | | | | kiai | | kyay |
| chen | tchen | chen | H | H | H & Wh | kiam | | kyang |
| cheu | tcheu | chew | | | | kiao | kiao | kyau |
| chi | tchi | chi | Hai | Hai | Hay | kie | kie | kye |
| chiao | | chyau | ham | hang | hâng | kien | kien | kyen |
| chien | | chyen | han | han | hân | kieu | kieu | kyew |
| chim | tching | ching | hao | hao | hau | king | king | king |
| chin | tchin | chin | he | he | he | kin | kin | kin |
| cho | tcho | cho | hem | heng | heng | kio | kio | kyo |
| choa | tchoa | chwâ. | hen | hen | hen | kiu | kiu | kyu |
| chu | tchu | chu | heu | heu | hew | kiue | kiue | kve |
| chua | tchua | chwâ (A) | hi | hi | hi | kien | kien | kven |
| chuam | tchuam | chwâng | hia | hia | hyâ | kium | kiung | kyung |
| chue | tchue | chwe | hiâ | hiâ | hyay | kiun | kiun | kyun |
| chuen | tchuen | chwen | hiam | hiang | hyang | kua | qua | quâ |
| chui | | chwi | hiao | hiao | hyau | kuai | quoui | quay |
| chum | tchung | chung | hie | hie | hye | kuam | quouang | quang |
| chun | tchun | chun. | hien | hien | hyen | kuan | | quân |
| | | | hiou | hiou | hyew | kue | quoue | que |
| F | F | F | him | hing | hing | kuai | quouei | quey |
| Fa | Fa | Fâ | hio | hio | hyo | kuem | | queng |
| fam | fang | fâng | hiu | hiu | hyu | kuen | quouen | quen |
| fan | fan | fân | hiue | hiue | hve (a) | kuo | quouo | quo |
| feu | feu | few | hiuen | hiuen | hven | kuon | quouon | quon |
| fi | fi | fî | hium | hiung | hyung | | | |
| fo | fo | fô | hiun | hiun | hyun | L | L | L, ly, lw |
| | foi | foy | ho | ho | ho | | | |
| fu | fu | fû | hoa | hoa | whâ | La | La | Lâ |

(2) This is also written *ang*, the like happens in other Words of this Form, where the *o* and *a* are used promiscuously by the Missionaries.

(A) This Word and the four following may be written and pronounced with a *v* Consonant, *Cheva, chevâ, &c.*, but I take the *u* to be the true Pronunciation, only it may have more of the *s* in this *cheva*, and of the *s* in the former, according to what I have remarked before. The like is to be observed of all Words in these Forms, throughout the following Letters.

(a) This Word and the next may be pronounced *hio, hien*;

but as the *v* is of the obscure kind, and the other Letters which are not obscure, are pronounced clearly, I take *chev* and *cheu* to be the true Orthography.

(c) In the Words of this Form, which generally come at the End of each Letter, the *s* is so obscure or mute, that it seems to be an *e*. Hence some might pronounce *chua, chon* or *huâ*; but I think it best to keep to the general Rules of Orthography; and if the *sch* be pronounced very soft, and the *s* both soft and quick, the Pronunciation will, I presume, be sufficiently just.

lai

iiivii

x

| Portug. | French | English. | Portug. | French | English. | Portug. | French | English. |
|---------|--------|----------|---------|---------|----------|---------|--------|----------|
| X | Ch | Sh | xo | cho | sho | yam | iang | yāng |
| Xa | Cha | Shà | xoa | choua | shwā | yao | iao | yau |
| xai | chai | shay | xoam | chouang | shwāng | ye | ie | ye |
| xam | chang | shāng | xu | chu | shu | yem | ien | yeng |
| xan | chan | shān | xui | | shwi | yen | ieu | yew |
| xao | chao | shau | xun | chun | shun | yeu | | yin |
| xe | che | she | | chua | shwā (p) | yin | ing | ing |
| xen | chen | shen | | chuen | shwen | ym | in | in |
| xeu | cheu | shew | | chue | shwe | yn | io | yo |
| xi | chi | shi | | chung | shung | yo | iu | yu |
| xiao | | shyau | Y | Y & I | I & Y | yue | iue | ywē |
| xieu | | shyew | Y | | I | yui | | ywi |
| xim | ching | shing | ya | ya | yā | yuen | iuēn | ywen |
| xin | chin | shin | yai | yai | yay | yuin | | ywin |
| | | | | | | yun | iun | yun |
| | | | | | | | iung | yung |

This Table would have been more Regular, had the *Chinese* Words, reduced to the Order of the *English* Alphabet as well as Idiom, been placed in the first Column. However the Reader may observe by it three Things. 1. That the Words contained under the several Letters are formed agreeable to one common Rule in the *Chinese* Language, tho' they are not equally numerous under each. 2. That according to the *Portuguese* and *French* way of writing, many of them appear to be of two or three Syllables, and must be so pronounced according to the *English* Orthography; whereas according to our way of writing them, they are all Monosyllables, agreeable to the Genius of the *Chinese* Language. 3. That the Change of Orthography is natural as well necessary; nor so difficult and uncertain as many are apt to think.

The chief Difficulty is in pronouncing certain Characters consisting of double Consonants, which are not used in our Language; but as we have several other double and even some treble Consonants, a little Practice must make this easy. For Instance, it cannot be very difficult for an *Englishman*, who can say *bran*, *sling*, *prong*, *swing*, *strong*, &c. to pronounce in one Sound, *fwen*, *ywen*, *Syang*, *Kyang*, *Hyang*, *fwen*, *lwi*, *tsyen*; for the same Rule is to be observed in pronouncing *fw*, *yw*, *fy*, &c. together, that is observed in pronouncing *br*, *st*, &c. that is, to pronounce them as if they were but one Letter; which is learned by putting a Vowel between, and pronouncing it very quick, so as by degrees to throw it quite out.

The *Chinese* Coins, Weights and Measures, being ascertain'd in this Work, by those of the *Portuguese* and *French*, it will be necessary for the Reader's Information, to reduce the Latter to the *English*.

Coins.

COINS and WEIGHTS. (E)

Portuguese Taël— Value an Ounce of Silver, which in *China* is equivalent to 7 Livres, 10 Sols. But it goes only for 6 Shillings and 8 pence *English*.

French Livre— About eleven pence *English*.
23 Livres at present are equivalent to a Guinea.

Sol or Sou— The 20th part of a Livre, somewhat more than a Half-penny.

Denier— The 12th part of a Sol.

Measures.

MEASURES.

The *Paris* Foot— To the *English* as 1068 is to 1000 or 12, $\frac{8 \frac{1}{2}}{10}$ Inches.

Toise or Fathom— 6 *Paris* Feet, or 6 Feet 4,896 Inches *English*.

Great *French* League, 20 to a degree— Contains 18,282 *English* Feet, or is equal to 3 *English* Miles, 3 Furlongs and 462 Feet.

Common *French* League, 25 in a degree— Contains 14625 $\frac{1}{2}$ *English* Feet, or is nearly 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ *English* Miles.

Geometrical or Geographical Mile, 60 to a Degree— Contains 5000 Geometrical Feet, each equal to 14, $\frac{6 \frac{2}{3}}{10}$ Inches *English*.

English Miles, of which 69 $\frac{1}{2}$ according to *Norwood*, and 69 $\frac{1}{4}$ according to the Academy of *Paris* go to a Degree.— Contains 8 Furlongs, or 5280 *English* Feet.

(p) I take the *French* *choua* and *chua* to have the same Pronunciation, the rather because the *Portuguese* has no Word in the Table answering to the latter. And perhaps the *French* Word answering *Xoa*, should not be *choua*, but *choa*; as in the Letter Ch

in the *French* Column opposite to *Choa*, we find *tehou*, not *tehoua*.
(e) For the *Chinese* Coins and Weights, see p. 330, 332, 345. And for their Measures, see p. 141. and the Author's Preface, p. 11.

A DISSERTATION concerning Mr. d'Anville's General Map; wherein the Situation given by him to Astrakhan, and his Method of graduating the said Map, are examin'd, and shewn to be erroneous.

THE Design of this General Map is, not only to give us a general View of the Countries included in the particular Maps, but likewise of all the other Countries Westward to the *Caspian Sea*. This we are told was done pursuant to the Request of the Missionaries, who had provided some Materials for the Purpose †, and indeed had made a Map of the Whole themselves, as appears from the Copy sent into France by P. Regis, which was drawn from the Memoirs of the *Tartars* and *Mandarins* §: But those Materials not being sufficient to set the Geography of the Countries West of *Kasbgar* in a proper Light, they recommended the adjusting that Part to the French Geographers. Accordingly Mr. d'Anville, Geographer in ordinary to the King, being apply'd to, readily undertook the Task, and having finished it, to support his Performance drew up a Memoir, which is inserted in the Observations on *Tibet* at the end of this Work.

As the most important Point to be settled for regulating the rest was the Longitude of *Astrakhan*, Mr. d'Anville examined the Distance very carefully between *Paris* and that City, by an uninterrupted Series of Measures, and found it to be 47 Degrees, 18 Minutes, according to the ordinary Method of projecting or graduating Maps: But on the Supposition that the Degrees of Longitude are one thirtieth part larger than they ought, he determined the Longitude of *Astrakhan* to be 48°. 55'. which are the extended Degrees reduced to contracted Degrees. Considering the Doctrine of the Contraction of the Degrees of Longitude in the Manner he supposes was at best uncertain, methinks it would have been Mr. d'Anville's safest way to have adhered to the Determination of 47°. 18'. according to the extended Graduation; especially as it agreed within 18 Minutes of the Situation given *Astrakhan* by Mr. de l'Isle in his Maps made for the Use of the present King of France, where it is put at 67 Degrees of Longitude East of *Ferro*, and consequently 47 East of *Paris*.

'Tis true, there is no determining the Number of the Degrees of Longitude between two distant Places by Itinerary Measures alone, and as Mr. d'Anville (uncertain as to the due Content of the Degrees) made use only of such, he could not determine whether the Longitude of *Astrakhan* ought to be 47°. 18'. or 48°. 55'. But if he had gone another way to work, and made use of Observations, as it may be presumed Mr. de l'Isle did, he might have been able to determine the Matter.

The Observations I mean are those made in *Russia*, whereof the Principal is, that of the Longitude of *Moskow*, which places this City in 36°. 20'. Now supposing this Observation to be tolerably exact, as there is good Reason to believe it is (A), we shall have the Longitude of 4 Parts in 5 of the Space between *Paris* and *Astrakhan* determined to our Hands; and consequently to determine the Longitude of *Astrakhan*, it remains only to settle the Meridian Distance between it and *Moskow*, which Mr. de l'Isle (who has placed *Moskow* according to the above Observation) has adjusted to 10°. 40': So that *Astrakhan* must lie in about 47 Degrees East of *Paris*, as he places it; and there is the more Reason to believe his Determination to be pretty just, because in that Space he had the Latitude of *Astrakhan*, and several of the intervening Places, besides *Olearius's* Map of the *Volga* and other helps, to guide him.

Thus it appears that the Longitude of *Astrakhan* is but about 47 Degrees, whether there be a Contraction of the Degrees or not: For in determining the Meridian Distance astronomically no Regard is had to the Content of the Degrees. If it be objected that the Meridian Distance between *Moskow* and *Astrakhan* determined by Measures is adjusted according to the extended Graduation; I answer, that will cause but a small Difference in the Situation, since, if it be settled according to the contracted Graduation, it will make the Longitude of *Astrakhan* but 47°. 21'. 20': The Difference between contracted and extended Degrees amounting, in a Space of 10°. 40'. to no more than 21 Minutes 20 Seconds.

As therefore the Longitude of *Astrakhan*, regulated by that of *Moskow*, agrees so nearly with what Mr. d'Anville had determined it by Itinerary Measures according to the extended or common Graduation, I think it ought to be a convincing Proof with him, that 47°. 18'. or thereabouts, and not 48°. 55'. is the true Longitude of that City. And indeed if Mr. d'Anville was acquainted with the Longitude of *Moskow*, as it may be presumed he was, I cannot conceive why he did not choose to make use of it in settling the Longitude of *Astrakhan*, rather than to depend wholly on Measures, especially when he found his Computation in extended Degrees tally'd so well with Mr. de l'Isle's Computation (according to the same Graduation) grounded on the Longitude of *Moskow*; unless it may be that he was so strongly prepossessed in favour of his Hypothesis of the Contraction that he would not admit of any Observation to be exact which seem'd to oppose it.

I am of Opinion that what chiefly induced Mr. d'Anville to give *Astrakhan* so great an easterly Situation was, the Jesuits Maps of *Tartary*, where several Parts seem to be placed at a Distance, not reconcilable with the Position given by the European Geographers to *Astrakhan* and the *Caspian Sea*. But if the Lake of *Aral* in *Khorazm* or *Karezm* has the Position and Extent given it in Mr. *Kyrisov's* Map of the *Russian Empire*, there will not be so much Room to spare as Mr. d'Anville imagines. Besides as this Geographer, by frequently varying from them, seems to have had sufficient Cause not to think their Determinations infallible with respect to the Situation of Places, he ought as well to have concluded

† See P. du Halde's pref. p. 12.

(A) That the Longitude of *Moskow*, or rather *Moskoo*, is tolerably exact, appears by comparing it with that of *Petersburg*, lately found by Mr. de l'Isle, the Astronomer (a Member of the Academy in this last City,) to be 27°. 57' 30" East of *Paris* which deducted from that of *Moskow* gives 8°. 22' 30" for the Meridian Distance, differing about half a Degree in defect

§ See P. Sauter, *Obs. Math. &c.* p. 135, 146.

from the Map of Mr. de l'Isle, who places *Petersburg* so much more to the West than it ought to be; but agreeing precisely with Mr. *Korshov's* Map of the *Russian Empire* published at *Petersburg* in 1734, which, with regard at least to the Situation of those two Capitals, may be presumed to be exact.

Design of
Mr. d'An-
ville's Gene-
ral Map.

His Deter-
mination of
the Longi-
tude of
Astrakhan

grounded on
uncertain
Principles,
and errone-
ous.

concluded the Fault lay on their Side, in placing those Parts many Degrees too far East ward(s), as to have supposed that our Geographers have either removed *Astrakhan* too much Westward, or extended the Space between *Astrakhan* and *Pe king* several Degrees beyond the Truth, in consequence of giving too great an Extent to the Degrees of Longitude.

Ill Con-
sequence
thereof.

In effect, notwithstanding Mr. *d'Anville* has advanced *Astrakhan* so much Eastward, to bring the *Caspian Sea* nearer *China*, yet he was obliged to bring *Kijbegar* two Degrees nearer the *Caspian Sea* than the Jesuits have placed it, in order to adjust its Situation to his own Notions of the Geography of those Parts. And in this perhaps he has not done amiss, the rather because the Situation of *Kijbegar* was determined from Itineraries alone without Observations of the Latitude: But I believe he is to blame in placing Mount *Altay* one Degree more Eastward than the Jesuits have done; it should in all likelihood rather be removed so much more to the West if either way. This he has in some measure been forced to, by placing *Astrakhan* so much Eastward.

He varies
from his De-
termination
in the Map.

After all, I will not pretend to say the Longitude of *Astrakhan*, as computed by Mr. *de l'Isle*, is absolutely exact; on the contrary, I judge it ought to be put at least half a Degree more Eastward: However I do not impute his Mistake, if he has really committed any, to the common Method of graduating Maps, but the difficulty of settling the Longitude to any Degree of Certainty by Itinerary Measures, even when assisted with the Latitudes (c).

On the other hand, as nothing but an Observation made at *Astrakhan* can fully determine which Situation is the right, I will not presume absolutely to assert that Mr. *d'Anville's* Conclusion is wrong, tho' his Premises be false: But whether it be so or not, this I will venture to affirm, that he was in the wrong to vary from himself, by giving that City a different Situation in his Map from what he had determined it by Computation.

The Meridian Difference between *Paris* and *Pe king* being $113^{\circ} 51'$ according to the Observation of P. *Gaubil*, which Mr. *d'Anville* follows, *Astrakhan*, according to the above Determination of $48^{\circ} 55'$, ought to lie in $64^{\circ} 56'$ West of the Meridian of *Pe king*; whereas Mr. *d'Anville* has placed it in $62^{\circ} 46'$, which makes its Longitude from *Paris* $51^{\circ} 5'$. This may appear very strange to other Geographers, but if we examine his Motives they will appear still stranger.

His Notion
of convert-
ing con-
tracted to
extended
Degrees
by altering
their Num-
ber,

Mr. *d'Anville* had but two ways rationally of exhibiting Places, that is, by graduating his Map either according to extended or contracted Degrees, without altering their Longitudes, at least as he had determined them himself: But neither of those Methods would serve his Purpose. As the Jesuits had projected their Maps after the ordinary Graduation, he considered that if he vary'd therefrom to follow his own Hypothesis of the Contraction of Degrees, the Countries included in the Part taken from them would want $\frac{1}{4}$ of the Dimensions given them therein; and if he lay'd the Situations down according to the extended Graduation, the Countries added by him would be as much extended beyond their true Dimensions. Mr. *d'Anville* therefore, desirous to avoid both these Inconveniencies, has taken a Method, which I believe was never employ'd, or indeed ever entered into the Head of any Geographer, before. For to conform to the Practice of the Jesuits, he projects his Map according to the ordinary extended Graduation: But that the Countries which he has added might not be too much extended, he reduced the Difference of Longitude between *Astrakhan* and *Pe king* in contracted Degrees to extended Degrees, by deducting $2^{\circ} 10'$ for the 30th Part, according to his Hypothesis of the Contraction; whence *Astrakhan* comes to lie in $62^{\circ} 46'$ instead of $64^{\circ} 56'$. In consequence of this extraordinary proceeding, Mr. *d'Anville* has not only placed *Astrakhan* $2^{\circ} 10'$ more East than he had determined it, but cut off $3^{\circ} 47'$ of the Meridian Distance between *Astrakhan* and *Pe king* determined by numerous Observations, and admitted by himself to be just.

proved ab-
surd and er-
roneous.

The first of these two Errors appears manifestly enough from the State of the Question: But on what Grounds such a Change can be justifiable is hard to discover. He cannot pretend that $62^{\circ} 46'$ is the true Longitude, because he determined it to be $64^{\circ} 56'$: 'Tis in vain to allege that $62^{\circ} 46'$ of the usual Graduation are equivalent to $64^{\circ} 56'$ of his contracted Degrees; since, let that be as it will, there is still a Difference of $2^{\circ} 10'$ in the Longitude. 'Twill be as little to the Purpose to say that the Countries have the same Extent as they would have in the other way of Graduation, since still they have not the same Situation: Unless he will maintain that a Geographer is at liberty to alter the Situations of Places as often as he alters the Manner of graduating his Maps; or that if Countries be lay'd down according to their true Extent, it matters not how wrongly they are situated as to Longitude and Latitude, which no Geographer I presume will pretend to assert.

$3^{\circ} 47'$ re-
trenched
in the Dis-
tance be-
tween
Paris and
Pe king.

That Mr. *d'Anville* has retrenched $3^{\circ} 47'$ from the Meridian Distance between *Paris* and *Pe king* is no less obvious: For whereas he places *Astrakhan* in $47^{\circ} 18'$ of extended Graduation East of *Paris*, and in $62^{\circ} 46'$ West of *Pe king*, these two Sums added together make but $110^{\circ} 4'$ which deducted from $113^{\circ} 51'$ (the Difference of Longitude between *Paris* and *Pe king*) there remain $3^{\circ} 47'$. If Mr. *d'Anville* should still imagine, that he has made allowance for that Defect, by substituting $110^{\circ} 4'$ of extended Degrees in place of $113^{\circ} 51'$ of contracted Degrees, he is greatly mistaken; for tho' $110^{\circ} 4'$ of extended Degrees should be equal in Quantity to $113^{\circ} 51'$ of contracted, according to his way of reckoning, yet they are not equal in Number to them; which Number had been determined and admitted by him for the true Difference of Longitude between *Paris* and *Pe king*, and consequently could not be altered.

I

(a) On this occasion it may be proper to observe, that the Missionaries finding *Astrakhan* marked (by what mistake I know not) in Mr. *de l'Isle's* Chart of the *Caspian Sea*, at 67 Degrees East of *Paris*, instead of *Ferra*, which is 20 Degrees more Westward, P. *Gaubil* sends P. *Sauvot* Word in November 1725, that they were mightily embarrassed at *Pe king*, on account of a Map (possibly the Original of that sent to France as mentioned before) made in the Palace from the Report of certain *Tartars* who came from the *Caspian Sea*; and concludes that in Case Mr. *de l'Isle* has no good Observation made at *Astrakhan*, or some Place whose Distance from it is known, he is of Opinion, that City should be placed 7 or 8 Degrees more to the West. Hence it appears, that in the Map just mentioned, *Astrakhan* is put 59 or 60 Degrees East of *Paris*, that is, about 54 or 55 Degrees West of *Pe king*, which is 10 Degrees nearer the Meridian of *Pe king* than Mr. *d'Anville* computes it, and 12 nearer than Mr. *de l'Isle* puts it. Now I will not say, that erroneous Situation given *Astrakhan* in the said Chart had influenced the Geographical Determinations of the Jesuits, and

induced them to place *Kijbegar* and Mount *Altay* more Eastward than ordinary, because their Maps were made before Mr. *de l'Isle's* Chart came to their Hands: But I am of Opinion their General Map above mentioned, and Memoirs relating to the Distance from *Kijbegar* and *Harkas* to the *Caspian Sea*, might have influenced Mr. *d'Anville* in his Opinion of the Contraction of the Degrees of Longitude, and consequently in the Situation he has given *Astrakhan*. † See *Sauvot*, *Obi. Marh. Geography*, &c. p. 135.

(c) For Instance, Mr. *Kyrilow*, in his Map of the *Russian Empire* before mentioned, places *Archangel* in *Russia*, above 16 Degrees East of the Meridian of *Petersburg*, altho' Mr. *de l'Isle*, of the Academy there, found the Meridian Distance between those two Cities no more than $8^{\circ} 30'$, which is an Error of $7^{\circ} 30'$ in so short a Space. And there is the more Reason to believe that Observation is not very remote from the Truth, because his Brother in his latter Maps places it not above 10 Degrees to the East.

I grant that Degrees of Longitude may be supposed greater or lesser in Quantity, and that Maps may be graduated with either Sort; I grant also that they may be converted one into the other by increasing or diminishing the Quantity: But I deny that a lesser Number of Degrees can be substituted in place of a greater, when the greater Number has been determined by exact Observations for the Difference of Longitude between two Places; because that would be to alter the very Nature of the Longitude, which consists properly in the Number, not the Quantity of Degrees: As in determining the Difference of Longitude between two Meridians, Astronomers determine the Number of Degrees independent of their Quantities, which differ in every Parallel; so that let the Quantities contained in the Degrees to be chang'd be what they will, their Number must be still the same. It is obvious, therefore, that Mr. d'Anville's Notion of converting extended into contracted Degrees, and *vice versa*, is absurd, erroneous, and repugnant to the fundamental Principles of Geography, as making the Longitude variable and uncertain; and in effect after all he has not chang'd contracted into extended Degrees, as he imagines, but only contracted or reduced the Dimensions of Countries by putting Places under wrong Meridians.

Mr. d'Anville has therefore imposed on himself, and introduced Error and Confusion to no purpose into his Map, which by this means is such an odd Composition, that, according to his Method of graduating, Places in the Part added by him fall under wrong Meridians; and if it be graduated according to the contracted Degrees, Places, in the Parts taken from the Jesuits Maps, whose Longitudes are determined by Observation, will fall under wrong Meridians, as will appear from the Map it self, which I have graduated both ways: So that while one Part errs in respect of Dimensions, the other Part errs interchangeably in respect of Situations. In short, there is only one way of mending this Map, and that is by graduating the Part added by Mr. d'Anville, or perhaps rather all to the West of *China*, with contracted Degrees, according to his Sense of them, and the rest in extended Degrees (b): And indeed this Course would have been much better than that which he has taken; for tho' the Projection would not have been uniform and regular, yet Places would have had their true Positions, which is the most essential End of Maps.

To conclude: Mr. d'Anville was no more under a necessity of conforming to the Jesuits Manner of Graduation, since he thought it false, than to their Manner in projecting his Map, in which he varies from them; and the rather, since he has not scrupled to alter the Positions as determined by them sometimes 3 or 4 Degrees in his other Maps, as will be observed elsewhere: By which means he renders the Manner of Graduation useless, by altering the Dimensions as well as Situations which Countries had in consequence thereof.

From what has been urged I think it is evident that, supposing the Degrees of Longitude were less than they are commonly esteemed, Mr. d'Anville had no reason to graduate his General Map in the Manner he has done. This is all I shall say to it at present: But in the Part of the Work above mentioned, where Mr. d'Anville is introduced giving an Account of it, I shall consider the Situations of Places in the Countries added by him, and how far the Tables of the Oriental Geographers, which he has made use of, are to be rely'd upon. I shall also, in my Preface to the Second Volume, or before the Description of *Tartary*, examine his General Maps of *Tartary* and *Tibet*, which differ both from the Jesuits Maps, and his own General Map of all, which has been the Subject of our present Remarks. In the mean time, I must do Mr. d'Anville the Justice to declare that, however faulty his Map or Maps may be in the Particulars mentioned, he has notwithstanding in other Respects discovered a great Capacity for Geography; that he has taken no small Pains to consult Authors, and adjust the Situation of Places, which is a very difficult Task where Observations are wanting; that he has put the Countries between the Rivers *Amur* and *Sir* in a much better Light for the general than they were in before; and in short, that the Science is greatly obliged to him for his Endeavours to reform the Geography of those Parts, which, as he observes, lie in great Confusion.

(b) The Map will answer both these Views tolerably well, if the Reader, in determining the Longitudes of Places, will make use of the prick'd-line Meridians, from the 20th West-

ward of *Peking* for the Western Parts, and the black-line Meridians for the Parts to the East of the 20th Meridian.

SEPTEMBER 1. 1738.



Directions for placing the MAPS, PLANS, and CUTS, belonging to VOLUME I.

| MAPS: | | PLANS. | |
|-------|---|--------|---|
| 1 | GENERAL Map of China, Chinese Tartary and Tibet, facing the Title Page. | 19 | Cities of <i>Pe-che-li</i> , Plate 4. |
| 2 | Map of China | 20 | Cities of <i>Kyang-nan</i> , Plate 5. |
| 3 | Province 1 <i>Pe-che-li</i> | 21 | Cities of <i>Che-kyang</i> , Plate 6. |
| 4 | Province 2 <i>Kyang-nan</i> | 22 | Cities of <i>Hu-quang</i> , Plate 7. |
| 5 | Province 3 <i>Kyang-si</i> | 23 | Cities of <i>Sben-si</i> , Plate 8. |
| 6 | Province 4 <i>Fo-kyen</i> | 24 | Cities of <i>Kyang-si</i> , <i>Fo-kyen</i> , &c. Plate 9. |
| 7 | Province 5 <i>Che-kyang</i> | 25 | Cities of <i>Quey-chew</i> , Plate 10. |
| 8 | Province 6 <i>Hu-quang</i> | 26 | Plan of the <i>Que tse-Kyen</i> |
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| 12 | Province 10 <i>Sben-si</i> | 28 | Pompous Attendance of a <i>Vice-Roy</i> |
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| 17 | Province 15 <i>Quey-chew</i> | 33 | Chinese Barks, Fishing, &c. |
| 18 | Chart of the River of <i>Kan-ton</i> , Plate 11 | 34 | Chinese Coins |
| | | 35 | Silk Manufacture |
| | | 36 | Kong-fu of Confucius |

Notwithstanding the above Directions, we think it necessary to acquaint the Purchasers, that the best Way of managing the MAPS and PLANS, will be to stitch or bind them together, as is done in the *Dutch Edition*, as well to avoid doubling or crowding the MAPS, as for the Convenience of consulting them more readily; they being referred to in many Places of both Volumes, besides those to which they are directed by this Table.

N. B. The TABLE of CONTENTS is to be placed after P. du Halde's Preface.





P. Du HALDE'S PREFACE

TO HIS

Description of CHINA, CHINESE-TARTARY, &c.

CHINA has for a long Time past excited the Curiosity of Europeans; altho' the first Accounts they had of it gain'd very little Credit among them. The Narrative publish'd by the Venetian (A) who travelled over some Provinces of that Empire, in the Retinue of the Tartars, pass'd for a Romance. All he recounts concerning the Antiquity of this Monarchy, the Wisdom of its Laws and Government, the Fertility of its Lands, and Richness of its Trade, as well as the prodigious Multitude of its Inhabitants, the Politeness of their Manners, their Industry to promote Arts and Husbandry, their Taste and Zeal for the Sciences; all this, I say, was look'd on as mere Fiction, which had not so much as the Air of Probability. We cou'd not believe that beyond so many half-barbarous Nations, and at the very Extremity of all Asia, a powerful Nation was to be found scarce inferior to any of the best-govern'd States of Europe.

But by degrees these Prejudices diminished, and that Author's Veracity began to be acknowledged, especially when it appeared that what he had advanced agreed with the Accounts of the first Missionaries, who towards the End of the 15th Century found Admittance into China, which till then, out of a Principle of Policy, had been deny'd to Strangers. One cannot avoid giving Credit to the Testimony of Persons, whose Condition, Integrity, Capacity and Disinterestedness take away all Grounds of Suspicion.

This awaken'd the Curiosity of People, and changed the Indifference which they shewed before for China into an earnest Desire to be acquainted with it. But this Curiosity gave rise to a great many trifling and false Relations.

As soon as an European Vessel arriv'd in a Port of China, it was usual for some of the Ship's Crew, during the few Months stay they made there, to gather all the Information they cou'd, both from the Report of the Natives and their own Observation; this they committed to Writing, and at their Return gave out they had made great Discoveries: and it is from such inaccurate Materials as these, pick'd up in the Outskirts of so vast a Country, that their Relations are compos'd.

Others again, with less sincerity, have, in order to entertain their Readers, supply'd by Invention the Want of proper Remarks. This appears to be the Method taken by a certain Italian Traveller (B) who in a Book printed at Naples in 1720, entitled *Giro del Mondo*, [a Voyage round the World,] has given a particular Description of the Emperor of China's Palace; of which he cou'd have no Idea, but what his Fancy suggested: and the more easily to gain Credit in what he advances, he makes no Scruple to affirm that Pere Grimaldi, President of the Tribunal of the Mathematics, introduced him into the Palace.

All that's true in this Matter is; That he was at Pe-king, and walk'd up and down that great City, follow'd by a Chinese, who serv'd both as his Footman and Valet; that he frequently visit'd the Jesuits, who did him all the good Offices they were able; that he desired them to get him a Sight of the Emperor, or at least his Palace, but it was not in their Power; That coming to a Bridge, which it was necessary to pass in going to the Palace, he was constrain'd to turn back, because his Valet wou'd not venture any farther; and that he was oblig'd to leave Pe-king without seeing more of the Palace than the South-Gate, which is always shut.

B

The

(A) Marco Polo, commonly call'd *Marco Paulus Venetus*, and *Mark Paul the Venetian*, who was in China toward the End of the 13th Century.

(B) The Author here aimed at is Dr. I. Francis Gemelli Careri, well known by his *Travels round the World*, which were first publish'd about the Beginning of this Century, and have been

printed in several Languages, and are to be found in the Fourth Volume of *Churchill's English Collection*. This Censure of *Pere du Halde* is doubtless taken from the Extract of a Letter from a Missionary at Pe-king, in the Preface to the 15th Volume of the *Lettres Edifiantes & Curieuses*, p. 14.

The whole of this is Fact; whence it follows that the Description, which he has given of the Palace, the Halls, and Imperial Throne, the Audience he was at, and all the rest, is purely his own Invention. How cou'd P. Grimaldi, notwithstanding his high Station, without the Emperor's express Order introduce an unknown Person into the Palace among the Members of a Tribunal going to Audience? a Thing which neither a Minister of State, nor even a Prince of the Blood has Power to do.

Ancient Accounts of China by Arabian Merchants censur'd

But how unfaithfully soever others may have written of *China*, I am much surpriz'd that an Author, (C) famous for his Parts and Learning, shou'd lose his Time in translating into *French*, and illustrating with long Dissertations, two ancient *Arabian* Accounts concerning *China*, which are nothing but a Parcel of Absurdities and Lyes. It needs no great skill in Criticism to perceive that the Writers of those Accounts deserve no manner of Credit, and never were in *China*; but when the Mind is once prejudiced, it is disposed to adopt the most ridiculous Fables, and to receive every thing as Truth, which tends to run down the Persons whom we do not love, and even make a Merit of not loving. (D)

All Men of Learning are not induc'd with that Sagacity and Penetration, to take a Thing in its proper Light at once, and to distinguish the true from the false; as is found in those rational and judicious Reflections made by a learned * Academician concerning *China*, and propos'd by way of Doubts to P. Parennin, who returned Satisfactory Answers.

The bad Tendency of injudicious and false Relations.

Relations that are either made without Judgment, fictitious, or written with Partiality, have a bad Effect on the Mind, by rendering those suspected which are faithful; and instilling, even into Persons of Understanding, certain Prejudices, which they have much ado to shake off again. How many, for instance, are there who will not be persuaded but the *Chinese* carry the Origin of their Empire much higher than the *Deluge*, and even than the *Creation* itself?

But if so absurd a Notion has entered into the Heads of a small number of *Chinese*, who have been deceived by the fictitious Epoch's of certain Astronomers, all the rest of the Nation laugh at their Ignorance. What should we say of those *Chinese*, who, on hearing that one *European* Author had asserted that the World has existed from all Eternity, shou'd conclude that to be the general Opinion over all *Europe*?

The *Chinese* are guided by their *Great History*, which, far from giving into such Whimfies, fixes the Commencement of their Empire at *Fo-hi*: neither do they pretend to determine when that Monarch or his Successors, down to *Tau*, began their Reigns, or how long they continued. But from the Time of their last named-Emperor they deem their Chronology sure: and indeed there is very little to be corrected therein, either with regard to the Duration and Order of the respective Reigns, or the remarkable Events.

The best Accounts of China written by the Missionaries.

Whatever Prejudices certain Persons may have entertained, thus far must be allowed, that the most exact Accounts we have of *China* came by way of the Missionaries; who have spent most part of their Lives either in the Capital City or Provinces of that great Empire, and were thereby qualify'd better than any others to give a faithful Account of it.

Yet hitherto defective.

Nevertheless the Relations, which they have hitherto published, are pretty much confined, and sometimes even defective. Most of their Authors, being employed about the Affairs of their Missions, mind little more than to inform *Europeans* of the Disposition they found those People in to embrace the Faith, and of the Progress of the Gospel amongst them. So that if they mention any thing remarkable relating to the Country, it is only occasionally and in brief, without dwelling on the Subject. Some indeed, at the request of the Learned in *Europe*, have at their leisure Hours enter'd deeper in their Enquiries; but their Observations, tho' pretty curious in themselves, have sometimes wanted Exactness, as being taken from the *Chinese* Books, whose Authors are naturally inclined to exaggerate the Rarities and Wonders of their Country.

Principally as to the Geography.

The Points wherein they have happened to be mistaken principally regard the Geography, occasion'd by their depending a little too much on the Accuracy of the *Chi Shu*; which are certain Books, containing the History of every City and its District. Among other remarkable Things to be found in these Books, are the Plan of the City, and the Number of Market Towns and Villages belonging to it, with their Distances from one another. These Distances are reckon'd by Li's or Furlongs, which are of different Lengths in different Provinces; just like the Leagues of the different Provinces of Kingdoms in *Europe*. The City of *Tong-chew*, for instance, which lies East of *Pe-king*, is reckon'd to be 40 Li's distant: nevertheless according to the Measure employed by the Missionary Geographers, who made the Maps, the Distance is not above 30; in the Province, of *Shang-tong*, 10 Li's make but 8 of their Li's, which are almost equal to those used in the North Part of the Province of *Hu-quang*. But the Provinces of *Kyang-nan*, *Fo-kyen* and some others, reckon the Li's very differently, as the Missionaries found by comparing them with the same Measure. This is sufficient to shew that the Longitudes given by the Peres *Martini* and *Noel* (E) cannot be exact, because they were determined by the Distances as computed by the *Chinese* in Li's or Furlongs, whereof the exact Length ought to be known before they are made use of.

Inaccuracy of P.P. Martini's and Noel's Tables;

In

(C) This is the late Abbe Renaudot, Member of the Academy of Inscriptions at Paris, eminent for his Skill in the Oriental Languages. There is a smart Critique of P. Premare, on the Book in Question, published by P. de Halde, in the *Lettres Edificantes*, Tom. 19. but the Work is not altogether so faulty as that Jesuit would represent it: it has been translated lately into English.

(D) This Maxim will be found to be almost universal, but none will apply it to themselves.

* M. Dortous de Mairan of the Academy of Sciences. See the 21st Tome of the *Lettres Edificantes & Curieuses*, p. 76.

(E) The first in his *Atlas Chinois*, and the latter in his *Observations Math. & Phys. in India and China*.

In like manner the *Peres Regis* and *Jartoux*, by the Observations made with excellent Instruments, both at *Si-ning* where they dwelt a Month, and at other Cities, always found a Difference of 29 or 30 Minutes between the Altitude taken by themselves and that taken by *P. Grueber*; and of *Grueber's* Observations. whether it was that the Instruments used by that *Jesuit* were too short and not well (*F*) divided, which is very likely, or that he had no regard to the Diameter of the Sun.

For the rest, I don't think we ought in the least to suspect the Veracity of certain Missionaries who residing in those fine Provinces, where Nature seems to have scatter'd all her Riches, have, by their charming Descriptions, given occasion to imagin that all the rest of the Provinces were like them: For since they speak only of what they saw themselves, they are not to be blamed for the false Conclusions of others, nor is what they have written the less true on that Score. They had not then travelled over all the Provinces, as they have since done, by means whereof they have acquired a most particular and exact Knowledge of the Country.

In short *Pere le Comte*, who has written so agreeably about *China*, confined himself to certain Matters; and is so far from pretending to give a methodical Relation of the whole, that he confesses his Letters ought to be consider'd only as Memoirs, which might be of use to those who had Thoughts afterwards of publishing a more complete Description.

'Tis in composing such a Description that I have been at Work for several Years; and the Quantity as well as Variety of Matters, compris'd in the Proposals which I published, has caus'd some to doubt whether the Execution would come up to the Design: yet however vast it appears, I hope it will be found that I have even done more than I promis'd. At least I have spar'd no Pains to make known every thing, with regard to that large Portion of the Earth, that deserv'd Notice; and to assure myself of the Truth of whatever I relate concerning it.

I have had in my Hands a prodigious quantity of Memoirs sent from *China*; which (tho' most of the Things contained in them were foreign to my Design) I was not tired with reading, because I met from time to time with such Particulars, as either were not known, or else confirm'd the Truth of what has been published already in the printed Relations.

Besides, the frequent Conversations I have had with certain Missionaries returned from *China*, during their Stay in *Europe*, but especially the necessary and continual Correspondence carry'd on for these 24 Years past with the other Missionaries in all Parts of the Empire, have supply'd me with all the Helps and Informations which I had occasion for. Some of them have even had the Complaisance to translate with great Care certain Books of the learned *Chinese*, which are insert'd in this Work, and furnish Proofs to many of the Facts related by me.

In short, the whole being finish'd, I had resolv'd to send it to *China*, in order to have it examined by some or other of the oldest Missionaries; but while I was thinking of the most proper Means of doing it, I was inform'd that *Pere Contancin*, whom I had chiefly in View, was arriv'd in *France*, having been sent into *Europe* about the Affairs of the Mission.

That able and experienced Father, who had liv'd 30 Years in *China* (10 at *Pe-king*, where he had been Superior of the *Jesuits* House, and the rest of the Time in different Provinces) stay'd more than a Year at *Paris*, during which Time he had leisure to read over this Work, more than once; and examine it with the most critical Attention. By means of his Assistance, in clearing up certain doubtful Points, as well as adding several curious Particulars, I am convinc'd that I advance nothing which is not strictly Fact, and hence it is that I hope to avoid the Censure I have pass'd on others.

As to the Order of disposing the Materials, it is the same with that observ'd in the Proposals, excepting that I have insert'd the compendious History of the *Chinese* Monarchy in the first Tome (*G*); because the previous Knowledge of what relates to the Emperors and the Transactions during their Reigns, is necessary for the more easily understanding the Matters that are handled afterwards.

For the same Reason I begin with a general View of the Empire, containing a summary Account of the Things which are treated more at large in the Body of the Work. This is followed by a short History of certain People, particularly the *Si-fan*: which Nation heretofore form'd a powerful Dominion, till Civil Wars rent it in Pieces, and compell'd them at length to submit to the *Chinese* Emperors to whom they were formidable before.

I ought not to omit the curious Travels of certain Missionaries in *China*, wherein is mark'd down very particularly what daily occurred to their Observation; insomuch that in reading, one seems to accompany them on the Road. These Relations prepare us for the Description that follows of the 15 Provinces which compose the Empire.

This presents to our View a great Number of splendid Cities, celebrated on account of their Situation and Extent; the Multitude of their Inhabitants; the extraordinary Concourse of the *Chinese* drawn thither for sake of Trade; the Beauty of the publick Buildings, and Plenty which reigns therein: there also one beholds the Produce of fertile Lands, (which often yield two Crops in one Year) in Corn, Trees, and remarkable Fruits; Metals of all sorts, Minerals and precious Marble dug from the Bowels of the Mountains; extraordinary Plants, whose Roots are so wholesome, and thrive in no other Climate; numerous Lakes, and Canals, as well as large and deep Rivers, which abound with all Kinds of Fish; a surprizing Multitude of Stupendous Bridges, which are very strong, and not only embellish'd with divers Ornaments of Sculpture, but every Way fitted for the publick Conveniency; in a word, all the Advantages which Art and Nature can contribute, for the Necessaries and Pleasures of Life.

Besides

(F) See the Travels of the *Peres Grueber* and *DuRoiille* from *China* to *India*, thro' *Tiber* and *Lassa*, in *Thevenot's French Collection of Voyages and Travels*.

(G) The Reference is here made to the Original, which consists of four Tomes.

Maps and
Plans

Besides the general Map of all, including *China*, *Chinese Tartary*, and *Tibet* as far as the *Caspian Sea*, there is in this Tome a general Map of *China* itself, and a particular Map of each Province, with several Plans of the Cities, which differ in Figure from those of other Countries.

Annals of the
Emperors

In short, this first Tome concludes with a succinct History of that great and ancient Monarchy: wherein I conform, as I ought, to the Opinion universally received among the *Chinese*, who deduce their Chronology from the Reign of the Emperor *Tau*, and look upon it as indubitable down to the present; as I have remarked in the (I) Advertisement prefixt to that History.

After giving these general Notices of *China*, I enter into a more particular Detail of what concerns that Nation as to their Character, Manners, Customs, Government, Progress in the Sciences, Religion, Morality, &c. which I handle in so many separate Articles, and, I flatter myself, as fully as the Subject required.

Government
of China

I speak first of the Antiquity and Extent of that Monarchy; the Authority of the Emperor, his Expences, Revenues, Household, the Magnificence of his Palace, and his Retinue when he goes abroad; the Form of Government both Civil and Military; the proper Functions of the Mandarins, their Power, and the Honour paid them; the Forces of the Empire, the Fortresses, the Soldiery, their Arms and Artillery; the Policy which is observed, as well in the Cities for maintaining good Order, as in the great Roads for the Safety and Convenience of Travellers.

Character of
the Chinese

Next I treat of the Genius and Character of the *Chinese*, their Air, Physiognomy, Fashions; their Houses, and elegant Furniture thereof; the Punishments inflicted on Criminals, and the Regulations observed in the Prisons where they are confined.

I proceed to shew how Merit, which alone confers Nobility in *China*, may be acquired, and how much it differs from the *European*. As the Grandees are Enemies to Luxury, so far as concerns their Persons, they make the better Figure when they appear abroad: we shall here see what Magnificence the *Chinese* affect in their Journeys, and Feasts; as well as in their publick Works, such as Bridges, Triumphal Arches, Gates, Towers, Walls of their Cities, &c.

Ceremonies

Every Thing is regulated in *China*, even to the most common Duties of Society: which gives me an Occasion to speak of the Ceremonies observed by them in point of Civility; in their Visits, and the Presents they make one another; in their Letters, Feasts, Marriages and Funerals.

Agriculture

With regard to the Commonalty, they are wholly employ'd either about Husbandry, Manufactures, or Trade. This leads me to speak of the Esteem set upon Agriculture, and those who apply themselves to it; of the Skill and Industry of the Mechanics; the incredible Trade carry'd on in the Heart of the Empire; the numerous Lakes and Rivers, which render the Provinces fertile and produce Plenty; the Barks and Vessels of Burden for transporting so many rich Commodities from one Province to another; of the antient Coins, and those current at present in the Empire.

Manufactures

Their principal Trade with Foreigners, especially the *Europeans*, consisting in Varnished Works, Porcelain and Silks; I shew how the Varnish and *China Ware* are made: and give the Translation of an antient *Chinese* Author, who teaches us the Method of managing and rearing the Silk-Worms, so as to encrease and improve the Breed. These Matters are render'd still more intelligible by the Plates, where something of each is represented after the Life.

Language

As the Sciences cultivated in *China* are the only Way to Honours and Employments, and consist chiefly in a thorough Knowledge of their Laws, History and Morality, they deserve a more than ordinary Attention. I introduce this Part, by informing the Reader what sort of Idea he ought to have of the *Chinese* Language, so widely different from all others both dead and living. In order to this, I remark what is the Genius of it, and how the Words, which are all Monosyllables, must be pronounced, annexing a short Sketch of the Grammar of that Tongue: after which I shew how the *Chinese* make their Ink, and different Sorts of Paper; with their Method of printing and binding Books.

Education

I proceed next to give an Account of the Studies peculiar to the *Chinese* Youth, the different Degrees thro' which they pass before they commence Doctor, and the Examinations they must undergo to obtain them. For the Reader's better Information I have inserted an Extract of a *Chinese* Book on that Subject: wherein is shewn, the Method to be observed in teaching Students; the Choice to be made of Masters; the Passages of History necessary to be learned in order to form the Manners; the Examination of those who aspire to different sorts of Degrees; a Specimen of the Discourses made in the Assembly of the Literati; lastly, the Plan of an Academy, or Society of Learned Men.

Literature

These are only, as it were, the Preliminaries naturally leading to the *Chinese* Literature, that is, to the Knowledge of those Books, so antient and highly esteemed among them, call'd *King*: by which Word they understand a sublime and solid Doctrine, grounded on sure Principles. Of these they reckon five, which they consider as Canonical Books of the first Order, and call *U-king*, or *The five Books*, by way of Excellence.

Canonical
Books of the
first Order

I have given the Substance of these 5 Books, viz. (1.) the *I-king*, a Work purely Symbolical. (2.) the *Su-king*, which contains the remarkable Events under the first Emperors and Legislators of the Nation; their Instructions about Government; with their Laws and Regulations touching Manners, whereof those antient Heroes were so many Patterns. From this I

Elogies

(1) We have omitted some Paragraphs that follow this, relating to the Authenticity of the *Chinese* History, in order to supply

the said Advertisement, where the same Subject is handled more expressly.

have given some Extracts. (3.) the *Shi-king*, consisting of Odes or Poems, wherein the Elogies of illustrious Men are recited, and the Laws and Customs of the Empire recorded. Some of these Odes have been selected, and faithfully translated. (4.) the *Chun-tsyu*, which is inferior to the three former, yet is very much esteemed by the Learned: It contains the Annals of the Kingdom of *Lu*, the same at present with the Province of *Shan-tong*. (5.) the *Li-ki*, being a sort of Memorial of the Laws, Ceremonies and Duties of a Civil Life.

From these Books, which are of greatest Antiquity, I pass to the four Classical or Canonical Books of the second Rank, call'd *Tse-shu*: These properly are no more than Expositions and Aphorisms, grounded on those ancient Monuments; and were either written by *Confucius*, or compiled by his Disciples, out of the Maxims and Discourses of that celebrated Philosopher, whom the whole Nation look upon as their Master. First, I give an Abridgment of his Life, and after that an Extract of the most essential Matters, according to the Order of the Chapters or Heads contained in each of his Works; which are, (1.) the *Ta-hyo*, that is, *the Great Science*, or *Science of Adults*; (2.) the *Chong-yong*, or *immutable Medium*, which is that just Mean to be found between the two Extremes wherein Virtue consists; (3.) the *Lan-yu*, that is, *moral and pithy Discourses*; (4.) *Meng-tse*, or, *the Book of the Philosopher Mençius*, which gives the Idea of a perfect Government.

To these four Books I subjoin two others, which are very much esteem'd, and placed by the *Chinese* among their Classical Books: The first has the Title of *Hyan-king*, that is, concerning *Filial Respect*, and contains the Answers made by *Confucius* to his Disciple *Tjeng*; the second is named *Syau-hyo*, which signifies *the Science or School of Children*.

This is properly what is call'd the *Chinese Science*, which comprises the fundamental Principles of their Government, and maintains such good Order in the Empire: This, in effect, is the Science most proper for Man, seeing it has regard directly to his Conduct, and the Means of rendering him perfect according to his State and Condition.

Some, perhaps, may think, that the Government of *China*, which was grounded originally on such Principles, has been gradually weaken'd during a long Series of Years, and under so many different Monarchs: But the *Chinese* themselves inform us, that they have never deviated from those wise Maxims. This will appear from a cursory View of most of the Dynasties, as they stand in a Collection made by the Orders and Direction of the late Emperor *Kang-hi*, whose Reign was so long and glorious.

In this curious Collection we meet with the Discourses and Reflections made by those who were most eminent in the State on account of their Dignity, Experience and Knowledge. Part of these are the Edicts, Declarations and Ordinances of different Emperors, and their Instructions which they sent to the Kings, Tributary Princes and Magistrates; the rest are the Discourses and Remonstrances of the Prime Ministers, and other Persons most famed for Wisdom throughout the Realm, to the Emperor. The Whole of what they say turns principally upon good or bad Government, the Improvement of Agriculture, the Means of comforting the People, and supplying their Necessities, the Art and Difficulty of Reigning; on War, the Advancement of Learning, &c. At the End of most of these Pieces are brief Remarks of the Emperor *Kang-hi*, a Prince skilful in the Art of Reigning, written with a red Pencil, that is, with his own Hand.

The same Matters are handled in two other Books, of which I have given very short Abstracts: The First was compiled under the Dynasty of the *Ming*; the Second is intitled *The illustrious Women*; whereby in like manner it appears that, under different Reigns, the *Chinese Ladies* governed themselves and their Families according to those Maxims.

It appearing from these Evidences, that the fundamental Principles of the Government have been always maintained in *China* by a constant Observance of them, it is no wonder at all that a State of such vast Extent has subsisted for so many Ages, and still subsists in all its Splendor.

From this Detail of the *Chinese* Form of Government, I proceed to consider the Religion of these People; their Morality; the Knowledge they had of other Sciences; their Taste in History, Poetry, and the Drama; and lastly, their Skill in point of Medicine. These are the Matters contained in the third Volume.

With regard to the Religions approved of, or tolerated in *China*, I exhibit, according to the Order of Time, the Doctrines of the different Sects: Here I treat of (1.) the Worship of the ancient *Chinese*, drawn from their classical Books; but without staying to explain what they understand by * *Tyen* and † *Shang-ti* which is the Object of their Worship, I leave the Reader to his own Judgment; (2.) the Sect of *Tau-tse*, whose System I describe; (3.) the Sect of the Idol *Fo*, where I explain what those Idolaters call *internal* and *external* Doctrine; (4.) the Sect of certain modern *Literati*, who have made a sort of Philosophy of their own, by means whereof, adhering not so much to the Text of the ancient Books as the Glosses and Comments of some late Writers, they pretend to solve every Thing according to natural Causes: A Treatise I have inserted in form of Dialogue, wherein one of these modern Philosophers unfolds his System concerning the Origin and State of the World, will shew how much these Smatterers in Learning are mistaken.

The Establishment and Progress of the Christian Religion in this Empire being an Article too interesting to be omitted, I thought myself obliged to give the History of it; wherein, tho' I cou'd not avoid speaking occasionally of the Contests which arose latterly among the

C

Missionaries

* *Tyen*, Heaven, or the Spirit of Heaven.

† *Shang-ti*, Sovereign Being, Supreme Emperor.

Missionaries, yet I handle them very slightly, acting herein the Part of an Historian, and relating simply, and in few Words, what has been said on both Sides.

Moral Philosophy.

Moral Philosophy has been all along the principal Study of the *Chinese*, and it is chiefly by their Abilities therein that they attain to the Honours and Dignities of the Empire; but as, in order to be thoroughly informed what their Notions and Maxims are with regard to the Regulation of Manners, it will be necessary to hear what some of their Sages have written thereon, I have given the Abridgement of two Books of Morality: the one pretty Modern, and much esteem'd in the Country; the other more antient, containing Reflections, Maxims and Examples in point of Behaviour.

The Authors of these two Treatises have done no more than explained the Principles dispersed thro' those antient and venerated Books above mention'd. Altho' that on the one Hand, I grant there are among them found Maxims, useful Reflections, and laudable Instances; yet on the other, I disapprove whatever is vicious or criminal in the Actions which they relate, as well as what is false or out of the way in their Remarks and Maxims. (M)

Mathematics.

The other Sciences have not been wholly neglected by the *Chinese*; but whether they have made any considerable Progress in them, may be judged from the Account I have given. The Reader will at least understand what the Missionary Jesuits have done to assist them in improving some of those Sciences, particularly Astronomy, wherein they were most versed; and in teaching them other Parts of Mathematics which they were ignorant of.

Poetry and History.

For the rest, it can't be deny'd but they have a Taste for Poetry, and especially History: whether we regard the History of their own Nation, which they write faithfully, and without Partiality: or the little Histories they compose not unlike our Romances; which are filled with variety of Incidents contrived to amuse the Fancy, but whose sole End is almost constantly to discourage Vice and recommend Virtue, like those I have inserted, which I believe will afford Pleasure in reading.

I cannot say so much in behalf of their Tragedies, which are formed on Notions very different from ours. However that which I have given, being carefully translated, will shew their Genius, and what they have been able to do this way on their own Bottom, since they never corresponded with any other polite and learned People.

Medicine.

It remains only to speak of the Medicine of the *Chinese*, and their Method of Practice. This I have done by explaining first the general System in use with their Physicians, and afterwards shewing what is singular among them, namely, their Skill in judging of Distempers by feeling the Pulse, and knowing the Use of their Simples for composing their Remedies. To illustrate this the more, I have inserted three of their Works: The first is a Treatise intitled *the Secret of the Pulse*, the Author whereof lived some Ages before *Christ*; The second is a brief Extract of a *Chinese* Herbal; and the third a Collection of Recipes, made use of by their Physicians in the Cure of divers Distempers.

To these I have added another Extract of a Work, whose Author is not at all favourable to the Physicians of his own Nation. He teaches his Countrymen how they may do without the Assistance of Doctors or their Drugs, by means of a Regimen which he prescribes, and had try'd with Success; he pretends to have found out an easy way of prolonging one's Days in perfect Health, and becoming our own Physician. This concludes the three Volumes which treat of *China*: wherein I think I have taken notice of every Thing that is necessary in furnishing a complete Account of that Empire.

Description of Chinese Tartary.

The Fourth and last Volume is wholly taken up with the Description of *Chinese Tartary*, *Korea*, and *Tibet*: Of which vast Countries hitherto we have known little more than the Names, as any one may be convinced, by only casting an Eye on the Maps of our ablest Geographers. But here he shall meet with a particular Account of them, partly from the Geographical and Historical Remarks which I have inserted relating to the different Countries; and partly from the Eight Journals of P. Gerbillon's Travels into *Tartary*, by Order of the Emperor, or in his Retinue. That Father sets down in a very particular Manner whatever occur'd to him from day to day concerning those vast Regions, which extend from *China* as far as the *Russian* Dominions. And I question whether the Readers cou'd have acquir'd a more thorough Knowledge, in case they had performed those long and painful Travels themselves.

Travels of P. Gerbillon.

Altho'

(M) The following Lines, which come in here, being foreign to the Subject, we have thought the Notes the most proper Place for them; if rather such Digressions ought not to have been consider'd as Excrescences, and thrown out.

We are far from intending to introduce the *Chinese* Doctors into *Europe* to give Lectures on Virtue. The Light of the Gospel shines out among us in full Lustre, and exposes clearly to our View what the whole Strength of human Wisdom has been able to give us but a Glimpse of.

Whatever the Sages of *China*, as well as the antient Philosophers, have taught worthy Commendation, it has been owing to the Light of Reason, in following which they have acquired some small Knowledge of Truth and its Principles. Whereas Christians have a perfect Knowledge thereof, inasmuch as they know J. C. who is the Truth itself, the sovereign Reason and subsisting Wisdom of God. All human Wisdom is but Folly, if it does not lead to J. C. his Doctrine is to be found no where but in the Scriptures, which have the Character of the Divinity stamp'd on them; and it is to this heavenly Doctrine, that every Man, who has not a Mind to be led away with vain Reasonings, ought invariably to adhere, as to the pure Fountains of Truth.

The *Chinese* Sages have indeed known some Truths, but neither

they, nor the antient Philosophers, so much cry'd up, have known them all: in the Christian Law alone consummate Righteousness is to be found; nor can any one arrive at true Wisdom but by embracing its Rules, and putting them in Practice.

If the *Chinese* Philosophers have sometimes spoken concerning Humility, the very Name of which was unknown to the *Pagan* Sages, yet it appears that they understood nothing more thereby than that outward Respect which we ought to have for one another, consisting in a certain Composure of the Countenance, peculiar Postures of the Body, such as falling on the Knees, or prostrate on the Ground; certain Marks of Submission and Obedience paid to Parents, Magistrates, and all Persons in Authority; but that internal Humility, which teaches us to humble our Hearts before God, to acknowledge our Faults, not to be presumptuous, nor attribute any Thing to our own Strength; all this is only to be learned, as St. *Augustine* observes, from the Doctrine and Actions of J. C. when he tells us *learn from me, for I am meek and humble of Heart*: when being infinitely great, he made himself little to come to us; when having no Sin of his own to blot out or expiate, he submitted even to Death, and the Cross. He only was capable of teaching and making us love a Virtue so sublime and little known, which is however the Basis of all other Virtues.

Altho' by my Proposals I am not obliged to meddle with that Part of *Tartary* which belongs to the *Russians*, yet I have inserted both the Map and Relation of the new Discoveries made by Captain *Beerings* in his Travels from *Tobolsk* as far as (N) *Kamchatka*, where he was sent by the late *Czar*, to examine if there was a Passage thence into North *America*.

Of Captain Beerings thro' Siberia.

I conclude the whole with a Table of part of the Latitudes which were observed, and the Longitudes resulting from the Geometrical Operations, which the Missionaries made use of in order to draw the Maps inserted in this Work. These Longitudes are reckon'd from the Meridian of *Pe-king*, being unwilling to reduce them to that of *Paris* for fear of committing some Mistake. (O) The Latitudes were observed with excellent Instruments and great Care. They have not inserted in this Catalogue, all that were determin'd, because several of the Observations were made in Places, which either wanted a Name, or were too inconsiderable to be inserted in the Maps. (P)

Table of Latitude and Longitude.

As these Maps make a considerable and very interesting Part of our Design, it may doubtless be expected, that I should give an Account of the Motives which induced the Emperor *Kang-hi* to have them drawn, and of the Method taken by the Missionaries in executing the Work.

An Account of the Maps.

That great Monarch having perceived the Accuracy of the European Methods from a Map of the Country about *Pe-king*, which the Missionaries had made by his Order, resolv'd to have Maps of all the Provinces of his Empire, as well as of *Tartary* so far as is under his Subjection, drawn after the same Manner. In recommending this Work to the Missionaries, he spoke to them in the most obliging Terms, protesting publicly that he look'd on this great Undertaking as a Matter of vast Importance to the Empire, and that he wou'd spare no cost to have it completed.

The first Occasion of them.

In effect, a few Days after he commanded the great Tribunals to nominate Mandarins to superintend the Measurements, to the end that they might give the exact Names of the most remarkable Places they were to pass thro'; and cause the Magistrates of Towns to attend on the Bounds of their respective Districts with their People, and afford such other Assistance as shou'd be deem'd requisite. All this was performed with surprizing Punctuality; which is a manifest Proof of the admirable Order and Policy observ'd through that vast Empire.

The Work was begun the 4th of July 1708, according to our Way of reckoning, or according to the Chinese Kalendar, on the 16th of the 4th Month of the 47th Year of *Kang-hi*. The *Peres Bouvet*, *Regis* and *Jartoux*, undertook to determine the exact Situation of the famous Wall that separates *China* from *Tartary*; which affording a great Number of remarkable Points, by means of the Gates that give Entrance into the Empire, and so many fortify'd Towns with which it is as it were flank'd, might serve to regulate the Longitudes of the Northern Provinces whereof it is the boundary, and consequently of all those that are contiguous to them.

R. P. Bouvet, Regis and Jartoux begin with surveying the Great Wall.

P. Bouvet falling sick after 2 Months application, *P. P. Regis* and *Jartoux* continued the Work, and did not return to *Pe-king* till the January 10, 1709.

The Map which they brought home with them, and was above 15 Foot long, exhibited not only all the windings of this Wall, which sometimes mounts to the tops of Mountains, and sometimes descends into the lowest Vallies, according to the Disposition of the Land, but also all the Streights of the Mountains, and Gates great and small, to the Number of about 300; all the Ports and Military Places, even those which, being built at a certain Distance from the Wall, seem to have been erected purely to support the others that are near them. In short, it exhibits the Positions of all the neighbouring Places, on both sides the Wall, as well as the Passage in and out of the most inconsiderable Rivers.

Map of it 15 Foot long.

The Emperor who was much pleas'd with this Map, no longer doubting the Success of the Undertaking, became more earnest than ever to have it executed in the best Manner.

The 8th of May 1709, the *Peres Regis*, *Jartoux*, and *Fridelli* a German, whom the Emperor had join'd with them, set out from *Pe-king* to begin the Geography of Eastern *Tartary*, which is properly the Country of the *Manchews* who at present have the Dominion in *China*.

Map of Eastern Tartary and Lyau-tong made by P. P. Regis Jartoux and Fridelli.

This was a difficult Task, because that Country having been as it were abandoned for many Years, it seem'd scarce possible to find the necessary Supplies of Men, Horses and Provisions, for a Work that was to continue for several Months. But as nothing escap'd the Emperor's foresight, he gave so good Orders to the *Manchew Mandarins* who govern the Cities, whereon those uninhabited Countries depend, and those Orders were so punctually executed, that the Work was never retarded. In advancing towards those Parts they determin'd the Situations of the principal Places of the Province of *Lyau-tong* or *Yuan-tong*, bounded on the South by the Great Wall, which having been survey'd the Year before serv'd as a Basis to the Work. In short the Map made this Year compriz'd the Province of *Lyau-tong*, the antient Country of the *Manchews*, the northern Bounds of *Korea* separated from it by the (2) *Tumen* River, the Territories of the *Tartars* call'd *Tu-pi Ta-se*, the Habitations of the *Ke-cheng Ta-se*, which extend to the Mouth of the greatest River in *Tartary*, named by the *Tartars*, *Saghalian Ula*, and by the Chinese

(N) Orig. *Kamtschatka* for *Kamtschatka*, which is the German Orthography.

(O) For our Parts we see no Inconveniency in reckoning Longitude from *Paris* more than *Pe-king*, but think it best to compute from both Places.

(P) The Author seems to be mistaken here. An Observation of the Latitude at any Place wou'd help to give Au-

thority to that Part of the Map where it was situated, tho' the Name were unknown. An Observation wou'd even intitle a Village to a Place in a Map before a City which wanted that Advantage, and render it considerable in Geography, however abject it might be in itself.

(2) In the Orig. *Tumen Oula*, but as *Oula* or *Ula* signifies a River, I thought fit to omit it, to prevent the Tautology.

Chinese, He-long-kyang; in a word, all the Districts of the *Mongol* Princes, whom the *Chinese* call *Tsau Ta-se*, from the 45th Degree of Latitude to the 40th by which they returned.

This Work was very agreeable to the Emperor, as well as to the *Manchews* born at *Pe-king*, who there beheld their antient Country, and were able to learn more from it in a quarter of an Hour than by discoursing with ever so many Travellers.

Map of Pe-
che-li, made
by the same
Fathers.

These three Fathers were scarce arrived at *Pe-king* when they had Orders to begin upon the Map of the Province of *Pe-che-li*, which is that of the Court. They set out the 10th of Dec. the same Year, and did not finish it till the 20th of June 1710. The Province is large, and contains a great number of Cities, whose Positions were not to be neglected, otherwise the mutual Distances wou'd have been greater or lesser than they ought, or the Bearings of the Towns already mark'd down wou'd have disagreed with the Observations.

This Map was the more acceptable, as the Province it described was well known. The Emperor took the Pains to examine it himself, and seeing the Places justly exhibited which he had often passed thro', and caused to be measured by the *Manchews*, (whose Business it is to survey the Roads when he goes into the Country) he signify'd to the Missionaries that he wou'd answer for the Accuracy of it; and that if the rest proved as good, their Performance wou'd satisfy him, and be out of the reach of Criticism.

Map of the
Remainder
Eastern Tar-
tary by the
same Jesuits.

The 22d of July 1710, the Emperor ordered the same Missionaries to go towards the *Saghalian Ula*; he had caused a Town to be built on the South side of that great River, call'd *Saghalian Ula Hotun* (R), where there are *Manchews* under a Lieutenant General (named in their Language *Maireychain*, to guard the Frontiers against the *Russians*; who descending the River from *Nipchû*, a City a little to the West, might in a few Days enter the Territories of the Empire.

To support this Lieutenant General, the Emperor has built two other Cities farther up in his Dominions towards the South. They are but a few Days Journey asunder, with Villages all along the Road, where are Relays of Post-Horses. The nearest to the *Saghalian Ula Hotun*, is *Merghen*, where is also a Lieutenant General with Troops; the other, named *Tsitfekar*, (S) is the Seat of the General Commander of all the Country.

Returning from *Tsitfekar*, which is in the Latitude of 47 Degrees 24 Minutes and 30 Seconds, they had an Opportunity of measuring several Degrees successively from North to South; for the Country consists wholly of Plains which extend beyond the reach of Sight, without either Houses, Trees, or any considerable Rivers. The usual Drink of the *Mongols* in those Parts, is Water drawn out of Wells, dug here and there, to which they remove their Tents and Flocks, according to the Season and the Plenty or Scarcity of Pasture.

This Map was finish'd the 14th of December, and tho' it was empty enough, yet the Emperor was pleas'd with it, as giving him a View of his new Settlements which he judg'd so necessary to the publick Tranquillity.

Map of Shan-
tung by Regis
and Cordoso.

In the Year 1711 the Geographers, in order to expedite the Work, were divided into two Companies. The *Peres Regis* and *Cordoso*, a *Portuguese* newly landed in *China*, undertook the Map of the Province of *Shan-tong*, contiguous to that of *Pe-che-li*. The *Peres Jartoux* and *Fridelli*, accompanied by *Pere Bonjour*, an *Austin* Friar, (already known in *Europe* on account of his Learning) who arriv'd about 3 Months before in *China*, went beyond the Great Wall as far as *Hami* (T), the Capital City of a Country of the same Name, and measured almost all the Territories of the *Tartars* call'd *Kalka Ta-se*. They returned by the publick Road thro' the Provinces of *Shen-si* and *Shan-si*, entering *China* by the Gate of the Great Wall, which is named *Hya-yu-quan*, from the Fort that defends it, and is distant from *Hami* not above Ninety Leagues whereof Twenty go to a Degree: these Missionaries did not arrive at *Pe-king* before January 1712.

Maps of Shan-
si and Shen-si
by De Tartre
and Cordoso.

The Emperor was extremely pleas'd with this Map, and that of *Shan-tong* made a little before, and having sent to know if more of their Society were not to be found in the Provinces, who were capable of engaging in the same Work, four others were propos'd and approved of. *Pere Cordoso* went to join *Pere de Tartre*, who remain'd in *Shan-si*, with Orders to make the Map of that Province and *Shen-si* adjoining to it: As soon as they had finish'd these 2 Maps, which were each 10 Feet square, they returned to *Pe-king*.

The *Mandarin* who presented these Maps to the Emperor, having inform'd his Majesty, that if he required any Thing to be explain'd, *Pere de Tartre* was in waiting to obey his Commands,

(R) The *Chinese* H in *Hotun*, *Hami*, *Hya-yu-quan*, &c. is a strong Asperate sounding like a double Hb, or rather is a Sound partaking both of the K and H; hence we find the same Words written sometimes with K, sometimes with H. The best Way wou'd be to make use of both Letters together, or Kb, as Mr D'Anville has done in many Names; but 'tis often difficult to know when that Character is to be used, the H being sometimes confounded with the K in Words which we know ought to be written with a K, as we have observed in our Preface. *Pere Soucier* by Comparison of Words shews that *Pere Gaubil* expresses the *Chinese* H in foreign Names by G. But he mistakes in supposing that he expresses the same Letter by an O in *Oloffe*, [O-lo-se] *Russe* or *Russian*, supposing the O to be prefixed like the Particle *He* in Hebrew Words. But doubtless the Reason is because the *Chinese* take the Name from the *Tartars*, who call the *Russians* *Urûs* or *Orûs*, as well as the *Turks*, *Arabs*, and all the other oriental Nations.

See *Pere Soucier*, Observations Mathematiques &c. 4°. 1729 Vol. I. Page 168.

(S) In the French in this Place is written *Tsitfekar*. In the Table of Longitudes at the End of the 4th Volume *Tchifkar*, and in the Jesuits Maps *Tsitfekar*, which last Pronunciation I have followed. On this Occasion I must observe that *Pere du Halde* has observed no Uniformity, in expressing the Sound common among the *Chinese* and *Tartars*, and which is designated by the *Portuguese*

and *Spaniards*, who also have it, by a ç or c with a Plica, call'd by them *Cedilla*. For we find it express'd no less than 4 different Ways, sometimes by ç as in *çeslu*, by a single ç in *çesle*, by ts as in *tseng*, and by te in the Name in Question; to which *Pere du Halde*, for what Reason I know not, has added a 5th Character, viz Tç, as in the same Word. So little Uniformity is observed on this Head, that we meet with the *Cedilla* written 3 different Ways in the same Word, viz *Tçevang*, *Shévang*, and *Sevang*; it partakes some what of our ç, and is founded like an s with a t before it, whistling or straining it between the Teeth: I have distinguish'd this Sort of Sound by ts, tho' perhaps a single s might do as well. It is difficult for those Nations who do not use this Sound to express it in their Characters. Hence *Brand* in his Account of *Isbrand Ides* Travels from *Moscow* to *China*, writes *Sutegar*; *Isbrand Ides* himself, *Xixigar*; and Mr *Kyriellow* in his late Map of the *Russian* Empire, *Tschitubigar*; which two last Words according to the English Orthography are *Chibigar*.

(T) *Hami* is the City, which in some of our Books and Maps is written *Camal*, in others *Chamil* or *Khamil*; so *Hya-yu-quan* is written *Kia-yu-kan* not only by *Pere Gaubil*, but often by *Pere du Halde* himself, for the Reason before assign'd in Note R.

mands, the Emperor sent for him in, to point out some Places he had himself observ'd in these Provinces: Which done, that Prince said several times *I-tyen-pu-tso*, He is right in every Thing.

There happened one Thing pretty remarkable in this Audience: The Emperor alledged that the Course of a River was wrong in another Map, which had relation to the Maps of *Shan-si* and *Shen-si*: Pere De Tartre, sensible of his Majesty's Mistake, maintained the Truth (with all due Respect,) in so clear a Manner, that the Monarch came into his Opinion; *Tso lyau*, says he, *I am mistaken*. A great Concession in an Emperor of *China*!

The Peres De Mailla and Henderer were ordered to assist Pere Regis in the Province of *Honan*, after which they all joined in making the Maps of *Kyang-nan*, *Che-kyang*, and *Fo-kyen*; those of the Province of *Kyang-si*, *Quang-tong* and *Quang-si*, fell to the Share of the Peres De Tartre and Cordoso; and those of *Se-chwen* and *Tun-nan* to P. Fridelli with P. Bonjour, who dyed in this last Province on the Frontiers of *Ava* and *Pegu* the 25th of December 1714.

The 24th of March following Pere Regis was sent into *Tun-nan* to finish the Map of it, Pere Fridelli having fallen sick there. By the time he had finished his Work that Missionary recovered, and both together set about the Maps of *Quay-chew* and *Hu-quang*.

After their return to *Pe-king* January 1. 1717, nothing remained to be done, but out of the particular Maps of the Provinces to make a general one; and that was far advanc'd by P. Jartoux, who was detain'd at *Pe-king* by his Indisposition, so that it was finished and presented to the Emperor in the year 1718. That the Reader may be more fully apprized in how particular and accurate a Manner this Work was conducted, I shall insert the Account sent by Pere Regis in the Name of the Missionaries concerned with him in the Execution of it.

I can assure you, says he, that we have omitted nothing requisite for rendering our Work perfect. We have ourselves visited all the Places, even those of least Consideration, throughout the Provinces; examined the Maps and Histories of each City preserved in their Tribunals; made Enquiries of the Mandarins and their Officers, as well as the Principal Inhabitants, whose Territories we pass'd thro'; in short, by measuring as we advanc'd, we still had Measures ready to serve the Triangles, form'd by such Points as were to be fix'd. For after mature Deliberation we thought it best to use the Method of Triangles, all others appearing to us not only too tedious, considering the vast Extent of the Countries of which the Emperor wanted the Map, but scarcely practicable on account of the Towns being so near one another; since it is certain that the least Error, occasioned by the Pendulum going wrong, or the Immersion of one of *Jupiter's* Satellites not being accurately observed, wou'd cause a considerable Error in the Longitude: For Instance, the Mistake of a Minute in Time wou'd produce an Error of 15 Minutes in Longitude, which are equivalent to four or five Leagues, according to the Difference of the Parallels: So that it might happen, that according to the Observation, two Towns wou'd be made contiguous, at the same time that there wou'd be really some Distance, tho' not much, between them.

Method observed in making the Maps.

Method of Triangles excellent.

This Inconveniency is not to be fear'd in the Method of Triangles: For how is it possible to err four Leagues in the Distance between two Places no farther asunder, when by a Measure that always follows us, and Semi-Circles accurately divided, we fix divers Points between the two Terms, which joined together make as it were a Chain of Triangles? On the other hand nothing is so difficult as to avoid a small Error in Time; the best Pendulums are put out of order by Travelling, and to prevent erring, even in a single Minute, the Observations must be repeated several Days; a Task which wou'd be extremely fatiguing.

The Observations of the Satellites require, not only more Time and Accuracy, but also Telescopes of the same Size, and, if I may so speak, the same Eyes in the Observer and his Correspondent; for, if the one sees them ever so little sooner than the other, some Error will inevitably happen, which must not be suffered in determining small Distances: And if Observations of a Satellite, made in the same Place, by the same Person, differ so in Time as to cause a small Variation in the Longitudes, and oblige us to take a middle Difference among them, (supposing the Difference to become insensible by the Greatness of the Distance) the Results will be still more uncertain when there are several Observers, who have neither the same Instruments nor Addrefs; so that the Difference, arising between the Observations, renders the Position of Places lying near one another doubtful, nor can it be fixt but by the Rules of Geometry; which shews the necessity of having recourse to the Method of Triangles at last.

This Method, when continued without Interruption, has one farther Advantage, as it gives not only the Longitude but also the Latitude of the Towns to be inserted; which, being afterwards examined by the Meridian Altitudes of the Sun or Polar Stars, serves to correct the preceding Operations. This Course we took as often as we were able, and commonly found no sensible Difference between the Observation of the Latitude and the Determination by Triangles. If sometimes we discovered Variations, we did not think ourselves thereby obliged to lay aside this Method, since we find as many in the Observations of the Polar Altitudes, made by the best Astronomers in the same Place. Altho' the Theory, whereon such Observations are grounded, is certain, nevertheless the Practice depends on so many little Circumstances, which must all be attended to in order to obtain perfect Accuracy, that the Operations cannot be always exact, but must vary something more or less. However these little Defects always appear, and may be often corrected in large Works, by connecting the Points fixt by Trigonometry with those whose Position is under Examination.

Another Method, which we judged ought to be employed for greater Precision, was to return to the same Point, already determined, by different Ways, from a considerable Distance, working according to Rules. For if by the last Essay you find the same Situation, the Exactness of the preceding Operations will be proved in some measure to a Demonstration. When

- Care for preventing Mistakes. ' in measuring we cou'd not return to the same Point, our Method was, as we pass'd near the great Towns already marked down, or other fit Places, to look out for the remarkable Towers, or Mountains that commanded them; and from time to time we measured, to see if the Distance resulting from the Operations (when corrected) agreed with the actual Measure.
- Observations of the Longitude for verifying the Work. ' All these Precautions, and many more, too tedious to enumerate, appeared to us necessary when executing a Work, in a Manner worthy the Trust reposed in us by a wise Prince, who judg'd it of the greatest Importance to his State. Moreover the Hopes of meriting his Protection, which was necessary to favour the Progress of Christianity in his Empire, supported us amidst those Dangers and Crosses that are unavoidable by those who have to do with such a Variety of Tempers, and are engag'd in so laborious an Undertaking: Nay, we were willing, for our own Satisfaction, to have repair'd again both to the Eastern and Western Frontiers, as well as to some Places within the Kingdom, situated at convenient Distances, there to examine the Longitudes by repeated Observations of Eclipses; but as the Work was finished, and the Emperor appeared satisfy'd with it, we did not think it proper to engage him in a new and not altogether necessary Affair.
- Not wholly neglected. ' We therefore contented ourselves with Observations of the Moon and Satellites of *Jupiter* made before our Time in several Cities by Members of our Society, tho' we rejected a few because they did not agree with our Measures, on account of some small Error as to Time in the Observation, which but too often happens to the most experienced. Not but that we ourselves observed some Eclipses of the Moon (X) and found no other Difference in our Observations than is usual in such Cases; where we had any doubt we chose the mean Difference.
- Work compared with those of other Geographers. ' Thus having first made use of the Method of Triangles for determining the Distances between the several Cities, and afterwards compared it with that of Eclipses observed in Places remote from *Pe-king*, we flatter ourselves that we have followed the surest Course, and even the only one practicable, in prosecuting the greatest Geographical Work that ever was performed according to the Rules of Art.
- More accurate than the Maps of Europe. ' Those who have published Maps of *Europe*, or any particular Kingdom thereof, have seldom taken the pains themselves to examine the Situation of Places on the Spot. They are content either with such Observations as they can pick up, made by Persons of very unequal Abilities; or with collecting the itinerary Distances, which are scarce ever alike in different Provinces; with procuring the Relations of Travellers, who commonly give the Distances from Report; and with ranging their Materials, partly according to some of those Observations, and partly by Conjecture.
- Defects of Ptolemy's Geography. ' Thus we need not wonder, if *Ptolemy* himself, the Restorer (Y) of Astronomy and Geography, has committed considerable Faults; not only in speaking of *China*, whose Capital he places in three Degrees of South Latitude, but with respect to *Africa* and *Europe*, both which the *Alexandrians* were so well acquainted with. Not that he neglected to consult the Astronomical Observations of those who preceded him; for he cites and follows them, so far as to maintain, (on the Authority of the celebrated *Pytheas* of *Marseilles*) what passed then for a Falsehood, viz. that in the Isle of *Thulé*, to which he sailed from the Pillars of *Hercules*, the Sun at the Summer Solstice rose a little after it set. *Ptolemy* had also the most esteem'd Itineraries, such as that attributed to the Emperor *Antoninus*, (in whose Reign he lived) supposed to be a Compend of the Distances measured by the Senate throughout the *Roman* Empire: Whereof the general Description, under the Name of *The whole World*, form'd from *Agrippa's* Memoirs, was by *Augustus* expos'd in a magnificent Portico at *Rome*: Nor is it to be doubted but *Ptolemy* was acquainted with the Descriptions *Alexander* caused to be made of his Conquests. However it is certain that those Materials were insufficient for making a Geography of the whole Earth, or even a considerable Part of either *Europe* or *Asia*, with any tolerable Accuracy. Besides, how among the antient Observations shall we distinguish the good from the bad? which yet is necessary in order to have exact Maps; for an Error in Astronomical Observations, which disappears on account of the great Distance of the Heavens, shews itself at first sight in a Map, by means of the Relation it has to the neighbouring Places known to every Traveller. How could *Ptolemy* know the just Proportion of Distances, measured several Ages before, under quite different Governments, among barbarous as well as civilized Nations, and in some sort determined by the simple Estimation of a Ship's Course, which, tho' made by able Men, (such as *Polybius*, *Nearchus* and *Quieseritus*; the first sent by *Scipio* to the Coasts of *Africa* and *Spain*, the others by *Alexander* to discover the *Persian Gulf*) must have their Defects too; and supposing they had not, there still remains a Difficulty, almost insuperable, which is, to determine precisely how much of the Roads is to be retrenched, in order to fix the exact Distance in a strait Line from one City to another. Altho' *Ptolemy*, for instance, had a much more particular Account of the Distances from the *Caspian Sea* to the *Indian Ocean*, as measured by *Diogenes* and *Beto*, at the Command of *Alexander*, than we find in the sixth Book of *Pliny*; yet if he never was on the Spot, to mark all the Windings and different Bearings of the Road, occasioned by the various Disposition of the Lands, it was not possible for him to determine, exactly, either the Position of Towns, or Passages of Rivers, much less the intire Course, merely by a few Points only; nor to ascertain the Dimensions of a Country, by means of one or two Geographical Lines, without having the intermediate Points, which are absolutely necessary, to connect the one with the other.
- Observations not distinguish'd in his Tables.
- Uncertainty of ancient Measures.
- Difficulty of allowing for winding of Roads.

But

* Agathem.
Geogr. l. i.
c. 6.

(X) These Observations may be seen in *Pere Soucier's* *Observat. Mathemat.* p. 35, & seqq.
(Y) *Ptolemy* was the Improver, not the Restorer (as is commonly

thought) of those Sciences, which were cultivated down to his Time; one of the Ancients themselves tells us, that in Matters of Geography, he followed those who went before him, inventing nothing of his own.

But as the Knowledge of these Things does not depend on the Force of Genius, and that which must be done to acquire it far surpasses the Strength of a single Person, *Ptolemy* had no other Way but to have recourse to the Memoirs of Travellers, to combine their Remarks with the Observations, and in a multitude of Instances make use of Conjectures. If notwithstanding these Disadvantages he has composed a useful Work, (the Description which he has given of the World being very ample, and the first that exhibited Places according to Latitude and Longitude), yet it is certain that the greater Part of it is grounded not on Observations made with a View to rectify Geography, but on the Relations of Travellers of very different Talents, and the Reports of some Historians, who have mentioned the Distances only occasionally, and always according to the vulgar Computation.

The Case is otherwise in the Work we offer the Publick; for vast as it is, we judged we ought not to confine ourselves either to the Maps of the *Chinese* Governors, or to the Distances measured almost throughout the whole Empire, and particularly in *Tartary*, with great Labour and Exactness, by the *Manchews*; nor yet to the printed Memoirs, whereof we had divers: But we resolved to begin the whole anew, employing those Materials no farther than as Guides, in the Roads we were to take, and in the Choice of Places for Observation; it being our Intention to reduce all that we did, to the same Measure, as well as Design.

The Measure, which we constantly made use of, had been established some Years before by the Emperor; I mean the *Chinese* Foot employ'd in the Buildings and Works of the Palace, which differs from the other *Chinese* Feet, and even from that formerly used in the Tribunal of the Mathematicks: By this Foot *Pere Thomas* found a Degree to be 200 Li's, or *Chinese* Furlongs, each consisting of 180 *Chinese* Fathoms of 10 Feet. As then the 20th Part of a Degree, according to the Experiment of the Academy [at *Paris*], contains 2853 Toises, each containing 6 Feet of the *Châtelet*, it is just equal to 1800 *Chinese* Toises, or 10 Li's; and consequently one Degree comprizing 20 of our great Leagues, call'd also Marine Leagues, contains 200 Li's, or *Chinese* Furlongs, computing by the Foot above mentioned.

This Proportion furnishes a very easy Method of accommodating a Scale of *French* Measures to that of our *Chinese* Maps, since allowing 10 Li's or *Chinese* Furlongs to one of our Great Leagues, the same Part of a Degree gives the same Number of Leagues in both, as well in the Meridians as Parallels; for tho' these latter diminish according to the ordinary Method, they nevertheless do not, according to the Measure of Great Circles, which are supposed equal by Geographers and Geometricians.

However I cannot forbear taking notice here, that this Doctrine is not altogether certain: Since in our Return from *Tsitikar* in 1719, when we measured six Degrees from North to South in those Plains, mentioned before, between the 47th and 41st Parallels of Latitude, the *Peres Regis* and *Jartoux* always found a Difference between the Degrees, whatever Care they took in measuring; altho' they often examined the Cords divided into Feet, and corrected the Quadrant with which they took the Altitudes, they found an Error somewhat less than thirty Seconds. 'Tis true, that Instrument was no more than two Feet Radius, and tho' divided exactly, gave the Altitude somewhat less, than perhaps one of Nine or Ten Feet would have done, such as Mr *Picard* made use of in finding the Content of a Degree: 'Tis true also, that the Cords, 10 of which made a *Chinese* Li, shrunk and extended according to the different Changes of the Air. But on the other hand considering that the Instruments being always the same, the Quantity of the Error ought to be the same; that the Weather was then dry, and without any considerable Variation; that they took care often to measure the Cord with a Toise or Fathom, made for the Purpose; and that in short such imperceptible Defects could not cause a Difference of 258 *Chinese* Feet, which they found in comparing the 47th Degree with the rest; hence those Missionaries were almost persuaded that there must be some Inequality in the Degrees themselves, altho' it had not been perceived by our Geometricians, but only conjectured by some who supposed the Earth to be like a *Spheroid*.

But as it would be unadvised to change the Figure of the Earth without unexceptionable Observations, continued under divers Parallels, we determined to make the Degrees equal in all the Great Circles, and all the Parts of the Meridians; conforming ourselves to the generally received Opinion of the Rotundity of the Earth, and referring the Solution of this new Problem to others, who have the Convenience and Leisure which we have not.

In the Course of our Operations, we did not forget to observe the Variations of the Magnetic Needle, both in *Tartary* and *China*: But seeing the Declination changes in the same Place in a certain Number of Years, we did not think fit to insert them in this Piece of Geography. It suffices that they served to determine exactly the Bearings of the Roads we took, and to convince us (by Observations made under the same Meridian, in two different Places, both neighbouring and remote) that Geography can draw no Advantage from thence, with regard to the Longitude, as hath been hoped by several eminent Authors; who, while they were taking pains to collect the Declinations mentioned by Mariners and Travellers, never consider'd that they might have vary'd in the Time they were forming their System of Magnetic Meridians, one of which ought to pass thro' *Kanton*; for we have found, on both sides of that Meridian, such a Difference in the Declinations, that there is no Possibility of reducing them to any of the Hypotheses hitherto published, much less to a constant Rule; seeing the Declinations, observed by us in those Parts, will in all likelihood be no more the same after a certain Period of Years, unless we suppose that the Law, by which the Variations of the Needle in the same Place are regulated, is neither made for *Tartary* nor *China*.

By the foregoing Account of this Performance, the Reader may judge of its Merit, as well as of the Application and Fatigue of the Missionaries in drawing such accurate Maps of all the Provinces

Maps of Tibet
how made.

Map of
Korea.

General Maps
by Mr D'An-
ville.

General Map
of the whole.

Orthography
of Chinese
Names.

Inconveni-
ence of using
a foreign one.

Provinces of *China* and *Chinese Tartary*; a Work, which the Emperor longed to see executed. With regard to *Tibet*, if it has not been surveyed in the same Manner by the Jesuits, at least the Map has been delineated from divers very exact Journals, as well as itinerary Distances measured by *Tartars*, who understood the Mathematics and were sent expressly into *Tibet* by the Emperor, after having received the necessary Instructions from the Missionaries.

The Map of *Korea* was taken from one which is in the Palace of the King of that Country, and examined on the Frontiers by the Missionaries, employ'd to make the Map of *Tartary*, as we have explained in the Observations on the Map itself.

As all the Maps are drawn according to the same Scale and general Projection, they seem to be Parts of the same Map divided into so many Portions, and in effect, by joining them, one Map might be made out of the whole. They were presented to the King just as the Missionaries sent them me from *China*: His Majesty, who knew their Value, was pleased to accept of, and give them a Place in his private Library at *Versailles*.

To adjust these Maps, and prepare them for Engraving, I pitch'd on Mr D'Anville, Geographer in Ordinary to the King; who, having performed the Work with uncommon Elegance and Accuracy, afterwards drew general Maps from the Particulars, of Dimensions sufficient to shew with what Minuteness and Precision the latter were executed, (A) supposing they had not been inserted in the Work. In drawing his general Map of [*Chinese*] *Tartary*, he had recourse to the particular Memoirs of Pere Gerbillon; and to fill it up has added the whole Island of *Japan*, and some other Lands to the North of it, which are exhibited after a peculiar Manner (B). As to the Map of *Tibet*, he has regulated that Part bordering on *Indostan* by such Informations, with respect to this last Country, as may be rely'd on.

In short, the Map placed in the Front of this Work, besides the Countries comprized in the other general Maps, includes all the rest of *Tartary* as far as the *Caspian* Sea. With respect to these Parts, the Missionaries had gather'd several Materials, but were not in a Condition to complete them; however they communicated them in order to be made use of, by comparing and connecting them with those which might be collected from other Quarters: This Mr D'Anville has done with a great deal of Care, whereof a particular Account is given in the Geographical and Historical Observations on *Tibet*.

I shall say nothing concerning the Impression of this Work, nor the Care I have taken to embellish it. It is obvious enough that no Cost has been spared to give it all the Beauty and Ornament it was capable of, in respect to Paper, Print and Engraving. The Frontispieces, Cuts, and Compartments of the Maps, were done from the Draughts, and under the Direction of Mr Humblot, who has to perfection imitated the Taste of the *Chinese* Pictures; part of which were communicated to me by Mr du Velaer, who lived several Years at *Kanton*, as Director of the *India* Company; to whom I am farther obliged for some very curious Remarks concerning the Isle of *Hay-nan*, where he made some Stay.

Whatever Care I took to write the *Chinese* Words as they ought to be pronounced, it was difficult to avoid some Faults in the Course of the Impression: But they may be easily corrected by means of the Alphabetical Tables, at the End of the third and fourth Volumes, where they are written truly, and explained for the Reader's farther Help, who may not always remember the Meaning of the Words, which occur often, and are only explained the first time.

As strange as the *Chinese* Names may appear at first, it must not be imagined that they are as difficult to pronounce in our Tongue, as some have fancy'd: On the contrary, Experience shews, that they may be learned much sooner than the Names used by several Nations of *Europe*, and, for any thing that appears, may be pronounced with more Ease. What has contributed to make them difficult to us, is the *Portuguese* Orthography, which has been followed for a while by several of our *French* Missionaries, tho', to give the *Chinese* Pronunciation, they ought to be written after a quite different Manner. The *Portuguese* X is express'd by our Ch (C): For instance, the City which we call *Chan-tong*, as the *Chinese* pronounce it, they write *Xan-tum*; in like Sort the Letter m is the same with them as the Letters ng with us; for *Pe-king*, which is the *Chinese* Pronunciation [in our Characters] they write *Pe-kim*. The Reader therefore must remember that the Names ending with m, which sometimes occur in the Maps, ought to be pronounced as if they ended in ng; like *sang*, *rang*, and without laying any Stress on the g, which is added only to distinguish such Words from those that end with a Single n, and are to be pronounced, as if the n, was followed by a mute e; As in *non* in *Latin*, and *propane* in *French*.

The NAMES of the MISSIONARIES from whose Memoirs, either printed or Manuscript, the following Accounts are taken.

Pere Martin Martini.
Pere Ferdinand Verbiest.
Pere Philip de Compt.
Pere Gabriel Magalhães.
Pere Jean de Fontaney.
Pere Joachim Bouvet.
Pere Jean François Gerbillon.
Pere François Noël.

Pere Lou le Comte.
Pere Claude Visselou present
Bishop of Claudiopolis.
Pere Jean-Baptiste Régis.
Pere Joseph-Henry de Premare.
Pere François-Xavier Destruc-
colles.
Pere Julien-Placide Hervieu.

Pere Cyr Cantacin.
Pere Pierre de Genville.
Pere Jean-Armand Nyl.
Pere Dominique Parrenin.
Pere Pierre Jartoux.
Pere Vincent de Tartre.
Pere Joseph-Anst-Marie de
Maille.

Pere Jean-Alexis Gallet.
Pere Claude Jacquemin.
Pere Louis Perquet.
Pere Emeric de Charvagnac.
Pere Antoine Gaudil.
Pere Jean-Baptiste Jacquet.

(A) Mr D'Anville's general Maps, tho' excessively crowded, do not take in all the Places inserted in the Jesuits Maps.

(B) The Manner indeed is peculiar, but the Representation is very crude, and different from that given in Mr Kyrillow's late Map of the *Russian* Empire, where *Tsibo* and the other Lands to the

North of *Japan*, seem to be exhibited pretty agreeable to the Truth. (C) The *French* Ch has the Sound of the *English* Sh, consequently what they write *Chan-tong*, must be written by us *Shan-tong*.

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To the Honourable
Edward Vernon Esq.,
Vice-Admiral of the Blue.
This Map is humbly inscribed out
of Public gratitude by the Editor.



DESCRIPTION

O F

CHINA, CHINESE-TARTARY, &c.

A General View of the Empire of China.



THE Kingdom of China is call'd by the Western *Mongols*, Name of *Katay* (A); by the *Man-chew Tartars* (B) *Nikan Kuran* (C), and by the *Chinese* (D) *Chong-qua*: As to the Name in Use with *Europeans*, we cannot say, with any certainty, whence it is derived, unless it be from that of the first Royal Family, which carrying their victorious Arms westward, occasion'd the Country to be call'd *Tsin*, or *Tay-tsin*.

The Emperor *Tsin Shi-wang's* Fleet, which according to the *Chinese* History sail'd to *Bengal*, must needs have made known to the *Indians* the Name of *Tsin*, whose Power was felt at such a distance; and that Name passing from the *Indies* into *Persia* and *Egypt*, it is highly probable (E), came thence to us about the Year 230 before Christ.

However that be, *China* is, beyond all dispute, the largest and finest Kingdom known to us: For I would not take upon me to say there is no other polite Nation to be found in the *Terra Australis*, or some other unknown Countries. When, after passing from *Europe*, we enter on the nearest part of *Africa*, do not we seem to be got into another World? Even the *Indians* themselves, tho' not altogether so rude, can be accounted little better than *Barbarians*, when compared with our civiliz'd Nations. Who would have believ'd, that beyond these, should be found a People powerful, well-govern'd, skilful in Arts, and addicted to the Sciences?

(A) This is to be understood only of that Part of China which lies to the North of the *Whang-bo*, or *yellow River*, as will hereafter be explained.

(B) The true Name is *Tatars*, or *Tattars*, and not *Tartars*, which last is known only to the Nations on this side *Poland*.

(C) In the *French* Copy *Couran* instead of *Couran*, or rather *Couran*, which signifies a Kingdom.

(D) That is, the Kingdom of the middle; the *Chinese*, supposing their Country to be situate in the middle of the Earth.

(E) This Origin of the Name seems to us improbable; for tho' the *Sin* and *Sina* of the *Greeks* and *Latins* came from the

Persians, yet as these latter, as well as the *Turks*, and other *Oriental*s, except the *Arabs*, say *Chin*, and not *Sin*, we cannot well suppose the Name to have been derived from that of the Emperor *Tsin*. The *Arabs* say *Sin*, or *Tsin*, and the *Greeks*, *Sina*, because they have not the Sound of our *ch*, in their Languages. The *Portuguese* brought the Name of *China* into *Europe*, from either *Persia* or *India*; where, according to *Navarette*, it was first introduced on account of the *Silk*, which is called *Chin*; the *Italians* write *Cina*, the *German*s, *Tschina*, but pronounce like the *English*; the *French* write *Chine*, but pronounce like the

When *Marco Polo*, the *Venetian*, publish'd his first Relation, in the 13th Century, it was look'd on by most People to be entirely fabulous, and was attacked as a Forgery by some Critics of those Times, on much the same Conjectures that several later Writers have advanced; though it is certain, that this Traveller, who followed the Western *Tartars*, when they conquer'd *China*, has asserted nothing but the Truth; this plainly appears from the Account he gives of certain Cities, which are still the same as he describes them, both as to Name and Condition. For who does not perceive, that his *Cingiang*, situate on the (*) *Kyang* is the City of *Chin-kyang*, near that great River? It is easy to account for the small Difference found between the Names, partly from the different Idioms of the *Tartar* Language, and partly from the Corruption of the *Chinese* Words by Strangers, who have not had sufficient Time to learn the true Pronunciation of a Language so different from all others.

Extent of
China.

China extends more from North to South, and is narrower from East to West, than that part of *Tartary*, which falls within our Plan; but which way soever we measure it, its Extent, taken in a strait Line, is not less than 360 great Leagues of *France*, 20 whereof go to a Degree. 'Tis divided into 15 Provinces: Those of *Shen-si*, *Shan-si*, *Pe-che-li*, stretch themselves along the famous Wall, which on the North divides it from *Tartary*; *Shan-tong*, *Kyang-nan*, *Che-kyang*, and *Po-kyen*, lie along the *Eastern* Ocean; those of *Quang-tong*, *Quang-si*, *Yun-nan*, and *Se-chuen*, lie to the South and West; lastly, the Provinces *Ho-nan*, *Hu-quang*, *Quy-chew* and *Kiang-si*, take up the middle Part.

Government.

Every Province is divided into a certain Number of Jurisdictions, call'd by the *Chinese*, *Fu*, on which other Districts of much less Extent, named *Cheu* and *Hyen* depend, in the same manner as our Bailiwicks and inferior Courts of Justice do on the *Presidencies*: The Presidents of the Supreme Courts are call'd (†) *Chi-fu*, and of the others, *Chi-cheu* and *Chi-hyen*. Hence it is, that in every City having the appellation of *Fu*, there is always found a (‡) *Mandarin* named *Chi-fu*, and at least another who is a *Chi-hyen*: But in the great Cities of all, there are, besides the *Chi-fu*, two other inferior (¶) *Mandarins*, with the Title of *Chi-hyen*; because when the Territory is large, it is divided into two Districts, each of which has immediate recourse to its *Chi-hyen*.

Each of these two Tribunals has its particular Name, and depends immediately on that of the *Chi-fu*, which is much more numerous, more powerful, and very often differently named. For instance, besides the six great supreme Courts at *Pe-king*, there is also the Tribunal peculiar to that City, which is the Capital of the Empire, and named *Shun-tyen*; under this Tribunal there are two inferior Courts of the two *Hyen*, or Cities of the third Rank, whereof one is call'd *Tay-bing*, and the other *Ven-ping*.

When we speak of the *Hyen*, or City of the third Rank, the Reader must not imagine it to be a District of small Extent. There are *Hyens* of 60, 70, and even 80 Leagues in compass, which pay several Millions into the Emperor's Treasury.

What we have said with regard to the Cities of *Tay-bing* and *Ven-ping*, is to be understood also of several others, in proportion to the Extent of the Lands belonging to them; so that the Number of Cities of this Kingdom will appear to be greater than it is, if we reckon them according to the printed Catalogues to be had every where of the *Fu* and *Hyen*, without distinguishing between those comprized in the same District, and those which are not.

There are some Cities with Courts, named *Wey*, whose *Mandarins*, or Governors, have the Title of *Wey-shew-pei*, and are military Officers; their Jurisdiction seldom extends without the Walls of the Town. There are others appointed in the Villages, and all that commonly falls under their Cognizance relates to certain Persons, who are obliged by their Station and Birth to attend the Service of the Public. These Tribunals, distinguished also by their Names, are sometimes, like those of the *Chi-fu* and *Chi-hyen*, included within the same Districts; so that if one relies on the Lists of the *Mandarins*, or Histories of the Provinces, without enquiring farther, he may reckon three Cities where there is but one. For instance, the Town, which in the History of the Province of *Quy-chew* is called *Li-ping-fu*, is in reality the same which in the Province of *Hu-quang* is call'd *U-kay-wei*; for being situated on the Borders of two Provinces, it is the Seat of a *Chi-fu*, subject to the Province of *Quy-chew*, and of a *Wey-shew-pei*, who depends on the Province of *Hu-quang*, as a military Officer. This Instance may suffice to shew, that the Number of Cities in *China*, tho' very great, is yet much fewer than almost all the printed Relations make it; and that to write with certainty of the Geography of a large Country, it is not enough to travel over it barely for Information, but one must be furnish'd with the proper Helps.

All these Courts depend on the Viceroy of the Province, and the four other general Officers, who are his Assistants, according to the nature of the Business. If it relates to the Revenue and civil Matters, the Affair is brought before the *Pu-ching-se*, or Treasurer-General: If a criminal Cause, it is refer'd to the Lieutenant-Criminal *Ngan-cha-se*: If it concerns the Posts, or Salt-branch, &c. recourse is had to the *Yen-tau*: Lastly, If the Business relates to the Provisions which are collected by way of Tribute, they apply to the *Lyang-tau*. But besides the Affairs peculiar to their respective Tribunals, these may be apply'd to in Cases of a different Nature; because all the inferior Courts of the Provinces depend on them, and they are by their Stations

Coun-

(*) *Kyang* signifies River.

(†) *Chi* signifies Governor, and *Fu*, a City of the first Rank.

(‡) *Mandarin*, or rather *Mandarin*, signifies Commander: Under which general Appellation the *Portuguese* (who first enter'd *China*) comprehend all the Degrees of *Chinese* Magistrates and Officers, military and civil. In the Language of the Country,

they have the Title of *Quân*, or *Quân-fu*, that is *Prepositus*, *set bifus*, to denote their Authority; and that of *Lou-ya*, Lord or Master, on account of their Quality; either of these Terms would be more proper than that of *Mandarin*, which Custom has adopted, and which from the frequent Use of it in Relations of *China*, has been commonly mistaken for a *Chinese* Word.

Counsellors to the Viceroy ; in which Quality they are oblig'd several times, every Month, to attend his Tribunal on Matters of Importance relating to the Province.

As the Officers of the Army depend likewise in some Respects upon the Viceroy, and are oblig'd under severe Penalties to give him Notice of the least Commotion among the People within their Districts, it happens that almost all Affairs of the Government, whether civil, criminal, or military, are brought at length before his Tribunal ; and what adds to his Authority is, that all the Decisions of the supreme Courts of *Pe-king* are grounded commonly on the Informations that come from him, and that they almost always ratify the Sentence which he passes against the *Mandarins*, whom he hath a Right to displace, and, even previous thereto, of taking away their Seal. 'Tis true, the Treasurer-General, and Lieutenant-Criminal, may accuse the Viceroy of the Province ; but as they fear to come by the worst, and the Law construing such Dissensions as prejudicial to the Publick, they generally speaking agree but too well together, and wink at each other's Conduct. When they proceed so far as to an Impeachment, either the Affair must be very notorious, and cannot fail of being otherwise known at Court, or else must nearly affect their own Honour and Quiet.

Even the Persons sent by the Emperor to inspect into Affairs of the Provinces, for the Good of the People, are often corrupted by the Civilities and Presents of the great *Mandarins* ; so that on their Return, they make a favourable Report of their Benefactors, tho' at the same time they apprehend a Complaint against them unavoidable. Hence it requires a good deal of Penetration in a Prince to see through the Disguise, and discover the Truth. The late Emperor *Kang-hi* had this Quality in great Perfection, and many Instances of it might be produced, were this a Place to speak of his extraordinary Wisdom, which has been long admired in the most distant Countries. It may however be affirmed, that in spite of all his Vigilance and Penetration, there were many Disorders of this kind during his Reign : But his fourth Son, who succeeded him, has effectually remedy'd these, by allowing the Persons he deputed, for that purpose, large Sums to defray their Expences, and vigorously punishing both the Corrupter and Corrupted.

The publick Censors of the Empire, called *Ko-tau-yu-se*, who reside at *Pe-king*, and beside the general Inspection over the whole, have each a particular Province under their Care, are most dreaded of all the great *Mandarins*. As these Censors are very vigilant, and have their Spies, they can be ignorant of nothing that passes, and it is their Interest to have good Order preserv'd every where. If any *Mandarin* fails of his Duty, in a matter of Importance, wherein the Publick Peace is concern'd, and the Viceroy does not give immediate Notice thereof, the Censors are oblig'd to inform the supreme Courts, and the Emperor, by a publick Accusation, even tho' the Proof they have be not half sufficient to make out their Charge : And if they be the first by whom his Majesty is appriz'd of the Disorder, it redounds much to their Honour ; on the other hand, if they fail of so doing, they are liable not only to be reprimanded by him, but even to be remov'd from their Employments. Positive Proof is not required, if their Report has the Air of Truth, it is sufficient to ground an Information upon.

Nothing perhaps contributes more to preserve good Order and the ancient Customs, as also to prevent Commotions, which are ordinarily caused by the Love of Novelty, so predominant in the People, as the Fear of these public Censors. It is an addition to their Authority, that if they be ill treated either by the Intrigues of the *Grande*s whom they have accused, or by the Emperors, who sometimes are offended at the Advice their Office obliges them to give ; the whole Nation looks on them as Fathers of their Country, and (if we may so speak) Martyrs for the public Welfare : And indeed there is often found in these Censors an Intrepidity, which shews that this People are very far from wanting Greatness of Soul. For the rest, tho' the Viceroy of the Province has the four great Officers already mentioned under him, and the *Mandarins* of the inferior Jurisdictions have always one, and sometimes two Assistants ; yet Matters are not ordinarily determined by plurality of Voices : Each Magistrate, great or small, has his Tribunal, or *Ya-men* ; and so soon as he is fully apprized of the Cause by the Parties, after some few Proceedings, drawn up by proper Persons, he pronounces Sentence just as he thinks fit. Sometimes he orders him who has lost his Cause to be bastonaded, for having commenc'd it with no good Design, or defended it against all appearance of Equity.

The Bastonade, which is the ordinary Punishment of the common People, cannot be inflicted on a *Mandarin* however inconsiderable, unless he be first depriv'd of his Office ; yet this no way obstructs the Viceroy's Courts of Justice, since he has Power to cashier him on certain Occasions, without waiting for the Answer of the supreme Courts, being only obliged to give them his Reasons, which usually they approve, and often even order the Offender to be prosecuted ; but he has liberty to repair to *Pe-king*, to justify his Conduct, by presenting his Petition to one of the sovereign Courts, or even carrying his Complaint before the Emperor : And this restrains the Viceroy from acting precipitately, and abusing his Authority.

The greatest Punishment next to the Bastonade, is a sort of Collar made of two Pieces of Wood, of different Sizes, according to the Nature of the Crime, and hollowed in the middle, to fit the Neck of the Offender, which is put between the two, and then the Boards being join'd close together, they are seal'd with the Seal of the Court, fix'd to a slip of Paper, wherein is written the Time that the Punishment is to continue, and the Crime punished.

These two Punishments, and Imprisoning, are all that the *Chinese* Laws permit the *Mandarins* of the Provinces to inflict on Criminals ; they may indeed condemn to Banishment, yet their Sentence must be examined by the Supreme Courts ; but they must never go so far as to take away Life,

Life, except the Nature of the Crime require speedy Justice, as in Cases of Sedition, or Revolt; then the Emperor gives Authority to the *Tjong-tú*, and even to the Viceroy, to punish the Offenders with immediate Death.

'Tis true, the Law which requires all Causes relating to capital Offences to be transmitted to Court, would in *Europe* appear very inconvenient: But in *China* great Inconveniences would be the consequence of giving the *Mandarins* Power over the Lives of the People; wherefore the Legislators, who know the disposition of the Nation, have thought it necessary to take that Power out of their Hands.

Punishments
of Criminals.

The three capital Punishments are Strangling, Beheading, and cutting in Pieces: This last is inflicted on none but Rebels, those who murder their Masters, and merciless Robbers.

The first is the most common Punishment which the Court adjudges those to, who are worthy of Death. Beheading is the next: The condemn'd Person is not exposed on a Scaffold on the Day of Execution; but being made to kneel in some public Place, with his Hands tied behind, one Executioner holds him so fast that he cannot move, while another coming behind takes off his Head at one Stroke, and at the same time lays him on his Back with such Dexterity, that not one Drop of Blood falls on his Cloaths, which on that Occasion are often better than ordinary: His Relations and Friends, who are ashamed to own him in those unhappy Circumstances, commonly send him new Cloaths, and cause Provisions and Drink to be furnish'd him by the way.

The Executioner is commonly a Soldier, nor is the Office scandalous, but the contrary, if they perform it well. At *Pe-king*, he accompanies the Criminal, girt with an Apron of yellow Silk, which is the Imperial Colour; and his Cutlas is wrap'd in Silk of the same kind, to shew that he is vested with the Emperor's Authority, and to command the greater Respect from the People.

Indeed in *Chinese* Authors, mention is made of several other kinds of Punishments, some of them also pretty extraordinary; but it must be observed, at the same time, that they have never been inflicted by any but barbarous Princes, who were look'd on as Tyrants by the whole Nation; Justice, say they, is necessary, but not Cruelty.

But though the Power of the Magistrate be restrain'd by the Laws in criminal Matters, it is in a manner absolute in civil Cases: Since all Affairs, which merely regard private Property, are determin'd by the great Officers of the Provinces, without Appeal to the sovereign Courts of *Pe-king*, except in Matters of greatest Consequence.

Raising of
Taxes.

That which chiefly employs the inferior *Mandarins*, whether they be the *Chi-chew*, *Chi-byen*, or *Wey-shew-pei*, is gathering of the Taxes, and it requires their personal Attendance. Altho' the Lands in every Province are measured, and what every (c) *Arpent* is to pay be adjusted, according to the Goodness of the Soil; yet whether through Poverty, or Avarice, the People are usually unwilling to part with it, till the inferior Officers come and harass them for it, being sometimes constrain'd to make use of Blows. When these Tax-gatherers are reproached for their Severity in pressing the Payment, they excuse themselves by saying, That when they are sent into the Villages to levy the Tax, should they not bring it home with them, their Masters would suspect either that they had neglected their Duty, or had taken Bribes; which bare Suspicion, without farther Examination, would be sufficient to procure them the Bastonade. The *Mandarins* on the other hand pretend to justify their Conduct, by the Necessity they are under of acting in that manner; alledging, that having failed of collecting the Dues in the appointed Time, they have been obliged more than once to pay the Emperor out of their own Pockets, for fear of losing their Employments; which is a Fact known to all those who are acquainted with Affairs; besides, several Provinces are greatly in Arrear to the Royal Treasury, which probably will never be paid. But to remedy this Inconvenience, the present (n) Emperor has ordered that, for the future, the Proprietors of the Lands, and not the Occupiers, shall pay the Taxes.

Besides the great *Mandarins* of every Province, as before mentioned, there is one still more considerable, call'd *Tjong-tú*. His Jurisdiction extends over two Provinces; or, should we compare the Viceroys to our Intendants, [in *France*] (tho' there is a great Difference in respect to their Authority, and the Extent of their Jurisdiction) it comprehends at least two *Generalities*: For in the larger Provinces, such as *Hú-quang*, *Shen-si*, &c. the *Tjong-tú* has the Care only of one Province; but then it is divided into two Governments, and each Government has its proper Viceroy: How far the Power of this superior Governor extends over the other Viceroys, is determined both by the Laws and Custom: For he is their Superior only in certain Matters; but he has always a Right of deciding Causes, in case of Appeals from the Tribunals of either of the Provincial Governors.

Having given this general Account of the Magistrates and their Jurisdictions, it will be proper to exhibit the Names of the Provinces, and the Cities belonging to each: This is the more necessary, as we find many Errors in the printed Relations; probably either because the Authors have followed the old Catalogues, without considering the Difference between the Times they were made in, and the present; or else have relied on the Report of their *Chinese* Friends, who, altho' they are Batchelors and Doctors, are often as little acquainted with their Country, as old Lawyers in *Europe*, who never take any pains to know more of the Land than lies within their own District.

(c) *Arpent* is a Measure of Land, containing 100 Perches Square, of 18 Foot each. (n) *Yong Ching*, who died in the Year 1736.

There are in China 173 Tribunals or Jurisdictions, immediately subject to the General Officers and Governors of each Province, named in Chinese, *Fu*; 1468 inferior Tribunals, or subordinate Jurisdictions, depending immediately on the *Chi-fu*, whereas 1173 have the Title of *Hien*, and 235 that of *Che-w*; these latter however differ somewhat from each other. The greater part have no Authority over the *Hien*; but some have a Jurisdiction over one, two, and sometimes four *Hien*, almost equal to that of the *Chi-fu*. There are likewise several of them which have no dependance on the *Chi-fu*, but depend immediately on the Viceroy; we shall here give a List of them, which exhibits, at one View, the several Sub-divisions of each Province. If the Reader thinks it tedious, he may pass it over, and consult it only when he has occasion for the better understanding what follows.

The First PROVINCE, *PE-CHE-LI*, *CHE-LI*, or *LI-PA-FU*, Sub-divided into IX *Fu*, or Cities of the first Rank;

- 1 *Shun-tyen-fu*, the Capital City of the Kingdom. In this City the Court resides, whence 'tis called *Pe-king*, that is, the Northern Court. It commands over 6 *Che-w* or Cities of the 2d Rank, and 20 *Hien*, or Cities of the 3d Rank.
- 2 *Pau-ting-fu*, Capital of the Province of *Pe-che-li*. Here the Governor of *Che-li* resides. This *Fu* has Jurisdiction over 3 *Che-w*. 17 *Hien*.
- 3 *Ho-kyen-fu* governs 2 15
- 4 *Chin-ting-fu* 5 27
- 5 *Shun-te-fu* 0 9
- 6 *Quang-ping-fu* 0 9
- 7 *Tay-ming-fu* 1 10
- 8 *Yung-ping-fu* 1 5
- 9 *Suen-wa-fu* 2 8

The Second PROVINCE, *KYANG-NAN*, divided into two Parts, the Eastern; and Western; each of which is Sub-divided into VII *Fu*.

The Eastern Part.

- 1 *Nan-king*, otherwise called *Kyang-ning-fu*, the Metropolis of all the Province. There the *Tsong-tu* of *Kyang-nan* and *Kyang-fi* resides. This *Fu* governs 8 *Hien*.
- 2 *Su-chew-fu*, Capital of the Eastern Part. Here is the Governor of the Eastern Part, which is named *I-tong*, it has under it 1 *Che-w*. 7 *Hien*.
- 3 *Song-kyang-fu* governs 0 4
- 4 *Chang-chew-fu* 0 5
- 5 *Chin-kyang-fu* 0 3
- 6 *Wbay-ngan-fu* 2 9
- 7 *Yang-chew-fu* 0 6

The Western Part.

- 1 *Ngan-king-fu*, the chief City of the Western Part. Here resides the Governor of the Western Part, called *I-fi*. This *Fu* has 0 *Che-w*. 6 *Hien*.
- 2 *Wbe-chew-fu* governs 0 6
- 3 *Ning-que-fu* 0 6
- 4 *Chi-chew-fu* 0 6
- 5 *Tay-ping-fu* 0 3
- 6 *Tong-yang-fu* 3 13

The Third PROVINCE, *KYANG-SI*, Sub-divided into XIII *Fu*.

- 1 *Nan-chang-fu*, Capital of the Province. Here the Governor resides. The *Fu* commands 1 *Che-w*. 7 *Hien*.
- 2 *Zhou-chew-fu* governs 0 7
- 3 *Quang-sin-fu* 0 7
- 4 *Nan-kan-fu* 0 4
- 5 *Kyew-kyang-fu* 0 5
- 6 *Kyen-chang-fu* 0 5
- 7 *Fu* or *Vu-chew-fu* 0 6
- 8 *Ling-kyang-fu* 0 4
- 9 *Kin-gan-fu* 0 9
- 10 *Shui-chew-fu* 0 3
- 11 *Yuen-chew-fu* 0 4
- 12 *Kan-chew-fu* 0 12
- 13 *Nan-ngan-fu* 0 4

The Fourth PROVINCE, *FO-KYEN*, Sub-divided into IX *Fu*.

- 1 *Fu-chew-fu*, Metropolis. Here resides the *Tsong-tu* of the 2 Provinces of *Fo-kyen* and *Che-kyang*; as also the Governor of *Fo-kyen*. This *Fu* presides over 0 *Che-w*. 9 *Hien*.
- 2 *Tsuen-chew-fu* governs 0 7
- 3 *Kyen-ning-fu* 0 8
- 4 *Yen-ping-fu* 0 7
- 5 *Ting-chew-fu* 0 8
- 6 *Hing-wa-fu* 0 2
- 7 *Shau-ü-fu* 0 4
- 8 *Chang-chew-fu* 0 10
- 9 *Tay-wan-fu*, in the Isle of *Tay-wan*, or *Tay-wan*. 0 3

The Fifth PROVINCE, *CHE-KYANG*, Sub-divided into XI *Fu*.

- 1 *Hang-chew-fu*, Capital of the Province, the Residence of the Governor. This *Fu* governs 0 *Che-w*. 9 *Hien*.
- 2 *Kya-bing-fu* 0 7
- 3 *Hü-chew-fu* 0 6
- 4 *Ning-po-fu* 0 6
- 5 *Shau-bing-fu* 0 8
- 6 *Tay-chew-fu* 0 6
- 7 *Kin-wa-fu* 0 8
- 8 *Kyu-chew-fu* 0 5
- 9 *Nyen*, or *Yen-chew-fu* 0 6
- 10 *Wen-chew-fu* 0 5
- 11 *Cbu-chew-fu* 0 10

Names of the Provinces and Cities belonging to them.

A GENERAL VIEW of

The Sixth PROVINCE, *HU-QUANG*, divided into two Parts, *Northern* and *Southern*; the *Northern* Part Sub-divided into VIII *Fú*.

- 1 *Vá-chang-fú*, the Metropolis of the whole Province, and chief City of the *Northern* Part, or *Há-pe*. 'Tis the Seat of the *Tjong-tú* of both Parts, and Governor of the *Há-pe*.

The *Fú* presides over 1 *Cbew*. 9 *Hyen*.

| | | |
|------------------------------|---|----|
| 2 <i>Han-yang-fú</i> governs | 0 | 2 |
| 3 <i>Ngan-lá-fú</i> | 2 | 5 |
| 4 <i>Syang-yang-fú</i> | 1 | 6 |
| 5 <i>Ywen-yang-fú</i> | 0 | 6 |
| 6 <i>Te-ngan-fú</i> | 1 | 5 |
| 7 <i>Hing-chew-fú</i> | 2 | 11 |
| 8 <i>Whang-chew-fú</i> | 1 | 8 |

The *Southern* Part, Sub-divided into 7 *Fú*.

- 1 *Chang-cha-fú*, Capital of the *Southern* Part, called *Há-nan*; the Seat of the Governor of *Há-nan*.

This *Fú* governs 1 *Cbew*. 11 *Hyen*.

| | | |
|------------------------|---|---|
| 2 <i>Yo-chew-fú</i> | 1 | 7 |
| 3 <i>Pau-ling-fú</i> | 1 | 4 |
| 4 <i>Hing-chew-fú</i> | 1 | 9 |
| 5 <i>Chang-te-fú</i> | 0 | 4 |
| 6 <i>Ching-chew-fú</i> | 1 | 6 |
| 7 <i>Yung-chew-fú</i> | 1 | 7 |

The Seventh PROVINCE, *HO-NAN*, Sub-divided into VIII *Fú*.

- 1 *Kay-fong-fú*, Capital of the Province, the Seat of the Governor.

This *Fú* governs 4 *Cbew*. 30 *Hyen*.

| | | |
|-----------------------|---|----|
| 2 <i>Que-te-fú</i> | 1 | 8 |
| 3 <i>Chang-te-fú</i> | 1 | 6 |
| 4 <i>We-kyun-fú</i> | 0 | 6 |
| 5 <i>Whay-king-fú</i> | 0 | 6 |
| 6 <i>Ho-nan-fú</i> | 1 | 13 |
| 7 <i>Nan-yang-fú</i> | 2 | 10 |
| 8 <i>Zhu-ning-fú</i> | 2 | 12 |

The Eighth PROVINCE, *SHANG-TONG*, Sub-divided into VI *Fú*.

- 1 *Tsi-nan-fú*, Capital of the Province; the Residence of the Governor. This *Fú* commands over 4 *Cbew*. 26 *Hyen*.

| | | |
|------------------------|---|----|
| 2 <i>Yen-chew-fú</i> | 4 | 23 |
| 3 <i>Tong-chang-fú</i> | 3 | 15 |
| 4 <i>Tjing-chew-fú</i> | 1 | 13 |
| 5 <i>Teng-chew-fú</i> | 1 | 7 |
| 6 <i>Lay-chew-fú</i> | 2 | 5 |

The Ninth PROVINCE, *SHAN-SI*, Sub-divided into V *Fú*.

- 1 *Tay-ywen-fú*, Metropolis of the Province. Here the Governor resides.

This *Fú* governs over 5 *Cbew*. 20 *Hyen*.

| | | |
|-----------------------|---|----|
| 2 <i>Ping-yang-fú</i> | 6 | 28 |
| 3 <i>Lá-yang-fú</i> | 0 | 8 |
| 4 <i>Fen-chew-fú</i> | 1 | 7 |
| 5 <i>Tay-tong-fú</i> | 4 | 7 |

The Tenth PROVINCE, *SHEN-SI*, divided into two Parts, *Eastern* and *Western*; each Sub-divided into IV *Fú*.

The *Eastern* Part, call'd *I-tong*.

- 1 *Si-ngan-fú*, Metropolis of the whole Province, and Capital of the *Eastern* Part, or *I-tong*. This is the Seat of the *Tjong-tú*, of both Parts of *Shen-si*, and the Province of *Se-chwen*. There also resides the Governor of the *Eastern* Part.

This *Fú* governs 6 *Cbew*. 31 *Hyen*.

| | | |
|-------------------------|---|----|
| 2 <i>Yen-ngan-fú</i> | 3 | 16 |
| 3 <i>Fong-tsyang-fú</i> | 1 | 7 |
| 4 <i>Han-chang-fú</i> | 2 | 14 |

The *Western* Part, or *I-si*.

- 1 *Ping-leang-fú*, or *Ping-lyang*, governs 3 *Cbew*. 7 *Hyen*.

| | | |
|------------------------|---|----|
| 2 <i>Kong-chang-fú</i> | 3 | 10 |
| 3 <i>Ling-tau-fú</i> | 2 | 13 |
| 4 <i>Hing-yang-fú</i> | 0 | 0 |

The Eleventh PROVINCE, *SE-CHUEN*, [or *SE-CHWEN*.] Sub-divided into X *Fú*.

- 1 *Ching-tú-fú*, Capital of the Province. Here the Governor resides. This *Fú* commands over 6 *Cbew*. 19 *Hyen*.

| | | |
|-------------------------|---|----|
| 2 <i>Pau-ning-fú</i> | 2 | 8 |
| 3 <i>Shun-king-fú</i> | 1 | 7 |
| 4 <i>Su-chew-fú</i> | 0 | 10 |
| 5 <i>Chong-king-fú</i> | 3 | 11 |
| 6 <i>Wey-chew-fú</i> | 1 | 9 |
| 7 <i>Ma-bú-fú</i> | 0 | 1 |
| 8 <i>Long-ngan-fú</i> | 0 | 3 |
| 9 <i>Tjun-i-fú</i> | 2 | 4 |
| 10 <i>Tong-chwen-fú</i> | 0 | 0 |

The Twelfth PROVINCE, *QUANG-TONG*, Sub-divided into X *Fú*.

- 1 *Quang-chew-fú*, Capital of the Province. The Governor's Seat is here; and the *Fú* presides over 1 *Cbew*. 16 *Hyen*.

| | | |
|-----------------------|---|----|
| 2 <i>Shau-chew-fú</i> | 0 | 6 |
| 3 <i>Nan-byung-fú</i> | 0 | 2 |
| 4 <i>Wbey-chew-fú</i> | 0 | 1 |
| 5 <i>Chau-chew-fú</i> | 0 | 11 |
| 6 <i>Chau-king-fú</i> | 0 | 11 |

Here resides the *Tjong-tú* of *Quang-tong*, and *Quang-si*; it governs 1 *Cbew*. 11 *Hyen*.

| | | |
|--|---|----|
| 7 <i>Kau-chew-fú</i> | 1 | 5 |
| 8 <i>Lyen-chew-fú</i> | 1 | 2 |
| 9 <i>Lwi-chew-fú</i> | 0 | 3 |
| 10 <i>Kyun-chew-fú</i> , in the Isle of <i>Hay-nan</i> . | 3 | 10 |

The Thirteenth PROVINCE, *QUANG-SI*, Sub-divided into XII *Fú*.

- 1 *Quey-ling-fú*, Metropolis of the Province. Here the Governor resides. The *Fú* commands over 2 *Cbew*. 7 *Hyen*.

| | | |
|-----------------------|---|----|
| 2 <i>Lew-chew-fú</i> | 2 | 10 |
| 3 <i>King-ywen-fú</i> | 2 | 5 |
| 4 <i>Se-ngben-fú</i> | 1 | 2 |
| 5 <i>Ping-lo-fú</i> | 1 | 7 |
| 6 <i>U-chew-fú</i> | | |

| | | |
|-----------------|---------|---------|
| 6 U-chew-fü | 1 Cbew. | 9 Hyen. |
| 7 Tjin-chew-fü | 0 | 3 |
| 8 Nan-ning-fü | 4 | 3 |
| 9 Tay-ping-fü | 12 | 2 |
| 10 Se-ming-fü | 4 | 0 |
| 11 Cbin-ngan-fü | 1 | 0 |
| 12 Se-ching-fü | 2 | 0 |

The Fourteenth PROVINCE, YUN-NAN,
Sub-divided into XVII Fú.

| | | |
|---|--|---------|
| 1 Yun-nan-fü, Metropolis of the Province. | This is the Seat of the Tjong-tú of Yun-nan, and Quye-chew, as well as of the Governor of the Province. The Fú governs | |
| | 4 Cbew. | 7 Hyen. |
| 2 Ta-li-fü | 4 | 3 |
| 3 Ling-ngan-fü | 4 | 5 |
| 4 Tju, Tju, or Cbú-byang-fü | 2 | 0 |
| 5 Cbin-kyang-fü | 2 | 2 |
| 6 King-tong-fü | 0 | 0 |
| 7 Quang-nan-fü | 0 | 0 |
| 8 Quang-si-fü | 0 | 2 |
| 9 Shun-ning-fü | 1 | 0 |
| 10 Ku-chew-fü | 5 | 2 |
| 11 Yau-ngan-fü | 1 | 1 |

| | | |
|------------------|---------|---------|
| 12 Ko-king-fü | 1 Cbew. | 0 Hyen. |
| 13 U-ting-fü | 2 | 1 |
| 14 Li-kyang-fü | 0 | 0 |
| 15 Ywen-kyang-fü | 0 | 0 |
| 16 Mong-wba-fü | 0 | 0 |
| 17 Yung-chang-fü | 1 | 2 |
| 18 Yung-pe-fü | 0 | 0 |
| 19 Kay-wba-fü | 0 | 0 |

The Fifteenth PROVINCE, QUYE-CHEW,
Sub-divided into XI Fú.

| | | |
|---|--|---------|
| 1 Quye-yang-fü, chief City of the Province. | This is the Seat of the Governor. The Fú presides over | |
| | 3 Cbew. | 4 Hyen. |
| 2 Se-chew-fü | 0 | 0 |
| 3 Se-nan-fü | 0 | 3 |
| 4 Cbin-ywen-fü | 0 | 2 |
| 5 She-tsin-fü | 0 | 1 |
| 6 Tong-jin-fü | 0 | 1 |
| 7 Li-ping-fü | 0 | 1 |
| 8 Ngan-shan-fü | 3 | 5 |
| 9 Tú-yun-fü | 2 | 2 |
| 10 Ping-yue-fü | 1 | 4 |
| 11 Wey-ning-fü | 3 | 3 |

By this List, one would be apt to think those the best and largest Provinces, which had most of these Cities [or *Mandarinats*] in them. But it is not so; for, in some Countries, the Necessity of keeping certain stubborn, and but half civiliz'd People in subjection, obliges the Emperors to encrease the Number of the considerable *Mandarins*; and thence it is, that the most barren Provinces, such as *Quye-chew*, have more of them, in proportion, than the most fruitful.

'Tis true, that, generally speaking, the Land in all the Provinces, and even in *Quye-chew*, is fertile enough, and sometimes brings a double Crop; but 'tis entirely owing to the indefatigable Labour of the Husbandman that those Countries, where the Grounds are low and boggy, are capable of bearing Corn. Add to this, that several Provinces being full of Mountains, which afford but a small quantity of Land fit for Tillage, it happens sometimes, that the whole Produce of the Empire is scarce sufficient for the Sustainance of the prodigious Number of Inhabitants.

Besides the Provinces of *Yun-nan*, *Quye-chew*, *Se-chew*, and *Pe-kyen*, which are too mountainous to be cultivated sufficiently; that of *Cbe-kyang*, whose Eastern Part is very fruitful, has hideous Mountains in the Western. The Land of *Quang-tong* and *Quang-si*, so fine and fertile along the Sea-Coast, becomes frightful and almost barren in divers Places, the farther it lies from thence. In the Province of *Kyang-nan*, the large District of *Wbey-chew-fü* is entirely over-run with very high, and almost uninhabitable Mountains; they abound still more in the Provinces of *Sben-si*, and *Sban-si*; all whose Plains, put together, don't amount to a quarter Part of the whole.

When coming from the Province of *Quang-tong*, you have sail'd between the steep Mountains, which run along its River, and, having made one Stage of the *Mey-lin*, afterwards come to the River of the Province of *Kyang-si*, then you begin to discover the most beautiful Country of all *Ghina*; one Part of it lies upon the great River, adorned with the fine Cities of *Ngan-king-fü*, *Kyang-ning-fü*, or *Nan-king*, and *Cbin-kyang-fü*; another Part runs along the great Canal, *Tu-lyang-bo*, beset with the most rich and populous Cities of the Province of *Kyang-nan*; as *Wbay-ngan-fü*, *Yang-cbew-fü*, *Chang-cbew-fü*, *Su-cbew-fü*; and a third Part borders on the Sea-Coasts of the Province of *Cbe-kyang*, where are the Lands of *Hang-cbew-fü*, the Metropolis, *Hu-cbew-fü*, and *Kya-bing-fü*, which alone furnish more Silk than all the other Provinces of *China*.

It must be confessed, nothing appears more charming than these Plains, which are so level, that they seem to have been laid out by Rule; they are overspread with Cities and large Villages, and cut into an infinite Number of Canals, which have communication with each other, and are navigated without the least Danger: They are covered with an incredible Quantity of magnificent Barks, and the Water of every Canal is clear, and excellent to drink. These Plains are cultivated with an Industry which no People but the *Chinese* are capable of: They are withal so fertile, that in several Places they yield Rice twice a Year, and frequently Wheat and smaller Grain between the two Crops.

But, whoever judges of *China* in general by this Country, cannot form an exact Idea of it. The Knowledge of a certain Number of very large Cities is not sufficient to give a distinct Notion of the whole; and had it not been for the Opportunity which the Missionaries had of travelling over the Empire, when they made the Map of it, we should still have been ignorant, that in most of the great Governments, there are Countries which for more than 20 Leagues together are very thinly peopled, almost uncultivated, and often so wild, that they are uninhabitable.

As

As these Countries are remote from the great Roads ordinarily taken by Travellers, they may easily have escaped the Knowledge of former Missionaries, and Authors of printed Relations. The Reason why the Provinces of *Shen-si* and *Se-chen* are much commended by some of them, is, because they had seen the District of *Si-ngan-fu*, which is divided into 37 Cities, most of them rich and populous. To a like Cause are to be attributed the Praises they bestow on the Lands of *Cbing-tu-fu*, which are cut by artificial Canals, in imitation of those of the Provinces of *Kyang-nan*, and *Che-kyang*; they never imagin'd, without doubt, that the Parts which they had travell'd Opportunity of seeing, differed so much, as in effect they do, from those they had travell'd thro'. The Provinces of *Ho-nan* and *Hu-quang* are generally commended by those Writers, and not undeservedly; for next to that of *Kyang-nan*, they are the most populous and fertile. Not but great Part of the Western Side of *Ho-nan* is desert and uncultivated, and there are larger Deserts still in *Hu-quang*: But it must be attributed to the quantity of fertile Lands contained in these Provinces, that they commonly produce plenty enough of Rice and other Grain to furnish the neighbouring Provinces, and especially that of the Court: For tho' the Province of *Pe-che-li* is one vast continued Plain, bounded on the Northwest by Mountains, and on the East by the Ocean, the Soil is always so dry and destitute of Rivulets, that notwithstanding it abounds in Wheat and small Grain, it produces very little Rice, without which the *Chinese* could hardly make a shift to live. Hence it is, that this Province, and especially *Pe-king*, which is the Resort of the whole Empire, could scarcely subsist without Supplies of Provisions brought from the other Provinces.

Generally speaking, the whole Country to the North of *Whang-bo*, [or Yellow River] produces greater Plenty of Rice than *Pe-che-li*; their Crop consisting in Wheat, small Grain and Pulse. Nevertheless, if the *Chinese* were as careful as we to cultivate Fruit-Trees, they would have almost as many sorts as there are in *Europe*. Walnuts, Chestnuts, Plums, Pears, Apples, Peaches, Apricots, and Cherry-Trees thrive almost every where: Vines, Pigs, and Pomegranates multiply exceedingly in some Parts of those Northern Provinces; the only difference is, that they have not so great variety of each Kind; thus they have but 3 or 4 sorts of Apples, 7 or 8 of Pears, as many of Peaches, and no good Cherries at all.

This Defect is sufficiently compensated by other excellent Fruits not known in *Europe*; particularly one called, by the *Chinese*, *Tse-tse*, but by the *Portuguese* of *Macau*, Figs; because when it is dry'd it becomes mealy and sweet, like a Fig; the Trees which bear them, when grafted, look very pretty; there is great plenty of them, especially in the Province of *Ho-nan*; they are as tall, and spreading, as our middling Walnut-Trees; the Leaves are large, and of a beautiful Green, which changes in the Autumn to an agreeable Red: The Fruit also is about the bigness of our Apple, and, as it ripens, grows of a bright Yellow.

Tho' they are of different Kinds, the Fruit of some having a more thin, transparent, and ruddy Rind, while that of others, to give them a finer Flavour, must be put upon Straw to ripen, yet they are all very agreeable to the Sight, and good to eat: They are found also in the Provinces on this side of the *Whang-bo*; and it is no small Advantage that this kind of Tree will grow in such different Soils.

In these Southern Provinces there grow other Fruits, which are still in greater Esteem with the *Chinese*: For besides Oranges of several sorts, Limons, and Citrons, which were many Years ago brought into *Europe*; there are two sorts of Fruit found in the Provinces of *Fo-kyen*, *Quang-fong*, and *Quang-shi*, to which we are strangers. What they call *Li-chi*, (if it be of a good sort, for there are several) is about the size of a Date: The Stone is equally long and hard, it is cover'd with a soft Pulp, full of Moisture and of an excellent Flavour, which it partly loses when it becomes black and wrinkled, like our ordinary Prunes; the Rind or Skin outwardly resembles Shagreen, but it is smooth within, and of a Figure nearly Oval.

The other sort, which turns to great account in *China*, is call'd *Long-yen*, that is, the Dragon's Eye: Its Shape is round, the Rind yellowish, the Pulp white, watery, and often sourish. They pretend, that tho' this is not so pleasant as the *Li-chi*, it is more wholesome, and never does one hurt: However that be, both these sorts of Fruit are excellent. But the Fruits called in the *Indies*, *Pamplimus*, and in *China* *Yew-tse*, as well as those named *Tsin-lan*, or *Quang-lan*, have nothing in the Taste to recommend them.

The first are ordinarily bigger than our Citrons; the Fruit is sometimes reddish, sometimes white, and of a Taste betwixt sweet and sour. The Tree is more prickly than the Citron Tree.

The second sort, in Figure and Colour, very nearly resembles our large Olives: It is indeed one of the ten Kinds spoken of in the Books, which treat of Olives; and what they say of its Nature, Colour, and the Soil where it grows, suits them very well. In all probability, if they were prepared in the same manner as in *Europe*, they would have the same Taste. The Tree is large, and the Leaves resemble those of the Olive. When they have a mind to gather the Olives before they are thoroughly ripe, which is their Time of eating them, instead of beating them down with long Poles, which shatters the Branches, and hurts the Tree, they make a Hole in the Body of the Tree, and putting in some Salt, they stop it up, and in a few Days after the Fruit drops of itself.

We must not forget to speak of two other Trees, which besides their Singularity, are useful at Meals. One of them produces a kind of Pepper call'd *Wha-Tsyau*. 'Tis the Husk of a Grain as big as a Pea; the Kernel of which is too hot and biting to be made use of. The Colour

Colour is grey, mix'd with a few Streaks of red. The Plant which produces it, in some Places, grows like a thick Bush, in others it resembles a pretty tall Tree; it is neither so pungent, nor agreeable to the Taste as Pepper, and is seldom used for seasoning Victuals, except by the meaner People. The other Tree yields Peas; for their Figure, Colour, Pod, and Taste, tho' somewhat rank, shew that they are of the kind of ordinary Peas. The Tree is common enough in several Provinces, it is very tall, extends its Branches very wide, and for Thickness scarce yields to any other.

But among the Trees that deserve the Attention of the Public, and are most likely to excite the Envy of Europeans, there are none to be prefer'd to the four I am going to speak of.

The first is the Varnish-Tree, called *Tsi-shu*, 'tis neither tall, bushy, nor spreading: Its Bark is whitish, its Leaf nearly resembles that of the wild Cherry-Tree; and the Gum, which it distils drop by drop, the Tears of the Turpentine-Tree. It yields a much greater quantity of Liquor if an Incision be made in it; but then it perishes so much the sooner.

'Tis commonly reported, that this Liquor, drawn off cold, has certain venomous Qualities, and that there is no way of preventing its mischievous Effects, in pouring it from one Vessel to another, or stirring it, but by avoiding to suck in the Effluvia with the Breath. The same Caution is to be observed in boiling it. However that be, 'tis certain this Varnish [or Japan] is not less esteem'd on that account, and is continually used by an infinite number of Workmen. It takes all Colours alike; and, if well made, loses nothing of its Lustre and Clearness, either by change of Air, or the age of the Wood to which it is apply'd. But to do it well requires Time and Care; for one or two layings on is not sufficient; nor must a new lay of Varnish be applied till the former, which ought to be very smooth and thin, be dry'd, but not so as to be hard. Care must be taken to see whether such Lay be stiffer, or of a deeper Colour; one must try to bring it by degrees to a certain Temper, which only can render the Work firm, smooth, and clear. This Art is to be attained only by Experience. As the varnished Works must sometimes be set in moist Places, sometimes steep'd in Water, and, in short, turn'd and placed in various Positions, they are seldom very large, like the Pillars fix'd on Stone-Bases, wherewith the Great Hall of the Empire, described hereafter, the Emperor's Apartment, and other Chinese Buildings are supported: Which Pillars are not done over with true Varnish, but another Liquor call'd *Tong-yew*.

The second Tree is the *Tong-shu*, whence a Liquor is drawn not much differing from Varnish. At a small distance it appears like the Walnut-Tree: And such the Tartar Mandarin, who came from *Pe-king* with the Missionaries, took it for, so great is the Resemblance as to the Figure, colour of Bark, the size and fashion of the Leaves, the shape and make of the Nuts. These Nuts are full of a thickish Oil, mixt with an oily Pulp, which they press, otherwise they would lose the greater part of the Liquor.

There goes a Report, that some Servants, after dressing their Supper in a Kettle, wherein this sort of Oil had been boil'd a few Days before, found themselves much disorder'd: Which shews, that it partakes of the bad Quality of the Varnish. To make it fit for use, they boil it with Litharge, and may mix it with any Colour at pleasure. It is often laid without any mixture in Wood, which it preserves against the bad Effects of Rain; as also on the Squares which form the Floors of Chambers: This makes them shine; and provided Care be taken to wash them from time to time, they retain their Lustre. The Pavements of the Apartments, belonging to the Emperor and the Grandees, are made in this manner.

But if they would make a finished piece of Work, for instance, wou'd adorn a Hall, Chamber, or Closet, they first cover the Pillars and Wainscot with a Paste made of Flax, Lime, or such like Materials; when this is dry'd to a certain degree, they with Brushes lay on the Oil, (mix'd with the Colour they pitch on, and boil'd as usual) according to their Design. Sometimes they gild the Moldings, the Carvings, and every thing that is in Relief: But, setting aside the Gilding, these Works scarce yield in Beauty and Lustre to those wherein they employ the Varnish, call'd *T-si*.

As this Oil is cheap, and the Varnish pretty dear, the Merchants usually mix a great quantity of the *Tong-yew* with the latter, under pretence, that a little of it is necessary to bring it to a Temper, and make it spread more easily. 'Tis with this *Tong-yew* that they make Cloth to keep out Rain, like the Oil-Cloth in Europe; but the Cloaths made of it can be worn only in the Northern Parts. In short, the *Tong-yew* is one of the most useful Trees to be found in China, and we have all the reason in the World to wish we had it in Europe.

The third Tree is that which produces the Tallow. It is as tall as a large Cherry-Tree; the Fruit is contain'd in a Rind called *Ten-kyu*, which, when ripe, opens in the middle like a Chest-nut; it consists of white Kernels of the bigness of an ordinary Hazle-nut, whose Pulp has the Properties of Tallow; accordingly they make Candles of it when it is melted, often mixing with it a little common Oil, and dipping the Candles in the Wax produc'd by the Tree I am going to speak of: This forms a sort of Crust about the Tallow, which hinders it from running. I shall speak more of it hereafter.

The fourth called *Pe-la-shu*, that is, the white Wax-Tree, is the most extraordinary of all. 'Tis not so tall as the Tallow-Tree, and differs from it also in the colour of the Bark, which is white; and in the figure of the Leaves, which are longer than broad. A kind of little Worms fasten on these Leaves, wherewith being cover'd, in a short time they form Combs of Wax, much smaller than the Honey-Combs. This Wax is very hard and shining, and is considerably

considerably dearer than Bees-Wax. When these Worms are accusom'd to the Trees of any District, they never quit them but on particular Occasions; and once they remove from a Place, they never return, so that others must be procured in their stead, there being Merchants who deal in them.

The *Bambú*. To the useful Trees may be added the Cane, which the *Chinese* call *Chú-tse*, and we *Europeans* *Bambú*. It grows as high as most Trees; and tho' it is hollow throughout, except in the knotty Parts, yet 'tis exceeding hard, is capable of sustaining great Weights, and, in some Places, large Houses of Wood. It may be divided into small Splinters or Strings, of which they make Mats, Boxes, and other curious Works. When it is beaten to Pieces, then left to rot, and boiled in Water till it is reduc'd to a kind of Paste, it serves to make Paper of different sorts, both fine and coarse, in which they trade. The *Bambú* is also made use of for Pipes to convey Water, and several other Occasions too tedious to mention. In short, there are so many sorts of them, in the several Provinces, differing as to size, colour, and other qualities, that it would be tiresome to describe them all. Most kinds of Wood, used by the Carpenters and Joiners in *Europe*, are to be found in *China*. In the Northern Provinces the Fir-Tree is employ'd in Building; and in the Southern Part, beyond the River, they ordinarily make use of the *Shá-mú*.

The *Nan-mú* much esteem-
ed in *China*. But that of greatest Esteem among them is called *Nan-mú*. The Pillars of the Apartments, and ancient Halls, of the Imperial Palace, are all made of it, as well as the Windows, Doors and Beams. The Relations of Travellers speak of it as a *Chinese* Cedar; possibly, because the Natives look upon it as a Wood that never decays, and for that Reason to be prefer'd to all others. When a Person has a Mind, say they, to build a House, that may last forever, he must use the *Nan-mú*. However the Leaves of the *Nan-mú*, at least such as the Missionaries have seen, are not at all like those of the Cedar, as described by Authors who have seen the Cedars of Mount *Libanus*. This Tree is one of the tallest sort, and very strait; its Branches shoot directly upwards; they begin only at a certain height, and terminate a-top in form of a Nosegay.

The *Tse-tan*,
or Rose-
Wood. The *Nan-mú*, notwithstanding 'tis so much esteemed by the *Chinese*, comes far short in Beauty of the Wood named *Tse-tan*, which at Court is called Rose-Wood. It is of a reddish Black, streaked, and full of very fine Veins, which one would think were painted: It is besides fit for the finest sort of Joinery-Work. The Furniture made of this Wood is much esteemed all over the Empire, and in the Northern Provinces selling at a greater Price than that which is varnished.

The *Tse-li-mú*, or Iron-
Wood. With regard to Strength and Firmness, there is, perhaps, no Wood comparable to that called by the *Portuguese* (the better to accommodate the Expression to the *Chinese* *Tse-li-mú*) *Pão de ferro*, that is, Iron-Wood. This Tree is as tall as our large Oak, but differs from it in the thickness of the Trunk, the shape of the Leaves, the colour of the Wood, which is darker, and still more in the Weight. The Anchors of their Ships of War are made of this Wood, and the Emperor's Officers, who accompany'd the Missionaries in their Passage to the Island of *Formosa*, or *Tay-wan*, pretended they were preferable to the Iron-Anchors belonging to the *Chinese* Merchantmen; but in this they must be mistaken: For the Flocks can neither be sufficiently pointed, nor strong enough for taking sure hold; and, by making the Shanks twice as long as those of Iron-Anchors, they must be proportionably weak, be they ever so large.

Tea-Shrub,
its different
Sorts. If from Trees we pass to Shrubs, those which bear the Tea ought to be placed in the first Rank, because they are of the greatest use and benefit in *China*. The Name of *Tba*, [or Tea] comes to us from the corrupt Pronunciation at *Tswoon-chew*, and *Chang-chew-fú*, in the Province of *Fo-kyen*; in all other Parts of the Empire they use the Word *Cha*, as do the *Portuguese* in their Relations. But this Word comprizes many kinds of Tea, consider'd according to the different Names given to it in different Provinces. However, it may be distinguished, by its Qualities, into four Sorts, viz. *Song-lo-cha*, *Vú-i-cha*, *Pú-eul-cha*, and *Lo-ngan-cha*.

The first Sort is so call'd from a Mountain in the Province of *Kyang-nan* and District of *Wbey-chew-fú*, in the Latitude of 29 d. 58 m. 30 f. This Mountain bears the Name of *Song-lo-shan*; it is neither high nor of great Extent, but cover'd over with these Shrubs, which are cultivated on its Sides, in the same manner as at the Foot of the neighbouring Mountains.

Song-lo, which we call Green-Tea, is planted much in the same manner as Vines, and its Growth is prevented, otherwise it wou'd run up to 6 or 7 Foot in height: It must also be planted anew every 4 or 5 Years, or else the Leaves will become thick, hard and rough. The Flower is white, and shap'd like a Rose of 5 Leaves. In Autumn, when the Flower decays, there appears a Berry in the form of a well-fill'd Nut, somewhat moist, and not ill-tasted.

What I have spoken of the Height of these Shrubs, must be understood of those that grow in the Province of *Kyang-nan*; in other Parts they let them grow to their natural Height, which is 10 or 12 Feet; for this reason, when the Branches are young, they bend them down, that they may gather the Leaves with greater ease. The *Song-lo-cha*, preserved several Years, is an excellent Remedy against many Distempers.

Vú-i, or Bo-
hea-Tea. The *Vú-i-cha* grows in the Province of *Fo-kyen*, and takes its Name also from the famous Mountain *Vú-i-shan*, situated in the District of *Kyen-ning-fú*, and two Leagues distant from the little City of *Tsong-gan-byen*, in 27 d. 47 m. 38 f. Latitude, according to the Observations made on the Spot. This is the most famous Mountain in that Province: It is cover'd with a great Number of Temples, Houses and Hermitages of the *Bonzas* belonging to the Sect of *Tau-kyá*, which draw thither a great Concourse of People.

The better to compass their Design of making this Mountain pass for the Abode of the Immortal Beings, they have convey'd Barks, Chariots, and other Things of the same Kind, into the Clefts

Clefts of the steepest Rocks all along the Sides of a Rivulet that runs between; insomuch that these fantastical Ornaments are looked upon by the stupid Vulgar as a real Prodigy, believing it impossible that they could have been raised to such inaccessible Places, but by a Power more than human; the Soil of the Mountain which produces this Plant is light, whitish and sandy.

The Shrubs *Vu-i-cha* and *Song-lo-cha* are of the same Height and Size, and cultivated in the same manner; the only Difference between them is, that the Leaves of the latter are more long and pointed, give the Water a greenish Tincture, and Experience shews it to be somewhat raking. On the contrary, the Leaves of the *Vu-i-cha* are short, more round, somewhat blackish and colour the Water yellow, without the least Harshness, or any Quality offensive to the weakest Stomach: Hence the *Vu-i-cha* is most generally used throughout the Empire. 'Tis difficult to meet with any that is good in the Northern Provinces, where usually that only which consists of the large Leaf is sold; for the more yellow, tender and fine the Leaves of the *Vu-i-cha*, as well as those of the *Song-lo*, are, the more they are esteemed: Of these they make three sorts in Places where Tea is gathered.

The first is the Leaf gathered from the Shrubs newly planted, or, as the Chinese express it, are the first Points of the Leaves: This they call *Mau-cha*; and is scarce ever used but in Presents, or to send to the Emperor. The second is of the Leaves more full grown; this is what they sell by the Name of good *Vu-i-cha*. The remaining Leaves, which are allowed to grow to their full Bigness, make the third sort, which is very cheap.

There is yet another sort made of the Flower itself, but those who would have it must bespeak it, and pay an excessive Price. The Missionary Geographers, having got a little of it by means of the Mandarins, had it prepared twice or thrice after the usual manner, but found no sensible Change in the Water, either as to Colour or Taste, which is probably the Reason why this Tea is not used by the Emperor or even in the Palace. The *Mau-cha* above-mentioned is the Imperial Tea, and sold in the Places near the Mountains *Song-lo* and *Vu-i*, for Forty or Fifty Sols a Pound [about two Shillings English.]

Under these two sorts of Tea or *Cha*, we may comprehend all the rest, distinguished by different Names, as *Lü-ngan-cha*, *Hay-cha*, &c. The first has its Name from the City of *Lü-ngan-chew*, although the best Tea of this kind is cultivated no where but on the Sides of the little Hills belonging to the small City of *Ho-shan-byen*, from whence they are distant about seven Leagues. The Missionaries, having examined it on the Spot, found no Difference between it and the *Song-lo-cha*, either in the Figure of the Leaves or the manner of Cultivation. If it tinges the Water of a different Colour, and when fresh appears not quite so rough or corrosive to the Taste, it may be attributed to the difference of Soil, which has a sensible Effect on several Plants; since we see in Europe, that Wines of the same kind of Grape are more or less rough in different Parts of the same Province, and in Provinces more distant the Alteration is still more perceptible.

The Chinese however find the Effects of them very different: The *Song-lo* is hot and raking, which the *Lü-ngan* Tea is not, and besides is so tempered that it is neither hot nor cold, and is reckoned very wholesome. The *Hay-cha* comes from *Kan-chew-fü* in the Province of *Kyang-fü*, and differs in no Respect from the *Lü-ngan-cha*, not even in its Roughness or Smoothness upon the Palate, so that it may be called a Species of the *Song-lo-cha*.

'Tis the same with the other sorts of Tea; for instance, that which the Mongols in Tartary use, called by them *Kayel-cha* or *Karcha*, consists only of Leaves, either of the *Song-lo* or *Vu-i-cha*, which grow to their full Size, and are mixed without any sorting; because the Chinese think any thing good enough for the Tartars, who cannot distinguish the coarse Tea from the fine, and commonly dilute it with Milk; of this they make both an agreeable and a nourishing Liquor, which they take at any Hour of the Day.

But we must not confound every thing which the Chinese call *Cha* with the true Tea; for they give that Name to Plants that do not deserve it, and which are indeed otherwise denominated by those who have not Interest enough to make them pass for such. Thus in the Province of *Sban-tong*, that which is sold by the Name of *Meng-ing-cha* as admirable Tea, is properly no more than a kind of Moss, which grows on the rocky Parts of a Mountain belonging to the City of *Meng-ing-byen*. It is of a very bitter Taste; and has this Quality of the true Tea, that, when drank hot after Meals, it promotes Digestion.

The same sort of Tea is found in some parts of the Provinces which are more Northerly than *Sban-tong*; though it be not made of Leaves, yet the Merchants call it *Cha-ye*, or *Leaves of Tea*. In those Countries where the Tea does not usually grow, the common People, who have not the nicest Palates, make use of any thing that resembles the Tea, either in Taste or Effects, and regale themselves upon this coarse Stuff, which they frequently gather from Trees, that, having been long transplanted, degenerate on account of the improper Soil, which does not agree with them; and to make it come cheaper, they lay in their Store when the Leaves are grown old, and become tough and large, which renders the Taste rough and insipid, although it produces the same Effects in those who take it, as the *Song-lo* or *Vu-i* Tea.

The third sort of Tea is that which we have named *Pü-eul-cha*, or Tea of the Village *Pü-eul*, which is situated in the Province of *Yün-nan*, and on the Borders of *Pegu*, *Ava*, the *Laos* and *Tun-king*. Its Neighbourhood to the Mountains, which produce this kind of Tea, has invited the Merchants thither, and by this means it is become considerable; though the Inhabitants debar any Merchant from approaching nearer than the Foot of the Mountains, where they receive the Quantity of Tea for which they have bargained. From these Merchants we learned that the Trees which

which produce this Tea are tall and bushy, planted without Order, and propagated without Culture; the Leaves are longer and thicker than those of the *Song-lo-cha* and *Vu-i-cha*, and are roll'd up into a kind of Balls, which they sell at a good Price. This sort of Tea is common in the Provinces of *Yun-nan* and *Quey-chew*; but the Taste is disagreeable, tho' smooth. The Balls, when cut in pieces, they throw like other Tea into boiling Water, to which it gives a reddish Tincture.

The *Chinese* Physicians affirm this Drink to be wholesome, as by its Effects it seems to be; The Missionaries, and those who accompanied them, found it very good in slight Disorders, inevitable in long Travels, especially in the excessive Heats of Summer; but its peculiar Qualities are, that it cures the Cholick, stops the Flux, and creates an Appetite; but then it ought to be drank as strong again as Tea is commonly made.

The Tree
which yields
the Oil.

There is another Tree which bears a Fruit, from whence is drawn an Oil called *Cha-yew*; this Oil when fresh is perhaps the best in all *China*. It very nearly resembles the Shrub of the *Vu-i-cha*, with respect to the Figure of its Leaves, Colour of the Wood, and some other Qualities, but differs from it, not only as to its Size, Thickness and Make, but also as to its Figure, Flowers and Fruit, which is naturally *oleaginous*, and becomes still more so when kept after it is gathered.

These Trees are of a moderate Height, and grow without Culture on the Slope of a Hill, and even in stony Valleys; they bear green Berries of an irregular Shape, filled with a sort of Kernels, which are pretty hard, but not so hard as the Stones of other Fruits.

Shrubs which
bear Flowers.

The flowering Trees and Shrubs are very numerous throughout the Empire. In these the *Chinese* have the Advantage of the *Europeans*, as the *Europeans* have of them with regard to Flowers which spring from Seeds and Roots. Large Trees are to be seen there, covered with Flowers, which have a perfect Resemblance of *Tulips*; the Flowers of others are like *Roses*, which intermixt with the green Leaves make a very beautiful Appearance.

Odoriferous
Shrubs.

Among the Shrubs I don't know above three or four Sorts whose Flowers are odoriferous; those, called by the *Chinese* *Mo-li-wba*, are the most agreeable. The Shrub which bears them is easily propagated in the Southern Parts of *China*, where it grows to a pretty good Height; but in the Northern Provinces it never exceeds five or six Feet, although they take care in Winter to keep them in Green-Houses made on purpose. The Flower has a great Resemblance of the double *Jessamin*, both in Figure and Colour, but the Scent is stronger, though no less agreeable: Its Leaf is intirely different, more nearly approaching that of the young Citron Tree.

Flower *Quey-wba*.

The Tree that produces the Flowers call'd *Quey-wba*, very common in the Southern Provinces, and sometimes as tall as an Oak, is rarely seen in any of the Northern. These Flowers are small, differing in Colour, and have a very agreeable Odour. The Leaves resemble those of our Bay-Tree; which Resemblance is more easily discerned in the very high Trees, that are principally to be met with in the Provinces of *Che-kyang*, *Kyang-si*, *Yun-nan*, and *Quang-si*, than in the Shrubs of the same Kind. These Flowers are ordinarily yellow, very small, and hang on the Trees in such Clusters, that when they fall they quite cover the Ground: Their Scent is so agreeable, that the Air is perfum'd at a great Distance. There are some Trees which bear four times in the Year; for when the old Flowers fall, others presently succeed, so that very frequently they are to be had even in Winter.

Lan-wba.

There is yet a sort of Plant which is difficult to rear in all but the Maritime Provinces. 'Tis that which bears the Flower call'd *Lan-wba*, or *Lan-wey-wba*, whose Smell is still more fragrant than that of the *Mo-li-wba*, and *Quey-wba*; but it is not so beautiful to the Eye; the Colour of it is commonly inclining to that of Wax. The most leafy, and the most beautiful Flowers, but entirely insipid, grow like *Roses* on Trees and Shrubs, which are thought to be of the Peach and Pomegranate kind; they are of a very bright Colour, but produce no Fruit. There is another Shrub which has still less Conformity with any of that Species among us, named by the *Chinese*, at *Pe-king*, *Wen-quang-shu*; for it has different Names, in at least three different Provinces. Its Flower is white, the Leaves of it growing in form of a double and sometimes a triple Rose. The Calix or Cup becomes afterwards a Fruit resembling a Peach, but quite tasteless: The Cells are fill'd with Kernels, or rather Seeds, cover'd with a cartilaginous and blackish Film.

Peonies.

Peonies are found in several Parts of *China*, much finer than those of *Europe*: And besides the variety of their Colour, in some Places they have this peculiar to them, that they diffuse a sweet and a most charming Fragrance. Indeed they are the greatest Ornament of their Parterres of Flowers, where one meets with no other sort to compare with our Pink, Tulip, Ranunculus, Anemony, and the like.

Lyen wba,
Nymphaea,
Water-Rose,
or Water-
Lilly.

In artificial Fishponds, and often in the Marshes, there grows a Flower call'd *Lyen-wba*, much esteem'd, and cultivated with great Care by the *Chinese*; by the Leaves, the Fruit and the Stalk, it appears to be the *Nymphaea*, or Water-Lilly, which is but little valued in *Europe*: But by the great Care they bestow on it, the Flower becomes double; the Leaves, 'tis said, amount to an Hundred; and the Colours are more lively, and in greater Variety than in *Europe*. Where the Flower is single, the Cup, as in ours, has ordinarily no more than 5 Leaves, whereof the Pistil grows in form of a Cone, and is divided lengthways into several Cells, which contain a very white sort of Fruit larger than our Beans.

To this Plant, which is much us'd all over the Empire, they attribute a great many Qualities; some it certainly has, such as that of being refreshing; others are questionable, as when the *Chinese* tell us, that it softens Copper when put into one's Mouth, with a bit of the Root. I shall have occasion to mention this elsewhere. The Flower, call'd in *Chinese* *Pe-tsi*, is probably a Species of the little Water-Lilly: The Juice to the Taste is agreeable, and seems to have no corrosive

corrosive Qualities. The meaner sort of People in China living, for the most part, on Herbs, Roots and Pulse, together with Rice, which is their ordinary Food, are very careful to cultivate their Kitchen-Gardens: Whenever the Season for one thing is over, another immediately is planted or sown, and by this means they never suffer the least Spot of Earth to lie idle. They have great Variety of these Vegetables, many of which we have in Europe; others we have not. The Seeds of Cabbage, Sorrel, Rue, and some other Plants, which are brought from the Indies, either dye or degenerate in 2 or 3 Years. They have true Cabbages indeed, but they don't come to a Head: They have had Parsly for many Ages, since it is found in their Books under the Name of *Shin-tray*; but it has neither the Beauty nor Sweetness of ours.

Pot-herbs.

Among the Pot-Herbs which we have not, there is scarce any, except one call'd *Pe-tsay*, that deserves a Place in our best Kitchen-Gardens. This indeed is exceeding good, and much us'd; some mistake it for a kind of Lettuce: But tho' its first Leaves resemble those of the Roman Lettuce, it differs from it in the Flower, Seed, Taste, and Height. They are best in the Northern Provinces, where they are left in the Ground during the first Hoar-Frosts, by which they become more tender; the Quantity of them that is sown, is almost incredible: In October and November, the nine Gates of *Pe-king* are stop'd up by Carts loaded with them, which are passing continually from Morning to Sun-set. The ordinary Kinds which grow in any Ground, are propagated in an infinite Degree by the Chinese, who preserve them with Salt or Pickle them; in order to mix with, and give a Relish to their Rice, which, when boild by itself, is insipid.

Pe-tsay, a kind of Lettuce.

In some of the Southern Provinces they cultivate Mallows, boiling their Leaves, and dressing them with Fat or Oil, as we do our Lettuce or Spinage with Butter. This Plant is very wholesome and laxative, without causing any Inconvenience.

The Medicinal Herbs, which we don't there find collected, as at *Paris*, into a Royal Garden of Plants, might certainly be very numerous in a Country of such vast Extent, and under so many different Climates: But it is not my Design to examine the difference there is between these of China and ours. I shall only speak succinctly of those Plants, which are most esteemed or extraordinary, at least that appeared so to the Missionaries, when they travell'd over the Provinces of that Empire.

Medicinal Herbs.

Rhubarb grows in great Plenty, not only in the Province of *Se-chuen*, but also in the Mountains of *Shen-si*, named *Swe-shan*, or the Mountains of Snow, which extend from *Lyang-chew*, as far as *Su-chew* and *Si-ning-chew*: An incredible Quantity of it is gather'd in those Parts only, where the Missionaries, while they were making the Map thereof, in the Months of October and November, frequently met whole Troops of Camels, loaded with Net-Bags full of Rhubarb. The Flowers resemble Bells scolloped at the Edges; the Leaves are long, and somewhat rough to the Touch. The inside of the Root, when fresh, is whitish; but, as it dries, assumes the Colour it has when it comes to us.

Rhubarb.

The Plant which their Physicians most use, is called by them *Fu-ling*, and by European Authors *Radix Xina*, and grows chiefly in *Se-chuen*; its Leaves, which creep along the Ground, are long, and narrow; on the contrary, the Root grows to a great thickness; and if we may believe the Chinese, sometimes to the Size of a Child's Head. But whatever Truth is in this, it is certain, that it contains in a kind of Shell a white pithy Substance, somewhat clammy: In all appearance, it is on account of its Whiteness, that the right sort is called *Pe-fu-ling*, or white *Fu-ling*. It differs from another sort, which is also much used, because it is cheaper, and grows spontaneously in several Parts of China, where it is consider'd as a Species of wild *Fu-ling*. Some of our Missionaries, who are Natives of that Part of France, where Truffles grow, affirm that the *Pe-fu-ling* of *Shen-si* is a perfect Truffle; its Colour is nearly green, but when dry, it grows somewhat yellowish; the Virtues of this Plant are too universally experienc'd to admit of any Doubt; but it is not so easy to determine in what Distemper it is most proper to apply it, because the Chinese Physicians are observ'd to use it indifferently in all their Prescriptions.

The Root of the Plant named *Ten-se*, is not so commonly used, but bears a greater Price. It is scarce, even in the Province of *Se-chuen*, where it grows between the 30th and 29th Degrees of Latitude; is of a hot Quality, and account'd an excellent Remedy for Disorders caused by cold Humours, and for all sorts of Obstructions.

Ten-se.

Its Figure is singular, being very round on one Side, and almost flat on the other; its flat Side is fasten'd to the Ground by Strings, especially by one, pretty thick, which is in the midst of the rest, and enters deeper into the Substance of the Root; from the Convex Surface, shoot divers Stems, which separating at the Bottom, each makes a little Noddy; by these Marks 'tis easily distinguish'd. They commonly throw away the Branches, and only keep the Root, which they boil, or at least make them pass the *Balneum Marie* before they are sold.

Ti-wang is another Root of a very beautiful Plant, which grows chiefly in the North of the Province of *Ho-nan*, in 35 d. 6 m. and 10 f. Latitude, in the District of *Whay-king-fu*. At first sight one would take it for a kind of Liquorish, having a leguminous Flower, and crooked Pod; but after examining the Leaves, the Seed and the Taste, it is hard to determine under what Species to range it: However that be, it is commonly used by the Chinese, who find it good for strengthening the Stomach, and restoring, by degrees, the loss of Vigour.

Ti-wang.

But of all Plants, next to the *Jin-seng*, none is so much valued by the Chinese Physicians as the *San-tsi*, and they attribute almost the same Virtues to both, even preferring the *San-tsi* in Female Disorders, and in all Cases where there is loss of Blood. It has no Resemblance of the *Jin-seng* in Figure; it grows in the Province of *Quang-si*, and is to be found no where but on

San-tsi.

the Tops of almost inaccessible Mountains. A kind of Goat, of a greyish Colour, is very fond of this Plant: Whence the *Chinese* say, the Blood of that Animal receives a Medicinal Quality. 'Tis certain, that its Blood has surprizing Effects in case of Hurts, and Contusions received by falls from Horses, and the like Accidents; this the Missionaries have frequently experienc'd. Some of their Servants, who had been thrown by vicious Horses, and depriv'd almost of Speech and Motion, having been so speedily cured by this Remedy, that next Day they were in a Condition to continue their Journey.

We must not forget to observe, that they look on this Potion as a Specific against the Small-Pox; Instances of its Success are frequent: The black and infectious Pustules become of a clear red, as soon as the Patient has taken the Remedy: Hence 'tis prescribed in several Diseases, suppos'd to proceed from bad Qualities in the Blood. But this Plant is both scarce, and dear, and after all, one is not sure of having it pure and unmix'd.

In the Experiments above mentioned, they make use of the Blood of a Goat that has been hunted down; the *San-tsi* they use, is always that which grows in the Province of *Qyang-si*, and which the *Mandarins*, in those Parts, are accustomed to make Presents of to the superior *Mandarins*, and to their Protectors at Court.

Cassia Trees. In the Province of *Yun-nan*, towards the Kingdom of *Ava*, there are *Cassia* Trees (*Cassia Fistula*); they are pretty tall, and bear long Pods; whence 'tis called by the *Chinese*, *Chang-ko-tse-shu*, The Tree with long Fruit; its Pods are longer than those we see in *Europe*, and not composed of two convex Shells, like those of ordinary Pulse, but are so many hollow Pipes, divided by Partitions into Cells, which contain a pithy Substance, in every Respect like the *Cassia* in use with us.

I forbear to speak of the Trees which produce the Betel, tho' 'tis good against several Ailments, and much used in the Southern Provinces; as also of the Palm, the *Banana-Tree*, Cotton-Tree, the Mango-Tree, Anana's, and several other Plants which grow in the *Indies*, because they are described in all the Relations of those Countries.

I shall only observe, that the *Chinese* Cinamon grows in the Province of *Qyang-si*, and District of *Tsin-chew-fu*, chiefly on the Mountain *Pe-shu*. 'Tis not so much esteemed, even in *China*, as that which comes from other Places; its Colour inclines rather to grey than red, which is the Colour of the best Cinamon of *Ceylan*; it is also more thick, and rough, nor is it so odoriferous. However, it has the same Virtue of strengthening the Stomach, and exhilarating the Spirits; and Experience shews it has all the Qualities of Cinamon, tho' not in so great Perfection. One meets, now and then, with some more biting than that which comes from the *Indies*; and this they affirm becomes Grey also, when it is long a drying.

It is not proper here to speak of the Simples and Drugs made use of by the Artificers of *China*; such a Work wou'd be more suited to the Natural History of that Empire. However, I shall mention the Plant named *Tyen* and *Tyen-wa*; 'tis very commonly us'd in all the Provinces: When it is steep'd in Water, and prepar'd in large Tubs, or little Ponds, it yields a Blue, servicable in Dying. Those of *Fo-kyen* give a more beautiful Teint, and are most esteemed in that sort of Painting which they call *Tan-mey*.

They scarce employ any thing else but the Juices of Flowers and Herbs for painting Flowers and Figures on Satin, and Satin-Taffaties, whereof the *Chinese* make their Cloaths, Trimmings and Furniture. These Colours, which penetrate the Substance of the Silk, never fade; and as they have not a Body, they never peel off. They seem to be woven in very finely with the Ground of the Silk, tho' they are only painted in a very delicate manner.

Animals. We have not been able to procure an exact Knowledge of the rare Animals, which they tell us, are found in the Mountains of the *Chinese* Empire. That which they relate of some has such an Air of Fable, that I think it unworthy the Attention of the Publick. By what is reported all over *Se-chwen*, the *Sin-sin* seems to be a kind of Ape; they say it is as large as a middle siz'd Man, and has a greater Resemblance of Mankind than other Apes, both in its Actions, and in the Facility with which it walks on its Hind-Foot.

Man-Bear. What they likewise report of the *Jin-byung*, or *Man-Bear*, found in the Defarts of the Province of *Shen-si*, ought only to be understood of the extraordinary bigness of those Bears compar'd with Man; just as the Animal call'd *Ma-lu*, or the *Horse-Stag*, is only a Species of Stags, which are near as high as the little Horses of the Provinces of *Se-chwen*, and *Yun-nan*, named *Chwen-ma*.

Yun-nan also breeds a kind of Stags, to be found no where else; for their size never exceeds that of ordinary Dogs; the Princes and great Men keep them in their Gardens as Curiosities.

But what some *Chinese* Books mention of the *Horse-Tiger*, ought to be look'd on as mere Fiction. They pretend it differs from a Horse only in being cover'd with Scales, in having Claws which resemble a Tiger's, and in its bloody Disposition; which in the Spring makes him leave the Water to seize Men and Beasts.

The Missionaries have travell'd along the River *Han*, that waters the Territory of *Syang-yang-fu*, in the Province of *Hu-quang*, where they say these Animals breed: They likewise have cross'd the frightful Mountains of *Yun-yang-fu*; and, notwithstanding that the Inhabitants made them take Notice of every thing worth observing, and of several things even very trifling, and that the *Tartars* were very inquisitive after whatever was rare, in order to entertain the Emperor, who had a taste for Natural History, and judg'd it very conducive to the Public Welfare, yet they cou'd neither hear of, nor see any such Creature. That however which is reported con-

concerning the *Hyang-chang-tse*, or odoriferous Deer, is very true; this Animal is not scarce, being found, not only in the Southern Provinces, but even within 4 or 5 Leagues to the West of *Pe-king*. 'Tis a sort of Deer without Horns, with Hair of a blackish Colour; its Musk-bag is composed of a very thin Skin, covered with Hair exceeding fine; the Flesh is good to eat, and served up at the best Tables. I shall have occasion to speak of it hereafter.

In the Southern Provinces, as *Quang-tong*, and especially *Quang-si*, there are Parrots of all sorts, in every respect like those brought from *America*, they have the same Plumage and Docility for Talking, but they are not comparable to the Birds called *Kin-ki*, or *Golden-Hens*; these last are found in the Provinces of *Se-chuen*, *Yun-nan* and *Shen-si*. We have no Bird in *Europe* that resembles them; their lively red and yellow, the Plume on the Head, the shadowing of the Tail, and the Variety of Colours in the Wings, together with a well shap'd Body, have no doubt given occasion to the Name of *Golden-Hen*, as it shews the Preference this Bird ought to have over all others: Its Flesh is more delicate than that of a Pheasant; so that, of all the Birds in the East, this perhaps best deserves to be brought into *Europe*.

Birds *Kin-ki*,
or golden
Hens.

Nothing is more to be admired than a little Bird called *Tung-wah-fong*, mentioned by the *Chinese* Geographers, according to whom, the Variety of its Colours is surprizing, and its Bill of a shining Red, inclining to Vermillion; but in the Province of *Se-chuen*, and even at *Ching-tu-fu* it self, where, they say, it breeds, the Inhabitants know nothing of this Bird, according to the same Geographers, its Life is of no longer Duration than the Flower *Tung-wah*, and its Beauty surpasses that of the Bird *Fong-wahang*; which should be our *Phoenix*, if there ever was such a Bird, as it is described by our Authors.

The *Tung-
wah-fong*.

It is certain that the *Fong-wahang*, whose Figure is often painted and set off with a vast Number of Ornaments, never appears in any of the Cities or Mountains, to which they have given its Name, at *Fong-tsyang-fu* in *Shen-si*, where they say it is, 'tis not more known any where else, as we have already remarked in speaking of *Fong-wahang-ching* in *Tartary* (M.)

Fong-wahang,
or *Phoenix*.

Among the beautiful Birds, they with good Reason reckon the *Hay-tsing*. 'Tis very rare, being found only in the District of *Hong-chan-fu* in *Shen-si*, and some Parts of *Tartary*; it is not inferior to our finest *Falcons*, but exceeds them in Bigness and Strength; it may be called the King of the Birds of Prey in *Tartary* and *China*; for it is the most beautiful, sprightly and courageous of all, and in such Esteem, that as soon as any of them is caught, it must be carried to Court, where it is presented to the Emperor, and afterwards committed to the Care of the Royal *Falconers*.

The Butterflies of the Mountain *Lo-sew-shan*, situated in the District of *Whey-chew-fu* and Province of *Quang-tong*, are likewise so much esteemed, that the largest and most uncommon are sent to Court, where they become a Part of certain Ornaments in the Palace: Their Colours are surprizingly diversified and lively; they are much bigger than the Butterflies of *Europe*, and their Wings a great deal larger. In the Day time they appear without Motion on the Trees, and are easily taken; in the Evening they begin to flutter about, much like our Bats, and some of them seem to be as large, when their Wings are extended: There are also beautiful Butterflies found in the Mountains of *Si-shan* in the Province of *Pe-che-li*, which are likewise in Request; but they are small, and not to be compared to these of Mount *Lo-sew-shan*.

Butterflies.

The Mountains of *China* are still more valuable, on account of the Mines of different Metals. The *Chinese* say they are full of Gold and Silver; but that the working of them hitherto has been hindered from some political Views, perhaps, that the publick Tranquillity might not be disturbed by the too great abundance of these Metals, which would make the People haughty and negligent of Agriculture.

Mountains,
and Mines
therein.

Thus this immense Fund of hidden Treasure, which they talk so much of, becomes useless. The late Emperor *Kang-bi*, so famous for his Wisdom, had once given Permission to some of his own Household, who had the Care of his Domain to a large Extent, to open the Silver Mines, but caused them to give over the Work in 2 or 3 Years. Not, say they, because the Profit arising from them was trifling, but rather to prevent the Rabble from assembling together. They add that those who work in the Silver Mines in the Province of *Yun-nan*, which have always been open, were formerly considerable Gainers by them.

Without doubt, *China* affords Mines of Gold also. What Gold they have there, is partly dug out of Mines; but most of it is found among the Sands, which the Rivers and Torrents roll from the Mountains in the western Parts of the Provinces of *Se-chuen* and *Yun-nan*; this last is the richer of the two. The People called *Lo-lo*, of whom I shall speak hereafter, and who possess the neighbouring Parts of the Kingdoms of *Ava*, *Pegu* and *Laos*, probably dig a great deal of Gold from their Mountains; since they use to put a good Quantity of Gold Leaves in the Coffins of illustrious Persons, or those who deserved their Esteem. Their Gold is not very beautiful, possibly because not purified: In all likelihood the *Lo-lo* are not better skilled in Smelting of Gold than Silver, which is still blacker, and fuller of Alloy; but when refined by the *Chinese* Workmen, it becomes as pure and beautiful as any other Silver. The Gold, which is most beautiful and dear, is found in the Districts of *Li-kyang-fu* and *Yang-chang-fu*.

Gold Mines.

As the Gold which comes from those Places is not coined, it is employed in Trade as a Merchandize; but the Demand for it in the Empire is not very considerable, because Gold is scarce

ever

(M) It seems from this Circumstance, as if the Description of *Tartary* was originally designed to have been placed before that of *China*.

ever used but by the Gilders, and in some trifling Ornaments, for none but the Europeans have any golden Plate.

Coal Mines.

Coal Mines are so numerous in the Provinces, that perhaps no Kingdom in the World besides, has so many and so rich. Those in the Provinces of *Shen-si*, *Sban-si* and *Pe-che-li* are innumerable: So that Coal Supplies all their Furnaces, Kitchens and Stoves, which are used during all the Winter: Without some such Convenience there would be no living in so cold a Country, where Wood for Firing is scarce, and consequently very dear.

Mines of Iron, Tin, and other Metals.

Mines of Iron, Tin, and other Metals for ordinary Use, must needs also be very numerous there, seeing they bear a low Price throughout the Empire. The Missionary Geographers were Witnesses of the Richness of a *Tuttenague* Mine in the Province of *Hu-quang*, from whence in a few Days were drawn some hundreds of Quintals.

Copper-Mines. White-Copper.

The Mines of common Copper which are in the Provinces of *Yun-nan* and *Quey-chew*, have supplied the Empire with all the small Money that has been coined there for several Years past: But the most extraordinary Copper is that called *Pe-tong*, or *White Copper*; it is white when dug out of the Mine, and still more white within than without. It appears by a vast Number of Experiments made at *Pe-king*, that its Colour is owing to no Mixture, on the contrary, all Mixtures diminish its Beauty; for when it is rightly managed it looks exactly like Silver; and were there not a Necessity of mixing a little *Tuttenague*, or some such Metal with it, to soften it, and prevent its Brittleness, it would be so much the more extraordinary, as this sort of Copper is, perhaps, to be met with no where but in *Cbina*, and that only in the Province of *Tun-nan*. Those who would have it keep its fine Colour, mix a fifth Part of Silver with it instead of other Metal.

Red-Copper.

As for the Copper named *Tse-lay-tong*, or the Copper which comes of itself; it proves to be nothing else but red Copper washed down by the great Rains from the high Mountains of *Tun-nan*, and found among the Sands and Flints, in the Channel of the Torrents, when they subside and their Beds become dry.

The Chinese pretend, that the Bracelets of *Tse-lay-tong* defend the Arms against the Palsy, or rather prevent their Loss of Feeling, by the Discharge of certain Humours. One of the *Tartars* who accompanied the Missionaries, found as much Benefit from Bracelets made of *Tun-nan* Gold, as he had received from those of *Tse-lay-tong*; whence the Virtues ascribed to the exterior Application of that Metal may be justly questioned: However, it is in great Reputation in *Tun-nan*, and even in *Pe-king*.

Quarries of extraordinary Stones.

If what they affirm of the Stone called *Hyung-Wbang*, being an Antidote against Poisons is true, it ought to be looked on as a Source of Riches to the Empire, and preferred to the Rubies of *Tun-nan*, where Mines or rather Quarries of it are found, as also in several other Provinces, even Northern ones, as *Shen-si*. 'Tis not a Mineral but a soft Stone, easily formed into Vessels of all kinds, which they tinge with Vermillion, the Stone itself being naturally of a yellowish Colour, and sometimes spotted with black.

What the Chinese Geographers report, of its being an excellent Specifick against malignant Fevers, is uncertain; at least it is not used in the Cure of them in Places where it abounds: Whence it may be presumed, that in case it has that Property, the Physicians there have not discovered it.

Lapis Armenus.

The *Lapis Armenus* is not very dear in *Tun-nan*, where it is found in several Places, differing in nothing from what is imported into Europe. 'Tis produced also in the Province of *Se-chuen*, and in the District of *Tay-tong-fu*, belonging to *Sban-si*, which furnishes perhaps the most beautiful *Yu-she* in all *Cbina*; 'tis a kind of white Jasper, the white resembling that of *Agat*; 'tis transparent, and sometimes spotted when it is polished.

Jasper.

Rubies.

The Rubies sold at *Tun-nan-fu*, are of the right sort, but very small. We know not in what Part of the Province they are found. One meets with some other kinds of Precious Stones at the same City; but they are said to be brought from other Countries, and especially from *Ava*: at least they are brought by the Merchants of that Kingdom, who come to trade at *Tung-chang-fu*, whose Jurisdiction borders upon it.

Rock Crystal.

The fairest Rock Crystal does not come from *Tun-nan*, but is found in the Mountains of *Chang-chew-fu*, and *Chang-pu-byen*, in the Province of *Fo-kyen*, situated in the Latitude of 24 deg. 10 min. The Artificers of those two Cities are very skilful in working it; and they make of it Seals, Buttons, and Figures of Animals.

Marble-Quarries.

There are in the same Province (of *Fo-kyen*) as also in several others, Quarries of Marble, not inferior to European Marble, were it as well wrought. However, one may meet at the Merchants with Variety of little pieces, well enough polished, and of a pretty good Colour; for instance, the little Tables named *Tyen-tsan*, wherewith sometimes the Tables at Entertainments are adorned, are very pretty, and spotted with divers Colours, which, though not extraordinary lively, represent very naturally Mountains, Rivers, and Trees: They are made of a Marble commonly dug in the Quarries of *Tay-li-fu*, whereof they select only certain Pieces.

But tho' there is no want of Marble in *Cbina*, yet one meets with neither Palace, Temple or other Structure at *Peking* or elsewhere, which is intirely built with it. Tho' the Chinese Houses are supported by Pillars, it does not appear, that they have yet made any of Marble, or once thought of employing the coloured kind instead of Wood, whereof they are accustomed to make Pillars. Buildings even of the fine Free-stone are rare in this Country: Stone is never used but in Bridges and Triumphal Arches, named *Pay-lew*, which adorn the Streets of a great Number of Towns in each Province.

The triumphal Arches are mostly adorned with lively Figures of Men, Birds and Flowers, in pierced Work; so neatly detached from the Body of the Arch, that they are joyned together only by Cordons, and thus run into one another without Confusion. This shows the superior Skill of the ancient Workmen; for it is observed that the Triumphal Arches erected of late in certain Cities, fall vastly short of the old ones; the Sculpture is very sparing and appears coarse; the Work is all solid, without being pierced, or having any thing to enliven it.

However, the Order in the modern *Pay-lew*, is the same as in the old: But this Order is very different from ours, both as to the Disposition and Proportion of the Parts. They have neither Chapters, nor Cornishes; and that which bears some Likeness to our Frizes, is of a Height shocking to an Eye accustomed to the *European* Architecture; although it is so much the more agreeable to the *Chinese* Taste, as it affords more Room for the Ornaments, which garnish the Sides of the Inscriptions engraven thereon.

The Stone-Bridges are commonly built like ours, on huge Stone Piers, capable of breaking the Force of the Stream, and sustaining the Weight of Arches, wide and high enough for the largest Barks to pass. They are very numerous in *China*, and the Emperor spares no Expence, when the Benefit of the Public requires them to be built. There is scarce a more beautiful Bridge to be seen than that of *Fu-chew-fu*, Capital of the Province of *Ho-kyen*; the River, which is a Mile and a half broad, is sometimes divided into small Arms, and sometimes interpersed with little Islands. This is all united in joining the Islands by Bridges, which altogether make 8 *Li* or Furlongs, and 76 *Chinese* Fathoms. The principal Bridge alone has above 100 Arches, built of white Stone, with carved Bannisters on each Side, upon which at the distance of every tenth Foot are placed little square Pilasters, whose Bases are very large, resembling hollow Barks. Every Pillar bears one or two cross Stones, which support stone Steps, more or less in Number, according to the Breadth of the Bridge.

But that which surpasses all the rest, is the Bridge of *Suen-chew-fu*, built over the point of an Arm of the Sea, which otherwise must be crossed in a Bark, often not without Danger. It is 2520 *Chinese* Feet long and 20 broad, supported by 252 huge Piers, 126 on each side: All the Stones are of a greyish Colour, and of the same Length and Thickness, as well those which cross from Pier to Pier, as those which are laid across to join them together.

'Tis not easy to comprehend where they could find so many large Pieces of Rock, or how they could contrive to cut or place Stones of such enormous Weight, high enough for large Vessels to pass underneath: the Bridge is likewise set off with Ornaments, made of the same sort of Stone. In short, the most remarkable things to be seen elsewhere, however esteemed in the Country, are nothing comparable to this. What I have said is sufficient to give the Reader an Idea of the Magnificence of the *Chinese* in publick Edifices, and whatever concerns the Good of the People; with regard to which they are no less profuse, than they are sparing in what relates to their Persons and private Buildings. This Magnificence appears still farther in the *Quays*, which border the Rivers and Canals. 'Tis surprizing to behold of what Length and Breadth they are, and what large Stones they are set with.

But these Works, however splendid they appear, fall far short of those which regard the Rivers and Lakes. Nothing can be of greater publick Convenience, than to be able to go by Water from *Kanton*, the most Southern Part of the Empire, to *Pe-king* the most Northern; and that without travelling above one Day by Land, over Mount *Mey-lin*, where the River of *Kyang-fu* rises: But one need never quit the Bark, provided he sails about thro' the Provinces of *Quang-si* and *Hu-quang*. For the Rivers of *Hu-quang* and *Kyang-fu* run Northwards into the *Yang-tse-Kyang*, which is the greatest River in all *China*, and traverses it from West to East.

This great River joins the River *Pe-ho*, which is convey'd Southward from *Pe-king*, by means of a famous Artificial Canal; so that there is an easy Communication between the Southern Maritime Provinces, and the Northern bordering on *Tartary*, which becomes an inexhaustible Source of reciprocal Advantages to both. This Canal, which is call'd *Yu-hyang-bo*, that is; the Canal for conveying Merchandize, and often *Yu-bo*, or the Royal Canal, is very remarkable for its Length, which is above 160 great French Leagues, and still more so for the Evenness of the Country thro' which it is cut; for in all that Space there were neither Hills, Quarries nor Rocks, which gave the Workmen any Trouble either to level, or to penetrate.

In the Province of *Sban-tong* is a River of an ordinary largeness, named *Wen-bo*, whose Stream they have found means to divide. The Point of Division is near a small Eminence, 3 Leagues from the little City of *Wen-shan-byen*. This Place is call'd *Fu-shwei-myau*, or the Temple of the division of the Waters, because it is consecrated by the Idolaters to *Long-vang*, who, according to the *Bonzas*, is Master of the Waters; the larger quantity of Water, after being divided, supplies that Part of the Canal which runs to the North; where, after it has received the River *Wey-bo*, from the Province of *Ho-nan*, and run a long Course, it falls, near the City of *Tyen-ting-wei* in the Province of *Pe-che-li*, into the River which comes from *Pe-king*, and discharges itself into the Eastern Ocean. The other Branch, which is scarce one third Part of the Stream, running Southward [in the Canal] towards the *Wang-bo*, or Yellow River, meets at first with Pools and Marshes, some whereof serve for its Channel, and others supply it with Water, by means of Sluices, which are open'd and shut at pleasure, with Wooden-Planks that are fastened across the Mouth of the Sluice, in Grooves cut into the Stone-Piers that line it, where it is discharg'd into the Canal.

Triumphal Arches.

Magnificence of the Chinese in their Stone Bridges.

—That of Fu-chew-fu.

Rivers and Canals.

Great Canal.

Its Origin and Course.

These Works are in *Chinese* call'd *Cha*, and in our Relations Dikes, tho' very improperly; because those which are built in the Canal itself, and contract its Breadth, leaving only Space enough for a large Bark to pass, serve like our Sluices to restrain the Water, when they want at once to stop its Course either entirely, or in part, by laying the Boards across to a certain Height. This Precaution is often necessary, especially in times of Drought: For the Stream of the Canal being only part, as has been observed, of a moderate River, and not able to furnish Water to more than the Depth of 5 or 6 Feet, they have endeavour'd to retard, and even stop the Course of it, by the Elbows made by frequent Turnings and Windings of the Canal: It happens some Years, when there is scarcity of Rain, that it is reduced to three Feet of Water, which is not sufficient to bear the great Imperial Barks, that carry the Provisions and Tributes furnished by the Provinces to Court. In Parts therefore subject to that Inconvenience, they have recourse to this sort of Sluices, [or Reservoirs,] if they deserve that Name, since they have no other Basin besides the Canal itself. The Number of others is not so great as is reported, not exceeding 45, and their Breadth not above 30 Feet, nor are the Sides of the Canal lined with Stone, except here and there: They often need repairing, either in those Places where the Earth, being sandy and loose, easily tumbles down; or else near Ponds, which swell'd by extraordinary Rains, sometimes break down the Banks that are made commonly of Earth, probably the same that was thrown up in digging the Canal.

They have greater Difficulties to struggle with, beyond the *Whang-bo*: For, to draw the Canal from its Southern side to the great *Yang-tse-Kyang*, it was necessary to raise great Banks of Stone, and other Works of that kind, to resist the Waters, both of a great Lake which is to the West, and of the River *Quay-bo*, which swell'd to such a degree, in the time of great Rains, that, after ravaging the Plain, it fell with fury on the Canal; these Works are near *Whay-ngan-fu*, and the best that have been made for the Service of the Canal. There are also some pretty good ones towards *Yang-chew-fu*, which serve as *Quays* to that fine City.

Beyond the *Yang-tse-Kyang*, the Canal (which is continued from *Chin-kyang-fu*, thro' *Chang-chew-fu*, and *Su-chew-fu*, and receives the several Canals of the Province of *Che-kyang*,) is more commodious, as it is not embarrass'd with Sluices, or such like Works. The Evenness of the Land, the plenty of Water which has no Descent, and the Nature of the Ground, are Advantages which it wou'd have been difficult for those who made the Canal to have met with else-where.

Imperial
Barks.

That which most charms the Eye, is the vast Number of large and beautiful Imperial Barks, divided into Squadrons, commanded each by its *Mandarin*, advancing in great Order, loaded with the best Things that the Provinces afford. 'Tis commonly reported, and agreeable to the printed Accounts, that the Number of these Barks, maintain'd at the Expence of the Empire, amounts to 10,000. However the *Mandarins*, who are Surveyors of the Transports of Merchandizes, and count them in their Passage, have often affirm'd, that they never saw above 4 or 5000 of them arrive: But even that Number is surprizing, when we reflect upon the Largeness of those Barks, many whereof carry 80 Tun, and that they are design'd merely for supplying the Imperial City with Necessaries.

In the Countries, where there is no danger of damaging the Great Royal Canal, several little Canals have been cut into it, by the Inhabitants of neighbouring Towns or great Villages. The Advantages that accrue by having a Communication with the whole Kingdom, and thereby facilitating Trade, have made the *Chinese* surmount Difficulties which frighten *Europeans*. We meet with an Instance of this in the Canals that pass from *Shau-bing-fu* to *Ning-po-fu*; the Waters of one Canal not being on a Level with that of another, the Boat, by means of two Capestanes, is hoisted upon a Stone-Glacier, or Sloping, which being made slippery with Water, the Boat slides down into the second Canal, as swift as an Arrow out of a Bow: For this reason they are made in form of *Gondolas*, with Keels of a Wood hard enough to sustain the Weight of the Bark. These Boats are proper only for carrying Goods from *Ning-po*, and the Towns depending on it, as far as the Canal of *Shau-bing*. They differ much, both as to size and make, from the Imperial Barks, which to be sure wou'd be broken to Pieces, or at least receive some considerable Damage in the Descent.

In the Province of *Quang-fi* they have joined the River that falls into the Sea at *Kanton* with that which, after crossing the Province of *Hu-quang*, enters into the great *Yang-tse-Kyang*, at the Place where the Royal Canal ends, as has been already observed. The Waters which descend from the Mountains, in the North Part of the Province, form near the City *Hing-ngan-byen* a small River, which is stopped by a Bank equal to the highest Ground whereon it runs, and its Rapidity makes it swell above the natural Declivity of its Channel, which discharges the Surplus of the Water. But this Canal, which goes not far, before it enters the two Rivers just now mentioned, is neither so commodious, nor so well kept in Repair as the Grand Canal. The Water is often so low, that in many Places the Barks are rather halled along the Gravel, than carry'd by the Stream.

These sorts of Sluices, which are very proper for increasing the Water, by stopping its Course, are commonly made only of Earth, supported by Stakes, and their Mouths secured by Matts, or such like things. But whatever Defects happen, they are supply'd by the Industry and Labour of the Boatmen and Peasants. This Road is chosen by the Merchants, who are deterred from taking that to *Kanton*, thro' the Province of *Kyang-fi*, because of the Expence and Trouble they are obliged to be at, by carrying their Goods one Day's Journey over Land.

There

There is some Inconveniency in travelling from *Kanton* by the Province of *Hu-quang*; for they must quit the River (which passing to *Sbau-chew-fu*, falls into that of *Kanton*) at *I-chang-byen*, whence it is 7 Leagues and a half to the fine City of *Cling-chew*, (both in *Hu-quang*) where they embark on another River which falls into the great *Yang-tse-Kyang*: But, when the Waters are high, they are not retarded at all in the Road thro' *Kyang-si* and *Hu-quang*. 'Tis doubtless of vast Advantage to the whole Kingdom, to have a constant Course of Trade so easily kept up among the Provinces, by means of the Communication carry'd on, as well by the Royal Canal, which leads to *Pe-king*, as the lesser Canals, which terminate in it, like so many cross Roads.

These Canals are supply'd with Fish from the Rivers and Lakes, wherewith they communicate; one meets with almost all the Kinds that are found in our Rivers in *France*: Several others come from the Sea, advancing a great way up the Rivers; sometimes those of the largest Size are caught in Places above 150 Leagues from the Coast. There is near *Nan-king*, a famous Fishery for Shads, call'd *She-yu*, in the Months of *April* and *May*; and at another Place, a good way from thence, there is such plenty of this sort of Fish, that they often carry them to a neighbouring Island call'd *Tsong-ming*, where they were sold exceeding cheap, at the time the Missionaries made the Map of it.

Different kinds of Fish.

These Missionaries were so employ'd in settling the Geography of Places, that they had not time to enquire into the various Species of Fish, which are so numerous in the Rivers and Lakes of *China*: Besides, a Work of that kind wou'd belong to a Natural History of the Country, if it were set on foot. They have, however, observed two or three Things singular enough. The first is, That in the great River *Yang-tse-Kyang*, not far from the City *Kyew-king-fu*, in the Province of *Kyang-si*, a prodigious Number of Barks meet every Year to buy the Spawn of Fishes. About *May* the People of the Country dam up the River for 9 or 10 Leagues together, in several Places, with Mats and Hurdles, (leaving only Room enough for Barks to pass) in order to stop the Spawn, which they know how to distinguish at first Sight, tho' the Water is scarce alter'd; with this Water, mixt with the Spawn, they fill several Vessels to sell to the Merchants, who at this Season arrive in great Numbers to buy, and transport it into divers Provinces, taking Care to have it stir'd up from time to time. This Water is sold by Measure to such as have Fish-Ponds, and Pools belonging to their Houses; in a few Days the young Fry begin to appear in little Shoals, but the different Kinds cannot be so soon distinguished. The Profit often amounts to a hundred times the Expence; for the common People live much on Fish.

The next Thing remarkable, is the *Kin-yu*, or *Golden-Fish*; these are kept, either in little Ponds, made for that purpose, wherewith the Houses of Pleasure, belonging to the Princes and great Lords, are embellish'd; or else in Basins, that commonly adorn the Courts of their Houses: In these Basins, which are more deep than wide, they put the least that can be found: For the smaller they are, they think them the more beautiful; besides, the greater Number may be kept of them, and they afford more Diversion.

Golden Fish.

The prettiest of them are of a curious Red, speckled as it were with Gold-Dust, especially towards the Tail, which is forked with two or three Points; some are of a silver Colour, others White, and some spotted with Red; both sorts are extraordinary lively and active, delighting to play on the Surface of the Water; but then their Smallness renders 'em so tender, that the least impression of Air, and even any violent shaking of the Vessel, will kill great Numbers of them. Those that are bred in Ponds are of various Sizes; some are bigger than our largest Pilchards (s): They teach them to rise up to the Top of the Water at the Noise of a Clapper, which the Person uses who feeds them. What is most surprizing is, that, according to all Accounts, the best way to preserve them is to give them nothing in Winter; 'tis certain they do not feed them for 3 or 4 Months at *Pe-king*, while the very cold Weather lasts; what they live on in the mean time, under the Ice, it is not easy to understand, except we suppose, either that they find little Worms in the Roots of Herbs, which grow at the Bottom of the Ponds, or else that Pieces of Roots themselves, being softened by the Water, become proper Food for them; but those which, to prevent their being frozen, are taken into the Houses, and kept all Winter in a Chamber, often shut up in a *China* Vessel, without being fed at all, are towards Spring put into the Basins again, where they sport with the same Strength and Agility as they did the Year before. One wou'd imagine they knew their Masters, and those who carry them Food, by their being so ready to rise at their approach: The greatest Lords themselves delight in feeding them with their own Hands, and spend some Time to observe their nimble Motions, and sporting in the Water.

These Fish, at least the prettiest of them, are caught in a small Lake (o), in the Province of *Che-kyang*, near the little City of *Chang-wa-byen*, in the District of *Han-chew-fu*, and at the Foot of a Mountain call'd *Tsien-king*, situated in 30 d. 23 m. of Latitude; but as this Lake is small, it is not likely that all the Golden-Fish come from thence, which are seen in the Provinces of *China*, particularly those of *Quan-tong* and *Fe-kyen*, where this Species may be easily preserved and propagated. For 'tis certain, that even the smallest of those that are fed in Vessels are prolific enough; their Spawn is seen swimming on the top of the Water, and provided it is taken up, and kept with Care, the Heat of the Season never fails to animate it.

(s) They scarce ever exceed a Finger's Length, and one of the better sort sells for three or four Crowns.
(o) It is not above 200 Acres in compass.

The Hay-
feng.

But this Kind of Fish is not more beautiful, than those, called by the *Chinese* Hay-feng, are hideous and ugly; they are however the common Diet of the *Chinese*, and make a Dish in almost every Meal; they are seen floating on the Coasts of *Sban-tong* and *Fo-kyen*: The Missionaries took them at first for so many inanimate Lumps: But the *Chinese* Mariners having taken one of them, by their Orders, they found it to be alive. It swam in the Basin wherein it was cast, and even liv'd there a pretty while. The Natives having always told them, that this Animal had four Eyes and six Feet, and that in Figure it resembled a Man's Liver, they examin'd it very carefully, but cou'd discover only two Places, which seem'd to be Eyes, by the signs of Fear it shew'd when they moved their Hands before those Parts; indeed, was every thing, that serves it to move with, to be look'd on as Feet, one might reckon as many as there are little Pimples, resembling Buttons, all over its Body; it has neither Prickles nor Bones, and dies the Moment it is squeezed. A little Salt will preserve it, in which it is convey'd to all Parts of the Empire; it is accounted a great Dainty, and so it may really be to a *Chinese* Palate, tho' it did not appear so to ours. But if one's own Taste is not the same at all times, no wonder it shou'd differ from that of People accusom'd to different Food.

Petrefy'd
Sea-Crabs.

I might speak of a kind of Sea-Crabs, (found between the Coast of *Kau-chew*, in the Province of *Quang-tong*, and the Isle of *Hay-nan*) which are subject to Petrefaction without losing their natural Shape, but this is no Novelty in *Europe*: The *Chinese* Physicians prescribe them as very proper in burning and acute Fevers; but to prove the certainty of this, Experiments ought to be made to demonstrate the Efficacy of this Remedy.

Remarkable
Lakes.

The *Chinese* tell Wonders also, concerning the Water of certain Lakes and Rivers; but what they report appears to be as false as it seems improbable. Nature being the same in all Countries, extraordinary Effects ought to be rare, which they wou'd not be, if all that is said on this Head, by the *Chinese*, was true: However it can't be deny'd, but that *China* is full of considerable Lakes as well as Rivers; such are the *Hong-se-Hu* in the *Kyang-se*; *Ta-Hu*, partly in the Province of *Kyang-nan*, and partly in that of *Che-kyang*; the *Po-yang-Hu* in *Kyang-si*, and the greatest of all, in *Hu-quang*, named *Tong-ting-Hu*. This last Lake is remarkable for the greatness of its Circumference; which is above 80 *French* Leagues, and the abundance of its Waters, especially in certain Seasons, when two of the largest Rivers in the Province, swollen with the Rains, discharge themselves into it, and when it disembogues them, one can scarcely perceive it to be diminished.

In the Province of *Tun-nan* there are, at least, three Rivers which terminate in pretty large Lakes, but less than the four already mentioned; the People of the Country name them *Hay*, that is, *Seas*. There are also in the same Province, as well as some others, large Brooks, which run under Ground for a considerable Space, and appear again: But there is nothing in all this inconsistent with the Nature of Things, the Countries known to us affording Instances of the like kind.

As the Cities of *China*, which are very numerous, are almost all built on Lakes, Rivers or Canals, they make without doubt their greatest Ornament, and render travelling by Water extremely commodious, as well as agreeable; this will appear hereafter from the Description of the several Provinces, each of which is preceded by its Map. But first I think it necessary to give an Account of the Great Wall, and certain Nations, which are either independant of the *Chinese*, or but half-subdued. To these I have added the Travels of certain Missionaries thro' divers Provinces, whose Observations are so particular, that the Reader will imagine he is performing the Journey himself.

Of the GREAT WALL, separating China from Tartary.

THIS celebrated Wall was built by the famous Emperor *Tsin Shi-tohang*, with a politic View, 221 Years before Christ. It bounds *China* on the North, and defends it against the neighbouring *Tartars*, who being at that time divided into various Nations, under different Princes, cou'd only incommode it, by sudden Inroads and Plunderings. There was then no Instance of such a re-union among the *Western Tartars*, as happen'd about the beginning of the 13th Century, when they conquer'd *China*. No Work in the World is equal to this; it is continued along three large Provinces, viz. *Pe-che-li*, *Sban-si*, and *Sben-si*, built often in Places which seem inaccessible, and strengthened with a Series of Forts erected at no less Expence. The beginning of this Wall is a large Bulwark of Stone, rais'd in the Sea, to the East of *Pe-king*, and almost in the same Latitude, being 40 d. 2 m. and 6 f. in the Province of *Pe-che-li*; it is well terrass'd, and cas'd with Brick, and is as high, and much broader, than the Walls of the Cities of the Empire usually are, that is, from 20 to 25 Feet in height.

P. Regis, and the other Missionaries, who assisted him in making the Map of the Provinces, have often, on the Top of it, apply'd the Cord to measure the Bases of Triangles, and taken the Bearing of Points at a distance; they always found it well pay'd, and wide enough for 5 or 6 Horsemen to march a-breast with ease. The Gates of the Great Wall are defended on the side of *China*, by pretty large Forts: The first of them to the East is call'd *Shang-hay-Quan*, it stands near the Wall, which extends, from the Bulwark before-mentioned, the Space of a League, along

a Country perfectly level, and does not begin to ascend the Mountains, till after it has pass'd that Place. It was the *Chinese* General commanding in this Part, who first called in the *Tartars* of the Province of *Lyau-tong*, which lies beyond it: And by this gave them an Opportunity of conquering *China*, notwithstanding the Confidence the *Chinese* had in their mural Rampart, which they thought impregnable. Such is the vicissitude of human Affairs, that outward Defences, and all the Strength of a State, serve only to produce more sudden Revolutions, and even hasten its Ruin, when unsupported by Virtue in the Subject, and Vigilance in the Prince.

The other Forts, no less remarkable, are *Hi-fong-kew*, in 40 deg. 26 min. *Tu-she-kew* in 41 deg. 19 min. 20 sec. *Chang-kye-kew*, in 40 deg. 5 min. 15 sec. two noted Passes, by which the *Tartars*, who are subject to *China*, come to *Pe-king*; and *Ku-Pe-kew*, in 40 deg. 43 min. 15 sec. this last was the Way the Emperor *Kang-hi* usually took to go to *Je-bo-el* in *Tartary*: The Place is above 40 Leagues North-eastward from *Pe-king*. About it are nothing but Mountains, where he used to take the Diversion of Hunting: The Road hither from *Pe-king* is a grand Work, and level as a Bowling-Green.

Here that great Prince resided above one half of the Year, governing his vast Empire all the while with the same Ease as a Father governs his Family. If he returned late from Hunting, he never went to Rest till he had dispatched all the Petitions, and next Morning rose again before Day-break. It was surprizing to see him at the Age of Sixty, often when it snow'd very hard, on Horseback, in the midst of his Guards, clothed as thinly as themselves, laden with his Bow on one Side and his Quiver on the other, without offering to make use of an empty Chaise which followed him.

All these Forts, which are in the Province of *Pe-che-li*, are made of Earth, cas'd on both Sides with Brick; but when one leaves that Province and enters *Shan-si*, towards *Tyen-ching-woy*, the Wall begins to be only of Earth, is without Battlements, nor so much as plaistered, grows narrow, and is not above 15 Feet in Height. However, after one has pass'd *Sha-bu-kew* in 40 deg. 19 min. which is the Place the *Russians* come to directly from *Selingbinskoi*, it is cas'd on the outside with Brick; some of its Towers also are very large, and built of Brick, on a Foundation of Stone; but it does not always continue the same. The River *Whang-bo*, which has Centry-Boxes along its Banks, where Soldiers keep Guard day and night, supplies the Place of the Great Wall towards the Borders of *Shan-si* and *Shen-si*.

Beyond the *Whang-bo*, Westward, in the Province of *Shen-si*, the Wall is only of Earth, low, narrow, and sometimes of Gravel (for it stands in a gravelly Country) and in some Places quite ruined. But then the Entrance is defended by several considerable Cities, as *Yu-ling-byen*, in 38 deg. 18 min. *Ning-hya*, (p) 18 deg. 32 min. 8 sec. *Lyang-chew* (q) in 37 d. 59 m. *Kan-chew*, in 39 deg. *Su-chew* and *Si-ning*, at which Places General Officers are posted with Bodies of Troops. He who resides at *Kan-chew* is the Generalissimo, whom they name *Ti-tu*; the rest are only Lieutenant-Generals called *Tsong-ping*.

Ning-hya is the best of these Cities; it is handsomer, richer and better built than most Cities of the Empire: It is also pretty large; for taking in both the Inclosures, that are inhabited, it is at least 15 *Chinese Li* in Compass. The Industry of the Inhabitants has rendered the Country about it fertile; for by means of Canals and Sluices which they have made, they can convey the Waters of the *Whang-bo* into the Lands when they stand in need of Moisture. There are Salt-springs in the Ditches of the Town, from which they make Salt. Here are also Manufacturies of Woollen Goods and Carpets, after the *Turkish* Fashion. The Mountains are so high and almost perpendicularly steep in the District of *Ning-hya*, that 7 or 8 Leag. from the City they serve instead of the Great Wall, for the Space of about 10 Leagues. *Su-chew*, which lies in 39 d. 45 m. 40 f. is a pretty large City; but not equal to *Ning-hya*, either for Beauty or Trade, tho' it commands the Garrison at *Hya-yu-quan*, (thro' which the Road lies to *Hami*) and several Districts of the *Kalka Tartars*.

The Wall in these Parts is only of Earth, but kept in better Repair than elsewhere, because of the Neighbourhood of the People of *Hami*, who have submitted to the Emperor within these few Years. The Walls of *Hya-yu-quan* are not of Brick, but they are well guarded with Soldiers who defend this important Pass.

The Wall ends when you have pass'd the little City *Chwang-lan*, so named because it stands where two Roads meet, one whereof is in the Valley which goes by *Lang-chew* to *Hya-yu-quan*, and the other upon the Mountains which reach to *Si-ning-chew*; but instead of a Wall there is a pretty broad Trench dug on purpose, excepting in the narrow Passes near to *Si-ning*, which are walled like those in the Province of *Shen-si*. The City of *Si-ning* lying in 36 deg. 59 min. is not large, but exceeds *Ning-hya* in Trade. All the Furs that come from the Western *Tartary*, are sold in this Town, or in a neighbouring Borough called *To-pa*. This last Place is of more Worth than a large City, although it is neither well built nor well situated; for it abounds with almost all sorts of foreign as well as *Chinese* Commodities, and with various kinds of Drugs, as Saffron, Dates, Coffee, &c.

When *P. Regis* was at *To-pa* making the Map of that Country, he met with three or four *Armenian* Catholics, who kept Shop there, and sold beautiful Skins, which they fetched from *Tartary*. The Houses and Shops are much dearer in this Borough than in the City of *Si-ning*, which is but four

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G

Leagues

(p) In the Table of Longitudes and Latitudes, it is put at 38 deg. 18 min. 8 sec. which agrees with the Map, so that 33 deg. 15 min. as in the *French*, must be a Mistake.

(q) *Law-chew*, as in the Original, must be a Mistake also, as appears by the Latitude, which belongs to *Lyang-chew*.

Leagues distant. It is remarkable, that it does not depend on the *Mandarins* of *Si-ning*, but on a *Lama-Bonza* (R), who is always one of the Race to which that Territory belongs. This Family is the most considerable of the Nation called *Si-fan* or *Tu-fan*, whereof I shall give a more ample Account hereafter.

The Emperors of the former Race, thinking to procure a more lasting Repose to the Nation, by making the Place, where they kept their Court, impregnable, had built a second Wall as strong and surprizing as the first, which still remains entire in *Pe-che-li*, 76 *Li* from *Pe-king*, at one of the principal Gates named *Nan-kew* 10 Leagues from thence, on the Side of a high Mountain, by which the Road leads to *Swen-wba-fu*, and from thence to *Tay-tong* in the Province of *Sben-fi*. This is a small City fortified with several Walls, that rise and fall according to the Surface of the Mountains whereon they are built, and surprize the Eye with the Boldness of their Structure.

This Wall, which is called the inner Great Wall, joins the other to the North of *Pe-king*, near *Swen-wba-fu*, where there is a Garrison; and is continued along the Western Part of the Province of *Pe-che-li*, extending into that of *Sben-fi*, where it is fallen to ruin in several Places. Among the Plans of Cities inserted towards the middle of this Volume, there is one Part of the Great Wall on the Side of *Yong-ping-fu*.

When we consider the Number of strong Places and Forts built between these two Walls, with the other Works on the Eastern Side, we cannot but admire the Care and Efforts of the *Chinese*, who seem to have made use of all the Means, which human Forecraft could suggest, for the Defence of their Kingdom, and for preserving the publick Tranquility.

Of the People named SI-FAN, or TU-FAN.

FOR the better understanding what I am going to relate, it is necessary to call to mind what I only just mentioned before, *viz.* that the little Town of *Chwang-lan* stands as it were at the meeting of two Valleys; whereof one goes towards the North as far as the Gate of the Great Wall, called *Hya-yu-quan*, the Space of above a hundred Leagues; and contains three great Cities, *Lan-chew*, *Kan-chew*, and *Su-chew*, with several Forts belonging to them. The other Valley extends Westward above twenty Leagues to *Si-ning*, and is full also of little Forts, which are subject to that City, and render the *Chinese* absolute Masters of the plain Country; but they are not so of the Mountains, which are inhabited by a Nation different from the *Chinese*, who lie to the South of them, as well as from the *Tartars*, who are to the North.

The *Chinese* distinguish this Nation into two sorts of People; they call one sort *He Si-fan*, or black *Si-fan*; and the other *Whang Si-fan*, or yellow *Si-fan*: Not that the one is whiter than the other, for they are in general a little swarthy, but because their respective Tents are of those Colours.

The black
Si-fan.

The black *Si-fan* have also some pitiful Houses, but are very uncivilized. They are governed by petty Chiefs who depend on a greater. Those whom *P. Regis* saw were dressed like the Inhabitants of *Hami*: The Women wore their Hair parted into Tresses hanging down on their Shoulders full of little brass Mirrors.

The yellow
Si-fan.

The yellow *Si-fan* are subject to certain Families, whereof the eldest is made a *Lama*, or *Tartarian Bonzas*, and wears a yellow Habit, which may probably be another reason, for the *Chinese* Distinction of Black and Yellow *Si-fan*. These *Lamas*, who are of the same Family and govern in their respective Districts, have the Power of deciding Causes, and punishing Criminals. They inhabit the same Canton, but in separate Bodies, and without forming large Villages. Their usual Way is to make little Hamlets, consisting of six or seven Families of the same Kindred; which appear like little Camps, or *Syau-in*, as they are called in the modern *Chinese* Books of Geography.

The greater Number of them dwell in Tents; but some have their Houses built with Earth, and a few of Brick. They want none of the Necessaries of Life. They have numerous Flocks of Sheep; their Horses indeed are but small, but well shaped, mettlesome and strong.

The *Lamas*, who govern these People, don't make them uneasy, provided they render them certain Honours, and punctually pay the Dues of *Fo*, which are very trifling (S). The *Armenians* who were at *To-pa*, seemed very well pleased with the *Lama*, who is Lord of the Place, and was not then above 25 or 26 Years of Age. Far from vexing his Subjects, he only took from each Family a very small Tribute, in Proportion to the Quantity of Land it possessed.

Their Lan-
guage.

There is said to be some Difference in the Language of these two sorts of *Si-fan*; but as they understand each other well enough to trade together, it is probable that they differ only as Dialects of the same Language.

The Books and Characters used by their Chiefs, are those of *Tibet*, which is the Country of the great *Lama*. Neither of these two Nations are more than half subject to the neighbouring *Chinese* *Mandarins*, before whom they rarely appear when cited: and indeed for the most part they don't

(R) Or a *Tartarian Bonza*, as he is termed towards the Beginning of the next Article, to distinguish these from the *Chinese Bonzas* or *Priests*, who yet profess the same Religion.

(S) These Dues I take to be a kind of Tythes, as being exacted on a Religious Account.

don't regard their Citations. It seems, the *Mandarins* dare not treat them with Rigour, or offer to force them to Obedience, the Mountains they inhabit, whose Tops are covered with Snow even in *July*, sheltering them against all Pursuits. Nay, as they have the Disposol of the *Rhu-harb*, which grows in abundance on their Lands, they are courted by the *Chinese*, who readily leave them in Possession of so frightful a Country, provided they can procure from them the Commodity in the Condition which they require it. They have Customs and Ceremonies very different from the *Chinese*: For instance, 'tis usual with them to present a large white Handkerchief of Cotton or Taffety, when they go to wait upon the Persons whom they mean to honour. They have also some Customs like those found among the *Kalka Tartars*, and others which resemble the Customs of the *Tartars* of *Kokonor*.

Customs and
Manners.

The present Government of the *Si-fan*, or *Tu-fan*, is very different from what it was formerly. They have not now one Town in their Possession, and are pent up between the Rivers *Ya-long* and *Yang-tse-kyang*, whereas anciently, their Kingdom was well peopled, fortified, and very powerful.

Dominions.

It appears from the *Chinese* Geographers of the middle Age, from the History of the Provinces of *Sben-fi* and *Se-chwen*, and by the great Annals *Nyen-i-she*, that they had a very large Dominion, and Princes of great Reputation, who both made themselves formidable to their Neighbours, and cut out some Work even to the Emperors of *China*. On the East-side they not only possessed divers Territories, which at present belong to the Provinces of *Se-chwen* and *Sben-fi*, but also pushed their Conquests so far into *China* as to subdue several Cities of the Rank of *Chew*, whereof they formed four great Governments: Westward they were Masters of all the Countries from the River *Ya-long*, to the Borders of *Cashmir*.

In the seventh Century, *Ki-tson*, King of the *Tu-fan*, possessed this vast Dominion, and had several Kings his Tributaries, to whom he sent Patents and Seals of Gold. Having form'd the Plan of an Alliance with *China*, in the Time of the Emperor *Tay-tsong* of the Dynasty of *Tang*, one of the greatest Princes that Monarchy ever had, he sent a most famous Embassy to that Prince, who, pleased with his Politeness, received and dismissed the Ambassadors with the greatest Marks of Honour and Distinction.

History of
the Si fan
AN. CHRIS.
630.

Ki-tson, upon this Encouragement, by a second Embassy demanded a Princess of the Imperial Blood, for his Son *Long-tsang*. The Emperor's Council, looking on this as a very bold Proposal, rejected it with Scorn, without so much as deigning to deliberate on it. *Long-tsang* succeeding to the Throne on the Death of his Father, came at the Head of 200,000 Men to demand the Princess; and having defeated certain Princes Tributary to *China*, who opposed his Passage, he penetrated to the Borders of *Sben-fi*, where the Emperor then kept his Court. The Imperial Council depended on the Resistance of those Princes, because all the other Roads were impracticable to a numerous Army.

After these first Successes, *Long-tsang* sent one of his Officers with a proud and haughty Letter, which he wrote to the Emperor; wherein he demanded that the Princess should be immediately delivered up to him, with a certain Quantity of Gold, Silver, and Silks, which he said were due to the Husband of a Princess of the Imperial Blood, who came to receive her in Person with so much State and Magnificence.

The Emperor, offended at such a Demand, immediately sent Orders to his Troops on the Frontiers to assemble, and to gain Time, he amused the Envoy with Hopes, giving him every Day a sumptuous Entertainment: But as soon as he understood that the Imperial Army was ready to march, he dismissed the Envoy with Disgrace, and without returning any Answer to the Letter of the King his Master.

The General *Hew-byen-tsi* set out at the same time, and as soon as he had joined the Army, he attacked that of *Long-tsang*, and routed it. However the Loss was not so considerable on the Prince's Side, but that, after having rallied his Troops, he found himself in a Condition to give the Emperor Uneasiness; for which Reason, as he promised to retire, in case the Princess was sent him with an Equipage suitable to her Dignity, the Emperor's Council were of Opinion, that he should give his Consent: Accordingly the Princess set out with a great deal of Pomp, and after the Ceremonies of Marriage were over, *Long-tsang* retired, and became a faithful Ally. He was very serviceable to the Empire on divers Occasions; particularly when the General *Alena* usurped a Tributary Kingdom of *China*, *Long-tsang* aided the Emperor's General with all his Forces, fought himself in Person, and had a good Share in the Victory by killing the Rebel.

640.

Ki-li-so, who succeeded *Long-tsang*, did nothing to disturb the Peace which he had with the Empire and all his Neighbours: On the contrary, he studied only to continue it, by the Treaties which he made with different Nations of *Tartars*, and especially with the *Wbey-be*. This Prince died without any Issue, leaving his Kingdom equally powerful in domestick Forces and foreign Alliances.

696.

The Wbey-be
Tartars.

Su-fi, his next Heir and Successor, was of a more warlike Genius; he was call'd in with his *Tartarian* Confederates, and some other Allies of the Empire, to assist the Emperor *Wben-tsong*, obliged at that Time to quit his Court at *Chang-gan* (the City at present called *Si-ngan*) and abandon it to the Rebels headed by the General *Gan-lo-shan*.

The next Heir to the Crown, who called them in, had promised them great Rewards, if they gained the Victory. He kept his Word with them, and besides giving them the Plunder of certain rebellious Cities, and among the rest that of *Lo-yang*, which was very rich, he made them Presents of great Quantities of Silks and the choicest things that *China* produced.

But

But whether dissatisfied with those Presents, or grown more haughty and enterprising from the Proof they had given of their Strength, or prompted by Policy to take an Advantage of the Weakness of an Empire exhausted by so many civil Wars; as soon as they heard of the Emperor's Death, they set forward with a formidable Army, and made such incredible Haste, that they were arrived on the Frontiers of the Empire, before there was the least Surmise of their Irruption.

The Governors of *Ta-chin-quan*, *Lan-chew*, and all the Country of *Ho-si-tu*, were surprized, and forced to surrender. The News being brought to Court by some that had fled, he who was then at the Head of Affairs, at first could scarce believe it. However, as he had the Wisdom to provide against the worst, he ordered the most experienced general Officer, then at Court, to depart at the Head of 3000 Horse to learn the Truth.

Ko-tsey, (for that was the General's Name) was scarcely arrived at *Hyen-yang*, a City not far from the Court, when he received Information that the Enemy's Army, consisting of 300,000 Men, would be there that very Day. He dispatched immediately a Courier to the Minister, to press him for Succours, without which it was impossible for him with such a Handful of Men, to oppose the *Tu-fan*, who were ready to fall upon the City where the Emperor resided.

The Minister did not stir a Step faster. Mean time the Generals of the Enemy, who knew the Country, were no sooner arrived at *Hyen-yang*, than they detached a considerable Body of Troops to possess themselves of a Bridge on the River, where the rest of the Army arrived next Day in good Order.

The Emperor, from whom they had till then concealed the Danger he was in; was so confounded with the News, that he abandoned his Palace and fled: The great Men of his Court, the Officers and People all followed his Example. Thus the victorious Army entered the Palaces of the Emperor and the Princes, without Resistance, where they found immense Riches, which they carried away, and then set both the Palaces and the City on fire in different Places.

Ko-tsey had retired with his 3000 Horse, that he might join the Troops, which, on the first Alarm, left *Chang-gan*; By means of that Reinforcement he saw himself presently at the Head of 40,000 Men; and in order to supply by Policy what he wanted in Strength, he had recourse to the following Stratagem. He ordered a Detachment of Horse, commanded by one of his best Officers, to encamp on the neighbouring Hills, and there, ranging themselves in one Line, to make a dreadful Noise with their Drums, and to light up great Fires every Night in different Parts of the Camp, in View of the Enemy. This Artifice succeeded; for the *Tu-fan* fearing to be surrounded and overpowered by the united Forces of the Empire, conducted by a General of known Bravery and Experience, returned towards the West, and blocked up the City of *Fong-tsyang*.

Ma-lin, who commanded in that District, came to the Relief of the Place, and forcing his way thro' a Body of the Enemies Troops, whereof he killed above 1000, threw himself into the Town. As soon as he was entered, he caused all the Gates to be opened, to let the Enemy see he did not fear them. This extraordinary Conduct astonished the *Tu-fan*, and confirm'd them in their first Suspicions, that there was some Ambuscade prepared to surprize them. Besides, said they, as this General seems not to value his Life, it will cost us dear before we can take the Town, and considering how much weakened we are already, by the Fatigues we have undergone, how shall we be able to withstand an Army perhaps more numerous than our own, and composed of fresh Troops? Hereupon they resolved to retire, contenting themselves with the Spoil they had already gain'd; and by their Retreat gave the *Chinese* time to repair the Royal City of *Chang-gan*, whither the Emperor returned some Months after he had quitted it in so shameful a Manner.

Wbey-be
Tartars,
invade China.

These Troubles were no sooner over, than the *Chinese* were obliged to take the Field against a new Rebel called *Pu-kü*, who entered into Confederacy with the *Wbey-be Tartars*; but he being taken very opportunely off by a sudden Death, the *Chinese* had the Address to dis-unite the two Nations, by fomenting a Jealousy betwixt them, about the chief Command.

To-ko-lo, who commanded the *Wbey-be*, would needs be nominated General of the whole Army. This the *Tu-fan* opposed, as a thing contrary to the Orders they had received from the King their Master, and dishonourable to their Kingdom, which was much superior to the little State possessed by those *Tartars*. The *Chinese* Generals, who were encamped in their View, secretly supported the Pretensions of *To-ko-lo*, and at length joined him. Hereupon the *Tu-fan* were attacked as they were marching off, and lost 10,000 Men in their Retreat. The King of the *Tu-fan* meditated how to retrieve his Losses, and being informed that the *Wbey-be* were retired much dissatisfied with the *Chinese*, he sent his Army to besiege *Ling-chew*; the Governor of which City and its District, having but few Troops, carefully shunned an Engagement on such unequal Terms.

The Course he took was to put himself at the Head of 5,000 Horse, and turning suddenly towards the Magazines of the Besiegers, not only burnt them, but carried off all the Spoil which they had taken, with part of their Baggage. This Loss obliged the *Tu-fan* to retire in Haste to their own Territories. They remained 5 Years without Action, and only thought of Preparations for a new War; but then brought a formidable Army into the Field, which dividing into two Bodies, fell almost at the same time on the Districts of *King-chew* and *Ping-chew*.

These numerous Troops easily defeated several Bodies of the Imperial Forces; the brave *Ma-lin*, who before had driven them from *Fong-tsyang*, had the same Fate as the other Generals; but at last the General *Ko-tsey* routed them intirely, by an Ambuscade which he laid for them in their Passage.

This Defeat disposing the King of *Tu-fan* to Peace, he sent an Embassy to *China*, more numerous than magnificent; the Ambassador having no less than 500 Men in his Retinue. The Emperor

peror to mortify him detained him a long time at Court, without either giving him Audience, or dismissing him. The King of the *Tu-fan* was greatly incensed at so disagreeable a Reception of his Embassy, and was preparing to take Revenge, when the Emperor happened to dye.

One of the first Cares of his Son *Te-tsong*, who succeeded him, was to deliberate about the manner of dismissing the Ambassador and his Train. The Course he took was quite different from that of his Predecessor: he feasted the principal Persons of the Embassy, gave them and their Followers rich Habits according to their several Ranks, loaded them with Presents, and sent them back, under the Conduct of one of his Officers, named *Wey-ling*, who had Orders to justify the final Regard which had been paid to his Ambassadors, by laying the Fault on their bad Conduct, and their having too numerous a Retinue.

Wey-ling, contrary to his Expectation, was received not only with Honour, but also with a Magnificence that surprized the Emperor, and gave him an Esteem for this Court. He had his Expences defrayed, and was sent back with an Ambassador loaded with rich Presents to the Emperor, with an Assurance, that he would never do any thing for the future that might break the good Understanding which he desired to maintain with the Empire: So that the Court not doubting the Sincerity of this Reconciliation, was too easily persuaded that there was nothing more to fear from the *Tu-fan*.

In the mean time this King dying, *Tsang-to* his Successor was no sooner in the Throne, than he ordered his Army to take the Field and enter *Sben-fi*, which they did without being discovered; and defeated all the Imperial Troops they met with till they arrived at the City *Kyen-ching*, called at present *Kyen-yang*.

The Chinese Court was alarmed upon this; but the General *Li-ching*, seeing the Consequences of this Invasion, thought he ought not to wait for the Emperor's Orders; he therefore began his March with all his Troops joined to those of the Province, and coming up with the Enemy as they were on the point of besieging the City, he obtained so compleat a Victory, that he forced them to sue for Peace, which was granted on Condition they should swear to the Terms, as soon as one of the Lords of the Emperor's Court arrived, with full Powers to adjust Matters amicably, and ratify them in his Name by Oath, which was done accordingly: But their treacherous Designs were soon discovered. Some of their Officers who desired the Continuation of the War, endeavoured to seize the Emperor's Envoy and carry him to their Camp. Indeed the General disowned having any Hand in the Matter, and the Envoy imagined he had gained a great Point in his Negotiation with the Chiefs of the Enemy's Army, by prevailing with them to return home, without doing any Damage to the Subjects of the Empire.

This first Expedition not having the Success which the King of the *Tu-fan* had promised himself, he prepared for a second, and raised an Army strong enough to oppose both the *Whey-be Tartars*, (who had newly made an Alliance with the Emperor) and the Chinese. At first they took some considerable Forts which lay in their Road, and having possessed themselves of *Gan-fi*, advanced to *Pe-ting*, which lies to the South of *Ning-hya*; where they were surprized and defeated by the *Whey-be*. Nevertheless, far from retiring, they continued their March towards the Court, with incredible Boldness and Intrepidity; but soon after, when they least expected it, the General *Wey-kau* fell on them, cut in pieces those Bodies which were drawn up in Order of Battle, carried off 50 of their * Camps, and pursued them as far as the Frontiers. At the same time he dispatched an Officer to the King of *Tun-nan*, to persuade him to come and join him with all his Force; but that Prince refused for fear of drawing so formidable an Enemy upon himself.

After this Victory, *Wey-kau* proposed to the Emperor a Method to hinder the IncurSIONS of the *Tu-fan*; which was to build certain Cities or Fortresses on the Western Frontiers. The Court followed his Advice, and Orders were given to build four in the District of *Ning-yang-fu*, in the Province of *Sben-fi*, viz. *Tang-ka*, *Ho-tau*, *Mu-pu* and *Ma-ling*.

This Precaution was useless; for scarce were these Towns finished, when the *Tu-fan* returned as usual, and at length took the City *Lin-chew*, which they had before attempted several times in vain. The General *Wey-kau* did not give them time to repair their Breaches, before he appeared with his Army, at the Sight of which the *Tu-fan* abandoned the City, and marched towards *Wey-chew* in the Province of *Se-chuen*, which was one of the best Places they had. *Wey-kau* pursued them, and finding they fled continually before him, he resolved to besiege *Wey-chew*.

This News startled the King of the *Tu-fan*, who immediately sent *Lun-mang* his Prime Minister with considerable Succours. *Wey-kau* being informed of this, marched out of his Lines to meet the Enemy, defeated the Army of the Prime Minister, and obliged him to surrender himself Prisoner: Immediately after this Victory, he had Admission into the City, which he resolved to make a Place of Arms, and went to besiege the Fortress of *Quen-min-ching*, but he was baffled there, through the Bravery of the Governor, who made a glorious Resistance.

Wey-chew was one of the Royal Cities, and the Kings of *Tu-fan*, since the Time of *Ki-lo-so*, resided there one part of the Year. So that the first thing King *I-tay*, who succeeded his Brother, did, was by all possible Means to recover it. With this View he levied an Army of 150,000 Men, and sent to besiege it.

On the Report of the March of this Army, the Chinese General threw himself into the City, where he sustained a Siege for 25 Days, and defended it bravely, against the continual Assaults of the Enemy; but the Succours which he expected not arriving, and seeing himself reduced to Extremity, he was at length constrained to surrender.

The *Tu-fan*, puffed up with their Conquest, advanced towards *Ching-tu-fu*, the Capital of the Province of *Se-chuen*. The Chinese General, who with the few Troops he commanded, was unable

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able to oppose their March, spread a Report that he was gone to possess himself of the Defiles of the Mountains through which they had passed, and caused his little Army to make all the necessary Motions to induce them to believe, that this was really his Design. In effect they were so convinced of it, that for fear of having their Retreat cut off, they contented themselves with executing the principal Order of their Prince, and retired to *Wey-chew*.

I-tay was a Prince naturally mild, peaceable and full of Tendernefs for his People: As he began the War for no other End, than to recover a Place which had been taken from his Predecessor, as soon as his Troops were returned, he sent to acquaint the Generals posted on the Frontiers of the Empire, that he was willing they should live in Peace, and to convince them his Intentions were sincere, he published an Order, which enjoined all his Officers to act only on the Defensive.

The *Cbinefe* on their Side behaved with great Generosity on several Occasions. *Si-ta-mew*, a *Tu-fan* by Nation, and Governor of *Wey-chew*, offered to deliver up that Place to *Li-ti-yeu*, who commanded the *Cbinefe* Troops on the Frontiers of the Empire. The other Officers were almost unanimously of Opinion, that the Offer ought to be accepted, but *Ni-u-fan*, one of the principal among them, opposed it strongly.

"A great Empire like ours, said he, ought to prize sincere Dealing more than the Possession of a Town. If we break the Peace first, we shall authorize all the former Perfidies of the *Tu-fan*, and the Complaints we have made of them would thenceforth be unjust; for whatever they do for the future, either by plundering or ravaging our Frontiers, will be justified by our own Example". The rest yielded to his Reasons, and it was concluded to reject the Offers of the Governor. *I-tay* took the Opportunity which the Peace afforded him, to govern his Subjects by new Laws, and advanced none to Employments but Men of the greatest Merit. If he was informed of any Person who was remarkable for his Knowledge, and Application to Study, he preferred him to those who were equally experienced in the Management of Affairs. Having heard of one among the *Literati* of great Reputation named (c) *Sbang-pi-pi*, and who had no other Recommendation but that of his great Abilities, he sent for him to Court from the farthest Part of the Kingdom; being desirous to examine him himself, and hear him discourse on different Subjects, he was so well satisfied of his Qualifications, that he made him Governour of the City and District of *Chen-chew*, at present *Si-ning*.

Notwithstanding all that *Sbang-pi-pi* could do, in representing that he was fit for nothing but Books, that such a Post required a martial Genius, and that at the Age of 40, it was too late to serve an Apprenticeship to State Affairs, the King ordered him to accept of the Government, and take Possession of it without Delay. That Prince who by the Wisdom and mildness of his Sway, had gained the Hearts of all his Subjects, dying without Issue, *Ta-mo*, who was nearest of Blood to the Throne, was readily acknowledged by the States, as lawful Successor.

This Prince gave himself up wholly to his Pleasures; he lived in Peace with all his Neighbours, but his Passions together with the Violences and Cruelties he committed, rendered him so odious to his Subjects, that they left their Country in Crowds, to free themselves from his continual Oppressions. In short, he was the first Cause of this Kingdom's falling to decay.

842.

The Distractions encreased much more after his Death; for as he neither left any Children, nor had nominated a Successor, one of the Ministers, gained by the Widow Queen, caused the Son of *Pay-va*, her Favourite, and one of the greatest Lords of the Kingdom, to be proclaimed King.

On the first Report of this Election, *Kye-tu-na*, first Minister of State, hastened to the Palace and opposed it. "If the Royal Family is not extinct, cry'd he, is it not a Crime to chuse a King elsewhere?" But his Zeal cost him his Life, for they killed him as he was returning home.

This Conduct of the Court lost them the Hearts of all the People; who were still more incensed, when they understood that the new King was no more than a Child of 3 Years old, whose Name would be only of Use to authorize all the Proceedings of the Favourite; but at last the Queen's Party was so powerful at Court, that they were constrained to comply and acknowledge this young Prince with the usual Ceremonies.

When this News arrived at the Army, which was then near the Frontiers, the great General, *Lü-kong-je*, refused the Orders that were sent him by the Court, and even conceived Thoughts of making himself King.

He was a Man of boundless Ambition, proud, full of his own Merit, extremely passionate, and often cruel; but on the other hand, he was brave, skilful, and capable of the greatest Undertakings. So without hesitating, he laid hold of this Opportunity to ascend the Throne. He first caused a Report to be spread, that he was preparing to revenge the Royal Family, by extirpating the Usurpers of the Crown: And having augmented his own Army with fresh Troops, marched directly against that of the new King, which he defeated. He also took and plundered *Wey-chew*, and being joined by a great Number of Officers and Malecontents, he found himself at the Head of 100,000 effective Men. The first Step he made, was to bring the Governors of the Provinces into his Measures.

Sbang-pi-pi was one of the Principal, and in great Reputation among the Soldiery. Ever since King *I-tay* had made him Governor of *Chen-chew*, he had apply'd himself with such Assiduity to discipline his Troops, (by making them exercise frequently, and teaching them the various Stratagems of War) that they were reckoned the best in all the Kingdom.

(c) Orig. *Cham-pi*, where, as in many other Places, the Portuguese Orthography seems to be retain'd thro' Inadvertency.

Lu-kong-je was willing to found him first, and after writing him a deceitful Letter, advanced towards the City. *Shang-pi-pi* who saw thro' the General's Design, resolved to cross it, and to deceive him in his Turn, wrote him so modest an Answer, that *Lu-kong-je* did not doubt but he had gained him over to his Side.

Immediately after the Departure of the Courier, *Shang-pi-pi* began his March with all his Troops, and made such Haste, that he arrived almost as soon as his Letter. That Instant he attacked the Army of *Lu-kong-je*, which was much stronger than his own, and as this General was surprized and unprovided, he was defeated without any Difficulty.

Lu-kong-je after rallying the rest of his Troops retired, much enraged in his Heart. He saw plainly, that *Shang-pi-pi* would be a great Obstacle to his ambitious Views, and the more so, as he had given out in his Government, that if they could not have a King of the Royal Blood, it would be better to submit to the Emperor of *China*, than to favour the Ambition of a rebellious Subject.

Lu-kong-je having recruited his Army, imagin'd the way both to regain his Authority and win the Affections of his Nation, was to enter the *Chinese* Territories, and give them up to be plundered. He had some Success at the Beginning, but was quickly beaten by the *Chinese* Generals, who afterwards took from the *Tu-fan*, the City of *Yen-chew* and several Fortresses.

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Lu-kong-je was no way dismayed at these Losses; he imagin'd that if he was once sole Master of the Kingdom, it would not be difficult to repair them; for which Reason, he bent all his Thoughts on reducing *Shang-pi-pi*. He had augmented his Army with new Recruits, and with the *Tartars*, who were old Allies of the *Tu-fan*, to whom he had promised the plundering of the Frontiers of *China*. Thus he began his March, and arrived near *Chen-chew* with a formidable Army.

Shang-pi-pi, without taking too many Men out of his City, had fortified his Camp near the River, on the first News of the Enemy's Approach. But *Lu-kong-je*, attacked and forced him to abandon it; he passed the River, broke down the Bridge, and followed the Enemy Step by Step on the other Side. And tho' he beheld the Spoil and Ravages that *Lu-kong-je* made on his Territories, with a Design to draw him to a general Battle, yet he never suffered his Soldiers to cross the River, not so much as to skirmish with the Enemy. The natural Brutishness of *Lu-kong-je* and his bad Temper, which encreased by the small Success of his Enterprizes, rendered him so insupportable to his Soldiers, that they deserted in Troops to *Shang-pi-pi*, who received them kindly, and form'd them into new Companies.

The *Tartars* on their Side, who could no longer bear such an intolerable Yoke, and saw into the ambitious Design of the General, retired. In short, the Desertion, which encreased daily more and more, frightend *Lu-kong-je* to such a Degree, that he gave himself for lost, and despairing of Success, thought he could not do better, than surrender to the Emperor of *China* on certain Conditions. Accordingly he departed for the Court, and treated with his Imperial Majesty. Though he could not obtain all his Demands, he pretended to be satisfied, and retired to *Ko-chew*, a *Chinese* City, where he lived at ease the Remainder of his Life.

While the ambitious *Lu-kong-je* was Master of almost the whole Forces of the State, the Princes of the Blood retired into different Parts of the Kingdom, where they had small Patrimonies, tho some of them took Shelter in certain Forts that belong'd to them towards *Se-chuen*, resolving rather to submit to the Emperor of *China*, than to an Usurper. Others fortify'd themselves in their Mountains, while some of the most considerable remain'd in the Territories they possess'd, bordering on the Government of *Shang-pi-pi*. Hence arose an infinite Number of Distractions in the State, which neither the Wisdom and Valour of that General, nor his Successor, were able to appease; and which was the Ruin of this Monarchy at last.

When the *Tu-fan*, divided into different Parties, were weary of fighting, many Officers and Soldiers joined themselves to *Pan-lo-chi*, Prince of *Liu-kü*, a Place in the Borders of the District of 951 *Chen-chew*, which the Children of *Shang-pi-pi* had preserved for their Nation. As soon as they beheld a Chief of the Royal Blood, they quickly formed an Army, and to retrieve the Honour of their Country by some glorious Exploit, resolved to attack the King of *Hya*.

This new King, who was a *Tartar*, originally of *Tu-pa*, which is still in the Possession of the *Tu-fan*, had founded a Dominion in Spight of the *Chinese*, near the *Whang-bo*, the Capital whereof 1003 *Hya* or *Khya*, was *Hya-chew*, call'd at present *Ning-bya*; from which City the new Kingdom took the Name of *Hya*.

The *Tu-fan* had much assisted this Prince in his Enterprize; but they alledged that their Services were ill requited, and that their Complaints had been rejected with ill Treatment from the Ministers of the new State; for which Reason, seeing themselves re-united under one of their own Princes, they design'd to be revenged of them for their Ingratitude.

The King of *Hya*, who was the Founder of this little Monarchy, was named *Li-ki-tsyen*; he had renewed the War with the Empire, at that Time govern'd by the Imperial Family of the *Song*; entring suddenly with a numerous Army into the Western Part of *Shen-si*, which bordered 1003 on the small Dominion that the *Tu-fan* were still possess'd of.

Pan-lo-chi offer'd to join the *Chinese* Commander with his Forces, to destroy this growing Power, provided the Emperor would honour him with a Title that might give him more Authority among those of his own Nation. The Emperor liked the Proposal, and sent him Patents as Governor General of the *Tu-fan*.

The King of *Hya*, who knew nothing of these private Contracts, after making some Ravages, besieged the Town of *Si-lyang*, and taking it, put the Governor to Death; he thought to push his Conquest farther, believing that *Pan-lo-chi* was coming to join him with his Army, to favour his Designs.

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Designs. But that Prince having, at the Head of 60,000 Horse, come up with the King of *Hya* in a few Days, attack'd him with so much Valour, that he entirely defeated his great Army; however, being wounded in the Battle he dyed soon after the Victory.

So-tfo-lo his Successor bent his Thoughts on recovering the ancient Monarchy of his Ancestors. His little Dominion consisted only of 7 or 8 Towns, with some neighbouring Countrys. But he rely'd much on the experience and valour of his Troops, which were very well disciplined; he was in hopes also that the rest of the *Tu-san* wou'd join him and seek his Protection, when they shou'd see him powerful enough to defend them. He fix'd his Court at *Tsong-ko-ching*, where he established Officers the same both as to Number and Titles, that the Kings his Predecessors had. Afterwards levying new Forces in the Territories of *Li-tsing-chin*, *Ho-chew*, *J-chwen*, *Tjing-tang* and throughout all the Parts in general that remain'd to him of the ancient Dominions of the *Tu-san*, he entred the Territories of the Empire several Times, but was always beaten, and at length concluded a Peace.

The Enterprizes of the King of *Hya* gave him some uneasiness. That Prince's power encreas'd Daily, which swelled his Pride to such excess, that he had assumed the Title of Emperor: The Chinese Monarch was glad of having *So-tfo-lo* to oppose him, and to engage that Prince more firmly in his Interest, he made him Governor General of *Pau-shun*, which stood very conveniently for him. *So-tfo-lo* dying in the mean Time, the Division, which soon after ensued among his Children, hasten'd the intire ruin of the State of the *Tu-san*. That Prince had by his first Wife two Children, the one named *Hya-chen*, and the other *Mo-chen-tsu*: He had afterwards by a second Venter the Prince *Ton-shen*. This last Wife had so much influence and favour, that to render her Son more powerful, she perswaded her Husband to imprison his Children by the first, and oblige their Mother to turn *Bonze*. But they finding means to escape, and deliver their Mother out of the Monastery where she had been shut up, the People who assisted them in getting out of Prison, declared for them.

So-tfo-lo who had recovered from his infatuation approved of this Change, and permitted that *Mo-chen-tsu* shou'd live at *Tsong-ko-ching* which he gave him for his Maintenance, for he had removed his Court to *Chen-chew*. To *Kan-ku* his other Son he assign'd *Hya-chen* (D) for the Place of his abode. As to his third Son *Ton-shen*, who appear'd to him most capable of upholding his Family, he gave up to him all his Authority and the rest of his Dominions. *Ton-shen* resided at *Li-tsing-chin*, where he was equally beloved of his People and fear'd by his Neighbours: Inasmuch that all the *Tu-san* which dwelt to the North of the *Whang-bo* [or Yellow River] were intirely under his Subjection. Moreover the Emperor of China granted him the Government of the whole Country of *Pau-shun*, at the Request of *So-tfo-lo*, who surrendred it in his Favour.

This great Power wherewith the Younger was invested, gave Umbrage to the two Elder, and their Families, who were afraid of being one time or other oppress'd: Nevertheless they resumed Courage, asserting the Privileges of their Seniority, and by the precautions they took, died undisturbed in the Cities that fell to their Share.

Mu-ching, Son of *Hya-chen*, more uneasy than his Father at the Power of Prince *Ton-shen*, resolv'd to submit to the Emperor and deliver up to him *Kan-ku*, *Ho-chew*, and all the Land, which were in his Possession. As the City of *Ho-chew* was a Place of great importance for securing the Frontiers of the Empire, the Chinese Monarch received the Proposals of *Mu-ching* with joy, granting to him and his Posterity in general, whatever he demanded in order to live with Honour in the Empire.

Mo-chen-tsu had for his Heir his Son *Kyau-ki-ting*, who was much beloved in his little State, but did not survive his Father many Years. His Son *Hya-cheng* succeeded him: He was a passionate, violent and cruel Prince, whereby he so incens'd his Subjects, that they form'd a Design to depose him, and set up his Uncle *Su-nan* in his Stead. But the Plot being discovered, *Su-nan* and almost all his Accomplices were put to Death.

One of the Principal Officers, named *Tsien-lo-ki*, finding means to escape, carry'd with him *Cbo-sa* who was of the Prince's Family; and seizing the City of *Ki-kü-ching*, caus'd him to be proclaimed Prince of that petty State. But *Hya-ching* hastening thither with his Forces, took the Place, and put *Cbo-sa* to Death: while *Tsien-lo-ki* in the midst of all these troubles, found means again to escape to *Ho-chew*.

The General *Van-chau*, having been made Governor of this Place by the Emperor of China, *Tsien-lo-ki* perswaded him that the Conquest of the Country of *Tjing-tang* was very easy, and that if he had a mind he might make himself Master of it. *Van-chau* gave credit to him, and immediately attack'd the little City of *Mo-chwen*, which he took without any Difficulty. It was then that the Prince *Hya-ching*, seeing himself hated by his People, and vigorously attack'd by the Chinese, resolv'd to submit to the Emperor on advantageous Conditions. To this end he repaired himself to *Van-chau*, offer'd him all the Territories that belonged to him, and obtained his Demands. The Emperor ratify'd the Treaty and gave the Government of this District to *Hü-tsong-cha*.

The like happen'd to *Long-fu* (E) a Son of *Mu-ching*, whom one of the Chiefs of the *Tu-san* had put in Possession of the City of *Hi-pa-wen*. After several Battles fought with *Van-chau*, wherein

(D) *Hai-tchen* in the Fr. perhaps by Mistake of the Printer.

(E) Orig. *Lanc-su*, doubtless another Mistake: there being 10 Chinese Word that ends with *c* or *k*, or indeed with any

Consonants, except *n*, *l*, (*w*) or *y*: tis true the *g* is sometimes added to *n*, by the Missionaries, but it is only to distinguish certain Words. See Pref. p. 12.

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wherein he distinguish'd himself by his surprizing Valour, being sometimes Conqueror and sometimes conquered, that Prince submitted upon advantageous Terms, which the Emperor ratified, and thereby all his Territories were re-united to the Empire.

The Family of the third Son of *So-tse-lo* continued longer in Splendor, but at length it was dispossessed of its Principality by the *Mongols*, who took the Name of *Ywen* and *Ywen-chau*, after the Conquest of *China*.

In the midst of the Troubles, which arose in the 12th Century between the *Chinese* Emperors of the *Dynasty* of the *Song*, and the Eastern *Tartars*, called *Nu-che*, who took the Name of *Kin*, the Family of *Ton-shen* made an Alliance with the Kings of *Hya*, and under their Protection enjoy'd their Territories pretty peaceably: But at length it was involved in the common Ruin by the victorious Founder of the *Dynasty* of the *Ywen*, whom our *European* Authors name *Jingbiz-Khán*, and the *Chinese* *Cbin-ki-se-Han*. (E)

The Year 1227, according to the *Chinese* History, is the *Æra* of the intire Ruin of the *Tú-fan*; from that Time they have remained in their ancient Country without either Name or Power, happy to live there in quiet. So true it is, that the Division of a Government almost always overturns the most flourishing Monarchies. The *Tú-fan* were always respected by their Neighbours, so long as they were united under Monarchs who were capable of governing them well.

Tho' the Form of the Government has been changed among the *Tú-fan*, their Belief has always continued the same. The Idolatry of *Fo* was the Religion of their Kings and Princes, as it is still that of the Chiefs of the Nation. The *Lama Bonzas*, and sometimes the *Ho-shan Bonzas*, had great Authority in their Courts: They even chose them to be Ministers of State, and on certain Occasions to command the Armies. Superstition has rather encreased among the *Tú-fan* since their Decline. Under the Emperors of the *Ywen*, the *Lamas* became so powerful, that the *Tartar* Families thought it was an Honour to have one of their Kindred among these *Bonzas*. 'Tis likely this introduced among the *Tú-fan*, who were then Subjects to the *Ywen*, the Custom of conferring on a *Lama* of the Family, the Power of Governing and Punishing.

This also has much contributed to their being so extremely devoted to *Fo*. Their Liberality is never shewn, unless it be in honouring this Idol, which they enrich by their Offerings. For they have Gold in some of their Rivers: And know pretty well how to work it, especially in making Vessels and little Statues.

The use of Gold is also very ancient among 'em: Since the *Chinese* Books mention that in the Reign of a certain Emperor of the *Dynasty* of the *Han*, an Officer having been sent to the *Tú-fan*, to complain of the Devastations made by some of their Chiefs with their united Forces, they endeavoured to pacify him, by offering him a Quantity of Gold Plate: But the Officer refused it, causing the *Tú-fan* to be told, that Rice in dishes of Gold did not relish with him.

Their Country is very Mountainous: Lying between the Rivers *Whang-bo* to the North, *Ya-long* to the West, and the *Yang-tse-kyang* to the East. Nevertheless, between these Mountains there are some fine Plains, which are like those of *Se-chwen* and *Yun-nan*, principally along the Banks of the great and beautiful River *Ya-long*: But there is neither Town nor Fortrefs to be met with any where, though there must needs be the remains of Cities, since it is certain there were some formerly in this Country. The Source of the *Ya-long*, which is both broad and deep, is between 34 and 35 deg. of latitude and 19 of longitude (F).

The Springs of the *Yang-tse-kyang*, which runs quite thro' *China*, are in the Country of the *Tú-fan*. The most famous which the oldest *Chinese* Books speak of, is named *He-shwi*, and lies below 33 deg. of lat. and in 15 of long. but it is called by the *Tú-fan*, *Cbúnak*, and comes from a Chain of Mountains, which they name *Cbúrkála*.

I thought fit to take particular notice of this, because the *Chinese* Books of Geography relate many falsehoods concerning the great River *Yang-tse-kyang*. These Authors wrote only from common Report, and at a Time when there was scarce any Correspondence with either *Tibet* or the *Tú-fan*.

Of the TARTARS of KOKO-NOR.

BEYOND *Si-ning*, without the Gates of the Great Wall, are the Territories of the *Tartars* of *Koko-Nor*. They are properly *Eluths* (G) by Nation: But since the Extinction of the Royal Family, denominated *Ywen-chau*, they inhabit to the West of *China*, along the Province of *Se-chwen*, between it and *Tibet*; they take their Name from a great Lake which the *Chinese* call *Si-bay*, that is, the *Western Sea*; and themselves in their own Language, *Koko-Nol* or *Koko-Nor*.

(E) P. de Halde passes slightly over this Part relating to the Destruction of the Power of the *Si-fan* and *Si-hya*, which yet is the most curious and interesting to us of all their History, as being connected with that of *Jengbiz Khán*; had that Jesuit or his Correspondents been fuller on this Head, we might have been able perhaps to have determined the Situation of *Kara Katay*,

which we take to have been the Country possessed by the Emperors of *Hya*.

(F) It must be observed that the Longitude is always reckon'd from *Pe-king*, excepting where it is mention'd to be otherwise.

(G) *Eluths* or *Altai*: Of whom an Account is given in the 2d Volume.

Their Country is pretty large, extending from North to South above seven Degrees. 'Tis separated from *China* by Mountains, so high and steep, that they serve almost every where instead of the Great Wall. However, there are some Pieces of it to be seen towards the Openings of the Mountains, especially in those Places which are frequented by the *Koko-Nor* and other Strangers; for Instance, *Tsong-fang-wey*, where there are some Battalions under the conduct of a *Tsong-ping*, who has also other Troops in different Posts, which he disposes of as there is Occasion.

Commodities. The principal Merchandize of *Tsong-fang-wey*, is a sort of Woolen-stuff named *Pu-lu*, much like our Frize, but not above one fourth or fifth part of the Breadth. It is made by the *Tartars* of *Koko-Nor* and the *Si-fan*, who know very well how to dye it of all sorts of Colours. In the Country they often make long Habits of it, and at *Pe-king* they cover Saddles with it.

The Country of these *Tartars*, which borders on *Se-chwen*, is not contiguous to the Kingdoms of *Pegu* and *Ava*, called by the *Chinese* *Myen* (a) and *Ya-wa*, altho' these lie to the South of it (u); because there are frightful and inaccessible Mountains between, inhabited by Nations almost wholly unknown, and which by report of the *Chinese* of *Yun-nan*, their Neighbours, are very savage, being without either Laws or Government.

The most Northern of the Mountains bordering on the *Koko-nor Tartars* is called *Nu-i*; and the most Southern bounding *Ava*, in 25 Degr. 33 Min. Latitude, is named *Li-se* in that Part towards *Yun-chang-fu*.

The Entrances of these Mountains, which also make a good part of its western Limits, are fortified no more than those of *Se-chwen*; but considering the Country, they are sufficient for the Security of the State, and the Trade carry'd on with *Ava*, by *Ten-ye-chew*, a middling City, on which depends the guarding the Pass which is nearest, and most frequented by the Merchants.

There was still less Occasion for fortifying the Avenues of the Mountains to the South of *Yun-nan* and *China*, along the Confines of the Kingdoms of *Laos* (called by the *Chinese* *Lau-Sbwa* or *Lau-se*) and *Tong-king*; for besides that the Air of this Country is fatal to Strangers, it happens that most part of the Year it is uncultivated and wild, full of Rivers and dangerous Torrents; whence it is, that the *Chinese* traffic so little with either of those Kingdoms. Nevertheless *P. Regis* found some Traders at *Yun-nan-fu*, who had travelled as far as the Borders of both Countries; and whose Memoirs and Journals were serviceable to him in determining some Positions in the Southern Part of *Yun-nan*, proportioning their Stages to the Distances measur'd between the Places, thro' which they pass'd in making the Map of the neighbouring Cities.

The *Chinese* have extended their Dominions as far as these Tracts of inaccessible Mountains, which in a Course of such prodigious Length are interrupted only by great Rivers, and seem to have been design'd by Nature for the Bounds of some large Kingdom. They little regard the Complaints and Efforts of certain inconsiderable Nations, who remain shut up in this Enclosure, as we have observed of the *Si-fan*, who have been hemmed in by the Great Wall about *Si-ning* and *Kya-yu-quan*. Nevertheless the Conduct of the *Chinese* has not been the same towards these different Nations, as we are going to inform the Reader.

Of the Nation of the LO - LO.

Government.

THE Nation of the *Lo-lo* (1) ruled in *Yun-nan*, and was governed by different Sovereigns. The *Chinese*, after building some Forts and Cities in the little uncultivated Plains there, and fighting several Battles, resolv'd to gain these People, by conferring on their Lords for ever the Seals and all Honours of *Chinese* Mandarins, with the Title of *Chi-fu* and *Chi-chew*, &c. on condition, that they should acknowledge the Emperor, and be subject to the Governor of the Province in common Affairs, after the same Manner as the *Chinese* Mandarins of the same Rank: Moreover, that they should receive the Investiture of their Lands from the Emperor, and should not execute any Authority therein without his Consent; the Emperor on his Part obliging himself to invest the next Heir.

Language, Religion.

The *Lo-lo* are as well shaped as the *Chinese*, and more inured to Fatigue; they have a different Language, and a sort of Writing which seems to be the same as that of the *Bonzas* of *Pegu* and *Ava*. These have insinuated themselves with the most rich and powerful among the *Lo-lo*, who inhabit the northern Part of *Yun-nan*, and have there built huge Temples of different Structure from the *Chinese*; the Ceremonies, Prayers, and in short the whole religious Worship is the same as practis'd in *Pegu*.

The *Lo-lo* Lords are absolute Masters of their Subjects, and have a Right to punish even with Death, without waiting for the Answer of the *Vice-Roy*, much less that of the Court; so that they are obey'd with an incredible Readiness and Zeal. Any one thinks his Fortune made, if he is admitted to serve in the Palace; which Name those Edifices deserve better than a great many

(a) In the *French* it is faultily printed *Mien*.

(u) The Situation given the *Koko-nor Tartars* here does not agree with that assign'd them in the Map, where they are placed to the West of *Shen-fu*, and North of the *Tu-fan* or *Si-fan*, whose Country borders on *Se-chwen*.

(1) In the *French* it is written *Lo-lu*, but it must be consider'd that the *l* is added to distinguish the plural Number, the *Chinese* having no Words ending in *s*, for which Reason we have left it out to preserve the Propriety of the Name.

many *Chinese* Tribunals, as they are called in some Relations, which for the most part are kept in bad Repair and scarce habitable. The *Lo-lo*, who consider the Hall where they give Audience, and all the other Apartments, as their Estate, take care to beautify and keep them in good Condition.

Besides the Officers of the Household, and others who serve quarterly, they have Captains, Forces. who command the Militia of the Country; one Part of which consists of Horse, the other of Foot, who are armed with Arrows, Spears, and often with Musquets.

Altho' the Horses of *Yun-nan* as well as *Se-chwen* are the least in all *China*, yet they are not Horses. the less esteemed on that Account; for they are not only of a beautiful Colour and well shaped, but are also strong, lively, and tractable.

The Mountains within their District must needs afford Mines of Iron and Copper, for Mines of Iron and Copper. they make their own Weapons. The *Chinese* sometimes carry them Arms, and often insinuating into the Houses of those Lords, enrich themselves at the Expence of their Subjects.

In short the Country abounds in all Sorts of Commodities, and affords Mines of Gold and Silver. Gold and Silver. The Habit of the *Lo-lo* consists in a pair of Drawers, a linnen Vest, that reaches no lower than the Knees, and a Straw Hat, or one of Rattan; they go with their Legs bare, and wear nothing but Sandals; the Lords wear the Tartar Habit, made of Satin or Damask; the Ladies over a long Gown, which reaches down to their Feet, wear a little Cloak which comes no lower than the Waist; it is in this Dress they ride on Horseback, even in performing the Marriage Ceremonies, or in the Visits they make, accompany'd by their Waiting Women on Horseback likewise, and their other Domesticks on Foot.

Concerning the Nation of the MYAU TSE.

THE *Myau tse* (κ) are dispersed thro' the Provinces of *Se-chwen*, *Quey-chew*, *Hu-quang*, Their Country. *Qyang-shi*, and along the Borders of *Qyang-tong*; under this general Name several People are comprehended. Most of them differ only in certain Customs, and a slight Variation of Language; such are the *Myau-tse* of *Se-chwen*, those to the West of *Hu-quang*, and those to the North of *Quey-chew*; they are more fierce and uncivilized than the *Lo-lo*, as well as greater Enemies to the *Chinese*.

To subdue them, or at least to bridle them, the *Chinese* have built large Forts and Towns, upon very disadvantageous Situations, with incredible Expence; but then by this means they have effectually secured the Quiet of the State, by cutting off all Communication among them, so that the most powerful of these *Myau-tse* are, as it were, block'd up by those Barriers.

Those of whom we speak are as absolute over their People as the *Lo-lo*; but as they have not Government. received the Dignity of *Chi-fu*, *Chi-chew*, &c. they are considered as subdued, provided they keep quiet: And in case they commit Acts of Hostility, either to be revenged of the *Chinese*, who are often troublesome Neighbours, or to shew their Bravery, wherein they picque themselves, believing they are better Horsemen than any other Nation, the *Chinese* are content to drive them back to their Mountains, without attempting to force them from thence. In vain the *Vice-Roy* of the Provinces cites them to appear even by Proxy, for they do just as they think proper.

One of these *Myau-tse* Lords, having been invited to a Meeting, where the *Vice-Roy* of *Yunnan*, *Quey-chew*, and *Se-chwen*, expected him accompany'd with two great Men of *Pe-king*, sent from Court to examine into the Complaints which one of the Governors had made of his Conduct, obstinately refused to come; whereupon the Grandees thought fit to dissemble, and treat with him by way of Negotiation.

These Lords have not only their Officers, like the *Lo-lo*, but they have also petty Lords under them; who, tho' Masters of their Vassals, are feudatory, and obliged to attend with their Troops when ordered. The Houses of these Lords are not inferior to the best belonging to the *Chinese*. Their usual Arms are the Bow and half Pike; their Saddles are well made, and differ from the *Chinese*, being narrower and higher, with Stirrups of painted Wood.

Their Horses are much esteem'd on account of their Swiftnes in climbing up and galloping Horses. down Mountains, as also for their Agility in leaping very wide Ditches. Those of them that are sold in these Parts cost an excessive Price.

The Great Mandarins receive them often as Presents from the Inferior, who buy them, dear as they are, to procure the Favour of their Protectors, or even of the *Myau-tse* Lords, when they live in good Understanding with them. The *Chinese* report surprizing and even incredible Things of these Horses.

One Thing which they tell is not altogether so, *viz.* That when Officers of the Army are to be chosen, they oblige the Candidates to leap their Horses over a Ditch, of a certain Breadth, with a clear Fire burning in it, and to order the Soldiers to ride full speed down the highest Mountains. In short, they relate many other things of the same Nature, wherein sup- posing

(κ) As *Myau* signifies in *Chinese* a Cat, (probably from the Noise those Creatures make) and *Tse*, Son; perhaps *Myau-tse* signifies the Sons of Cats. P. de Halde for the most part omits the Significations of Names, which is a great Defect.

posing them to be practicable by a few Heroes among them, the Actors run very dangerous Risks.

The *Myau-tse* who dwell in the Middle and Southern Part of *Quey-chew* differ from the former as to their Condition: For without stopping to give an Account of the various Names (1) given them by the *Chinese* of the Country, (which are the Names of the Colonies come from other Parts, or sent by the Emperors and Conquerors of this Province,) they may be divided into *Myau-tse* who are not subdued, and *Myau-tse* who are subdued.

Myau-tse who
are subdued.

These last are again divided into two Sorts, one obeying the Magistrates of the Empire, and making Part of the *Chinese* People, from whom they are distinguish'd only by a kind of Head-Dress, which they wear instead of the Bonnet, or Cap, commonly used by the *Chinese*.

The others have their Hereditary *Mandarins*, originally inferior Officers, who served in the *Chinese* Army of *Hong-vu*, on the Rise of the last Royal Family, and were in recompense made Masters, some of six, others of ten or more Villages conquered from the *Myau-tse*.

These new Masters were supported by the Garrisons placed in those advantageous Stations, where the Towns of that Province are seen at present. The *Myau-tse* accustom'd themselves by Degrees to the Yoke, so that now they look on their *Mandarins*, as if they were of their own Nation, and have conform'd to almost all their Customs. However, they have not yet forgot their Country; they talk of the Provinces and Towns they came from, and how many Generations have settled in the Province of *Quey-chew*. Most of them reckon 14, some 16; which agrees with the *Ara* of *Hong-vu*.

Altho' their Jurisdiction is but small, yet they do not want Riches. Their Houses are large, commodious, and kept in good Repair. They hear the Causes of their Subjects on the first Demand, and have Power to punish them, but not capitally. From their Tribunals, which have the Privilege only of the *Cbi-byen*, an Appeal lies to that of the *Cbi-fu*.

The People wrap their Heads in a Piece of Linnen, and wear nothing but a sort of Doublet and Breeches; but their *Mandarins* and their Domesticks are clothed like the *Mandarins* and *Chinese* of the Country, especially when they go to the City, to visit the *Cbi-fu*, or any other *Mandarin*.

Myau-tse who
are not sub-
dued.

It was from these *Mandarins* of the conquered *Myau-tse*, that the Missionaries, who were at work on the Map of those Provinces, got some Intelligence of the *Myau-tse*, who are not subdued, and possess above 40 *French* Leagues in the Province of *Quey-chew* near *Li-ping-fu*: For tho' they pass'd along their Country on the North and West Sides, in settling the Positions of the *Chinese* Towns and Places, where the Soldiers were posted all around, almost in sight of their Borders, yet they never saw one of them appear.

their Houses,

They told them that these unconquered *Myau-tse*, who are called by the *Chinese* *Sing-Myau-tse* or *Ye-Myau-tse*, that is, *Wild Myau-tse*, have Houses built of Brick, one Story high, and like those of the conquered *Myau-tse*. In the Ground-Floor they put their Cattle, as the Oxen, Cows, Sheep, and Hogs, for in those Parts one sees scarce any other Kinds of Animals, not even Horses. Hence it is, that their Houses are dirty and stinking, and that those who are not used to it, can hardly bear to lie in the upper Room. In effect, the *Tartars* choose rather to lodge in the miserable Cafens of the Soldiers, than in those Houses, which otherwise make a pretty good Appearance.

Manufa-
ctures.

These *Myau-tse* are divided into Villages, and live in great Unity, altho' they are only govern'd by the Seniors of each Village. They cultivate their Lands, make Linnen, and a sort of Carpets, which serve them for Coverlets in the Night. This Linnen is not good, being like bad Muslin; but the Carpets are very well woven; some of them are made of Silk of different Colours, red, yellow, and green; others of raw Thread, made of a kind of Hemp, which they likewise dye. Their Habit is only a pair of Drawers, and a sort of Great Coat, which they fold over their Stomach.

The *Chinese* Merchants find Means, in all likelihood, by the procurement of the conquered *Myau-tse* *Mandarins*, to trade with the *Wild Myau-tse*, and buy the Woods of their Forests, which having cut down, and thrown them into a River that runs through the midst of their Country, the *Chinese*, who are a little lower on the other Side, receive and make great Floats of it; the Price of the Merchandize remains in the Hands of a Person agreed upon, and usually consists of a certain Number of Cows, Oxen, and Buffaloes; of the Skin of these Animals the *Myau-tse* make their Cuirasses, which they cover with little Plates of Iron or beaten Copper, which render them heavy, but very strong, and of great Use to these Nations.

Among the conquered *Myau-tse* there are some who have their Chiefs, but these Chiefs have not Power of judging Causes. They differ however from the *Chinese*, in that they dwell only in Villages, and never go into the City, unless on some very urgent Occasion.

Mu-lau, or
Wood-Rats.

Those whom the *Chinese* call *Mu-lau*, that is, *Rats of the Wood*, and who dwell within 3 or 4 Leagues of the Posts of *Yun-nan*, throughout the Province of *Quey-chew*, are best apparell'd of all the *Myau-tse* in this Country. Their Habit is shaped like a Bag, with Sleeves wide at the Cuffs, and slit in two above the Elbow; underneath there is a Vest of a different Colour; the Seams are cover'd with the smallest Shells that are to be found in the Seas of *Yun-nan*, or the Lakes of the Country; the Cap and the rest of their Dress are much of a piece. The Cloth is made of coarse Thread twisted from a kind of Hemp and Herbs, unknown to us; they probably make Use of this Thread in working the Carpets already mention'd, which are woven sometimes all plain and of one Colour, sometimes in little Squares of divers Colours.

(1) P. de Halde would have done well to have given us the different Names by which these People are distinguish'd; such Notices are of great Use to Geography; and serve to prevent

Mistakes, as to the Identity of a Nation, call'd by different Names in different Authors.

Among their Instruments of Musick, there is one composed of several Pipes inserted in a larger, which has a hole or kind of Reed into which they blow, the Sound whereof is more soft and agreeable than the *Chinese Shin*, which may be considered as a sort of little Hand-Organ, that must be blown with the Breath. Musical Instruments.

They know how to keep Time in Dancing, and express the gay, melancholy, &c. Airs very naturally; sometimes they play on a sort of Guittar; sometimes they beat an Instrument composed of two little Drums, one set against the other; afterwards they turn it upside down, as if they were going to throw it against the Ground and break it to pieces. Dancing.

These People have no *Bonzas* of the Religion of *Fo* among them, so that being free from this unhappy Obstacle, which is considerable with respect to the *Chinese* and *Lo-lo*, they may more easily embrace the true Religion; in Case they have not among them still worse Seducers, such as are certain *Tartarian* Jugglers, tho' we do not know that they entertain any. Religion.

In that Part of *Hu-quang*, next to the Province of *Quang-tong* and that of *Quang-si*, depending on *Tung-chew-fu*, are *Myau-tse*, still more uncivilized, altho' they are thought to acknowledge the Jurisdiction of the neighbouring *Mandarins*, and pay the Tribute, which they carry in what kind and when they please; for in certain Places they permit no Officer of the *Chinese* Tribunal to enter their Lands, and if he should, he would run the Risk of his Life. Myau-tse of Hu-quang.

They go barefooted, and by the Habit of running on their Mountains, their Feet become so callous that they climb the steepest Rocks, and pass over the most stony Grounds with incredible Swiftnefs, without receiving the least Inconvenience.

The Head Dress of the Women has something in it very odd and whimsical. They put on their Heads a piece of light Board above a Foot long, and five or six Inches broad, which they cover with their Hair, fastening it with Wax, so that they seem to have Hats of Hair; they can neither lean nor lye down but by resting on their Necks, and they are obliged to turn their Heads continually to the Right and Left, on the Roads, which in this Country are full of Woods and Thickets. Whimsical Head Attire.

The Difficulty is still greater when they would comb their Hair, for they must be whole Hours at the Fire to melt the Wax; after having clean'd their Hair, which Trouble they are at 3 or 4 times a Year, they fall to dressing it up again as it was before.

The *Myau-tse* think this Dress very charming, especially for young Women. The more elderly Sort don't take so much Pains, but content themselves with doing up their Hair on the Crown of the Head into knotted Tresses.

These *Myau-tse* are also called by the *Chinese*, *Li-jin* and *Tau-tse*. They have several other Names or rather Nick-names, for all the Names already mention'd, and many others, denote Contempt and Raillery, which the *Chinese* are not sparing of. Li-jin and Tau-tse.

Those whom they call *Pa-chay* and *Lü-chay*, the first on the Borders of *Quang-tong*, the latter on those of *Quang-si*, are however more fear'd than despised by their *Chinese* Neighbours of *Hu-quang* and *Quang-tong*; the first are so call'd, because the Number of their principal Villages is eight; and the latter, because they have six, which serve them for Intrenchments. Pa-chay and Lü-chay.

The *Chinese* have erected fortified Towns to the North, East, and West of those Countries, which seem to have been built for no other Purpose, than to hinder the Incursions of these petty Nations, for their Situation is very inconvenient. If to these Towns we add all the Forts that have been rais'd about their Territories, they will amount to more than twenty.

Some of these Forts have been abandon'd since the Accession of the present Family; however above one half of them are still kept on Foot, and pretty well garrison'd. These *Myau-tse* were wont to fall upon the *Chinese*; but the latter have at length got them to put one of their principal Men into the Hands of the neighbouring *Mandarins*, as a Security for their good Behaviour. Moreover they have bound themselves to give the *Chinese* no Disturbance, either because they intend to come and trade in their Cities, or do not care to leave their Mountains.

The *Myau-tse* of the Province of *Quang-si* are on another Footing. They exercise the Jurisdiction of the *Chi-fu* and *Chi-hyen*, &c. over their Subjects, by a Right which has been hereditary to them for many Centuries. They are originally *Chinese*; their Ancestors having followed the two Conquerors of these Countries and *Tong-king*, named *Fu-pau* and *Ma-yuen*. The first was Generalissimo of the Army sent by the Emperor *Quang-vu-ti* against the Rebels of the South and the *Tong-kinese*, who, taking advantage of the Troubles of the Empire, had seized on such Territories as they found convenient for them. Myau-tse of Quang-si.

The General *Ma-yuen* march'd against these last, drove them back within their ancient Bounds, and fill'd them with such Terror, that his Name, after 16 Centuries, is still fear'd among them. He caus'd a Pillar of Bra's to be erected on the Mountain, which serves for a Boundary, with these *Chinese* Words, *Tong chü chi che kyo chi chi nye*, which signifies that they should extirpate the *Tong-kinese*, if they pass'd the Brazen Pillar.

The *Tong-kinese* at present look upon this Inscription, which is one of the most ancient in *China*, as a Prophecy that indicates the Duration of their Monarchy, which is not to be destroy'd till the Brazen Pillar shall be quite consumed by Time; for which Cause they take great care to shelter it from the Injuries of the Weather, and inclose it with large Stones to render it more steady, believing, that by preserving it, they fix the Destiny of their Kingdom.

Ma-yuen left his Officers and brave Soldiers towards the Frontiers to secure the Conquests, and made them Masters of whatever he distributed among them. It is thus these *Mandarins* of the *Myau-tse* hold from the Beginning their Authority from the Emperor, to whom they are

tributary; they have their Soldiers and Officers, nor do they want for Arms, which they either make in their own Mountains, or buy privately of the *Chinese*.

What is very grievous to these People is, that they are almost continually at War, and destroying one another; Revenge is perpetuated and hereditary among them. The great Grandchild often endeavours to revenge the Death of his great Grandfather, if he thinks it has not been sufficiently revenged before. As the *Chinese* Mandarins do not care to run any Risk to establish Peace among them, they willingly wink at what they cannot hinder, without hazarding the Lives of the *Chinese* Soldiers.

Language of
the *Myau-tse*.

The Language of the *Myau-tse* of *Se-chwen*, the Western Parts of *Hu-quang*, and Northern Parts of *Quey-chew* is the same, or differs only in the Pronunciation and some particular Words; but that of the *Myau-tse* towards *Li-ping-fu* is reckon'd a Mixture of the *Chinese* and the true *Myau-tse*, for the People of both Nations understand one another very well. They say there are also some Countries between *Yang-fu*, *Hu-quang*, and *Quey-chew*, of which, those that are to the North are not understood by the *Myau-tse*; this the conquer'd *Myau-tse* affirm.

Manners.

The *Chinese* give all the *Myau-tse* the Character of being an unconstant, perfidious, barbarous People, and above all egregious Thieves; which however did not appear to be fact to *P. Regis* and the Missionaries who assisted in making the Map of those Countries; on the contrary they found them very faithful in restoring the Cloaths committed to their Trust, attentive, laborious, and obliging. But perhaps the *Myau-tse* have reason to be dissatisfied with the *Chinese*, who have taken from them almost all the Lands that were good for any thing in the Country, and continue to seize on whatever they find for their Convenience, unless prevented by the Fear of irritating those, whom they endeavour to dispossess, too far. However it is certain, that the *Chinese* neither love nor esteem the *Myau-tse* or the *Lo-lo*; and that these People have still less Affection for the *Chinese*: looking on them as severe and troublesome Masters, who keep them shut up by their Garrisons, and as it were coop'd up within a long Wall; which deprives them of all Communication with other Nations, from whom they might procure Assistance.

Iron Bridge.

Whatever Towers, Towns, and Bridges there are in *Quey-chew* and other Territories, which formerly did or do at present belong to them, they were all built by the *Chinese*; the Iron Bridge as it is called, which is in *Quey-chew* upon the great Road to *Yun-nan*, is the Work of a *Chinese* General, whose Name is cut in a great Piece of Marble on the other Side of the *Pan-bo*. This is a Torrent, which is not wide but very deep; on each Bank they have built a great Gate between two huge Piers of Stone, 6 or 7 Foot broad, and 17 or 18 high; from each of the Piers on the East Side hang 4 Chains by huge Rings, which are fasten'd to the Piers on the Western Side, and link'd together by small Chains, which make it look like Network with great Meshes, on this they have laid thick Planks fasten'd one to the other; but as they do not reach within some Paces of the Gate, because of the bending of the Chains, especially when loaded, they have fixt Consoles or Brackets on the same, level with the Gate, which supports a Floor that reaches to the Planks laid on the Chains; on the Sides of these Planks they have set up little Wooden Pilasters, which sustain a small Roof of the same Materials, continued from one Side to the other, the Ends whereof rest on the Piers.

The *Chinese* have made some other Bridges in imitation of this, which is famous over all the Empire; there is one especially pretty well known, on the River *Kin-sha-kyang*, in the ancient Country of the *Lo-lo* of the Province of *Yun-nan*; and in that of *Se-chwen* there are 2 or 3 others, which are supported only by thick Ropes, but these tho' small, are tottering and so insecure, that nothing but Necessity could make one venture to cross them.

They have succeeded better in some other Parts, both in the Province of *Se-chwen*, at the Foot of the Mountains possess'd by the *Myau-tse*, and in that of *Shen-fu*, in the District of *Han-chong-fu*. They have by help of Consoles fasten'd Wooden Poles into the Rocks of the Mountains; on these they have laid thick Planks, and thus made Bridges hanging over the Valleys, which serve for Roads, sometimes for a considerable Way together.

All these are the Works of the ancient *Chinese* settled in those Provinces, which shews the Superiority of their Genius, not only over the *Myau-tse* and *Lo-lo*, but even all the neighbouring Nations, both to the Westward and Southward.

The TRAVELS of several JESUIT MISSIONARIES in CHINA.

The Road taken by P. P. Bouvet, Fontaney, Gerbillon, le Comte, and Visselou, from the Port of Ning-po to Pe-king: with a very exact and particular Description of all the Places which they pass'd through in the Provinces of Che-kyang, Kyang-nan, Shan-tong, and Pe-che-li.

WE departed from Ning-po the 26th of November 1687, in order to go to Pe-king, where we were call'd by the Emperor, embarking in the Evening with a Mandarin, who was appointed us by the Governor.

The 27th in the Morning we pass'd by *Tu-yau-byen*, a City of the third Order, depending on *Shau-hing*; its Wall incloses a pretty high Mountain, on which there is not a House to be seen,

(1) It appears by a Circumstance among others in the next Journal, that P. Fontaney wrote this,

except

except towards the Foot. A little River separates the City from a Palace, which *Li-Ko-lau*, after having obtain'd a Permission to retire from Court, caused to be built in the Reign of the Father of the Emperor *Van-lye*, to perpetuate his Memory in the Place of his Birth. He inclosed with Walls a great Piece of Ground, which was inhabited afterwards and is now Part of the City; there is a Communication between them, by means of a Bridge of 3 Arches, pretty well built, and over-against it are erected 7 or 8 Triumphal Arches, which almost touch one another.

*Read from
Ning-po to
Pe king.*

That Day in the Evening we pass'd two Dikes, and arrived first at a Passage where they hoist up the Barks in order to convey them into a Canal, which is 9 or 10 Feet higher than the Level of the River; they hoist the Bark on a Slope or Declivity, paved with great Stones, and when it is at the Top they let it slide down another into the Canal. There are several People at this Passage, who wait to be hired for this Work, which they finish in about a quarter of an Hour, by means of two Capstans.

All the Country we saw consists of large, well cultivated Plains, bounded with frightful barren Mountains, tho' some are cover'd with Pines and Cypressess, which are the most common Trees to be seen between *Ning-po* and *Hang-chew*. The Tree which produces the Tallow is almost as common, especially towards *Ning-po*, where scarce any other Trees are to be seen; they were at that Time strip'd of their Leaves, and cover'd with a white Fruit growing in Bunches at the End of the Branches; their Husks being fallen off, they appear'd white, so that at a Distance they seem'd as if cover'd with Flowers.

*Pines.
Cypressess.
Tallow Tree.*

The 28th in the Morning, we cross'd a Sort of Lake, or rather an Arm of the Sea, call'd *Tsau-bu*, at our own Expence; for the Mandarin declared, that having no Order from the Emperor, he could not oblige the Officers to furnish us with Necessaries beyond the District of *Ning-po*: for which Reason we were compell'd to hire new Barks, and defray the Mandarin's Expences as far as *Hang-chew*.

This Day we sail'd on the fine Canal which *P. Martini* mentions, but he does not give so particular an Account of it as it deserves. This Canal is near 20 Leagues in Length; it is lined on one Side with large flat Stones, 5 or 6 Feet long, 2 in Breadth, and 2 or 3 Inches thick; its Water is pure and very clear, and its Breadth is generally 20 or 30 Geometrical Paces, sometimes 40 or more. In divers Places it runs above a League, sometimes two in a strait Plain. But what is more common, tho' not mention'd by *P. Martini*, is, that from Beginning to End, at certain Distances, one finds several fine Canals on both Sides, extending along the Plain, where they divide into several others; forming a great Number of Islands, that make it look like a great Labyrinth, as far as the Mountains bounding these beautiful Plains, which are level, and smooth as Glass.

Fine Canal.

In this agreeable Place is the City of *Shau-bing*, which is cross'd by a great Number of Canals; the Bridges, which are very numerous, and generally of a single Arch, are very high, but the Arches not being of any Thickness towards the Top, are much weaker than ours; so that Carts never pass over them, all Burthens being carry'd by Porters. These Bridges are pass'd by means of Stairs which are flat, and of easy Ascent, the Steps commonly not being above 3 Inches thick.

City Shau-bing.

Some of these Bridges instead of Arches have 3 or 4 great Stones laid on Piles in form of a Floor: We saw some, the Stones whereof were 10, 12, 15, and 18 Feet in Length. There are several of these over the great Canal, very neatly built. The Country which is water'd by it is very pleasant and fertile, offering to the View large Plains cover'd with Rice and Pulse, which afford Sustenance to an immense Number of People; it is also diversify'd with infinite Thickets of Cypress Trees, here and there shading the Tombs.

About *Shau-bing*, and from thence almost as far as *Hang-chew*, one sees a continual Series of Houses and Hamlets, which makes the Country look as if it was one City. The Houses in the Country, as well as those of the Villages, are better built and kept in Repair, than those of the common Sort in some Towns: so that the Villages of this Country are prettier and more pleasant than those of *Europe* generally are.

The 29th we pass'd by *Syau-shan*, a City of the third Rank. It is supposed to have had its Name on account of a little Mountain, which is in one of its Suburbs. This City also is water'd with many Canals; its Gates, as well as those of *Shau-bing*, are cover'd with Plates of Iron.

City Syau-shan.

The 30th we went in Chairs within half a League of the *Tsien-tang* (M), which we pass'd in less than an Hour and an half. The River was in this Place about 4,000 Geometrical Paces in Breadth, but Ships cannot enter because of its Shallows; it has an extraordinary high Tide every Year about the full Moon in *October*. When we had pass'd the River, we found very neat Calashes ready for us, which the Christians of *Hang-chew* (N) had brought down to the Water Side; they accompany'd us, as it were, in Triumph to Church, where we found *P. Intorcetta*, who was grown hoary in the Labour of the Apostolic Life, and no less venerable on account of his Merit and Vertue, than his great Age.

P. Intorcetta.

As we were going to Court we were indispensably obliged both to make and receive several Visits; in the way from our own House to the Palace of the Vice Roy, we pass'd thro' a very strait Street, about 25 or 30 Feet broad, and in Length from our House to the Gate of the *Tartars* City about a League. The Middle of it is paved with large flat Stones, and the rest like the Streets of

(M) In the Orig. *Cien-tang* instead of *Chien-tang*, or rather *Tsien-tang* as it is in the Map.

(N) Here, and commonly afterwards *P. de Hallé* writes it *Hang-chew* instead of *Hang-tchew*.

Road from
Ning-po to
Pe king.

of the European Cities, but without any Descent. All the Houses are one Story high over the Shops, which are open towards the Street; on the back side is the Canal. This Street is as much crowded as the most populous Streets of Paris, yet not a Woman to be seen. It is adorn'd with several Triumphal Arches, placed at certain Distances, which make a very beautiful Appearance. the other Streets, and especially those where the Soldiers and the Tartars live, are very different; the Houses on each Side look like those of the poorest Cottagers, neither are they by far so well peopled as those before mention'd.

Lake Si-bu.

We visited the Burying Place of the Christians; all that Quarter, which is full of Mountains, is scatter'd over with Tombs for the Space of near two Leagues. We went afterwards on the Lake call'd Si-bu, which P. Martini describes as a delightful Place: The Christians had provided us a Dinner in a large Bark, which had a Hall and very commodious Apartments. This Lake, whose Waters are very clear, is above a League and an half in Compass; on the Side of it in some Places there are Houses, which are agreeable enough, but not extraordinary handsome. Without Doubt the Tartars, who have sack'd this great City 2 or 3 Times, have demolish'd most of the Palaces P. Martini speaks of.

The 19th Dec. we took Leave of the Mandarins, and after having sent our Chest on Board the Bark, went to Prayers in the Church where the Christians were assembled; they furnish'd each of us with a Chair, and conducted us as they had done at our Arrival to our Bark.

We pass'd Eastwards thro' a Street, belonging to one of the Suburbs, for about 11 or 1,200 Geometrical Paces; as we did not go to the End of it, I cannot say justly how far it extends. This Street is narrower than that before spoken of, but as straight. The Houses are 2 Story high and very close together; we saw as many People as there are in the most frequented Streets of Paris, but still not a Woman.

Our Bark, tho' it was only of the third Rate, was very large, neat and commodious; being more than 16 Foot in Breadth, and between 60 and 80 in Length; its Sides were 10 or 12 Feet high; it was accommodated with a Hall and 4 very convenient Chambers, without reckoning the Kitchen and the Places where our Domesticks retired, all on the same Deck. The Hall and Chambers were adorn'd on the Inside with carved Work, painted and gilded; the rest was beautifully varnish'd, and the Ceiling consisting of several Pannels, painted after the Chinese Manner. Not only the Emperor, but the Merchants themselves have great Numbers of this Sort of Barks for trading to the several Provinces, by Means of the Rivers and Canals, wherewith the Country is intersected.

Canal.

We have seen some of these Barks which might hold 200 Tun; whole Families lodge in them more conveniently than in their Houses, which are not so neat. There were above 400 in the Canal that we sail'd on. This Canal, which is to the North West of the City, runs more than a great League in a strait Line, and is in Breadth every where above 15 Fathom; it is lined on both Sides with Free Stone, and on the Banks are Rows of Houses as thick set as in the Streets, and as full of People; nor are the Barks less crowded, which lie on each Side of the Canal. We stop'd in our Bark till the 20th, being obliged to wait for the Vice Roy, who design'd to visit us, and give us the Kang-bo, or Order of the Ping-pu, that is, the sovereign Tribunal for the Militia. This Order imported, that whether we travel'd by Land or Water, we should be furnish'd with all sorts of Necessaries till we arrived at Court.

The 21st in the Morning we left Hang-chew, the Canal was every where about 20 or 25 Fathom broad; the Sides which were lined with Free Stone and set thick with great Barks, whereof we reckon'd above 500, and the Banks were ranged with Houses for a Mile and a Quarter. Beyond the Suburbs the Canal is lined with Stone only on one Side; along which there is a paved Way for the Convenience of those who haul the Barks. We found Canals every now and then, and in those Places, where the Banks are low and overflow'd, they have made flat Bridges, with great Stones, each 7 or 8 Foot long, and placed three and three together, which form a sort of Causey.

About 4 Leagues from Hang-chew, we pass'd through a Village call'd Tan-tsi, built on both Sides of the Canal, which to this Place is ordinarily 15, 25, and 50 Paces broad. The two Sides are very well lined with Free Stone and form 2 Quays, each between 4 and 500 Geometrical Paces long, adorned with double Stairs, fronting the Door of every House, for the Convenience of Water.

The Houses which extend along the Quays are better built than those in the City, and more uniform; so that each Row seems to be one continued Pile of the same Building. In the middle of the Village is a handsome Bridge with 7 large Arches, whereof the middlemost is 45 Feet wide; the rest are also very large, diminishing in Proportion to the 2 Descents of the Bridge. We found also 2 or 3 great Bridges of one Arch only, and several Canals with Houses on each Side. Two Leagues from this Village we saw an Island in the middle of the Canal, with a very neat Pagod on it.

The 22d, after we had pass'd several Bridges, we found that the Canal grew narrower; we arrived at a City call'd She-men-byen, 10 Leagues from Hang-chew. Thus far we had advanced almost continually North East, through a very level Country without Hills, full of Canals cover'd with Bridges, and planted with dwarf Mulberry Trees, much like our Vineyards; Houses and Hamlets were also very numerous.

The 23d we arrived at *Kya-bing-fu*. We saw in our passage on the Side of the Canal a beautiful Pagod, which is call'd *San-ko-ta*, because of 3 *Ta* or Towers, several Stories high, which form the Entrance of it; we saw another that was larger, in one of the Suburbs, on the East Side. This City is large, well peopled, and has a very good Trade; its Suburbs are of great Extent. They compare it to *Ning-po* for Bigness, but it is much handsomer and richer. Road from Ning po to Pe-king
Kya-bing-fu.

The 24th we departed early in the Morning, and entered a fine Canal, 25 or 30 Paces broad, the Water of which was very sweet. We cross'd a large Village named *Wan-kyang-king*, which extends a good way into the Plain. They pass from one Side to the other over a three-arch'd Bridge of very beautiful Architecture; the middlemost Arch is 75 Feet wide and above 20 high. This Work appears very bold, the Stones whereof it is built are more than 5 Feet long.

From within three or 4 Leagues on this Side *Hang-chew* to this Place, the Country is flat, without Mountains, and sufficiently cover'd with Wood, so that it makes a beautiful Landskip. Not an Inch of Ground lies useless; but Mulberry Trees here begin to be scarce. Between *Kya-bing* and this Village, at a Point where the Canal divides into 3 Branches, we saw 3 Fortresses or Square Towers built in the Water, and situated in Form of a Triangle. We were told that they served heretofore as Boundaries between *Kyang-nan* and *Che-kyang*, when those Provinces belong'd to two different Sovereigns. Province of Kyang-nan.

Twenty *Li* (*) from the same Village we pass'd by another on the Left, call'd *Wan-kyang-kyun-chin*, in the Province of *Kyang-nan*; it is so large that we took it at first Sight to be a City; and is intersected and surrounded with very broad Canals, quite cover'd with Barks. The Plains are well cultivated, and full of Hamlets; the Multitude and Breadth of the Canals, and the Evenness of the Ground, where there is not the least Eminence to be seen, gives room to believe that this Country had been formerly intirely under Water, and that the *Chinese*, who are extremely laborious, have drain'd it by cutting these Canals, whereby they have render'd it extremely fertile, and very commodious for Trade. Here we counted no less than a dozen Villages, the farthest of which was not above a Mile off, besides those which appear'd at a Distance.

After all, we were told that this Country, as populous as it is, was a Defart, in Comparison of *Song-kyang*, *Nang-king*, and the Southern Part of this Province. If *China* was every where as well peopled as it is between *Shau-bing* and *Su-chew*, I should make no Difficulty to believe that it contain'd more Inhabitants than all *Europe*; but we were assur'd that the Northern Provinces are not near so populous as the Southern.

Having run 10 *Li*, we arrived at *Pin-Vang*, which signifies an *even Prospect*. It is a great Village, which we took at first for a City, on account of the Multitude of its Houses and Inhabitants; it is cut in several Parts by Canals cover'd with well built Bridges and a great Number of Barks. They derive their Waters from a great Lake on the West Side, through which the little Barks pass to shorten their Way in going to *Su-chew*, and then they don't touch at *Kya-bing*.

From this Village the Canal extends Northwards out of Sight, and continues in a strait Line, with a Causey lined towards the Water with very fair Free Stone. On the East appears another great Lake, and these 2 Lakes extend as far as *U-kyang*. We pass'd by this City in the Night, which is like the rest cut with fair Canals. Before we arrived we pass'd under the Arch of a Bridge 48 Feet broad and 25 high. City U-kyang.

A League beyond *U-kyang* we found that the Causey on the Left Hand or West was 7 Feet high, and very well lined on both Sides with Free Stone, which made a kind of solid Bridge; under which, at certain Distances, there were Arches made for the Water to pass into the Plain, which was sown with Rice, and all overflow'd. This being *Christmas Eve* we said our Masses in the Hall, which was as steady as if the Bark had been on firm Ground.

The 25th, being *Christmas Day*, we found ourselves in the Morning at the Foot of the Walls of *Su-chew*, in a great Canal 35 or 40 Feet broad; it runs North and South along the Side of a Wall, which we discover'd at one View for about a League, almost in a strait Line. Our Bark stop'd over-against a great Arch of a magnificent Bridge, under which is a Passage into a great Canal, that runs Westward, and loses itself in a very long Suburb. City of Su-chew.

On the Edge of the Plain we saw a kind of great Pavilion, or square Building, with a double Roof curling up, cover'd with yellow Tiles, and encompass'd with a Wall, pierced towards the Top, and adorn'd with variety of Figures. This is a Monument erected by the *Mandarins*, in memory of the Honour which the Emperor *Kang-hi* did their City when he came thither, without that Pride and Pomp which ordinarily accompanies the *Chinese* Emperors. There are engraven on a Stone, belonging to this Edifice, the Instructions which the Emperor gave the *Vice-Roy* for governing the People.

We entered the City betimes in the Morning through the West Gate, and after we had gone the Space of 5 or 6 *Li* on different Canals, we arrived at our Church, where we found P. *Simon Rodriguez*, who presides over a numerous and zealous Congregation of *Christians*. Near the Door thro' which we enter'd, we saw a Polygonal Tower 6 or 7 Stories high, and above a League without the Walls, another Tower of the same Height in one of the Suburbs, which extended beyond the Reach of Eye.

That Day we received a Visit from *Hyu Lau-ya*, Grandson of *Paul Syu*, that famous *Ko-lan*, who was one of the greatest Defenders of the *Christian Religion*. That *Mandarin* is retired to *Shang-bay* with his Family; he had been *Vice-Roy*, had he not been related to *U-san-gbey*, who

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(*) Ten *Li* make a common League [perhaps in this Part, but they vary in *China* as they do in the Countries of *Europe*.]

Road from
Ning-po to
Pe-king.

who revolted against the Emperor. He is *Han-lin* (*), that is, one of the Doctors of the first Rank, who are chosen by his Majesty for their superior Abilities, to compose, print, and to be for the most part in waiting near his Person. This Dignity gives him a considerable Rank; the Billets of Visit which he sends, are written in the same Manner as those of the *Vice-Roys*.

This illustrious *Christian*, malgre all our Opposition, fell on his Knees to salute us, and knock'd his Forehead against the Ground, to shew the Respect which he bore to the Preachers of the Gospel. On the 26th we visited the *Vice-Roy* of the Province, who resides in this City; he received us with much Politeness and Civility, and after a long Conversation reconducted us as far as his Court.

The 28th we left *Sü-chew*. First we sail'd about 2 Miles Northwards on a great Canal, that runs partly along the Walls of the City, and partly along a large Suburb, which is cut with Canals in divers Places, and very thick set with Houses. We saw for near three Quarters of a Mile together a double and treble Row of Barks, so close that they touch'd one another's Sides. We steer'd afterwards to the West, quitting the Great Canal, which continues its Course Northward, farther than we could see; and advanced along a new Canal, narrower than the former, crossing a Suburb, which is adorn'd with Houses for the Space of a great League, furnish'd with Streets and Canals.

From what I had seen of the Walls of *Sü-chew*, tho' only on one Side, from the Largeness of its Suburbs, and the Multitude of Barks, where whole Families dwell, I made no difficulty to conclude, that it is more than 4 Leagues in Compass, as they affirm'd it was, and that it contains several Millions of Inhabitants.

At the End of this Suburb, the Canal grows considerably wider, and extends in a direct Line beyond the Reach of Eye, to a great Village, divided by Streets and Canals, where is the Custom-House of *Sü-chew*; from which City as far as *Vü-tse-hyen* the Canal runs in a strait Line to the North-West, the Space of 100 *Li*, which make 10 Leagues; nothing is to be seen but Barks passing, sometimes 50 at once. A League from the Custom-House we found a Bridge of one Arch, 50 Feet wide.

City *Vü-tse-hyen* described.

Vü-tse-hyen is a City of the third Rank, depending on *Chang-chew*. We pass'd thro' the South Suburb, which is half a League long, extending on both Sides of the Canal; we went close by the Walls of the City, and tho' we could see but part of it, we judg'd it was two Miles and an half in Compass. The Walls were more than 25 Feet in height, not strong but very neat, and kept in good Repair. They are surrounded with a great Ditch, which is a sort of Canal. The Space between the Ditch and the Walls is very level, and makes a most agreeable Walk. The Waters that abound in this Place form several Islands in the different Canals, that make a charming Prospect, and produce excellent Tea, which is sent even to *Pe-king* and all over *China*.

We pass'd the Night in the City, and next Day continued our Voyage on the Canal, which extends in a strait Line still towards the North-West, with a Causey on the East, very well lined on each Side with Free Stone. The Country is even as Glass, and very well cultivated; one sees a continued Series of Hamlets and Villages, which may be easily distinguish'd in Plains as level as our Gardens. When the View is bounded by some large City, it yields a most delightful Prospect.

City of
Chang-chew-fü.

The 31st of December in the Evening we arrived at *Chang-chew-fü*, a famous City and of great Trade. We sail'd half a League only in crossing one of its Suburbs; the Canal was so cover'd with Barks, which touch'd one another, that we could scarce see the Water. Here they seized two Thieves, who in the Night had crept into our Bark; one of them found means to escape, and we hinder'd the other from being carry'd before the *Mandarin*: When he was set free, he made what Haste he could to a little Bark, where there were several of his Accomplices, with whom he disappear'd in an Instant. They affirm that these Robbers burn a kind of Pastil, whose Fumes throw one into a Sleep.

The 30th in the Morning, departing from *Chang-chew*, we found the Canal very narrow, being scarce 12 Feet in Breadth; the Banks were 17 or 18 Feet high, but perpendicular. Forty nine *Li* from thence, after we had pass'd the Towns *Ping-nyü* and *Lu-shan*, the Canal runs in a strait Line quite out of Sight. These Towns are half ruin'd, altho' there still remain a few Houses, which are very neat. The Canal is lined on both Sides to the Height of 10 or 12 Feet with fine square Pieces of Marble, greyish, and much of the Colour of Slate.

About 2 Leagues on this side *Tan-yang* we were obliged to quit the Canal, and continue our Journey by Land, because they were making the Canal deeper, that it might carry the Barks which bring the Tribute to the Court. Tho' this Passage had been shut up but for one Day, yet we saw an infinite Number of Barks stop'd, and those who conducted them pursued their Journey by Land Carriages like us.

The *Mandarin* of *Tan-yang*, who had Notice of our coming the Day before, sent us Chairs, Horses, and Porters, to conduct us to *Ching-kyang-fü*; those who carry'd us and our Baggage went at the Rate of a good German League an Hour, so that in less than two Hours we made the two Leagues and an half, which was the Distance we were at from *Tan-yang*.

Town of
Tan-yang.

Before we arrived there, at the End of the Canal we pass'd near a Tower, 7 Stories high, and over three large Marble Bridges with only one Arch. The Suburbs of this Town are also paved

(*) At *Pe-king* there is a Colledge call'd the Colledge of the *Han-lin*, who have a President;

paved with Marble; in three Quarters of an Hour we went round it, going along the Walls, which are of Brick, 25 Feet in height, and raised on a Marble Foundation.

On the North of this Town is a Lake, 5 or 6 Leagues in Compass, along which we travell'd about a League before we arrived at *Ma-lin*, a Village 2 Leagues beyond *Tau-yang*, where we pass'd the Night in a House prepar'd for us by the *Christians*. Tho' this Village has but one Street, yet they assur'd us it contain'd above 200,000 Inhabitants; it is paved with Marble like the rest of the Villages we pass'd, till we came to *Ching-kyang-fu*; in one part of the Road we met with Stones of white Marble 6 Feet in height, with several coarse Figures in Relief cut on them.

The 2d of *January* we arrived at *Ching-kyang-fu*. We pass'd first thro' a Suburb 13,000 Geometrical Paces in Length, all paved with Marble; the Pieces of Marble wherewith the middle of the Street is paved, are 3 Feet long and near 2 broad. After we had pass'd above a League along the Walls, which are more than 30 Feet high, and in very good Repair, we cross'd over a Marble Bridge into another Suburb, where we found so great a Concourse of People, that we had much ado to make our Way thro' them.

The City of *Ching-kyang* is none of the largest, for it is but one League in Circumference, but one of the most considerable for Trade, and as it were a Key of the Empire towards the Sea, from whence it is not above 2 short Days Journey; it is also a fortified Place, and has a large Garrison. We saw 18 Iron Cannon, which form'd a Battery even with the Water.

We cross'd only one Street of this second Suburb, where there is a little Mountain, from the Top whereof we had one of the most agreeable Prospects imaginable; on one Side we saw the City of *Ching-kyang* and its Suburbs, on the other the beautiful *Yang-tse-kyang*, which the *Chinese* call the *Son of the Sea*, or *Ta-kyang*, the Great River, or simply *Kyang*, that is, *The River*, by way of Excellence; in effect, it seems from this Place to be a vast Sea. On the other Side of the River over-against *Ching-kyang* there appears a great City, named *Qua-chew*, at least it wants nothing but the great Privilege belonging to Cities; nor is it look'd on in *China* as more than a *Ma-teu*, or Place of Trade. At the Foot of this Hill lies the Port, where there is a continual Concourse of People, who make no small Clutter and Noise.

Here we went on Board the Bark again, which the Officers had prepar'd for us; they were small but extremely handsome, and were to serve us only in passing the River to *Yang-chew*; where we pass'd, the River is above a League in Breadth, and yet it was reckon'd narrow in comparison of what it is both higher up and lower down. About 700 Paces within the River we pass'd by an Island, which look'd like a Place enchanted; hence the *Chinese* call it *Kin-shan*, or the *Mountain of Gold*; it is about 600 Feet in Compass, and cover'd with fair Stones; on the Top stands a Tower several Stories high, surrounded with Pagods and Houses of Bonzas.

On the other Side of the River we enter'd into a Canal, where we were obliged to pass a *Cha*, which is a kind of Sluice, if I may give it that Name. The *Chinese*, whom I had talk'd to about our *European* Sluices, had not the least Notion of them. In this Place they have contracted the Canal between 2 Dikes lined with Free Stone, which approach one another towards the Middle, where the Water runs with great Rapidity: It is likely they restrain it thus, to make its Channel deeper, for otherwise it would spread, and not have Depth enough to carry Barks. At this Passage there are People ready to draw the Barks, who must be very careful not to let them go down with the Stream, for in that Case they would infallibly be broken to Pieces and wreck'd.

We could not see *Qua-chew*, because it was Night, when we pass'd thro' one of its Suburbs. Next Morning we arrived betimes at *Yang-chew-fu*, which is a fair City, of great Trade, and very populous; they assur'd me it was 2 Leagues in Compass, and that including the Suburbs it contain'd 2 Millions of Souls.

We departed thence in Litters the 10th of *January*, at 6 in the Evening, and lay 4 Leagues and an half from it at a great Borough named *Sbau-pe*; we travell'd a good part of this Way by the side of the Canal on a fair Causey, which is cut thro' in three Places, to let the Water into the Fields.

The 11th, after travelling 7 Leagues without stopping, we arrived at *Kau-yew-chew*. This Country is flat, and almost all under Water; we advanced along a great Causey about 30 Feet broad and 10 or 12 high, lined in some Places with square pieces of Marble, especially on the Side towards the Canal, which we left on the Right Hand.

Beyond this we discover'd a great Lake, which is parallel to the Canal, and above a League in Breadth. The Plain on the Right Hand is likewise under Water, excepting several Eminences where Rice is sown; and many Hamlets appear whose houses are cover'd with Reeds, and have Walls made of Reeds done over with Clay. The vast Number of Barks under Sail, and rowing over these Fields, as on a large Sea, afforded a pretty diverting Spectacle.

Kau-yew-chew is a great City, as we were inform'd, for we only pass'd about the Space of 12,000 Geometrical Paces by the Side of the Walls, which are about 30 Feet high. In our Way to it we saw, in one of its Suburbs, a Tower 7 Stories high; and in the City itself another square Building of 6 or 7 Stories, which went up tapering like a Pyramid, terminated by a little square Roof of a different Make from that of the Towers; the Suburbs are large, and pretty well built.

Road from
Ning-po to
Pe-king.
Village Ma-
lin, with
200,000
Inhabitants.

City Ching-
kyang-fu.

A Cha, or
Chinese Sluice

City Yang-
chew-fu.

City Kau-
yew-chew.

Road from
Ning-po to
Pe-king.

The 12th in the Morning we travell'd 6 Leagues on the Causey which runs along the Canal and Lake; this Lake extends out of sight like a vast Sea, where we saw an infinite Number of Barks under Sail. Between the Canal and Lake is another Causey, cover'd very neatly with square Stones in several Places; it is full of wild Fowl, and from time to time we saw Clouds of small Birds which cover'd part of the Sky; the Crows were all black, whereas those we had met with from Ning-po hither, had a kind of white Collar about the Neck.

In the Afternoon we went 6 Leagues farther to Pau-bing-byen along the Canal, which advances continually between 2 great Causeys, with the Lake on the Left Hand; the Country on the Right is flat, and very well cultivated near that City, but one half of it lies under Water.

City of
Wbay-ngan.
fa.

The 14th having advanced 8 Leagues we came to lie at Wbay-ngan-fu; this is a considerable City, and seem'd to us more populous, and of greater Trade than Yang-chew. The Grand Master of the Waters, Canals, and Rivers resides there; he then lived in a publick Inn, where those are lodged who are sent for by the Emperor, or dispatch'd from the Court into the Provinces: so that we were obliged to take up with a wretched Inn made of Mats and Reeds, notwithstanding the Cold and Snow, which fell even into the Place where we lay. Three Mandarins lodged with us, who were greatly pleas'd with the Sight of some of our Books, and the Paper Figures they found in them. We made them a Present of one of them, with a French Crown, for which they return'd us the weight in Silver, and invited us to drink Tea in their Apartment, where they regaled us with several Kinds of Fruit.

Marble.

Marble is common in these Parts, but the Chinese don't seem to set any great Value on it; they employ it only for lining Canals, and in some other publick Works; we saw there as well as at Ching-kyang Marble Rowlers, resembling pieces of Pillars, which they draw over the cultivated Lands to make them level.

On the 15th in the Afternoon we went 3 Leagues farther to lodge at Chin-kyang-pu (Q), which lies on the South Bank of the Whang-bo, and Side of the Canal; between Whay-ngan and this Town we found another not far from the Suburbs of that City, this gave Occasion to the Error, which the Dutch Embassadors fell into, who, as appears from their Relation, have taken these two Boroughs for a continuation of the Suburbs of Whay-ngan, making this Suburb above 3 German Leagues long. Indeed we pass'd one running parallel to the Walls of the City, which is a League and an half in Length. The Country is flat, well cultivated, and in some Places half under Water; which renders the Plain, where they sow Rice, fit for tilling. Here we saw abundance of Geese, Wild Ducks, Pheasants, &c.

River
Whang-bo.

We did not leave this Town till the 17th, which was almost wholly spent in passing the Whang-bo, or Yellow River, because the Ice was to be broken, and the Pieces obstructed the Passage. The River is not more than 450 Fathom broad at this Place, which is 25 Leagues distant from its Mouth; its Channel is pretty strait, the Banks consist of a yellowish Clay, which mixing with the Waters in their Course, makes them yellow, whence it derives its Name. At the Time we pass'd it, there was scarce any Appearance of this Colour in the Water when it was taken up; its Stream was then neither slow nor swift, but when it swells and is rapid, it washes off much Earth, which is naturally light, and so becomes a great deal muddier and yellower. If this River was not restrain'd by Dikes, which are continually repairing, it would make strange Ravages.

We went and lodged in a Village [or Town]; the Road is the most even and handsome that can be seen, as well as the Country, which is flat and open like Beauce, but more beautiful, better cultivated, and full of Hamlets, which are not above 50, 100, or 200 Paces asunder. One League from the Whang-bo we found a great Causey discontinued in one Place, over which there was a kind of Wooden Bridge, supported by Piles of Stones, 8 or 10 Feet high; it is 300 Paces in Length, and paved very neatly with square Stones; afterwards we pass'd a Canal, which runs Northward in a strait Line, parallel to the Yellow River, whereinto it discharges itself; we took notice also of 3 other large Causeys in the Plain, which are the Roads to different Cities.

Cattle.

Hitherto we had not met with any Flocks of Sheep in our Journey; but we saw abundance of white Goats and black Hogs, some Cows and Buffaloes, a great many little Mules, Asses, and sorry Horses, which are commonly used for travelling, but not so much as one tolerably handsome among them.

The People are so numerous, that the Men commonly perform the Office of Beasts of Burthen, both for carrying Luggage and one another; and tho' the Land is very fertile and well cultivated, it does not yield Sustenance sufficient for Men and Beasts. The Houses of the Suburbs and Country Towns, after one leaves Whay-ngan, are made of Reeds and Earth, and cover'd with Straw, the very Inns themselves for lodging the Mandarins (R) being built after the same Manner. From the Whang-bo the Land rises till we come to Pe-king, as is evident from the Course of the Rivers.

The 18th we travell'd 11 Leagues to Su-tsen-byen over a flat Country, cultivated, and furnish'd with several large Causeys, which are so many high Roads, as neat and commodious as one could wish. These Causeys are level, and commonly raised 10 or 12 Feet, being 20 or 30 broad at Top, and the Slopes making 10 or 15 Feet more. All this Day we travell'd by the

(Q) It should be on the Left; for in the Map that City lies to the Right Hand or East of the Whang-bo.

(R) These Inns are called Keng-quan.

the Side of a small, but very deep and rapid River; it is 7 or 8 Geometrical Paces broad, and bears pretty large Barks. It seems to run parallel to the *Whang-bo*, which is seldom above 3 or 400 Paces distant, and is probably the same which we took for an artificial Canal the Evening before. The Land hereabouts is all marshy, yet bears abundance of little Trees resembling the Birch.

We arrived at *Su-tsen-hyen* by a large handsome Causey, the *Whang-bo* appearing to the Right. This City stands on a rising Ground, its Walls are half in Ruins; it has two Suburbs, either of which is preferable to the Town. Near the Walls we saw a kind of Palace, newly built; this is a Monument in Honour of the Emperor *Kang-hi*, who pass'd thro' the City in his Way to *Su-chew*: the principal Part of this Edifice is a sort of oblong-square Salon, open on all Sides, with a double Roof, cover'd with yellow-varnish'd Tiles.

The Causey reaches no farther than *Su-tsen*, which we left the 19th. Half a League beyond it we found 7 flat Bridges one after another, each about 100 Foot long, supported by Piers or little Walls of Brick, with great Rails on both Sides, and triumphal Arches made of Wood at each End. These Bridges lie in a Line, and cross divers Canals, which form a kind of Labyrinth in this Place. Beyond these there is a ninth still larger, but not so neatly built as the rest. The Country still continues pretty flat, but is not so well cultivated or peopled as we found it the preceding Days. The Land is blackish, hard, and barren; and the Houses built only with Earth and Straw.

The 20th we travell'd but 6 Leagues, to *Hong-wa-pu*, a large Village. They said it was in *Sban-tong*, tho' others assured us we did not enter that Province till we had got 2 or 3 Leagues farther. The Country is flat, smoother than that we saw the Day before, and very well cultivated; it is also stored with Hamlets. We had 3 small Bridges to pass of 3 or 4 Arches each, built over the Torrents. We met with a sort of Centry Boxes for Centinels built in the Plains at proper Distances. Here we first beheld a Flock of Sheep: for altho' hitherto we always travell'd in Plains, where we had an unbounded Prospect, yet we neither saw Sheep nor Meadows. The *Chinese* never let any of their Land lie uncultivated, and they consume whatever it produces.

The 21st we began to see several Orchards planted with Fruit Trees in the open Fields, which in this Respect resemble several of our Provinces of *France*: But the Lands here are better cultivated, and the Houses and Hamlets much more frequent.

The Road from *Yang-chew* hither is extremely good and commodious; altho' it was the Depth of Winter, we did not find so much as one bad Step: It is free from Dirt and Stones, and all on a level, so that it looks like a Garden Walk. After Dinner we went 5 or 6 *Li* farther, the Country flat as usual and well till'd; they sow both Corn and Rice, but most of the former. We had this Day, on the Right Hand towards the East, a little Hill, which extends from North to South in a strait Line: We lay at *Li-kye-Shwang*. As far as this Town we had seen in the Plain great Numbers of those Stone Rowlers before mention'd; some channell'd, others plain, for levelling the Grounds and the Floors, whereon they thresh the Corn. This Borough lies beside a little River which is very broad, considering its Depth.

The 22d we cross'd the River, and at the End of 4 Leagues came to *I-chew*; the Plain always flat and even like *la-Beauce*, but much more populous; the Roads dry and sandy. The City did not appear to be above half a League in Compass; the Walls are of Brick, and in very good Repair: we observed several Salient Angles, and a sort of Bastions, which were either Polygonal or in the Form of a Horse Shoe.

The Governor came to visit us at our Inn, and sent a Messenger before to give Notice of our being on the Road, which was of great Service to us; for otherwise we might have found it difficult to have got a sufficient Number of Porters to carry our Baggage in the Towns of *Sban-tong*, which are for the most part but small.

We pass'd into one of the Suburbs over a Bridge of five small Arches; this Bridge is of Marble with Rails of the same, adorn'd with Lions very clumsily carved. Without the Suburbs, are a great many Tombs made of Earth in Form of Pyramids, with Inscriptions engraven on Marble Tables. We lodged 4 Leagues beyond *I-chew*, at a pitiful Town, whose Houses are of Earth cover'd with Stubble. The Country being sandy, the Roads are troublesome to Travellers on Account of the Dust.

Beyond *I-chew* the Country is not so open, for one begins to see quick set Hedges of a very strong and rugged kind of Thorns. At the Distance of every half League we commonly met with Centry Boxes, where the Centinels make Signals in the Night time, by kindling Fires on the Top, and in the Day time by hanging out a piece of Cloath. These Centry Boxes, which are only made of Sods or Earth, are square, raised with a Slope and 12 Feet high.

The 23d we travell'd 9 or 10 Leagues. In the Morning the Country was uneven, and we march'd now and then over Eminences, whose Descent was sometimes pretty steep; the Soil too was barren in many Places; but in the Evening we came into a fertile Plain, between two Ridges of Mountains, one to the East, the other to the West. These latter were high, steep, and craggy in a thousand Places, cover'd with Snow, and frightful to the Eye, by Reason of the Rocks; those to the East were lower.

The Houses of the Villages which we saw, are built with Stone in a very coarse Manner: the Inhabitants of them are employ'd in spinning or weaving the grey Silk of *Sban-tong*. It was there we saw the wild Silk Worms, which feed indifferently on all Sorts of Leaves and spin

Road from
Ning-po to
Pe-king.

City Mong-in-
byen.

City Sin-tay-
byen.

City Tay-
ngan-chew.

Miseries of
the Civil
Wars.

City Chang-
tsin-byen.

a greyish Silk; of this is made the Stuff call'd *Kyen-chew*, which washes well, and is sold all over the Empire: Altho' it is not beautiful to the Eye, yet it is commonly worn by Persons of Quality in their Houses.

The 24th we travell'd all Day between barren Mountains, but the Valleys are generally well cultivated, and stored with Towns and Villages. We dined at *Mong-in-byen*, a little City, whose Walls are but 12 Feet high, and in bad Repair. Altho' the Road was full of Ascents and Descents, yet it was very good and dry, but much incommoded with Dust.

The 25th we went but 8 Leagues. We pass'd thro' one of the Suburbs of the small City *Sin-tay-byen*. The Country was plain, well cultivated, very populous and cover'd with Fruit Trees. The Road all the Way was up Hill and down Hill; it was nevertheless good, and the Descents scarce perceptible. The Chains of Mountains continue on both Sides: at the Distance of about a League in some Places, they sink into low Hills, beyond which we discover'd Plains which reach'd out of sight.

The 26th, having travell'd about 3 Hours between frightful and desert Mountains, we came into a well cultivated Plain, full of Fruit Trees. After Dinner, we found the Country equally charming, till we came to *Tay-ngan-chew*, which is at the Foot of a hideous Mountain that covers it from the North Winds.

This City has a very agreeable Situation; its Walls are above 25 Foot high, but the Houses are very despicable within. About a Mile from the Town of *Yan-lew-tyen*, where we dined, we cross'd a River that was almost dry: there the Mountains open'd into a great Plain, which is very fertile and populous; they seem'd to be discontinued both on the East and West Side, but began soon after, especially on the East Side, and taking a Sweep, drew near again about *Tay-ngan*.

The 27th we rested, to give our Baggage, which went the Road appointed by the *Kang-bo*, time to get 3 Days Journey from thence, where we were to overtake it, by nearer Roads.

The 28th we travell'd 9 or 10 Leagues among frightful Mountains, and saw very little cultivated Lands, altho' the Towns were pretty numerous and well peopled. One third of the Inhabitants of this Country have Wens or Swellings in their Throats; a Distemper supposed to proceed from the Well Water they are obliged to make Use of. The Inns are very inconvenient: the Beds are only little brick Forms the Length of a Man; the Entertainment is very bad, altho' one may buy Pheasants cheaper than other Poultry; we have sometimes had 4 for 10 Sols. The Mountains I spoke of, between which we pass'd, are not very high, but generally without any Trees; some of them are cover'd with Earth, and had formerly been cultivated. The Remains of the Terrasses are still visible from Bottom to Top; but all the Way hither from *Ning-po*, thro' the Provinces of *Che-kyang*, *Kyang-nan*, and *Shan-tong*, I could not perceive the least Sign of the Ravages which the War had made in this vast Empire; nor an Inch of Ground untill'd, excepting on these Mountains.

Any other Kingdom must have been exhausted of Men, after so many Massacres: for it is incredible how many Millions have perish'd by Famine and Sword, since the last Emperor of the *Dynasty of Ming*; the Declension of that Family began with a Famine that was almost general. The Calamity was favourable to a great Number of Robbers, who resolved to live by Rapine. They enter'd Sword in Hand into the Cities and Towns, and chusing out the young Men, capable of bearing Arms, murder'd the rest of their Family; to the End that having neither Father, nor Mother, nor Homes to go to, Necessity might compell them to be of their Party.

The Chiefs of these Robbers made away with each other by Degrees, till at length there remain'd but two; one of whom aspiring even to the Throne, made himself Master of *Pe-king*, and obliged the Emperor in despair to hang himself. If we add to these Depopulations of whole Provinces, the War of the *Tartars*, (who were invited in to extirpate these Banditti) and the last Civil War, it will be easy to conclude, that no Country but *China*, could undergo such plentiful Bleedings without losing any of its Strength.

The 29th we travell'd about 9 Leagues between Mountains as hideous as the former: we pass'd near one shaped like a Cone, on the Top whereof is a small Pagod, to which they ascend by very narrow and steep Stairs, consisting of about 200 Steps; soon after we enter'd a vast Plain well cultivated, where we travell'd the rest of the Stage, much incommoded with the Dust, altho' the Road was very good. This Day we went in all 9 Leagues. 2 Leagues before we came to our Lodging, we pass'd near the Walls of a little City named *Chang-tsin-byen*; we were obliged to cross a Bridge built before the Gate of the City, over a Brook, which was then dry: this Bridge has 9 Arches sustain'd by square Piers of Stone very high and large, so that the Arches are but small; it begins by a great Arch and ends with a long sloping, supported by 7 small Arches, separated from the rest by a very thick stone Pier. The Heads of the Posts which support the Stones that serve for Rails, are rudely carved Figures of Animals. The Materials of the whole are a sort of blackish Marble, rough and unpolish'd; the Pavement is great square Flags of the same. We found a large Quantity of this sort of Marble in the two Provinces which we pass'd thro', especially in that of *Shan-tong*, where we now are; and it is likely, that the Mountains which we saw, almost intirely destitute of Trees, are full of it; because in Places where the Rain had wash'd away the Earth, there appear'd blackish Stones, which much resembled this Marble.

The

The 30th we travell'd the Space of 10 Leagues in a very even Country, well improved, and full of great Hamlets or Villages, which might be taken for Country Towns. The Road being very dry is dusty, which mightily incommodes Travellers. In every Village we saw several Pagods, which are the only brick Buildings, all the rest being of Earth and Straw: the Roofs and Sloping are set off with Ornaments, as Birds, Dragons, and Foliage; and are cover'd with Tiles, varnish'd or japan'd with red and blue.

Road from
Ning-po to
Pe-king.

We found from Time to Time in the Plains, Pyramidical Tombs of Earth; there are usually in such Places small Groves of Cypresses, with flat Leaves which appear very pretty. Before Noon we pass'd by *Yu-ching-byen*, a square City, the Walls whereof are made of temper'd Earth, mix'd with Straw, and in many Places with Bricks baked in the Sun, and rough cast, with Potters Clay. The Inns are the most pitiful we have seen yet.

Besides a great Numbers of Borroughs which the great Road passes through, we frequently found Inns by the Way Side: these are Sheds made of Reeds, or at best sorry Cottages of Earth, where the meaner Sort of People lodge; on most of the Towers here we saw Iron Bells, cast with very little Art.

The 31st our Stage was 12 Leagues, 2 Leagues from the Town where we lodged we had on our Left the City of *Pin-yuen-byen*, which seem'd to be about 2 Leagues in Compass. In one of its Suburbs thro' which we pass'd we saw infinite Numbers of People, with many Timber-Yards full of Wood, for which there appear'd to be a great Trade.

City Pin-yuen-byen.

Eight Leagues from hence we found *Te-chew*, a large City, situated on the great Canal of the Court and inclosed with fair Brick Walls: one of its Suburbs, thro' which we pass'd, appear'd like a City, by its extent and the Number of People it contain'd.

City Te-chew.

From *Te-chew*, the Road, which was before a little hollow, became even with the Plain; and, making Allowance for the Dust, is one of the finest imaginable. The Plain is level as a Garden, full of Villages surrounded with Fruit Trees, and diversify'd with Cypress Groves, planted about the Sepulchres, which afford a very agreeable Prospect. The Ground is a sort of Potter's Clay, but somewhat more soft and gray. The Carts are drawn by Oxen, as they are in *Europe* by Horses; one serves for a Thiller, and carries a small Saddle. The Houses are mostly of Earth and very low: the Roof makes so obtuse an Angle, or more properly rounds by Degrees in such a Manner, that it appears flat; it is compos'd of Reeds cover'd with Earth, and supported by Mats of small Reeds, which lie upon the Spars and Joists, hence one may judge of their Inns, which are built in the same Manner, but not near so well. They have no Wood for firing, but make Use of Pit Coal, which must be very dear; in the Inns they often burn Reeds or Chaff, of which they have great Plenty.

The Royal Canal, which lies to the North of this City, was frozen up, and on it half a League together, we saw a Row of Barks that seem'd to touch one another. In the Way from *Hang-woh-pu* we often met with a sort of oblong square Towers or small Brick Platforms of 2 Stories, about 45 Foot high, 50 or 60 long, and 18 or 20 broad; with 7 Pinnacles on one Side, and 3 on the other. Their Villages are for the most Part inclosed with little Mud Walls, with 2 Gates at the End of the Street, and Pagods or little Idol Temples over those Gates.

The 1st of Feb. 4 Leagues from the Place where we lodged, we enter'd the Province of *Pe-che-li*, passing thro' one End of the Suburbs of *King-chew*. The Wall of this City seem'd to be of Earth: we saw three Sides of it, which are at right Angles; this makes me believe that it is square, as most of the *Chinese* Cities are. Within the City we observed an Hexagonal Tower of 12 or 13 Stories, one less than another as they rose, with Windows on each Side of every Story. In the North and South Suburbs there are several of those Towers or little Platforms before mention'd; they are found in most of the Villages, whose Inhabitants make Use of them for securing their Effects in troublesome Times, or when they fear an Irruption from the Robbers. The Houses of these Villages are of Earth mix'd with Straw, and the Roofs almost flat; several of them have a Platform.

Province of
Pe-che-li.
City King-chew.

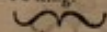
Generally speaking, in all the Road from *Ning-po* we saw no Buildings worth taking Notice of, except the publick ones, such as Causeys, Dikes, Bridges, Walls of Cities, Triumphal Arches, &c. We lay 5 Leagues from *King-chew*, at the City *Fu-ching-byen*, travelling a very dusty Road. There we heard of the Death of the Empress, Mother to the Emperor of *Kang-hi*, which happen'd the 27th of the last Month; to conform ourselves to the Customs of the Empire, we immediately took off the Tuft of red Silk, that cover'd our Caps, which is a Sign of Mourning; it is a Ceremony observ'd throughout the Empire for at least 27 Days, reckoning from the time they receive the News; the *Mandarins* publish the Order for it, and if any Person fails to obey, he is liable to be punish'd.

City Fu-ching-byen.

The 2d of February was the Beginning of the *Chinese* Year, the first Days of which are Days of Rejoycing in *China*, much like Carnival Time in *Europe*; they visit, with one another a happy New Year, and give publick Demonstrations of Joy by Illuminations and Fireworks. This Day we dined 7 Leagues from *Fu-ching*, at a large Village; we pass'd, in leaving it, over a fine Bridge of Marble about 20 Feet in Length. The Rails consist of beautiful Tables of Marble, laid along the Ground, about 20 Inches broad and 5 long (s); adorn'd with

(s) Here seems to be some Mistake, for they ought not to be broader than long.

Road from
Ning-po to
Pe-king.



with Figures in Basso-relievo, and Pedestals between every two, which support Lions, better cut than any we had seen before.

There is plenty of Marble in this Province. The Country is level, well cultivated and full of Towns and Villages, where we saw a great Number of those Towers or Platforms; so that at a Distance one would take the Villages for so many Fortresses. All the Houses are of Earth, the Roofs flat and cover'd with Straw or Stubble; many of them are flank'd with little square Pavilions. We met on the Road a great Number of Couriers, with little Boxes at their Backs, wrap'd in pieces of yellow Stuff, which is the Imperial Colour: they were carrying without Doubt the News of the Death of the Empress into different Parts of the Empire.

City Hyen-
hyen.

We travell'd 4 or 5 Leagues in the Evening, and having pass'd near *Hyen-hyen*, a City about a League in Circumference, (the Walls whereof as well as the Houses are built with square Tiles instead of Bricks) we went and lay at *Kye-kye-lin*.

City Ho-kyen-
fa.

The 3d our Journey was 11 Leagues. After we had advanced about 2 Leagues, we pass'd by the Walls of the City *Ho-kyen-fa*, which is square and about 2 Leagues in Compass. The Walls and Parapets of Brick are in very good Repair. They are defended by little square Towers at certain Distances, with small square Bastions, which are not above 7 or 8 Fathom in Front.

City Jin-
kyew-hyen.

We took up our Lodging at *Jin-kyew-hyen* another City. The Country appear'd the same as the preceding Days, equally level, and well improved. The Towns and Villages are very numerous. Some of them are of a great Length, having Gates at both Avenues, which do not differ from Gates of Cities, with Pagods over them.

We met with, in divers Places, Tables of Marble with Inscriptions, placed perpendicularly on the Back of a huge Marble Tortoise; since we left *Ning-po* we saw neither Wood nor Forests; all the Land was well cultivated, excepting what was under Water, and a few barren Mountains.

The 4th we departed from *Jin-kyew-hyen*, which is in form of an oblong Square, and seem'd to be about 1400 Paces in Compass. Its Walls and Parapets are of Brick, (with Towers at certain Distances) more than 30 Foot high. The Houses, as well as those of the Villages are likewise of Brick, and the Roofs of them handsome enough.

Five Leagues from this City we pass'd thro' a large Borough of great Trade, in the midst of which is a triumphal Arch, resembling the two we had seen the Evening before at *Jin-kyew-hyen*. Just without this Place a Causey begins, and a League beyond, Marshes; through which is a Causey for the Space of 500 Paces: having pass'd it we found a large Village where there are 3 Wooden Bridges over so many Canals.

City Hyong-
hyen.

Two Leagues beyond, we pass'd thro' the City *Hyong-hyen*, whose South East Suburb is cross'd by a Canal. The Street was adorn'd with 4 triumphal Arches, whose Pillars stand on Bases of white Marble 3 Foot high, composed of 4 Stones bound together with Iron Hoops, and fasten'd with Pins of the same Metal; most commonly the Pillar which is of Wood, is fix'd between these 4 Stones, as between the Checks of a Press. These Pedestals instead of an Ogee, have a kind of Chapter of long Leaves, which resemble Flag or Sword Grass.

From *Hyong-hyen*, where we dined, we travell'd 4 Leagues to *Pe-keu-bo* a great Borough [or Country Town] with Gates at both Ends, and Pagods over them. The Country as usual was very populous and the Villages grew handsomer; the Houses are almost all cover'd with very thick Tiles placed in form of a Demi-canal.

City Sin-
ching-hyen

The 5th, 2 Leagues from this Town we pass'd several Canals, and a League farther cross'd the City *Sin-ching-hyen*, which is square and not above 12 or 1300 Paces in Compass; its Walls are 25 Foot high.

City Tsu-
cheu.

After Dinner we cross'd *Tsu-cheu* thro' the principal Street, which is very broad and lies in a Line. This City is three Miles round, and better peopled than the rest. The Suburbs on the South and North are very long, the Streets handsome and strait, the Houses low and of one or two Stories, after the Chinese Manner. The Prospect we had on passing out of the North Suburb was admirably fine: on the Right was a spacious Plain without the least Eminence, or inequality within the reach of Eye; and on the West, a Chain of Mountains, which in all Appearance encompass the Province of *Pe-che-li* to the very Sea; we travell'd by the Side of them, till we came to *Pe-king*.

We presently found a Bridge of 9 Arches supported by square pieces of Stone, which project so as to serve instead of Steps. The whole Work is solid and strong. The Bridge is paved with great square Stones; and the Breast Walls or Rails, which are 2 Feet and an half high, consist of large Pannels of white Marble, not well polish'd, grooved in Posts of the same, which are 62 on each Side and 4 Foot high. The Pannels in the Middle are above six Foot long, but they diminish gradually to the Ends of the Bridge. The two slopings or ascents are very easy; one of them joins a Causey, made of Earth, about 500 Paces long: at the End whereof we found another Bridge like the former, with 34 Posts on each Side. At the Entrance of it we left on the Right a *She-pei*, that is a large Marble Stone, placed in a great square Room made of Brick; it stands on a Marble Basis, 2 Foot and an half high, and 4 Paces square. We had seen several of the Kind on the Roads; these Monuments at the End of Bridges are erected in Honour of the Person or Persons who have been at Expences to serve the Publick, or done some illustrious Action.

For three Days past the Soil appear'd more hard and grey than usual, and we continued to meet an infinite Number of People going backward and forward. We lay 2 Leagues from *Tjo-chew*, at a great Borough call'd *Lew-li-bo*; it has Gates at both ends, and a fort of Suburbs. We travell'd that Day 12 Leagues.

Road from
Ning-po to
Pe-king.

The 6th, after we had pass'd the Suburbs, we found a very handsome Bridge about 100 Geometrical Paces in Length, and 20 Feet in Breadth; with 2 great Triumphal Arches at the Ends. The Rails are of large flat Stones, some white, others grey, supported by small Pillars of the same, which very much resembles Marble; these Stones are neatly cut, and adorn'd with variety of Moldings. All along the Rails, there runs a little Bank of Stone in Height 9 or 10 Inches. The Bridge is paved with large handsome flat Stones; after which follows a long Causey above 40 Foot broad and 6 or 700 Paces long, paved in the same Manner; with two little Bridges on it of the same Architecture.

Four Leagues from *Lew-li-bo* we came to *Lyang-byang-byen* a pretty large City, but the Walls are in bad Condition. One League from thence we saw a fine Bridge, the Rails or Side Walls of which are of large handsome white Stones, and the Ends sustain'd by four Figures of Elephants. We saw another of them, the great Stones of whose Rails were pierced thro' like Balusters. This Day we travell'd but 3 Leagues, stopping at a Village, 8 Leagues from *Pe-king*, to wait for News from the Fathers of our Society who were at Court; we there received the melancholy Account of the Death of *P. Ferdinand Verbiest*, which happen'd the 28th of January. The Emperor spared nothing to preserve the Life of this Missionary, whom he honour'd with his Favour. He sent him one of his Prime Physicians, who waited close on the Empress Dowager, when at the Point of Death; but the Physician, after having seen the Patient, told his Majesty, according to the Chinese Way of speaking, that nine Parts in ten of him were already dead; and in Effect he dyed a few Days after.

City *Lyang-
byang-byen*.

*P. Verbiest's
Death.*

The 7th, the Missionaries at Court sent an Officer of the Tribunal of Mathematics to conduct us to *Pe-king*; But none of them came in Person as they intended, because they were obliged to observe the Chinese Custom, of mourning for *P. Verbiest*. We departed about one of the Clock; the Road was near 20 Fathom broad and often more: but there was such a dreadful Clutter, caused by the Multitude of People, Horses, Mules, Asses, Camels, Calashes, Litters, and Carts, that it is difficult to describe it.

We pass'd thro' *Lü-kew-kyau*, which is 3 Leagues short of *Pe-king*. It is a little City almost square, 1200 Paces in Circuit. Nothing makes a more delightful Appearance; the Walls are exceeding beautiful, it has 2 double Gates with a Place of Arms, and handsome Rooms over them.

City *Lü-kew-
kyau*.

We enter'd the City by a Bridge, the finest we had yet seen: it is above 170 Geometrical Paces in length; the Arches are small, but the Rails or Side Walls are made of a hard whitish Stone, resembling Marble. These Stones are more than 5 Foot long, 3 high, and 7 or 8 Inches thick, supported at each End by Pilastrs, adorn'd with moldings, and bearing the Figures of Lions. I reckon'd on one Side only, 147 of these Pilastrs. Two little Banks, half a Foot high, and a Foot and an half broad, run along the Rails. The Bridge is paved with great flat Stones, so well joined, that it is as even as a Floor. The Walls of the City are very neatly built, and 40 Feet high. The Rampart, which is not very thick, is lined within after the same Manner. The Bank or raised Way is pretty broad and curiously built, as well as the Parapet, whose Battlements are very near each other. The Gates are double, with a kind of Advance Wall in this Place: they are high, thick, and well arch'd. Over them is a Building of 2 Stories, with a double Roof, to which they ascend on each Side by a large Stair Case, that looks very graceful. The Road from this City to *Pe-king* appears like one continued Street, it is so throng'd with People.

Four or Five hundred Paces from the Gate of the outward City, we stopp'd at the Custom House, where they let our Baggage pass without searching. Mean Time a Person opening the Window of my Litter, ask'd if we were come to pay Tribute to the Emperor. On this Occasion it may be proper to make some Remarks which are of Moment; but to explain them the better, it will be necessary to repeat, what I have observed elsewhere, that the Chinese supposing the Earth to be square, pretend that *China* takes up the greater Part of it: so that, to denote their Empire, they use the Word *Tyen-hya*, that is the under Heaven, this Term is continually in their Mouths; so they say, *Tin pü tyen-hya*, that is, this is current throughout China; *Te hyantyen-hya*, he has made himself Master of the Empire.

Prepossess'd with this rare System of Geography, they have placed the rest of Mankind in the Corners of this pretended Square; and considering them as Barbarians, think they do them much Honour in reckoning them among their Tributaries. Hence, whatever comes from foreign Kingdoms, whether Letters, Presents, or Envoys, all pass as Tribute, and a Mark of Submission; and thenceforward such Kingdoms are set down in their History among those that are tributary to *China*. It would be too tedious to enumerate all the Kingdoms which they reckon tributary to them, wherefore I shall mention only the principal; *Korea* is the first, next *Japan*, then come the *Moors*, in whose dominions they put the Kingdom of *Sa-ma-eul-han*, which probably is *Samarkand* (s); *Pan-ko-la*, which must be *Bengal*, for they place it to the

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N

East

(s) *Sa ma ul han*, as it is written in the French, is certainly *Samarkand*; for the Chinese always express the *r* by an *l*, say

Road from
Ning-po to
Pe-king.

East of *In-tu*, or *Indistân*; lastly *Me-te-na*; for *Mohammed*, who found the Way to be honour'd by so many Nations, was not able to keep himself out of the Number of the Tributaries of *China*.

In the *Chinese* Geography intitled *Yuan-yu*, you meet with the following Account; *Me-te-na* (v) is the first Kingdom of the *Moors* (w): Its first King named *Mo-han-mu-te* (x) was a Man of an extraordinary Genius; he reduced all the Kingdoms in the West under his Empire; in the Reign of *Min-hiun-te* (y) he sent an Ambassador, accompany'd with the People of the Kingdom of *Tyen-san*, to pay Tribute.

Whence it is evident, the Princes of *Europe* ought to be cautious how they send Letters or Presents, either by the Missionaries, the Merchants, or any other Way in their own Name; for, the Moment they do, their Kingdoms will be registred among the Tributaries. The *Russians* had a great Struggle to get this Term changed in their Favour; and altho' it was changed, yet the Embassy was considered as a Tender of Homage. The same Custom prevails in all other Parts of the *Indies*; where the Person, who carries his Princes Letter, is look'd on as his Ambassador. Not that the *Indians* really believe them to be such, but they will have it so, to flatter their own Vanity: whence often they take Occasion to despise the Majesty of the Kings of *Europe*, with whom their Princes cannot compare. (z)

City of Pe-
king describ-
ed.

For a League before we arriv'd at *Pe-king*, the Country was cover'd with little Groves of pretty tall young Trees, inclos'd with Walls made of Earth, which are so many Burying Places. About 4 of the Clock we enter'd *Pe-king*, by a Gate, which is double, (as all the rest belonging to this City are,) and cover'd with thin Iron Plates, fasten'd on with several Rows of very large Nails. The Walls are 30 or 35 Feet high, with square Towers at convenient Distances. The Street we enter'd was between 45 and 50 Feet broad, and as strait as a Line. We pass'd along for above half a League, thro' an incredible Number of People, yet we did not see one Woman, altho' they are more numerous here than the Men. Every now and then we met with Jugglers, surrounded by 50 or 60 Men, croud'd upon one another; the Throngs were so great in every Part of this vast and long Street, that one would have concluded they were Fairs or some publick Assemblies.

This Street extended still beyond the Reach of Eye, when we turn'd short into another large straight Street on the Left, almost as broad and croud'd as the former. In both these Streets the Houses are low, consisting only of a Ground Floor, and have nothing to attract the Sight, excepting the Shops of Merchants, which for Neatness, and perhaps Riches, excell most in *Europe*; the Entrance into these Shops is adorn'd with Gildings, Sculptures, Paintings, and Japannings, in a Manner which charms the Eye.

At the End of this Street we enter'd into the 2d Inclosure, or more properly the 2d City, which is call'd the *Tartar* City. The Gate at this Place also is double; the Wall is very neat and new built, with square Towers, the Sides of which are above 7 or 8 Fathom in Breadth, and the Front yet broader. The 2d or inner Gate, has a large Edifice built over it with a double Roof, cover'd with japan'd Tiles. It consists of 2 Stories, whereof the lowermost, which juts forward, is embellish'd with Paintings and carved Works. The Part of the advance wall, which answers to the Gate, has likewise an Edifice erected over it, larger than the former; it is four Stories high, with 12 little square Windows in each, which makes a very handsome Appearance at the Entrance of the Street of the first City.

As we had pass'd these 2 Gates, we found on the Right Hand the House of the *Portuguese* *Jesuits*, which is over-against and near the Rampart. It has a double Entrance; going in by one of them we pass'd thro' three little Gates pretty neatly made, into a square, regular Court, which leads to the Church; on each Side of the Entrance there is a very handsome square Tower, the Tops of which are made in form of an Observatory; in that on the Right hand there is a very fine Organ, and in the other a Clock with several Bells.

At the Beginning of the *Chinese* Year, all the Inhabitants of *Pe-king* croud so to see these Curiosities, that the Court is never empty from Morning till Night. During this Time the Organ plays, and the Clock is set a chiming; and many of those who enter the Church inform themselves about the Mysteries which are there represented by the Paintings, for there is a Cathesist attending all Day long to explain them: so that Curiosity is always the Means of making some Converts to the Faith.

(v) *Me-te-na* is evidently *Medina* in *Arabia*, or, as it is call'd by the *Arabs*, *Medinat al Nabi*, that is, the City of the Prophet, meaning *Mohammed*.

(w) By the *Moors* must be understood the *Mohammedans* in general, who are so call'd by a corrupt Use of the Word.

(x) This is the *Chinese* Way of Spelling, or rather pronouncing, *Mohammed*.

(y) Orig. *Min-hiun-te*; others for *Hien* write *Huen* and

Huen. This seems to be the same with *Hien-tung*, 6th Emperor of the Dynasty of *Tang*, who began his Reign in the Year 712 after Christ; but *Mohammed* had been dead above 80 Years before.

(z) Here, I fear, the *European* Vanity is stain'd as much as the *Indian*; for certainly the grandeur of the *Oriental* Princes, especially the Emperors of *China*, is not to be equalled by any thing on this Side of the World.

The JOURNEY of P. Fontaney, from Pe-king to Kyang-chew, in the Province of Shan-fi; and from thence to Nan-king in the Province of Kyang-nan.

THE 30th of March 1688, we set out from Pe-king for Kyang-chew, which is 18 easy Days Journey. I hired Mules for 12 Francs each, out of which the Muleteer was obliged to maintain both himself and them; I lay at *Tew-tyen*, a Country Town, 80 *Li* (*) from Pe-king.

The 31st I pass'd thro' *Tse-chew*, where I took the Road of *Shan-fi*; it is incredible what prodigious Multitudes of People there are on the Road; the Streets of our best Cities in Europe are not so throng'd. We rode 8 Leagues to get to *Ting-bing-byen*. This City is square, about 500 Paces long from North to South, and 400 broad from East to West; its Walls are of Earth, and the Battlements of Brick.

A little before we came to the Village of *Pe-kew*, which is 20 *Li* farther, we cross'd a River over a Wooden Bridge cover'd with Earth; it runs Eastward and rolls along a great Quantity of Sand with its Tide. These Roads, which are always crouded, are very broad, and planted with Trees on both Sides from Pe-king, with Walls to cover and preserve the Country. In less than the Space of a League we met with two or three Villages, not to mention those which appear on all Sides in the Plain; in one of them I saw Puppets, which were made to speak, and differ'd in nothing from those of Europe, but in their Dress.

The 1st of April I went from *Pe-kew* to *Ku-chin-tyen*, a great Borough, 30 *Li* distant to the South-West by West; in the Way we found 3 Villages. Thence to *Pay-ta-fu*, where there is a great Tower on the Left Hand, 20 *Li*, with 2 Villages between. 10 *Li* farther we came to *Gan-fu-byen*; we pass'd thro' this City, which measures 350 Paces from East to West, and 400 from North to South; its Walls are of Earth, and the Battlements of Brick. At the Entrance of the Suburbs we saw a Stone Bridge, without Rails or Side Walls, over a small Brook.

From *Gan-fu* to *Su-bo* are 40 *Li*. Going out of this Town, we pass'd over a handsome Bridge of 3 Arches, and 20 Posts on each Side, built with rough Marble. Thence to the City *Pau-ting-fu*, where resides the Governor of the Province of *Pe-che-li*, 10 *Li*; it is nearly square, and above 4,000 Paces in Circumference. We left it on the Left Hand, and over-against the Corner of the Wall found a fine Bridge with 3 Arches, of greyish Marble, built over a small River, form'd by 2 little Brooks; one of which comes from the West, and the other from the North. Our Course by Estimation was South-West. The Road is very handsome, planted with Trees like a Garden Walk, and crouded with inconceivable Numbers of People.

The 2d we went directly East about 10 *Li* to *Ta-sye-pu*, a Village, leaving on the Right, a little before we came to it, a small Tower in the Plain: 10 *Li* thence to another Borough named *Ta-ki-tyen*, where there are 3 small Stone Bridges; and 10 more South-West to another Borough; 10 *Li* farther to *Kin-yan-i*; and from thence to *Tan-shun-kyau*, a great Country Town, in the middle of which there is a handsome Bridge of one Arch, 30 *Li*; 30 *Li* farther we pass'd thro' the City *King-tu-byen*, which is not square, and no more than 1200 Paces in Circuit; the Walls resemble those of other Cities. On leaving it we saw a beautiful Triumphal Arch of white Marble, adorn'd with 4 Lions. Thence to *Tsin-fong-tyen* a great Borough, where I lay, are 20 *Li*.

In this Days Journey from *Pau-ting* I pass'd by 15 or 16 Cities, Boroughs, and Villages, which are full of Inns, for lodging that surprizing Number of People which throngs the Roads. About 10 or 15 *Li* beyond *Pau-ting*, the Road is rais'd on both Sides with pretty broad Banks, so that the Space betwixt forms a sort of Canal, which is plashy in some Places. As it is strait, wide, and level, with Trees planted on both Sides, it affords beautiful Avenues to the Villages, that one meets with every Mile and an half. In some Places the Trees are at full Growth, in others but of one or two Years standing; whence it is probable, these Avenues were ruin'd during the Wars, yet they have a fine Effect upon the Eye; besides, very pively, well cultivated Plains presented themselves on all Hands; however, there are so few Trees in this Country, that it appear'd often like a vast Sea. One is also agreeably deceiv'd in the Parts where the Prospect is bounded by Trees, which make the Country look as if it was overflow'd, or some great Lake; the thickness of the Vapours reflecting Light enough to create a Whiteness resembling that of Water at a Distance. But to produce this Phenomenon, the Horizon must be terminated by opaque Bodies, such as Trees, otherwise the faint reflected Light will be overpower'd by that which sheds a greater Lustre; it may also be said, that the Shadows of these Trees appear in the Vapours, which therefore seem to be thick enough to produce the same Effect as a Looking-Glass.

The 3d we advanced 10 *Li* (1) South-West to a Village, then 10 *Li* South-West by South to another, after which we cross'd a little River over a Wooden Bridge cover'd with Earth; thence 10 *Li* South-West to *Ting-chew*, a City as big at least as *Pau-ting*; after having pass'd thro' 4 Villages, I came to *Min-yue-tyen* a great Borough, where I dined, 60 *Li* from *Tsin-fong-*

(*) It must be remember'd that 10 *Li* or Furlongs make a League,

(1) In the French it is 10 Leagues, which must be an Error of the Press or Copy.

Read from
Pe-king to
Kyang-chew.
City Sin-lo-
byen.

Imperial Post
House.

City Ching-
ting-fu.

City Ho-lu-
byen.

City Chin-
king-byen.

Province of
Shan-fi.

tyen, the Course always South-West by South; three *Li* beyond, our Course was West-South-West, and at the End of 3 or 4 more it changed to South-West by West.

Thirty *Li* from *Ting-chew* we came to *Sin-lo-byen*, a little City almost square, not above 1200 Paces in Compass; we then pass'd 3 wooden Bridges cover'd with Earth, over a small River that runs North East, and which, when the Waters rise, overflows the Country for 3 or 4 *Li*; after crossing a few Villages and a Stone Bridge with 18 Posts on each Side, we arriv'd at *Pu-chin-i*, a great Borough, where there is an Imperial Post-House, (as the Word *i* denotes,) 45 *Li* distant from *Sin-lo*.

The great Road lies between two small Canals, whose earthen Walls serve instead of Banks; it is of Gravel, about 100 Foot wide, the finest and most agreeable any where to be met with.

The 4th we travell'd 60 *Li* South-West by South to *Ching-ting-fu*, a City near 4000 Paces in Circumference; its Figure is a long Square and the Walls handsome; we pass'd along a Skirt of it at least 3 *Li*, running South-West; from the Corner to the Gate I reckon'd 17 square Towers.

Six or seven *Li* thence, we cross'd the *Hu-to-Ho*, a River 200 Paces broad; it comes from the West, and runs South-East; its Waters are muddy like those of *Wbang-bo*. Beyond this River the great Road divides, one part leads towards the Provinces of *Se-chwen*, *Yun-nan*, *Ho-nan*, &c. the other to those of *Shan-fi* and *Sben-fi*, which last was the Road we took; as it belongs to so many Provinces it is no wonder to find such a prodigious Number of Passengers on it.

I took up my Lodging at *Ho-lu-byen*, a very populous City, 1400 Paces in Circuit, and about 40 *Li* from *Ching-ting*. It lies behind a Hill, which we pass'd before we came to it; from the Top we discover'd the most charming Country imaginable, as smooth as Glass to the Foot of the Mountains, whereon there are neither Trees nor Bushes. The Suburbs of *Ho-lu-byen* are large in Comparison of the City, where there are Manufactures of Iron and Earthen Ware.

The 5th I enter'd the Mountains, and having gone 40 *Li* to the West-South-West, din'd at *Zhu-chwi-pu* (1) a large Borogh on the Eastern Bank of a River, which we cross'd by a Bridge; on the other Side of the Town we found another handsome Bridge of one Arch, over a River that runs here Northwards, which having cross'd, we found 3 more little Stone Bridges over so many Torrents. We travell'd along the River, having it on the Left, and at the End of 15 *Li*, pass'd it over a Bridge like the former, and 15 *Li* farther arriv'd at *Chin-king-byen*.

This City is 1200 Paces in Compass, seated on a little Hill; the Walls, which are of Brick, are fair, excepting the part on the Hill, which is of Earth; the lower part only is inhabited, and the Suburbs are better than the City itself. We left it on the Right, and travelling 25 *Li* farther, came to lodge at *He-taw-tyen*, a Town in the Mountains, which are indifferently high. The Road is rugged, so that one is always either ascending, descending, or turning; we saw an astonishing Multitude of Asses and Mules, loaded with Earthen Ware, ground Bark for making Pastils, Cotton, Silks, Skins, and especially wrought Iron, which comes from *Liu-ngan-fu*, a City of *Shan-fi*; on the River by which we travell'd, we saw several Mills, for grinding the Bark whereof they make the Pastils.

Thirty *Li* from *Ho-lu*, after having pass'd thro' the Borough of *Chan-ngan*, we cross'd a Hill above 100 Paces in height, on the Top whereof is a Pagod; we advanced on 2 great inclining Plains, pav'd with Stone; nothing is to be seen on all Sides but Hills without Valleys, but they are low and cultivated to the very Top; to prevent the Rains from washing down the Earth, as well as to detain the Water, they are cut into Terrasses, supported by dry Walls, built with the Stones wherewith the Ground was cover'd; we saw whole Families of *Chinese*, which dwelt in Grotts, for *China* has its *Troglodytes*, as well as *Egypt*; in short, every Place is as populous as can be. We saw neither Trees nor Shrubs on the Mountains; the few Herbs and Briars which they produce are quickly pluck'd up to feed the Cattle, and supply the Lime-Kilns, which are very numerous along the River. Our Course was South-West by West.

The 6th, having gone 40 *Li*, we came to a Village, where there is a Custom House. I was discharged by sending a Visiting Letter, without having my Baggage search'd. The Province of *Pe-che-li* ends here, and that of *Shan-fi* begins. The Village is shut up by 2 great Stone Arches, which cross the Road that lies between steep Hills. Here we saw a Wall, which running over the Mountains as well as Valleys, crosses the Road also; I know not how far it extends, not being able to see either End; it is of Stone, rough-hewn but firmly laid, and is flank'd at proper Distances with square Brick Towers, which seem'd as intire as if newly built. The Wall including the Battlements might be 10 or 12 Foot high, and 3 or 4 thick; some Parts of it are fallen down, some want only the Pinnacles, and others are still entire. The Height is equal throughout, so that when they say it is 100 Feet and more, they include the Hills.

Twenty *Li* from the Custom House, I came to *Pe-chin-i*, a great Borough, where I din'd. 5 *Li* beyond, we enter'd a Road 10 Paces broad, between pretty steep Hills, which are about

60

(1) Orig. *Ju-chwei-pau*; the *zh* in English answers precisely to the French *i* consonant.

60 Paces in perpendicular. Having travell'd 50 *Li*, I came to *Ping-ting-chew*, a City about 2,000 Paces in Circumference. The North part standing on a little Hill is waste, the rest is very populous: the Suburb to the West is large. In crossing the City, we pass'd thro' a Street 300 Geometrical Paces long: I reckon'd 25 Triumphal Arches there, some are of Wood with Stone Bases, others are all of Stone; several of them are very handsome. In the West Suburb we saw 6 more. This City is situated in a Plain amidst the Mountains. Two Leagues before we came to it, the Road began to be very good. The Tops of the Mountains are till'd with Oxen. We saw Villages consisting of Grotts or Caverns, dug on Purpose; being very neat Chambers 20 Feet long, and 10 or 12 broad. I pass'd thro' 14 Villages without reckoning those at the Beginning and End of the Stage; the Course South-West by West.

The 7th leaving *Ping-ting*, we struck Northwards, ascending gradually for 7 or 8 *Li* till we came to a Village, after which we found a Descent, which was pretty steep, and at the Foot of it another Village; for 15 *Li* our Course was North-West. At the End of 23 *Li* we pass'd a Brook, that runs Eastward; at 25 *Li* we found a Village where we turn'd West-North-West; at 40 *Li* another Village, and advanced West-South-West, for 2 *Li*; afterwards North-West 12 *Li*, then 6 *Li* West to *Sin-tyen*, 60 *Li* from *Ping-ting*.

From *Sin-tyen* where I dined, I rode 4 *Li* West, then 6 *Li* West-North-West to a Village: 14 *Li* farther I pass'd a Brook which comes from the North, and falls into that by the Side whereof I travell'd. 20 *Li* thence to a Borough, and 4 *Li* beyond we ascended a very steep Hill. There the Stony Road which was very troublesome to us ends. The Top of this Hill, as well as all those about it, is extremely well cultivated, and cut in Terrasses which are continued to the Bottom, and make a very agreeable Prospect.

From thence we had an easy Descent Westward to the City *Shew-yang-hyen*, 40 *Li* from *Sin-tyen*; one *Li* before we enter'd the Suburb we saw on the Left a Tower 300 Paces from the great Road beyond the Valley, where the River along which I rode, runs. This District is full of Towns and Hamlets. We left the City to the Right; it is above 1500 Paces in Compass, and its Walls are in very good Repair.

The 8th I advanced 45 *Li* West-North-West: and at a Village 40 *Li* farther left the Road leading to *Tay-yuen-fu*, the Capital of *Sban-fu*, and took that for *Pin-yang-fu*, which runs South-West by South. 33 *Li* from that Division the Hills end, which were always well cultivated, and stored with Hamlets; but full of Precipices, form'd either by the Torrents, carrying away the Mold, or what is more likely, by Earthquakes, which happen pretty frequently in those Parts, for many times I saw large Cavities encompassed in such a Manner that the Water could neither get in nor out.

One Thing extraordinary I remark'd in several Parts of this Province, that there is Earth or Mold for 4 or 500 Feet deep without the least Stone, which contributes not a little to the Fertility of the Soil. I came to lie at *Wan-bu-ching*, after having travell'd 120 *Li* over the Hills. In the Morning every thing was frozen and even the smallest River; so that the Cold was very piercing, yet the Evening was exceeding hot. After quitting those Hills, we enter'd into a very fine, even, and populous Plain; here the Mountains form a spacious Hollow, leaving a large Opening between the West and South-West: they are 4 Leagues distant on the West Side, and somewhat less on the South-West.

The 9th, our Course was South-West by West. Advancing 6 or 7 *Li*, we left on the South to the City *Yu-tse-byen*; it has 4 Gates and seems to be square. Having gone 12 *Li* we came to a Borough inclosed with Walls of Earth, where we cross'd a Brook, which runs Westward. At the End of 15 *Li* we pass'd another Brook running Westward likewise; thence 11 *Li* to a Village, West-South-West; 10 *Li* farther to a Brook that runs Northwards; 7 *Li* beyond, to a Village, after which our Course was West-South-West. Three *Li* thence, to a River which we cross'd over a Wooden Bridge cover'd with Earth; it runs first to the West, and presently turns Northwards. 6 *Li* farther, to a Village, and then 8 *Li* more South West, to *Syu-kyu-byen*, where I dined after travelling 60 *Li* that Morning.

This City extends from North to South about 400 Paces, and less than 200 from East to West. The Walls are of Brick and very handsome: those which inclose its Suburbs are of Earth, with Brick Battlements. Having travell'd 45 *Li* farther and pass'd thro' several Villages, I came to lodge at *Kya-lin*. These Villages are so many little Cities, and some of them are of more Value than several *Hyen*: this joined to the Beauty of the Country, which is as level as a Bowling Green, and the Groves of Trees wherewith the Villages are surrounded, makes a most agreeable Landskip. In several Parts of this Plain, within the Compass of a Mile and half round, we saw 12 Villages at once; and taking in those farther off, we could reckon 20, each of which had several pretty high Towers.

The 10th I made 15 *Li* South-West to *Ki-byen*, lying on the Left. I pass'd thro' the West Suburb, which is large and inclosed with Walls of Earth; those of the City are of Brick and very fair, with Guard Houses and Towers at convenient Distances. It may be 12 or 1500 Paces in Compass. Travelling afterwards South-West by South we pass'd thro' several Villages; at the End of 42 *Li* we saw to the Left a very beautiful Temple dedicated to *Tu-wan-shan-ti*; thence West-South-West to *U-li-chwan* a large Village or Town where I dined 60 *Li* from the place whence I set out.

Ten *Li* farther I pass'd by *Pin-yau-byen* on the Left Hand, a fair City 1,500 or 2,000 Paces in Circuit. It is square; its Walls which are of Brick, are very fine, and flank'd with

Towers at proper Distances; I counted 30, and between every two, 22 Battlements; there are 4 Gates, one in the Middle of each of the 4 Fronts of the Wall.

Our Course afterwards was South-West. Having travell'd 60 *Li* and pass'd thro' several large Towns, I lay at *Chan-tfwen*; the Road was croud'd with People who rais'd a dreadful Dust that was extremely troublesome. For these two last Days the Land appear'd more fat, black and tough than usual, and the Villages had fewer Towers; bet to make Amends most of them were inclos'd by Walls of Earth, with Brick Battlements, and often thick double Gates cover'd with Iron Plates fasten'd by great Nails.

City *Kyay-hyew-hyen*.

River *Fwen-bo*.

City *Ling-she-hyen*.

The 11th, at the End of 14 *Li* we saw a fair Pagod on the Left Hand, our Course West South West; 6 *Li* farther to *Kyay-hyew-hyen*, a fair populous City; we pass'd thro' the North Suburb, which is a second City encompass'd with Walls; 10 *Li* from thence West-South-West, we found a Bridge and Pagod; and 10 farther another Bridge on the Left, with two wall'd Villages, 100 Paces from the Road, which might be taken for Cities. There we turn'd South-West along a small River on the Right Hand, call'd *Fwen-bo*, which rises in the Territory of *Tay-ywen-fu*; its Waters are yellow and muddy, like those of the Yellow River. Here the Mountains begin again, I travell'd however thro' a Valley 1,000 or 1,500 Paces broad; 10 *Li* farther we came to a large Village, and when we left it advanced South-South-West; opposite to it on the Right was a fair Stone Bridge over the *Fwen-bo* of 12 small Arches; presently after on the Left a Pagod and two Villages built on little Hills. In short, having rode in all 60 *Li* and pass'd several big Villages, I din'd in a large Burrough; and 20 *Li* farther arriv'd at *Ling-she-hyen*. This City takes up almost the whole Breadth of the Valley, altho' it does not exceed 300 Paces in Length from North to South, and 150 in Breadth from East to West; we left it to the Right, being wash'd by the *Fwen-bo* on the West Side.

Ten *Li* from the City Southward there is a Village on the Right Hand standing on a rising Ground, at the Foot of which we pass'd; there we quitted the *Fwen-bo*, which runs Westward into a Valley, and leaving on the South-East the Channel of a Torrent, which is broad and very stony, began to ascend a Hill, that seem'd to be about 100 Paces higher than the Surface of the *Fwen-bo*; the Way up was rugged, and at Top we found a Hamlet, 20 *Li* from where we set out: from whence descending 5 *Li*, we came to a Pagod, where there is a large stone Arch over a Torrent; afterwards we ascended for 5 *Li*, and then descended to *Jin-i* where I lay, 40 *Li* from *Ling-she-hyen*. We met an infinite Number of People on the Road; the Wind was so high as sometimes to hinder my Mule from advancing, and the Dust so darken'd the Sky, that at Noon we saw no better than if there had been a thick Fog. All the Hills, which are of Earth, are improv'd to the very Top and cut in Terraces; the Cavities and Precipices are equally well cultivated; for the last 30 *Li*, our Course was South-South-West.

City *Cho-chew*.

City *Chau-ching-hyen*.

The 12th I rode 3 or 4 *Li* South-West by West. Afterwards I pass'd a Mountain, advancing South South East; on the Top there is a Village, 15 *Li* from *Jin-i*, from whence we descended Southward 10 *Li*: then our Course was Westward; 23 *Li* farther at the Foot of the Mountain we found a Pagod; here we enter'd a Valley above 600 Paces wide, wash'd on the Right Side by the *Fwen-bo*. After having travell'd this Mourning 60 *Li* I came to dine at *Cho-chew* on the same River. At the Entrance of the City, which is 200 Paces from East to West, and 400 from North to South, we pass'd a Brook over a little stone Bridge, on the Left of which we saw an Ox cast in Iron. From thence our Course was full South, where we saw a Pagod, then we ascended a Mountain; at the End of 36 *Li* we saw another Pagod on the Left, and found a charming Plain on the Top of the Mountain, which we descended, after we had gone 5 *Li* farther, our Course being South-South-West. Then we enter'd into a Valley like the former, where we found the *Fwen-bo*, which we kept always on our Right.

At length having travell'd 60 *Li*, I came to lodge at *Chau-ching-hyen*. The Extent of this City from North to South is 300 Paces and 200 from East to West; it is very populous. I saw there a fine Triumphal Arch of well cut Stone. The Road was always croud'd with People, and the Land extremely well cultivated. In these Mountains, there are Coal Pits, where they are at work continually; the horrible Caverns which we saw were probably form'd by the Ground falling into the exhausted Mines; however from the Top of any of these Mountains there is a charming Prospect over the vast Numbers of others that lye round it, all terrass'd and cover'd in Spring with a beautiful Green; on some of the Precipices there are scarce 3 or 4 Paces left for the Road.

City *Hong-tong-hyen*.

Fair Bridge.

The 13th we advanced Southward; 3 *Li* from the City we cross'd a little River which falls into the *Fwen-bo*, after which we pass'd by a Village on the Left. A *Li* farther, our Course was South West, and 6 *Li* thence, we came to another Village, where we went up a little Hill; and 8 *Li* beyond it, to a large Village, where we descended into a fine Plain. At the Bottom of this Descent there is a handsome stone Bridge of 3 Arches over a Brook; 5 *Li* before we came to it, our Course began South-South-West. After we had pass'd some Villages and a fair Bridge 18 Paces long, always following the *Fwen-bo*, we arriv'd at *Hong-tong-hyen*, 12 *Li* farther. This City is 1800 Paces in Compass; we cross'd it, and at the North-West Angle, found a Pagod with an Obelisk; for 4 Miles together it seems to be one continued Town, lying along the Hill; this Plain, which is 40 Feet lower than the former, is at least a Mile broad to the River.

Departing from the City we cross'd a fine Bridge of 17 Arches, 60 Paces in Length; the Piers are of Free Stone, fasten'd together with large iron Keys; the Buttresses are thick and strong, supporting Figures of different Animals, couchant in projecture, and fasten'd by round Barrs

of Iron, 3 Inches thick, among which are some Lions Whelps; it is paved with large square Stones, placed on Beams. At a Village 3 *Li* from *Hong-tong* we turn'd to the South-West by West; 10 *Li* thence we found a great Borough on the Right; 17 farther another, leaving which we saw a fine stone Bridge of 3 Arches, over a large Brook. I pass'd two other Villages, and two Bridges over the *Fwen-bo*.

Road from
Kyang-
chew to
Nan-king.

Twenty *Li* beyond I dined at a great Borough, where I saw a fine stone Bridge of 7 Arches, with Rails or Side Walls, consisting of stone Pannels, grooved into the Posts; and adorn'd with Basso-relievo's, *Chinese* Characters, and 4 great Lions at the Corners; it is about 60 Paces in Length.

Ten *Li* farther is the City *Pin-yang-fu*, above 4 Miles in Circumference, where there is a Wooden Bridge over the *Fwen-bo*. Thence our Course was South-West; after I had rode 20 *Li*, and pass'd some Villages, I came to *Tsyang-leng-byen*; at the Entrance of this City, which is very populous, there is a Bridge with Rails or Side Walls cover'd with a Roof, supported by Wooden Pillars.

City *Pin-
yang-fu*.

City *Tsyang-
leng-byen*.

I travell'd all the Day in very pleasant and even Plains, tho' on different Levels; there is not an Inch of them uncultivated. Every thing here appear'd green, which I had not observed any where else; this no doubt was owing to the Multitude of Brooks, which descend on both Sides of the Hills, whose Waters are so well managed that every Body is supply'd with them.

These Hills afford a very beautiful Landkip, being stored with Corn, Pulse, Trees, and Villages, the Number of which is surprizing. As the Corn is sown in Beds, all this Part of the Country looks like a Garden; here I saw many of those Trees, call'd *Tsay-tse* (A), its Flower is yellow, and yields an Oyl used for Lamps. After passing the *Fwen-bo*, we found Rice sow'd on its Sides, which are marshy; the Road was every where crouded with People; and the Plains cover'd with Husbandmen sowing Pulse.

The Tree
Tsay-tse.

The 14 our Course was South-West by South; after we had rode 37 *Li*, in a Country like the former, I pass'd a Bridge of five handsome stone Arches, over a Torrent that runs between 2 large Villages; there is a wooden Triumphal Arch at each End. Three *Li* farther we came to a three-arch'd Bridge, and 20 beyond that to the City of *Tay-ping-byen*; it is small, and not very populous, but has a pretty large Suburb. A little before we got to it, I saw a Bridge cover'd with a Roof, which bears the Name of the *flying Rain-Bow*; it is a great Lattice of Timber, supported by wooden Arches, placed on a Bank of Stone, built over two stone Arches that are next the Land; the *Chinese* admire the Contrivance of it, and for that Reason, perhaps, have given it that whimsical Name; it is 7 or 8 Paces long, and was made by a skilful Carpenter.

City *Tay-
ping-byen*.

Remarkable
Bridge.

Seven *Li* from *Tay-ping* we found another stone Bridge; after which our Course was South West, as far as *Kyang-chew*, where I lodged. This City is 3254 Paces in Circumference, situate on the right Side of the *Fwen-bo*; it has but two Gates, because one part of it stands on a rising Ground. From *Pe-king* hither I made the best Use I could of a good Mariner's Compass, to mark the Bearings.

City *Kyang-
chew*.

At *Pin-yang-fu* I left the great Road which leads to the Province of *Sben-fi*. I have said nothing of the Inns that are upon it, because they are like those which I have described in the Journal from *Ning-po* to *Pe-king* (B). The Houses design'd for the Reception of the *Mandarins*, call'd *Kong-guan*, have nothing remarkable; it is much if on their Journey they find Necessaries, but they have their own Servants, who buy and cook every thing according to their Liking.

The 5th of May I set out from *Kyang-chew* for *Nan-king*; that City stands, as I said, on a rising Ground, the River runs below in a fine well cultivated Plain, which bears Corn. I pass'd it over a wooden Bridge, my Litter being carry'd on the Shoulders of Men, (who wait for that Purpose) instead of the Mules, which they took out; perhaps because the Bridge is narrow and weak. The *Christians* accompany'd me to the River Side, where they had set a Table, with a Collation, according to the Custom of the Country, to take their Farewell of me; I just tasted of their Wine, that they might not think I slighted their Civility.

The Author's
Journey to
Nan-king.

The 6th I dined at *I-chin-byen* (c), 50 *Li* distant, our Course East. I pass'd thro' 5 Villages, some of which were encompass'd with Walls of Earth, but those of the last are of Brick. Going out of it, I pass'd along a hollow Road, where several Carts meeting stopp'd. The *Chinese* never fall into a Passion on such Occasions, but quietly assist one another. I had the Mountains always on the Right.

I-chin is in the District of *Pin-yang-fu*; the Walls are of Earth, with brick Parapets; the whole Country is cultivated, and near the City we saw several Sepulchres. We could get no Meat to buy at *I-chin*, the *Mandarin* thereof having forbidden the Selling any, in Hopes to obtain Rain, by that Sort of Fast; the *Chinese* at this time eat nothing but Rice, Pulse, and such things as had not Life; the *Mandarins* have Poultry in their Houses, which they cause to be dress'd: yet after all, Flesh is sold privately; for at *Kyang-chew*, where the same Prohibition was publish'd, we had Meat enough, and as cheap as at other times. I continued

City *I-chin*.

here

(A) In the French *Tai-see*.

(B) Hence it appears that P. Fontenay was Author of the former Journal.

(C) This City, which in the Text is written *I chin*, is in the

Map *Ychin*; the *Y* being used for the *I* Vowel before a Consonant, and where it stands for a Word; and indeed P. Fontenay in using the *I* differs from his usual Practice, as in the Words *Ging*, *Fen* *tebing*, &c.

Road from
Kyang-
chow to
Nan-king.

here the rest of the Day, because there was no Possibility of getting that Night to the Place where we should have lodged, on account of the bad Weather.

The 7th travelling 40 *Li* East-South-East, I came to dine at a large Village. 3 Quarters of a Mile beyond *I-chin*, we enter'd the Hills, which are all of good Mold; the Ascent is rugged, every scrap of them is cultivated, and sown, not excepting the very Precipices; beyond them is a cultivated Plain full of Villages and Trees. Here sometimes we beheld Terrasses one above another, consisting of 4 or 5 Feet of till'd Earth; it appear'd that the *Chinese* had sown Corn even on the Tops of the Hills. We found crouds of People on this Road; and saw Mountains to the West, South and East, which form a Semicircle.

Earthen
Ware.

I went 40 *Li* farther South-East, to lodge at a Borough named *Wan-chay*; one League from *Lew-bu* (D) we had other Hills to pass, which are stony, and the Country uncultivated, excepting in certain Valleys; a League farther we climbed another, the Descent of which was so steep, that I was forced to walk. I met with several Asses and Mules, carrying Earthen Kettles of the Colour of Iron; all this Country is poor, and the Road difficult.

City *Tsin-
shui-hyen*.

The 8th I dined at a Hamlet 40 *Li* distant [from *Wan-chay*] to the South-East, always advancing in a Valley between Hills, the Way being stony but perfectly even. I pass'd thro' a *Hyen*, named *Tsin-shui* (E), it is a small City with brick Walls. Leaving it we found two Towers, one on the right, the other on the left Hand, on the Tops of the two highest Mountains; likewise some Hamlets along the Road; Dinner was served up in Dishes of Earthen Ware, but not near so fine as the *Dutch*.

At the End of this City we climbed up a Mountain, where we met with some Hamlets. It is an Hours very difficult Journey, Carts can neither ascend nor descend it. In some Places the Road is so narrow, that they run a Risk of falling down the Precipices; these Parts are uncultivated.

Afterwards the Road was even, the Lands were tilled, and we pass'd by 2 or 3 Villages; we were however in a sort of Valley, for on both Sides we beheld the Tops of other Mountains higher than that we were on. I lay at *Lew-tfwen*, a pretty tolerable Borough; the Houses there were of Brick; our Course was South, the Distance 40 *Li*.

The 9th I dined at a little Village, the Distance 40 *Li*, Course South South East. I pass'd 3 Villages and some Hamlets; in one of which, call'd *Yi-chin*, they make those Iron colour'd Earthen Kettles mention'd before. The Road was even, and thro' a close Valley, whence the Tops of the Mountains appear'd only like Hillocks.

This Valley is stony, yet every where cultivated and planted with shady Trees: a Brook runs thro' the middle of it, among the Flints, sufficient to water both the Cattle and Land. At the End of it the Men and Horses ascend a very rugged Hill, Calashes and Litters continuing their Way in the Valley by the Side of it, above a Mile and an half farther; in which Space we pass'd 2 Villages, in the first whereof abundance of those Earthen Kettles are made. Having pass'd the 2d, I was obliged to clamber up a very steep Road; the Lands on every Side were sown, and the Ways so narrow that Carts cannot pass; on a Point of the Hill we saw the Walls of a ruin'd Castle.

I descended afterwards into a Valley, where is a Bridge, made of Stakes, over a Torrent or Rivulet, whose Water is yellow; then I went up another Hill: after which the Lands are very good and all tilled, the little Hills being cut in Terrasses to the Top, and each Terrass sown; I counted more than 40, one above another, several of them supported by Walls made of Stones, taken out of the Hills themselves. These Terrasses appear on all Sides for 2 or 3 Leagues together; the Country is diversify'd with Trees, Houses and Pagods built on Eminences.

Five or six Leagues on the right Hand I saw Hills much higher than those whereon I was. It is likely the *Chinese* have with vast Labour levell'd the Tops of most of these, in order to sow them. I lay at *Chew-tfwen* (F), a pretty Borough, enclosed with brick Walls, the Distance 40 *Li*, the Course South-South-East.

The 10th travelling 45 *Li*, I came to dine at the Village of *Li-chwen*; I judg'd our Course was South-East, for the Sun not appearing I could make no Observation (G). In the Way I cross'd three Mountains, and as many large Villages, besides 3 or 4 which I saw on the right Hand. The Ascent of the first Mountain is not very steep; we found very fine plowed Lands on the Top of it, but the Descent was rugged. The second Mountain is steeper, standing in the midst of little Hills, which are tilled, and cut in Terrasses, whereof in one Hill only I reckon'd more than a hundred; they are commonly 20 or 30 Feet in Breadth; tho' some are but 12, and even less, according to the steepness of the Descent.

Having advanced above a League, seeing nothing but little Hills, sown with Corn, and Thickets of Trees, we went up other stony Hills. The Roads were paved with large Flint Stones, but very uneven. The Terrasses on the Hills are here walled with Stone for a Mile and an half together. These Parts, which are plowed and cultivated with so much Toil, give us a better Idea of the Industry of the *Chinese*, than the Plains of *Kyang-nan*, *Shan-tong*, and *Pe-che-li*.

(D) It is not mention'd how far this Place is from *Wan-chay*.
(E) In the Map it is writtn *Tsin-chui*.

(F) In the French it is writtn *Tcheu-tfwen*; here the *ts* should seem to have a different Sound from the *ts* and *ts*, which he

uses in the Word *Tsay-tze*, (See p. 51. Note A), but as he is not uniform, I make no Scruple to convert it into *ts*.

(G) The Author in this Part of the Journey seems to have observed the Bearing by the Course of the Sun, and not by the Compass.

Beyond these little Hills, the Mountains began to be barren, excepting towards the Bottom, where the Land is cultivated. I saw some Places where they had begun to make Terrasses; they first gather all the Stones and pile them up to build Walls with, after which they level the Ground and sow it.

The third Mountain is still more rugged than the two former; in descending it I was forced to alight twice; after Rains, these Roads are impassible, the Flints being very slippery; I lay at *Tsin-chau-i* a large Village. Just beyond the Place where we dined, I ascended a Mountain; the rest of the Country is good and level; there appear on all Sides little plowed Hills, full of Trees, and a great Number of wall'd Terrasses. I pass'd thro' 6 or 7 Villages, some of which are pretty large, and built of Brick; I saw others in the Bottom, at the Foot of the Hills. On the Road we met a good many Mules and Asses loaded with Commodities from the Provinces of *Ho-nan* and *Kyang-nan*.

The 11th, I dined at the Town of *Chan-pin*, having travell'd 40 *Li* South East, and pass'd 5 or 6 little Towns or Villages; it is in the Province of *Ho-nan*. At setting out we went up a little Hill, after which we descended all the Way; we found a Road, made among the Rocks, along the Hills in form of a Terrass both lined and paved with Stone; it is 10 or 12 Feet wide, with a great Descent, and in rainy Weather so slippery, that it is impossible to go down it.

There are on this Road two or three little Forts to defend the Passage, one of which has thick Walls, whereon Soldiers might be drawn up. Beyond these little Hills we began to have a Sight of the Plains of *Ho-nan*. Every Part of the Mountains is improved, excepting where there are Rocks. We found multitudes of People on the Road, and so great a Number of loaded Mules and Asses that they often stopp'd up the Way.

After Dinner, I got rid of the Mountains. For two Leagues and an half the Road is rough and the Descents very steep, occasion'd by the Flints and Stones. Beyond a little Hill we discover'd the *Whang-bo*; its Course might be traced by the white Vapors, exhaled by the Sun. In the Space of a League and an half thro' the Plain, I pass'd thro' 6 Boroughs or Country Towns, some of which were very large. The Corn was high, and the Ears all form'd, in the Fields, whereas at 5 or 6 Leagues Distance, in the Mountains, it was still in Grass. The Country is charming; we saw Trees every where amidst the Corn and about the Villages: not an Inch of Ground is lost. I lay at *Sin-wa-chin*, having travell'd 40 *Li* East-South-East; it is a great Borough in the District of *Wbay-king-fu*.

The 12th I travell'd 30 *Li*, to a little Village where there was not a Room to dine in; thence 40 *Li*, to a Borough named *Mu-lang*, where I lodged. The Country all the Way was even and cultivated; however I pass'd thro' 9 or 10 pitiful Villages.

The 13th I went 60 *Li* South-East to *Wan-ciuwen*, where I both dined and supp'd; it is a Borough depending on *Kay-fong-fu*. The Country all this Day was charming, with Villages on both Sides of the Road. We saw there little Carts with 4 solid Wheels, and not 3 Foot in Diameter, drawn by Oxen, Asses, Mules, and Horses, all mixt together, 4 or 5 in a breast. I rested in this Borough, because the Place where I was to have lodged was too far off. I saw Corn sown in Lines, like Rice, not above 6 Inches asunder. I saw it also sown the common Way as in *Europe*, but those Fields are plow'd without leaving Ridges.

The 14th, we advanced 60 *Li* East-South-East to the *Whang-bo*; we saw Villages on both Hands, but they were sorry ones; the River was 6 or 7 *Li* broad in this Place, and it is as much as the Eye can do to reach from one Side to the other. I never beheld a more rapid Stream, but it is not very deep, for being got about a third part over, I observed they reached the Bottom with a Pole; I paid no more than 30 Sols for a Bark which carry'd over all my Baggage. Having pass'd the *Whang-bo* I rode 20 *Li* farther to a Town; our Course was about East-South-East, for the Sun did not shine. (H)

The 15th, travelling East by South 70 *Li*, I arrived at *Kay-fong-fu*; we found nothing to eat, either on the Road or in the Inns, but Bread not half baked and a little Rice, dress'd after the *Chinese* Manner; every Body buys and cooks his own Victuals. We lodged in the Suburb without entering the City; for a few Days before, 60 Men having broken into the Mandarin's House, and carry'd off the *Tyen-lyang* (1), or Tribute Money, Guards were placed at the Gates to hinder any from going in or out, till they were all taken, as several of them had been already. [This is the Metropolis of *Ho-nan*.]

The 16th, passing along Part of the Walls of the City, I counted the Steps of a Mule Driver, who walk'd before me, and computed that Side of the Town to have been 1000 Geometrical Paces long; the Walls are of Brick, and in good Repair, with little square Bastions at proper Distances. The Country this Day appear'd charming; we saw more Houses and Villages than before, and steer'd our Course South-Eastward. Having travell'd 55 *Li*, I pass'd thro' *Cbing-lyew-byen*, a City inclosed by brick Walls, with Bastions. I lay at *Han-kang-chin*, a great Borough 25 *Li* farther.

The 17th, advancing 30 *Li* I came to the City *Ki-byen*, whose Walls are of Brick, with Towers at certain Intervals; on one Side they seem'd to extend not above 300 Fathom; I left it on the Right. From hence to *Tye-fu-tse*, the place where I lodged, the Country was full of

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P

Villages

(H) See Note (c) p. 52.

(1) In the *French* Text *Cien-lean*; but in the Explanation of

the Terms, at the End of the third Volume, these Words are written *Tyen-lyang*.

Road from
Kyang-chew
to Nan-king.

Province of
Ho-nan.

City Kay
fong-fu.

City Ching-
lyew-byen.

Road from
Kyang-chew
to Nan-king.

Villages, whereof I often counted 12 at a time, and pass'd thro' 13 or 14; our Course still East-South-East, and our Stage in all 80 *Li*. The Road was very finely planted on both Sides with Trees like a Garden Walk, and crouded with People.

Each of these Villages had belonging to it a high House like a small square Tower, which the Inhabitants make Use of for securing their Effects in troublesome Times, or when they fear the Irruptions of Robbers, &c. these are private Houses of rich People, such as Mandarins, Soldiers, &c.

The 18th, I left *Tye-fu-tse*, the Gates of which are so low, that my Litter was twice in Danger of being broken. The Road continued to be planted with Trees; at the End of 45 *Li*, I pass'd thro' *Hyan-bi-pu*, a large, and very long Village; thence 20 *Li* to *Nbing-lu-hyen*, where I dined and supp'd, because there were no Inns within 70 *Li*.

City Nbing-
lu-hyen.

This City depends on *Quey-te-fu* (κ); it appear'd to be large, but waste, and poor within; its Ditches are fill'd with Water; its Walls are of Brick, with Towers at convenient Distances. Our Course was East by South. From *Kay-fong* hither, I found on the Road from time to time these small Towers or Centry Boxes, with Bells in some of them; this Day I pass'd thro' 8 or 9 Villages.

The 19th, having travell'd 80 *Li*, I came to *Tsay-kya-tau-kew* (L), a great Borough, where I dined and lay; the continual Rain hinder'd me from estimating the Course. I left *Quey-te-fu* on the left Hand, which makes me believe we travell'd South-East, supposing the Account they gave of its Situation to be true; the Country was agreeable all the Way. I pass'd by a handsome burying Place, where we saw Marble Lions, in a very thick Wood.

The 20th, I did not proceed because of the Rain; the Ground was become so soft that there was no sure Footing. The 21st, having travell'd 90 *Li*, South-East, according to the Report of our Muleteers (for the Sun did not shine), I came to *Wbe-tin-tse* (M), a great Borough; the Plains were all over fine, and the Roads and Villages beset with Trees.

City Yang-
ching-hyen.

The 22d, I proceeded 90 *Li* South East, and partly South. I dined at a large Village, just half way, after which I pass'd thro' the City *Yang-ching-hyen*; it is small within the Walls, but its Suburbs are very large. This Afternoon, I counted 12 Villages, which I saw all at once on my left Hand; almost all of them have little square Towers, by which they are distinguish'd at a Distance, but we saw no more such Numbers of Trees.

Province of
Kyang-nan.

The 23d, having advanced 20 *Li*, I pass'd through *Tung-tye-fu-tsu* (N), a small Borough, where the Province of *Kyang-nan* begins. I dined at *Pe-kang-i* another Village; our Course was South-East in all 40 *Li*, and advancing South 40 *Li* farther, lay at the Village of *Sang-pu*: all these Villages depend on *Fong-yang-fu*. I had Mountains all Day long to the Eastward, at 5 or 6 Leagues Distance. The Country was almost destitute of Trees, except in the Villages, which are very numerous, and furnish'd with little square Towers. I saw the Chinese thresh their Corn spread on the Ground, by rowling a Cylinder of black unwrought Marble over it; it was 2 Feet in Diameter, about 2 Feet and an half long, and drawn by two Oxen, with Ropes fasten'd to the Axelree of the Rowler.

City Syew-
chew.

Monday the 24th, at the End of 30 *Li*, I pass'd near *Syew-chew*; its Walls appear'd in no very good Condition, but its Suburbs are large. I dined at a Village, 45 *Li* South-South-East from thence; and lay at another named *Fan-chang-tse*, 35 *Li* farther, the bad Weather and Rain would not permit me to observe the Bearing.

The Houses of these Villages are very poor; we found nothing to eat in them. At Dinner I saw a parcel of Silk Worms, on a Mat, feeding on Mulberry Leaves. Those which were ready to Spin their Silk were put into Boxes of dry Reeds; the Cods which they make are small; I was told, those of the Province of *Che-kyang* are twice or thrice as big.

The 25th I travell'd 50 *Li*, without observing the Bearing, to *Lyen-chin-tse*, where I dined; this is a great Borough, where there are two Bridges over two Rivulets, or rather Brooks, which the Rains make navigable for Boats, and run no farther than some neighbouring Villages. I lay at *Ku-chin*, another Borough 30 *Li* farther. The Soil was marshy, and not so good as that of *Ho-nan*; these are Pasture Grounds for Cattle, where I saw numerous Flocks of Sheep. The Rain, which fell the two preceding Days, had so spoil'd the Roads, that I was forced to travel continually in puddles of Water.

The 26th, I proceeded 60 *Li*, to *Sang-pu*, but by turning out of the Way so often, to avoid the Water, I travell'd above 80 *Li*. Twenty *Li* from *Sang-pu*, is the City *Fong-yang-fu*; I believe our Course was South. We were obliged to, pass thro' the Water, which in some Places was two or three Feet deep, and in the rainy Season renders travelling very difficult; however, Corn grows there. I took Guides to conduct me thro' the Fields; a Ridge of Mountains appear'd, extending from South-West to South, and even some what Eastward.

The 27th, at the End of 30 *Li*, I came to a small City, where we cross'd the *Wbay-bo*, which River is about 70 Geometrical Paces broad; it has a Communication with the *Whang-*

(κ) In the Text, *Kouti-te-fu*, but in the Map, *Koue-te-fu*.
(L) In the French, *T'ai kia-tou kew*.

(M) Ibid. *Hue tin tse*.
(N) Ibid. *Tung-tie-fu-tu*.

Wbang-bo, and thereby with *Nan-king*. I lay at *Wban-ni-pu*, 40 *Li* farther: all this Country is full of Pasture.

The 28th I dined at *Tjen-kyu-pu* (o), a large Village, 40 *Li*, and lay at *Che-bo-yi*, a great Borough, 30 *Li* farther; at the Entrance of it is a Bridge, with 30 Posts, over which we cross'd a little River. I believe our whole Course was South somewhat Easterly, through Roads, which were broken by the preceding Days Rains, but throng'd with People, and full of Villages.

The 29th, advancing 50 *Li* South, I came to *Chu-lu-kyau*, another Village, where I dined and supped; about half a League from our setting out, I enter'd among Hills, which are neither high, nor the Road rugged, but I saw few cultivated Lands.

The 30th, having travell'd a League, I was forced to climb a very steep Mountain; The Way up is paved with Stones. There are some Houses upon it, and a stone Arch, 40 or 50 Feet long, under which we pass'd; the Descent is easier.

Forty *Li* farther, we came to *Hye-chew*; this City is encompass'd with a Fosse, fill'd with Water, 60 Fathom wide; it stands on a rising Ground, and the Country round it is well cover'd with Trees; the Suburb thro' which we pass'd, is very large, where we saw some Triumphal Arches and a Tower.

Thence 20 *Li* South East, is *Tan-tye-kan*, a Borough, where I dined. I lay at *Tsi-i-kyo* (p), another Borough, 40 *Li* beyond. The Plains were full of Rice. I saw them thresh the Corn with a Flail, as in *Europe*, also squeeze out the Grain with a Marble Rowler, drawn by a Buffalo.

The 31st I proceeded 50 *Li* East, to *Pu-kew*; a League before we came to it, we enter'd among Hills, of a pretty easy Ascent; and descended gradually to this Place, which is a great Borough, encompass'd by Walls, carry'd over a Hill, overlooking the River [*Yang-tse-kyang*] like a Citadel, only it is too high to command it; it makes a Nook on the East Side, which extends to another Hill where there is a Tower.

The *Yang-tse-kyang* is almost a League broad in this Place. *Nan-king* stands 30 *Li* South by East of *Pu-kew*. We landed on the other Side, a good League below *Pu-kew* to the South-South-East, where we enter'd a River, which, two Leagues thence, brought us to the Gate of *Nan-king*, along whose Walls we went for the Space of a Mile and half. There were on this River a great Number of Imperial Barks, for the Use of the *Mandarins*.

In crossing over from *Pu-kew*, we observed the Course of that great River, as far as we could see, was East-North-East: afterwards nearer *Nan-king*, North-East, as far as a Hill at *Pu-kew*, where there is a Tower; and from *Nan-king* to that Tower it runs North, for the Space of 3 Leagues. They told me when I cross'd it, that it was 36 *Shang* deep, that is, 360 *She* or Feet.

The Road taken from Pe-king to Kan-ton, by P. Bouvet, when sent by the Emperor Kang-hi into EUROPE, in the Year 1693.

THE Emperor having done me the Honour to nominate me for the Voyage into *Europe*, was pleas'd that I should travel to *Kan-ton*, with a *Mandarin* of the 3d Order, named *Tong-Lau-ya*, and a *Portuguese Jesuit*, whom his Majesty sent to *Makau* to meet *P. Grimaldi*, who was return'd from *Europe*, whither he had been dispatch'd by the Emperor's Orders.

The 8th of July 1693, was the Day fix'd for our Departure; and the *Mandarin* was charg'd to hasten the Dispatches for this Journey, by the *Ping-pu*, or sovereign Tribunal (Q), of the Soldiers: where it was resolv'd that I should have 8 Horses for myself and Attendants, and might depart next Day, at what Hour I thought fit.

This Patent of the *Ping-pu*, which is call'd *Kang-bo*, consists of a large Sheet of Paper, printed in *Tartarian* and *Chinese* Characters, and furnish'd with the Seal of the Court: it contains to this Effect, "That the supreme Tribunal of *Ping-pu* gave me this *Kang-bo* by the Emperor's Order, who sent me from Court on his own Business, and was willing I should take my Journey by *Kan-ton*. It order'd all the Heads of the Tribunals of Cities, and "Places where there were Post Houses, to provide without Delay the appointed Number of Horses, with all Necessaries on the Road, for the Subsistence of myself, and Retinue; "to lodge me in the *Kong-quan*, or public Inns, for the Reception of Officers, dispatch'd from Court; and when I should be oblig'd to proceed by Water, to furnish me with "Barks and all other Necessaries for my Voyage, &c." the Seal impress'd hereon was square, and 3 Inches broad, without any other Figure or Character than the Name of the Tribunal of the *Ping-pu*, which on one Side was in *Tartarian* Characters, and on the other in *Chinese*. The Seals of all the Tribunals are of the same form. At the Bottom of the Patent were the Names of the *Tartarian* and *Chinese* Presidents of the Court, with the Date, which was in these Words, "The 6th Day of the 5th Month of the 32d Year of the Reign of *Kang-hi*."

(o) Orig. *Tien Lia pu*.

(p) Ibid. *Tsi y lin*.

(Q) The *Ping-pu* is the 4th Tribunal of the Army.

I departed

Field from
Pe-king to
Kan-ton.

I departed accordingly from *Pe-king* the 8th of July, at 6 in the Evening. I sent a Servant before me Post, to acquaint the *Mandarin*, in whose Company I was to travel, that I would meet him at the Place appointed, as I did, but not without much Difficulty. We were overtaken by the Night, 3 Leagues beyond *Pe-king*, and we had 4 more to go; but we went astray every Moment, and I wander'd 9 or 10 Hours thro' thick and thin, so that it was Day-break before I arrived at the South Gate of *Lyang-byang-byen*, where the *Mandarin* waited for me. I had scarce lighted off my Horse, when I was obliged to mount again to perform that Day's Journey of 140 *Li*, that is, two Posts of 7 Leagues each; the first as far as *Tjo-chew*, the other to *Sin-ching-byen*. (R)

Posts.

In all the Cities on the great Roads there are ordinatily *I-ma*, or Offices, where more than 100 or 150 Post-Horses are kept, and when they are at too great a Distance, there are Post Houses between. Whoever travels with the *Kang-bo*, always finds, at the Places where he dines or sups, fresh Horses, with a Lodging prepared by the *Mandarin* of the Place.

Kong-quan, or
Inns for the
Mandarins.

These Lodgings, which they call *Kong-quan*, ought to be accommodated for the Reception of great Lords; but as there are none to be found in several Cities, especially those that were ruin'd by the late Wars, the *Mandarin* causes the best Inn, which the Place affords, to be prepar'd for that Purpose, and erects it into a *Kong-quan*, by fastening a Piece of red Silk in form of a Curtain over the Door, and providing a Table and Chair covered with Silk slightly embroider'd; this at present is all the Furniture of most Inns where the *Grandeeds* lodge in their Journeys. One never finds a Bed in any of them; it being the Custom for Travellers to carry that Conveniency with them, unless they like to lie cool and hard, on a single Mat.

The 10th, our Stage was like the former, that is, of 14 Leagues; 7 Leagues to *Hyong-byen*, and as many more to *Jin-kyew-byen*. When we arrived at any City, we commonly found the *Mandarins* without the Walls, clothed in their Habit of Ceremony, who came to meet us, to do us the more Honour.

We were scarcely got to our Inn, when they came to visit us; besides the Tables, which we found well enough furnish'd, the principal *Mandarin* seldom fail'd to send each of us another Table full of Meat, boiled and roasted, with which we treated those who accompany'd us: for besides our Servants each of us had 4 or 5 *Pey-pau*, or *Ma-pay*, Servants of the Posts, paid by the Emperor. Some of these served us for Guides, and others to carry our Baggage, all mounted on Post Horses; not to mention ten or a dozen Troopers armed, with Bows and Arrows to convoy us, whom we changed every Post. The *Ping-pu* had regulated it in this Manner, by another Dispatch, different from the *Kang-bo*, which the Tribunal had put into the Hands of *Tong Lau-ya*.

The 11th, we rode but one Post of 7 Leagues to *Ho-kyen-fu*. The 12th, we advanced 3 Posts: the first of 6 Leagues to *Hyen-byen*; the second of Six Leagues also, to *Fu-chwang-i*; and the third of 3 Leagues, to *Fu-ching-byen*.

City to Chew.

The 13th, we travell'd two Posts: the first 6 Leagues, to *King-chew*; the second 7, to *Te-chew*, a City in the Province of *Shan-tong*, situated on the Side of that long and famous Canal, made for conveying the Tribute of Rice from the Southern Provinces to *Pe-king*: which is performed every Year in the great and magnificent Imperial Barks, called *Lyang-chwen*.

The Canal in this Place separates the Province of *Pe-che-li*, from that of *Shan-tong*. We found at every Mile and half Distance throughout this Road *Tsun-tay* (s), or Guard Houses: with a little Terrace built in form of a Cavalier, to look out, and make Signals in Case of Tumults or Rebellions.

The 14th we made two Posts of 7 Leagues each; one to *Ngen-byen*; the second to *Kau-tang-chew*. One of the two Missionaries who was with me, being disorder'd with riding, was obliged to quit his Horse, and take a Calash, which made us shorten our Journeys for some time. One has the Advantage in having a *Kang-bo*, of riding as many Posts a Day as he pleases.

a 30 m
gallies
about

The 15th, our Stage was 2 Posts of 6 Leagues each, the first to *Tsin-ping-byen*, the second to *Tong-kyew-ell*.

The 16th three Posts: the first of 4 Leagues, the second of 8 to *Tong-ping-chew*, and the third of 6 Leagues to *Wen-chang-byen* (T). We arrived there late at Night, because the Stage was long; and notwithstanding the Diligence of the *Mandarins*, we were stopp'd at two Rivers, where not finding a Bark large enough to carry them, we were obliged to unsaddle our Horses, and swim them over.

From *Pe-king* to *Tong-ngo-byen*, thro' which we only pass'd, (excepting the long Chain of Mountains, call'd *Si-shan* or the Mountains of the West, which we left on the Right, after our second Days Journey,) all the Country is flat and level, nothing appearing to view but a vast Plain; but after we had pass'd *Tong-ngo-byen*, we travell'd for some Hours between Mountains, and were much incommoded by the Heat.

(R) By the Map *Tjo-chew* is twice as far from *Peking* as *Sin-ching*.

(S) Orig. *Tsun-tay*. We don't meet with the Word *than* in the Tables of Terms, nor is there any Word beginning with *ts* in

the Language, it should perhaps be *Tsun-tay* or *Tun-tay*.

(T) The first Word of this Name in the French is *Yen*, which can be no otherwise express'd then by *Wen* or *Fwen*.

The 17th our Stage was 2 Posts; one 4 Leagues and a half to *Sin-kyai*, the other 4 Leagues to *Yen-chew-fu*. Before we came to this last City, we found for the Space of two Miles and a quarter, the Country laid waste by a frightful multitude of Grass-hoppers, call'd *Whang-chong*, that is, the *Yellow Insect*, from their Colour: the Air was full of them, and the Earth cover'd in such a Manner, even in the great Roads, that our Horses could not move without raising Clouds of them at every Step. These Insects had already entirely destroy'd the Hopes of the Harvest in this Country; however, the Mischief did not extend far, for within a League of the Place, where this Havock was made, all was perfectly safe.

Read from
Pe-king to
Kan-ton.
City Yen-
chew-fu.
Grass-hop-
pers.

The 18th we rode three Posts: the first to *Tseu-byen* (τ) 5 Leagues, the second to *Kyay-bo-i*, 5 Leagues and an half, and the third to *Teng-byen*, 3 Leagues and an half; where the *Mandarin*, finding no Inn fit to receive us, had us conducted to the Palace of *Kong-fu-tse* or *Confucius*. There are the like in all the Cities of *China*, where the *Mandarins* and *Grandeers* assemble at certain Times of the Year, to pay their Respects to the Memory of that Prince of the *Chinese* Philosophers.

Palace of
Confucius at
Teng-byen.

The 19th, two Posts of 8 Leagues each, the first to *Ling-ching-i*, the second to *Li-ko-i*, in the Province of *Kyang-nan*. The extreme Heat of the Season as well as Climate, obliged us to travel Part of the Night.

The 20th, we went but one Post of 7 Leagues to *Syu-chew*, a City of the second Rank, situate on the Southern Bank of the *Whang-bo* or *Yellow River*; so named from the Colour of its troubled Waters, mixt with a yellowish Earth, which is continually wash'd off its Channel by the Rapidity of its Stream. This River, tho' large and deep, is not navigable, because it is almost impossible to sail against the Stream without a strong Wind. It often changes its Bed, and sometimes ruins its Banks in such a Manner, as of a sudden to overflow the Plains and drown whole Villages and Cities; it is 5 or 600 Paces broad over-against *Syu-chew*, where we cross'd it.

Whang-bo or
Yellow River.

At our landing on the other Side, we found the *Chi-chew*, or Governor of the City, named *Kong-Lau-ya*, one of Descendants of *Confucius*, whose Family has continued in a direct Line for above 2000 Years. We received all sorts of Civility from him; he waited for us by the River Side, where he regaled us with Tea and Fruit; afterwards he came to visit us at our Inn, and sent us Tables loaded with Victuals. Coming to know that my Horse had a troublesome Gate, he offer'd me his own, and sent over Night Men belonging to his Tribunal, 5 Leagues from his City, to prepare Dinner for us next Day. I went to visit him, and recommended to his Protection two Churches which we had in this City, formerly erected by *P. Couplet*.

Posterity of
Confucius.

P. Couplet.

The 21st, we travell'd three Posts; the first to *Tau-shan-i*, 5 Leagues, the second to *Kya-kew-i*, 4 Leagues, and the third to *Syew-chew*, 6 Leagues. From *Tong-ngo-byen* hither we had both on the Right and Left a long Chain of desert Mountains; between which we generally found level and well cultivated Plains of vast Extent.

The 22d, we advanced two Stages, one to *Ta-lyen-i*, 5 Leagues; the other to *Ku-ching-i*, 7 Leagues.

The 23d, two Stages of 6 Leagues each; the first to *Vang-chwang-i*, and the second to *Hau-lyang-i*. As we left *Vang-chwang-i* we discover'd at a great Distance, towards the South-West, the Mountain *In-yu-shan*, that is the *Mountain of the Agat Seal*, because there the *Yu-she* is found, which is a kind of precious Stone, like *Agat*, whereof they make Seals of all Sizes. The Imperial Seal is made of this Stone, whence the Mountain has the Name of *In-yu-shan*.

Agat Mountain.

The 24th, two Stages; one of 4 Leagues and an half to *Hong-sin*, the other of 6 to *Ting-ywen-byen*.

The 25th, three Stages; the first to *Ghang-kyau-i*, 4 Leagues and an half, the second to *Fu-ching-i*, 6, and the third to *Tyen-fu-i*, 4 Leagues and a half.

This Day, about a quarter of an Hour before Sun rise, I saw a Phenomenon in the Sky, which I never met with before, or heard of in *France*, tho' it is very common in the East; especially in *Siam* and *China*, where I have observed it above twenty Times, both in the Mornings and Evenings, at Sea and at Land, and even at *Pe-king*. This Meteor consists of certain Semi-Circles of Light and Shade, which seem to terminate and unite in two opposite Points of the Heavens, namely, in the Center of the Sun, and in the Point diametrically opposite. As all these Semi-Circles terminate in a Point, both in the East and West, that is towards the opposite Points of their Union, and enlarge uniformly towards the middle of the Sky, in Proportion to their Distance from the Horizon; they make a Figure not much unlike the celestial Houses, as they are mark'd on Globes, with only this Difference, that these Zones of Light and Shade are commonly of a very unequal Breadth, and often have Breaks in them, especially when the Phenomenon is not well form'd.

Meteor in the
Sky.

As often as I have observed it, (and I saw it four several times during this Journey in less than 15 Days,) I always remark'd that the Weather was extremely hot, the Sky full of Vapours and inclinable to Thunder, and that a great thick Cloud half open stood over-against the Sun. This Meteor seem'd, as to its Figure, very different from those long Streaks

Read from
Pe-king to
Kanton.

of Shade and Light, often seen in the Sky at Morning and Evening, as well in Europe as elsewhere, and which take the Name of *Verges* (v), or Wands, from their pyramidal Figure.

The Cause of this Phenomenon, appearing rather in Asia than Europe, and in Summer than at other Seasons, seems to me to be owing to the Nature of the Asiatick Lands; which being generally more impregnated with Nitre than those of Europe, fill the Atmosphere, especially in Summer, and when the Sun has greatest Power, with Nitrous Exhalations; which being equally diffused through the Air, render it more fit to reflect the Light, and consequently to form the Meteor.

City Lyu-
cheu-fu.

The 26th, we rode two Stages, the first 3 Leagues and an half to *Lyu-cheu-fu*, the second 6 to *Lo-i*. The City of *Lyu-cheu* appear'd to me more populous and better built than any of the Cities I had seen since I left *Pe-king*. I met with nothing there remarkable, excepting some Triumphal Arches, Towers, and Marble Bridges. There are many Villages on this Road, partly desert and destitute of Houses, which have not been re-built since they were ruin'd by the Tartars, who conquer'd China, and are its present Masters.

City Yu-
ching-byen.
Tallow Tree.

The 27th, we made two Stages; one of 6 Leagues and a half to *San-kew-i*, the other of 2 Leagues to *Yu-ching-byen*, and 4 more to *Mey-jin-i*. This Day we first saw in the Plain several of those extraordinary Trees, which bear the Tallow, whereof they make the Candles used in most Provinces of the Empire.

City Tong-
ching-byen.

The 28th, two Stages; the first 6 Leagues to *Lü-ting-i*, the second 2 Leagues to *Tong-ching-byen*, and then 4 more to *Tau-chuen-i*. This Day and the four following we travell'd continually between Mountains, infested with Tigers, and thro' very rugged Roads. As the extreme Heat obliged us to set out 2 or 3 Hours before Day, we took Guides who carry'd Torches, that serv'd both to Light us, and scare those fierce Beasts, who are afraid of Fire.

The 29th, we rode two Stages of 6 Leagues each, one to *Tsing-kew-i*, the other to *Syau-che-i*.

Province of
Hu-quang.
City Whang-
mey-byen.

The 30th, three Stages; the first 6 Leagues to *Fong-hyang-i*, the second 6 more to *Ting-fyen-i*, which is in the Province of *Hu-quang*, as well as the third of 4 Leagues to *Whang-mey-byen*. Altho' the Country we pass'd thro' these three last Days, and the two following, was frightful and incumber'd with long Chains of barren and uncultivated Mountains, yet the Valleys and Plains which separate them in a thousand Places, are very fertile and well improved; nor was there an Inch of arable Land in all that Space, but what was cover'd with very good Rice. I admir'd here the Industry of the Chinese; for it is astonishing to see how they lay straight all the unequal Ground between those Mountains, that is fit for plowing, and divide, as it were, into Parterres, the Parts that are on a level, and into Terrasses in Form of an Amphitheatre, those which have Rifings and Hollows.

Province of
Kyang-shi.
City Kyew-
kyang-fu.

The 31st we rode three Stages; the first 4 Leagues to *Kong-long-i*, in the Province of *Kyang-shi*, the second 6 Leagues to the City *Kyew-kyang-fu*, on the Side of that great and fine River call'd *Kyang*, that is to say the River, by Way of Excellence. Over-against *Kyew-kyang*, where we pass'd it, it is very rapid, and almost a Mile and an half in Breadth. They catch excellent Fish in this Part, and among the rest a kind of *Dorado*, call'd (w) *Whang-yu*, or the Yellow Fish, which is very large and of a most delicious Taste. We lodged in a real *Kong-quan*, or Hotel of the Mandarins; I imagined by the Largeness of its Halls and Apartments, built in form of a Pagod, that it had been design'd at first for an Idol Temple.

City Te-
ngan-
byen.

As the Roads to *Nang-chang-fu*, the Capital of the Province, two large Days Journey distant, were very rugged, and the Horses of the Country very bad, we were advis'd to take Chairs, and made that Day a third Stage of 6 Leagues to *Tong-yuen-i*, travelling great Part of the Night. The two following Day's Journey being long, instead of four Chairmen, they furnish'd each of us with eight, to relieve one another, and three for our Servants; each of them was carry'd by two Men on Poles, made of two great Bambu's join'd together by means of 2 others, laid across them, we had other Men both to carry our Baggage and light us with Torches, with which Assistance we easily travell'd the most difficult Part of all our Road.

August the 1st, we made our Stage in the same Manner to *Te-ngan-byen*. This Stage is no more than 60 *Li*, or 6 Leagues, but it seem'd to me to be 7 at least. I perceiv'd for the last 4 or 5 Days, that the *Li* were longer, than they were at our first setting out, and indeed I had often been told, that there was a Difference between the *Li* or Furlongs in the North, and those in the South, being shortest about *Pe-king*.

As there were no Inns in this City, fit for lodging us all, they led me to the Temple of *Ching-hobang*, that is, the tutelar Spirit of the City. The Bonza, who had the Care of it, immediately spread a Table, and a little Bed in the middle of the Temple. Altho' the Chinese pay Honours to the Guardian Genii of each Place in these Temples, yet they represent them under a human Form.

Conference
between the
Jesuit and
a Bonza.

On asking this Bonza a few Questions, I found he was exceeding ignorant; he did not know whether the Image he adored, represented some Spirit, or great Personage of Antiquity; what Power they ascribed to it, or what they intended by placing it on the Altar. I forbore asking him any more Questions, for Fear of teaching him Errors which he was ignorant

(v) By *Verges* is meant the *Aurora Borealis*.

(w) Orig. *Hwang-yu*, doubtless by Mistake for *Huang-yu*.

ignorant of. I therefore changed the Conversation, and made a long Discourse, concerning the Existence of the Supreme Being, and his principal Attributes; the Creation of the Heavens, Earth and Man; the Incarnation of *Jesus Christ*; the Obligation we are under, of knowing, loving, and serving this Supreme Being, as our first Principle and ultimate End; to know his Law, and observe it. I shew'd him, that this Law is the *Christian Religion*, which I was come from the farthest Part of the Earth, to promulge in *China*; that it is the only one which teaches Man to know himself thoroughly, by giving him to understand, that he is composed of a Body and Soul; the former corruptible and mortal, the latter spiritual and immortal, capable of Joy and Grief, Pleasure and Pain, even after it is separated from the Body by Death; that the Souls of all Men, after their Decease, do, by an irrevocable Decree of their Creator and Judge, receive the Reward of their Merits and good Actions, if they have lived conformable to his Law, by ascending to Heaven, there to live eternally happy, and enjoy the Presence of God himself; that, on the contrary, if they have despised or violated this holy Law, they receive a Punishment in Proportion to the grievousness of their Crimes, by going to Hell, where they suffer everlastingly the Rigour of the Flames, kindled by the Breath of an incensed Deity, &c.

Road from
Pe-king to
Kanton.

All the while I was speaking, which was near two Hours, the *Bonza*, who appear'd very attentive and touch'd, did not once interrupt me. I concluded by shewing the Obligation he was under of searching out and following the Truth. I added that, if after what he had heard, he judg'd, this Truth was to be found in the Religion, whose Fundamentals I had explain'd, I counsel'd him, in return for the kind Entertainment he had given me, to allow himself to be instructed; that it was but a Step to *Nang-chang-fu*, where there was a Temple dedicated to the true God, and where he would find one of my Brothers, who would expound that Doctrine to him, the knowledge whereof is more precious than all the Treasures on Earth.

The *Bonza* received my Advice, and heard my Instructions, with equal Signs of Joy. However, I dare not flatter myself with having made a Convert of him; his Profession as a *Bonza*, (without which he must have been in miserable Circumstances) gave him a comfortable Subsistence; and I know by Experience, that this Consideration is commonly a greater Obstacle to the Conversion of this sort of Men, than any Attachment they can possibly have, either to their Religion, which they have scarce any Knowledge of, or to a State of Life, which Necessity alone has obliged them to embrace.

The 2d, we made two Stages in Chairs, 6 Leagues each; the first to *Kyen-chang-hyen*, the latter to a Village 4 Leagues distant from *Nan-chang-fu*, the Capital City of *Kyang-fu*, where we were to embark. As the City is on the other Side of the River, we found on our Arrival one of those imperial Barks as big as Ships, painted and gilded, which was prepar'd for carrying us across.

Imperial
great Barks.

As soon as we had gotten over, the *Vice-Roy* appeared with other *Mandarins*, who invited us to land, and conducted us to a very neat *Kong-quan*, which is by the River; when we came to the middle of the second Court, the *Vice-Roy*, with the six other Chief *Mandarins* who accompany'd him, fell on their Knees over-against the great Hall, at the Foot of the great Stair Case, and turning towards us, he ask'd in form concerning the Emperor's Health, which none but Officers of this Rank are privileged to do; *Tong Lau-ya* made Answer, and inform'd them that his Majesty was perfectly cured.

The *Vice-Roy* and *Mandarins* then rising, he caus'd us to enter into the Hall, where they had set two Rows of Arm-Chairs, opposite to each other, as soon as we were seated, they presented us with Dishes of Tea, after the *Tartar* and *Chinese* Manner, which we drank with Ceremony; after this, we went altogether to a Dinner prepared at the End of the Hall.

As this Entertainment was partly after the *Tartar*, and partly after the *Chinese* Manner, those troublesome Ceremonies used in *Chinese* Banquets were dispensed with. After Dinner the *Vice-Roy* and *Mandarins* conducted us to the River Side, where lighter Barks were got ready, which we demanded for greater Dispatch; there was one for *Tong Lau-ya*, one for the 2 other Fathers, and a third for myself.

These Barks are very commodious and neat. They are painted, gilded and japanned with their beautiful Varnish without as well as within. We had a Bed Chamber and a great Parlor with two Windows on each Side; not to mention the other Apartments, for our Servants, and those to lodge the Master of the Bark and his Family.

Lighter
Barks.

The 5th, we got at least 10 Leagues to *Fong-ching-hyen*, where they brought us Provision and Refreshments. On the Road by Water, there are at the End of every League, *Tang*, or Guard Houses, where there are commonly 8 or 10 Soldiers.

The 6th, we pass'd thro' *Fong-ching-hyen*, and went to dine 6 Leagues from thence at *Chang-shu*, a famous Place of Trade, for all sort of Drougs and Medicinal Roots. This Day and the two following we made but little Way, because of the Shallows, which we found almost every Moment. We pass'd thro' some Cities, and arrived at *Ki-ngan-fu*, 40 Leagues from *Nan-chang-fu*. I saw nothing during these three Days worth Remark. Our Passage was continually between uninhabited and uncultivated Mountains, which form'd two Ridges running parallel, one on each Side of the River.

City *Fong-ching-hyen*.

City *Ki-ngan-fu*.

The 9th, we went a Shore at *Ki-ngan-fu*; there we found a Congregation of *Christians*, at that

Road from
Peking to
Kan-ton.

City Tay-bo-
byen.
City Wan-
ngan-byen.

City Kan-
cheu-fu.

Exercise of
the Bow.

Chains of
Mountains.

City Nan-
kang-byen.

City Nan-
ngan-fu.

City Nan-
byong-fu.

See P. Sancti's
Obl. Meth.
4th 1729,
Vol. 1. p. 129.

that time governed by the *Franciscans*, and under the Care of P. Gregory Ybañes a Spaniard. I said Mass in his Church, which was very neat.

The 13th, we pass'd thro' *Tay-bo-byen*, and advanced no more than 10 Leagues.

The 11th, we sail'd 10 Leagues farther to *Wan-ngan-byen*. The *Chi-byen*, or Governor, who is a *Christian* only in Name, tho' his Wife is very vertuous, shew'd us no Marks of Civility.

The 12th, we went 11 Leagues to the Village *Lyang-kew*.

The 13th, in the Morning we sail'd 3 Leagues to *Yew-ching-i*, and in the Afternoon 7, passing the Night 3 Leagues short of *Kan-cheu-fu*.

The 14th, we arrived early in the Morning at *Kan-cheu-fu*, a great and very populous City. The *Tsong-ping*, or Commander General of the Militia of this City's whole District, named *Cbang Lau-ya*, with other *Mandarins*, came to receive us at the River Side, and invited us to Dinner.

After these Civilities, which we returned the best we could, I went to our Church, where I found P. Gresson, who had labour'd near 40 Years with great Zeal and Success in the Conversion of the *Chinese*; especially in this City, where he succeeded P. le Faure, who grew old in the Apostolick Labours, and dy'd in the Odour of Sanctity.

As the *Tsong-ping* was a particular Friend of *Tong Lau-ya*, our Conductor, and had a great Esteem and Friendship for P. Gresson, we could not refuse the Invitation he gave us to his House, where we had all the Liberty we demanded; only instead of the Comedy, which usually accompanies a *Chinese* Entertainment, this was interrupted by a Diversion, common among the *Tartars*, of shooting at a Mark; the Law observed in this Sport is, that he who hits the Mark, obliges the rest to drink his Health in a small Cup of Wine.

This Sport came in Vogue about two Years before, when the Emperor *Kang-hi* perceiving the Effeminacies and Indolence of the *Tartars*, who are all obliged to learn the Art of War, resolv'd by his own Example to introduce this Exercise among the *Grandees*, and *Prime Mandarins* of his Court. That mighty Prince who shot an Arrow with great Strength and Justness, was pleas'd to spend several Hours every Day in this Recreation. The *Mandarins* who were obliged to try their Skill at an Exercise which was new to them, diverted the Emperor, and the whole Court at their own Expence. The Confusion they were put into on this Occasion, caus'd them immediately to have their Children, even those under 7 Years of Age, to be taught to handle the Bow.

After our Departure from *Nan-chang-fu*, we found ourselves from time to time between long Chains of Mountains, which stretch themselves along on both the Banks of the River. These Mountains are sometimes so steep that the *Chinese* were oblig'd to cut a Path along the Foot of them, in at least a Hundred Places, for the Conveniency of those who draw the Barks. Altho' they consist for the most Part of a sandy Earth, cover'd with Herbs, and that the Sides of them are rugged, we saw now and then a Piece of cultivated Land in the Vallies between, or else at the Foot of them, which could scarce suffice for the Support of the Inhabitants (let them be ever so few) belonging to the neighbouring Hamlets. We found the Land pretty well cultivated for 3 Leagues before we came to *Kan-cheu-fu*.

The 15th, we advanced not above 8 or 9 Leagues; the Champion Country seem'd to be even and well cultivated.

The 16th, we sail'd 12 Leagues to *Nan-kang-byen*. This Day the River grew so narrow, that it was scarce 30 Paces broad, but the Stream very rapid. We got 10 Leagues farther in the Evening to *Lin-chin*.

The 17th, we went 12 Leagues to *Nan-ngan-fu*. These 2 last Days we sail'd continually between Mountains; the River was much more narrow and rapid than before, so that we were forced to increase the Number of those who drew our Barks.

I went next Morning very early to say Mass in the Church, under the Direction of P. Pinuela a *Franciscan*, born in *Mexico*, who informing me of his Design of going with me to *Kan-ton*, I made him an offer of a Place in the Bark, which they were to prepare for me at *Nang-byong-fu*, a City of the same Province; for we were obliged to travel 12 Leagues by Land, from *Nan-ngan* to that City.

We got each of us into a Chair, and having gone 2 Leagues, began to ascend a (v) Mountain by a Road so crooked and so very steep, that they were obliged to cut it in several Places in form of Stairs. They were forced also to cut the Top of it, which is all Rock, to the Depth of 40 Foot, in order to open the Passage to the other Side.

Tho' the Mountains over which we pass'd, are uncultivated and frightful, the Lands between them are till'd and cover'd with as good Rice, as any that grew in the fertile Vallies, spoken of before.

Entering into the City of *Nan-byong*, I found several *Christians*, who conducted me to their Church, and thence to the River Side, where our Barks were all ready. We were scarce got on Board, when, besides the *Tye-tse*, or *Billets of Civilities*, and the Presents of the *Mandarins* of the Place, they deliver'd us two others from each of the 4 *Mandarins* of the Province of *Quang-tong*, who made us a Present of all sorts of Refreshments.

(v) This is the famous *Moy-lin*, mention'd before, p. 7 and 8. are carry'd over it, on the Shoulders of Porters.

As we descended the River, we proceeded that Night and the next Day, about 30 Leagues, Road from Lau-ya, where the French Missionaries had a Church, which I visited. Tong-Lau-ya, whose Bark was lighter than mine, had got the Start of me, and I understood on my Arrival, that he waited for me at the Tribunal of his Friend, the Mandarin of the Custom-House. I repaired thither to oblige him, and having civilly refused the Supper they had prepared for us, we return'd to our Barks.

We sail'd that Night and the Day following about 20 Leagues to *In-te-hyen*, where we arriv'd towards Noon. Pursuing our Voyage still Day and Night, we got to *Tsin-ywen-hyen* (v), the 20th in the Morning, 20 Leagues farther. The River all the Way was bounded on both Sides by steep and uncultivated Mountains, with very few Habitations at the Foot of them, but a little farther the Country is well peopled and improved. Cities In-te-hyen, and Tsin-ywen-hyen.

From *Tsin-ywen-hyen* to *Quang-chew-fu* or *Kan-ton*, (which, being a Space of 40 Leagues, we sail'd between the 21st in the Morning and the 22d in the Evening) all the Country is pretty flat, well cultivated, and cover'd with the *Long-yen* and *Li-chi*, two sorts of Fruit-Trees peculiar to *China*, and found only in the Province of *Quang-tong* and *Fo-kyen*. Fruit Long-yen, and Li-chi.

About 4 Leagues from *Quang-chew* we pass'd thro' *Fo-shan*, one of the greatest Boroughs in *China*, which they pretend, contains above a Million of People. We have a Church there, and a Flock of about 10,000 Souls, under the Care of P. Turcotti, a *Milanese Jesuit*. Fo-shan, great Town.

From *Nan-hyang* to *Quang-chew*, over-against most of the Guard-Houses, by which we pass'd, there were Gallies with their Flaggs and Streamers display'd, and mann'd with Cuirassiers, arm'd with their Lances, Arrows and Muskets, drawn up in Ranks to do us Honour.

Two Leagues from *Quang-chew*, the *Ywen-ywen*, or Intendant General of the Province for the Salt, came to meet us; he invited us on Board his Bark, where he had prepar'd a great Entertainment; we return'd him Thanks, excusing ourselves, as being a Fast Day with us. We continued the rest of our Voyage very slowly, and arriv'd about 7 in the Evening at *Quang-chew*, commonly call'd by the Europeans *Kan-ton*, which Name comes from that of *Quang-tong-feng* given to it also, signifying the Capital of the Province of *Quang-tong*. The Portuguese pronounce it *Kantang*. City Quang-chew-fu, or Kan-ton.

The Mandarins of the Province expected us on the River Side, to enquire in form after the Emperor's Health. We declined their Invitation to the Supper they had prepar'd for us, by making the same Apology that we had done to the *Ywen-ywen*.

They carry'd me to a *Kong-quan*, which was middling, as to Size, but neat and very commodious. It had two Courts and as many principal Buildings, whereof one, which is at the Bottom of the first Court, is a *Ting*, or great Hall, quite open in Front, for receiving Visits; and the other, which was at the End of the second Court, was divided into three Apartments; the middlemost of them serving for a Hall and Antichamber to the other two, which were large, and furnish'd with Closets. This is usually the Form of the Houses of Persons of any Distinction in *China*. The Kong-quan.

The ROAD by Land from SIAM to CHINA, extracted from the Memoirs of certain Chinese, who had perform'd the Journey.

TO travel from *Siam* (z) to *China*, the Road taken by the *Chinese*, who communicated their Memoirs, it is necessary to pass thro' the Kingdom of *Labos*. The principal Cities and Settlements which occur'd in the Way, were *Kyang-bay* (A), *Kyang-feng*, *Mobang-kemarat* (B), *Mobang-leng*, the Capital City of *Labos*, *Mobang-lé*, *Mobang-mong*, the chief City of another Principality or Province, and *Mobang Vinan*, which borders on *China*, or rather belongs to it. Road from Siam to China.

From *Kyang-bay*, or *Mobang-kyay*, (for all these suppos'd Cities or Territories assume the Name of *Mobang* (c), instead of which, to avoid Repetitions, I shall put the Letter M.) to M. *Kyang-feng*, is reckon'd 7 Days Journey; from M. *Kyang-feng* to M. *Kemarat* 7 Days; from M. *Kemarat* to M. *Leng* 8 Days; from M. *Leng* to M. *Lé* 7 Days; from M. *Lé* to M. *Meng* 11 Days; from M. *Meng* turning Northwards they go to M. *Vinan*, from whence in a short Space they arrive at *China*.

(v) In the French, *Tsin-ywen-hien*.

(z) The true Orthography of this Name is *Si-yang*; *Siam* being the Portuguese Way of writing it.

(A) Ibid. *Kyang-bay*, but a little lower it is written *Kyang-bai*.

(B) In the French, *Kemarat* is join'd with *Mobang-leng*, as making one and the same City, which by the Course of the Journal appear to be two distinct Places; it must also be observ'd that as *Kemarat* is not spell'd agreeable to the *Chinese* Language, which wants the *r*, and has no Words ending with a *r*, it

may be presumed that they are the Names given by the Natives, and accommodated to their Pronunciation by the Missionaries.

(c) It is written *Moang* afterwards, and is doubtless the same Word with *Mang*, which we find in the Names of a great Number of Places in the Map of *Yen-nan*, and seems to signify a Plantation, Colony, or any Body of People. And here it must be observed, that the Names in this Journal are written incorrectly; the Missionary himself supposes the Author of the Memoirs has written *Vinan* for *Yan-nan*.

Road from
Siam to
China.

In the Way from the Confines of the Kingdom of *Siam* to *Mobang-leng*, Capital of the *Labos*, our *Chinese* met with a great Number of Woods, Rivers and Settlements, but with neither wild Beasts nor Robbers. The greater Part of the Road being unpassable with Waggon, they are oblig'd to make use of Horses.

Mobang-leng,
Capital of
the *Labos*.

Mobang-leng, Capital of the *Labos*, has to the South *M. Kemarat*, to the East *M. Luan* and *M. Rong-faa*, to the North *M. Pút*, *M. Pling*, *M. Ken*, *M. Kaam*, *M. Paa*, *M. Saa*, *M. Boónoy*, *M. Booyay*, *M. Ning-néba*, *M. Kaan*, *M. Ghintay*; these Cities all depend on *Mobang-leng*, which has neither Walls nor Fortresses, being inclosed only with Pallisades; it is in compass about 400 *Senes* or Cords, (each of which contains 20 *Siamese* Fathoms.)

Great Forests
of *Pabima-pan*.

To the West of this Metropolis, is *Mobang-ko-fang-pyi* (c), and further West still, the great Forest of *Pabima-pan*. *M. Ko-fang-pyi* was formerly inhabited by a certain People call'd *Tay-yay*, who possess'd a Kingdom of so great Extent, that it requir'd 3 Months time to travel round it; But at present it is no more than a vast Forest, contiguous with that of *Pabima-pan*.

The King-
dom of *Tay-
yay*, and *Lassa*
the same.

The *Siamese* have often been heard to say, that to the North of *Siam*, there was a Nation, which had the same Religion, Customs and Language with themselves, and that they receiv'd their own from them, and even their Name, since the Dominions of that People were call'd the Great Kingdom of *SIAM*. Now these People, by the Account of the *Siamese* themselves, are the same, which the *Chinese* in their Memoirs call *Tay-yay* (d), and because the *Siamese* say, their Dominions are govern'd by Priests, it is very likely that the Country which the *Chinese* name *Tay-yay* is the *Lassa* of the *Tartars*, which belongs to the Supreme Pontif of the *Lama's*; and that the City of *Ko-fang-pi* is the same with that of *Barantola*, where the *Grand Lama* keeps his Court, and rules with an absolute Sway both in Temporals and Spirituals.

This appears the more probable, because the Religion of the *Lama's* is exactly the same with that of the *Siamese*, or rather of their Priests, who are call'd *Talapoins*. They both worship the same Idols, and their Habit is of the same Fashion and Colour; besides the Situation of *Lassa* agrees precisely with what the *Chinese* call *Tay-yay*, and with the Kingdom from whence the *Siamese* derive their Religion and Language. Both of them lie to the North of *Siam*, in a very cold Climate, where it snows in *December*, *January*, and *February*. All the Objection to it is, that the *Talapoins* are strict and constant Observers of their Laws; whereas the *Lama's* are more loose and irregular; but this Difference which relates to Manners does not destroy the Conformity of their Religion.

The King-
dom of *Labos*.

Mobang-leng the Capital of the *Labos* is situate on both Sides of the *Menan-tay*, or *Menan-lay*. This River which is full of Rocks, rises out of a Mountain in the North, call'd *Pang-yeng*, then descending towards *Mobang Kemarat* it falls into the River *Menan-kong*, towards *Bankiop*. The River *Siam*, has its Source in a Mountain call'd *Kyang-daw*; and that of *Kyang-bay* or *Kyang-lay* discharges itself into the principal River of *Siam* commonly called *Menan*.

In the Capital of the Kingdom of *Labos*, there is great Plenty of Rice, and so very cheap, that for a *Fúa*, that is, a few half Pence of our Money, one may have 50 or 60 Pounds.

Fish is scarce, but to make amends, the Flesh of Buffaloes, Stags, &c. is very plenty, and sold in the Market. The Months of *May*, *June*, and *July* is the Season for Fruit; whereof all sorts, found in the Kingdom of *Siam*, may be had there, excepting the *Thúrian* or *Dúrian*, and the *Mangústan*.

Mines of
Gold, Silver,
and Precious
Stones.

Five Days Journey from *Mobang-leng* Northward, there are Mines of Gold, Silver and Copper, and a kind of red Sulphure, which has a very stinking Smell. Two Hundred *Senes* or Cords from this City, on the same Side, there is a Pit or Mine of precious Stones, full 100 *Senes* in Depth, where they get Rubies, some of them as big as a Walnut; also Emeralds or green Stones, and they affirm, the King of *Labos* has one as large as an Orange. There are Stones likewise of other Colours. A Brook which runs thro' the Mine, carries several down its Stream, which sometimes weigh 2 or 3 *Mas*, that is, a Quarter or third Part of an Ounce Weight.

As for the Silver Mine, the King draws from it about 360 *Catis* yearly; they are *Chinese* who work in it, and give all the Directions. The Merchants of *M. Kemarat*, *M. Lee*, *M. May*, *M. Teng Maa*, *M. Meng*, *M. Daa*, and *M. Pan*, repair to this Mine, which is inclosed by Mountains 300 *Senes* in Height, cover'd with Grass, preserved continually fresh and green by the Dew.

Medicinal
Roots.
Fruit in the
Form of a
Duck.

There is found here a Medicinal Root, call'd by the *Chinese* *Tong-quey*, and by the *Siamese* *Kot wa bwa*; also a kind of Tree, named *Vendezbang*, which bears Flowers about the Thickness of ones Finger, of a very agreeable Smell. When these Flowers open, they are of divers Colours, as red, yellow, white, and black; and when the Fruit comes to Perfection, it is shap'd like a Duck: There are in the same Parts great Numbers of these Trees, and it is chiefly in the Place where they abound most, that the Dew falls in greatest Quantity.

(c) This Name, by what follows, appears to be *Chinese*.

(d) This Name, used by the *Chinese* Authors, must have been taken from the *Labos*, if *Lassa* be intended thereby; for the *Chinese* Name for *Lassa* or *Lasa*, is *Tjan* and *Tjan-li*, as

will be observed hereafter, in the Account of *Tiber*; but indeed *Lassa* appears to be too far distant, and lies to the North-West, not to the West of the *Labos*, with *Hawa* or *Awa*, and other Countries between.

The Inhabitants of *Mobang Leng* traffic with their Neighbours without being at the Trouble of going to them. Their Merchandize consists in precious Stones, Gold, Silver, Tin, Lead, Sulphur, both common and red; Cotton, spun and unspun, Tea, Lack, *Sapan* or Brasil Wood, and the Medicinal Root *Kat wba bwa* already mention'd.

Read from
Siam to
China.
Trade and
Comme-
dities.

The Merchants of *Mobang* bring them Elephants; The *Chinese* raw and manufactur'd Silk, Civet, white Hair as fine as Silk. Of this Hair, which is taken from a certain Animal, the great Tufts are made, that adorn the Ears of the Elephant, which the King of *Siam* rides upon, and hang down to the Ground; as well as the red Tuft, worn by the *Chinese* on their ordinary Bonnets or Caps. They exchange these Merchandizes for *Sapan* Wood, Tea, Lack, Cotton, &c.

The Merchants that come from *Tay-yay* or *Pama-bang* (E), to the Westward, bring them Iron, yellow and red Sanders, Linnen Cloth, Chints or painted Callico, Venison, a kind of red Medicinal Paste, Opium, and other Commodities of *Indústan*; which they exchange for Gold, Silver, precious Stones, &c.

Those of *M. Kemarat* and *M. Kyang-bay*, come to *M. Leng*, to barter their Cows and Buffaloes for Silver, Tin, and Sulphur. *M. Leng*, or more properly speaking *Labos*, is tributary to *Hawa* (F) or *Pama-bang*, and an Ambassador is sent annually from that Metropolis, to pay their Tribute; this does not hinder the *Labos* from appointing a Successor, when their King dies; but they are obliged to notify it to the King of *Hawa*.

The King of *Labos* employs but one Minister of State. They reckon eight Cities or Places in this Kingdom, each containing a Garrison of 1000 Men. Besides the 360 *Catis* which he receives yearly from the Mine, Northward from *M. Leng*, he raises 860 more in the rest of the Kingdom.

Mobang Meng, the Capital of a particular Province, has on the West *M. Pan* and *M. Kaa*, on the South *M. Tse* on the East *M. Chiong* and *M. Kú*, both depending on *M. Vinan*. The whole Country is without the Tropic, for they never see the Sun directly over their Heads.

The Province of *M. Meng*, is 17 Days Journey from North to South, and about 7 from East to West. They reckon 18 Cities which depend on the Capital. A River crosses it, that rises in a Mountain in the North, and falls into the *Menam Kong*; this last comes from *Moang Chaiy*, call'd *Moang Vinan* (G) by the *Chinese*.

After it has pass'd thro' *M. Lé*, *M. Kyang-feng*, and *M. Lan-chang*; it enters the Kingdom of *Kamboya*, which it crosses, and falls into the Sea at the Bar of *Bonsac* (H). This River carries large Barks from *M. Kyang-kong* and *M. Kyang-feng*, as far as the Sea. But from *M. Lé* to *M. Vinan* it bears none, so that there is a Necessity of travelling by Land.

The Soil of *M. Meng* produces all Sorts of Fruits, which are found in *Siam*, excepting the *Durion* and *Mangústan*. There are Mines of *Kalin* or Tin on the West Side; of Silver, Copper and Iron towards the North; and on the South Side there is one of Salt.

The *Chinese* trade with *M. Meng*, transporting their Commodities on Horses. In this District they take the Creatures which produce Musk; but more especially about *M. Pang*, *M. Chay-daw*, and *M. Kong*, all three depending on *M. Vinan*; they find many of them also in the District of *M. Tay-yay*.

Musk
Animal.

This Animal is as large as a young Goat; its Body yields a most agreeable Perfume; it has under its Belly a Purse three or four times as thick as ones Thumb; when it is cut, it seems to be a Piece of Fat, or Bacon; they dry it till it may be reduced to Powder, and then sell it in the Country for its weight in Silver; this Powder is yellowish and of a most excellent Scent. The Natives being prohibited from selling the true Bags to Strangers, they make counterfeit ones of the Animal's Skin, which they fill up with its Blood and other Humours, adding rotten Wood, after which they tie them up and dry them. The Peasants bring great Quantity of them to *M. Meng*, which they exchange for things of small Value, and those of *M. Meng* sell them at a pretty dear Rate to Strangers.

Moang Kemarat is, as it were, the Capital of a Province or District of the same Name, which is 400 *Senes* in Compass, and about 8 Days Journey in Length; it is tributary to *Hawa*. At the time the *Chinese* pass'd thro' this Country, the Name of its King was *Prachyau Otang*; he every Year sends Ambassadors to the King of *Hawa* with the Tribute, which consists of two small Shrubs, one having its Leaves and Flowers of Gold, and the other of Silver.

City Moang
Kemarat.

M. Kemarat has to the East *M. Lé*, to the North *M. Lang*, to the South *M. Kyang-feng* and *M. Kyang-bay*; to the East *M. Vay*, *M. Rong*, *M. Ngong*, *M. Labi*, *M. Maa*, and *M. Lúa*; to the North *M. Hang*, *M. Kroa*, *M. Loey*, *M. Jang*, and *M. Pen*. From *M. Hang* to *M. Kroa* is one Days Journey, and another from *M. Loey* to *M. Jang*. These eleven Cities, or Colonies are in the Jurisdiction of *M. Kemarat*. In this Country they have the Use of Fire Arms, great and small Canon, Muskets, Zagayes, [or Darts] and Cross-Bows.

M. Kemarat.

(a) Or the Kingdom of *Ava*.

(b) Orig. *Hawa* The same doubtless as *Awa*, call'd by the *Chinese* *Ya-wa*, though written otherwise in this Journal; perhaps more conformable to the Pronunciation of the *Labos*.

(c) Written twice in the *French Vinan*; this is judg'd by the Missionaries to be *Yen-nan*.

(d) In the *French*, *Bajacab*.

Road from
Siam to
China.

Conquer'd
by the
Chinese.

A Medicinal
Paste and
Wood.

While the *Tartars* were conquering *China*, a great Number of *Chinese* Fugitives out of *Yun-nan* fell upon the Territories of their Neighbours and subdued them; among the rest the Inhabitants of *M. Kemarat*, were forced to abandon their City.

Before the *Chinese* drove those People out, they went duely every Year to trade with them, carrying Velvets and other Silks, Camlets, Carpets, Hair, blew and black Callico, Musk, Quick-silver, *Kori* Shells, and *Chinese* Bonnets, [or Hats] Kettles, and other Utensils of Copper, precious Stones of a green Colour, Emeralds, Gold, Silver, and *China* Ware: instead of which they carry'd back Cotton Thread, Ivory, an Earth or Medicinal Paste, call'd *Zhadam*; a sort of Medicinal Wood, call'd *Ingo* by the *Portuguese*, and *Maba ing* by the *Siamese*; Opium, a kind of Medicinal Root, call'd *Kotso*, and white Linnen Cloth; all these Commodities came from *Hawa*, and the *Chinese* went to fetch them in *January*, *February*, and *March*, with an Intent to return the Month following.

Moang Chay or *Moang Vinan*, belongs to a Province of *China* and probably to *Yun-nan*, if it be not that Province itself: for the *Chinese* Memoirs speak of 4 Rivers which rise in it, whereof the first runs into the Province of *Quang-tong*; the second passes by *M. Chyang-kong* and *M. Lancbang*; the third by *M. Motima*; and is call'd *Menang-kong*, and the fourth which goes to *M. Hawa*, is call'd *Menam-kiu*; all the four passing out of the Province *Yun-nan*, at length discharge themselves into the Sea.

INTRODUCTION, to the DESCRIPTION of the PROVINCES.

I HAVE already observed, that most of the Cities of *China* resemble one another so nearly, that to see one, is almost sufficient to give an Idea of them all. They are for the most Part square, when the Ground will permit, and encompass'd with high Walls, defended by Towers, built as Buttresses at convenient Distances. They have sometimes Ditches, either dry or with Water. There are within the Cities also other Towers, either round, Hexagonal, or Octogonall, and 8 or 9 Stories high: Triumphal Arches in the Streets; tolerably handsome Temples consecrated to Idols, or Monuments erected in Honour of their Heroes, and those who have done some important Service to the State: in short there are certain publick Buildings more remarkable for their vast Extent than their Magnificence.

To this we may add a pretty many large Squares, and long Streets, some very wide, others narrow, with Houses on each Side, having only a Ground Floor, or one Story at most. There one sees Shops adorn'd with *China* Ware, Silks, and varnish'd or japann'd Goods; before the Door of each, there is placed a Pedestal, on which is erected a Board 7 or 8 Foot high, either painted or gilded, with three large Characters written thereon, such as the Shop-Keeper chuses for his Sign, and to distinguish it from all others; you sometimes find on it the Names of two or three sorts of Goods, which are sold there, and at the Bottom that of the Shop Keeper himself, with these Words, *Pá-bá*, that is, *he will not cheat you*. This kind of double Row of Pilasters placed at equal Distances form a Colonnade, which makes an agreeable Prospect enough.

The Beauty of the *Chinese* Cities, consisting wholly in these Particulars, I thought proper to premise this general Account, that I might not be oblig'd to make useless and tedious Repetitions in speaking of the principal Cities of every Province. For this Reason I shall confine myself to what is most remarkable in them, with respect to their Situation, Trade, or the Fertility of their Soil; and shall enlarge chiefly on those Cities which are of greatest Reputation, and most frequented: Of the rest I shall say what is sufficient to form an Idea of them; and illustrate the whole with the Plans of such places as have any thing singular.

| | | | | | | |
|----------|----------|----------|----------|----------|----------|----------|
| <i>T</i> | <i>A</i> | <i>R</i> | <i>T</i> | <i>A</i> | <i>R</i> | <i>Y</i> |
|----------|----------|----------|----------|----------|----------|----------|

Inscribed to
The Rev. Mr. James Foster.

Kuman! Benua Sunda



Three horizontal scales are shown, each with a title above it and numerical markings below it. The first scale is titled "11 or Twelve Furlongs in a degree" and has markings at 50, 100, 150, 200, and 250. The second scale is titled "Common french Leagues" and has markings at 5, 10, 15, 20, and 25. The third scale is titled "English Miles" and has markings at 10, 20, 30, 40, 50, 60, and 70.

A Table of the Latitudes (observed) and Longitudes (determined Geometrically) whereon this Map is bounded

| Phon. | Lat. | Long. | Phon. | Lat. | Long. |
|--------------------------|------------|-------------|----------------------|------------|-------------|
| PE-KING | 39 35.0 | 116 5.0 | Yen-shui-hyen | 39 45.00 | 120.8 |
| East of Hsiao to Fungchi | | 121 35.30 | Yen-king-hyen | 39 46.0 | 121.24 37 |
| by Kuei-feng | | 124 30.0 | Ying-ching | 40 24 30.1 | 123.6 |
| by Chien | | 124.00 | Yuen-nai-pi | 40 57.00 | 120.0 |
| Yen-kuo-hyen | 39 56.0 | 118 30.2 | Yen-king-chow | 40 49.5 | 120.0 |
| Ying-chow | 39 58.0 | 120 30.30 | Yu-yun-hyen | 40 23 30.0 | 124.16 |
| Ying-pang-pi | 39 58.0 | 122 35.28 | Yen-tung wuy-fan | | |
| Ying-nai-chowling | 39 50.0 | 121.5.25 | Ying-tung-sheng | 39 50.0 | 120.48.22 |
| Ying-hyen | 39.5 | 120.48.17 | Tai-ching or Tai-sho | 40 23.45.0 | 123.6 |
| Ying-ching-hyen | 38 44.0 | 120 23.50 | North of Tai-Kwang | | |
| Ying-chow | 38 42 30.0 | 120.0 | in the lake | 39 3.40.1 | 120.5.2 |
| Yi-hyen-pi | 38 39.0 | 120.0 | Kuan-chowang | 39 46.40 | 120.58 |
| Ying-chow | 37 46.45 | 120.30 | Kuan-hay-guan | 40.2 | 30.3 22.0 |
| Yi-chow | 37 38.45 | 120.46.30 | Ki-hin-flow | 40 22.0 | 123.32 |
| Yen-huang-hyen | 38 30 35.1 | 123.30 | Yung-shan in | 40 22 30.2 | 120.29 |
| Ying-ming-pi | 38 22.4 | 122.6.30 | Tung-ken | 40 19.30.1 | 120.30 |
| Yung-ming-hyen | 35 43.5 | 121.40.25 | Yu-wen-yen | 40 18.20.2 | 123.23 |
| Yuen-hyen | 35 23.50.1 | 121.30 | Tung-tsen | 40 23.40.2 | 123.28 |
| Ching-nian-hyen | 36 30.0 | 121.35.00 | Yu-mai-tay | 40 41 30.0 | 120.20 |
| Quang-ping-pi | 36 45.30.2 | 124.30 | Pi-pe-how | 40 42 30.0 | 120.4 |
| Huan-tai-pi | 37 7 45.1 | 120.0 | Hu-mai-pi | 41.4 | 40.0 121.67 |
| Ying-nai-hy-tow | 38.2 | 120.0 53.30 | Pi-shi-ken | 41.29 30.0 | 123.42 |
| Chow-chow | 37 40.1 | 123.0 | Kuan-tai-pi | 41 23 30.0 | 123.22 |
| Ching-tung-pi | 38.10 | 122.43.50 | Ching-ning-pi | 40 39 45.0 | 124.22 |
| Ying-chen | 38 24 30.1 | 120.30 | Long-men-hyen | 40 47 40.0 | 120.40 |
| Fai-chow-pi | 38 23.0 | 120.54.31 | Ching-ku-hyen | 40 51 35.1 | 121.48 |
| Ngan-sen-hyen | 39.2 | 120.0 43.0 | | | |

NB. a Δ before the name of a place denotes
a variation from the Map.

A Line under the Name of a Place denotes $\frac{1}{2}$ Latitude observed,
& two lines both $\frac{1}{2}$ Latitude & Longitude



A GEOGRAPHICAL

DESCRIPTION

OF THE

PROVINCES of CHINA.

PROVINCE I. PE-CHE-LI, CHE-LI, or LI-PA-FU. PROV. I. Pe-che-li.

THIS Province, which is the first and chief of the whole Empire, is bounded on the East by the Sea; on the North by the Great Wall and part of *Tartary*; on the West by the Province of *Shan-si*, from which it is separated by Mountains; and on the South by the Provinces of *Shan-tong* and *Ho-nan*. Its Figure is triangular. Bounds and Figure.

It is divided into nine different Countries, each of which has a *Fu*, or principal City of the first Rank, whereon several Cities depend. These Cities are 140 in Number, of which 20 are *Che-li*, or Cities of the second Rank, and 120 *Hyen*, or Cities of the third Rank; not to speak of Boroughs and Villages without Number, some as large as Cities, but have not that Name, because they are neither encompass'd with Walls nor Ditches, as the Cities are. Division, and Number of Cities.

The Air of this Province is temperate; notwithstanding, tho' it does not extend beyond the 42d Parallel, the Rivers are frozen during 4 Months of the Year, that is, from towards the End of *November* to the middle of *March*. Unless a certain North-Wind blows, they never feel those piercing Colds the Frost produces in *Europe*, which may be attributed to the nitrous Exhalations that arise from the Earth, and especially to the Clearness of the Sky, the Sun being scarce ever cover'd with Clouds, even in Winter.

The rainy Season is towards the End of *July* and the beginning of *August*: At other times it seldom rains, but the Dew that falls every Night moistens the Earth; this Moisture is dry'd up at Sun-rise, and is succeeded by a very fine Dust, which penetrates every thing, even Rooms most closely shut. Tender-eyed People who travel on Horseback, wear a thin Veil for covering their Faces, which, without hindering them to see, defends them from those Whirlwinds of Dust that surround them; or else they take other Precautions, whereof I shall speak hereafter. Weather.

The Soil of *Pe-che-li* is even, but sandy, and not very fruitful. It produces less Rice than the Southern Provinces, because it has but few Canals; however, besides what is sown along the Rivers, it is sown dry in several Places, and grows very well, but is somewhat harder to boil. All manner of Grain thrives here in abundance, and chiefly Wheat and Millet; here likewise we find all sorts of Cattle, and Pulse, with plenty of Fruit; such as Apples, Pears, Plumbs, Chestnuts, Walnuts, Figs, Peaches, Grapes, &c. Soil and Produce.

Its Rivers are full of Fish, especially excellent Cray-Fish. The Mountains afford a great deal of Pit-Coal: this they burn instead of Wood, which is very scarce; and considering how long these Mines have supply'd the Province, one would think them inexhaustible.

Among the various kinds of Animals, there is a particular sort of Cats, with long Hair, and hanging Ears, which the *Chinese* Ladies are very fond of, and rear with a great deal of Tenderness. But this Province is render'd much more considerable by being as it were the Rendezvous of all the Riches of the Empire; and because all the Northern and Southern Provinces strive to outvie each other in furnishing it with the most rare and delicious things they produce.

The Inhabitants are neither so polite, nor so much addicted to the Sciences as those of the Southern Parts; but they are much more Robust, Warlike, and able to undergo the Fatigues and Hardships of War. The same may be said of all the *Chinese* inhabiting the Northern Provinces.

PROV. I.
Pe-che-li.

The First City, Shun-tien-fu, or Pe-king.

*Shun-tien-fu,
or Pe-king,
the Capital
of the Em-
pire.*

THE first City, which is the Capital of the Province and of the whole Empire, is *Shun-tien-fu*. It is situated in a very fruitful Plain, 20 Leagues from the *Great Wall*, and is the ordinary Residence of the Emperors. They call it *Pe-king*, which signifies, *the Court of the North*; as the Capital of the Province of *Kyang-nan*, was named *Nan-king*, or *the Court of the South*, when it was the Emperor's Residence. But the *Tartars*, a restless and warlike People, who made continual Irruptions into the Territories of the Empire, obliged them at length to remove their Court into the Northern Provinces; that they might be near at Hand, to oppose them with the numerous Troops which ordinarily attend the *Chinese* Monarchs.

This City is almost Square, and divided into two Cities; that where the Emperor's Palace stands is named *Sin-ching*, or the *New City*; it is also call'd the *Tartar City*, because the Houses were distributed among the *Tartars*, when the present Family was establish'd on the Throne.

The second is call'd *Lau-ching*, or the *Old City*; it may be termed the *Old Chinese City*, because when the *Chinese* were driven out of the other City, part of them retired into this, while others fled towards the Southern Provinces, being even obliged to quit the Country, because not only the Houses of the *New City* (built under *Yung-lo* about 1405, when the Court forsook *Nan-king*) but also the Lands about it and the Neighbouring Cities, within a certain Distance, were given to the *Tartars*, with a perpetual Exemption from Taxes and all sorts of Tribute.

In less than fourscore Years the *Tartars* have multiply'd to such a Degree, that they occupy almost all the *New City*; the rest is inhabited by *Chinese*, so that there is not any Part of it empty, as there is in the *Old*.

Walls.

The Compass of the Walls of both Cities together, exclusive of the Suburbs, has been measur'd, and does not exceed 52 *Chinese Li* [or Furlongs] so that it is less than *Nan-king*. But there is a vast difference between the Breadth, Length, and Beauty of the Walls of these two Cities; those of [the *New City* of] *Pe-king* are stately, and worthy the Capital of the greatest Empire in the World; but the Walls of *Nan-king* are narrow, and do not appear to exceed those of the ancient City of *Pe-king*, which are no better than the Walls of the generality of the Cities of *China*.

A Horseman may ascend the Walls of the *New City*, by means of a Ramp, which begins at a great Distance. In several Places there are Houses built for a Corps de Guard; the Towers are within Bow-shot of each other; there are some of them at certain Distances, much larger than the rest, and capable of containing small Bodies of Reserve.

Gates.

The Gates of the City, which are high and well arch'd, support exceeding large Pavillions, nine Stories high. Each Story is furnish'd with Windows and Loop-holes; and the lowest forms a great Hall, where the Soldiers and Officers, who have been on Guard, or come to relieve it, retire. Before each Gate there is an open Area or Parade (κ) of above 360 Feet, (which serves for a Place of Arms) incompass'd by a semicircular Wall of equal Height and Breadth with that of the City. The Entrance of this Parade is never on that Side which faces the great Road into the City: This Road is also commanded by a Pavillion like the former, so that, as the Cannon of the one can play upon the City, the Cannon of the other scours the neighbouring Country. All the Gates, which are nine in Number, have a double Pavillion, built in like Manner on the Platforms of the Walls, and furnish'd with Artillery; nor is there need of any other sort of Citadel, this Artillery being more than sufficient to keep the People in Awe.

Streets.

The Streets of this great City are exceeding strait, almost all laid out with a Line, at least a League in Length, and about 120 Feet wide, with Shops, for the most part, on both Sides. It is a Pity there is so little Proportion between the Streets and the Houses, which make a mean Appearance, and are very low.

Populousness.

It is astonishing to see the infinite Multitudes of People, wherewith these Streets are crowded, without one Woman among them; and the Confusion which is caused by the surprising Number of Horses, Mules, Asses, Camels, Carts, Waggon, and Chairs, without reckoning the various Crowds of Men, 100 or 200 in a Cluster, which one meets with every now and then, gathered about some Fortune-teller, or Players at Cups and Balls; or listening to Ballad Singers, and others who read or repeat certain comical Stories to make Diversion; or else gaping at a sort of Quacks, who distribute their Medicines, and display their admirable Effects with a great deal of Eloquence. People of Distinction would be stopp'd every Moment, if they had not a Horseman to go before and call to the People to make Way.

All the Riches and Commodities of the Empire are continually flowing into this City. People are carried thro' the Streets in Chairs by Men, or more usually on Horseback. Both sorts of *Voiture* are easily to be met with in many Places: one may sometimes hire a Horse or Mule the whole Day for 6 or 7 Pence; and as all the Streets are crowded with People, the Muleteers often lead their Beasts by the Bridle, in order to make way. These Men are perfectly acquainted with the Streets and Houses, where the great Folks and principal Citizens reside. There are also Books sold, which give an Account of the Wards, Streets, or Places where every Person lives, who has any public Employment.

(κ) There are no Parades in the Plan of *Pe-king*, but the Reader will find them in that of *Cbin-sing-fu*, in the same Plate.

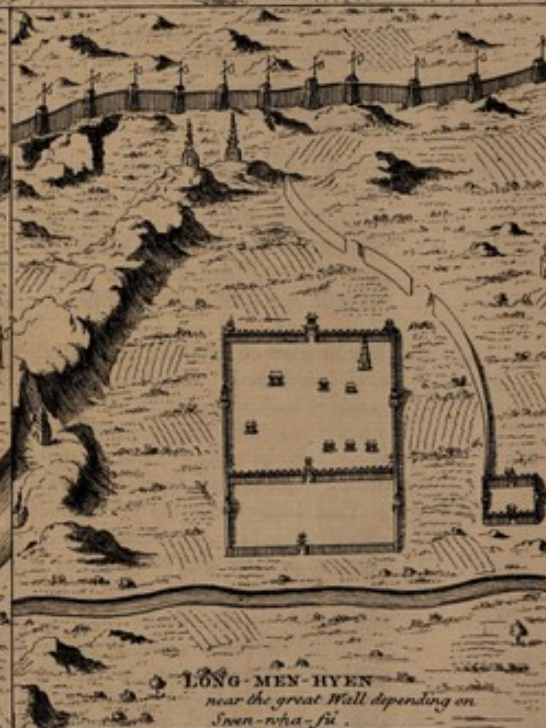
Explanations

1. Wall of the Tartar City, almost Square.
2. Wall of the Chinese City.
3. The Emperor's Palace.
4. A Place of pleasure where is an Artificial Mount.
5. The Gates of the Palace & of the outward Inclosure.
6. The Gates of the place of Pleasure.
7. The Gates of the Tartar City.
8. The Gates of the Chinese City.
9. The Great Courts of the Palace.
10. Outward inclosure of the Palace.
11. Church and House of the French Jesuits.
12. House & Church of the Portuguese Jesuits, and Residence of the Jesuits.
13. College of the Portuguese Jesuits.
14. Tower of the Mathematics.
15. House of the Society de propaganda fide.
16. The Jesuits Burial place.
17. Temple of the Earth.
18. Temple where the Emperor sacrifices to Heaven.

The Tartar City is a great league from North to South and [the Chinese City] a little more than half a league. In the two Cities and their Suburbs are computed more than three millions of people. The walls are cased with Brick, Round those of the Chinese City run Canals.

Latitude of the College of the Portuguese Jesuits $39^{\circ} 52' 54''$ North. Latitude of the House of the French Jesuits $39^{\circ} 54' 0''$ And its Longitude more East than Paris $7^{\circ} 37' 23''$ for $114^{\circ} 20' 45''$. But according to the later Observations of P. Gaubil used by M. D'Anville, $7^{\circ} 25' 26''$ or $113^{\circ} 31' 30''$. The I prefer with M. Delisle the Observation which makes it just $7^{\circ} 36' 0''$ or 114° degrees, whence it is East of London $116^{\circ} 25' 7''$. N.B. The words between Hooks were inserted by the Editor.

YUNG-PING-FU commands those Cities which lie along the great wall as far as the Eastern Ocean.



LONG-MEN-HYEN
near the great Wall depending on
Suen-cha-fu



CHING TSE-YU

YUEN-KEW

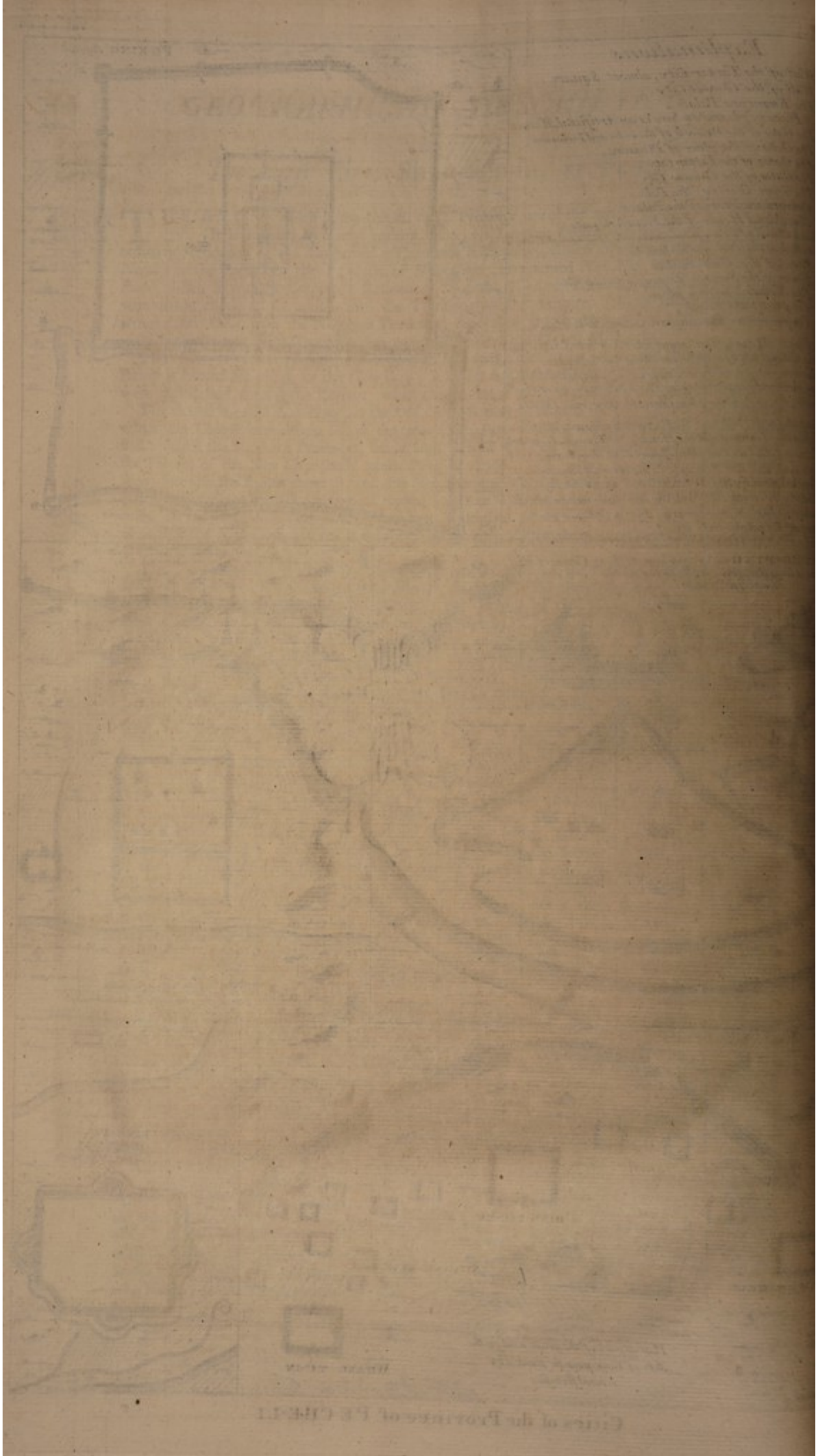
SI-YANG-KEW

WHANG-TU-IN

Plan of part of the great wall on the
Side of Yung-ping-fu flank'd by
several fortresses



CHIN-TING-FU



The Governor of *Pe-king*, who is a *Manchew Tartar* of Figure, is call'd *Kyú-men ti-tú*, or the *General of the nine Gates*, and has under his Jurisdiction not only the Soldiers but the People, in whatever concerns the civil Government or the Public Safety.

PROV. I.
Pe-che-li.

Nothing can exceed the Policy observ'd here: it is amazing to see the perfect Tranquillity that is maintain'd among such an infinite Number of *Tartars* and *Chinese*; and for several Years together one shall not hear of a House being broken open, or a Man murder'd; for such is the Order observ'd, that it is almost impossible those Crimes should be committed and the Authors escape unpunish'd.

All the great Streets, which run in a Line from one Gate to another, and are about 120 Feet broad, have Corps de Guard. Day and Night there are Soldiers with Swords by their Sides; and Whips in their Hands, to chastise all, without Distinction, who make any Disturbance; and to confine whoever resists, or creates any Quarrel.

Guards of
the Streets.

The lesser Streets, which terminate in the greater, have Wooden Cross-barr'd Gates, thro' which those, who walk within, may be seen by the Corps de Guard, placed over-against them in the great Streets. There are also Soldiers on Duty towards the middle of almost all those Streets. The Cross-barr'd Gates are shut every Night by the Guard, and are seldom open'd, except to Persons with a Lanthorn in their Hand, who are known, and have a good Reason for going out, such as to fetch a Physician. As soon as the first Stroke of the Watch is given on a great Bell, one or two Soldiers walk from one Corps de Guard to the other, playing all the Way with a kind of Clapper, to let it be known that they are on the Watch. They suffer none to walk in the Night, and even question those whom the Emperor sends about Business; if their Answer gives the least Suspicion, they put them in Custody of the Corps de Guard; besides, this Guard must answer every Call of the Centinel who is on Duty.

It is by this excellent Order, observ'd with the greatest Exactness, that Peace, Silence and Safety reign thro' the City. It must be added that not only the Governor of the City, who is obliged to go the Rounds, arrives when least expected; but also the Officers, who keep Guard on the Walls and Pavilions over the Gates, (where they beat the Watch on great Brass Drums,) send Subalterns, to examine the Quarters belonging to the Gates where they are posted: the least Neglect is punish'd next Day, and the Officers of the Guard are broken.

This Regulation, which prevents Nocturnal Meetings, will without doubt appear very extraordinary in *Europe*, and be by no means relish'd by Persons of Quality and Fortune; but, ought not those who are at the Helm in a State, to prefer good Order and the publick Security, to Diversions, which give Occasion to innumerable Attempts on the Effects and Lives of the Citizens? Besides, nothing seems more agreeable to Reason, since the *Tartars*, a People bred up in Woods, illiterate and unenlighten'd with the true Religion, acting according to these Maxims, root out so many Crimes too common in other States.

The Empire is indeed at great Expence on this Account, for part of the Soldiers I have mention'd, are employ'd for nothing else but to take Care of the Streets; they are all Foot, and their Pay is large: Besides their watching Day and Night, it is their Business to see that every Body cleans the Street before his Door; that it is swept and watered every Morning and Evening in dry Weather; and that the Dirt is taken away after Rain: And as the Streets are very broad, one of their chief Employments is to work themselves, and keep the middle of them always clean for the Publick Conveniency. After they have taken up the Dirt (for the City is not paved) they beat it, or turning it dry it, or else mix it up with other dry Earth; so that within two Hours after the heavy Rains one may walk all over the City without dirtying himself. Those Writers who tell us, that the Streets of *Pe-king* are commonly nasty, probably speak with Respect to those of the Old City, which are small, and not kept in such good Order as those of the New; where the Soldiers are continually employ'd to keep them clean, even when the Emperor is absent.

Exceeding
Neatness of
the Houses.

There is a second Wall in the New City, which is low and narrow, but adorn'd with large Gates, where there are Guards; this is call'd *Wbang-ching*, that is, the *Imperial Wall*. Its South Gate is that of the Palace itself, about a hundred Fathoms from the principal Gate of the City, which looks Southward also, and is call'd by the People *Syen-men*; altho' its true Name, which is cut both in *Tartarian* and *Chinese* Characters, is *Ching-yang-men*, that is, the *Gate facing the Noon-Day Sun*.

This Palace is a prodigious Collection of great Buildings, vast Courts, and Gardens; it is inclosed with a Brick Wall about twelve *Chinese Li* in Circuit. This Wall has Battlements along the Curtains, and at the Angles is adorn'd with little Pavilions; over each Gate there is a Pavillion more lofty, as well as stronger built, than the former, and surrounded with a Gallery, supported by Pillars resembling our Peristyle: This properly is the Palace, because it contains the Apartments of the Emperor and his Family.

Imperial
Palace de-
scribed.

The Space between this Inclosure of the Palace and the first Wall, named *Wbang-ching*, which is above 15 *Li* in Compass, is taken up chiefly with Houses, as well of the Officers of the Household, as the Eunuchs, and the several Tribunals; whereof some have the Care of providing Necessaries for the Service of the Prince, and others are to preserve good Order, decide Differences, determine Causes, and punish the Crimes committed by the Domesticks of the Imperial Family. Nevertheless when the Crimes are flagrant, and fully proved, these Tribunals of the Palace, named

the

PROV. I.
Pe-che-li.

*Its Architecture
is pure and
grand Appearance.*

the Inner Tribunals, transmit the Criminals to the Exterior Tribunals, which are the Grand Tribunals of the Empire.

Altho' the Architecture of the Imperial Palace be wholly different from ours, yet it strikes the Eye by its Vastness, the regular Disposition of the Apartments, and the Structure of the Roofs, which have four Sides rising very high, and adorn'd on the Rest with a Plat-band of Flower-work, and turn'd up at the Ends; the whole is cover'd with varnish'd Tiles of such a beautiful Yellow, that at a Distance they appear as bright as if they were gilded. A second Roof as glittering as the former, rising from the Walls, goes quite around, supported by a Forest of Beams, Joyste and Spars, all japann'd with green Varnish, strew'd with Gold Figures. This second Roof with the Projection of the first makes a kind of Crown to those Buildings, which has a very fine Effect; and perhaps we ought to judge of the Goodness of the Rules observed in any Building, according as we find ourselves affected with the Beauty of it; since those received in *Europe* are rejected by other Nations, and have appear'd good to us, only because we have discover'd Grace and Beauty in the Works of the *Ancients*, who seem to have introduced both. Whatever one may think as to the Taste of Architecture, it is certain that these Halls, built in the *Chinese* Fashion, with their Bas-Courts, surrounded by Galleries, and ranged one after another in regular Order, form altogether one intire Structure, which is very magnificent, perfectly August, and worthy the greatest Empire upon Earth.

The Terrasses. The Terrasses, whereon these Apartments are built, contribute also much to give them that Air of Grandeur which strikes the Eye; they are about 15 Feet high from the Ground, cas'd with white Marble, adorn'd with Ballustrades of pretty good Workmanship, and open only at the Entrance of the Stair Cases, which are placed on the Sides, and in the Middle, and Corners of the Front. The Ascent in the middle is properly no more than a Ramp or Slope, consisting of one or two pieces of Marble, without either Steps or Restings; Nobody is permitted to enter this Way into the Apartments but the Emperor alone, who upon Days of Ceremony is carried thro' in his cover'd Chair.

These Terrasses, which extend from East to West, make before the Doors and Windows of the Apartments, a very broad Platform paved with Marble, projecting seven or eight Foot all the way beyond the Building. This is the Form of the Apartments or Lodgings of the Emperor, and of the Imperial Hall, named *Tay-bo-tyen*, (as who should say, the *Hall of the great Union*) which stands more towards the South, and is exposed to the Eyes of all the *Mandarins* of the Empire.

In the Bas-Court before this Hall the *Mandarins* range themselves on Days appointed for the Ceremonies prescribed by the Laws of the Empire, to renew their Homage, which Ceremonies are perform'd whether the Emperor be present or not. Nothing is more usual than for them to strike the Ground with their Foreheads, before the Gate of the Palace, or one of the Royal Halls, with the same Formality and Respect, as if he was seated on his Throne.

This Hall is about 130 Feet long, and almost square; the Cieling is all of carved Work, varnish'd with green, and charg'd with gilded Dragons. The Pillars that support the Roof within, are six or seven Feet in Compass at the Bottom, and incrustated with a kind of Paste, japann'd with red Varnish. The Pavement is cover'd partly with very ordinary Carpets, made like those of *Turky*; the Walls are very well white-wash'd, but without Hangings, Looking-Glasses, Branches, Paintings, or any other sort of Ornament.

The Throne. The Throne, which is in the middle of the Hall, consists of a lofty Alcove, very neat, but neither rich nor magnificent; and without any Inscription but the Word *Shing*, which the Authors of Relations have render'd *Holy*; but it is not always used in that Sense, for it is sometimes better explain'd by the Latin Word *Eximius*, or the *English* Words *Excellent*, *Perfect*, *Most Wise*. On the Platform or Floor before it, stand very great and thick Vessels of Brass, wherein Perfumes are burnt during the Ceremony, and Candlesticks made in the Form of Birds, large enough to hold Flambeaux. This Platform is continued Northward beyond the Hall, *Tay-bo-tyen*, and serves as a Foundation to two other lesser Halls, which are hid by the former; one of them is a very pretty Rotundo or circular Room, with Windows on every side, and shining with Varnish of divers Colours; there, they say, the Emperor reposes sometimes, before or after the Ceremony, and changes his Habit.

This round Hall is but a few Paces distant from a second, that is longer than broad, the Door of which faces the North; thro' this Door the Emperor is obliged to pass, when he comes from his Apartment to his Throne, there to receive the Homages of the whole Empire; he is then carried in a Chair, by Chairmen dress'd in long red Vests, embroider'd with Silk, and wearing Caps, adorn'd with Plumes.

*Great Court
before the
Hall.*

The Court which is before the *Tay-bo-tyen*, is the largest belonging to the Palace; it is at least 300 Feet long, and 250 wide. Over the Gallery that surrounds it, are the Imperial Magazines of Rarities, for the Treasure or Revenues of the Empire are kept in the supreme Tribunal, named *Hu-pu*. These Magazines are open'd on certain Occasions, as at the Creation of a Prince, who is to inherit the Crown, an Empress, Queen, &c. In one are kept the Vases, and other Works of different Metal; in another vast Quantities of the most beautiful Skins of various kinds; a third contains Habits furr'd with the Skins of gray Squirrels, Foxes, Ermins, and Sables, wherewith the Emperor sometimes rewards his Servants. There is one for precious Stones, curious Marbles, and Pearls which are found in *Tartary*. The greatest of all, consisting of two low Stories, is full of

of Presses, where the Silks are kept, made on purpose for the Use of the Emperor and his Family, at *Nan-king*, *Hang-chew*, and *Su-chew*; these are the best in all the Empire, because they are manufactur'd under the Care and Inspection of a *Mandarin*, who presides over those Works, and would be punish'd if they were not finish'd in the greatest Perfection.

PROV. I.
Pe-che-li.
Magazines.

In the other Store-houses are repositied Arrows, Bows, and Saddles, which have either been made at *Pe-king*, brought from foreign Countries, or presented by great Princes, and set apart for the Use of the Emperor and his Children; there is one also where they collect the best Tea, of every kind that *China* produces, with various Simples, and other the most esteemed Druggs.

This Gallery has five Doors, one to the East, another to the West, and three in the South Front. Those in the middle are never open'd but for the Emperor; the *Mandarins*, who come to perform the Ceremony before the Imperial Hall, entring by the Side Doors.

There is nothing extraordinary in this Front; it has a large Court, into which one descends by a Marble Stair-Case, adorn'd with two great Lions of Copper, and a Balustrade of white Marble; it is made in form of a Horse-shoe, on the Side of a little Serpentine River, which runs thro' the Palace, and has Bridges over it of the same Materials. It would be endless to describe the rest of the Buildings belonging to this vast Palace, but as these are the most magnificent in the Judgment of the *Chinese* and *Tartars*, they may suffice to give the Reader an Idea of the whole.

The Palaces of the Emperor's Children and the other Princes of the Blood, are very neat within, vastly large, and built at a great Expence; the same Manner runs thro' the whole, both as to the Body of the Work and Embellishments. It is a Series of Courts, adorn'd on the Sides with Buildings, and in Front with a varnish'd Hall, rais'd on a Platform, three or four Feet high, which is border'd with great square Blocks of hewn Stone, and paved with large square Tiles; the Gates generally open into little Streets not much frequented, and have no other Ornaments than two Lions of Brals or white Stone of very indifferent Workmanship, without any Order of Architecture, or Sculpture in Stone, such as is found in the Triumphal Arches.

Palaces of the
Emperor's
Children.

I shall enlarge no farther on this superb Edifice, (the only one throughout that great City, which deserves Attention) the rather because I shall speak of it in another Place. What I shall say of it there, with the Description I have already given of it, will suffice to make it tolerably well known to the Reader.

The Tribunals of the supreme Jurisdictions are also vastly large, but ill built, and worse kept in Repair; they are in no wise suitable to the Majesty of the Empire; there are six of them, which I but just mention here, because I shall hereafter speak of them more at large.

the Supreme
Tribunals of
the Empire.

The first, the *Lzhi-pu*, proposes the *Mandarins* who are to govern the People.

The second, *Hu-pu*, has the Charge of the Tributes.

The third, *Li-pu*, is for maintaining the Customs and Rites of the Empire.

The fourth, *Ping-pu*, has Care of the Troops and Posts which are on all the great Roads, and maintain'd at the Emperor's Expence.

The fifth, the *Hing-pu*, determines Criminal Causes.

The last, *Kong-pu*, has the Inspection of the publick Works.

All these Tribunals are divided into different Chambers, among which the Business is distributed; their Number is not the same in every Tribunal, some of them having much less to do than others.

Under these six sovereign Courts are also divers other Tribunals, which depend on them; for Instance, the *Kin-tyen-ken*, or Tribunal of the Mathematics, is subordinate to that of the *Li-pu*; it is also divided into two Chambers, whereof the principal and most numerous, call'd *Li-ko*, is solely employ'd about calculating the Motion of the Stars, and Astronomical Affairs; the other named *Lü-ko*, besides other Business more peculiar to it, is employed to determine the proper Days for Marriages, Burials, and other Civil Affairs; about which they give themselves but little Trouble, copying for the most part an ancient *Chinese* Book, wherein almost all these things are already settled according to the Year of the Sexagenary Cycle or *Chinese* Century.

These six supreme Jurisdictions never meddle with Affairs of State, but when remitted to them by the Emperor, with Orders to deliberate thereon; for then standing in need of each other, they are oblig'd to agree together, to the end that the Money, Troops, Officers and Equipages may be ready at the time appointed: Excepting in such Cases, each Court confines itself wholly to the Affairs belonging to it, and certainly has enough to do, in an Empire of such vast Extent as *China*. If the different Functions, of repairing public Works, the Government of the Forces, the Regulation of the Revenue, the Administration of Justice, and above all the Choice of Magistrates, were all united in one Tribunal, it would without doubt produce great Confusion in the Resolutions, and a Slowness in Proceedings, which would ruin Affairs; for this Reason it was necessary to encrease the Number of *Mandarins*, both at Court and in the Provinces.

But as in so great a multitude it would be difficult to find out the proper Person with whom one has Business; to remedy this Inconvenience, there is a Book sold, which may be call'd the *Present State of China*, containing the Names, Surnames and Employments of all the Officers, and distinguishing whether they are *Chinese* or *Tartars*, Bachelors or Doctors, &c. It takes particular Notice also of the Changes made with respect to the Officers of the Army, as well those that are in Garrison, as in the Field; and to specify these Changes, without re-printing the Book, they make use of moveable Characters.

All the *Tartar* Families live in or about *Pe-king*, and are not permitted to remove from thence without the Emperor's special Order; hence it is, that the *Tartar* Troops, which compose the

Emperor's
Life-Guard.
Emperor's

PROV. I. Emperor's Life Guard, are always in a manner near his Person; here are also found some *Chinese* Troops, who formerly lifted themselves under the *Tartar* Banners, and were for that Reason call'd the *Tartarized Chinese*; they are very well paid, and are always ready to fly on the first Order to extinguish the Flames of Sedition, wherever they break out, with surprizing Secrecy and Expedition.

These Troops are divided into 8 Bodies, each of which has a Banner, distinguish'd either by the Colour, viz. yellow, white, red and blew, or by the Borders, which are all red, excepting that of the red Banner, whose Border is white; green is the Colour belonging to the Troops that are entirely *Chinese*, which are thence call'd *Lü-ki*, or the *Soldiers of the Green Banner*.

Every *Tartar* Banner has its General, named in the *Manchew* Language *Kisanta*, who has under him certain great Officers, called *Meyreynchain*, who are like our Lieutenant-Generals, and have under them several other Officers subordinate to each other.

As each Body at present is composed of *Manchew Tartars*, *Mongul Tartars*, and *Tartarized Chinese*, the General has under him two General Officers of each Nation, and these Officers have likewise Subalterns of the same Nation. Each Body consists of 10,000 effective Men, divided into 100 *Nurds*, or Companies, of 100 Soldiers each (8); so that if we reckon the Emperor's Household and those of the Princes, who have their Servants, *Pozbo nurd* with the Pay of the Officers and Soldiers, the common Opinion may be readily allow'd to be true, viz. that there are always 100,000 Horse at *Pe-king*.

Forces of the Empire.

We may hence form an Idea of the Forces of the Empire; for if to the Cavalry, already spoken of, we add the Infantry which are at *Pe-king*, those posted along the Great Wall, (in the innumerable Forts built for its Defence, tho' less numerous at present than when the Country was in Danger of Invasions from the *Tartars*) together with the rest of the Forces dispers'd all over the Empire, it will be found that the Number, agreeable to the common Calculation, amounts to at least 600,000 Men: So that *China* may be said to keep on Foot in time of the profoundest Peace, an Army able to resist the most formidable Powers, purely to maintain the public Tranquillity, to provide against Seditions, and extinguish the smallest Sparks of Rebellion.

Such a vast Body as *China* must needs be terribly agitated when once it is in Motion, so that it is the whole Policy of the *Chinese* Magistrates, to prevent and suppress Insurrections as soon as possible. No Favour is to be expected for a *Mandarin* whose People revolt; let him be ever so innocent, he is consider'd as a Man of no Capacity, and the smallest Punishment that can befall him is, to be discharg'd from his Employment, by the Tribunal of the Court, to which such Causes are always transmitted by the *Vice-Roys* and Governors of Provinces; and those Tribunals deliberate on the Informations, and present their Report to the Emperor, who either confirms or rejects it.

These sovereign Courts have no Superior, except the Emperor or the Great Council; when that Prince thinks fit to assemble it on some important Affair, already determined by one of those Courts, they present their Petitions on the Days appointed, and often confer with the Emperor himself, who either approves of or rejects them, by signing them with his own Hand. But if he retains them, they wait some time for his Orders, which is communicated to them by the *Great Mandarin*, called in *Chinese*, *Ko-lau*, and in *Tartarian*, *Aliagata*.

Form of Petitions.

The Petitions presented by the Presidents of these supreme Courts, who are call'd in *Chinese*, *Sbang-shu*, and in *Tartarian*, *Aliagamba*, ought to have the Subject, which it relates to, specify'd in the Title, and to end with the Opinion of the Court, to which the Affair belongs.

The Emperor disposes in the same Manner of all the Employments of the Empire, without being oblig'd to confer them on the Persons proposed by the Tribunals, altho' he generally confirms their Choice, after he has himself examined those to whom the Employments fell by Lot, in the Manner hereafter explained. As to the principal Posts of *Tsong-tu*, *Vice-Roy*, &c. they are always nominated by the Emperor himself.

Emperor's Application to Affairs of Government.

It will scarce be believ'd, that the present Emperor condescends to examine himself such Crowds of *Mandarins*, whereof every Day some are advanc'd to higher Employments, and others are Candidates for them; nevertheless, it is certainly true, and this shews his Care in governing the State: He will see every thing with his own Eyes (9), and he will trust nobody in choosing Magistrates for his People.

Prerogative.

His Authority is absolute, and almost unlimited. A Prince of the Imperial House can neither assume the Titles, nor receive the Honours due to him as such, without the Emperor's Permission. When his Conduct does not answer the Expectation of the Public, he loses his Dignity and Revenues by order of the Emperor, and is no longer distinguish'd, except by the Yellow Girdle, worn by Men and Women of the Imperial Blood, who are allow'd but a moderate Pension out of the Royal Treasury.

Censors of the Empire.

The Laws allow no way of applying against the Abuse of Authority, but by Remonstrance. These Laws have establish'd publick *Censors*, whose Duty it is to give Information to the Emperor by Petitions, which are dispers'd thro' the Empire, and cannot be rejected by him, without hurting his Reputation; besides, the *Chinese* having annex'd an Idea of Heroic Bravery to that Employment,

(8) As *Tsong-tu* is remark'd, to have establish'd the same sort of Order among his Troops, it would be worth enquiry, whether he took it from, or communicated it to the *Chinese* *Tartars*.

(9) This may well seem incredible in a Monarch of so vast an Empire, when the petty Princes of Europe are so much taken up with other Affairs, that they have not Leisure to look into those of State.

ployment, should the Emperor treat them ill, he would do them the greatest Honour, and draw on himself odious Names, which the Historians would with great Care transmit to Posterity.

In short, these *Censors* seldom or never change their Resolution. If the Court or the Great Tribunals seek to elude the Justice of their Complaints, by some Rebuff, they return to the Charge, and make it appear that they have not answer'd conformable to the Laws. Some of them have persever'd two whole Years in accusing a *Vice-Roy* supported by the *Grandeess*, and without being discourag'd by Delays and Opposition, or frighted by the most terrifying Menaces, have at length compell'd the Court to degrade him, to avoid disgusting the People, and sullying its own Reputation.

But if in this sort of Combat between the Prince and State, in the Name of which the *Censor* speaks, the Prince happens to yield, he immediately receives the Praises of the Public in their Addresses, and is loaded with Elogies by the whole Empire; the sovereign Courts of *Pe-king* return him their Thanks, and what he has done for Justice, is look'd on as a singular Favour.

It is owing to this good Order observ'd at *Pe-king*, and which influences the other Cities, that the Empire enjoys such a happy Tranquillity and long Peace. This Blessing may also be attributed in some measure to the favourable Situation of *China*, whose Neighbours consist of Nations not very populous, half *Barbarians*, and incapable of attempting any thing to the Prejudice of such a mighty State, while its Forces are well united under the Authority of its Sovereign. The *Manchews*, who conquer'd it, took Advantage of the Troubles of the Realm, which was fill'd with Rebels and Robbers; and were brought in by the faithful *Chinese*, who were desirous to revenge the Death of their Emperor.

I could not forbear enlarging in my Account of this Capital, because it is, as it were, the Soul of this great Empire, puts it in Motion, and keeps all the Parts of it in Order; but I shall be much briefer in speaking of the other Cities, especially those, which have nothing more than ordinary to recommend them. I shall only add, that besides the general Jurisdiction which *Pe-king* has over the whole Empire by its six Supreme Courts, it has also, like the other Capitals of Provinces, a particular District, which comprehends 26 Cities, whereof six are of the second, and twenty of the third Rank.

The Second City, Pau-ting-fu.

Pau-ting-fu is the Residence of the *Vice-Roy* of this Province; it has three Cities of the second Rank, and seventeen of the third, within its District, which is very agreeable and fruitful. In the midst of the City there is a little Lake, famous for the great Quantity of those Flowers, elsewhere described (p), which the *Chinese* call *Lyen-wa*.

In travelling from *Pe-king* into the Province of *Sban-si*, one is obliged to pass thro' this City; it is one of the most pleasant Journeys imaginable; all the Country is flat, and well cultivated; the Road even, and planted with Trees in several Places, with Walls to cover and defend the Fields; Men, Carts, and Beasts of Burthen are continually passing backwards and forwards. In the Space of a single League you pass thro' two or three Villages, without reckoning those you see on all sides. The Rivers are cover'd with very handsome Bridges of several Arches.

The Third City, Ho-kyen-fu.

THIS City has its Name from its being situated between two Rivers. Its Walls are built in a Line, handsome, high, and in good Repair; it is reckon'd almost four Miles in Compass. On it depend two Cities of the second Order, and fifteen of the third. Its Rivers are stor'd with good Fish, besides the Cray-Fish, which are very plenty, and exceeding delicious.

The Fourth City, Chin-ting-fu.

THIS is a great City, almost four Miles in Compass; its Figure approaches an oblong Square; the Walls are handsome, and flank'd with square Towers at certain Distances; it stands pretty near a fine River, which a few Leagues from thence falls into the Lake *Pay-hu*.

Its Jurisdiction is very large, comprehending thirty two Cities, five of the second, and twenty seven of the third Rank. To the North of it are Mountains, where the *Chinese* pretend, abundance of Simples and uncommon medicinal Herbs are found. Certain Monuments or Temples are seen there, built in Honour of their Heroes, and, among others, one consecrated to the Memory of the first Emperor of the *Dynasty* of the *Han*.

The Fifth City, Shun-te-fu.

THE District of this City is not very extensive, containing only nine, but they are very famous and populous Cities, of the third Order. The Country is render'd very charming and fertile, by the plenty of Water; the Rivers afford divers sorts of good Fish. A very fine Sand is found

(p) See p. 12 and Elsewhere, hereafter.

Prov. I. found there, which is used in polishing precious Stones, and sold all over the Empire; they also
 Pe-che-li. make China Ware of it, but far short for Beauty of that made at *King-te-ching*, a Borough in
 the Province of *Kyang-si*. *Shun-te-fu* also produces *Touch-Stones* for Gold, reckon'd the best in the
 whole Empire.

The Sixth City, Quang-ping-fu.

Quang-ping-fu. THIS City is situated in the Southern Part of *Pe-che-li*, between the Provinces of *Shan-tong* and *Ho-nan*; it has but nine Cities of the third Rank in its Dependence; its Territory is water'd by several Rivers, which breed very good Fish; the Country is agreeable and fertile: It has otherwise nothing to distinguish it from other Cities.

The Seventh City, Tay-ming-fu.

Tay-ming-fu. THIS City as well as the former, which lies near it, has nothing extraordinary to boast of; but the Country is more fruitfull and agreeable, and the Rivers equally full of Fish; it has under its Jurisdiction only one City of the second Rank, and eighteen of the third.

The Eighth City, Yung-ping-fu.

Yung-ping-fu. THIS City is advantageously situated, but its Jurisdiction not large, extending only over one City of the second, and five of the third Order; it is encompass'd by the Sea, by Rivers, and by Mountains cover'd with very fair Trees; its Soil is not very fertile, but that Defect is supply'd by the neighbouring Bay, which furnishes it with Plenty of all sorts of Necessaries.

Shan-bay Fort. Not far from this City is a Fort named *Shan-bay*, which is as it were the Key of the Province of *Lyau-tong*; it stands near the Great Wall, which, before it ascends the Hills, extends from the Bulwark built in the Sea, for the Space of a League, in a plain Country.

The Ninth City, Swen-wha-fu.

Swen-wha-fu. THE Largeness of this City, Number of Inhabitants, Beauty of its Streets, and Triumphal Arches, render it considerable; it is seated amidst Mountains, and not far from the Great Wall; two Cities of the second, and eight of the third Rank are under its Jurisdiction; besides some Places or Forts along the Wall, which are provided with numerous Garrisons for defending the Entrance into *China* from *Tartary*. Its Mountains afford fine Crystal, Marble, and Porphyry.

Yellow Rats. Among the Animals which this Country produces, there are abundance of yellow Rats, larger than those of *Europe*; their Skins are in great Request with the *Chinese*.

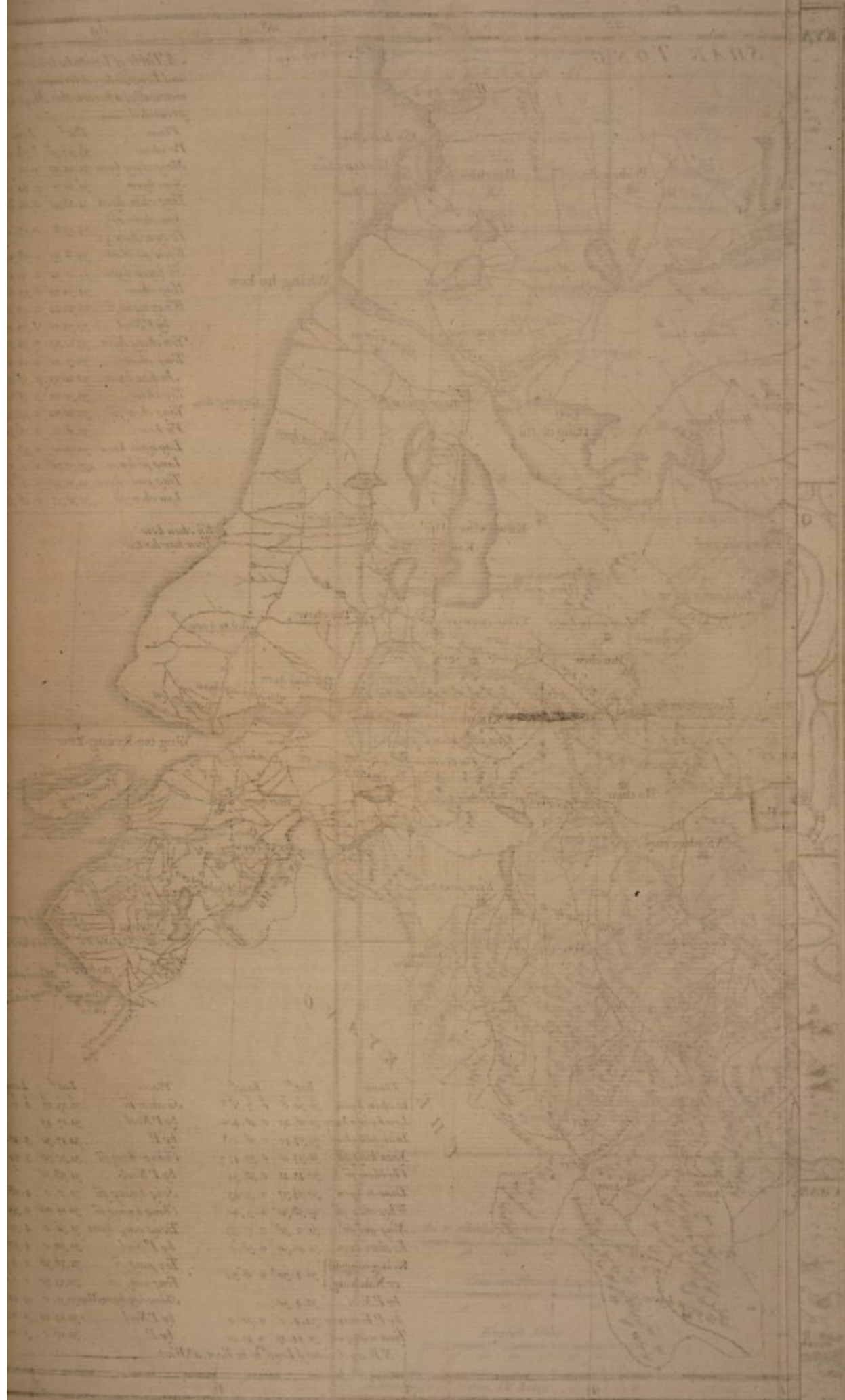
Forts in Pe-che-li along the Great Wall. Besides the Fort of *Shan-bay* above-mention'd, which defends the Passage from *Lyau-tong* into *Pe-che-li*, the Gates of the Great Wall are defended on the Inside with several pretty large Forts, viz. *Hi-fong-kew*, at $40^{\circ} 26'$ (P), *Ku-pe-kew*, at $40^{\circ} 43'$ the Emperor usually passes thro' this Gate, when he goes to hunt in *Tartary*; *Tu-she-kew*, at $41^{\circ} 19' 20''$; and *Chang-kyakew*, in $40^{\circ} 51' 15''$ (P); these two last Entrances are famous, because the Roads which the *Tartars*, (who are in Subjection to the Empire) take to come to *Pe-king*, lye thro' them. All the Places along the Great Wall in this Province, are built with Earth, and cas'd on both Sides with Brick.

Tyen-tsing-uey. It would be endless and tiresome to give an account of the Cities of the second and third Rank; however I cannot omit one, which, tho' without any Jurisdiction over others, has beyond Comparison a greater Trade, is more populous and rich than most of the Cities before described; it is named *Tyen-tsing-uey*, rais'd since the Map was made to the Rank of *Chew*, or Cities of the second Order.

It is seated in the Place where the Royal Canal, which comes from *Lin-tsin-chew*, joins the River of *Pe-king*. A great Mandarin, named *Yen-ywen-i*, resides there, on whom the Officers depend, that superintend the Salt made along the Coasts of the Provinces of *Pe-che-li* and *Shan-tong*. All the Ships that fetch Timber from Eastern *Tartary* for Carpenters Work, after crossing the Gulf of *Lyau-tong*, named *Tyen-tung-uey*, come and unload in this Port (Q), which is but 20 Leagues distant from *Pe-king*.

(P) The Latitude mark'd here, differs some Seconds from the Tables.

(Q) *Tyen-tsing-uey*, though here call'd a Port, is above 27 Miles from the Sea, up the River *Pay-hy*.







KYANG NING FU or

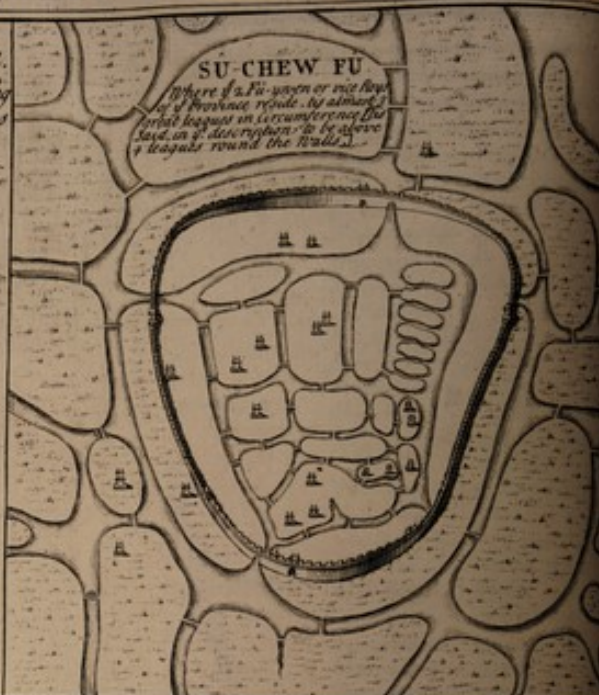
NAN-KING the Capital.

One league from the River Yang
and above 52 great leagues
(20 to a degree) in Compass

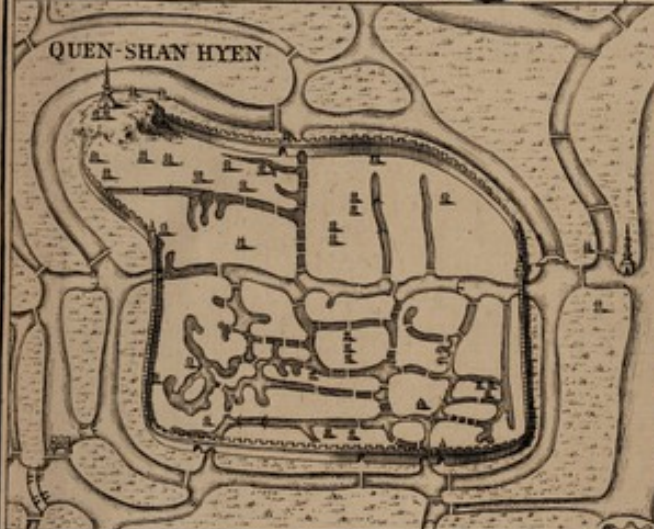


SU-CHEW FU

Where the River Yang
is of Province round by almost
100 leagues on the circumference the
land on the right hand to be above
1 league round the walls.



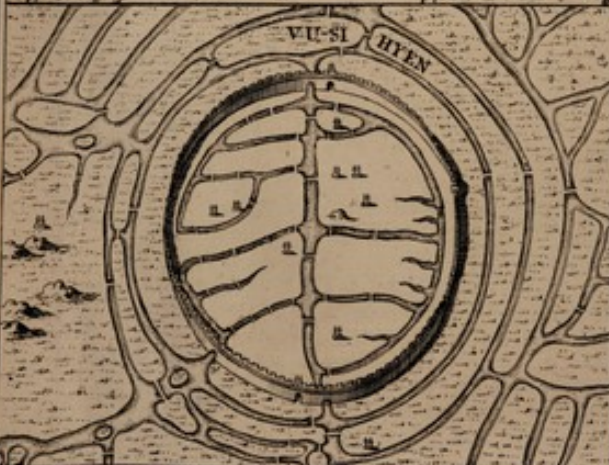
QUEN-SHAN HYEN



TSI-KI HYEN



VU-SI HYEN



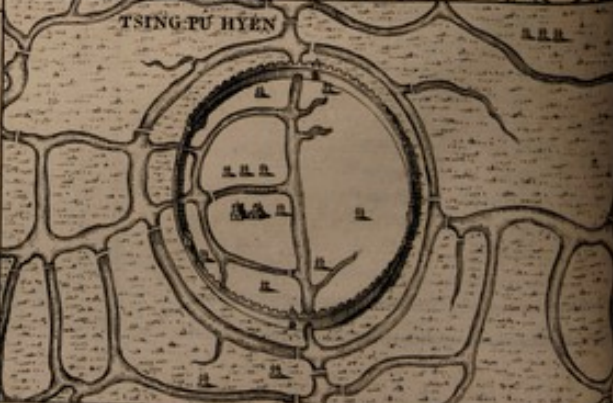
KYA-TING HYEN



CHANG-CHEW FU



TSING-TU HYEN



PROVINCE II. KYANG-NAN.

Prov. II.
Kyang-nan

THIS Province which is one of the most fertile, trading, and consequently wealthy of the Empire, is bounded on the West by that of *Ho-nan* and *Hu-quang*, on the South by *Che-kyang* and *Kyang-si*, on the East by the Gulf of *Nan-king*, and on the North by *Sban-tong*.

The ancient Emperors constantly kept their Courts there, till Reasons of State obliged them to remove nearer *Tartary*, and choose *Pe-king*. It is of vast Extent, containing fourteen Cities of the first, and ninety three of the second and third Rank, all the most populous and famous in the Empire, especially for Trade. It is the Resort of all the Great Barks, for the Country is full of Lakes, Rivers, and Canals, either natural or artificial; which have a Communication with the Great River, *Yang-tse-kyang*, that runs thro' the Province, where there are few Mountains to be seen, except towards the South.

The Silks, varnish'd Works, Ink, Paper, and in general every thing that comes, both from *Nan-king* and the other Cities of the Province, which carry on an astonishing Trade, is much more esteem'd and dear, than what is brought from other Provinces. In the City *Sban-bay* only, and the Villages belonging to it, they reckon above 200,000 Weavers of Callico.

The Sea Coast in several Parts abounds with Salt Pits, the Salt whereof is dispersed almost thro' the Empire; a great Quantity of Marble is also found there. In short, this Province is so plentiful and rich, that it yields annually about 32 Millions of *Tails* (*), exclusive of the Duties arising from every thing either exported or imported, for receiving of which several Offices are establish'd.

The Inhabitants of *Kyang-nan* are civil and polite; they are exceeding ingenious, and have a more than ordinary Inclination for the Sciences; hence this Province is remarkable for producing a great Number of Doctors, who by their Merit attain to the Offices and Dignities of the Empire.

The Province is divided into two Governments; the Eastern, the Governor whereof resides at *Su-cheu-fu*; and the Western, whose Governor has his Seat at *Ngan-king-fu*, each Government has seven *Fu* or Cities of the first Rank within its Jurisdiction.

The First City, Kyang-ning-fu, or Nan-king, Capital of the Province.

IF we may believe the ancient *Chinese*, this City was once the finest in the World; when they speak of its Magnitude, they say, that if two Horsemen went out in the Morning by the same Gate, and were ordered to gallop round it different Ways, they would not meet till the Evening. It is certainly the greatest City in *China*, its Walls are 67 *Li* in Compass, according to the Measure we took of it when we made the Plan, which amount to near 5 great Leagues and an half and 466 Fathom.

It stands but one League from the great *Yang-tse-kyang*, from which River Barks come up to it by means of several Canals, that end at the City; one sees on these Canals Numbers of Imperial Barks, almost as large as our middling Ships.

The Figure of *Nan-king* is irregular, the Hills that are within it, and the Nature of its Soil is such, that it could not be otherwise without great Inconveniencies. It was formerly the Imperial City, whence it has the Name of *Nan-king*, that is the Southern Court, as *Pe-king* signifies the Northern Court; but since the six great Tribunals, which then were in both those Cities, are all translated to *Pe-king*, the Emperor has given it the Name of *Kyang-ning*: it is still in Dis-course called by its old Name; but it is never suffer'd to be mention'd in the publick Instruments.

This City is much fallen from its ancient Splendor, no Footsteps appear of its Magnificent Palace; its Observatory is now neglected, and almost destroy'd; nothing but the Memory of its Temples, Sepulchres of Emperors, and other superb Monuments remain; being all demolish'd by the *Tartars* who first invaded the Empire, to gratify their Avarice and hatred to the *Dynasty* then reigning. About one third of it is quite waste, but the rest very well inhabited; so great a Trade, and such Numbers of People are seen in some Parts of it, that one would scarce believe there is a greater Hurry any where: this would be still more extraordinary, were the Streets as broad as those of *Pe-king*, which they are not by one half; Nevertheless they are sufficiently handsome, well pav'd, and adorn'd on both Sides with neat Shops richly furnish'd.

In this City one of the great *Mandarins* resides, named *Tsong tsu*, before whom are brought important Matters, not only from the Tribunals of both the Governors of the Province, but also from that of the Governor of *Kyang-si*. The *Tartars* have also a numerous Garrison here, under a General of their own Nation, and possess one Part of the City, separated from the rest by a single Wall.

The Palaces where both the *Tartar* and *Chinese* *Mandarins* dwell, are neither so spacious nor well built as those of the Capitals of the rest of the Provinces. One sees no publick Buildings there, answering to the Reputation of so famous a City, except its Gates, which are

(*) A *Tail* is the Value of an Ounce of Silver, and this Time [that is about 8 Shillings 7 Pence English.]
Once in *China* is equivalent to 7 *Livers* 10 *Sols* *French*, at this

PROV. II.
Kyang-nan.
Famous Por-
celain Tower.

exceeding beautiful, and some Idol Temples : Such is that where stands the famous Porcelain Tower ; it is of an Octogonal Figure, each side being fifteen Feet in Front ; it is twenty *Chinese* Fathom high, that is two hundred Feet, and divided into nine Stories, by single Floors within, and without by Cornishes at the Rise of Arches, which sustain little Roofs, cover'd with Tiles done over with green varnish. I shall give a Description of it in another Place. This Tower is without Dispute the tallest and most beautiful of all those to be seen in *China* ; where this sort of Works, named *Ta*, are so common, that in several Provinces, one meets with them in almost every City, and even in the great Towns.

That which renders also this City famous, is the great Care it takes to cultivate the Sciences : It singly furnishes more Doctors and great *Mandarins*, than several Cities together ; the Libraries here are more numerous, the Book-sellers Shops better furnish'd, the Printing more beautiful, and the Paper better than any where in the Empire besides.

Artificial
Flowers.

Nothing can be more natural than the artificial Flowers made here of the Pith of a Tree call'd *Tong-tsau* ; this is at present become a particular Manufacture, which has increas'd to that Degree in *China*, within these few Years, that there is a great Trade driven with them.

The Satins of *Nan-king*, which are call'd *Twan-tse*, as well those that are flower'd as not, are the best and most esteem'd at *Pe-king*, where those of *Kanton* are much cheaper ; pretty good Woolen Cloath also is made here, which is call'd, from the Name of the Town, *Nan-king-shen*. That which is to be found in some other Cities is not to be compared to it, as being scarce any thing else than Felt made without weaving.

Ink.

The Ink, call'd the *Ink of Nan king*, comes all from *Whey-chew*, in the same Province. Its District is full of great Villages, almost wholly peopled with those who make or sell these Sticks of Ink which are often adorn'd with green, blew or gilded Flowers ; they are of all sorts of Figures, as Books, Joins of Bambu, Lions, &c.

The Breadth and Depth of the *Yang-tse-kyang* render'd *Nan-king* formerly an excellent Port : The famous Corsair, who besieg'd it in the late Troubles, pass'd easily up to it ; but at present the great Barks, or rather the *Chinese* Vessels of Carriage, do not enter the River, either because the Mouth is stopp'd up of itself, or that the *Chinese* out of Policy make no more use of it, that the Knowledge of it by *Deasees* may be lost.

Fishery in A-
pril and May.

In *April* and *May*, abundance of excellent Fish is caught near the City ; during this Season some of them are convey'd to the Court, cover'd with Ice, which keeps them fresh, in Barks appointed solely for that use ; these make such Speed, that in eight or ten Days time, sailing continually Day and Night, they arrive at *Pe-king*, tho' it be more than two hundred great Leagues distant ; for greater Expedition there are Stages all the Way, where the Men are reliev'd. So long as the Fishing lasts, two Barks depart from *Nan-king*, twice a Week, loaden with Fish.

Tho' *Nan-king* is the Capital of the whole Province, it has no more than eight Cities of the third Rank under its Jurisdiction.

The Second City, Su-chew-fu, Capital of I-tong, or the Eastern Part of the Province.

Delightful
Situation.

THIS is one of the most beautiful and pleasant Cities in all *China* ; the *Europeans*, who have seen it, compare it to *Venice*, with this Difference, that *Venice* stands in the midst of the Sea, and *Su-chew* in fresh Water. One may pass thro' the Streets here both by Water and Land ; the Branches of the River and Canals are almost all capable of bearing the largest Barks, which may even sail thro' the City, and arrive at the Sea in two Days at most.

Trade with
Japan.

It carries on a Trade, not only with all the Provinces of the Empire, but also with *Japan* ; from which it is separated only by an Arm of the Sea (s), which the little Merchant Ships cross some times in two or three Days.

Its district.

There is no Country that is more charming, in respect of Situation and Climate ; that is more populous and thick set with Towns and Boroughs, which are ever in Sight ; that is better improv'd, there not being an Inch of Ground, but what produces Fruit, Corn or Rice ; and lastly, that more abounds with Rivers, Canals, Lakes, and especially Barks of all Sorts, and Sizes, painted or gilded : some full of Persons of Quality, who are lodg'd in them more decently than in their own Houses ; others loaded with rich Commodities, and several design'd purely for Recreation.

Paradise of
China.

This City, like *Hang-chew* in the Province of *Che-kyang*, is properly a City of Pleasure ; it wants nothing that can contribute to make Life delightful ; hence we find an ancient Proverb in the *Chinese* Books, *Shang yew tyen tang*, *Hya yew Su Hang*, that is, *Above is Paradise, below Su chew and Hang chew* ; in Effect it may be said that these two Cities are the *Terrestrial Paradise of China*.

This City, like *Hang-chew*, and some others of the Empire, may be reckon'd three Cities : one within the Walls, which are reputed more than four Leagues in Compass ; another in the Suburbs, which extend a great way on both sides of the Canals ; and a third in the Barks, which are so many floating Houses, rang'd on the Water for more than a League together in several Rows, many of these Barks equal our third Rate Ships in Bulk.

(s) The Author is to be understood here of the District of the City, and not of the City itself, which he seems to confound together, as he does in many other Places ; whence it

seems that this Description is an Abstract from a more complete one.

The whole together yields a Prospect, which cannot well be describ'd, and must be view'd in order to judge how agreeable it is. This great City has but six Gates to the Landward, and as many towards the Water. To behold the immense Numbers of People that are here continually in Motion, and the Throngs there are in every Place, of those who come to buy and sell, one would imagine that the Inhabitants of all the Provinces came to trade at *Sü-chew*. The Embroideries and Brocades that are made at this Place, are in Request throughout the whole Empire, because the Work is good and cheap. It is the Seat of the *Vice-Roy* of the Eastern part of this Province, whose particular Jurisdiction contains eight Cities, whereof one is of the second Order, and seven of the third; they are all very handsome, and a League and an half or two Leagues in Compass each.

PROV. II.
Kyang-nan

The Third City, Song-kyang-fu.

THIS City is built in the Water, and the *Chinese* Ships, or rather Vessels of Carriage, enter it on every Side, and so pass to the Sea, which is not far distant. The extraordinary Quantity of Cotton, and lovely Callico's of all sorts, wherewith it furnishes not only the Empire, but also foreign Countries, render it famous, and of very great Resort. These Callico's are so exceeding fine, that when they are dyed, one would take them for the finest Serge.

It has but four Cities under its Jurisdiction, but it is neither the less fertile nor rich on that Score: for, tho' these Cities are of the third Order, they may compare with the best for Magnitude, the extraordinary resort of Merchants from all Parts throughout the Year, and the different sorts of Commerce carry'd on there; such is for instance the City of *Shan-hay-byen*, where Ships from *Fo-kyen* are continually entring, and others sailing out to trade with *Japan*.

Shan-hay-byen.

The Fourth City, Chang-chew-fu. (r)

THIS is a famous City, and of great Trade, situate near the Canal, by which the Barks fail from *Sü-chew* into the *Yang-tse-kyang*; it is adorn'd with several Triumphant Arches, and the Sides of the Canal, which lead to it, are lined with hewn Stone. Its District contains only five Cities of the third Order, but most of them are very fair and well peopled. *Vü-fu-byen* (u) is a good League and an half in Compass, Exclusive of the Suburbs, which are a Mile and an half in Length; it is surrounded with a great Ditch in form of a Canal; the Walls are twenty five Feet high, and kept in very good Order; the Waters wherewith it abounds are very good, especially for Tea, to which it gives a very agreeable Flavour, not to be found elsewhere.

In another City of the same District, *China Ware* is made, which, according to them, adds an admirable Smell to the Water us'd for Tea; whence it is prefer'd to the best Porcelain of *King-te-ching*, and brings a considerable Trade to the Town.

Chang-chew-fu.

Vü-fu-byen.

The Fifth City, Chin-kyang-fu.

THIS is none of the largest Cities in the Province, for it is scarce three Miles in Compass; but it is one of the most considerable, on account of its Situation and Trade, being one of the Keys of the Empire towards the Sea, and at the same time a Place of Defence, where there is a Strong Garrison; its Walls in several Places are above thirty Feet in height, and made of Brick, which are at least four or five Inches thick; the Streets of the City and Suburbs are paved with Marble. It stands on the sides of the *Ta-kyang* (w), which, in this Place, is a Mile and an half broad, and to the East of a Canal, which they have cut as far as the River.

Six Paces from the Bank, in the River, stands a Hill, call'd *Kin-shan* or *Golden Hill*, because of its agreeable Situation; on the Top of it is a Tower several Stories high. This Island is at least five hundred Paces round, and has its Shores beset with Idol Temples, and Houses of *Bonzas*.

Opposite on the other side of the River stands *Qua-chew*; which, tho' it has not the Denomination of a City, and passes for no more than a *Ma-tew*, or Place of Trade, yet it is as considerable as the greatest Cities.

The Suburbs of *Chin-kyang* are a Geometrical Mile in Length, and as populous as the City itself, from which they pass to them over Stone Bridges. There is so great a Throng of People in the Streets, and especially at its Port, that one can scarce squeeze thro' them. There are some very agreeable Hills near the Town. Its Jurisdiction is but small, extending over no more than three Cities of the third Rank.

Chin-kyang-fu.

Kin-shan.

Qua-chew.

The Sixth City, Whay-ngan-fu.

THIS City, which is situate in a marshy Place, and is inclosed with a triple Wall, is rich, tho' not very populous; it is in Danger of being drown'd, by the extraordinary Increase of Water, for the Ground it stands on is lower than the Canal, which in several Places is supported only

Whay-ngan-fu.

(r) In the French it is *Tching-tchou-fou*, instead of *Tchang-tchou-fou*, as it ought to be according to both the Map and the Catalogue of Cities before inserted p. 5.

(u) In the Name of this City I follow the Map rather than

the Text, where it is Printed *Yung-tse-hien*, which according to the English Alphabet is written *Vü-tse-hien*.

(w) Or *Yang-tse-kyang*.

PROV. II.
Kyang-nan.

only by Banks of Earth: But two Leagues off, it has a Borough belonging to it, named *Tsing-kyang-pá*, which is as it were the Port of the River *Whang-bo*; it is very large, and populous, and the People commonly very busy. There, one of the great *Mandarins* resides, named *Tsong-bo*, that is, the *Surveyor General of the Rivers*, or *Grand Master of the Waters*. This *Mandarin* has a great Number of Officers under him, who have each their Divisions, and convenient Stations allotted.

Mohammedans in China.

Beyond the *Whang-bo* there are certain Towns along the Canal, where the *Mohammedans* have unsuccessfully endeavour'd to draw a Trade; their Mosques are very high, and not built in the Chinese Taste. Notwithstanding they have been settled there for so many Generations, they are still considered as of foreign Original, and from time to time meet with Insults. A few Years ago at *Hang kew* in the Province of *Hu-quang*, the People, provok'd by the indiscreet Behaviour of some of them, destroy'd the Mosques which they had built there, in Spight of all the Magistrates could do.

Marble.

Marble is very common in the District of this City; the Plains produce plenty of Rice and Wheat, and are watered by Rivers and Lakes, where all sorts of Fish are caught. It has eleven subordinate Cities, two of the second, and nine of the third Rank.

The Seventh City, Yang-chew-fu.

Yang-chew-fu.

THE Air of this City is mild and temperate, the Soil agreeable and fertile; it is built on the side of the Royal Canal, which extends from the *Ta-kyang*, and runs Northward to the *Whang-bo* or *Yellow River*. It is a Place of great Trade, especially in all sorts of Chinese Manufactures.

Great Trade in Salt.

That which contributes most to rendering it so populous, is the Sale of Salt, which is made on the Sea Coast in all Parts of its District and Neighbourhood; whence it is convey'd hither by means of Canals made on Purpose, which enter the Great Canal, whereon there is no City as far as *Pe-king*, comparable to it. This Salt is transported by a great Number of rich Dealers into the Provinces lying in the Heart of the Empire and very far from the Sea.

The City is divided into several Parts by Canals; the People are so numerous, and the Canals cover'd so thick with Barks, that there is free Passage for nothing but absolute Necessaries; there is a *Tartar* Garrison in the Place.

Over-against the Eastern Part one sees a Bridge and large Suburbs; the Croud is so great at all times, that the Bridge is not large enough to let them pass; this has oblig'd them to settle a Ferry-Boat, thirty Paces farther, which scarce suffices to carry over the People that turn that Way, altho' the Passage is not above twenty Paces over.

Yang-chew, is two Leagues in Circumference, and, including the Suburbs, contains 200,000 Souls. It has only six Cities of the third Rank in its Dependence. The Inhabitants are great Lovers of Pleasure; they educate several young Girls, whom they teach to sing, to play on Instruments of Musick, to paint, and all other Accomplishments that render the Sex agreeable; and afterwards sell them at a great Price to the rich Lords, who place them among their Concubines, that is, their Second-Hand Wives.

The Eighth City, Ngan-king-fu, Capital of the Western Part [I-si.]

Ngan-king-fu.

ITS Situation is charming; it is near the Borders of three Provinces, and tho' it be but five Days Journey from the Capital, yet it has a particular *Vice-Roy*; this *Mandarin* keeps a great Garrison, in a Fort that commands the Lake *Po-yang*, at the Entrance of the Province of *Kyang-si* and of the River *Yang-tse-kyang*.

This City is very considerable, on account of its Riches and Trade; whatever is carry'd to *Nan-king*, passes thro' it; there are but six Cities of the third Rank in its District, which is a very open, agreeable and fertile Country.

The Ninth City, Whey-chew-fu

Whey-chew-fu.

IS the most Southern City in the Province, and one of the wealthiest in the Empire; the Air is wholesome and temperate, tho' it is encompass'd with Mountains. It has within its Jurisdiction no more than six Cities of the third Order. The Inhabitants are reckon'd very expert in Trade; there is not any City, be the Commerce ever so small, without some Dealers from *Whey-chew*; nor any Bank or Change, in which there are not some of its Inhabitants principally concern'd.

Best Indian Ink made here.

The People there are thrifty and live sparingly; but they are bold and enterprising in Business. In the Mountains there are Mines of Gold, Silver, and Copper; and they say, it is the Country that produces the best Tea. In this City also the best Ink in *China* is made, wherewith the Shop-keepers of *Nan-king* are furnish'd. Every body knows this Ink is not liquid like ours, but made up in little Sticks, on which the Makers cut divers Figures of Flowers, Animals, Anticks, &c.

The Art of making Ink, as well as all the other Arts which have a Relation to the Sciences, is honourable in *China*, where there is no attaining to the Dignities of the Empire, but by the Sciences. They also prefer all the varnish'd Works that are made at *Whey-chew*, because the Varnish is more beautiful, and they have the Art of laying it on better there than any where else. The Earth whereof they make the *China* Ware, particularly at *King-te-ching*, is likewise found in the District of this City, near the Borders of the District of *Zbau-chew*, in the Province of *Kyang-fi*.

PROV. II.
Kyang-nan.
Best Varnish'd Work,
and Earth for
making *China*
Ware.

The Tenth City, Ning-que-fu.

THIS City is situate on a fine River, which falls into the *Yang-tse-kyang*. The Ground where it stands is uneven and rugged, because surrounded with Hills; but its Hillocks afford an agreeable Prospect, and its Mountains, which are all cover'd with Woods, furnish the Botanists with excellent Medicinal Herbs. There are in this Place a great many Manufacturies for Paper, which is made of a kind of Reeds. It has under its Jurisdiction six Cities of the third Rank.

Ning-que-fu.

The Eleventh City, Chi-chew-fu,

PRESIDES likewise over six *Hyen*; it stands on the Side of the *Yang-tse-kyang* (R), and tho' encompass'd with Hills, yet its District is fruitful, and furnishes plenty of all the Necessaries of Life; in case it should want any, it may be supply'd by the *Kyang*, which is continually carrying on its Waters the Riches of several Provinces.

Chi-chew-fu.

The Twelfth City, Tay-ping-fu.

BY this City's being situate on the *Yang-tse-kyang*, and by the Rivers wherewith its Plains are water'd, one may readily judge how easy it carries on Trade. It may be taken it in some measure for an Island, for it stands inclos'd by three Branches of Rivers, which fall into the *Kyang*; its District contains only three Cities, whereof the most considerable for Riches is *Vu-bu-byen*.

Tay-ping-fu.

The Thirteenth City, Fong-yang-fu.

IT stands on a Mountain, pretty near the Yellow River, and incloses several little Hills within its Walls. Its District is very large, comprehending eighteen Cities, whereof five are of the second Rank, and 13 of the third; besides a great Number of *Ma-tew*, or Places of Trade, settled on the River for the Conveniency of Merchants, and levying the Duties of the Empire. It is eighty Leagues from East to West, and sixty from North to South; so that it exceeds in Extent our greatest Provinces of *Europe*.

Fong-yang-fu.

As this was the Birth Place of *Hong-wu*, first Emperor of the preceding *Dynasty*, he resolv'd to render it famous, by making it a stately City, and the Capital of the Empire, which he did in 1367. Having driven the Western *Tartars* out of *China*, which they had been in Possession of 87 Years, he fix'd his Court at this Place, and named it *Fong-yang*, that is, the Place of the Splendor of the Eagle. He design'd to have made it the most large and famous in the Empire; but the Unevenness of the Ground, the Want of fresh Water, and most of all, the Neighbourhood of his Father's Tomb, caused him to change his Resolution; and by the unanimous Advice of his principal Officers he transferred his Seat to *Nan-king*, a more beautiful and commodious City, not above thirty two Leagues distant.

The Imperial
Seat for a
short Space.

As soon as he had determin'd to quit it, a Stop was put to all the Works that were then going forward. The Imperial Palace, which was to have had a triple Inclosure; the Walls that were to have been nine Leagues in Compass, and the Canals which were mark'd out, were all abandon'd. There were but three Monuments finish'd, which are still remaining; the Grandeur and Beauty whereof demonstrate how magnificent that City would have been, had the Emperor pursu'd his first Design.

Magnificent
Plan of a
City.

The first of these Monuments, the Tomb of the Father of *Hong-wu*, is adorn'd with every thing the most beautiful in its kind, that the *Chinese* Genius, and Filial Affection were able to invent; it is call'd *Wbang-lin*, or the Royal Tomb.

The second is a Tower, built in the midst of the City; it is the Figure of an oblong Square, a hundred Feet in Height, divided into four large Stories, raised on a massive Pile of Brick-work, forty Foot high, a hundred long, and sixty broad; it is, they say, the highest Structure in *China*, and is seen at a great Distance.

The third is a sumptuous Temple, erected to the Idol *Fo*; it was at first a little Pagod, where *Hong-wu*, after having lost his Parents, retired at the Age of seventeen, and served for some Years as Scullion in the Kitchen; being weary of such a slothful Life, he list'd himself a Soldier under one of the Chiefs of the Robbers, who had revolted against the *Tartars*. He

Rise of
Hong-wu.

VOL. I.

X

soon

(*) According to the Map, this City stands a Mile, or a Mile and an half from the *Kyang* on the East Side.

Prov. II. soon gave Proofs of his Valour, and the Chief, whose Esteem he had gain'd, gave him his Daughter in Marriage; shortly after he was declared his Successor by the unanimous Consent of the Troops.

Upon this seeing himself at the Head of a considerable Party, he aspired to no less than the Throne; his Reputation had already brought a great Number of brave Men into his Army, at the Head of which he attack'd the *Tartars* briskly, defeated them, and took *Nan-king*, with several other neighbouring Cities. He did not stay long there, but never ceased pursuing the *Tartars* till he had driven them entirely out of *China*. So many Battles he fought were so many Victories, whence he got the Name of *Hong-wu*, which signifies, a Prince of Valour, that triumphs over every thing.

Stately
Temple.

As soon as he came to the Throne, more out of Acknowledgment to those who had entertain'd him in his Misery, than any Trust he put in Idols, he caused the sumptuous Temple I have been speaking of, to be built in Favour of the *Bonzas*; it begins by a Row of five great Piles of Buildings after the Imperial Manner, flank'd with divers Halls and Lodgings for the *Bonzas*; to whom he assign'd Revenues for maintaining three hundred Persons handsomely, under a Chief of their Sect, whom he constituted a *Mandarin*, to govern them independant of the Officers of the City.

This Pagod was call'd *Long-bing-se*, that is, *The Temple which the Dragon came out of*, because the Emperor bears a Dragon and six Griffins for his Arms; it was kept up so long as the last *Dynasty* continued, but afterwards, during the Civil Wars, it was almost entirely ruin'd, and nothing remains of it now, but the five main Buildings aforesaid.

The present *Dynasty* of the Eastern *Tartars*, who succeeded, have taken no Care to repair this Temple; so that there is not above one in twenty of those Idol Priests remaining, who besides are almost reduced to Beggary.

Except these three Monuments, there is scarce any thing to be seen in *Fong-yang* worth Notice; it has been so intirely ruin'd by the Wars, that from an Imperial City it is dividnd to a large Village; it is pretty populous, and well built towards the middle, but in all other parts of it, nothing is to be met with but low thatch'd Houses or open Fields, where they plant Tobacco, in which the Riches, and almost the whole Trade of the Country consists.

In the neighbouring Mountains there is found abundance of Talc, and red Wormwood, used by the Physicians. Its Plains are water'd by fine Rivers, and among others, the great *Whay-bo* (s), which rises in the Mountains of the Province of *Ho-nan*, runs thro' the whole Country, and after a long Course, passes thro' the Lake *Hong-tse*, and falls into the *Whang-bo*, about thirty nine Leagues from its Mouth.

The Fourteenth City, Lyu-chew-fu.

Lyu-chew-fu.

THE Country, where this City stands, is pleasant, and very fertile; the Lake *Tsau*, in the midst of which there is an Island, furnishes Fish of all Sorts, and waters the Plains so well, that they produce plenty of all sorts of Grain and Fruit, and especially the best Sort of Tea, on which account chiefly the whole District is famous. They make very good Paper here.

Famed for
Tea and
Paper.

Its Mountains, especially those which are in the Neighbourhood of *Lü-kyang-byen*, are cover'd with very fine Trees; there is a very remarkable Bridge near *Lü-ngan-chew*. Its Jurisdiction is pretty large, containing eight Cities, two of the second Rank, and six of the third.

The Island of Tsong-ming.

Island of
Tsong-ming.

THIS Island, which belongs to the Province of *Kyang-nan*, is separated from it on the West by an Arm of the Sea, that is not above five or six Leagues over; they pretend it has been form'd by Degrees, of the Earth, which the *Yang-tse-kyang* brought along with it from the several Provinces that it washes. Wherefore, beside the Name of *Tsong-ming*, they commonly call it *Kyang-she*, which signifies *The Tongue of the River*, either because, being longer than broad, it resembles a Tongue, or that it lies directly at the Mouth of that great River.

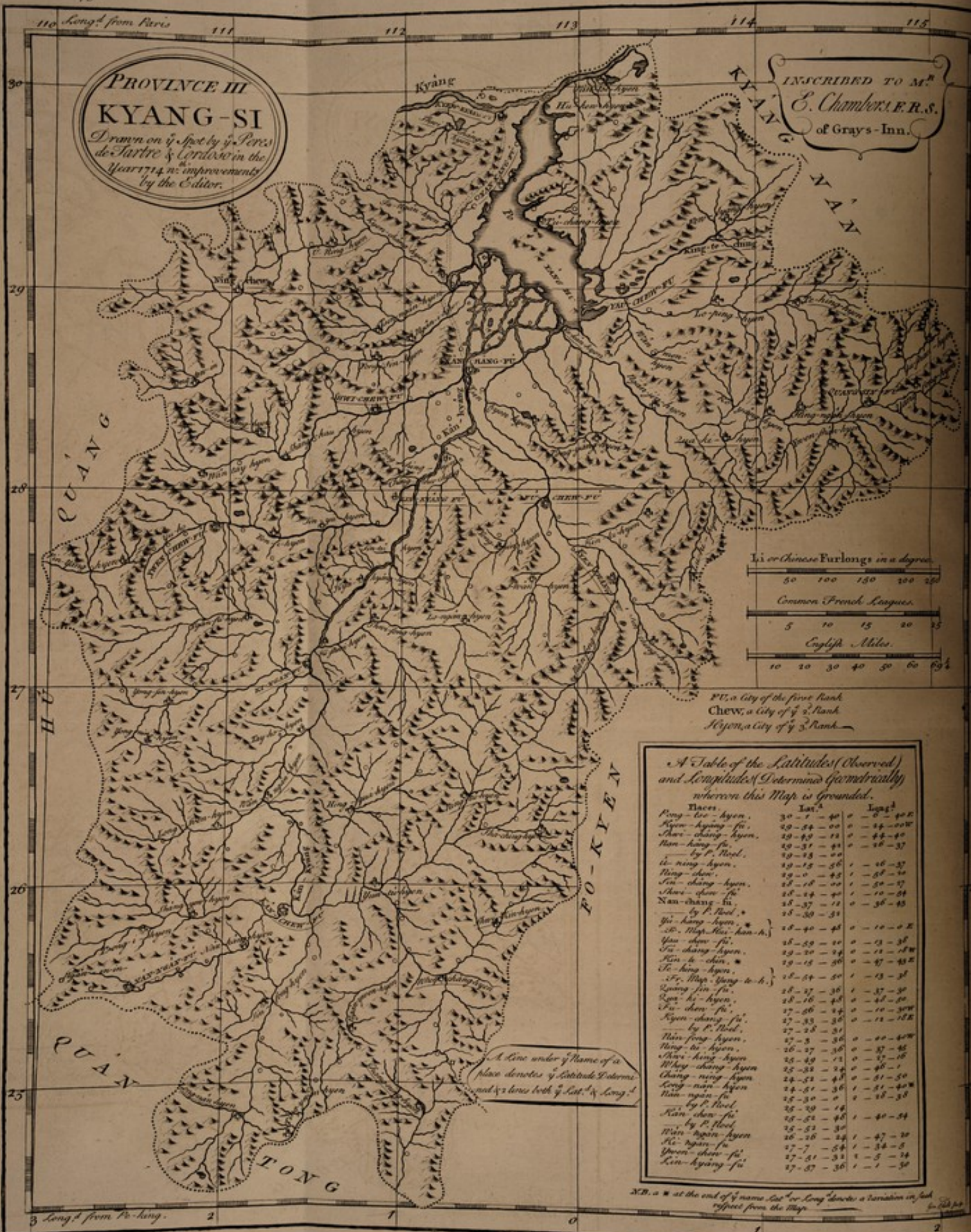
How first
Peopled.

Anciently it was a desert sandy Country, over-run with Reeds, where the Robbers and Villains, of whom they wanted to purge the Empire, were banish'd. The first who were transported there, were under a Necessity either of perishing by Famine, or getting their Food by cultivating the Earth; the Desire of Living render'd them active and industrious; they clear'd this uncultivated Land, pluck'd up the Weeds, sow'd a few Grains they brought with them, and in a short time reap'd the Fruit of their Labours. Some *Chinese* Families, who found it difficult to live on the Continent, took it in their Heads to go and settle there, whither they went and divided the arable Ground amongst them.

These new Comers, not being able to improve their respective Shares, invited other Families from the Continent, to whom they made over for ever part of the Lands, on condition they pay'd a yearly Rent, in the Produce of the Country. The Duty, which the first Proprietors reserv'd, is call'd *Quo-tew*, and still subsists.

The Isle of *Tsong-ming* is about twenty Leagues long, and five or six broad. There is only one City, on it which is of the third Rank, inclos'd with very high Walls, supported by good Terrasses

(s) In the Text it is *Hai ho*, instead of *Hoai ho*, as it is elsewhere written, agreeable to the Map.



FU, a City of the first Rank
Chew, a City of y 2^d Rank
Kien, a City of y 3^d Rank

*A Table of the Latitudes (Observed)
and Longitudes (Determined Geometrically)
whereon this Map is Grounded.*

| Places | Lat. | Long. |
|------------------|----------|------------|
| Pong-lee-hyen. | 30-1-40 | 0-0-40 E. |
| Kien-hyang-fu. | 29-54-00 | 0-24-00 W. |
| Shan-chang-hyen. | 29-49-12 | 0-44-40 |
| Nan-hang-fu. | 29-31-41 | 0-26-37 |
| by P. Noel. | | |
| Shi-ning-hyen. | 29-15-26 | 1-16-37 |
| Hing-chou. | 29-0-42 | 1-58-30 |
| Shi-chang-hyen. | 28-18-00 | 1-30-37 |
| Shi-shou-fu. | 28-14-40 | 1-10-54 |
| Nan-chang-fu. | 28-37-12 | 0-36-45 |
| by P. Noel. | | |
| Shi-hang-hyen. | 28-40-45 | 0-10-0 E. |
| Shi-hang-hyen. | 28-59-00 | 0-13-36 |
| Shi-chang-hyen. | 28-20-24 | 0-11-18 W. |
| Shi-hi-chou. | 28-15-30 | 0-27-45 E. |
| Shi-hang-hyen. | 28-54-50 | 1-13-36 |
| Shi-hang-hyen. | 28-17-36 | 1-37-30 |
| Shi-hi-hyen. | 28-16-45 | 0-46-00 |
| Shi-chou-fu. | 27-58-24 | 0-10-30 W. |
| Kien-chang-fu. | 27-33-36 | 0-12-18 E. |
| by P. Noel. | | |
| Nan-fong-hyen. | 27-3-36 | 0-40-40 W. |
| Hing-hi-hyen. | 26-27-36 | 0-37-45 |
| Shi-hing-hyen. | 25-49-12 | 0-37-16 |
| Shi-chang-hyen. | 25-32-24 | 0-46-1 |
| Chang-ning-hyen. | 24-52-48 | 0-51-50 |
| Long-nan-hyen. | 24-51-36 | 1-51-40 W. |
| Nan-nan-fu. | 25-30-0 | 1-18-38 |
| by P. Noel. | | |
| Nan-chou-fu. | 25-20-18 | 1-40-54 |
| Shi-hi-hyen. | 25-52-30 | 1-47-30 |
| Shi-hi-hyen. | 26-26-24 | 1-47-30 |
| Shi-hi-hyen. | 27-7-54 | 1-34-5 |
| Shi-hi-hyen. | 27-51-32 | 1-5-14 |
| Shi-hi-hyen. | 27-57-36 | 1-1-50 |

N.B. a * at the end of y name Lat. or Long. denotes a Variation in fact
respect from the Map.

Terrasses, and surrounded with Ditches full of Water; the Champain is cut into an infinite Number of Canals, edg'd with very high Causeys, to prevent Inundations; for the Land is even, and void of Hills. The Air is wholesome and temperate, and the Country pleasant.

PROV. II.
Kyang-nan.

Every now and then one meets with large Boroughs, well furnish'd with Shops, where all things for necessary Uses, and even Pleasure may be had. Between the Boroughs there are as many Houses scatter'd up and down the Country, as there are Families employ'd in Husbandry. It is true these make no extraordinary Figure, excepting those of the richer sort, which are built with Brick, and cover'd with Tiles; the Walls of all the rest are made of Reeds platted, and the Roofs of Stubble. The Trees that are planted on both sides of the Ditches, which surround the Houses, and are full of running Water, give them an Agreeableness which they want in themselves.

The great Roads are narrow, because the Inhabitants are very sparing of their Land, but lin'd on both sides with little Houses of Shop-keepers, who sell Refreshments to Travellers. One would almost imagine the whole Island, in those Places where it is best cultivated, to be one Village of an immense Extent.

Roads.

The Island affords no Game, but there is plenty of large Geese, wild and tame Ducks, Hens, Hogs, and Buffaloes, which they reserve for the Plough. Fruit is scarce, the Ground producing nothing but large Limons, small four Oranges fit for Sauces; Apricocks, huge Peaches, the Fruit call'd *Se-tse*, of which I shall speak elsewhere, and large Water-Melons; with all sorts of Herbs and Pulse the whole Year round.

Productions.

There are three different sorts of Soil in this Island; the first lies to the North, and is wholly uncultivated, but the Reeds, which grow there naturally, yield a very considerable Income; as there are no Trees throughout the Island (†), part of those Reeds is employ'd in building Houses about the Country, the other part serves for Fuel, and supply's not only the whole Island, but also part of the neighbouring Coasts on the Continent.

Nature of the Soil.

The second sort of Land is that which extends, from the first, as far as the Sea on the South-side. It affords the Inhabitants two Harvests every Year, one of Grain in general, which always falls in May, the other is either of Rice or Cotton; the first in September, the second soon after. Their Grain is Rice, Wheat, Barley, and a kind of bearded Corn, which, tho' resembling Rice, is yet of a quite different Nature.

There is a third sort of Land, which, tho' barren in Appearance, is yet more profitable than the other two; it consists of a greyish sort of Earth, dispers'd, by Spots of the Bigness of two Acres, over several parts of the Isle on the North-side; it yields so great a Quantity of Salt, that those of the Continent are supply'd with it, as well as the Islanders. It is pretty difficult to account whence it is that certain Portions of Land, scatter'd here and there over the whole Country, should be impregnated with Salt to such a Degree, as not to produce a single Blade of Grass; while at the same time the Lands contiguous to them are very fertile, both in Corn and Cotton. It often happens also that the fertile Lands, in their turn, become full of Salt, and the Saline Lands fit for sowing.

These are some of the Secrets of Nature, which the Mind of Man strives in vain to dive into, and ought to make him admire more and more the Grandeur and Power of the Author of Nature.

PROVINCE III. KYANG-SI.

PROV. III.
Kyang-si.

THIS Province is bounded on the North by that of *Kyang-nan*, on the West by *Hu-quang*, on the South by *Yang-tong*, and on the East by those of *Fo-kyen* and *Che-kyang*. The Mountains, which are in the Southern part of it, and unite with those of *Yang-tong* and *Fo-kyen*, are almost inaccessible; but having pass'd them, one discovers very fine Valleys and Plains exceeding well improv'd.

Bounds.

However, it is so populous, that notwithstanding its Fertility, it does not yield much more Rice, than is sufficient for the Use of the Inhabitants; they also pass for being great Oeconomists, and their frugality draws on them the Raillery of the neighbouring Provinces; in other respects they are of an excellent Genius, and produce a great Number of able Men, who obtain the Degrees, and are advanc'd to the Magistracy.

Inhabitants.

Kyang-si is water'd with Brooks, Lakes, and Rivers, which abound with all sorts of Fish, particularly Salmon, Trouts and Sturgeon. The Mountains, with which it is encompass'd, are cover'd over with Woods, or famous for their Minerals, Simples, and Medicinal Herbs.

Produce.

This Province, besides abounding in all Necessaries of Life, is very rich in Mines of Gold, Silver, Lead, Iron and Tin. It furnishes very beautiful Silks, and the Rice Wine made here is reckon'd delicious by the *Chinese*; but what renders it most famous is, that lovely *Cbina* Ware made at *King-te-ching*, and the Rice it produces, which is much esteem'd in the Empire, and whereof many Imperial Barks are freighted.

The Flower of *Lien-wa*, so much valued in *China*, is found almost every where in this Province; it grows principally in the Lakes, just as the Water-Lilly in *Europe* springs up in Standing Waters; but is very different from the Water-Lilly, as well in the Root and Blossom, as the Fruit. Nothing is more agreeable than to see whole Lakes all cover'd with its Flowers, which

The *Lien-wa*, or Water-Lilly.

(†) That is Trees for Timber, otherwise those planted about the Houses in the Country must be excepted.

are cultivated every Year, the great Lords keep them in little Ponds, sometimes in great Vases fill'd with Mud and Water, which serve to adorn their Gardens or Courts.

PROV. III.
Kyang-fu.

This Flower, which shoots up above the Top of the Water, the Height of a Yard, or Yard and an half, pretty nearly resembles our Tulip; it consists of a little Ball, supported by a small Filament, much like that which is found in the Lilly; its Colour is either Violet, or White, or partly Red and partly White; the Smell is very agreeable; its Fruit is of the Size of a Hazel-Nut, the Kernel whereof is white and well tasted. The Physicians prize it, being of Opinion that it nourishes and strengthens, for which Reason they prescribe it for those who are weak, or after a severe Sickness do not easily recover their Strength; the Leaves are long, and float on the Water, they are fasten'd to the Root by long Strings; the Gardeners make use of them to wrap their Ware in. The Root is knotty like that of Reeds; its Pith and Substance is very white; it is esteem'd and much used, especially in Summer, because it is very refreshing; there is nothing in this Plant but what is of use, for they even make Meal of it, which serves for several Occasions.

The River *Kan-kyang* divides this Province into two Parts, which contains thirteen Cities of the first Rank, and seventy eight of the second and third Rank.

The First City, Nan-chang-fu, the Capital.

Nan-chang-fu.

THIS is one of the finest Cities that are situate on the Banks of their charming Rivers. It was formerly ruin'd by the *Tartars*, whose Yoke it refusing to submit to, they set it on Fire, and nothing remain'd of it excepting the Walls; but it has been since re-built.

The Compass of its Walls is not great, and along the Port the River (v) is pretty deep; that which renders it a Place of so great Trade, is the Canals and Rivers, by which it may be enter'd on every side. It is not far off the Lake *Po-yang*, into which the River discharges itself, after it has collected almost all the Waters of the Province, from the Southern End whereof it comes.

China Ware.

The *China Ware*, which is made in the District of *Zbau-chew-fu*, standing on the Eastern side of the same Lake, is the Commodity wherein all its Trade consists; and indeed it draws a great Number of Dealers from the rest of the Provinces, for the Sort that is made at *Kanton*, in the Province of *Po-kyen*, and some other Places, is not so much esteem'd in *China*, as Earthen Ware is in *Europe*; Strangers cannot mistake it, for it is white as Snow, does not Shine, and is without any Mixture of Colours.

It seems that the Water of the Place where the *China* is made, contributes to its Beauty and Goodness, for they do not make so good elsewhere, altho' they employ the same Materials; these Materials are not only found on the Borders of this Province, but also in one Place on those of *Kyang-nan*; what this Earth is, and how it must be order'd, will be shown hereafter; and as one cannot from a bare Description form an exact Notion of the Nature of the kinds of Stones and Earths, that are employ'd in this Manufacture, I have procur'd Samples of them from *China*, and put them into the Hands of Mr. *de Reaumur*, one of the Members of the Academy of Sciences, who is capable of discovering whether there are any of the same Kind in the Provinces of *France*.

Eight Cities depend on *Nan-chang*, whereof seven are of the third, and only one of the second Rank. Its Plains are so well cultivated, that it is hard to find Places for Cattle to graze in; it has always produced a great Number of Literati, and is full of Persons of Distinction. The *Vice-Roy* keeps his Court in this City, where there are considerable Officers and Magistrates. Under the preceding Dynasty, several Families of Princes of the Imperial House dwelt there, whose Fortune was somewhat capricious, but not inglorious. At present all the Princes remain at Court, and are not suffer'd to leave it.

The Second City, Zhau-chew-fu.

Zbau-chew-fu.

THIS City, which has within its District seven others of the third Order, has a very beautiful and pleasant Situation, being built on the North-side of the Lake *Po-yang*, and encompass'd with Rivers that fall into the Lake.

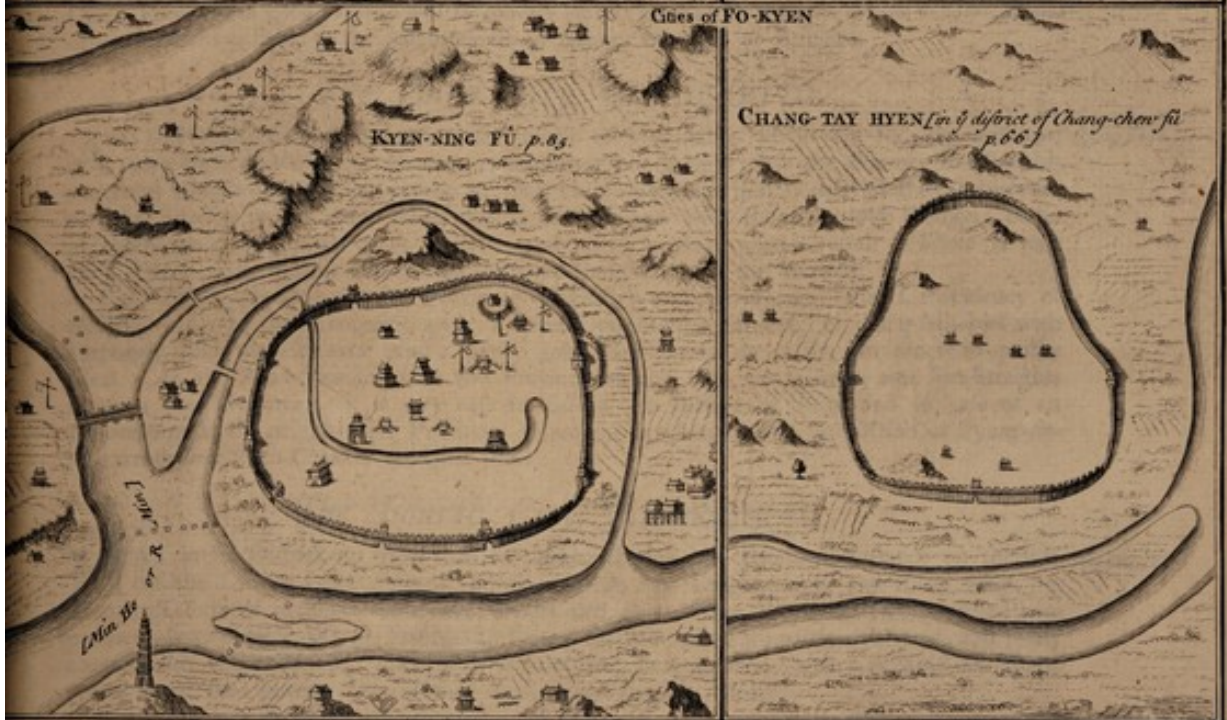
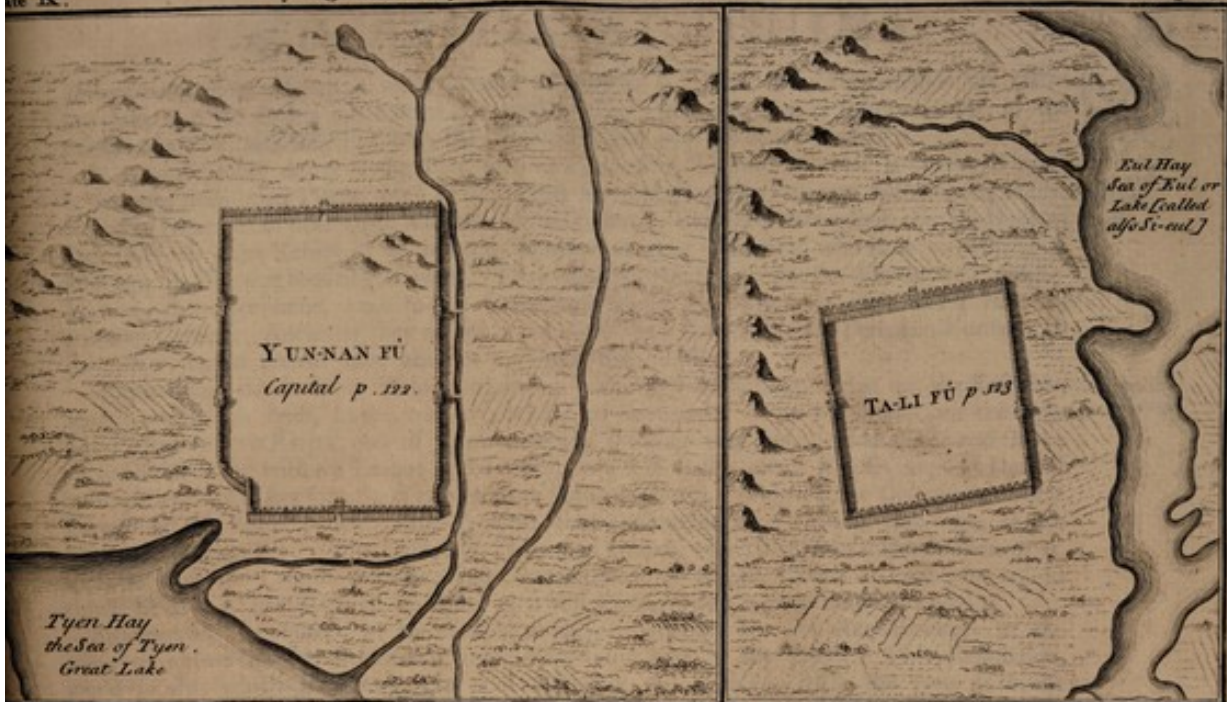
King-te-ching.
Famous for
China Ware.

All the Country is flat, and render'd extraordinary fruitful by the Rivers that water it, but it is chiefly famous for the beautiful *China Ware* made at *King-te-ching*, which is in its District.

This Borough, where the true Artificers for Porcelain are to be found, is as well peopled as the greatest City in *China*, and wants nothing but Walls to merit the Name. These Places call'd *Ching*, which are of great Resort and Trade, are not enclos'd. They reckon in this Borough more than a Million of Inhabitants, who consume every Day above ten thousand Loads of Rice, and one thousand Hogs, exclusive of other Animals, whose Flesh they eat. The Houses of the Merchants take up a great Deal of Room, and contain a prodigious Multitude of Workmen.

King-te-ching extends a League and an half along a fine River, and is not a Heap of Houses as might be imagin'd, but the Streets are very long, and intersect each other at certain Distances;

(v) The *Kan-kyang* before-mention'd.



Distances, without a Scrap of waste Ground to spare in it. The Houses themselves are rather too close, and the Streets too narrow; in passing thro' them one would think himself in the middle of a Fair, and they ring with the Cries of Porters, who are clearing way.

It is considerably dearer living here than at *Zhou-chew*, because whatever is consum'd must be brought from other Places, even to the Wood for supplying the Furnaces with Fuel, which at present comes from near three hundred Miles Distance; but notwithstanding the Dearness of Provisions, it is the Refuge of an infinite Number of poor Families, who have no Means of subsisting in the neighbouring Towns. They find Employment here for Youths and weakly Persons; there are none, even to the Lame and Blind, but what get their living here by grinding Colours. Anciently they reckon'd no more than three hundred Porcelain Furnaces at this Place, but at present they amount to about five hundred.

King-te-ching stands in a Plain, surrounded with high Mountains; that on the East-side, against which it is built, forms, without, a kind of Semicircle. The Mountains on the Sides give Passage to two Rivers, one of them is small, the other very large; which unite and make an handsome Port, within a League of the Place, in a vast Basin, where it loses a good Deal of its Rapidity. One sees sometimes two or three Rows of Barks, following one another the whole Length of this Space; this is the Prospect that presents itself on entering, thro' one of the Straights, into the Port. The Clouds of Flame and Smoke, which ascend in different Parts of it, shew at once the Length, Breadth, and Circumference of *King-te-ching*; at Night one would think he saw a great City all on Fire, or a vast Furnace with a great many Vent-holes.

Strangers are not suffer'd to be at *King-te-ching*: whoever has not Acquaintances in the Place to answer for his Behaviour, must lodge at Night in his Barks. This Regulation, join'd to that which is observ'd Day and Night in the Borough itself, the same as in the Cities, keeps all in good Order; and establishes perfect Security in a Place, whose Riches would otherwise make it liable to the Attempts of an infinite Number of Robbers.

The Third City, Quang-sin-fu.

ALTHO' this City is situated in the midst of Mountains, which are for the most part very high and of great Extent, it must not be thought that the Country is less cultivated and inhabited. A great Number of these Hills are divided into plough'd Lands, which are no way inferior to the most fertile Plains, and abound with Boroughs and Villages: Some of them are cover'd with great Forests, and others produce good Crystal. There is very good Paper made at this Place, and the best Candles in all the Empire.

This Country borders on the Provinces of *Po-kyen* and *Che-kyang*. The Conveniency of escaping easily to the Mountains, gave Robbers Opportunities formerly of doing Mischief with Impunity, and the Emperor kept a pretty good Garrison in the City, in order to pursue them. As the Roads, leading into the Province on this Side, are narrow, and like Straights between the Mountains, it is very easy to defend the Passage of them, and in case of an Insurrection in the neighbouring Provinces, to prevent Invasions. The Jurisdiction of *Quang-sin-fu* extends over seven Cities of the third Rank.

The Fourth City, Nan-kang-fu,

HAS in its District no more than four others of the third Rank, and stands on the side of the famous Lake *Po-yang*, which is about four Leagues long, and thirty broad; it affords all sorts of excellent Fish, and divides this Part of the Province in two. The Plains produce plenty of Rice, Wheat, Fruits, and Pulse; the Mountains are partly cultivated, and partly cover'd with thick Woods, some of which are five Leagues in Length. A kind of Hemp grows about the Town, whereof they make good Summer-Cloaths.

The Fifth City, Kyew-kyang-fu,

IS a large City of great Trade, situate on the South-side of the *Tang-tse-kyang*, pretty near the Place where the Lake *Po-yang* communicates with that River; thus being environ'd with Water on the North and East-sides (x), it becomes the Rendezvous of all the Barks, that go and come from the other Cities of this Province, as well as those of *Kyang-nan* and *Hu-quang*. Altho' it is near a hundred Leagues from the Sea, they catch Salmon, Dolphins, and Sturgeon in the River which washes its Walls, the Water whereof ebbs and flows at the New and Full Moon; it runs so slowly from this City to the Sea, that its Course is almost imperceptible.

The Sixth City, Kyen-chang-fu.

THIS City is situate on the Borders of the Province of *Po-kyen*, in a pleasant and fruitful Country. Five Cities of the third Order depend on it; it is famous still, but was much more so formerly. The Rice Wine made here is pretty good, but the Rice itself is not; so that Persons of Fortune have it brought from some neighbouring Town. However the Land produces a sort of red Rice that is well tasted, and very wholesome. They make a kind of Linnen here of Hemp, which is esteem'd, and worn during the Summer Heats.

(x) Rather on the North and West Sides, which are wash'd by Rivers, the Lake being 3 or 4 Miles from it at least.

PROV. III.
Kyang-fi.

The Seventh City, Vu-chew-fu, or Fu-chew fu,

*Vu-chew-fu, or
Fu-chew-fu.*

STANDS on the side of a River in a great Plain, sufficiently fertile; the Compass of its Walls is greater than that of any City in *France*, excepting *Paris*; its Government may extend twenty or twenty five Leagues, and contains six Cities of the third Rank.

To judge of its ancient Beauty by what still remains, it must have been one of the most flourishing Cities of the Empire, before the last Wars; but since it was sack'd by the *Tartars*, it is become a Heap of Ruins and Rubbish; in the midst whereof every now and then one sees certain Houses, which are repair'd, and form, as it were, Hamlets, Villages, and Boroughs in the City itself; excepting the East-side, which is well built, and contains almost all the Tribunals of the *Mandarins*.

They reckon but 40, or 50,000 Inhabitants in the City and Suburbs; the Country, to make amends, is very populous and well improv'd. In several Places they have two Harvests of Rice every Year; and it is out of the District of this City, that most part of the Rice is taken, which the Province is oblig'd to furnish yearly to the Emperor: it is very good, and so white that it dazzles the Eyes.

The Air is very pure and wholesome. Nothing can be more agreeable than its Mountains, from whence descend Brooks and Rivers, which water and fertilize the whole Country, and this makes such plenty of Provisions here. Figs thrive very well; and a Missionary, having planted Vines in his Garden, they produc'd very good Grapes, whereof he made some Wine; but as to other sorts of Fruit they do not ripen kindly, probably because the Soil is too moist.

The Eighth City, Lin-kyang-fu.

Lin-kyang-fu.

IN the District of this City, and three Leagues distant on the side of the great River *Kan-kyang*, stands a *Cbing*, or Borough, where there is a great Trade for Drugs and Simples, because it is a celebrated Port, where Barks arrive from all the Southern Parts, loaden with Medicinal Herbs, whereof Remedies are compos'd, and where they come from the other Provinces in quest of them. As to the City it is not populous, and has but little Trade; the Inhabitants live very saving, whence they say, by way of sneer, that *one Hog serves the City two Days*. Its District contains no more than four Cities of the third Order.

It is situated two Leagues and an half from the *Kan-kyang*, on the side of the River *Yu-bo*; its Soil is good, and Air wholesome; it produces excellent Oranges, which are sent into the neighbouring Provinces, and indeed almost all its Trade consists in them; the Mountains surrounding it are cover'd with great Trees, or cultivated by way of Terrasses.

The Ninth City, Ki-ngan-fu.

Ki-ngan-fu.
Dangerous
Passage, see
p. 83.

NINE Cities of the third Rank depend on this City, which is situate on the side of the *Kan-kyang*. It is here that one perceives the Danger there is in descending that River; the Stream runs with extreme Impetuosity among several Rocks, which are even with the Surface of the Water, so that one runs a great Risk of perishing, unless he has a skilful Pilot. Hence all Barks that want Pilots are us'd to provide themselves in this City, or at least hire Men to help to steer, till they have past these dangerous Places: for there are eighteen Currents, which require both Strength and Skill, either to ascend or descend them. They call this *Sbe-pa-tan*. Tho' the Country is uneven, the Plains in it are not less agreeable or fertile. They say that there are Mines of Gold and Silver in the Mountains.

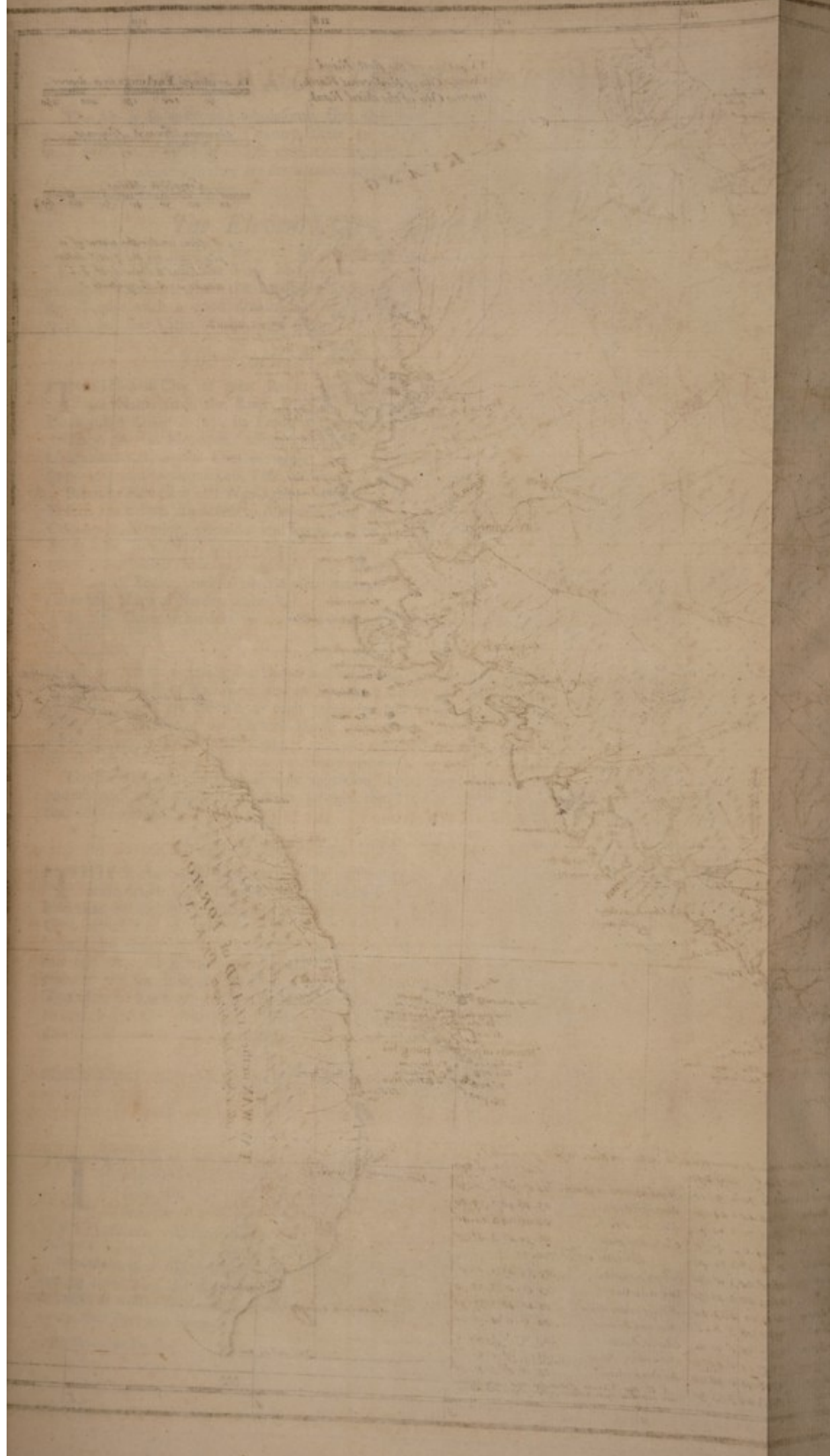
The Tenth City, Shwi-chew-fu.

Shwi-chew-fu.

THIS City stands on the side of one of the Branches of the *Kan-kyang*; as it is divided by a River in two Parts, each of which is encompass'd by a Wall, it seems to be two Cities. This River bears great Barks at all times, but especially from *February* to *August*, when it is swell'd by the Rains.

These two Parts of the City are join'd together by two Bridges, one of Stone with upwards of ten Arches well built; and the other of Boats, which rises and falls according as the Water increases and diminishes.

In one of these Enclosures, call'd the North City, dwell all the *Mandarins*, both great and small; viz. the *Mandarins* of the People, the *Mandarins* of War, and the *Mandarins* of Literature; whence it is also call'd the *Mandarin City*. The other part, call'd the South City, contains almost all the considerable Families, the Burghers, and the common People, without so much as one *Mandarin* among them. As the Gates of both these Divisions are shut, during the Night, in case any Disturbance should happen in the latter, the *Mandarin* would find it difficult sometimes to suppress it as speedily as might be required.





The Air is so mild and wholesome, that they have given it the Name of the *Happy*. In the Brooks that water the Country, there are found Gold and Silver Sand; its Fields are very fertile, and suffice to furnish its part of the Rice, which is sent to Court; the Mountains and Forests, wherewith they are surrounded, afford a very agreeable Prospect; in these Mountains they get the *Lapis Armenus*.

Prov. III.
Kyang-fu.
Lapis
Armenus.

The Eleventh City, Ywen-chew-fu,

YIELDS to none of the rest in fertility of Soil, and plenty of every thing. It is situate on the side of the River *Yu-bo*; and has in its Neighbourhood a little Lake beset with Houses of Pleasure, where the Inhabitants often go to divert themselves. It furnishes the rest of the Empire with a good deal of Vitriol and Alum; but its District is inconsiderable, as containing but four Cities of the third Order.

The Twelfth City, Kan-chew-few.

THIS is a City of great Resort, and may be compared to *Rouen* for Bigness; it takes its Name from the River whereon it is situate (v), altho' it receives another in that Place call'd *Chang-bo* (z); its Trade is not inferior to that of the Capital.

They say its Mountains afford extraordinary Plenty of Medicinal Herbs, as well as those of *Qyang-jin-fu*, at the Foot of which the Chief [Priest] of the Bonzas of the Sect of *Tau-tse*, (who assumes the magnificent Title of *Tyen-se* or *Heavenly Master*) has his Residence.

Between *Kan-chew* and *Nan-ngan*, whereof I shall speak by and by, there are nothing but Desarts; but from *Kan-chew* to *Nan-chang* for the Space of sixty Leagues along the River, the Country is charming, populous and fertile. The rapid Current spoken of in the Description of *Ki ngan fu*, is a Days Journey from *Kan-chew*; it is near twenty Leagues in Length, and when once Vessels have past it, they find themselves in a fine River, six times broader than the *Seine* at *Rouen*; and so cover'd with Barks, that at any time of the Day one may reckon above fifty Ships of Burden under Sail.

As this Country borders on the Provinces of *Hu-quang*, *Fo-kyen*, and *Qyang-tong*, and was formerly infested with Robbers, who easily escap'd out of one Province into another, a *Tau-ye* was establish'd here, who is Governor of two Cities of the first Rank; there is also a Custom-House erected for receiving the Duties laid on Goods that pass up and down the two Rivers.

Near the Walls of *Kan-chew*, and in the Place where these two Rivers meet, there is a Bridge of Boats, which are fasten'd to each other by Iron Chains. Near this Bridge is the Office, where the Receiver of the Custom-House comes every Day, to see the Barks search'd, and examine if they have paid the Duty; one of these Boats is so order'd as to open and shut, for the Barks to pass, after they have been examin'd.

The District of this City is very extensive, containing twelve Cities of the third Rank; and abounds with those Trees from whence the Varnish distills, which is some of the best that *China* affords.

Dangerous
Passage.

The Thirteenth City, Nan-ngan-fu.

THIS is the most Southern City in the Province; it is as big as *Orleans*, very handsome and populous, of great Trade, and much frequented; for here all the Merchandizes must land that go to, or come from the Province of *Qyang-tong*. The Suburbs are larger than the City, which has no more than four Cities of the third Order under its Jurisdiction.

In going from *Nan-ngan* to *Nan-hyong*, the first City of the Province of *Qyang-tong* on that side, one must travel ten Leagues by Land; at the End of the first two Leagues you come to a Mountain, so steep, that in some Places they have cut it in form of Stairs; the Top of it is Rock to the Depth of forty Feet, which they have been oblig'd to cut in order to open a Passage. Altho' these Mountains are uncultivated, the Spaces between them are improv'd, and as well cover'd with Rice as the most fertile Valleys.

Nan-ngan-fu

Mountain
Mey-lin.

PROVINCE IV. FO-KYEN.

THIS is one of the least yet richest Provinces of the Empire; its Situation is advantageous for Navigation and Commerce, and the Climate hot, but at the same time the Air pure and wholesome; as part of it is wash'd by the Sea, they catch abundance of Fishes on the Coast, which being dry'd and salted, are sent into the inland Provinces. Along its Shores, which are very irregular, occasion'd by the many Bays of different Sorts, they have built a great Number of Forts for their Defence.

It contains nine *Fu*, or Cities of the first Rank, and sixty *Hyen*, or Towns of the third Rank; among these nine *Fu* they reckon *Tay-wan*, Capital of the Island of *Formosa*, which I shall describe, as well as *Hya-men*, or *Emoy*, a Port of this Province, and the Isles of *Pong-bu*, lying between that Port and *Formosa*.

Prov. IV.
Fo-kyen.
Situation.

Division;

(v) This is the *Kan-tyang*.

(z) The *Chang bo* does not fall into the *Kan-tyang* at the Town.

PRDV. IV. *Fo-kyen* is bounded by *Che-kyang* on the North, *Kyang-fi* on the West, *Quang-tong* on the South, and on the East by the Sea of *China*.

Fo-kyen
Bounds.
Soil.

Its Mountains, by the Industry of the Inhabitants, are almost all form'd into a sort of Amphitheatres and Terraces, plac'd one over another, and sow'd with Rice; its Plains are water'd by great Rivers, Torrents and Springs that descend from the Mountains, and are dextrously convey'd by the Husbandmen to supply the Rice, which never grows but in Water. They have the Art of raising the Water to the Top of the highest Mountains, and convey it from one to the other, by Pipes of *Bambú*, with which this Province abounds.

Commodities

Besides, *Fo-kyen* producing whatever grows in most of the other Provinces of the Empire, it is render'd exceeding rich by the Trade which its Inhabitants drive with *Japan*, the *Philippine Islands*, *Formosa*, *Java*, *Kamboya*, *Siam*, &c. The Commodities found here are, Musk, precious Stones, Quick-silver, Silk, Hempen-Cloth and Callico, Steel, and all sorts of Utensils, made to great Perfection; and they bring from foreign Countries Cloves, Cinnamon, Pepper, Sandal-Wood or Sanders, Amber, Coral, and many other such Goods. Its Mountains are cover'd with Forests, full of Trees fit for building Ships, and contain Mines of Tin and Iron; they say also that they yield some of Gold and Silver, but it is forbidden to open them under Pain of Death.

Fruit.

Among the Fruits that it produces, there are excellent Oranges, bigger than those known in *Europe*, having both the Taste and Smell of Muscadine Grapes; the peel comes off very easily, is thick, and of a bright yellow; they candy them with Sugar, and transport them into other Provinces. Here also are found those beautiful red Oranges, which we have describ'd elsewhere.

In this Province also, as well as in *Quang-tong*, there grow two sorts of Fruit peculiar to *China*, that are much esteem'd, and not to be found elsewhere, viz. *Li-chi* and *Long-ywen*, spoken of at the Beginning of this Work. I shall only add, that there is scarce any Fruit in the World so delicious as the *Li-chi*, especially that kind which has the little Stone. The Plant call'd *Tyen-scha*, which grows here, and is used by the Dyers in dying Blue, is in far greater Esteem than that which grows in the other Provinces.

Language.

They speak a different Language in most of the Cities of this Province, each of which has a Dialect of its own; Passengers find this very inconvenient; the *Mandarin* Language, which is the only one generally spoken throughout *China*, is understood by very few People of this Province. The Inhabitants are ingenious, and fond of Learning the *Chinese* Sciences; hence this Province produces a great Number of Literati, who attain to the great Employments of the Empire.

The First City, Fu-chew-fu, Capital of the Province,

Fu-chew-fu.

PRESIDES over nine Cities of the third Order. Besides the *Vice-Roy*, the *Tjong-tá*, who is the Intendant - General both of this Province and that of *Che-kyang*, resides here. It is famous for the Advantage of its Situation, the Greatness of its Trade, Multitude of its Literati, Fertility of its Soil, Beauty of its Rivers, which carry the largest Barks in the Empire up to the Walls; and lastly for its admirable Bridge of above a hundred Arches, built with fair white Stone, across the Bay. All its little Hills are full of Cedars, Orange and Limon-Trees.

Surprising
Bridge.

They make an exceeding white Sugar, throughout its District, where grow abundance of those Trees that bear the Fruits *Li-chi* and *Long-ywen*; the first is so agreeable, that one is never tired of eating it; the second is very good, but less esteem'd than the *Li-chi*. They dry these Fruits, and carry them into all parts of the Empire; but then they are not half so pleasant as when they are newly gather'd, tho' they are very wholesome, and often given to sick Folks.

The Second City, Tswen-chew-fu.

Tswen-chew-fu.

THE Situation of this City is most agreeable, and renders it a Place of great Trade. It is built on a Cape, and almost encompass'd with Water; the greatest Barks or *Chinese* Vessels of Carriage enter within its Walls. It has within its District seven Cities of the third Rank.

All these Cities are very populous, and carry on a great Trade; their Houses are uniformly neat, their Streets are pav'd with Bricks, which inclose two Rows of square Stones, and adorn'd with Triumphal Arches.

Temple.

Among the Temples there is one that deserves Notice, on account of its two Towers, built with Stone and Marble, seven Stories high each; one may walk round each Story by means of Galleries on the Outside.

Remarkable
Bridge.

Not far from the City is a Bridge, remarkable for its Largeness as well as Beauty; it is built with blackish Stone, has no Arches, but is sustain'd by above three hundred Stone Pillars, which end on both sides in acute Angles, to break more easily the Swiftness and Force of the Stream. This Bridge was built by a Governor of the City, who was griev'd to see such an infinite Number of Barks perish continually by the Violence of the Tides; they affirm that this Work cost him 1,400,000 Ducats. A prodigious Number of Ships, bound for foreign Parts, are every Hour setting out from this City and others in its District.

The Third City, Kyen-ning-fu.

EIGHT Cities of the third Order depend on this City, which stands on the side of the River *Min-bo*; it has a pretty good Trade, as lying in the way of all Ships that pass up and down the River. Kyen-ning-fu.

As it ceases to be navigable about the City *Pu-ching-byen*, thirty Leagues from *Kyen-ning*, the Goods are landed here, and carry'd by Porters beyond the Mountains as far as a Borough near *Kyang-chan* in the Province of *Che-kyang*, where they are embark'd on another River. There are eight or ten thousand Porters attending the Barks, who get their Livelihood by going continually backwards and forwards across these Mountains, which are very steep, and the Valleys, which are very deep. several small

They have made this Road, as even as the Nature of the Ground will permit; it is pav'd with square Stones, and furnish'd with Boroughs full of Inns, for lodging Travellers. At *Pu-ching-byen* there is an Office where all Merchandizes pay a Duty, which is apply'd towards repairing the Road.

While the Tartars were conquering China, *Kyen-ning* underwent two Sieges, and persisted in refusing to submit to their Dominion; but after the second Siege had lasted a long time, the Tartars took it, burnt it entirely, and put all the Inhabitants to the Sword; most of the Houses have been rebuilt since, but not so sumptuously as before.

Not far from *Kyen-ning* is *Fu-ning-chew*, a City of the second Rank, remarkable for having Jurisdiction over two Cities of the third Order, viz. *Fu-ngan-byen* and *Ning-te-byen*. The Country where they are situated is of a vast Extent, but almost wholly over-run with Mountains, of which those to the North are of difficult Ascent; however it is in want of nothing, the neighbouring Sea furnishing it with plenty of every thing. Fu-ning-chew;

The Fourth City, Yen-ping-fu, (A)

STANDS on the Descent of a Hill, at the Foot of which runs the River *Minbo*; by means of so agreeable a Situation, it appears like a kind of Amphitheatre to all that are upon the Water, who have a full View of the whole. Tho' not very large, it is reckon'd one of the finest Cities in the Empire, and is fortify'd naturally by the inaccessible Mountains which cover it. There is scarce any City besides this, that can boast of having the Water, which descends from the Mountains, convey'd by Canals into every House; and, what is another singularity belonging to it, the Mandarin Language, which is that of the Learned, is commonly spoken by the Inhabitants, whence it may be infer'd that it was first peopled by a Colony from the Province of *Kyang-nan*. All the Barks of the Province pass by the Foot of its Wall. Yen-ping-fu;

Ska-byen, which is one of the seven Cities under its Jurisdiction, is commonly call'd the Silver City, on account of the Plenty and Fertility of its Lands, nor are those belonging to the other Cities less fruitful. Ska-byen.

The Fifth City, Ting-chew-fu.

THIS City lies among the Mountains which separate the Province of *Fo-kyen* from that of *Kyang-fi*; of these Mountains some are cover'd with Flowers, especially in Spring, which makes a delightful Prospect; others, if they were allow'd to be dug, would afford Mines of Gold; others again are so prodigious high, as to be almost inaccessible; however the Country furnishes plenty of all sorts of Necessaries. The Air indeed is not very healthful, nor the Trade considerable. Seven Cities of the third Rank depend upon it. Ting-chew-fu.

The Sixth City, Hing-wha-fu.

THE Name given this City, signifies a growing Flower, and it must be allow'd to be situated in the most delightful and fertile Country of the whole Province, on the Sea Coast. Tho' it has no more than two Towns of the third Rank in its District, yet it pays the most considerable Tribute in Rice of all the Cities. Hing-wha-fu.

Its District contains so great a Quantity of Boroughs and Villages, that one would take it for one continued City. Some of these Boroughs also might for their Largeness and Beauty be put in the Rank of Cities. Numbers of rich Merchants live there, who trade all over the Empire.

The Roads are very handsome, broad, and almost all pav'd with square Stones. The City is adorn'd with several Triumphal Arches. The Fruit *Li-chi* is better here than in any other Part of the Province. They catch very good Fish of all sorts at *Hing-wha-fu*, and the Country furnishes Silk.

(A) In the Map *Yen pin fu*, but in the Tables of Division, p. 5. and of Longitude and Latitude at the End of the Work, it is *Yen ping fu*, as well as here.

PROV. IV.
Fo-kyen.

The Seventh City, Shau-u-fu.

Shau-u-fu.

THIS City, which is, as it were, one of the Keys of the Province, was not very considerable formerly; it is however become so of late, and its Situation renders it very strong and commodious; it is encompass'd with several Forts or Military Places, which do not differ from the ordinary Cities, except that Troops are there in Garrison.

Hemp
Linnen.

In the District of this City, there are Manufactories of very fine Linnen, made of a kind of Hemp, which is much in Request in the Empire, because it is cool in Summer, and when one sweats never sticks to the Back. It has no more than four Cities of the third Order under its Jurisdiction.

The Eighth City, Chang-chew-fu.

Chang-chew-fu.

THIS City, which is the most Southern of all those in the Province, has ten Cities of the third Rank in its District. It stands on a River that ebbs and flows, over which to the South of the Town is a very fair Bridge of thirty six very high Arches; it is so broad, as to admit Shops on both Sides, where all things of Value, that either the Empire or foreign Countries afford, are sold: for it is not far from *Emoy*, which is a Place of very great Trade, and Merchandizes are continually passing up the River that washes the Walls of *Chang-chew*, which Advantages have render'd it very populous and famous. Its Mountains produce the finest Crystal imaginable, whereof they make Buttons, Seals, Figures of Animals, &c.

Excellent
Crystal.

Large Oran-
ge.

The Inhabitants, who are very ingenious and industrious, have a great Talent for Business. Its Territory abounds with Orange-Trees, the Fruit of which is much larger than the *European*, and has both the Taste and Smell of the Muscadine Grape; they candy them together with the Peel, and transport them into foreign Countries as well as all over the Empire. Some Footsteps of *Christianity* are found in this City, altho' it is not known whether they are of ancient or modern Original: but it is certain that *P. Martini* saw in the Hands of one of the Literati an old Parchment Book in *Gothic* Characters, which contain'd most of the Scripture in Latin; he offer'd a Sum of Money for it, but the Owner would not part with it, tho' he had no Knowledge of the *Christian* Religion, because it had been long in the Family, and his Ancestors had look'd on it as a great Rarity.

Hya-men, or the Port of A-mwy.

Hya-men, or
the Port of
A-mwy.

THIS is a famous Port call'd *A-mwy* (a), from the Name of the Island to which it belongs, for it is properly no more than a Road, that makes one of the best Harbours in the World; it is inclos'd on one side by the firm Land, and several very high Islands, which defend it against all Winds, and is of so great Extent as to receive many thousand Ships. The Sea is so deep that the biggest Vessels may ride as near the Shore as they please, without the least Danger; and there are continually in the Port a great Number of *Chinese* Transports, that trade to foreign Countries, not very remote from *China*. About twenty Years ago, it was much frequented by *European* Ships, but at present very few are bound hither, the Trade being carry'd to *Kanton*. The Emperor keeps a Garrison of six or seven thousand Men here, under the Command of a *Chinese* General.

At entering the Road, you double a Rock, which, rising several Foot above the Water, seems to divide the Road in two Parts, in the same manner that the *Mingant* divides that of *Bress*. Three Leagues from thence there is a little Isle, having a Hole from one Side to the other, thro' which one may see the Light; for this Reason it is call'd the *Pierced Island*.

The Island of Pong-hu.

The Island of
Pong-hu.

THE Island of *Pong-hu* forms a little Archipelago, between the Port of *A-mwy* and the Island of *Formosa*, which is inhabited only by the *Chinese* Garrison. However a *Literary Mandarin* resides there, to watch the Ships that are almost continually passing and re-passing between *China* and *Formosa*, which brings in a considerable Revenue to the State.

As these Isles are nothing but Sands or Rocks, all sorts of Necessaries must be brought thither from *Hya-men* or *Formosa*, to the very Wood for firing. They afford neither Bushes, nor Briars, nor any Trees except one, which is their sole Ornament. The Port is good and secure against all sorts of Winds. Its Ground is sandy, and the Water from twenty to twenty five Fathom deep.

When the *Dutch* were Masters of the Port of *Formosa*, they had built a sort of Fort at the End of the great Isle of *Pong-hu*, to defend the Entrance; but at present nothing remains of it, except the Name of *Hong-mau-chay*, that is, the *Fort of the Red-Hairs*, for so the *Chinese* call'd the *Dutch*. This Port, altho' it is in an uncultivated and uninhabited Country, is absolutely necessary for the Preservation of *Formosa*, which at present has no Port for Ships, that draw above eight Feet of Water.

(a) In the *French* it is written *Emoy*, which in our Characters should be *E-mwy* or *A-mwy*; the *English* call it *A-mwy*, and have a Factory there; some write *Ey-mwy*.

Tay-wan (c), or the Island of Formosa.

PROV. IV.
Fo-kyen.

Tay-wan, or
the Island of
Formosa.

AS this Island has been long unknown, even to the *Chinese* themselves, who, tho' it be just at their Doors, did not begin to get footing in it till the Reign of the late Emperor *Kang-bi*; and as the Government, Manners, and Customs of the Islanders, (very different from those of the *Chinese*;) as well as the means by which they were subdued, deserve a particular Relation, I shall be more large in my Account of it.

The whole Island is not under the Dominion of the *Chinese*. It is divided, as it were, in two Parts, by a Chain of Mountains, which begins in the South Part of *Sba-ma-ki-tew*, and ends at the North Coast. Only that part lying to the West of the Mountains belongs to the *Chinese*, contain'd between $22^{\circ} 8'$, and $25^{\circ} 20'$ of North Latitude.

The Eastern Part, if you will believe the *Chinese*, is inhabited by *Barbarians*; the Country mountainous, uncultivated and wild. The Character they give of them, differs little from that of the Savages of *America*; they paint them less brutish than the *Iroquois*, more chaste than the *Indians*, and of a mild and peaceable Disposition. They love and assist one another, are not covetous or selfish, making no Account of Gold and Silver, whereof they say they have several Mines; but they are exceeding Revengeful, without Law or Government, living only on Fish and the Flesh of Animals, and in short without Worship or Religion.

Character of
the Natives.

This is the Account the *Chinese* give of these People, who inhabit the Eastern part of the Island; but as the *Chinese* are not always to be credited, when they speak of Foreigners, I will not vouch for the Truth of it, and the rather, because there is no Correspondence, but a continual War, between the *Chinese* and them.

The *Chinese*, who knew there were Gold Mines in *Formosa*, before they subdu'd it, went in Search of them, as soon as they got Possession; but as they found none in the Part whereof they were Masters, they resolv'd to examine the Eastern Part, where they were assur'd they lay. Accordingly they equip'd a small Ship, that they might go by Sea, being unwilling to venture their Lives in crossing unknown Mountains. The Inhabitants receiv'd them very kindly, and generously offer'd them their Houses, Provisions, and all sorts of Assistance. But all the Endeavours of the *Chinese*, during the eight Days they continued there, to discover the Mines, prov'd fruitless; either by the Fault of the Interpreter, who might apprise the People of their Design, or else thro' a Politic Fear, being unwilling to give Suspicion to a Nation, which had Reason to be jealous of the *Chinese* Power; however that be, of all the Gold they came in quest of, they found none but a few Ingots, lying in the Cottages, whereof those poor People made no Account.

Gold Mines.

The *Chinese*, to whom this was a dangerous Temptation, vext at the bad Success of their Voyage, and impatient to get possession of those Ingots, resolv'd on a most barbarous Stratagem; having equip'd their Ship by the Assistance of these good People, who furnish'd them with all things necessary for their Return, they invited their Benefactors to a great Entertainment, as it were, by way of Acknowledgment, and having made them all drunk, cut their Throats when they were asleep, and sail'd off with the Ingots.

Chinese Cru-
elty.

This cruel Action was not long unreveng'd, but the Punishment fell on the Innocent; the News was no sooner spread thro' the Eastern Part of the Isle, than the Islanders enter'd the North Part belonging to *China*, where they put Man, Woman, and Child to the Sword, without Mercy, and fired some *Chinese* Habitations. Ever since that time, one Part of the Isle has been continually at War with the other.

reveng'd.

That Part of *Formosa*, possess'd by the *Chinese*, certainly deserves the Name it bears. It is a fine Country, the Air is pure, and always serene; It produces plenty of all sorts of Grain, especially Corn, Rice, &c. and is water'd by many Rivers, which descend from the afore-mention'd Mountains. Most of the Fruits that grow in the *Indies* are found here, as, *Oranges*, *Bananas*, *Ananas*, *Goyavas*, *Papayas*, *Cocos*, &c. and there is Room to believe, that if *European* Fruit-Trees were planted here, they would thrive; since one meets with Peach-Trees, Apricocks, Figs, Grapes, Chestnuts, and Pomegranates. They cultivate a sort of Water-Melons, as they call them, which are much larger than those of *Europe*, and of an oblong Figure, tho' sometimes they are round; they consist of either a white or red Pulp, and are full of a cool luscious Juice, very grateful to the *Chinese*. Tobacco and Sugar grow here exceeding well. All those Trees are so agreeably rang'd, that when the Rice is transplanted in Lines and Squares as usual, the whole Southern Part looks more like a vast Garden, carefully cultivated, than a great Plain.

Air and Soil.

As the Country, till of late, has been inhabited by a barbarous unciviliz'd People, Horses, Sheep, and Goats are very scarce; Hogs themselves, so common in *China*, are pretty dear there; but one meets with abundance of Pullets, Ducks, and tame Geese; as also of Oxen, which serve to ride on instead of Horses, Mules, and Asses. They break them betimes, and bring them to go as well and swift as Horses; they are furnish'd with a Bridle, Saddle and Crupper, which often cost very dear.

You see there Apes and Stags in Herds, but Fallow Deer are very rarely to be met with; and if there are any Bears, Boars, Wolves, Tigers, and Leopards, as in *China*, it is on the Mountains of the Eastern Part, for there are none in those belonging to the Western.

Very few Birds also are to be seen in this Part of the Island; the most common Sort are Pheasants, which the Fowlers will not suffer to encrease. Was the Water of the Rivers as good

to

Prov. IV. to drink as they are serviceable in fertilizing the Soil, the Island would want nothing that was necessary within itself.

Fo-kyen.
Division into
Hyen.

The *Chinese* divide the Lands they possess in *Formosa* into three *Hyen*, or subordinate Governments, which depend on the Capital of the Island; each of these Governments has its particular Officers, who are immediately subject to the Governor of that Capital, and he to the Vice-Roy of the Province of *Fo-kyen*, whereof *Tay-wan* or *Formosa* makes a Part.

Tay-wan fū.

The Capital, named *Tay-wan-fū*, is very populous, much frequented, and of great Trade, being equal to most Cities of *China*, for Goodness, and the Number of Inhabitants. There one finds every thing that either the Island produces, or is brought from other Countries, as Rice, Sugar, Sugar-Candy, Tobacco, Salt, cur'd Venison, which is much esteemed by the *Chinese*, all kinds of Fruit, Linnen of divers Sorts, Wool, Cotton, Hemp, the Bark of certain Trees, and Plants resembling Nettles, abundance of Medicinal Herbs, for the most Part unknown in *Europe*; these are the native Commodities, the foreign are *Chinese*, and *Indian* Calicoes, Silks, Varnish, *China* Ware, several things made in *Europe*, &c. there are very few Mulberry-Trees in the Island, and consequently few Silks of the Country, or Manufactories.

If the *Chinese* had Liberty to settle in *Formosa*, several Families would gladly transplant themselves thither; but in order thereto they must obtain Passports from the Mandarins of *China*, who grant them with Difficulty, and not without taking Security.

The Mandarins are very careful to examine all that pass into or out of the Island, and some of them extort Money under-hand. This extraordinary Precaution is the Effect of good Policy, especially as the *Tartars* are Masters of *China*; for *Formosa* is a Place of great Importance, and if a *Chinese* should seize it, he might raise great Troubles in the Empire: so that the Emperor keeps a Garrison there of ten thousand Men, commanded by a *Tsong-ping*, or Lieutenant-General, two *Fú-tszyang*, or Major-Generals, and several inferior Officers; who are chang'd duely every three Years, or oftner, if there be Occasion.

The Streets of *Tay-wan-fū* are all strait as a Line, and cover'd during seven or eight Months in the Year, to keep off the Heat of the Sun. They are not above thirty or forty Feet broad, but some of them are near a League in Length; all the Houses on each side belong to Dealers, whose Shops are adorn'd with Silks, *China* Ware, Varnish, and other Goods, rang'd to admirable Advantage, in which Art the *Chinese* excel.

These Streets look like charming Galleries, and it would be a Pleasure to walk in them, if they were less croud'd with People, and better pav'd; the Houses are cover'd with Straw, and built for the most Part only of Clay and *Bambú*; the Tents wherewith the Streets are cover'd, hide all that is disagreeable, letting nothing be seen but the Shops.

Tay-wan-fū has neither Fortifications nor Walls; the *Tartars* don't care to confine either their Forces or Courage within Ramparts; they love to scour the Country on Horseback. The Port is pretty good, and shelter'd from all Winds, but the Entrance becomes more difficult every Day.

The Port.

Heretofore it had two Entrances, the one call'd *Ta-kyang*, where the greatest Ships ride with Ease; and the other *Lo-ulb-men*, where the Bottom is Rock, and there is not above nine or ten Feet Water, at the highest Tides. The first Passage is impracticable at present, for in some Places they find but five Feet Water, and the most it rises to is seven or eight; besides, it is every Day choak'd up more and more by the Sea rolling in the Sands.

The *Dutch* formerly enter'd the Port by this *Ta-kyang*, and to keep foreign Ships out, at the Point of the Isle, to the South of the *Ta-kyang*, they built a Citadel, which would be an excellent one, was it not founded on the Sand; however, it is very fit to defend them from the Enemies they had most to fear, that is, the *Chinese* and *Japonnese*.

Inhabitants
of Chinese
Formosa.

The Part of *Formosa* which is subject to the *Chinese*, is inhabited by two different Nations, the Natives, and *Chinese*, who, drawn by Gain, flock from several Provinces of *China*. *Tay-wan-fū*, *Fong-shan-byen*, and *Chu-lo-byen*, are inhabited only by *Chinese*, for the third *Hyen*, of the three abovementioned, is included in the Capital. As to the Natives, there are none but what are the Servants, or rather the Slaves of the *Chinese*.

Fort Ngan-
ping-ching.

Besides these three Cities the *Chinese* have several Villages, but they have no considerable Fort excepting *Ngan-ping-ching*; it is at the Foot of the Castle of *Zeland*, which is the Name given by the *Dutch* to the Citadel spoken of before. There may be four or five hundred Families at *Ngan-ping-ching*, with a Garrison of two thousand Men, commanded by a *Fú-tszyang*, or Major-General.

Customs of
the Natives.

The *Chinese* in *Formosa* are the same as to Government and Manners, as in *China*; so that I shall only here give an Account of the Genius and form of Government among the Natives.

The People of *Formosa*, who are subject to the *Chinese*, are divided into forty five Boroughs or Habitations, call'd *Shè*, thirty six in the Northern, and nine in the Southern Part; the Northern Boroughs are populous enough, and the Houses very like those of the *Chinese*: but those of the South are no more than a Parcel of Cottages made of Earth and *Bambú*, cover'd with Straw, raised on a kind of Terra's, three or four Foot high, built in form of a Tunnel inverted, and fifteen, twenty, thirty, or forty Feet in Diameter; some of them are divided by Partition-Walls.

There are in these Huts neither Chairs, Benches, Tables, Beds, nor any Moveable. In the middle is a kind of Chimney or Stove, rais'd above two Feet from the Ground, where they dress their Victuals; their ordinary Diet is Rice, small Grain, and Game, which they take either by running or with Arms; their Swiftne's is surprising, and they have been seen to out-run Horses in their full Speed.

The *Chinese* alledge as the Cause of their Swiftneſs, that till the Age of fourteen or fifteen their Knees and Loins are bound exceeding tight. Their Arms are a ſort of Dart, which they throw the Space of ſeventy or eighty Paces with the greateſt Dexterity; and tho' nothing is more ſimple than their Bows and Arrows, yet they kill Pheafants flying with as much certainty, as do *Europeans* with a Gun. They are very ſlovenly in their Diet, having neither Diſhes, Plates, Spoons, nor Chop-ſticks; whatever they have dreſſ'd, is put on a piece of Wood or Mat, and they feed themſelves with their Fingers like Apes; they eat their Fleſh half raw, and think it exceeding delicious if it be but ſhewn to the Fire. For a Bed they are content with the Leaves of a certain Tree, very common in the Country, which they ſpread on the Earth or Floor of their Cottages, and ſo lay themſelves down to ſleep. Their whole Apparel is a ſingle Cloth, wherewith they are cover'd from the Waſt down to the Knees.

Pride, which is rooted in the Heart of Man, finds means to ſubſiſt amidſt ſo much Poverty; they even pay dearer for it than the moſt polite People, who pique themſelves more on Luxury and Magnificence. Theſe latter borrow Hair from Animals, and Silk from Worms, which they embroider with Gold and Silver; but our Iſlanders make uſe of their own Skin, whereon they imprint ſeveral groteſque Figures of Trees, Animals, Flowers, &c. which puts them to ſuch violent Pain, that the Operation would kill them, was the whole to be perform'd at once. They therefore employ ſeveral Months about it, and ſometimes a whole Year, during which time, they muſt put themſelves every Day to a ſort of Torture, and all to gratify the Ambition they have to diſtinguiſh themſelves from the Croud; for it is not every one that is allow'd to bear thoſe Marks of Magnificence, the Privilege being granted only to ſuch, as in the Judgment of the moſt conſiderable Men of the Borough, have excell'd the reſt in running or hunting.

Nevertheleſs, all Perſons are at Liberty to blacken their Teeth, wear Bobs in their Ears, and Dreſſ; Bracelets above their Elbows and Wrifts, Necklaces and Coronets, conſiſting of ſeveral Rows of ſmall Grains of different Colours; theſe Coronets end with a kind of Plume made of Feathers of Cocks or Pheafants, which they pick up with a great deal of Care. Whoever repreſents to his Imagination theſe fantaſtical Ornaments on the Body of a Man of an eaſy and ſlender Shape, olive Complexion, with ſleek Hair hanging negligently over his Shoulders, arm'd with a Bow and Dart, all his Cleaths a piece of Linnen two or three Feet long, which goes round him from the Waſt to the Knees, will have the true Picture of a Native of the Southern Part of *Formoſa*.

In the North-Part of the Iſland, as the Climate is ſomewhat colder, they cover themſelves with the Skins of Stags, kill'd in hunting, whereof they make a ſort of Coat, without Sleeves, ſhap'd much like a *Dalmatic* (a). They wear a Bonnet in form of a Cylinder, made of the Leaves of Bananas, which they adorn with ſeveral Coronets, plac'd one over another, and faſten'd with very narrow Bands, or little Locks of Hair, of different Colours; on the Top of the Bonnet they place a Tuft or Plume of Cocks or Pheafants Feathers, like thoſe in the South.

Their Marriages have nothing barbarous in them, they do not buy their Wives, as they do in *China*; neither have they any Regard to the Fortune of one or the other Party, as is practiſed in *Europe*, the Fathers and Mothers having ſcarce any Hand in them at all.

When a young Man has a Mind to marry, and meets with a Laſs to his liking, he goes ſeveral Days together with Muſick to her Door; if the young Woman is ſatisfy'd with her Sparks, ſhe goes out to him, where they ſettle Terms between themſelves, after which they acquaint their Parents with the Matter, who prepare the Marriage Feaſt. This is made at the Houſe of the Bride's Father, where the Bridegroom continues, looking on it as his own, and himſelf as the Support of it, without ever returning to ſtay at his Father's Houſe; which thenceforth he has no more Regard to, than the Brides in *Europe* have for the Houſes of their Parents, when they quit them to live with their Spouſes; hence they place their good Fortune not in having Boys but Girls, who procure them Sons-in-Law, that are the Props of their old Age.

Altho' the Iſlanders in this Division are intirely ſubject to the *Chinese*, yet they ſtill preſerve ſome Remains of their ancient Government; each Borough chooſes three or four of the moſt ancient, who are in greateſt Repute for Integrity, to be the chief Judges over them; theſe determine all Differences abſolutely, and if any one refuſes to ſubmit to their Deciſion, he is driven that Inſtant out of the Borough, without Hopes of ever being admitted there again, nor dares any other receive him.

They pay their Tribute to the *Chinese* in Grain, the Tails or Skins of Stags, or in other Things of that Nature, which are eaſily procur'd in the Iſland. To regulate what concerns this Tribute, there is in every Borough a *Chinese*, who learns the Language, to ſerve as an Interpreter to the *Mandarins*. Theſe Interpreters, inſtead of procuring Eaſe to theſe poor People, and preventing their being over burthen'd, are ſo many petty Tyrants, who tire out the Patience not only of them, but the *Mandarins* themſelves, who are forc'd to let them continue in their Employments, to avoid greater Inconveniencies.

However, of the twelve Boroughs that were ſubject to the *Chinese* in the South, there remain but nine. Three of them having revolted, they drove out their Interpreters, and united them-

(a) *Dalmatic* is a kind of Cope or Veſtment which Deacons, Subdeacons, and even Biſhops put on, when they officiate.

Prov. IV.
Fo-kyen.
Island of Tay-
wan or For-
mosa.
Morality.

selves with those of the Eastern Part of the Island, paying no longer Tribute to *China*; under the present Emperor a great Number of Boroughs have submitted, and they hope, by little and little, that the rest will follow their Example. Tho' these People are reckon'd Barbarians by the *Chinese*, yet they seem to have truer Notions of Wisdom, than many of the Philosophers of *China*. One finds among them, by the Confession of the *Chinese* themselves, no cheating, thieving, quarrelling, nor any Law-Suits, except against their Interpreters, and they practise all the Duties of Equity and mutual Benevolence; whatever is given to any of them must not be touch'd by him, till those who shar'd the Labour partake of the Wages.

Religion.

There appear to have been Christians among these Islanders, when the *Hollanders* were Masters of the Port; we found several of them who understood *Dutch*, read their Books, and made use of their Characters in writing; we also saw in their Hands some Fragments of Scripture in the same Tongue.

These People adore no Images (p), and even abhor whatever tends that Way; they perform no religious Worship, nor say any Prayers, yet we have seen some who had Knowledge of one God, Creator of Heaven and Earth, in three Persons, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost; that the first Man was call'd *Adam*, and the first Woman *Eve*, and that they had by their Disobedience brought down the Anger of God on themselves and their Posterity; and that it is necessary to have recourse to Baptism, to wash out that Stain. They are acquainted also with the Form of Baptism, nevertheless we could not tell certainly whether they were baptized or not.

History of
Taywan.

Altho' *Formosa* is not far from *China*, yet the *Chinese*, according to their History, had no Knowledge of it, before the Reign of the Emperor *Swen-ti* of the *Dynasty* of the *Ming*, about the Year 1430, when the Eunuch *Wan-san-pau*, returning from the West, was driven thither by a Tempest.

This Eunuch finding himself in a strange Land, whose Inhabitants appear'd to him as barbarous as their Country was beautiful, made some Stay there, in order to get the best Intelligence he could of it, to carry to his Master; but the greatest Advantage he reap'd by his Enquiries, were a few Plants and Medicinal Herbs, which are to this Day employ'd in *China* with good Success.

In the forty second Year of the Emperor *Kya-tsing*, and of *Christ* 1564, *Yu-ta-yew*, Chief of a Squadron, cruising in the Eastern Sea of *China*, met a Corsair, named *Lin-tau-kyen*, who had seiz'd the Isles of *Pong-bu*, where he had left Part of his Men. He was a proud Man, and ambitious of every Occasion to distinguish himself; as soon as he saw *Yu-ta-yew*, he sail'd up to him, attack'd him briskly, and had infallibly defeated the *Chinese* Squadron, if he who commanded it had not had an equal Share both of Courage and Conduct.

Yu-ta-yew receiv'd the first Fire with unconcern, after which he attack'd his Enemy in his Turn; the Fight lasted more than five Hours, when Night coming on, *Lin-tau-kyen* fled towards the Isles of *Pong-bu*, with an Intention, after he had refresh'd his Troops, and taken all the rest of his Soldiers on Board, to return and face the Enemy; But *Yu-ta-yew*, like an experienced Captain, pursued him so closely, that at break of Day *Lin-tau-kyen* found the Entrance of the Port block'd up by Part of the Enemy's Squadron. His Troops being much diminish'd in the Fight, and intimidated by their Losses, judg'd it dangerous to attempt entering the Port, wherefore he resolv'd to continue his Course, and put into *Formosa*.

Yu-ta-yew pursu'd him thither, but as he found the Sea shallow, and besides had no Knowledge of the Entrance of the Port, he was unwilling to expose his Ships, and return'd to the Isles of *Pong-bu*, whereof he made himself Master. He made the Soldiers he found there Prisoners, and after he had left a good Garrison in the Place return'd victorious to *China*, where he gave an Account of his Discoveries and Expedition. The Court receiv'd the News with Joy, and sent a Literary Mandarin to govern those Isles.

Formosa, says the *Chinese* Historian, was then an uncultivated Country, inhabited only by Barbarians. *Lin-tau-kyen*, who had great things in View, not thinking this Island fit for his Purpose in his present Circumstances, cut the Throats of all the Inhabitants that fell into his Hands, and by an unparallel'd Piece of Inhumanity making use of the Blood of those unhappy Mortals to caulk his Ships, put to Sea as soon as he could for the Province of *Quang-tong*, where he dy'd miserably.

*Japanese
seize Formosa.

Towards the End of the Year 1620, which was the first of the Emperor *Tyen-ki*, a *Japanese* Squadron landed on *Formosa*; the Officer who commanded it, finding the Country, wild as it was, fit for receiving a Colony, resolv'd to subdue it; for which End he left part of his People there, with Orders to get such Information concerning it, as was necessary for the Execution of his Design.

Dutch arrive
there.

About the same time a *Dutch* Ship, in its Course to or from *Japan*, was driven by Storm on the Isle, where they found the *Japanese* in no Condition to oppose them. The Country, according to the *Chinese* Historian, appear'd charming to the *Dutch*, and commodious for their Trade; wherefore under Pretence of staying for Provisions and other Necessaries, some of them took the Opportunity to examine the Island.

On their Return on board, they refitted their Ship, after which they intreated the *Japanese*

(p) It is *Idols*, in the Original; but tho' P. du Halde makes a well known to every body, yet Protestants make no Difference. Distinction between the Worship of Idols and Images, for Reasons

ness, with whom they were unwilling to embroil themselves, for Fear of hurting their Trade, to let them build a House on the Shore, at one of the Entrances of the Port, which might be of some Benefit to them in trading with Japan. The Japanese at first rejected their Proposal, but the Dutch pressing their Instances, and assuring them that they would take no more Ground than what an Ox-Hide would inclose, they at last consented. (F)

The Dutch immediately went to work, and cutting the Hide into very narrow Thongs, join'd the Ends together, and therewith measur'd out their Ground. The Japanese were at first a little angry at this piece of Fraud; but on farther Reflections pleas'd with the Stratagem, they were pacify'd, and allow'd the Dutch to make use of the Land; accordingly they in that Place built the Fort I have already spoken of, on the Gate whereof are still to be seen these Words: CASTEL ZELANDA, 1634.

The Building this Fort render'd the Dutch Masters of the Port, and the only Passage by which large Ships could enter; perhaps the Japanese saw the Importance of it too late. However that be, whether they took Umbrage at the new Fort, or did not find their Account in the Island, which continued still unimprov'd, they soon after abandon'd it, and return'd home.

The Dutch seeing themselves now sole Masters of Formosa, for the Islanders were in no Condition to oppose them, the better to secure the Port, built on the other Side of it, opposite to Fort Zeland, a House fortify'd with four Semi-Bastions, whereof I have also spoken before.

At this time China was all in a Combustion, partly by the Civil War, which laid waste so many fine Provinces, and partly by the War with the Tartars, who at length subdued it, and founded the present Dynasty. One of those who most strenuously oppos'd the latter, was a Person of Condition in the Province of Fo-kyen, call'd Ching-chi-long (G), who from an ordinary Trader was become one of the greatest Merchants in China; This Person fitted out a Fleet at his own Expence, against the Tartars, and was soon follow'd by an innumerable multitude of Chinese Vessels, whereby he became Head of one of the most formidable Fleets that ever appear'd in those Seas; the Tartar offer'd him the Dignity of King, provided he would acknowledge his Sovereignty, which Offer he refused, but did not long enjoy his good Fortune. Happy had his Zeal for Religion (for he was a Christian) equall'd his Fidelity to his Prince and Country, now ready to fall under a foreign Power.

His Son Ching-ching-kong (H), who succeeded him in the Command of this numerous Armada, more zealous still for his Country than his Father, undertook divers Exploits; he besieged several considerable Cities, as Hay-ching in the Province of Fo-kyen, which he took after cutting in Pieces the Tartar Army sent to relieve it; also Wen-chew in Che-kyang, Nan-king in Kyang-nan, &c. But his Success did not continue long, for he was at length vanquish'd by the Tartars, and driven quite out of China; he then directed his Views towards Formosa, resolving to expel the Dutch, and establish a new Kingdom there.

In the Year 1661, and the seventeenth of the Reign of Shun-kei, Father of the Emperor Kang-bi, Ching-ching-kong left China, and in his Way to Formosa took the Isles of Pong-bu. The Dutch, who without doubt thought themselves secure on the Side of China, which was still in Trouble, had taken no Care to furnish Pong-bu and Tay-wan with Forces; so that Ching-ching-kong no sooner appear'd, but they fell into his Hands; he left there an hundred of his Ships to guard them, and continued his Course to Formosa.

In the Garrison left to defend the Fort and Port of Formosa, there were but eleven Dutchmen, the rest consisted of Indian Blacks and Islanders; notwithstanding which Inequality the Hollanders resolv'd to defend themselves bravely, which they did.

Ching-ching-kong enter'd the Port with his Fleet, consisting of nine hundred Sail, by the Passage of Lo-ul-men, a great League beyond the Fort of Zeland, and landed Part of his Men, in order to attack the same, both by Sea and Land; the Siege lasted four Months, during which time the Dutch defended themselves by their Cannon, with an unexpected Success. Ching-ching-kong was in Despair to meet with such a Resistance and Courage in a Handful of Europeans, against an Army so numerous as his own. As the Chinese wanted Guns, they had no Hopes of reducing the Dutch otherwise than by Famine, which Method as it required much Time, would give them an Opportunity of procuring Assistance from their Ships at Batavia, or those that trade to Japan.

Ching-ching-kong was fully appriz'd of the Difficulty of his Enterprize; but seeing no Hopes of ever returning to China, while the Tartars govern'd, on whom he had made War, and that if he was shut out of Formosa, he knew not where to retire to, he resolv'd to make a last Effort against the Dutch; these had four Ships in the Port, on board each of which they had put one of their Men with Indians to guard them, the other seven Dutchmen were block'd up in the Citadel or Fort of Zeland.

(F) It is remarkable that the same Stratagem, related here of the Dutch, was used by the Phenicians in Building Byrsa, afterwards Carthage, and there is a Resemblance in the Characters as well as Adventures of the two People.

(G) He is named Chin chi long in the Dutch Embassies, where it is observed, that he was called by Foreigners Iqua, or Iloa and Eguas; there also we are told, that he aspired to the Empire; was made General of the Chinese Forces, betray'd the Emperor to the Tartars, and was after all cast in Prison by them, at Pe-king, where he dy'd.

(H) This must be the famous Coxinga in the Dutch Embassies, for it is there said, that his Son Coxinga and Brothers being (about 1657) informed of his Father's Imprisonment, betook themselves again to the Fleet, and kept the Tartars on the Coast in continual Alarm, till being at length driven out of the Islands Ay, Qu-my, &c. by the Tartars, assisted by the Dutch; he in Revenge, in 1660, sailed with all his Forces to Tay-wan and Formosa, both which Islands, with Castle Zeland, he took in March 1661, after a Siege of 10 Months, treating the Dutch with great Rigour, contrary to Agreement.†

PROV. IV.
Fo-kyen.

History of
Tay-wan or
Formosa.
The Dutch
outwit the
Japanese, and
built Fort
Zelanda.

Ching-ching-
kong or Co-
xinga invade
Formosa.

* See Oyle.
China, Vol.
2. p. 49.
† Ib. p. 50.

These

PROV. VI. These Ships the *Chinese* Captain purposed to burn, to this end putting a Quantity of Fire-works on Board some of his own Vessels, and being favour'd by a North-East Wind, he sent them driving against those of the *Hollanders*, whereof he burnt three; on this unexpected Success he immediately summon'd the *Dutch*, who were inclosed in the Port, to surrender, declaring he would suffer them to retire with all their Effects, but if they persisted to hold out, he would give them no Quarter. The *Dutch*, who had only one Ship left, readily accepted of the Offer, and having put their Goods on Board their Vessel, deliver'd up the Place into the Hands of the *Chinese*, and sail'd away.

History of
Tay-uan or
Formosa.
The Dutch
driven out.

Ching-ching-kong having no body now to oppose his Designs, distributed part of his Troops in that Part of *Formosa*, which is at present possess'd by the *Chinese*. He plac'd a Garrison at *Ki-long-chay*, an abandon'd Fortress formerly built by the *Spaniards*, and built one himself at *Tan-shwi-ching*, at the Mouth of the River *Tan-shwi*, where the *Chinese* Vessels might lie at Anchor. He pitch'd on the Ground where *Cbu-lo-yen* and *Fong-shan-byen* stand at present, and founded two Cities thereon, to which he gave the Names of *Tyen-bing-byen* and *Wan-nyen-byen*. He erected the Capital of his new Dominions in the Place where *Tay-wan-fu* now is, and gave it the Name of *Shing-tyen-fu*; he establish'd his Palace and Court at *Fort Zeland*, giving it the Name of *Ngan-ping-fu*, which it still retains.

It was then *Formosa* began to take a new Form, where he establish'd the same Laws, Customs, and Government as in *China*; but he did not long enjoy his new Conquest, dying within a Year and some Months, after he had taken Possession of the Island. He was succeeded by his Son *Ching-king-may*, who having been bred up to Study, took little or no Care to cultivate the Lands his Father had acquired with so much Pains and Fatigue, which much diminish'd the Courage of his Troops, and their Zeal for his Service.

Ching-king-may.

In the Year 1673, and the twelfth of the Reign of *Kang-bi*, the Kings of *Quang-tong* and *Fo-kyen* revolting, *Ching-king-may*, being willing to revive the Martial Spirit of his Troops, resolv'd to join the latter against the *Tartar*; accordingly he fitted out his Ships, and sail'd to the Coasts of that Province, but as he would be treated on the Foot of a sovereign Prince, and the King of *Fo-kyen* pretended to have the Precedency of him, he was so highly incensed thereat, that he forthwith declar'd War against him.

They fought on both Sides with much Resolution and Courage, but as the Troops of *Ching-king-may* consisted of Veterans, the Victory always fell to him; so that the King of *Fo-kyen* was at length oblig'd to cause himself to be shav'd a second time, and lie at the Mercy of the *Tartars*. *Ching-king-may* return'd to *Formosa*, where he dy'd soon after, leaving for Successor his Son *Ching-ke-san*, who was very young, under the Conduct of *Lyew-que-kan* and *Fong-si-san*, two Officers firmly attach'd to his Interest.

Ching-ke-san.

The Rebellion of *Fo-kyen* being intirely suppress'd by the *Tartars*, they abolish'd the Title of King; and in the Year 1682, which was the twenty first of the Reign of *Kang-bi*, they establish'd a *Tsong-tu* to govern both this Province and that of *Che-kyang*, which is a Dignity superior to that of *Vice-Roy*.

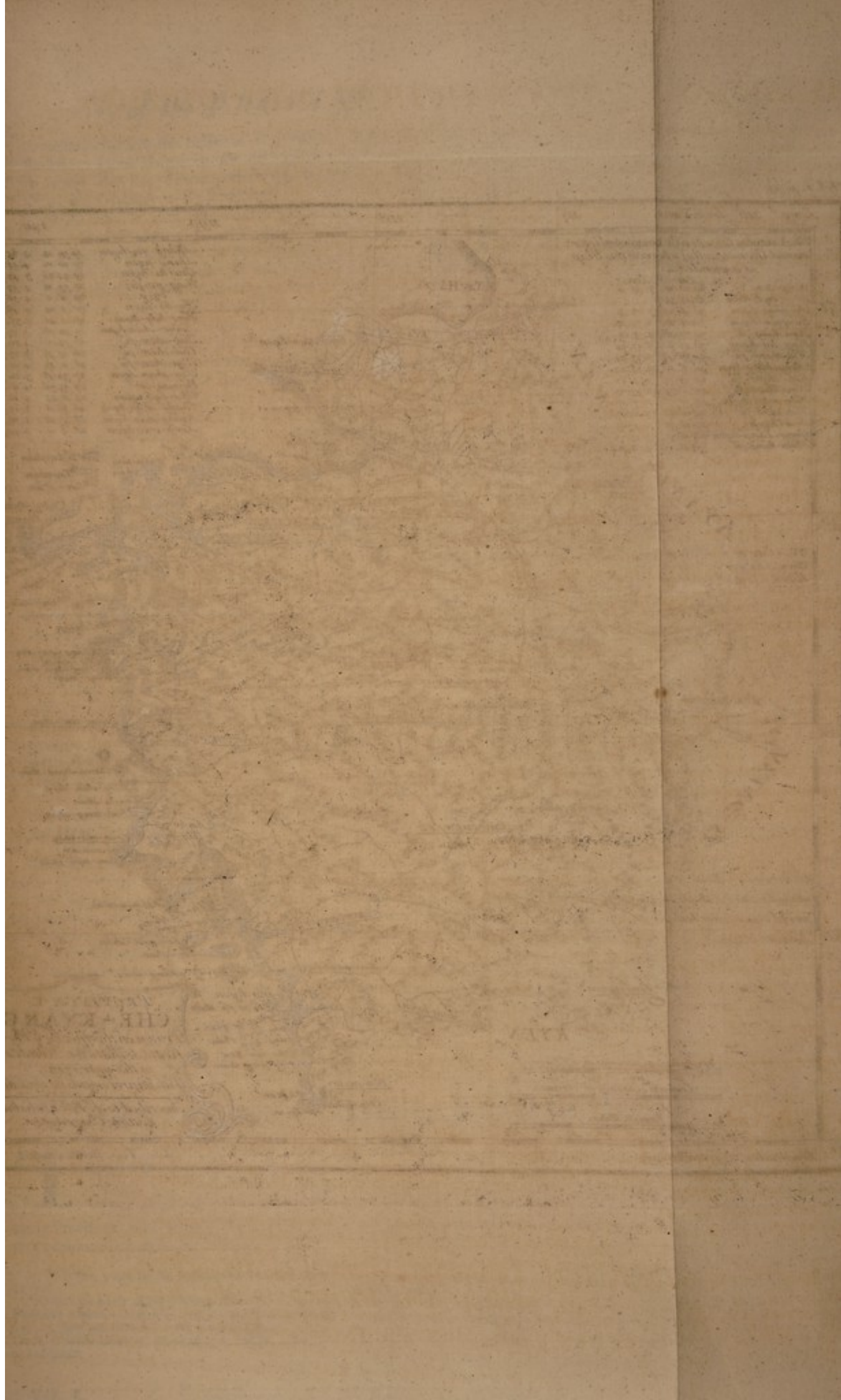
The first of their Appointment was *Tsong-tu yau*, who was dexterous, polite, and of an engaging Behaviour; no sooner was he in the Post, than he publish'd a general Amnesty, which extended to *Formosa*, for all who submitted themselves to the Dominion of the *Tartars*; with Promise to procure them the same Employments, Honours, and Privileges, which they possess'd under their respective Chiefs. This Declaration had the desired Effect; for most of those who, having follow'd *Ching-ching-kong*, had abandon'd their Country, Wives, and Children, seeing themselves in a foreign, uncultivated, and almost uninhabited Land, without Hopes of drawing any considerable Advantage from it, were rejoic'd to find so good an Opportunity of returning home. Some therefore without any farther Delay left *Ching-ke-san* to go into *Fo-kyen*, where the *Tsong-tu yau* receiv'd them with so much Courtesy, and so well provided for them, that they were quickly follow'd by a great many more. The *Tsong-tu yau* thought this a proper time to subdue *Formosa*, and accordingly sent out of hand a formidable Fleet under the Command of a *Ti-tu*, or Lieutenant General, to seize on the Isles of *Pong-bu*. The *Ti-tu* found more Resistance there than he expected, the Soldiers defending themselves vigorously with the Assistance of the *Dutch* Cannon; but at length they were oblig'd to submit to Number and Force.

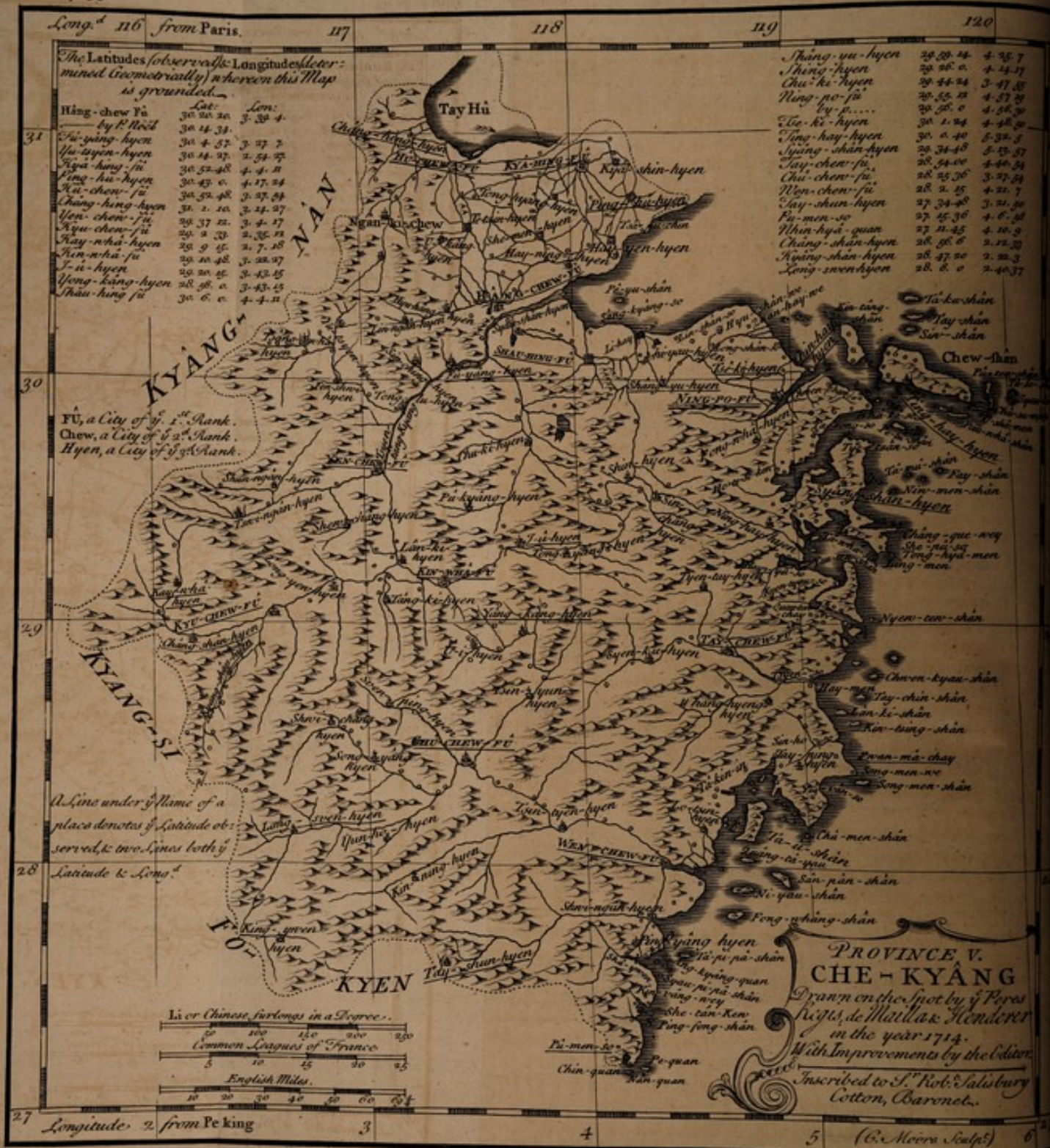
Submits to
the Emperor
of China.

The Isle of *Pong-bu* being taken, the young Prince's Council judg'd it would be difficult, considering the Temper the Troops were then in, to preserve *Formosa*; and without waiting for the *Ti-tu* to come and attack them in form, they dispatch'd a Ship to carry a Petition to the Emperor, in the Name of the young Prince, by which he submitted himself to his Majesty. This Petition, faithfully translated from the *Chinese*, is as follows:

The King of Yen-ping, General of the Army, Ching-ke-san, presents this Petition to the Emperor.

"WHEN humbling myself at the Feet of your Majesty, I consider the Grandeur of
" *China*, which from time immemorial has always supported itself with so much
" Glory, and where an infinite Number of Kings have succeeded each other; I cannot help
" confessing





" confessing that it is the Effect of a particular Providence of *Tyen* (M), who has chosen your illustrious House to govern the nine Earths (*). *Tyen* has not made this Change but in order to render the five Virtues perfect (+), as appears evidently from the good Order and Success of all your Majesty's Undertakings.

Prov. IV.
Fo-kyen.

" When I think with Humility of my Ancestors, I perceive they were firmly attach'd to the Interest of their Sovereigns, whereby they endeavour'd to make an Acknowledgment for the Favour they receiv'd from the preceding Dynasty, at a time when my Family had received none from your illustrious House. It was this Principal of Loyalty to his Prince, which oblig'd my Grandfather *Cbing-ching-kong* to leave *Cbina*, and go to grub up the uncultivated Lands of the East. My Father *Cbing-ching-may* was a studious Man, who durst not venture himself on the Side of a Precipice; like the Kings of *Ye-lang*, he was wholly employ'd in governing and instructing his People, confining himself to this Corner of the Earth, lying in the midst of the Sea, without having other Views.

History of
Tay-uan or
Formosa.

" Hitherto I have enjoy'd Benefits derived from my Ancestors; I their Grandson, never cease to testify my Acknowledgments, by continually calling to mind the Favours they have receiv'd from Heaven, without aiming to aggrandize myself on Earth. But now that I see your Majesty, like the Heavens (N), which by their Height and Extension cover all Things, and the Earth, which by its Solidity supports them, always inclin'd to do good, and allay the Effects of your Justice; the Foundation whereon your Majesty governs *Cbina*: Now that I see your Majesty, like the rising Sun, whose Light spreads itself in an instant over the whole Earth, as soon as it appears on the Horizon; and dispels in a Moment the slender Mists, which it meets with, on the Surface of the Earth; how dare I think of any thing else but applying my self to my Perfection? which I, a Foreigner, deem the only Means of acquiring Contentment.

" Should I think of sending my Ships to cross over to the *West* (O), I confess I should commit a Fault: But alas! What remains of that Race which came into the *East*? Is it not like a feeble Dew, that falls in the Morning, and dissipates when the Sun appears? How durst I then undertake any thing against your Majesty? My Heart is intirely devoted to you; This Petition discloses its sincere Sentiments to your Majesty, who will see the Effects of them.

" I know at present that I am not in the right Way, and for the future, I shall be ambitious to walk in the Garden of Charity, and in the Retinue of *Ki-ling*. I ardently wish to see Heaven and Earth united in one; the poor People of this Island do not want to intoxicate themselves with Liquor, or to surfeit themselves with Victuals; if they are treated with Mildness, they will be more inclin'd to Submission. It is the Nature of Fish to retire where the Water is deepest, they have never too much of it, and can live a long time amidst the Waves of the Sea. To confirm with an Oath all that I lay before your Majesty in this Petition, may I never see the Light of the Sun, if these are not the Sentiments of my Heart."

The Emperor's Answer to this Petition was, that *Cbing-ke-san* should leave *Formosa*, and come to *Pe-king*. But *Cbing-ke-san* fearing to go to *Pe-king*, by a second Petition, (wherewith he sent his Seals, and those of the Principal Officers) represented to the Emperor, that having been born in the Southern Parts, and being likewise very unhealthy, he dreaded the Cold of the North; wherefore he intreated his Majesty to permit him to retire into the Province of *Fo-kyen*, from whence his Ancestors came.

This last Petition was of no Effect, so that this unhappy Prince, who saw himself almost wholly deserted, was oblig'd to surrender *Formosa* into the Hands of the *Tartars*, and go to *Pe-king*, where on his Arrival at the Court, the Title of Count was conferr'd on him, in the twenty second Year of *Kang-bi*, and 1683 of *Christ*.

PROVINCE V. CHE-KYANG.

THIS Province is one of the most fertile and flourishing as to Trade, in the whole Empire. It is bounded on the East by the Sea; on the South by *Fo-kyen*; on the North and West by *Kyang-nan* and *Kyang-si*, with which it is surrounded. They reckon in it eleven Cities of the first Rank, whose Jurisdictions are like so many Provinces, and seventy seven of the second and third Rank, besides an infinite Number of very populous Boroughs and Villages.

Prov. V.
Che-kyang.
Bounds and
Division.

(M) Here *Tyen*, which signifies both God and Heaven, stands for God.

(*) That is the whole inhabited World. The *Chinese* divide the Earth into 9 Sorts: 1. Mountains of good Land, 2. Stony Mountains, 3. Land and Hills, 4. Black and dry Lands, 5. Moist Lands, 6. Sandy Lands, 7. Clay Lands, 8. Yellow Lands, and 9. Red Lands.

(+) Charity, Justice, Civility, or the Ceremonies, Prudence, Fidelity, or Honesty.

(N) Here doubtless, in the Original *Chinese*, the Word *Tyen* is used, but the Properties of Height and Extension requires it to be taken for Heaven, as the Attribute of Providence in the Place above required it should be translated God.

(O) By the *West* is to be understood *Cbina*, and by the *East*, *Formosa*.

PROV. V. The whole Country, which consists of well cultivated Mountains, and equally fertile Fields, is cut with Rivers and Canals: which last are broad, deep, and lin'd on both sides with hewn stone; they are cover'd also with Bridges at certain Distances, which join the Plains on both sides together, so that one may travel all over the Province by Water as well as Land. The running Springs and Lakes, wherewith it abounds, contribute farther to its Fertility.

Soil.

Silk.

Its Inhabitants are very mild, ingenious and polite. The Silks which they make, embroidered with Gold and Silver, are the best in all *China*, and so cheap that a Suit of good Silk costs less than one of the most ordinary Cloth in *Europe*. Hence one sees a great Number of Fields, full of dwarf Mulberry Trees, which they hinder to grow, planting and cutting them almost like Vines; the *Chinese* being convinc'd by long Experience that the Leaves of the smallest Mulberry-Trees produce the best Silk.

They breed so great a Quantity of Silk-Worms in this Province, that we may almost say it is in a Condition of itself to furnish *Japan*, the *Philippine* Islands, and *Europe* with Silk of all sorts, at an easy Price.

All sorts of Necessaries are very plentiful. The Mountains in the South and West Part are cultivated; in other Parts where they are interspers'd with Rocks, they afford Timber for building Ships and Houses.

Golden Fish. In the Lakes of this Province the Golden Fish are found, which I have described before; it affords also abundance of excellent Cray-Fish. In certain Places there grows an infinite Number of Mushrooms, which are carry'd all over the Empire. After having salted, they dry and keep them the Year round. When they want to make use of them, by only letting them lye a while in Water, they become as good and fresh as if they had been just gather'd.

Gammons.

Tallow Tree.

The best Hams come from this Province, where also that extraordinary Tree grows, call'd *U-kyew-mu*, which produces the Tallow; likewise those Shrubs that bear a very white Flower resembling the *Jasmin*, excepting that it has a greater Number of Leaves as well as a more agreeable Smell; a single Flower is sufficient to perfume a whole House, so that they are in such Esteem with the *Chinese*, that they take the same Care to preserve those little Shrubs, as is employ'd in *Europe* to defend the Orange-Trees from the Rigour of Weather.

Fruit Pe-fo.

Altho' the Fruit call'd *Pe-fo* is found elsewhere, yet it is much more common in this Province; it grows in marshy Water, and is as big as a Chestnut; its Kernel is cover'd with a very thin Skin; the Pulp is White, and full of an agreeable Juice, it is firm and somewhat sour.

Some pretend that if one puts a Piece of Copper Coin with this Fruit in his Mouth, he may break it with his Teeth, as easy as the Fruit itself; this *P. Martini* affirms, but other Missionaries who made the Trial found it not so.

Bamboo Canes.

The Canes or Reeds, call'd by the *Portuguese* *Bambú*, are found throughout the Empire, but *Che-kyang* yields more than any other Province, having whole Forests of them; these *Bambú's* are of infinite use in *China*; they are very large and hard; and tho' they are hollow within, and divided into Joints, they are very strong, and bear the greatest Burthens; their Leaves are long, and folded in towards the Ends. Notwithstanding their Hardness, they are easily slit into very thin Slips, wherewith they make their Matts, Boxes, Combs, &c. As they are by Nature bor'd thro', they are very proper for Pipes to convey Water from one Place to another; or for Telescopes, to serve either as a Tube, a Case, or a Rest.

The First City, Hang-chew-fu, Capital of the Province.

Hang-chew-fu.

THIS is one of the richest and largest Cities of the Empire. It is considerable, especially on account of its most advantageous Situation, prodigious Number of Inhabitants, the Conveniency of its Canals, and its Trade for the best Silk in the World.

If you will believe the *Chinese* Proverb, it is the *Terrestrial Paradise*. Its Figure is almost round, it is forty *Li*, or four Leagues, in Compass, exclusive of the Suburbs; these *Li* must be three hundred and sixty Paces each, from the Eastern Gate to the Northern they reckon ten *Li*. One of our Missionaries, by counting the Steps of the Chair-Men, judg'd that the *Li* might well be of that Length.

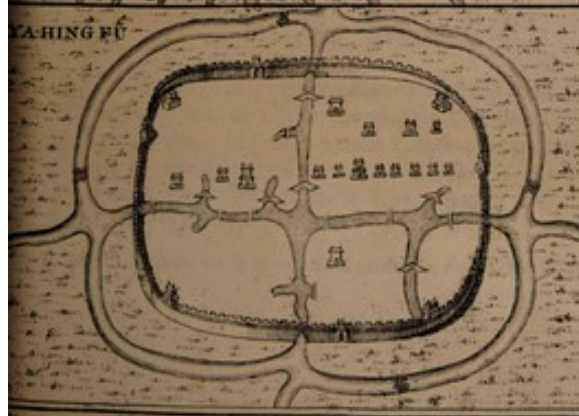
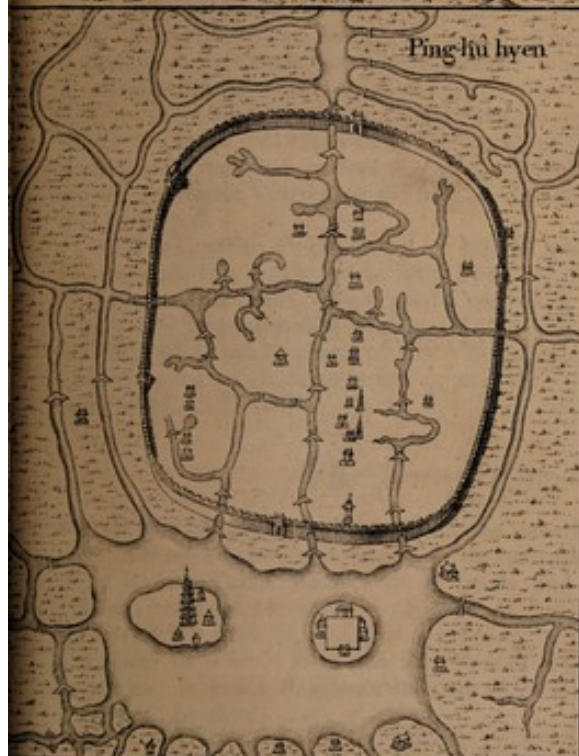
Number of the Inhabitants.

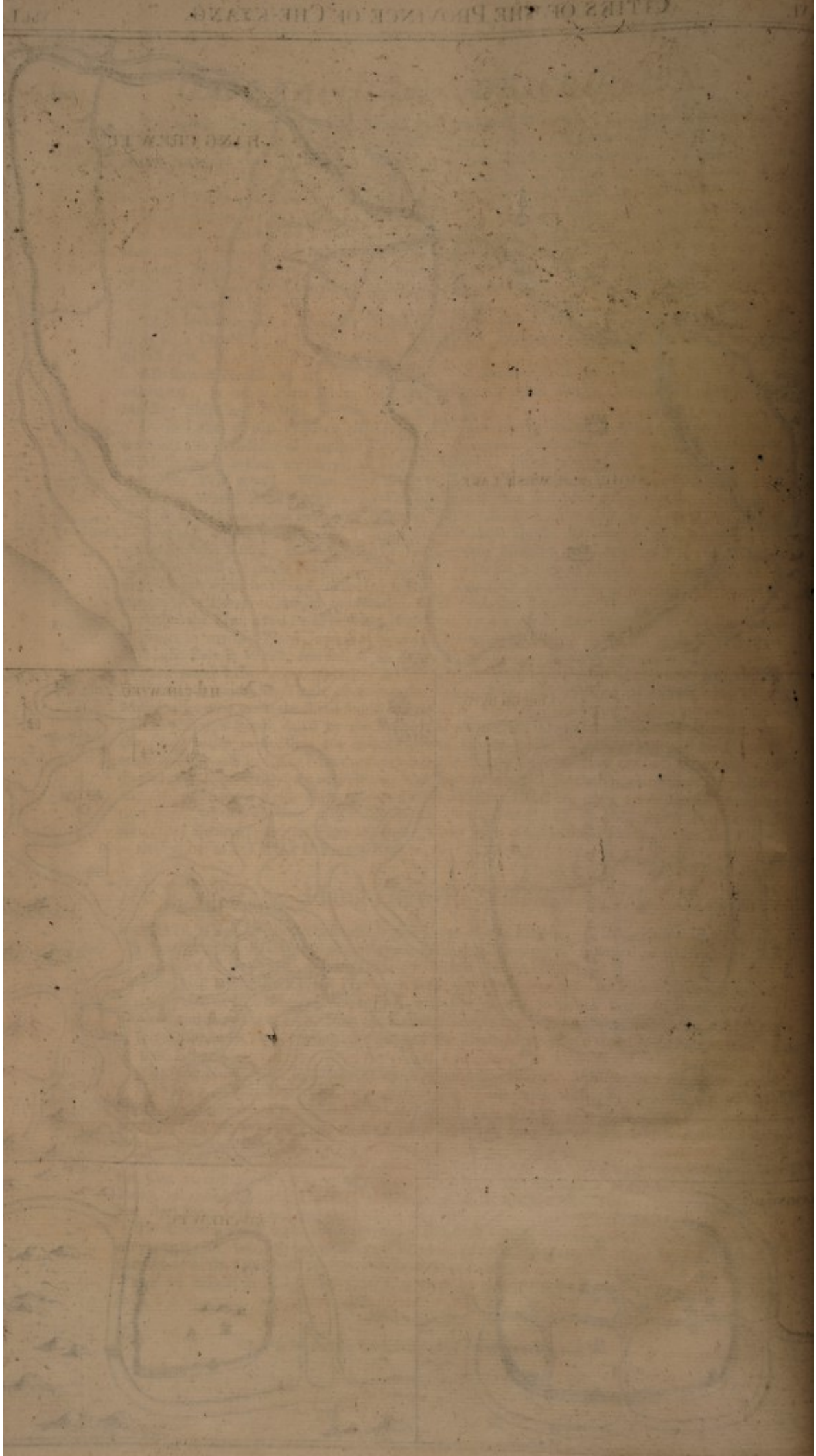
As to the Number of Inhabitants they amount to a Million. A *Christian* Bachelor assur'd a Missionary who resided there, that within the Walls only, without reckoning the Suburbs which are immense, the Officers who gather the Tax, had on their Rolls about three hundred thousand *Hu* or Families; or, as the *Chinese* express it, *San-she-wan* (p), which signifies thirty times ten thousand.

The Walls of *Hang-chew* are fair, very high and thick. The Water of the Canal within the City is not good. There are on the Canals of the Suburbs a prodigious Quantity of Barks, inhabited by intire Families, the same as at *Kan-ton*. The Streets are pretty narrow, but the Shops very neat, and the Dealers very rich.

These Streets are all adorn'd with Triumphal Arches, which one meets with, especially in Places of great Resort, being Monuments rais'd in Honour of the *Mandarins*, who have distinguish'd themselves in the Discharge of their Office, or have attain'd the chief Dignities of the Empire. There are besides in *Hang-chew* four great Towers, several Stories high. The Garrison consists of

(p) Orig. *San-che-wan*, which last Syllable is elsewhere written *wan*.





of seven thousand Men, under the *Tjjang-kyun* or *Tartar* General, and three thousand under the *Fu-ywen* or *Vice-Roy*. Prov. V.
Che-kyang.

Tho' there are large Gardens in the City, and the Houses are of one Story, it is astonishing to think how populous it is. The great Streets are throng'd with People like those of *Paris*, with this Difference, that there are no Women among them. The *Tartar* Troops have a Fortrefs here, separated from the City by a Wall. The River, call'd *Tjyen-tang-kyang*, runs near its Walls, where it is a great League in Breadth.

It may be said without exaggerating, that *Hang-chew* is properly the Country of Silk, because the chief Manufactures are there. They say there are sixty thousand Workmen within its Walls, and if that be so, there must needs be several hundred thousand in the neighbouring Country, and the Places depending on *Kya-hing-fu* and *Hu-chew-fu*; since there is scarce a Village, howsoever small, but the Silk-Works are going forward in it. The chief
Manufactory
for Silk.

Certain flower'd Taffeties and satins, named *Lin-tse*, and others all plain, but compact and even, call'd *Lau-fang-se*, which are made in this City, are reckon'd the best in the whole Empire, and in exceeding great Request.

But that which renders this Place delightful, is a little Lake, nam'd *Si-bu*, which is close to it, and two Leagues in Compass. The Water of it is good, and clear as Crystal, so that the smallest Stones may be seen at the Bottom; on the side where the Water is low, it is cover'd over with the Flowers of the *Lyen-wa*. They have rais'd there on Wooden Stakes open Halls, sustain'd by Pillars, and pav'd with great square Stones, for the Convenience of those who would walk on Foot. They have also made Causeys lined with Free-Stone, and over the Openings left for Boats to pass, built pretty handsome Bridges. Charming
Lake.

In the midst of the Lake there are two little Islands, whither they usually repair, after having taken the Pleasure of the Barks; and where they have built a Temple and Houses fit for diverting themselves. The sides of the Lake are likewise adorn'd with Temples, huge Monasteries of the *Bonzas*, and pretty handsome Houses; among which is a little Palace for the Use of the Emperor, who lodg'd there, when he travell'd into the Southern Provinces.

The Second City, Kya-hing-fu.

ALL this Country is water'd by Lakes and Canals, made by the Industry of the *Cbinese*. *Kya-hing-fu*. The City is great, very populous, and of considerable Trade. Its Suburbs are of very great Extent, its Canals and Ditches cover'd with many handsome Bridges, and every House in it rears Silk Worms.

They have brought Canals, whose Sides are lin'd with fine Free-stone, into every Part of the City. In all the Streets there are handsome Piazzas, under which one may walk out of the Rain. Triumphal Arches are common enough, both within the City and without. There are fifteen Marble Towers, on the sides of the Canal, to the West of the City, thro' which all the Barks pass.

The Fruit, call'd *Pe-tsi*, spoken of before, grows in all the standing and marshy Waters. *Fruit Pe-tsi*. In Autumn they catch certain little Birds, which are preserv'd in Wine made of Rice, and sold all the Year round. Very good Cray-Fish are also taken here.

In the Neighbourhood of the City *Hav-yen-byen*, which stands on the Sea Coast, there are Salt-Pits, which yield plenty of Salt. One sees on all sides Silk Manufactures. The whole Country is flat, without so much as one Hill. The City contains seven others of the third Rank within its District.

The Third City, Hu-chew-fu.

THIS City takes its Name from the great Lake on the side whereof it stands, *Hu* signifying a Lake; and is one of the greatest and most considerable in *Cbina*, on account of its Riches, Trade, Fertility of its Lands, and Beauty of its Waters and Hills. *Hu-chew-fu*.

It is inconceivable what a Quantity of Silk is made there. The Tribute pay'd therein by *Te-tsin-byen*, one of the Cities depending on it, amounts to five hundred thousand *Taels* or Ounces of Silver. It is also the Place in *Cbina*, where the best Pencils for writing with are made. It yields abundance of Tea, and has in its District one City of the second Rank, and six of the third. Best Pencils
made.

The Fourth City, Ning-po-fu.

NING-PO-FU, which Europeans (r) have call'd *Liam-po*, is a very good Port on the Eastern Sea of *Cbina*, over-against *Japan*, and has four Cities of the third Order under its Jurisdiction. It stands on the Confluence of two small Rivers, which form the Canal from thence to the Sea. This Canal is capable of bearing Transports or *Cbinese* Vessels of two hundred Tuns. One of these Rivers nam'd *Kin*, comes from the South, the other call'd *Tau*, from the West-North-West. *Ning-po-fu*.

(r) By Europeans are to be understood chiefly the Portuguese. *Liam po* in English Characters should be *Lyang-po*.

PROV. V. These Rivers water a Plain encompass'd almost on every side with Hills, which form a kind of Oval Basin, whose Diameter from East to West passing thro' the City, may be ten or twelve thousand *Chinese* Fathom, which, as I have said, are of ten Feet each. The Length from South to North is much greater.

Canal of
Ning-po.

The Plain, which resembles a Garden, as being so level and well improv'd, is full of Villages, and Hamlets. It is cut by a great Number of Canals, form'd by the Waters, that fall from the Hills. The Canal on which part of the Eastern Suburb stands, extends to the very Foot of the Mountains, and divides into three Branches. It may be about five or six thousand Fathoms long, and six or seven broad.

In this Space there are sixty six Canals on both sides of the principal Canal, several of which are broader than it. This great abundance of Water, manag'd with Art, renders the Plain exceeding fruitful, and makes it yield two Harvests of Rice; besides which Grain they sow Cotton and Pulse. Tallow-Trees are very numerous here.

The *W'ang*,
or yellow
Fish.

The Air is generally pure and wholesome, and the Country pleasant and open. The Sea furnishes plenty of Fish, with all sorts of Shell-Fish, and especially good Cray-Fish; among the rest in the beginning of the Summer, they catch the Fish call'd *W'ang*, that is, *Yellow*, which are much in Request, being very savory and delicious; but as they will not keep long out of Water, they put them in Glasses, and so transport them into all Parts of the Empire.

City Walls.

The Walls of *Ning-po* are five thousand and seventy four Geometrical Paces in Compass. In passing from the Western to the Eastern Gate, we reckon two thousand five hundred and seventy four great Paces. Its Walls are built of Free-Stone, in good Repair, and able to withstand any Force, but that of Cannon.

It has five Gates, whereof two look towards the East, because the Port is on that side; not to mention two Water-Gates, as the *Chinese* call them, which are great Arches, made in the Wall, to let the Barks in and out of the City, for there are many Canals in the South-West part of it. There is not one Building worth taking notice of in the whole Place. Indeed one meets with a Brick Tower, several Stories high; and before the most Southern of the two Gates there is a Bridge over the River *Kin*, of sixteen flat-bottomed Barks, fasten'd with Iron forty Fathom long.

The most tolerable Pieces of Architecture to be found here, are the *Pay-lew* or *Pay-fan*, which we call Triumphal Arches. The Streets, which are narrow, are still more contracted by the Pent-houses over the Shops, so that two of our large Coaches would have much ado to pass. This City was plunder'd and sack'd in the last Wars, but of late Years it has recover'd again. It is provided with a large Garrison.

The Entrance of *Ning-po* is difficult, especially for great Vessels, there not being above fifteen Feet of Water at the Bar in the Spring Tides. In entering the River, you leave on the left Hand the City of *Tin-bay-byen* (s), which depends on it.

Tin-bay-byen.

This last City, which is an oblong Square, 1000 Toises in Compass, is commanded by a Citadel built on a very high Rock, at the Foot of which Ships must necessarily pass within the Distance of half Pistol-Shot. One Tide brings them up along a very fine River, at least a hundred and fifty Fathom broad, and every where seven or eight deep, with Salt-Houses on both Sides, between which and the Mountains one has a Prospect of Villages and cultivated Plains.

The *Chinese* Merchants of *Siam* and *Batavia* come to *Ning-po* every Year, to buy Silks, which they know to be the fairest in the Empire. Those of *Po-kyen* and other Provinces resort thither continually. The City has also a great Trade with *Japan*, *Nangazaki* being only two Days sailing from hence. The *Chinese* carry thither Silk, raw and manufactur'd, Sugar, Drugs and Wine; and bring back Copper, Gold and Silver.

Island *Cheu-shan*.

Eighteen or twenty Leagues from *Ning-po* in the Sea, is the Island *Cheu-shan*. The Port is very good, but not commodious for Trade. The *English* at their first Arrival put in there by Accident, not being able to find out the Way to *Ning-po*, among so many Islands as are upon the Coast.

The Fifth City, Shau-hing-fu.

Shau-hing-fu.

THIS City is situated in one of the finest Plains in the World; it is full of Canals, nor is there any Place, which has a greater Resemblance of *Venice*, but it has the Advantage of it in this, that the Canals here are fill'd with clear and running-Water.

One may come from all the Places in the neighbourhood to any Part of the City in a Boat. There is no Street without a Canal, so that *Shau-hing* abounds with Bridges, which are very high, and almost all of one Arch.

On both Sides of each Canal there are very handsome large Streets, paved with great white Stones, for the most Part six or seven Feet long. The City is adorn'd with a Number of handsome Triumphal Arches, and reckon'd at least four Leagues in Compass; for which Reason it is divided into two *Hyen* or subordinate Jurisdictions, that have their distinct Governors, one of which is call'd *Sban-in*, the other *Quey-ki*.

Several of the Houses are built with exceeding white Free-Stone, which is scarce ever seen

(s) Here seems to be a double Mistake, for *Tin-bay-byen*, which is on the Island *Cheu-shan* (above nine Leagues from the Mouth of the River of *Ning-po*) is put instead of *Chin-bay*.

Hyen, and this last stands on the right Hand, in respect of those who enter the River.

in the other Cities of *Cbina*. These Stones are dug out of an almost inexhaustible Quarry in the Mountain *Nyau-men-shan*, two Leagues from the City. Its Walls are encompass'd with 2 Ditches, the one within the other without the City, both full of Water as good and as clear as that in the Canals. Prov. V.
Chiekyang.

Shau-bing is in some sort a City of *Literati*, for its Inhabitants are the most noted in all *China*, for the Chicane of the Law; tho' otherwise they are good Lawyers, and there is no *Vice-Roy* or *Mandarin*, but what has an Inhabitant of this City for his *Syang-kong* or Secretary. It contains within its District eight Cities of the third Rank.

The Wine, whereof a good Quantity is made here, is much esteem'd, and transported throughout the Empire. Half a League from the City is a Tomb, which the *Chinese* say is that of the great *Yu*, who advanc'd himself to the Throne, by the Service which he did his Country at the beginning of the Monarchy, in causing the Sea, which had overflow'd part of the Empire to retire; on one Side of this Tomb they have rais'd a stately Edifice by orders of the late Emperor *Kang-bi*, who, in the twenty eighth Year of his Reign, went to shew his Respect to the Memory of that great Man. Tomb of the
Great Yu.

There is near it also a remarkable Hill, call'd *Hew-shan*, or the Mountain of the *Ape*, because it has some small Resemblance in Figure; it is a Place of Recreation, where the People go to regale themselves. They have built a pretty Room here for that Purpose, at the Foot of which there is a very deep Pond, wherein they keep Fish of an extraordinary Size; which are accusom'd to appear on the Top of the Water, while those within the Hall throw them little Loaves out of the Window, which they swallow whole.

The Sixth City, Tay-chew-fu.

THIS City, which has six others under it, stands on the side of a River, in a Country quite over-run with Mountains. Altho' it is not by far so rich and considerable as the Cities already described, yet the Neighbourhood of the Sea supplies it with all Necessaries. Tay-chew-fu.

What it is remarkable for, is a kind of Ray or Thorn-back caught there, whose Skin serves for several uses, and especially in making Scabbards for Hangers. They drive a great Trade with it in the Country, and transport it to *Japan*, as well as thro' the whole Empire.

The Seventh City, Kin-wha-fu.

THIS City stands in the middle of the Province, and on the Side of a pretty handsome River, whereinto several others fall. It was formerly very great, and famous for the Beauty of its Buildings; but its Inhabitants, who are warlike, having long withstood the whole Power of the *Tartars*, were at length subdued. One part of the City was burnt, which they have since rebuilt, as well as a great Bridge on the West Side, and another Bridge of Boats, which is near the City of *Lan-ki-byen*, and much handsomer than that burnt by the *Tartars*. Kin-wha-fu.

Kin-wha has eight Cities of the third Rank depending on it; they are situate partly in the open Fields, partly in Countries surrounded with Hills. Rice grows here plentifully, and the Wine made of it is much esteem'd in the Country.

A great Trade is carry'd on here, with large dry'd Plumbs and Hams, which are in such Request, that they send them into all the Provinces of the Empire. Those little Shrubs, whose white Flower resembles the *Jasmin*, are found almost every where in the District, as well as the Trees producing the Tallow, whereof they make very white Candles, which neither stick to the Fingers, nor have an offensive Smell when put out. Tallow Tree.

The Eighth City, Kyu-chew-fu.

THE Situation of this City is agreeable enough; it is built on a fine River, and between two other smaller ones that fall into it. It is the most Southern City in the Province, and borders on the Provinces of *Kyang-fu* and *Po-kyen*; but the Road leading into this latter Province, which is three Days Journey distant, is very difficult to travel, because of the Mountains which must be pass'd. Kyu-chew-fu.

This Road begins about the City of *Kyang-shan-byen*, and continues over pretty steep Mountains for near thirty Leagues together. On one of them they have made Stairs, consisting of more than three hundred steps, of flat Stones, which go winding round it, to render the Ascent more easy. There are Inns all the Way at certain Distances. There is nothing else very remarkable in this Country, where there are five Cities more of the third Order under *Kyu-chew*. Difficult Road.

The Ninth City, Yen-chew-fu, or Nyen-chew fu.

ALTHO' this City is situate on the side of a River which runs hard by its Walls, and near another into which it is discharg'd, and bears pretty large Barks, yet it is not to be compar'd to the rest of the Cities of the Province, either for Bigness or the Number and Wealth of the Inhabitants. The Hills and Mountains, wherewith its Territory is incumber'd, render it very uneven. Yen-chew-fu,
or Nyen-chew fu.

PROV. V. **Chekyang.** Mines of Copper are found there; one meets also with the Trees that distil the Varnish, which give a Value to the Chests and Cabinets that are done over with it, and makes them so much esteem'd in *Europe*. When this Varnish is once dry, it never melts, nor suffers by containing the most boiling hot Liquor. The Paper made here is equally esteem'd, and has a very great Vent. Six Cities of the third Rank are under its Jurisdiction.

Copper-Mines, and Varnish-Paper.

The Tenth City, Wen-chew-fu.

Wen-chew-fu

THE Situation of this City is in a marshy Soil, very near the Sea, and the Beauty of its Buildings have gotten it the Name of little *Hang-chew*. The Tide comes up to its very Walls, where a great Number of Barks and *Chinese* Transports find a safe and commodious Harbour.

The whole Country is divided betwixt very fertile Plains and Mountains, some of which are frightful to look at, especially those towards the Province of *Fo-kyen*. It has under it five Cities of the third Rank.

The Eleventh City, Chu-chew-fu.

Chu-chew-fu

ALL this Country is environ'd with vast Mountains; the Valleys are fruitful, and the Rice cheap, because of the Difficulty of transporting it into other Parts. The City is situate on a fine River which is navigable to the Sea. The Mountains are cover'd with fair Trees, among which are Pines of an extraordinary Thickness; there are some of them, as affirm, the Hollow of whose Trunk would hold above thirty Men; they use them for building Houses and Ships.

Woods of Bambú.

The Sides of the Brooks are cover'd with whole Forests of Reeds or Canes, which the Europeans have nam'd *Bambú* (r); some of them are more than twenty Feet high, and the smallest not less than ten. If these Canes are burnt when they are green and fresh cut, there runs a Water from them, which the Physicians reckon very wholesome, and give those to drink, whose Blood has been coagulated through a Bruise or Fall, pretending this Liquor frees the Body from the corrupted Blood. Ten Cities of the third Order are subject to *Chu-chew*.

PROVINCE VI. HU-QUANG.

PROV. VI. **Hu-quang.** Bounds, and Division.

THIS great Province lies in the middle of the Empire, between those of *Ho-nan*, *Kyang-nan*, *Kyang-si*, *Qyang-tong*, *Qyang-si*, *Quey-chew*, *Se-chwen*, and *Shen-si*. The great River *Yang-tse-kyang* crossing it from West to East, divides it into two Parts, the Northern and Southern.

The Northern Part contains eight *Fú*, or Cities of the first Rank, and sixty of the second and third Rank. The Southern Part comprises seven *Fú*, and fifty four *Chew* and *Hyen*, besides Boroughs, Villages, and fortify'd Towns.

The greater Part of this Province is a plain Country, consisting of open Fields, water'd on all Sides by Brooks, Lakes, and Rivers; wherein infinite Quantities of all sorts of Fish are caught, and on the Lakes a great Number of Wild Fowl.

Oranges and Limons. Mines of Crystal. Simples.

The Plains afford Pasture for incredible Numbers of Cattle, and produce all sorts of Grain and Fruit, especially Oranges, and several kinds of Citrons. Its Mountains are very fertile, some in Crystal, and others in Simples and Medicinal Herbs; from some of them they dig Talc, and many others are cover'd with old Pines, fit for making those great Pillars, which the *Chinese* Architects employ in their finest Buildings. Gold is found in the Sand of the Rivers, and Torrents which descend from the Mountains; and there are Mines abounding with Iron, Tin, Tottenague, and such like Metals.

A good deal of Paper is made of the *Bambús* growing here; and in the Plains one sees store of those little Worms, which produce Wax in the same manner as Bees make Honey. In short it affords such plenty of all things that it is commonly call'd the Granary of the Empire; and it is a Proverb among the *Chinese*, "That the Province of *Kyang-si* might furnish a Breakfast for *China*, but that *Hu-quang* has of itself wherewithall to feed the whole Country."

There were formerly in this Province a great Number of Princes descended from the Imperial Family of *Hong-wú*; but that numerous Race has been intirely extirpated by the *Tartars*.

The Northern Part of the Province.

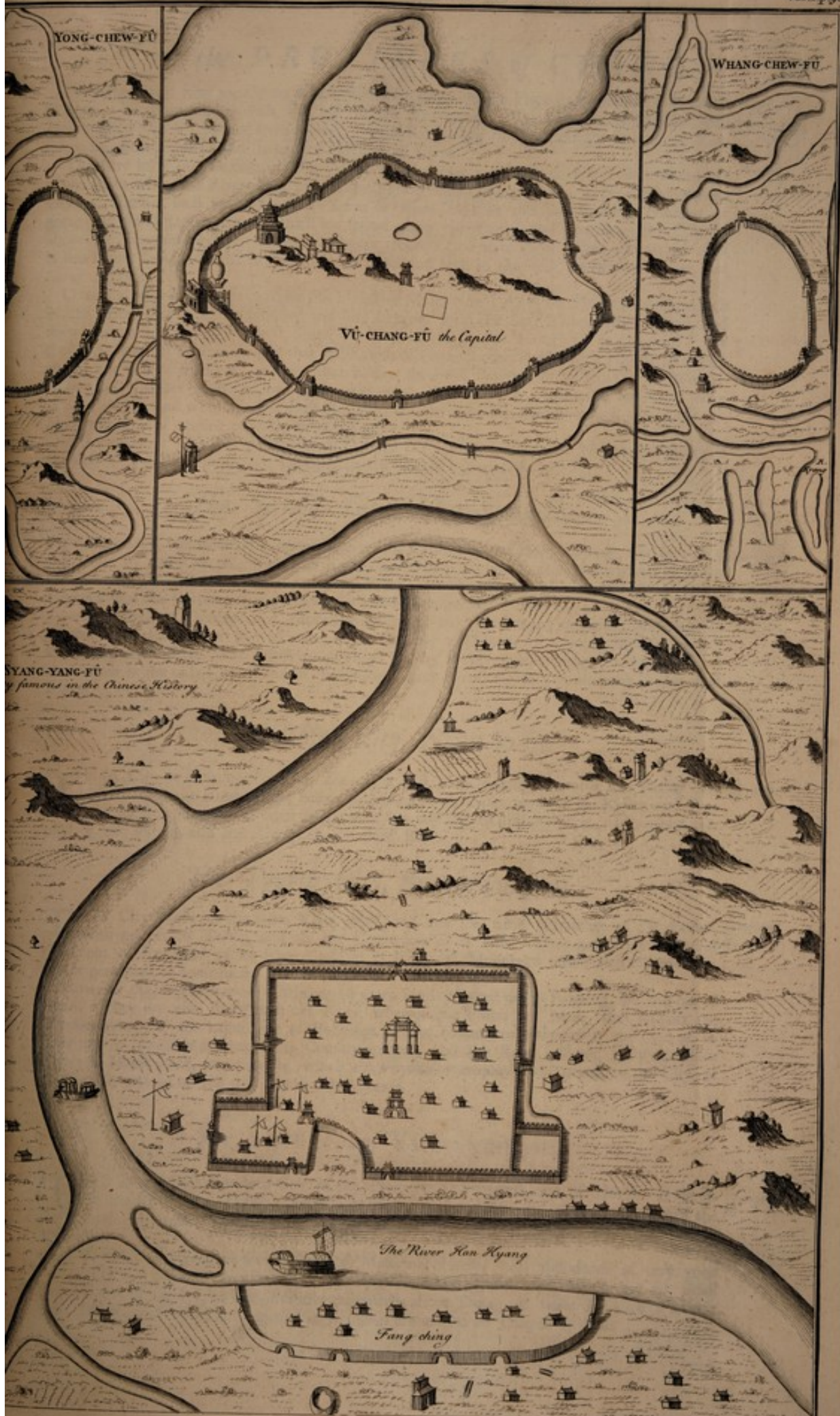
The First City, Vu-chang-fu, Capital of the whole.

Vu-chang-fu

THIS is both the Capital City of the whole Province and of the Northern Division call'd *Hu-pe*, where the *Tsong-tá* of both Parts resides. It has under its Jurisdiction one City of the second Rank, and nine of the third.

(r) This Word seems to be a Corruption of the Indian Name for this sort of Reed, viz. *Mambú*.







Vu-chang is as it were the Center of the whole Empire, and the Place from whence it is easiest to keep a Communication with the rest of the Provinces. This City in conjunction with *Han-yang* (which is separated from it only by the River *Yang-tse-kyang* and the little River *Han*) forms the most populous and frequented Place in all *Cina*. Prov. VI.
Hu-quang.

The City itself may be compar'd for Size to *Paris*; *Han-yang* (one of whose Suburbs extends to the Point where the Rivers *Han* and *Yang-tse-kyang* meet) is not inferior to the most populous Cities in *France*, such for Instance as *Lyon* or *Rouen*; add to this an incredible Number of great and small Barks, part of which are spread along the *Kyang*, and part along the *Han* for above two Leagues together. There are never reckon'd less than eight or ten thousand Vessels in this Place, some hundred of which are as long and high in the sides, as most of those that lie at *Nantes*. Han-yang.

Certainly was one only to consider this Forest of Masts rang'd along the *Yang-tse-kyang*, which in this Place, tho' at least a hundred and fifty Leagues from the Sea, is three Miles broad, and deep enough to carry the biggest Ships, he would have Reason enough to be surprized; but should he from an Eminence view that vast Extent of Ground, cover'd over with Houses, he would either not believe his Eyes, or own that he saw the finest Prospect of the Kind in the World.

By the Number of Rivers and Lakes wherewith this Province is water'd, one may judge of its Fertility, and what Wealth must accrue to it from the easy Means which the *Yang-tse-kyang* affords it of trading with the whole Empire.

That which it is farther remarkable for, is the fair Crystal found in its Mountains, plenty of the best Tea, and the prodigious Demand for the *Bambu* Paper made here.

The Second City, Han-yang-fu.

THIS City, which is only separated from the Capital by the *Yang-tse-kyang*, and is wash'd also by the River *Han*, whence it takes its Name, has both within and without its Walls several Lakes abounding with Fish and Wild Fowl. Its Situation, and Store of all sorts of Commodities that the Empire affords, render the Inhabitants exceeding rich. Han-yang-fu.

Several kinds of Oranges and Citrons grow here, but never come to perfect Maturity. It is remarkable for a very high Tower, built formerly in Honour of a young Maiden, whose Innocence and Virtue were justify'd, as they say, by a very extraordinary Prodigy. *Hanchwen-hyen* is the only City under its Jurisdiction, and is entirely surrounded with Lakes and Rivers.

The Third City, Ngan-lo-fu.

THIS City is built on the River *Han* in a vast Plain equally agreeable and fertile. Its Trade with the famous City, before spoken of, contributes much to the Riches and Prosperity of its Inhabitants. In other Respects it has nothing to distinguish it. It presides over two of the second and five Cities of the third Rank. Ngan-lo-fu.

The Fourth City, Syang-yang-fu.

THIS City stands on the same River *Han*, and has the same Advantage as the former, with respect to Trade, and all the Conveniences of Life. They gather abundance of Gold out of the Sand of its Rivers, and it is likely its Mountains afford rich Mines of it, was it permitted to open them. Syang-yang-fu.

However the *Lapis Armenus* Vitriol, and a green Stone of great use in Painting, are dug out of them. They are also stor'd with old Pines, whereof the Pillars are made, that support the Timber-Work in the larger sort of Buildings. The Mountains, wherewith one part of its Territory is incumber'd, render the Country rugged, and the Roads difficult. They produce plenty of House-Leek, and Simples, which the Physicians employ with Success. One City of the second, and six of the third Rank depend on it.

The Fifth City, Ywen-yang-fu.

THIS is the most Northern City in the Province, and nearest that of *Sben-shi*. It stands on the River *Han*, and in a pretty large Plain, encompass'd with Mountains, whereof the Hills, having a gentle Descent, form a kind of Inclosure, which renders the Country very agreeable. Ywen-yang-fu.

These Mountains produce several sorts of Medicinal Herbs, and abundance of very good Tin. The Soil is fertile every where; a remarkable Shrub grows here, which has no small Resemblance of the Ivy, in that it climbs and fastens about Trees; it bears Flowers of a very pale Yellow, and the Extremities of its Branches are as fine as Threads of Silk.

PROV. VI. This City has six others of the third Rank under its Jurisdiction ; one of them named *Chá-shan-byen* lies on the River that falls into the *Han* : the Water of which is proper for taking Spots out of Silk, and sharpening Iron Tools, a Virtue doubtless owing to its being impregnated with certain Salts.

The Sixth City, Te-ngan-fu.

Te-ngan-fu. THIS City, which is not far from the *Yang-tse-kyang*, is built on a River that falls into it, and by several Branches has a Communication with divers Lakes in the Neighbourhood.

The whole Country, which is inclos'd on the North by Mountains, and on the South by Rivers that water it, is exceeding fertile. That which it is most remarkable for, is a kind of white Wax, made by little white Worms, which are not rear'd in Houses like Bees, but found in the Fields. They make Candles of this Matter, that are whiter than Wax, and give a clearer Light, as well as a more agreeable Smell.

The Seventh City, Kin-chew-fu.

Kin-chew-fu. THE District of this City is considerable, including thirteen subordinate Cities, two of the second, and eleven of the third Rank. It is handsome enough ; several Lakes that surround it, contribute not a little to render the Soil fertile and pleasant. It is besides of great Trade, scarce inferior to the Capital for Numbers of People, and divided by a single Wall in two Parts, one whereof is possess'd by the *Chinese*, the other by *Tartars*, who compose the Garrison.

Oranges are plentiful here, but they are all somewhat sour. The several Lakes, great and small, the sides of which afford a fine Prospect, abound with all sorts of Fish. The Reason why the *Tartars* have built a Citadel here is, because it is a Rule with them to be Masters of a City whose Situation renders it of Importance. It is a common Saying, that *when one is possess'd of Kin-chew, he has the Key of China in his Hands*.

The Eighth City, Whang-chew-few.

Whang-chew-fu. THE Situation of this City on the *Yang-tse-kyang*, its small Distance from the Capital, and the Number of Lakes wherewith it is surrounded, renders it a delightful Habitation. Hence it is exceeding populous, and yields to few of the other Cities for Trade. A surprising Number of Barks arrive here every Day, loaden with all sorts of Merchandizes.

Its whole Territory is admirably well improv'd, and agreeably diversify'd, as well by the Rivers and Brooks that water it, as the Mountains that are to the North : some of which latter are cover'd with Trees and Forests, that are very beneficial to the Inhabitants ; they also afford Springs, whose Water gives the Tea a delicious Taste.

Spring. There are caught in the River about this City a great Number of Tortoises, some very large, others very small, which the Lords keep for their Diversion in their Gardens and Houses of Pleasure. They make excellent Spirits there, which are very strong, take Fire in an Instant, and have no bad Smell. There are also very good and large Chestnuts. Its District contains nine Cities, one of the second, and eight of the third Rank.

The Southern Part of the Province.

The First City, Chang-cha-fu, the Capital.

Chang-cha-fu, Capital of the Southern Part of the Province. THIS is the chief City of the Southern Part of *Hu-quang*, which the *Chinese* call *Hu-nan*. It stands on a large River, that has a Communication with the great Lake *Tong-ting-bu*. The Lakes and Rivers wherewith the Country is water'd, and the Ease with which the Husbandmen convey the Water into the Lands by Machines of their own Invention, whereof I speak elsewhere, renders its Soil rich and fertile, so that they need never fear Scarcety, even in time of the greatest Drought. They catch abundance of Fish in its Rivers, and especially very good Lampreys in some of them.

Vermillion, and Talc. The Country is partly plain, partly mountainous. The Hills yield very fine Cinnabar or Vermillion, and abundance of Talc, which the Physicians reduce to a Lime, and mix with Wine ; they say it is a wonderful Remedy for preserving Health. This Capital has in its District one City of the second Rank, and eleven of the third.

Great Festival. The Inhabitants of one of these Cities have given Occasion to a great Festival, which in the fifth Month is celebrated throughout the Empire, with much Joy and Pomp. A certain Mandarin, Governor of this City, whose Probity and Virtue had endear'd him to the People, happening to be drown'd in the River, they instituted a Festival in Honour of him ; which they celebrated with Games, Feasts, and Combats on the Water, as if they meant to search for that Mandarin, the Object at once of their Love and Grief. This Festival, which at first was peculiar to the City, was observ'd afterwards all over the Empire.

They

They prepare against that Day certain little Barks, long and narrow, which are gilded all over, and carry at one End the Figure of a Dragon, whence they are call'd *Long-chew*; in these they formerly fought upon the Water, and Premiums were regulated for the Victors; but as this Sort of Diversion was dangerous, and often attended with fatal Accidents, the *Mandarins* have prohibited it almost every where.

The Second City, Yo-chew-fu.

THE Situation of the City is admirable, being built on the Side both of the *Tang-tse* Yo-chew-fu. *kyang*, and the great Lake *Tong-ting*.

This Lake, which resembles a Sea, is remarkable for the Greatness of its Circumference, (being more than fourscore Leagues) for the abundance of its Waters, especially at certain Seasons, (when two of the greatest Rivers of the Province swell'd with Rain discharge themselves into it, passing out of it afterwards without any sensible Diminution) and for the astonishing Quantity of good Fish that is caught therein.

The great Number of Barks, and Variety of Commodities that resort to this City, render it one of the wealthiest in the Empire.

Its Territory, which is divided by the great Lake just now mention'd, contains one of the second, and seven of the third Rank; some on the East-side of the Lake, and others on the West. It is exceeding fertile every where, and stored with different Kinds of Orange and Limon-Trees.

Many of its Mountains are covered with Forests, chiefly of Pine-Trees; in some of them they find the *Lapis Armenus*, and Green Stone, which reduced to Powder makes a very beautiful Colour for Painting. Out of others they dig Tale, and little black Stones, the impalpable Powder of which is made use of by Physicians as an effectual Remedy against Diseases of the Throat, and especially the Squincy.

The Third City, Pau-king-fu.

THIS City is built on the River *Lo-kyang*, whose Waters fall into the *Heng-kyang*, Pau-king-fu. which has a Communication with the Lake *Tong-ting*. Its Territory, which consists of fertile Valleys, and very fine Plains, excepting towards the Province of *Quang-si*, where it is mountainous, contains only one City of the second, and four of the third Rank.

To the North of one of these Cities, nam'd *U-kang-chew*, the River is render'd very dangerous for sailing, by Rocks, down which it falls with astonishing Rapidness. They have erected a brazen Pillar here, to which the Bark is fastened, till the necessary Measures are taken for ascending the River with Safety.

The Fourth City, Heng-chew-fu.

THE District of this City is pretty extensive; one Town of the second, and nine of the third Rank, are under its Jurisdiction. It is situate at the Confluence of two Rivers, which inclose part of its Territory. Its Mountains are very agreeable, and well cultivated, or cover'd with Trees always green. The Country produces all the Necessaries of Life; it furnishes much Game, and contains several Mines of Gold and Silver, but they are not suffer'd to be open'd. Very good Paper is made here; in short, every thing is plenty, nor is it one of the least Cities in the Province.

The Fifth City, Chang-te-fu.

THIS is a large City, built on the River *Twen-kyang*, not far from the great Lake *Tong-ting*, Chang-te-fu. where that River discharges itself. Its District is of no great Extent, comprising only four Cities of the third Rank; but the Country is the most fertile in all the Province, and its River, which is navigable almost from the Beginning to the End, causes Trade to flourish. Every thing grows here in great plenty.

It is remarkable for a peculiar sort of Orange-Trees, which bear no Fruit till the Season for others is past; whence they are call'd by the *Chinese* Winter Orange-Trees, but its Fruit has a delicious Taste.

Its Mountains are full of Fallow Deer, and bear Cedars, whose Fruit is not good to eat; but they hang it up in their Chambers, which are perfumed with the sweet Smell that issues from it. Store also of *Lapis Armenus*, and even some Manna is found there.

The Sixth City, Ching-chew-fu.

THIS City is situate on an Angle made by two Rivers; and the Country is water'd by a multitude of Brooks, which render the Valleys very fertile. Its Mountains, which are numerous, yield abundance of Quicksilver, *Lapis Armenus*, and Green Stones fit for Painters; nor are they destitute of Gold and Silver Mines. The People who inhabit these Mountains want the Politeness of the *Chinese* Commonalty, being of a rude and savage Disposition, so that they are look'd on as *Barbarians*. The District of this *Fu* comprizes ten other Cities, whereof one is of the second, and nine of the third Rank.

PROV. VI.
Hu-quang

The Seventh City, Yong-chew-fu.

Yong-chew-fu.
Bambus,
Lyen-wu.

THIS is the most Southerly City in the Province. It stands amidst Mountains, whose Verdure yields a very agreeable Prospect, and on a River, which a little way from thence falls into the *Syang-kyang*. The Water of this River is so clear and pure, that in the deepest Places you may count the Flints and smallest Pebbles at the Bottom.

Store of *Bambus* grow in some parts of this Territory, and in others the *Lyen-wu*, with yellow Flowers; of which Colour it is rare to find any elsewhere. There are eight Cities within its Jurisdiction, whereof one is of the second Rank, and the other seven of the third.

Cities *Tsin-chew*
and
Ching-chew.

Besides these principal Cities there are two more of the second Order, which do not depend on any *Fu*, or Cities of the first Rank, but have a Jurisdiction over other Cities. The first is *Tsin-chew*, on the Borders of *Yuey-chew*, which has under it three Cities of the third Rank; the second *Ching-chew*, a great and very populous City, standing between two Rivers, whereon depend five Cities of the third Rank, all on the Borders of the Province of *Quang-tong*. Altho' this Country is full of Mountains, yet it is well cultivated.

PROVINCE VII. HO-NAN.

PROV. VII.
Ho-nan.

Names,
Bounds, and

Division.

Air and Pro-
duce.

Soil.

Remarkable
Lake.

Serpents.

THE Mildness of the Climate, and the Fertility of the Lands, render this Province a delightful Country; for which Reason it is named by the *Chinese*, *Chong-wu*, or the *Flower of the Middle*, because it is situate almost in the middle of *China*.

It is bounded on the North by the Provinces of *Pe-che-li* and *Shan-si*; on the West by *Shen-si*; on the South by *Hu-quang*, and on the East by *Shan-tong*. It is likewise water'd by the *Whang-ho*, [or *Yellow River*.]

Besides the Forts, Castles and Garrison Towns, it contains eight *Fu*, or Cities of the first Rank, and a hundred and two of the second and third.

The *Chinese* say that *Fo-hi*, the Founder of their Monarchy, fix'd his Court in this Province; and according to some Authors began his Reign about the Year 2952 before Christ, which if true confirms the Chronology of the Septuagint.

The ancient Emperors invited by the Beauty and Fruitfulness of the Country fix'd their Seats here, and indeed the Air is temperate, and very healthful. Here every thing that one can wish is to be found, as Wheat, Rice, Pasture, a great number of Cattle, Oranges of all sorts, Pomegranates, and all kinds of Fruit that grow in *Europe*, in such abundance, that they cost a Trifle; insomuch that one shall have three Pounds of Meal for a Penny.

The whole Province is plain, excepting on the West-Side, where there are Mountains cover'd with Forests; but on the East-Side the Land is cultivated with so great Industry, that one seems to travel thro' a vast Garden. Hence the *Chinese* commonly call it the *Garden of China*, as we call *Touraine* the Garden of *France*.

It is moreover so well water'd with Brooks, Springs and Rivers, that for Delightfulness no Country can compare with it. The Quantity of Corn, Rice, Silk and Cloth, which it furnishes by way of Tribute, is astonishing.

It is farther remarkable for a Lake, which draws to it a great number of those concerned in manufacturing the Silk, because its Water gives it an inimitable Lustre.

In one of its Cities, nam'd *Nan-yang*, there is a kind of Serpent, whose Skin is speckled with little white Spots; this Skin the *Chinese* Physicians steep in a Vial full of Wine, which they make use of as a good Remedy against the Palsy.

The First City, Kay-fong-fu, Capital of the Province.

Kay-fong-fu.

Destroy'd by
an Inundation
of the River.

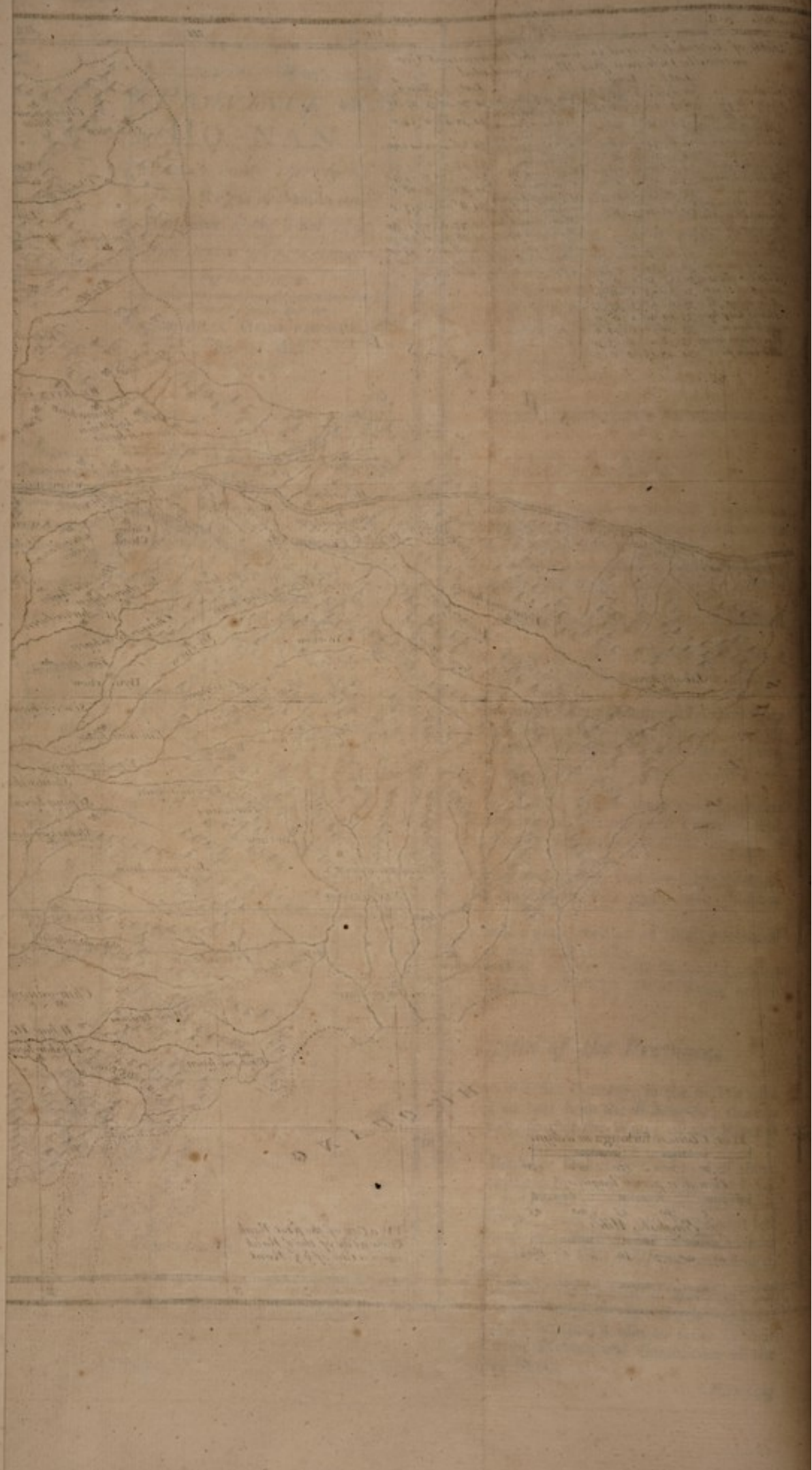
THIS is a great, rich and populous City, standing in a fine Country, in the middle of a large and well cultivated Plain, four Miles and an half from the *Whang-ho*; there is one Defect however in its Situation, as lying very low, so that the Water of the River is higher than the City.

To guard against Inundations, they have built great Banks or Dykes for the Space of above thirty Leagues. But in 1642, this City having been besieged by the Rebels, after the Inhabitants had held out vigorously for six Months against more than a hundred thousand Men; the Commander of the Troops, which came to its Assistance, judg'd the only Expedient left for its Relief was, to break down the Banks of the *Whang-ho*, in order to lay the Plain under Water. But the Inundation was so sudden and violent, that the City itself was overflow'd, and three hundred thousand of its Inhabitants drowned.

P. *Roderic de Figueiredo*, a *Portuguese*, who had founded the Church at *Kay-fong*, and govern'd it for twenty Years with great Zeal, would never quit his Flock in the midst of Danger; but constantly refusing the Offers of the *Mandarins*, who press'd him to retire in their Barks out of the Place, sacrific'd his Life to the spiritual Welfare and Consolation of the *Christians*, whom he confess'd, and exhorted to die a holy Death.

Kay-fong

[illegible]



Kay-fong appears to have been three Leagues in Compass before that Misfortune; and has been since rebuilt, but not so well as to hold its Place among the handsomest Cities of China. Its District is very extensive, and contains four Cities of the second, and thirty of the third Rank. Prov. VII.
Ho-nan.

The Second City, Que-te-fu. (B)

THIS City stands in a vast Plain, and in the middle between two fine Rivers. It has under its Jurisdiction one City of the second, and six of the third Rank; all rich and very populous. The Country is flat, without any Hills, and well improv'd; the Air very pure, and Soil fertile in all sorts of Grain and Fruit, among the rest Orange and Pomegranates are very plenty. Que-te-fu.

The Third City, Chang-te-fu.

IT lies in the most Northern Part of the Province, which is there much streighten'd by the Provinces of *Pe-che-li* and *Sban-fi*. This Country, which is of no great Extent, is watered by many Rivers, that render its Soil rich and fruitful, and also afford divers kinds of Fish: among which one resembles the Crocodil, and has this remarkable, that if the Fat of it be once set on Fire, it is scarce possible to extinguish it till the whole is consum'd. Chang-te-fu.

Its Mountains, which are not very high, yield Loadstones, and divers kinds of Wormwood. One of these Hills is so steep and difficult of Ascent that in time of War the Inhabitants retire thither, and are in perfect Safety. There is on the Top a Plain of large Extent, where they may dwell, as long as they will, secure from the Avarice and Violence of the Soldiers. This City has within its District one of the second, and six of the third Rank. Load-Stones.

The Fourth City, We-kyun-fu. (C)

THIS City stands on a River in a sandy Country, whose Soil is less productive than the rest of the Province. It has only six Cities of the third Rank within its District, which is small, being like the former contracted by the Provinces of *Pe-che-li* and *Sban-fi*. On the side next this last there are some Mountains, the rest is a plain Country, and pretty well improved. We-kyun-fu.

The Fifth City, Whay-king-fu.

THE Territory of this City is of very small Extent. It is bounded on the North by Mountains, which separate it from the Province of *Sban-fi*, and on the South by the great River *Whang-bo*, containing only six Towns of the third Rank, under the Jurisdiction of *Whay-king*. Whay-king-fu.

The Air is mild and very healthful, and the Soil no less fertile produces all the Necessaries of Life in abundance. Simples and Medicinal Herbs are found here in such Plenty, as to supply the whole Province.

The Sixth City, Ho-nan-fu.

THIS City, which bears the Name of the Province, stands in the midst of Mountains, between three Rivers. The Chinese formerly believ'd it was in the Center of the Earth, because it is in the middle of their Empire. Tho' it is surrounded with Mountains, yet its Soil is very fruitful. It is very large and populous; its District also is of great Extent, comprizing one City of the second Rank, and thirteen of the third. Ho-nan-fu.
the Center of
the Earth.

One of these Towns nam'd *Teng-fong-byen* is famous for the Tower built there by the celebrated *Chew-kong*, where he us'd to observe the Stars. There is still an Instrument to be seen which he employ'd to find the Meridian Shadow, in order to discover the Height of the Pole, and make other Astronomical Observations. He liv'd more than a thousand Years before *Christ*, and the Chinese pretend he invented the Mariners-Compass. Teng-fong-byen
Invention of
the Compass.

The Seventh City, Nan-yang-fu.

THE Country about this City which is situate on a small River, is very fine; tho' it is of very great Extent, it is notwithstanding surprizingly fertile. Provisions are so plenty that they are exceeding cheap, and numerous Armies have quartered here a considerable time, without incommoding the Inhabitants in the Article of Provision. Nan-yang-fu.

The City is neither large, rich, nor populous. It is encompass'd with Mountains some of which produce the *Lapis Armenus* and breed those Serpents already spoken of, which are mark'd with white Spots, and used as a Remedy against the Palsy. Its Jurisdiction is very large, extending over two Cities of the second, and six of the third Rank. Spotted
Serpents.

(B) Orig. *Kwei-te-fu*.

(C) lib. *Oui-kien-fu*.

Prov. VII.

Ho-nan.

Yu-ning-fu.

The Eighth City, Yu-ning-fu. (D)

THIS City is built on the River *Yu-bo*. Its District, which is very extensive, is partly plain, and partly mountainous, especially towards the North and South; but at the same time it is water'd by several Rivers, which produces plenty of all sorts of Grain and Fruit. Two Cities of the second Rank, and twelve of the third depend on it.

PROVINCE VIII. SHAN-TONG.

Prov. VIII.

Shan-tong.

Bounds, and
Division.

THIS is one of the most fertile Provinces of the Empire. It is bounded on the West by *Pe-che-li* and part of *Ho-nan*; on the South by *Kyang-nan*; the Gulf of *Kyang-nan* washes it on the East, and that of *Pe-che-li* on the North. It is divided into six Countries, containing as many Cities of the first-Rank, which have under them one hundred and fourteen of the second and third Rank.

Among these are not included above fifteen Ports, built at the Entrances of all Ports and Rivers along the Coast; neither do we reckon several Islands scatter'd over the Gulf, which are equally populous, and afford some of them very commodious Harbours for the *Chinese* Transports, that have an easy Passage from thence to *Korea* and *Lyau-tong*.

Great Impe-
rial Canal.

The great Imperial Canal crosses part of this Province, by which all the Barks from the South Parts arrive at *Pe-king*. They carry so many sorts of Commodities, and in such great Quantities, that the Duties arising merely therefrom amount to more than ten Millions.

When one considers the Length of this Canal, the Thickness and Height of the Banks, which are all of Hewn-Stone, very solid, and ornamented at proper Distances, he cannot help admiring the Industry of the *Chinese*.

The Numbers of Lakes, Brooks and Rivers, which, besides the great Canal, water the Province, contribute much towards rendering it one of the most plentiful parts of the Empire; nor is this extraordinary Plenty to be interrupted, except by too great a Drought, for it seldom rains here, or by the Havock that is sometimes made by Locusts.

Produce.

The Soil produces Rice, Millet, Wheat, Barley, Beans, with all sorts of Grain and Fruit. Fowl, Eggs, fat Capons, Pheasants, Partridge, Quails, and Hares are exceeding cheap; they catch a prodigious quantity of Fish in the Lakes and Sea, of which you may have several Pounds for a Penny.

Great Plenty
of Fish.

Fruit-Trees of all kinds grow here, especially excellent Pears, Chestnuts, fine wholesome Peaches, divers sorts of Nuts, and abundance of Plumbs. They dry the Plumbs and Pears for transporting into the other Provinces; but the Fruit which grows in most plenty, is that sort called by the *Portuguese* Figs, and the *Chinese* *Se-tse*; which are to be found no where but in *China*, nor in any Province thereof in so great abundance as in this of *Shan-tong*. This Fruit, which I speak of elsewhere, does not ripen till the Beginning of Autumn; they commonly dry them as they do Figs in *Europe*, and sell them all over the Empire; being dry'd, they commonly grow mealy, and are cover'd by degrees with a Crust of Sugar; they have an excellent Taste, so that one would imagine he was eating some of our best dry'd Figs; such also is the smaller sort that grows in *Shan-si*. There is likewise another kind of green Figs, which continue hard, even when ripe, and are cut with a Knife like our Apples in *Europe*. The Trees that bear them, need no cultivating; but we conceive that if they assisted Nature, by being at the pains to graft them, the Fruit would be truly delicious.

The Fruit *Se-tse*, or *Chinese*
Figs.Wild Silk-
Worms.

In the Fields certain Worms, resembling Caterpillars, produce a white Silk, which is fasten'd to the Shrubs and Bushes, whereof they make Silks, coarser indeed but more compact and strong than those made of the Silk produced by the Worms that are rear'd in the Houses.

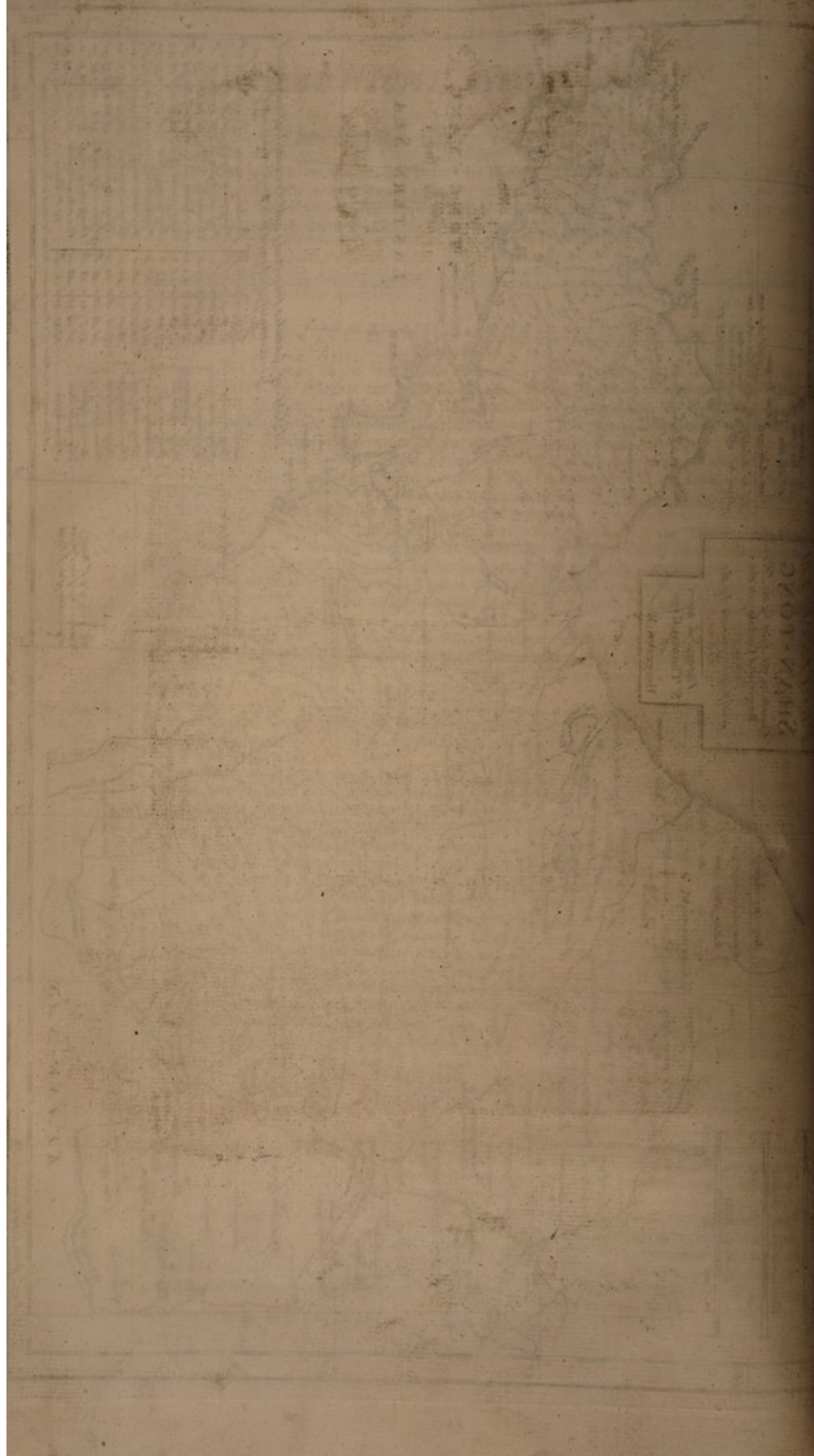
The First City, Tsi-nan-fu, Capital of the Province.

Tsi-nan-fu.

ALTHO' this City is not on the Grand Canal, yet by means thereof principally is its Trade carry'd on; a little more than a League from it is the Village *Lai-keu*, standing on the side of the *Tsing-bo*, by which River Goods are convey'd to the Canal; those which are most common and peculiar to the Country are, *viz.*

1. The Stuff nam'd *Kyen-chew*, made of Silk, inclining to a greyish Colour, which is produced only by the wild Worms, resembling Caterpillars. These Worms spin their Webs on Shrubs, and Bushes, and furnish as great Quantities as the domestick Worms. This Silk is the more estimable, as it costs in a manner nothing, and is so strong, that the Goods made of it are very lasting, and have a tolerable Vent every where. It must however be confess'd that the Colour is sometimes neither agreeable nor uniform, and often various; so that one may say,

(D) Or *Zhu-ning-fu*, being elsewhere written *Ju-ning-fu* in the French.



the Piece is divided into grey, yellow, and white Spaces. One that would have those which are very genteel, must take his Choice and pay a Price for them accordingly.

Prov. VIII.
Shan-tong.

2. Another kind of Commodity that turns to great Account consists in Works of *Lew-li*, or Chinese Glass, which are made at *Yen-ching*, a great Borough in the District of this Capital; this sort of Glass is more brittle than that of *Europe*; breaking when exposed to too sharp an Air.

Tsi-nan is a very great and populous City. The Lakes within its Walls which supply Canals throughout the City, together with the beautiful Buildings, render it very famous. Its Jurisdiction is large, extending over four Cities of the second, and twenty six of the third Rank.

This whole Country, which extends to the Sea, abounds with all sorts of Grain, and nourishes numerous Herds of Cattle. Some of its Mountains have Iron Mines. The Lakes scatter'd over its Territory are stored with Fish, and adorn'd with abundance of those Flowers, named *Lyen-taba*, so often mention'd before.

The Second City, Yen-chew-fu.

THE Territory depending on this City is shut up, as it were, between two famous Rivers, viz. *Ta-chin-bo* to the North, and the *Wbang-bo* to the South; besides several other Rivers and some Lakes, which abound with Fish, and render the whole Country exceeding fertile. Here nothing is to be seen but cultivated Plains or woody Mountains. The Air is mild and temperate, which renders living here very agreeable.

Its Jurisdiction is of great Extent, consisting of twenty seven Cities, four of the second and twenty three of the third Rank. One of these nam'd *Tsi-ning-chew*, is not inferior to *Yen-chew*, either for Bigness, multitude of Inhabitants, or richness of its Trade. Its Situation, which is towards the (A) Middle of the great Canal, renders it one of the greatest Marts in the Empire.

Another City, nam'd *Kyo-few-byen*, is famous for being the Birth Place of *Confucius*, the chief Doctor of the Nation. Here the Chinese have erected several Monuments, as so many public Testimonies of their Gratitude towards that great Man.

Birth Place of
Confucius.

They affirm that in the Neighbourhood of another little City, call'd *Kin-kyang-byen* (B), they formerly gather'd much Gold, whence it had its Name, which signifies *Earth of Gold*. There are also divers Parts, especially towards *Tong-ping-chew*, so intermixt with Woods and Fields, that they afford the most gay and agreeable Prospect imaginable.

Kin-kyang-
byen.

The Third City, Tong-chang-fu.

THIS City, which is situate on the great Canal, is equally famous for its Riches and Trade. The whole Country, that depends on it is level, and produces plenty of Grain and Fruits of all kinds; which procure in Return whatever other Parts contribute towards the Support and Pleasure of Life. Three Cities of the second and fifteen of the third Rank are under its Jurisdiction.

Tong-chang-
fu.

Among these Cities there is a very considerable one, call'd *Lin-tsin-chew*, where the great Canal joins the River *Wey-bo* (C); it is the Rendezvous of all the Vessels, and in some sort the general Magazin of all kinds of Merchandizes one can wish for.

Few Cities in the Empire are more populous and of better Trade. It is no less famous for its Buildings, especially a beautiful Tower of eight Stories, rais'd without the Walls. The Outside which is of Porcelain, is adorn'd with divers Figures; within it is lin'd with finely polish'd Marble of several Colours. By a Stair-case made in the Wall, one goes up to all the Stories, and from thence to very fine Galleries of Marble, embellish'd with gilded Iron Rails, which encompass the Tower; at the Corner of these Galleries hang little Bells, which, when mov'd by the Wind, make an agreeable Tinkling. Not far from this Tower are certain curious Idol-Temples, whose Manner would not be disagreeable to the Taste of the best European Architects.

Porcelain
Tower.

The Fourth City, Tsiing-chew-fu. (D)

THE Territory belonging to this City is partly water'd by Rivers, and partly cover'd with Hills. Besides the Fertility of its Soil, the Neighbourhood of the Sea supplies it plentifully with Necessaries. So great a Quantity of Fish is caught here, that they are exceeding cheap, and their Skin alone yields a considerable Profit.

Tsiing-chew-fu

In this Country there grows in the Bellies of the Cows a yellow Stone, call'd by the Chinese, *Nyew-zhang*; it is as big sometimes as a Goose-Egg, but not more solid than the softest Crayon (E). The Physicians of China prefer it to the *Bezoar*, and say, that, when pulveriz'd and taken in hot Water, it is an immediate Cure for Defluxions and Rheums; in the same manner as the Stone that grows in the Gall of an Ox, cures the Jaundice. This City has in its District one City of the second, and thirteen of the third Rank.

(A) At the Distance of 22 Miles to the East.

(B) Rather, I presume, *Kin-pang*, for I find no *Kin-kyang* in the Map. Besides *Kyang* signifies a River, but *Tang* a perfect Matter.

(C) In the French, *Ori-bo*.

(D) In the French *Tsin-tcheu-fu*, but in the Map and Tables *Tsiing-chew-fu*.

(E) A Crayon is a soft Mineral, of which Pencils are made for Drawing, call'd Crayons.

Prov VIII.
Shan-tong.

The Fifth City, Ten-chew-fu, (F)

Ten-chew-fu.

IS situate on the Sea, where it has a very commodious Harbour. It has a very strong Garrison and several Ships of War to guard the Coast. Eight Cities depend on it; one of the second, and seven of the third Rank.

Square Bam-
bú.

Part of these Cities are within Land, the rest are very convenient Sea Ports, where they catch abundance of good Oysters, which are serv'd as Dainties at the Tables of the Lords. Altho' the Country be mountainous, yet it is water'd by Rivers that contribute much to its Fertility. The *Nyew-whang* Stone is found in this City as well as the former. The *Bambú's*, or Reeds, are here square, contrary to what is usual, for every where else they are round.

The Sixth City, Lay-chew-fu.

Lay-chew-fu.

THIS City, which is situate on a Promontory, is encompass'd on one side by the Sea, and on the other by Mountains. Two Cities of the second Rank, and five of the third, are subordinate to it. Some of which are also wash'd by the Sea; for Instance, *Kyau-chee*, which is very strong by its Situation. All this Country is render'd fertile by the Rivers that water it. It is intermixt with Plains and Mountains, especially toward the Sea Coasts.

PROVINCE IX. SHAN-SI.

Prov. IX.
Shan-si.

THIS Province which is one of the least in *China*, is bounded on the East by the Province of *Pe-che-li*; on the South by that of *Ho-nan*; on the West by *Sben-fi*; and on the North it is separated from *Tartary* by the Great Wall. It contains five Cities of the first Rank, and eighty five [of the second and third,] without reckoning a great Number of Forts built at certain Distances, to defend the Great Wall, and render the Roads secure. Some of these fortify'd Places are larger and better peopled than many of the Cities.

First Inha-
bited.

The first Inhabitants of *China*, as the History relates, settled in this Province, whose Climate is healthful and agreeable. Tho' some of its numerous Mountains, are frightful and uncultivated, yet most of them are well improv'd, being cut into Terrasses from Bottom to Top and quite cover'd with Corn.

Produce.

In several Parts of these Mountains they find four or five Feet Depth of Earth, without the least Stone; and the Mountains themselves have very fair Plains on their Tops. They are farther remarkable for inexhaustible Mines of Coal, which is used (either in Lumps, or ground and made into Cakes) instead of Wood, whereof there is not enough in the Province for Fewel.

Excepting Rice, which grows there with more Difficulty than elsewhere, because the Canals are not so numerous; it abounds in all other Grain, especially Wheat and Millet, which are carry'd into the other Provinces. Its Vines produce good Grapes, whereof the *Chinese* might make Wine if they would, but they content themselves to dry them, and so sell them all over the Empire.

This Province furnishes abundance of Musk, Porphyry, Marble, and Jasper of divers Colours. The *Lapis Armenus* is very common, as well as Iron Mines, which afford great Store of that Metal; whereof they make all sorts of Utensils for the Kitchen, which are sent into the rest of the Provinces. One meets also with Lakes of salt Water, which yield Salt; with many hot and boiling Springs.

The First City, Tay-ywen-fu, the Capital.

Tay-ywen-fu.

THIS was formerly a very fine City full of beautiful Palaces, where dwelt the Princes of the Blood of the last Imperial Family *Tay-ming* (c). But at present it is partly uninhabited; for those grand Edifices have fallen to Decay by Degrees, and at length, been quite destroy'd; nor dare any body re-build them, altho' the Place is healthful and agreeable.

Carpets.

Besides divers sorts of Silks wrought here, as in other Places, there is a particular Manufactory for Carpets, after the *Turkish* Fashion, which they make of any Dimension required. As the Mountains yield abundance of excellent Iron, there is a great Trade driven here in Iron Works.

This City, which is ancient and very populous, measures about three Leagues in Compass, and is inclos'd with strong Walls. It stands on the River *Fuen-bo* and has a very large Jurisdiction, extending over five Cities of the second Rank, and twenty of the third. Its verdant Hills and Mountains cover'd with Woods, afford an agreeable Prospect.

(r) Here the Name agrees with the Map; in the Table of Longitude and Latitude it is *Teng-chew-fu*, as in the Table of Divisions, p. 6.

(c) In the Orig. *Tai-ming tchoe*; but I have left out the last

Syllable *tchoe*, or *chao*, which is only a Chronological Term, that does not belong to the Name, and only serves to breed Confusion, since the Author has not tack'd it to the Names of other Families, or even of this in other Places.

**PROVINCE IX
SHAN-SI**
 Drawn on the Spot by the Pères
 de Tartre & Cordoso in the Year
 1722 With several Improvements
 by G. B. O. Editor
 1844
 Inscribed
 the R. Hon. THOMAS
 Earl of MALTON
 Engr. Bowen Sculp.

MONGOL TARTARS

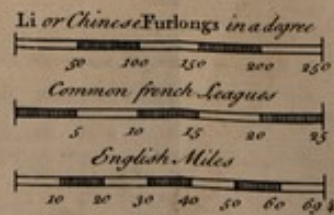


A Line under 4. Name of place denotes 4. Latitudes determined, a line both the lat. & long.

A Table of the Latitudes (observed) & Longitudes (determined Geometrically) where on this Map is grounded.

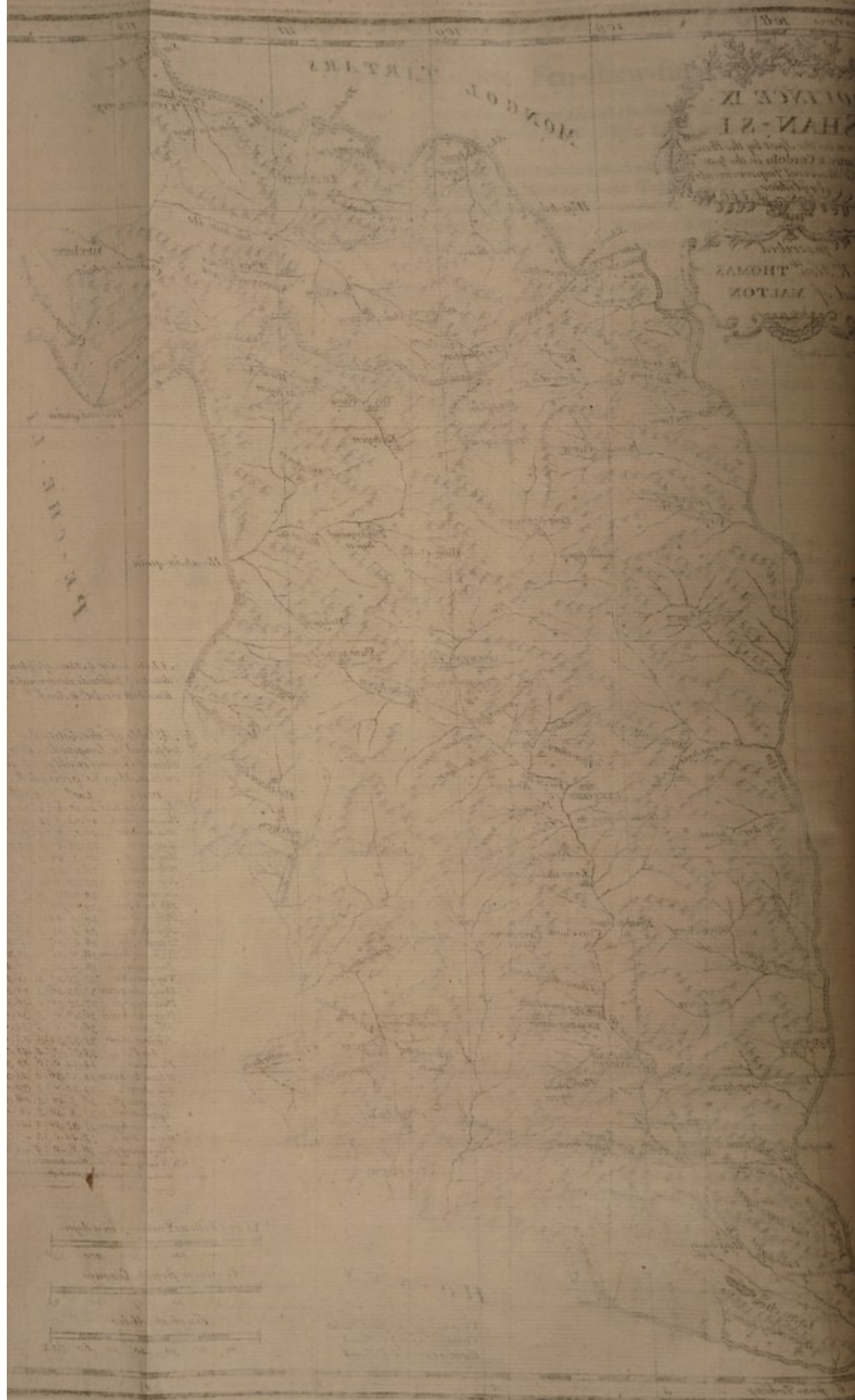
| Places | Lat. | Long. |
|-----------------|----------|-----------|
| Yuen-ching-hen | 40 28 30 | 114 30 |
| Shu-ma-pai | 40 24 0 | 113 30 |
| Shu-hu-hen | 40 27 0 | 114 10 |
| Shu-tu-m | 39 30 40 | 114 30 |
| Tay-lung-fu | 40 5 48 | 112 0 |
| Wey-chow | 39 50 54 | 113 30 |
| Shu-chow | 39 39 0 | 113 15 0 |
| Shu-chow | 39 25 12 | 114 1 30 |
| Shu-hu-hen | 39 24 14 | 113 27 0 |
| Shu-tu-chow | 39 4 44 | 114 0 |
| Tay-chow | 39 5 50 | 113 30 30 |
| Shu-hu-hen | 38 45 36 | 114 30 |
| Tsing-tu-hu-hen | 38 32 12 | 114 31 30 |
| Shu-hu-hen | 38 4 50 | 113 30 40 |
| Tay-yuen-fu | 37 53 30 | 113 35 30 |
| Wong-ning-chow | 37 33 36 | 113 28 30 |
| Shu-chow-fu | 37 19 12 | 114 46 30 |
| Wong-hu-hen | 36 48 0 | 113 51 0 |
| Shu-chow | 36 0 0 | 113 54 0 |
| Kyang-chow | 35 37 30 | 113 55 0 |
| by P | 35 37 0 | 114 41 45 |
| Shu-chow | 34 54 0 | 113 30 |
| Shu-hu-hen | 34 57 36 | 114 45 30 |
| Shu-chow | 35 30 0 | 113 30 0 |
| Shu-hu-hen | 36 7 22 | 113 38 30 |
| Shu-chow | 37 2 50 | 113 1 0 |
| Shu-hu-hen | 37 37 50 | 113 43 30 |
| Shu-hu-hen | 37 42 0 | 113 43 30 |
| Shu-hu-hen | 36 6 0 | 114 45 30 |

N.B. At the end of the line denotes a variation therein from the Map, & placed after 4. longitude & 4. latitude.



HO-NAN

Yü a City of the first Rank
 Chew a City of 4. Rank
 Hyen a City of 4. Rank



On the neighbouring Mountains are to be seen very handsome Sepulchres, which take up a great deal of Ground, and are all either of Marble or Hewn-stone. At convenient Distances are plac'd Triumphal Arches, Statues of Heroes, with Figures of Lions, Horses, and other Animals, in different Attitudes and very natural. The whole is encompass'd with a kind of Forest of ancient Cypress, planted checker-wise.

The *Fwen-bo*, whose Name is found in the most ancient Chinese Books, is neither broad nor deep; yet it contributes to the Ornament and Conveniency of the City, in the same Manner as the River *Wey* does to the City *Si-ngan-fu*; for tho' neither of them is comparable to the great Rivers, which run by several Capitals, yet as after a pretty long Course they fall into the yellow River, they by that Means have a Communication with the Provinces of *Ho-nan* and *Kyang-nan*.

There is at *Tay-yuen* a small Tartar Garrison, under an Officer nam'd *Ho-long-ta*. The Manchews who are at present Masters of China, have few Garrisons of their own Nation, and indeed it would be difficult, and almost impossible to furnish so many Cities, which are either at the Passages of great Rivers, on the Frontiers, or on the Sea Coast, with Garrisons. So that they are content to garrison some of the principal Cities of the Empire, partly to support the Chinese Soldiers, who are on the Coasts, partly to dispute the Passage of the Great River *Tang-tse-kyang*, which crosses thro' the middle of China; and partly to have a watchful Eye upon the Militia of the Provinces of *Shan-fi* and *Shen-fi*, employ'd for Defence of the great Wall; altho' the Emperor being a Tartar, there is at present no great Number of the latter. (D)

The Second City, Ping-yang-fu.

ALTHO' *Ping-yang* is no more than the second City of the Province, yet it is not inferior to the Capital, either for Antiquity, Fertility of Soil, Extent of its District, or Number of Cities under its Jurisdiction, which amount to thirty four, viz. six of the second and twenty eight of the third Rank, whereof several are very considerable; without reckoning an infinite Number of very populous Boroughs and Villages. It is situate on the River *Fwen-bo*, and is more than four Miles in Compass.

The Country which depends on it, is partly plain, partly mountainous; all the Lands are cultivated and very fertile, except in the Neighbourhood of some Mountains, which are unimprov'd and perfectly frightful. Two Rivers which divide this Territory do not contribute a little to keep up the plenty that reigns there. On the West and South Sides it is water'd by the River *Whang-bo*. Near *Ngan-i-byen* there is a Lake whose Water is as salt as the Sea, whereof they make abundance of Salt.

The Third City, Lu-ngan-fu.

THE Territory of this City is not large, for it has under its Jurisdiction no more than eight Cities of the third Rank; but it is agreeably situated, almost at the Head of the River *Tse-kyang-bo*. Altho' the Country is pretty full of Hills, yet the Lands produce all the necessaries of Life. The whole District is spread over with Boroughs and Villages.

The Fourth City, Fwen-chew-fu. (E)

THIS City lies almost at an equal Distance between the Capital and *Ping-yang*. It takes its Name from the River *Fwen-bo*, on the West side whereof it stands (F) in a Place very commodious for Trade. Its District is not large, for it contains only one City of the second Rank, and seven of the third, almost all of which lie between the great River *Whang* and the *Fwen*.

Altho' the Country is hilly enough, it is not the less improv'd on that Account. One meets with Fields, abounding with all sorts of Grain, thick Forests and good Pastures. They make a Drink here of Rice call'd *Yang-tsyu*, wherein they steep Mutton after a particular manner. They prize this Liquor highly, it is nourishing, strong, and very delicious to Chinese Palates. In this Tract one meets with a great Number of Baths and Springs almost boiling hot, whose Waters differ both in Colour and Taste.

The Fifth City, Tay-tong fu.

THIS City is neither so antient nor large as the other Cities of the Province. That which renders it of Importance is its being situated in the midst of Mountains, (wherewith indeed the whole Country is cover'd) and in the only Spot which lies expos'd to the IncurSIONS of the

(D) This is a Reason grounded on a Falshy in Fact; for neither the Manchews who govern China, nor the Mongols and other Nations surrounding China, are Tartars; nor is the Name Tartar, or rather Tatar, known to those People, in the extended Sense it is used by Europeans; it being peculiar to a particular Tribe, which at present seems to be extinct, at least as to the Name; the Reason therefore, why so few Guards are employ'd now about the Walls, is, probably, because the Power of the Mongols being weaken'd, they have submitted or

put themselves under the Protection of the Manchews; whom formerly they expell'd out of China, under the famous *Jenghis Khan*.

(E) In the two Tables mentioned p. 106. Note 1, is written *Fwen-chew-fu*, but faultily.

(F) It stands above two Miles from the River *Fwen*, according to the Map; and indeed the Author is not very accurate as to the Situations.

PROV. IX. the *Tartars*; hence it is one of the best fortify'd Places after the *Chinese* manner, and furnish'd with a numerous Garrison. Its Territory is surrounded with the great Wall, along which there are Forts built from Space to Space, provided with Forces for its Defence. Its Jurisdiction which is very large, extends over four Cities of the second Rank, and seven of the third. In its Mountains are found excellent *Lapis Armenus*, with abundance of Simples and Medicinal Herbs, which the Botanists come in search of from all Parts. Some of them produce a Stone to red, that being steep'd in Water it is used instead of Vermilion, for taking the Impression of Seals; others furnish the *Azure*, resembling that which is brought into *Europe*; and a particular kind of Jasper nam'd *Tu-shu*, which is very transparent, and as white as Agat. In short, there is plenty of Marble and Jasper of all Colours; and a great Trade is driven in all Sorts of Skins dress'd here.

PROVINCE X. SHEN-SI.

PROV. X.
Shen-si.

THIS Province is divided into two Parts, the Eastern and Western, which contain eight Cities of the first and one hundred and six others of the third Rank; besides a great Number of Forts built from Space to Space along the great Wall.

Of these fortify'd Places *Kan-chew* and *Su-chew* are very considerable. In the first a *Vice-Roy* resides, and several *Mandarins*, the principal among whom receive their Orders from none but the Court. The second is of equal Strength, and its Governor very powerful. It is divided into two Parts, whereof one is inhabited by the *Chinese*, and the other by Strangers, who come to trade here.

Gold-Mines,
and Gold-
Sand.

The Air is temperate, the People mild, civil, obliging, and better affected to Strangers, than the *Chinese*, who live more towards the North, are. The overflowing of Torrents and Rivers render the Soil very fruitful. This Province yields rich Gold Mines, the opening of which is prohibited; so great a Quantity of that Metal is found in the Rivers and Brooks, that an infinite Number of Persons subsist by the Profit that arises by washing the Sand and separating the Gold from it.

Soil and
Produce.

This Country is subject to be infested with Locusts, which eat up the Grass, and sometimes destroy the most plentiful Harvests. It produces little Rice, but abounds with Wheat, and Millet; which grows here so fast, that during Winter, the Husbandmen suffer their Sheep to browse on it, knowing by Experience that thus it will thrive the better in Spring.

Besides Grain, this Province furnishes abundance of Drugs, especially *Rubarb*, *Honey*, *Wax*, *Musk*, *Red-Lead*, perfum'd Wood which resembles *Sanders*, and *Pit-Coal*, whereof there are inexhaustible Mines.

Minerals.

A great Number of Quarries afford a soft Stone, or Mineral, call'd *Hyung-sobang*, out of which they cut Vessels of several kinds. The Physicians look on it as a sovereign Remedy against all sorts of Poison, malignant Fevers, and the contagious Heats during the Dog Days. They infuse this Mineral in Wine before they make use of it; it is of a red Colour inclining to yellow, and speckled with little black Spots; it has a great resemblance of the Crayon.

Little blew Stones are also found there, inclining to black, and interspers'd with small white Veins; the *Chinese* say, that being ground and reduc'd to a very fine Powder, they make an excellent Remedy, and even prolong Life.

Animals.

Stags and Deer range the Country in Herds; here are also abundance of Bears, wild Bulls, and other Creatures resembling Tigers, whose Skins are in much request; a kind of Goats, from whence they take the Musk, and of Sheep with very long and thick Tails, whose Flesh is very well tasted; not to mention a singular species of Bats as big as Hens, which the *Chinese* prefer to the nicest Pullets.

Of Wool and Goat-Hair mixt, they make a very pretty Stuff much in request; the Hair they use, is that which grows in the Winter, as being more fine, because not so long. The Birds, call'd the *Golden Hens*, much esteem'd for their Beauty, are also found in this Province.

All sorts of Flowers grow here, particularly one much esteem'd by the Curious, call'd the *Queen of Flowers*, resembling the Rose, but is more beautiful, and has larger Leaves, altho' The Smell is not so pleasant; the Stalk is without Prickles; its Colour is a mixture of White and Red; yet there are some of them red and yellow. The Shrub it grows on is like the Elder-Tree, and to be seen in all the Gardens of the Lords; but Care must be taken in the hot Climates to shelter it from the Sun.

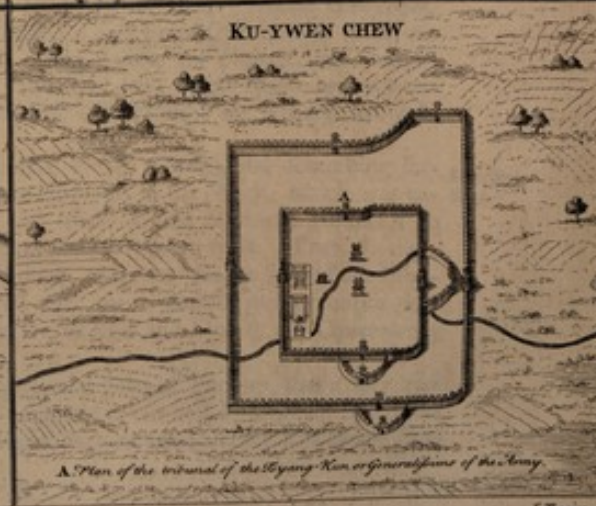
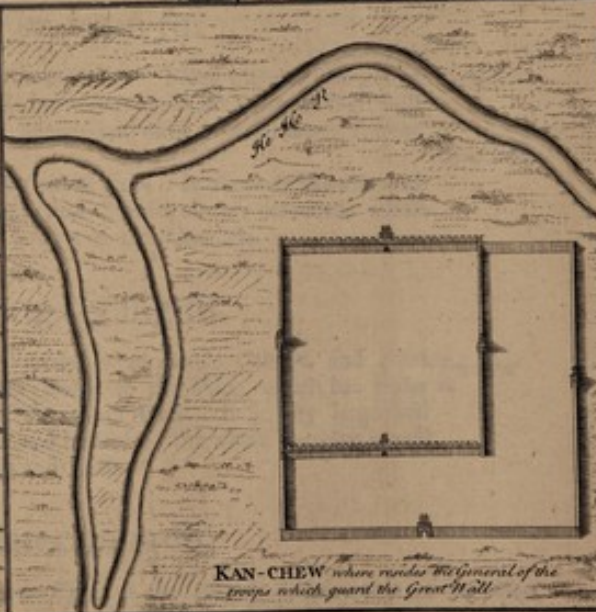
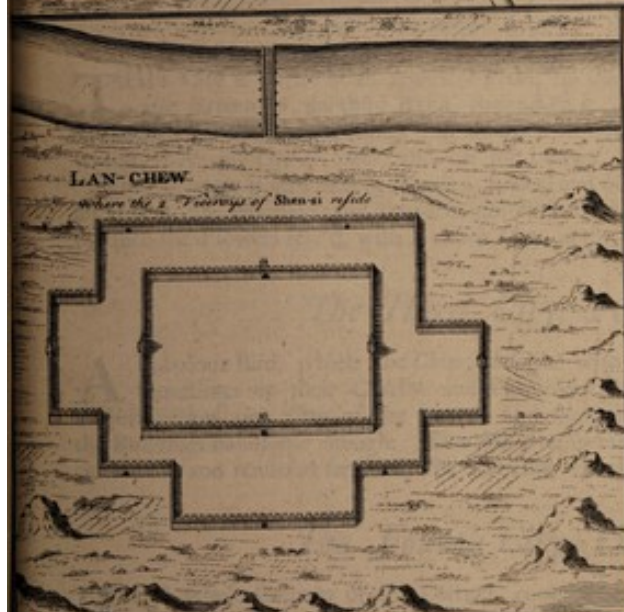
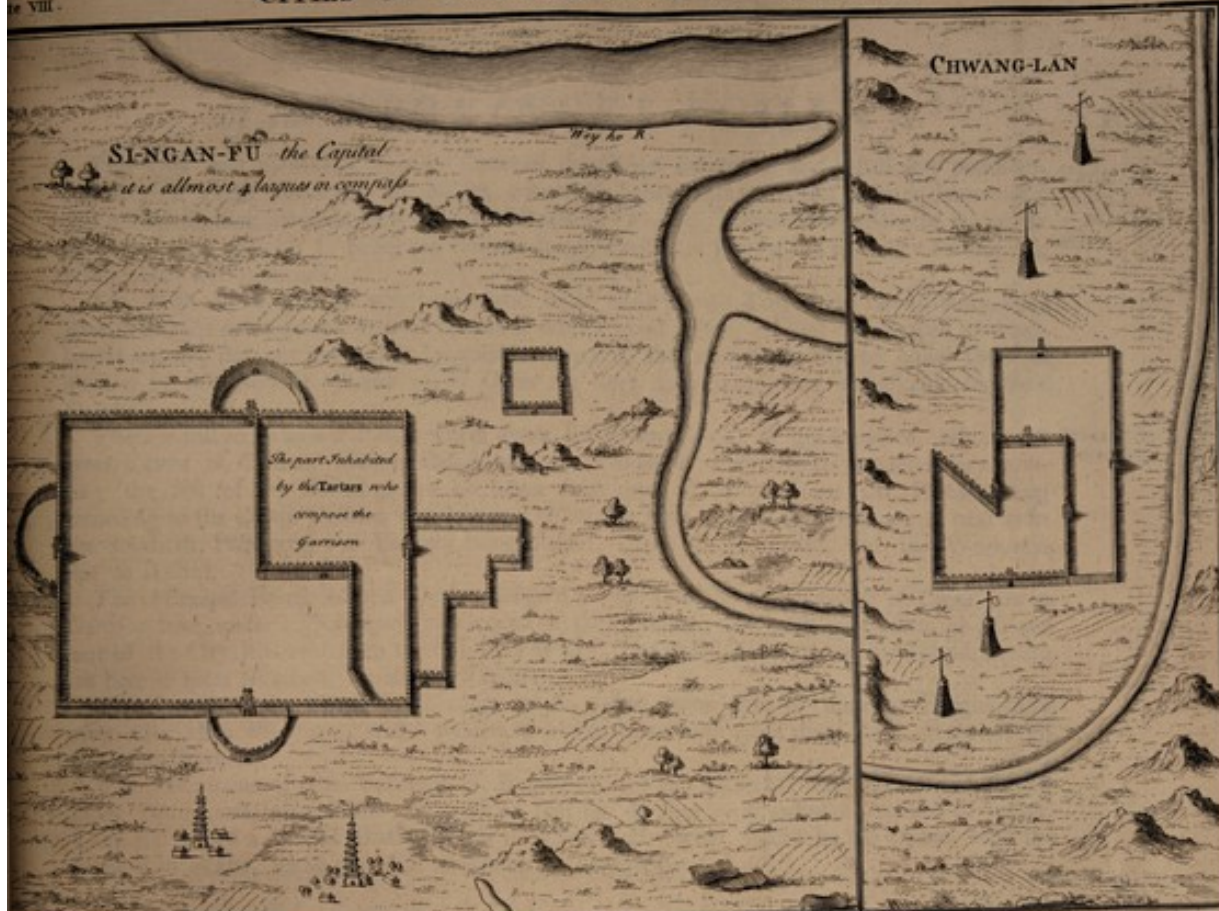
The Eastern Part of the Country, call'd I-TONG. The First City, Si-ngan-fu, the Capital.

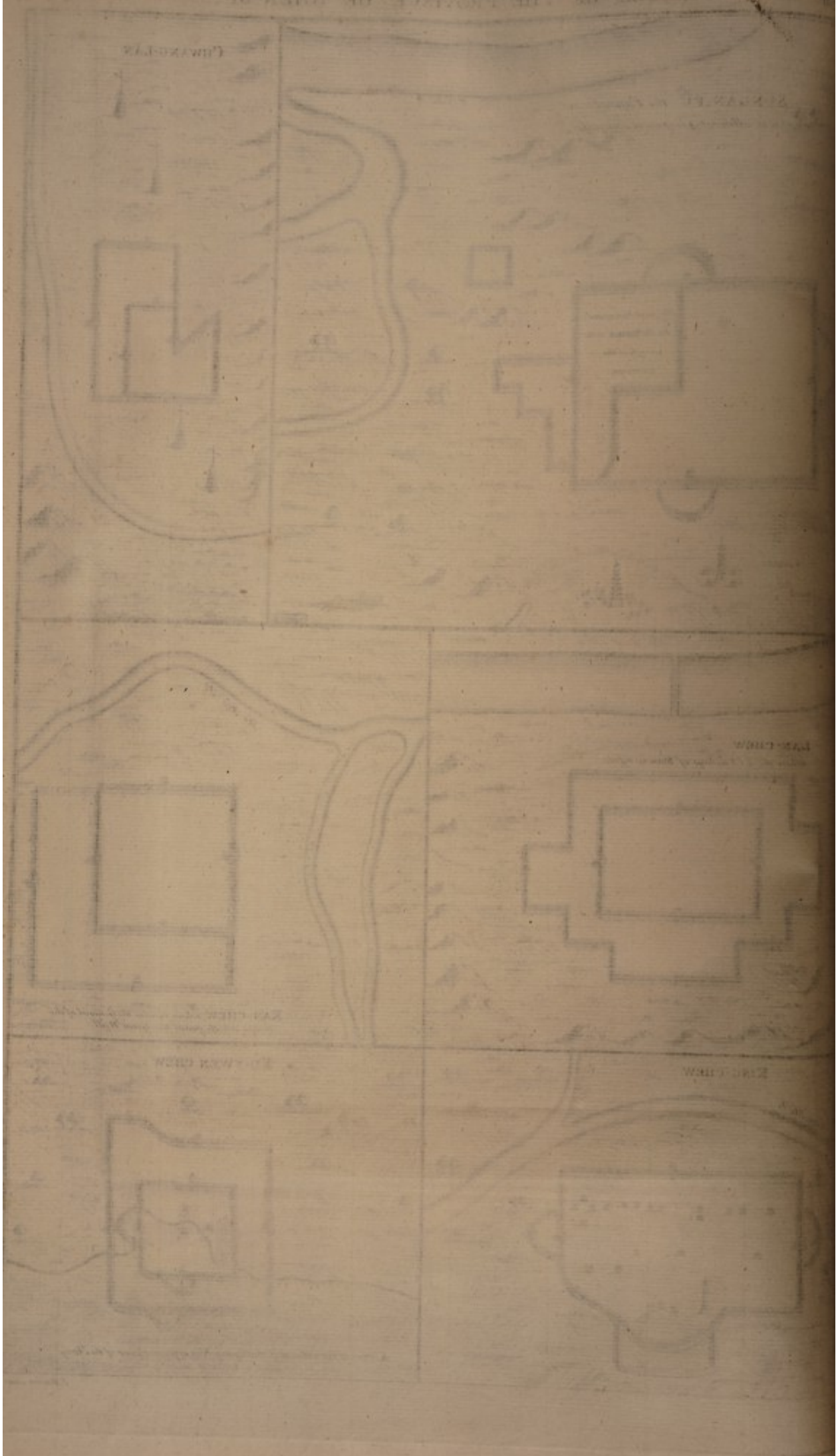
Si-ngan-fu
the Capital.

NEXT to *Pe-king* this is one of the largest and fairest Cities in *China*. It stands in a great Plain, and is the Residence of the *Tsong-tu* of *Shen-si* and *Se-chew*, as well as of the Governor of this Eastern Part of *Shen-si*. Its Jurisdiction extends over six Cities of the second, and thirty one of the third Rank.



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This City was for several Ages the Court of the *Chinese* Emperors, and is still very populous, and of great Trade; especially for Mules, which the Inhabitants breed and train so dexterously, that many of them are seen trotting after Horses at *Pe-king*, where they sell for five or six hundred Livres apiece: It being the Custom for all Persons of Distinction to have a Servant ride before them well mounted. PROV. X.
Shen-si.
Mules.

The Walls of *Si-ngan* are very broad, and high, flank'd with Towers at the Distance of a Bow-shot from one another, and encompass'd with a good Ditch. They are almost an equilateral Square, but not above four Leagues in Compass, tho' commonly said to equal those of *Pe-king* in that Respect. Some of its Gates are very magnificent, and remarkable for their Height.

There is still to be seen a Palace where dwelt the antient Kings of the Province, whom the great Extent of Country they possess'd, and the Valour of their Subjects render'd very powerful; the rest of the Buildings are no better than those of other Cities, the Houses being according to the *Chinese* Fashion very low and ill enough built; nor is the Furniture so neat as in the Southern Provinces, the Varnish being coarser, *China* Ware scarcer, and the Workmen not so skillful. Palace of the
ancient Kings

The Principal Forces of the *Tartars* design'd for the Defence of the North of *China*, are in Garrison here, under a *Tsian-kyun*, or General of their Nation, who with his Soldiers inhabit one part of the City, separated from the rest by a Wall. The chief *Mandarins* of the Province, who are here in great Numbers, are mostly *Tartars*.

The People of the Country are more robust, brave, better able to undergo Fatigue, and even taller than elsewhere; which renders its Militia more formidable than those of almost all the other Provinces.

The Mountains of the Territory of *Si-ngan-fu*, are very agreeable, and abound with Bucks, Does, Hares, and other Game; as well as that sort of Bats as big as Pullets, spoken of before. They also afford a kind of Earth, which is white, and highly valued by the Ladies, who infusing it in Water, make use of it to whiten the Complexion.

The Second City, Yen-ngan-fu.

THIS City is situate in an agreeable Plain, on the River *Yen-ho*. Three Cities of the second, and sixteen of the third Rank, depend on it. It has within its Walls a pretty high Hill, remarkable for the fine Buildings that are upon it. Its Mountains distil a bituminous Liquor, which they call *Oyl of Stone*, and use for Lamps. Yen-ngan-fu.
Oyl of Stone.

The Country is very rich in Martins, Sables, and other choise Furs. It abounds likewise with all sorts of fine Marble; and produces almost every where those Shrubs, already described, which produce the Flowers rear'd, with so much Care, in the Gardens of the Grandees.

The Third City, Fong-tsyang-fu.

A Fabulous Bird, which the *Chinese* describe with Variety of admirable Colours, and paint sometimes on their Cloaths and Furniture, gives Name to this Place, which has under its Jurisdiction one City of the second, and seven of the third Rank. It is very large and the Buildings handsome enough. The Air is temperate and healthful; the whole Country is well cultivated, and rendered fertile by the Torrents, Brooks and Rivers. Fong-tsyang-fu.

The Fourth City, Han-chong-fu.

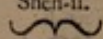
THE whole Country of this District, containing two Cities of the second, and fourteen of the third Rank, is water'd by several Branches of the River *Han*, whereon *Han-chong*, which is large and populous, is situate. The high Mountains and Forests, wherewith it is encompass'd, render it very strong, and serve for Bulwarks. The Valleys are pleasant, and furnish plenty of Necessaries, as well as Honey, Wax, Musk, and red-Lead; fallow Beasts are very numerous, especially Deer, Stags, and Bears; the Feet of these last, especially the fore-feet, are delicious Morfels with the *Chinese*. Han-chong-fu.

The Road made formerly over the Mountains, leading to the Capital, has something surprising in it; upwards of a hundred thousand Men were employ'd in the Work, which was executed with incredible Dispatch. They level'd Hills, and made Arches from one Mountain to another, supporting them by Pillars, when the intervening Valley was too wide. These Bridges, which form part of the Road, are in some Places so high, that one cannot behold the Precipice without Horror; four Horsemen may ride abreast over them, and for more Security they have Rails on each Side. At certain Distances, there are Villages and Inns for the Convenience of Travellers. Surprising
Road.

It is only in the District of this City, and some particular parts of *Tartary*, that a very rare Bird of Prey, call'd *Hay-tsing*, is found. It may be compar'd to our best Falcons for Sprightliness and Courage; as soon as any of these Birds are caught, they are immediately sent to the Emperor's Falconry.

Prov. X.

Shen-si.



The Western Part of the Province, call'd I-SI.

The Fifth City, Ping-lyang-fu.

Ping-lyang-fu.

THIS City stands on a Branch of the River *Kin-bo*, and abounds with every thing. The Climate is very mild, and the agreeable Prospect of Mountains surrounding it, together with the Rivers which water the Country, render it a charming Habitation. It has within its District three Cities of the second, and seven of the third Rank.

The Sixth City, Kong-chang-fu.

Kong-chang-fu.

THIS is a City of Trade, and very populous, situate on the River *Whey*. The almost inaccessible Mountains which encompass it, render'd it formerly a Place of Importance to the Security of the Empire, when they stood in fear of Invasions from the *Tartars*. They shew a Sepulchre here, which the *Chinese* say is that of *Fo-bi*, which, if so, must be the most ancient Monument in the World.

Fo-bi's Tomb.

Counter-Poison.
Speckled
Stones.

It affords plenty of Musk, and almost all its Mountains, yield the Mineral *Hyung-wbang*; which, as I observ'd before, is a kind of Orpiment, used in Physic, when very transparent, especially against the Bites of venomous Insects; and in malignant and epidemical Diseases, either as a Remedy or an Antidote. Here is also found the dark blue Stone, streak'd with white, which, being reduc'd to Powder, according to the *Chinese*, preserves Health. This City has in its District three more of the second, and seven of the third Rank.

The Seventh City, Ling-tau-fu.

Ling-tau-fu.

THIS City stands on a River that falls into the *Whang-bo* or *Yellow River*. It is famous for the great Quantity of Gold found in the Sand of the neighbouring Rivers and Torrents. The Country is full of Mountains, which abound with wild Bulls, and certain Animals resembling *Tigers*, whose Skins are in great Request, and used for Winter Cloathing.

The Valleys are cover'd with Corn, excepting those near Rivers which are stock'd with Cattle, especially Sheep, whose Tails are very long, and Flesh delicious. In short the whole Territory is sufficiently fruitfull. It comprizes two Cities of the second, and three of the third Rank.

The Eighth City, Kin-yang-fu. (A)

Kin-yang-fu.

THIS has always been look'd on as a Barrier against the Incurfions of the *Tartars*. The Ditches encompassing it are very deep, and the Walls strong. The River, that almost surrounds it, and the several Forts built from Space to Space, join'd to the Mountains and Rivers, by which it is as it were inclos'd, render it a very strong Place, according to the *Chinese* manner of Fortifying.

The Country is very fruitful, being water'd by numerous Springs and Rivers. It produces a certain Herb nam'd *Kin se*, that is, *gilded Silk*, which is consider'd as an excellent Remedy; also a kind of Bean, affirm'd to be an admirable Specific against all sorts of Poison. This City has under it only one of the second, and four of the third Rank.

Lan-chew, a famous City of the second Rank, [and Capital of the Western Part of Shen-si.]

Lan-chew.

ALTHO' *Lan-chew* is only of the second Rank, and depends on the former, yet it is of eminent Note in the Province, being the best City to be met with on the *Yellow River*. It cannot indeed be call'd large, however it is the Capital of the Western part of this Province, and the Seat of the Governor; because being near the Great Wall, and principal Gates in the West, Succours are easily sent from hence to the Soldiers who defend the Entrance.

The Trade of this City consists principally in Skins, which come from *Tartary* by way of *Sining* and *To-pa*, thro' which they must necessarily pass; as also in Woolen Stuffs of several sorts, whereof a kind of fine Serge, nam'd *Ku-zhong*, is the most esteem'd; it is almost as dear as the common Satin, but is easily spoil'd, because it is difficult to preserve it from being Moth-eaten; the coarser sort is call'd *Ko-be*. There is another Stuff call'd *Pe-zhong*, made of short teas'd Hair, which is subject to the same Inconvenience, and likewise dear. The *Myew-zhong* is made of Cows-Hair, it is coarse, and almost as thick as Kersey. They make Cloaths of it, proper for snowy Weather, having nothing better for the Purpose in this Country.

Lastly, there is a Stuff call'd *Tye-be-myen*, made of Thread and Worsted; which might be compar'd to our *Linsley-Woolsey*, if it was as substantial and close woven. But notwithstanding its Trade in these Commodities, *Lan-chew* is not reckon'd a rich City in *China*.

(A) In the Map Here, it is *Kin-yang-fu*, in the Table of Divisions p. 6. *Hing-yang-fu*, and in the Table of Longitude and Latitude at end of the Work *Kin-yang-fu*.



PROVINCE XI. SE-CHWEN.

SE-CHWEN is hardly inferior to any of the other Provinces, either for Extent or Plenty. Prov. XI.
Se-chwen.
It is bounded on the North by that of *Sben-fi*; on the East by *Hu-quang*; on the South by *Hu-quang* and *Yun-nan*; and on the West by the Kingdom of *Tibet*, and certain neighbouring People. It is divided into ten Districts, comprizing ten Cities of the first Rank, and eighty eight of the second and third, besides a great Number of fortify'd Towns and Forts.

The great River *Yang-tse-kyang* runs thro' the Province, which is very rich, not only by reason of the great Quantity of Silk it produces, but also in Iron, Tin, and Lead, in Amber, Sugar-Canes, excellent Loadstones, and *Lapis Armenus*; which last is of a very beautiful Blue. It abounds also in Musk; Orange and Citron-Trees are very numerous. The Horses are very much esteem'd, because they are little, very pretty and exceeding swift. Here are likewise plenty of Stags, Deer, Partridges, Parrots, and a sort of Hen with Wool like that of Sheep, instead of Feathers; they are very small, have short Feet, and are highly esteem'd by the *Chinese* Ladies, who keep them for their Amusement. From this Province comes the best Rubarb, and the true Root of *Fu-lin*; which has under its Bark a kind of white spongy Substance, somewhat clammy, which the Physicians prescribe in almost all Cases. There is found a wild sort in the other Provinces; but it is neither so large nor good as this. *Se-chwen* produces also another Root, named *Fen-se*, which bears a great Price, and consequently is not so commonly used.

The best Rubarb, and true Root of *Fu-lin*.

As this Province is far from the Sea, it would be difficult to bring Salt hither; to supply that Defect, they dig Wells in the Mountains from whence they get salt Water, which being evaporated by Fire, leaves a Salt behind; but it is not so good for seasoning as that of the Sea.

The First City, Ching-tu-fu, the Capital of the Province.

THIS was heretofore one of the finest Cities in the Empire; but having been ruined as well the as whole Province in 1646, by the Civil Wars preceding the Change in the Monarchy, it retains nothing of its former Splendor: however it is still very populous, and of great Trade. Its District, which is very large, comprizing six Cities of the second, and twenty five of the third Rank, is interspers'd with navigable Canals, lin'd with hewn-Stone.

Ching-tu-fu, the Capital.

The Territory of *Ching-tu* is the only one that is plain in all the Province; it is water'd by Canals, cut from the *Ta-kyang*, which there is very gentle, and rather slow than swift; but when (after these Branches are re-united into one Channel, and augmented by the River *Hin-sha-kyang*) that River passes out of *Se-chwen* into *Hu-quang*, it becomes very dangerous; as well on account of the Rapidity of its Stream, as its being incumber'd with Rocks, which the Country is full of. The *Ta-kyang* cannot truly be said to be the broadest, deepest and most navigable River of *China*, till it has pass'd *Kin-chew*. The Breadth of its Mouth in the Oriental Ocean is almost seven Leagues; but at *Ching-kyang-fu* itself, the nearest City to the Sea, built on purpose to defend the Entrance of it, its Channel is scarce half a League broad: as it was found on measuring it with Instruments, from the famous Mountain *Kin-shan*, which stands in the middle of the River, by observing the Points whose Situations had been before determin'd. This shows how little Regard is to be had to computed Distances; for altho' that Part of the River is much frequented, the *Chinese* have err'd very much in their Estimation, on the side of Excess.

The *Ta-kyang* or *Yang-tse-kyang*.

The Second City, Pau-ning-fu.

THE Situation of this City between two Rivers, tho' small, renders it agreeable, and of pretty good Trade. Its Houses are well built. The Country depending on it, which abounds with Musk, is as it were cover'd with Mountains; which are stor'd with Stags and Deer, and for the most part afford no disagreeable Prospect, especially those that are cultivated and cover'd with Forests. It has ten Cities under its Jurisdiction, two of the second, and eight of the third Rank.

Pau ning-fu.

The Third City, Shun-king-fu.

THIS City, which stands on a fair River, has in its District two Cities of the second, and seven of the third Rank. It is surrounded with Mountains, whereof some are cover'd over with Orange-Trees; and affords more arable Lands than the Territory of the preceding City.

Shun-king-fu.

This Country yields abundance of Silk, Oranges of all sorts, the Root *Scorzonera*, and a kind of well tasted Chestnuts; but is remarkable for nothing else.

The

PROV. XI.
Se-chwen.

The Fourth City, Su-chew-fu. (A)

Su-chew-fu.

THE Situation of this City on the Banks of the *Yang-tse-kyang* renders it a Place of great Trade as well as Note; and opens a Communication with several other Cities of the Province, besides the Capital. The Country tho' mountainous is very fertile, wanting nothing that may contribute to the Pleasures or Conveniencies of Life.

The Canes, called by us *Bambú*, which the *Chinese* put to so many different uses, grow almost every where in the Territory of this City, which has ten Cities of the third Rank within its Jurisdiction.

The Fifth City, Chong-king-fu.

Chong-king-fu.

THIS is one of the handsomest and most trading Cities in the Province; reckoning within its District three Cities of the second, and eleven of the third Rank. It stands at the Confluence of two remarkable Rivers, which facilitate its Commerce with the whole Province; one of them is call'd *Kin-sha-kyang* or [*the River of*] *Golden Sand*, which in its Way from the Province of *Yun-nan* collects all the Waters of the Mountains on the side of *Tartary*; the other, which rises still further beyond the Borders of *China*, is properly the *Ta-kyang*, tho' it goes by divers Names according to the Place thro' which it passes; but after it has left *Yo-chew-fu*, it constantly retains the Name of *Ta-kyang*, or *Yang-tse-kyang*.

The Great
Kyang.

Chong-king is built on a Mountain, where the Houses seem to rise one above another, in form of an Amphitheatre. The Country depending on it, which is of vast Extent, is intermixt with Plains and Mountains. The Air is healthful and temperate; they make very pretty Trunks here of Canes twisted and painted with divers Colours. The Rivers afford exceeding good Fish, whereof the Tortoises, especially, are much esteem'd.

The Sixth City, Quey-chew-fu. (B)

Quey-chew-fu.

AS this City, which stands on the great *Yang-tse-kyang*, appears as soon as ever we enter the Province, they have establish'd a Custom-House for receiving the Duties on Goods brought hither. Its Trade renders it very rich. Ten Cities are under its Jurisdiction, viz. one of the second, and nine of the third Rank. Altho' the Country is full of Mountains, yet the Industry of the Husbandman has made it very fertile, there not being so much as an Inch of Land uncultivated. It produces abundance of Musk, and of those Pits from whence they procure Salt; Orange and Limon-Trees are common. In the most Northerly Parts, the Mountains, which are very rugged, and difficult of Ascent, are inhabited by a very clownish sort of People, if compared with the *Chinese* Commonalty.

The Seventh City, Ma-hu-fu.

Ma-hu-fu.

THIS City, which is seated on the *Kin-sha-kyang*, has no more than one City of the third Rank under its Jurisdiction. Its Territory, tho' very small, is well watered, and very fruitful. Some of its Mountains are full of Stags, and its Situation procures it the Advantages of Trade.

The Eighth City, Long-ngan-fu.

Long-ngan-fu.

ALTHO' this City has only three of the third Rank under its Jurisdiction, yet it has always been look'd on as one of the most important Places in the Province, whereof it is, as it were, the Key: Hence it commands over several Forts, which were of greater use formerly than they are at present, to defend the Province from Invasions of the *Tartars*. The Country is intermixt with steep Mountains and fertile Valleys.

The Ninth City, Tfun-i-fu.

Tfun-i-fu.

THIS City is considerable for nothing, but because it lies on the Borders of the Province of *Quey-chew*, and may defend the Entrance of it on that side. It has in its District two Cities of the second, and four of the third Rank. The whole Country is very mountainous; notwithstanding which it is well watered, and fertile enough in several Parts.

The Tenth City, Tong-chwen-fu.

Tong-chwen-fu.

THIS is a military Place, as well as the Cities *U-mong-tu-fu* and *Cbin-hyung-tu-fu*; which are so call'd, because the Inhabitants are old Soldiers, who from Father to Son have been bred up to Arms. Besides their Pay, they have Lands assign'd them near the Cities they inhabit. These Troops are disbanded in time of Peace, but to make them amends, they are distributed into all the Frontier Garrisons of the Empire.

(A) In the Table of Latitude and Longitude it is *Sui-chew-fu*, but elsewhere as in this Place.

(B) In the Map, as here, *Quey-chew-fu*, but in the 1st Table mention'd p. 10. Note A, it is *Wey-chew-fu*, and in the 2^d Table *Que-chew-fu*. Besides



Besides these Cities of the first Rank there are some others, which, tho' only of the second Rank, have peculiar Jurisdiction over certain Cities of the third Rank, and many Forts or Places of War, such as these following, viz.

Tong-chwen-chew, whose District is very fruitful, being watered by several Rivers. The Air is very healthful, and the Mountains as well as Plains well cultivated. The Country produces abundance of Canes, which yield exceeding good Sugar; and very populous Boroughs are seen in great Number.

Kya-ting-chew, whose Territory is watered by many Rivers, furnishes plenty of Rice and Musk.

Ya-chew lies nearest *Tibet*, and commands several Forts, built on the Borders of the Province.

PROV. XI.
Se-chwen.

Tong-chwen-chew.

Kya-ting-chew.

Ya-chew.

PROVINCE XII. QUANG-TONG.

THIS is the most considerable of all the Southern Provinces. It is bounded on the North-East by that of *Fo-kyen*; on the North by *Kyang-si*, on the West by *Quang-si* and the Kingdom of *Tong-king*; the rest is wash'd by the Sea, where are a good Number of commodious Ports. It is divided into ten Countries, containing ten Cities of the first, and eighty four of the second and third Rank; exclusive of several Forts or military places, together with the City of *Ma-kau*, and Isle of *San-çian*; of both which I shall speak, because they are become famous in *Europe*.

The Country is partly plain, partly mountainous, and so fertile as to produce two Crops of Corn yearly. Whatever can contribute to the Pleasures of Life abounds here; it also furnishes Gold, precious Stones, Silk, Pearls, Pewter, Quicksilver, Sugar, Copper, Iron, Steel, Saltpeter, Ebony, Eagle-wood, and several sorts of Odoriferous Wood. There is likewise plenty of all sorts of Fruits, as Pomegranates, Grapes, Pears, Plumbs, Chestnuts, and Peaches; which tho' they do not ripen without Difficulty, would make pretty good Sweetmeats. There are others that are excellent in their kind, viz, *Bananas*, *Ananas*, *Li-chi*, *Long-yuen*, Oranges, and Limons of all sorts.

There is a particular sort of Limon, which grows on Trees, full as thorny as the Citron-Tree, but much larger; it bears white Flowers of an exquisite Odour, from which they distil a very pleasant Liquor. The Fruit is almost as big as a Man's Head; its Rind resembles that of other Oranges, but the Substance within is either white or reddish, and has a Taste between sweet and sower.

There is another sort of Fruit, the largest any where to be seen, which grows not on the Branches, but out of the Body of the Tree; its Rind is very hard, and within it has a great Number of little Cells, containing a yellow Pulp, which is very sweet and agreeable when the Fruit is full ripe.

Fish of all sorts are caught on the Coasts, besides Oysters, Lobsters, and very well tasted Crabs, and Tortoises of an extraordinary Size; the *Chinese* make an infinite Number of pretty Curiosities of their Shells. This Province abounds with wild and tame Peacocks, which are carry'd into the other Parts of the Empire; also a prodigious multitude of tame Ducks, which the Inhabitants breed with Care. They hatch their Eggs in Ovens or in Dung, and then carry them in little Boats to the Sea-Side, at low Water, to feed on Oysters, Cockles, and several Sea-Insects. As a great Number of Boats go together, consequently many Flocks of them are intermixt on the Shore; but as soon as the Owners strike on a Basin, every Flock returns to its own Boat, as Pidgeons do to their Houses.

Another Rarity of this Province is the Tree, which the *Portuguese* call *Iron-Wood*; and indeed it resembles Iron in Colour as well as Hardness and Weight, which last hinders it from swimming on the Water. There is also another particular Wood, which they call *Rose-Wood*, whereof the *Chinese* Joiners make Tables, Chairs and other Moveables: Its Colour is black, inclining to red, it is speckled with Veins, and painted naturally.

On the Coasts and in a Lake of the Island *Hay-nan* they catch Crabs, which, as they affirm, as soon as they are taken out of the Water, become as hard as Flints; and prove, as they say, a good Remedy against burning Fevers.

There grows also on the Mountains a prodigious Quantity of a wonderful kind of Oziers or Willows, no thicker than one's Finger. It creeps along the Ground, and shoots forth very long Sprigs resembling twisted Cords, which so embarrass the Way, that the Stags themselves know not how to extricate themselves.

This Ozier, which is very pliable and tough, serves for making Cables and Ropes for Shipping; they divide them into very thin Slips, whereof they make Baskets, Paniers, Hurdles, Chairs, and very commodious Mats, which the *Chinese* generally lie on in Summer, because they are cool.

PROV. XII.
Quang-tong.
Bounds.

Produce;

Fruits.

Fish;

Iron-Wood,

Rose-Wood;

Petrefied

Crabs.

Strer ge kind
of Oziers,

PROV. XII. The People of this Province are very industrious; and tho' not quick at Invention, they are very expert at imitating any sort of *European Work* that is shown them, and immediately make such another in great Perfection.

Quang-tong.
Natives good
at imitating.

As *Quang-tong* is a Maritime Province, and most remote from the Court, its Government is one of the most considerable in the Empire. He who is *Tsong-tu* of it, is also *Tsong-tu* of *Quang-si*; and for that Reason resides at *Chau-king*, to be the nearer at Hand for giving his Orders relating to that Province.

The First City, Quang-chew-fu, Capital of the Province.

Quang-chew-fu.

THE City which the *Chinese* name *Quang-chew*, is the same which *Europeans* call *Kan-ton* (A). It is one of the most populous and opulent in *China*; and perhaps deserves the first Place in this respect, since to the Trade of the neighbouring Nations it hath added that of *Europe*. Besides it stands on one of the finest Rivers in the Empire, which they have Reason to name *Ta-bo*, [or the great River] especially at *Kan-ton*; because in its way from the Province of *Quang-si*, it receives another River deep enough to bring up large Vessels from the Sea to the Town, and by means of Canals extends its Waters into divers Provinces. Its Mouth is large, and more terrible for its Name *Hu-men*, that is, the *Tiger's Gate*, than its Forts, which are built only to keep off the *Chinese* Pirates. The sides of this River, the neighbouring Plains, even the little Hills themselves are well cultivated, and stor'd with Rice, or a kind of Trees, which are always green.

The great Quantity of Money, which is brought hither from the most distant Countries, draws the Merchants of the several Provinces to this Port, where almost every thing that is curious and rare in the Empire may be found. The Inhabitants are besides very laborious, ingenious, and above all exceeding skilful in imitating any Pattern, as has been already observed, and embellishing their Manufactures: which however are not much esteem'd at *Pe-king*, because the Workmen there undervalue them, as being neither substantial nor well wrought; for generally the Materials they are made of, are too scanty or ill chosen, or else the Workmanship within is too slight.

Silks.

Nevertheless the Silks made at *Kan-ton*, call'd *Sba*, are reckon'd at *Pe-king* the best of that kind; especially the flower'd sorts, which are wrought open like Lace, and very much worn in Summer, because they are cheap and genteel.

Fo-shan.

Tho' the Number of Artificers in this City is almost incredible, yet not being sufficient for its Trade, they have establish'd a great many Manufactories at *Fo-shan*, which has render'd it famous thro' the whole Province. During the Troubles wherein *Kan-ton* was involv'd, the Trade was carry'd to this Borough, which is within four Leagues of it; it is at least three Leagues in Compass, is a Place of great Resort, and in short not inferior to *Kan-ton*, either for Wealth or Number of Inhabitants; tho' that City taken altogether is reported to contain upwards of a Million of Souls: which is the more credible, considering its great Extent, and vast Concourse of People continually in the Streets, altho' one scarce ever sees a Woman among them.

The *Vice-Roy* resides at *Kan-ton*, which has under its Jurisdiction seventeen Cities, one of the second, and sixteen of the third Rank.

There can hardly be a more charming Landkip than what offers itself on entering the River that leads to the Town. It is various, animated and gay; on one side Meadows of a most lovely Green extend out of Sight, on the other Groves appear, or little Hills which rise in form of Amphitheatres, and are ascended by Steps made of green Sods. Sometimes Rocks are seen cover'd with Moss; at other times Villages are discover'd among the Copses; sometimes Canals present themselves, which form Islands, or losing themselves in the Earth expose to view their beautiful Banks; in short the whole Prospect is enchanting.

Kan-ton is very large, and, as it were, three Cities united in one; which are separated by fair high Walls, but so contiguous that the same Gate serves to pass from one to the other. The whole forms a Figure almost square, and is not much less in Compass than *Paris*; those who live at a Distance from the Center, are sometimes a whole Hour going to make a Visit in a Chair, and yet there are no very large Gardens or waste Grounds in the City; only there are some pretty good Squares, which are agreeable enough.

The Streets are long and straight, paved with very hard hewn-Stone, and extremely neat, but all narrow, excepting a few, which are adorn'd with Triumphal Arches at certain Distances. They are wholly taken up with Shops, and as some of them are cover'd, the best Shops are there. The Streets are full of People, especially Porters, who commonly go bare-footed and bare-headed; or else wear a Straw Hat, of a vast Circumference, and an odd Figure, to defend them from the Sun or Rain. Most of them are seen loaden with Burdens, for they have no Conveniency here for carrying Goods but the Shoulders of Men. Persons of Condition are carry'd in Chairs.

The Houses, tho' very neat, are far from being stately; almost all of them consist of a Ground-Floor, and are built of Earth, ornamented with Bricks, and cover'd with Tiles. Yet

Kan-ton

(A) *Kan-ton* is a Corruption of *Quang-tong*, the Name of the Province. P. Bouvet, p. 61, shews how it came in use. It is one great Fault of this Relation, that the proper Names and

Terms are seldom explained; for the Table of Terms is far from taking in all.

| | | |
|----------------------------------|------------|-----------|
| by the French Tables | 23. 10. 38 | 3. 31. 29 |
| by Ol. of P. Gauthier | 23. 8. 0 | 4. 40. 0 |
| by the French Map | 22. 12. 0 | 3. 22. 0 |
| by Ol. of P. Thomas and P. Vidal | 22. 12. 14 | 3. 2. 0 |

Longitude is reckoned West of Peking
able line under the Name of a place denotes its
side of Longitude being determined.

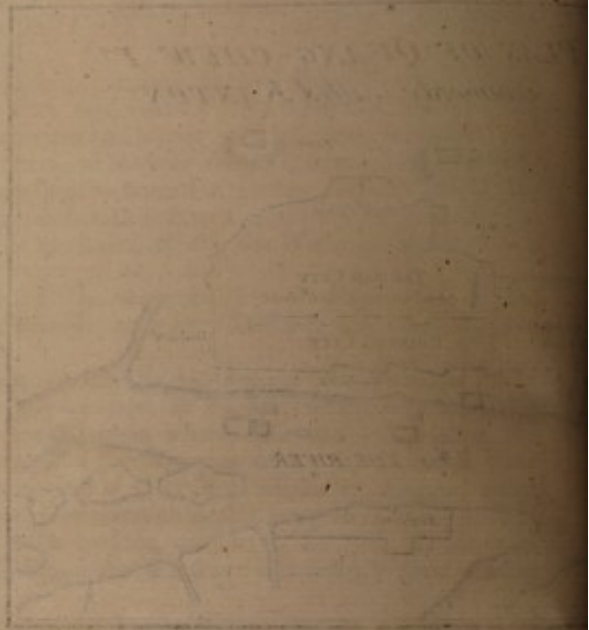
A CHART of the entrance into KANTON from the SEA

Humbly Inscribed
to the R. Honourable
Lord Vere Beauclerk

PLAN OF QUANG-CHEW FŪ commonly called KANTON



PLAN
of the
River
of the
River



Kan-ton is not destitute of handsome Buildings. The Idol Temples, surrounded with Cells of the *Bonzas*, have something singular in them: And the Hall of *Confucius*, as well as the Academy where the *Literati* assemble to compose their Exercises, are curious Structures. The *Ta-men* or Palaces of the *Mandarins*, are also beautiful and grand; tho' in a different Respect from what we term so in *Europe*.

Prov. XII.
Quang-tong.

The River is crowded on both sides with a prodigious Number of Barks in several Rows, which contain an infinite Quantity of People, and make a kind of floating City. These Barks lying close together form Streets; each Bark contains a whole Family, and like Houses is divided into different Apartments; the common People who inhabit them, go out betimes in the Morning, either to fish, or work at the Rice, which yields two Crops every Year. At the End of each Street there is a Barrier, which is shut every Evening soon after the Gates of the City; so that every Body is obliged to be at home by the time it grows dark. This Regulation prevents many Disorders in *China*, where the greatest Cities are as quiet in the Night-time as if they consisted but of single Families.

The Second City, Shau-chew-fu.

THIS City is situate between two navigable Rivers, which meet at the Place where it is built; one of them comes from *Nan-byong*, and the other from the Province of *Hu-fu*. The Bank of the River on the West-Side is joined to the City by a Bridge of Boats, and well inhabited. The whole Country, which is scattered over with Boroughs, produces abundance of Rice, Herbage, Fruits, Cattle and Fish; but the Air is not healthful, so that often from the middle of *October* to *December* a great Number of the Inhabitants are carry'd off by the Distempers that reign there. Six Cities of the third Rank are dependant on it; near one of which there grow black Reeds, which look like Ebony, whereof they make various Musical Instruments.

Three Miles from *Shau-chew* there is a celebrated Monastery of the *Bonzas*, which formerly, they affirm, contained a thousand of them; nothing can be more charming than its Situation. In the middle of a great Mountain, where it stands, call'd *Nan-wha*, one discovers an agreeable Defart, which extends along a vast Plain, intirely encompass'd with little Hills; on the Tops of which they have planted Rows of Fruit-Trees, and from Space to Space Thickets, of Evergreens. The Country round about belongs to this Monastery, which they say was founded eight or nine hundred Years ago.

The Devil, who is the Imitator of God's Works, has his Penitents as well as his Virgins and Martyrs. They pretend that the Founder of this Monastery, whose Body is worship'd here, spent his Life in the most dreadful Mortification; and that Worms having bred in the Sores, made in his Flesh by an Iron Chain which he wore about him, he took so much Care to improve his Sufferings, that he gather'd them up as fast as they drop'd off his Body, and put them in their Place again, saying, That there was still something to feed on.

The *Bonzas* his Successors follow his Example, but very ill; for tho' they make Profession of Chastity, it is said they are given to all sorts of Debaucheries. Formerly great Complaints were made by the People, who came hither in Pilgrimage, that they robbed and plundered them; but at present Care is taken to prevent the like.

The Third City, Nan-hyong-fu. (A)

THIS is a large trading City, and one of the most frequented in the Empire. It stands at the Foot of a Mountain, (separating the Provinces of *Quang-tong* and *Kyang-fi*) from which two large Rivers descend, whereof one runs Southward, the other Northward; this last is divided into so many Branches that none of its Waters are lost, which are continually swell'd with the Streams that fall from the Mountains. This City has only two Cities of the third Rank under its Jurisdiction.

Between *Nan-byong*, which is the last City of the Province of *Quang-tong*, and *Nan-ngan* the first City of *Kyang-fi*, ten Leagues distant, lies a great Mountain, call'd *Mey-lin*; over which there is a remarkable Road, above three Miles in length, with Precipices on each side; but as the Way is pretty wide, Travellers are in no Danger from Accidents.

On the Top of the Mountain, from whence one may see a great Way into both Provinces, there is a sort of Temple built in Honour and to the Memory of the *Mandarin* who caused this admirable Road to be made, which is the most famous throughout *China*; because whatever comes either from the East or South, must pass that Way; whence it is almost continually throng'd with People, as much as the Streets of great Cities. The Merchants of the several Provinces have very lately caused a Stone Monument to be erected here, at their own Expence; whereon is inscribed the Elogy of the *Vice-Roy*, who had the Care of the Custom-Houses of the Province of *Quang-tong*, and caused the Duties to be considerably lessen'd.

(A) In the Map, *Nan-jong*, and in the Table of Divisions, p. 6. Work, nor is it easy to determine which is the true Orthography. Differences of these kinds are very common in this

Prov. XII.

Quang-
tong.Whey-chew-
fu.*The Fourth City, Whey-chew-fu.*

THIS City is almost furrounded with Water; and the Lands about it, which are the best in the Province, are irrigated by abundance of Springs. It has under its Jurisdiction one City of the second Rank, and ten of the third.

The whole Country, which lies near the Sea, abounds with Fish, Oysters, Lobsters, very well tasted Crabs, besides extraordinary large Tortoises, of whose Shells the *Chinese* make all sorts of Toys. There are two remarkable Bridges at *Whey-chew*, one of forty Arches, which covers the two Rivers that meet on the East-side; the other is to the West, built over a little Lake, that washes the Walls of the City. This Lake which is but three Miles in Compass, is lined with Stone quite round; and the sides of it are embellish'd with Gardens, and stately Trees. There are two Islands in it which are adorn'd with Pleasure-Houses, and joined by a fine Stone Bridge.

In a Mountain of this District they catch Butterflies, remarkable for their Beauty and Size; which are sent to Court, and employ'd in certain Ornaments of the Palace, described elsewhere.

*The Fifth City, Chau-chew-fu.*Chau-chew-
fu.

THIS City stands near the Mouth of the River *Han-kyang*, the Sea flowing up to its Walls. It has a magnificent Bridge on the East-side, which is very long, and proportionably wide. Its District contains eleven Cities of the third Rank.

This Country is separated by Mountains from the Province of *Fo-kyen*, and so well water'd, that the Soil is every where very fertile; excepting in some Places, where it is stony and incapable of Tillage.

The Sixth City, Chau-king-fu.

Chau-king-fu.

IN this City, which, according to those who are Judges, is the best built and handsomest in the whole Province, the *Tsong-tu* of the Provinces of *Quang-tong* and *Yuan-si* resides. It is situate by the River *Ta-bo*, on whose East-side appears a beautiful Tower, nine Stories high. The Port is very spacious, lying at the Confluence of three Rivers, or great Streams, one of which goes to *Kan-ton*. This Stream is so restrain'd between two Hills, that often in the time of Rain it overflows.

From *Chau-king* to *Kan-ton*, both sides of the River are beset with large Villages, so near each other, that they seem to make but one. Among the rest there is one upon the left Hand, of an extraordinary Length, containing near two hundred Houses; which appear like square Towers, and serve the Inhabitants to retire to with their Effects, in time of Rebellion, or the sudden Attack of Robbers. Afterwards you come to the Village *Fo-shan*, said to contain a Million of People.

Village *Fo-shan* contains
1,000,000
Souls.

There are, upon the River only, upwards of five thousand Barks, each as long as our midling Ships, and containing an intire Family; without reckoning an infinite Number of Fishing-Boats, and Canoes for crossing from one side to the other; there being no Bridges over these great Rivers.

This Country abounds with wild and tame Peacocks, which are rarely seen in the other Provinces, unless they be brought thither; also with *Eagle-Wood* and the *Pao de Rosa*, or *Rose-Wood*, as the *Portuguese* call it, of which the *Chinese* make divers very curious Moveables. The Mountains likewise produce large Trees, which they call *Iron-Wood*, on account of its Hardness and Weight.

Chau-king has under its Jurisdiction one City of the second, and five of the third Rank.

The Seventh City, Kau-chew-fu.

Kau-chew-fu.

THE Tide comes up as far as this City, so that the *Chinese* Ships of Burthen may sail up to it; which Conveniency, with the Fertility of its Land, causes great Plenty. It presides over one City of the second, and five of the third Rank.

This District is inclosed partly by the Sea, and partly by Mountains, which are as Walls to it. Here are abundance of excellent Birds of Prey; also a sort of Stone nearly resembling Marble, which naturally represents Water, Mountains, and Landships. The *Chinese* cut it into Leaves, whereof they make Tables and other Furniture.

Petrefying
Crabs.

The Sea produces a kind of Crab, much like the common sort, which have this extraordinary Quality, that when they are out the Water, they petrefy, without losing their natural Form. The *Chinese* Physicians use them as an excellent Remedy against burning Fevers.

The

The Eighth City, Lyen-chew-fu.

Prov. XII.
Quang-
tong.

THIS City stands near the Sea, which there forms a very commodious Port for Barks, and Ships of Burden. Its District is but of small Extent, comprizing only one City of the second, and two of the third Rank.

The Country borders on the Kingdom of *Tong-king*, from which it is separated by inaccessible Mountains. It affords plenty of Peacocks; they fish here for Pearls, and make several pretty Works of Tortoise-Shell.

The Ninth City, Lwi-chew-fu.

THE Territory belonging to this City, is the most agreeable and plentiful in all the Western Part of the Province. It is almost surrounded by the Sea, being separated from the Island of *Hay-nan*, only by a small Streight; where, it is said, there was formerly a Pearl-Fishery.

It abounds with Boroughs, whose Inhabitants subsist by fishing on the Coasts, which afford plenty of all sorts of Fish. The creeping Ozier, consisting of long Shoots, resembling twisted Cords, whereof the *Chinese* make an infinite Number of pretty Works*, grows every where in the District of this City; which has subordinate to it three Cities of the third Rank.

* See before, P. 113.

The Tenth City, Kyun-chew-fu (A), Capital of the Island of Hay-nan.

HAY-NAN, which signifies *South of the Sea*, is a great Island, having to the North, the Province of *Quang-tong* (B), whereto it belongs, which may be seen distinctly when the Sky is clear; on the South, the Channel form'd by the Bank of *Paracel*, with the Eastern Coast of *Cochin china*; on the West, part of the same Kingdom, and that of *Tong-king*; and on the East, the Sea of *China*.

Its greatest Length from East to West is between sixty and seventy Leagues, and its Breadth from North to South, between forty and fifty; so that it is near a hundred and sixty Leagues in Circumference.

On the North side, the Country is plain for fifteen Leagues from the Coast; but on the South and East side, it is covered with very high Mountains. It is only between these Mountains, and those which possess the middle part of the Isle, that one meets with cultivated Plains; and even these Plains, altho' they contain but a very small Portion of the Land, are also in many Places sandy and uncultivated. However the great Number of Rivers, and frequent Rains that follow the Change of Seasons, render the Rice Fields fertile enough; and as they have often two Harvests a Year, the Produce suffices for the Inhabitants, tho' pretty numerous.

The Climate of the Southern part is very unwholesome, especially on account of the Water, which according to the *Chinese* is noxious; wherefore they take Care to boil every Morning a Quantity that may serve for the whole Day.

Air unwholesome.

Kyun-chew-fu, the Capital of *Hay-nan*, is situate on a Promontory; and Ships come to Anchor under its very Walls. Two sorts of *Mandarins* command here, as in all other Parts of *China*, viz. *Literary Mandarins*, and *Military Mandarins*, or Officers of War. It has under its Jurisdiction three Cities of the second, and ten of the third Rank, which are almost all on the Sea Coast.

Kyun-chew-fu.

The greater Part of the Island is subject to the Emperor of *China*; none but the Country in the middle, named *Li-mu-shan* or *Chi-shan* being independent. It is inhabited by a free People, who have never yet been conquered, or acknowledged the Authority of the *Mandarins*; being obliged to abandon the plain Country to the *Chinese*, they have retreated to the Mountains in the Center of the Island, where they are shelter'd from all their Insults.

Li-mu-shan, or Chi-shan, inhabited by an independent People.

These People had formerly an open Correspondence with the *Chinese*: Twice a Year they exposed to Sale the Gold, which they dug out of their Mines, and their *Eagle* and *Calamba Wood*, so much esteem'd by all the Eastern People. One deputed by them was sent to examine the *Chinese* Linens and Wares on the Frontiers, while the Principal among the *Chinese* Merchants repair'd to the Mountains to view their Commodities; the Bargain being made, the *Chinese* Goods were first carried thither, after which they faithfully deliver'd them the Things they had agreed for; by this Traffic the *Chinese* made an immense Gain, whereof the Governor had the greater part.

The Emperor *Kang-bi*, being informed of the prodigious Quantity of Gold which his *Mandarins* acquired by this Commerce, for that and other Reasons, forbid all his Subjects, under Pain of Death, to have any Correspondence with these People. However, some secret Emissaries of the neighbouring Governors, still find means of getting to them by Stealth; but the Profits arising from this clandestine Trade, for these thirty Years past, are very inconsiderable to what they used to be.

(A) In the Geographical Table as well as the Text, it is written *Kian*; but in the Map, *King*, which according to our way of spelling will be *Kyun-chew-fu*.

Prov. XII.
Quang-
tong.

These Islanders therefore scarce ever appear, unless when they are moved, either by Caprice, or the Remembrance of their ancient Liberty, to invade the neighbouring *Chinese* Villages. They have now and then attempted to surprize some of them; but are such Cowards, and so badly disciplined, that fifty *Chinese*, tho' far from being good Soldiers, would defeat 1000 of them, their very Looks being enough to put them to flight. Nevertheless there are other Islanders more tractable, who, paying Tribute to the Emperor, are suffered to possess several entire Villages in the Plains, because they hold no Correspondence with those of the Mountains. Many others put themselves into the Service of the *Chinese*, keep their Sheep, till their Lands, and are subject to the common Days-Work, appointed by the Governors of the different Places; these are dispersed thro' the Plain in the East and South part of the Island; and generally speaking are very deform'd, short, and of a reddish Colour.

Habit.

Both Men and Women wear their Hair in a Ring on the Forehead, and on their Heads a Hat made of Straw or *Rattan*, tied under the Chin with two Strings. Their Habit consists of a Piece of Callico, either black, or of a deep Blew, which covers them from the Waist to the Knees. The Women wear a kind of Waist-Coat of the same, and are farther distinguish'd by blue Streaks on their Faces, made with Indigo, from their Eyes downwards. Both Sexes wear Gold and Silver Ear-Rings, shap'd like a Pear, and very well made.

Arms.

Their Arms are Bows and Arrows, which they are not very expert at; and a kind of Hanger, which they carry in a little Basket, fasten'd to their Girdle behind. This is all the Tools they have for doing their Carpenters Work; and to cut Wood and Bushes, when they cross Forests.

Mines.

Besides the Mines of Gold in the Heart of the Island, there are others in the North part, of the *Lapis Armenus*, which they carry to *Kan-ton*, and is used in painting all the blue Porcelain. The best Wood, both for Scent and Carving, comes from the Mountains of *Hay-nan*; from whence the present Emperor caused a Quantity to be brought, at a vast Expence, sufficient to build a Palace design'd for his Burying-Place.

Sweet Woods.

The most precious of these Woods, next to the *Eagle-Wood*, is the *Wha-li*, call'd by *Europeans*, *Rose* or *Violet Wood*, on account of its Scent. There is also a yellow Wood, which is very beautiful and incorruptible; whereof Pillars of a certain Thickness, are of an immense Price, and reserved as well as the *Wha-li* for the Emperors Service.

Produce.

This Island, besides the several kinds of Fruits found in *China*, produces much Sugar, Tobacco, and Cotton. Indigo is common here; to which if we add the Harvest of the *Arca-Nut*, the Crop of *Rattan*, with the different sorts of Fish taken on the Coasts, which are dry'd and salted for Exportation; nobody need wonder that twenty or thirty thousand pretty large Jonks should arrive here every Year from *Kan-ton*, or scruple to to rank *Hay-nan* among the most considerable Islands of *Asia*, on account of its Situation, Magnitude, and Riches.

Ports.

The Port, where almost all the Barks of *Kan-ton* come, is in the North-side of the Island, and form'd by a pretty large River, whose Mouth is defended by two small Forts; but as it has not above ten or twelve Feet Water, Vessels, made after a different Manner from the *Chinese*, would find it difficult to enter. Trade brings thither all the Merchants in the Island, who have their Factors in other Parts. The Capital City stands about two Leagues from this Port; between them is a great Plain, full of beautiful *Chinese* Sepulchres, among which there is one with a Cross on it, where lies interred an *Italian Jesuit*, the first Missionary who landed on this Island.

On the Southern Coast, where the Company's Ships have put in, there is one of the best Ports to be met with, at the Bottom of a great Bay; where Vessels ride at Anchor in twenty Feet Water, within Pistol-shot of the Shore, and six Ships may continue, during both the Monsoons, in the greatest Security.

On the Shores of this Port grow several Maritime Plants and *Mandrepores* (c) of all kinds; also some Trees which yield *Dragons Blood*, and several others of different sorts; from which, an Incision being made, there distills a white Juice, that as it hardens, turns red; but is not of a Consistence like Gum or Rosin. This Matter cast into a Perfume Pot, burns slowly, and diffuses a Scent less strong, and more agreeable, than Incense.

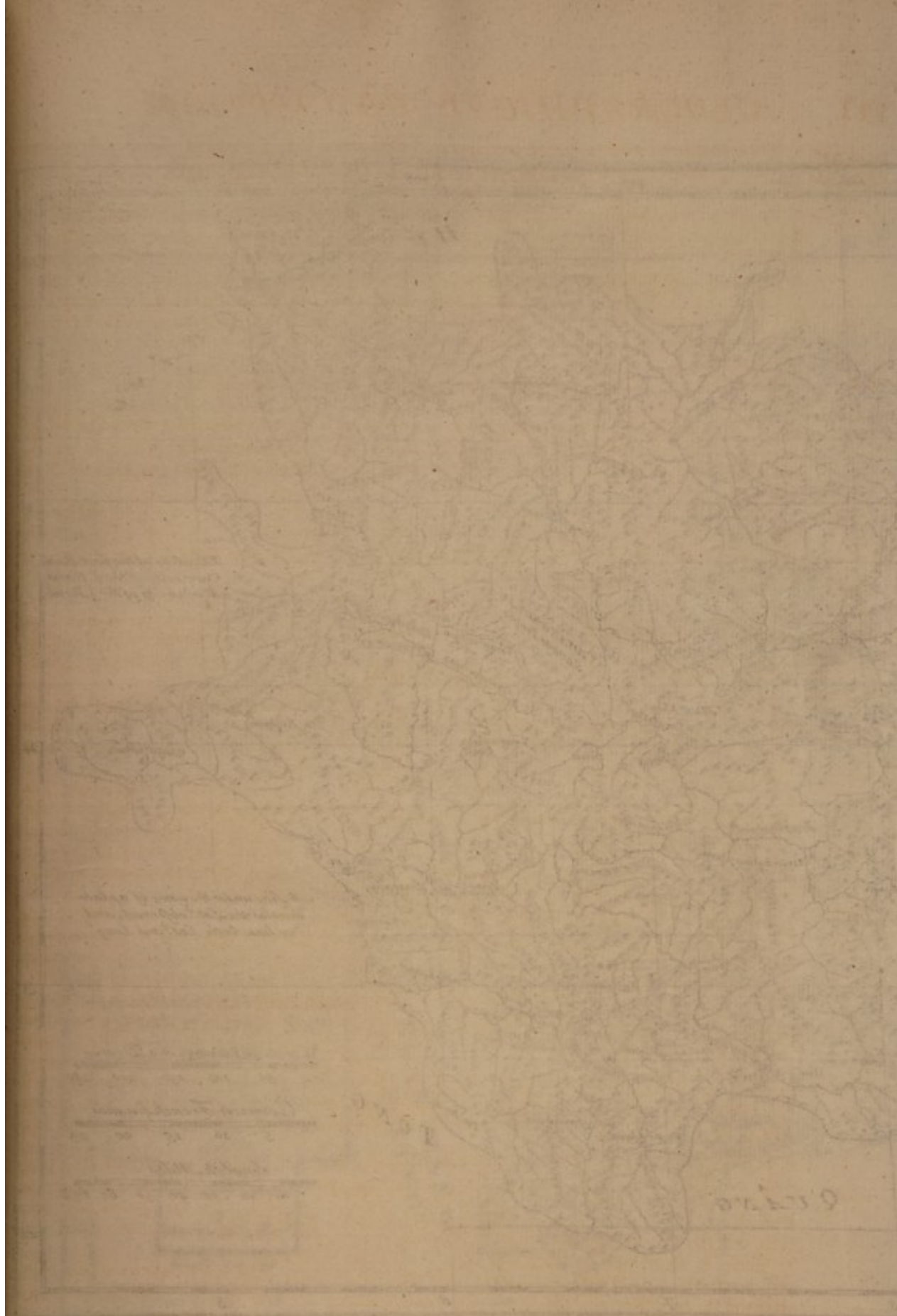
There is found among the Rocks, at no great Depth of Water, a certain little blue Fish, which resembles the Dolphin more than the *Dorado*, and is in greater Esteem with the *Chinese* than the *Golden Fish*; but, unluckily, they live only a few Days out of their Element.

Tho' we cannot absolutely deny what is reported in Travellers, of a Lake in this Island, having the Virtue of petrifying whatever is thrown into it; yet there is great Reason to doubt it, because the Islanders know nothing of the Matter; that which may have given Occasion to this Opinion, is those counterfeit Petrifications, which the *Chinese* make to Perfection, and are very common at *Kan-ton*. They tell us also, that Pearls are found no where in such Abundance as on the Northern Coasts of this Island; but however true this might have been formerly, it is certain, that at present there is no such thing: Indeed some very small ones are gotten on the Coast of *Quang-si*, which are very dear; but the Pearls one meets with in *China*, come from the *Indies*.

Apes.

Among the Animals, this Island breeds a curious kind of great black Apes, whose Physiognomy very nearly resembles the Human, so distinct are the Features; but this Species is scarce. There are others of a grey Colour, which are very ugly and common.

(c) The *Mandrepore* is a Sea Plant resembling *White Coral*.



Hay-nan abounds with Game; indeed the Partridges, Quails, and Hares are inferior to those of *Europe*, but Snipes, Teal, and all sorts of Water-Fowl are very good. There is a kind of *Wood-Hen* of an excellent Relish. Turtle-Doves are in great plenty, as well as two sorts of *Wood-Pigeons*. Stags, and Maron-Hogs, which are a kind of wild Boars, are very common.

Prov. XII.
Quang-tong.

Here are also several sorts of curious Birds, as Ravens with white Rings about their Necks, like Cravats; Starlings, which have a little Moon on their Bills; Black-Birds of a deep blue Colour, with yellow Ears, half an Inch long, which speak and whistle in Perfection; little Birds, the Bigness of a Linnet, whose Feathers are of a most beautiful Red, and others of a very bright Gold Colour; which two sorts of Birds, tho' of different kinds are always together.

Considering the Islanders travel both by Day and Night thro' the Plains and thick Woods, without Arms, and almost always bare-foot, the Reptiles of *Hay-nan* cannot be dangerous; and tho' it breeds Serpents and Snakes of a monstrous size, yet they are so timorous, that the least Noise frights them away.

The Port of Ma-kau.

THIS Port is famous for the great Trade carry'd on by the *Portuguese* (who have been in Possession of it above a Century) when they were Masters of a considerable Part of the *Indies*; but now they have only a Fortress with a very small Garrison, being in no Condition to maintain many Soldiers.

The Port of Ma-kau.

The City is built on a little Peninsula, or, if you will, a small Island, because it is separated from the Land by a River, which is enlarged by the Tides. It is join'd to the rest of the Island by a very narrow Isthmus, across which they have built a Wall.

Those who are at Anchor without, see nothing on all hands but Isles, which form a great Circle; with two or three Fortresses on the Eminences, and some Houses at the end of the Town. These Houses and Fortresses seem to be built on a very high Land, bounding the View on that side; but between this Land, (which indeed is a pretty large Island) and *Ma-kau*, there is a safe and commodious Port, along whose Shores the City extends.

The Houses are built after the *European* Fashion, but somewhat low. The *Chinese* are more numerous than the *Portuguese*, who are almost all Mongrels, born in the *Indies* or at *Ma-kau*, and not being very rich, are in no Esteem with the *Chinese*.

The Fortifications belonging to *Ma-kau* are pretty good, and well provided with Cannon; but the Garrison is very weak, and as the *Chinese* supply it with all Necessaries, they are at no Pains to become Masters of it.

There is in the Place a *Portuguese* Governor, and a *Chinese* Mandarin, on whom the whole Country depends; his Palace stands in the middle of the City, and whatever he would have done, the *Portuguese* must obey, especially where the Interest of the *Chinese* is concern'd.

The *Portuguese* obtain'd this Settlement in the following Manner: During the Reign of *Hong-chi* the *Europeans* traded either at *Kan-ton*, or *Ning-po*, in the Province of *Che-kyang*; but in the time of *Kya-tsing*, a Pirate named *Chang-si-lau*, who infested the Seas of *Kan-ton*, having seiz'd *Ma-kau*, and besieg'd the Capital of the Province; the *Mandarins* desir'd the Assistance of the *Europeans* on Board the Merchantmen, who oblig'd the Pirate to raise the Siege, and pursuing him to *Makau*, slew him there. The Emperor being inform'd of this Victory, by the *Tsong-tu*, publish'd a Decree, whereby he gave *Ma-kau* to those *European* Merchants, in order to settle there.

The Island of Shang-chwen-shan, or Sançian.

THE Death of *S. Francis Xavier*, the Apostle of the *Indies*, and his Tomb, which is still to be seen in this Island, have render'd it remarkable. The Tomb stands on an Eminence at the Foot of a Hill; beside it is a little Plain, cover'd on one side with Trees, and adorn'd on the other with several Gardens.

The Island of Shang-chwen-shan, or Sançian.

The Island is not desert, as is reported; for there are five Villages in it, inhabited by poor Fishermen, who live on the Fish they take, and a little Rice which they sow. Here is a Chappel built by the *Portuguese* *Jesuits*, about thirty Years ago; it is only of Plaister, but looks very pretty, the *Chinese* having japan'd it over with red and blue Varnish.

PROVINCE XIII. QUANG-SI.

THIS Province is situate between those of *Quang-tong*, *Quoy-chew*, *Yun-nan*, and the Kingdom of *Tong-king*. It contains twelve Cities of the first Rank, and four-score of the second and third. It produces such plenty of Rice, that for six Months of the Year it furnishes the Province of *Quang-tong*, which otherwise would not be able to support its numerous Inhabitants.

Prov. XIII.
Quang-si.

Notwith-

PR6VXIII.
Quang-fi.

Mines of
Gold, Silver,
&c.

Plant produ-
ces Meal.

Insects that
make white
Wax.

Notwithstanding which it is not to be compared to most of the other Provinces, either for Extent, Beauty, or Trade. Altho' it is water'd by many Rivers, yet only the Parts towards the East and South, are well improv'd, being a flat Country and the Air mild; almost every where else, especially towards the North, it is incumber'd with Mountains cover'd with thick Forests.

There are in this Province Mines of all sorts of Metals, especially Gold and Silver; which the Chinese out of Policy have always prohibited to be open'd, for fear of occasioning Disturbances. A certain Chain of Mountains having been known, for a long time past, to contain Mines of Gold, Silver, Tin, Copper, and Lead; some Years ago the Governor of a City of the first Rank, in whose District they are, presented a Memorial to the Emperor, wherein he shew'd how to prevent Inconveniencies. Among the rest, he observ'd that the Inhabitants offer'd to open them at their own Expence; and propos'd that none, either of this or the neighbouring Provinces, should be permitted to work at them, without a Patent from his Mandarin, besides four Persons Security for his Conduct.

The Emperor having sent this Memorial to be examin'd by the *Hu-pu*, that Court, which superintends the Revenues, approv'd of it, conditionally that, according to what is practis'd on like Occasions, the Undertakers should give forty *per Cent* to the Emperor, and five *per Cent* to the Officers and Soldiers, who presided over the Work. Afterwards the Emperor reserv'd the Gold Mine wholly to himself, and work'd it at his own Expence. There is in this Province a pretty extraordinary Tree, which instead of Pith contains a soft Substance, that serves for Meal, and does not taste amiss. Here are abundance of those Insects, spoken of before, which produce the white Wax. The Cinnamon that grows here, diffuses a more agreeable Odour, than that of the Island of Ceylan (v), and the Silks that are made, bear a good Price; in short, this Country breeds Parrots, Porcupines, and Rhinoceroses.

The First City, Quey-ling-fu, Capital of the Province.

Quey-ling-fu.

THIS City stands on a River (g) that falls into the *Ta-bo*; and runs with such Rapidity thro' the narrow Valleys, that, tho' it is large, it is not navigable, or of any use for Trade.

The City is remarkable for being built partly after the Manner of our antient Fortifications; but is much inferior to most of the other Capitals.

Etymol. of
Quey-ling.

Quey-ling signifies the *Forest of the Flowers of Quey*; because the Flower call'd *Quey*, tho' pretty common throughout China, is more plenty in this Province, and especially in the Territory of this City, than elsewhere.

The Flower
Quey.

The Tree which produces it, is very large, with Leaves resembling those of the Lawrel; it is little, yellow, and grows in Bunches; it does not remain long on the Tree, and when it falls, another comes in its Place. In Autumn the Tree is cover'd over with these Flowers, whose agreeable Smell perfumes the whole Country.

Best Stones
for making
Ink.

In this District are found the best Stones which the *Literati* use to make their Ink of; and Birds whose Feathers are variegated with very bright Colours, and woven in their Silks.

Quey-ling has under its Jurisdiction only two Cities of the second, and seven of the third Rank. It is almost wholly encompassed with savage and barbarous People, who are settled in the Mountains. I have already given an account of them, distinguishing those who are subject to the Chinese Mandarins, from those who live in a State of Independency.

The Second City, Lyew-chew-fu.

Lyew-chew-fu.

THE Territory of this City is of great Extent, and well water'd, but full of Mountains, which however abound with Simples, much used by the Physicians. Two Cities of the second, and ten of the third Rank depend on it.

Vu-fwen-byen.

Among these latter, *Vu-fwen-byen* is famous on account of the lively and subtil Wit of its Inhabitants. There is scarce an Examination at *Pe-king* for the Degree of Doctor, but several *Literati* of this City obtain it, who are afterwards employ'd in some of the Governments or Magistracies.

The Third City, Kin-ywen-fu. (F)

Kin-ywen-fu.

THO' this City is built on a large River, yet it is not the more agreeable; for besides being encompassed with frightful Mountains, those of *Quey-chew*, which are inaccessible, and inhabited by People who are half Savage, are in its Neighbourhood.

The Valleys lying between these frightful Mountains are interspersed with Villages and Forts. Gold is gather'd out of its Rivers, and the *Areka* is found every where. Two Cities of the second, and five of the third Rank depend on its Jurisdiction.

(v) More properly *Seylan*, or *Selan* with an S.

(g) According to the Map, it stands on a sort of Lake.

(F) Here the Name agrees with the Map, but in both the Tables it is spelled, *King-ywen-fu*.

The Fourth City, Se-nghen-fu.

Prov XIII.
Quang-fu.
Se-nghen-fu.

THE District of this City is of no great Extent, containing only one City of the second Rank, and two of the third. It is encompassed with Mountains, whose Inhabitants, who were formerly rude, and half Barbarians, but have become civiliz'd by Degrees, since they were incorporated with the Empire.

The Fifth City, Ping-lo-fu.

THIS City stands on a River, which, tho' large, is hardly navigable. It runs among very narrow Valleys, interspersed with Rocks, which makes it full of Water-Falls. Its Jurisdiction contains one City of the second, and seven of the third Rank.

All these Cities are environ'd with Mountains, which render the Country disagreeable; some of them however are cover'd with Orange-Trees; abundance of that white Wax, made by certain Insects, is found here, whereof I have spoken more than once already.

The Sixth City, U-chew-fu.

ALL the Rivers of the Province meet near this City, which borders on *Quang-tong*; whence it is look'd on as the most considerable for Trade, and of greatest Importance, because it is the Key of that Province. Its District comprizes one City of the second, and nine of the third Rank.

The Country is partly plain, and partly mountainous. It produces *Red Lead*, and a remarkable Tree, nam'd *Quang-lang*; which instead of Pith contains a soft Substance, employ'd to the same Use as Meal, and of no disagreeable Taste.

Besides the common Animals of *China*, one meets here with the *Rhinoceros*; and a kind of Apes, with yellow Hair, which by their Shape, and Shrieks of their Yell, have a great Resemblance of Dogs.

The Seventh City, Sin-chew-fu. (A)

THIS City stands at the Confluence of two Rivers, in an agreeable Country, if compar'd with the rest of the Province. The Forests and Mountains, wherewith it is encompassed, have something inexpressibly gay and smiling, especially to such as come from those steep Mountains, on the Spot which strike the Eye with nothing but what is frightful and melancholy.

The Country produces a sort of Cinnamon, much inferior to that of *Ceylan*, in Goodness and Smell; also those Trees, whose Wood is so hard that it has the Name of *Iron-Wood*. They make Cloth of a certain Grass, which sometimes bears a greater Price, than the common Silks. A kind of yellow Earth is found here, which they say is a sovereign Remedy against all sorts of Poison. The District of this City is not considerable, containing no more than three Cities of the third Rank.

The Eighth City, Nan-ning-fu.

THE Place where this City stands, is almost surrounded with Rivers, and little Lakes. Four Cities of the second, and three of the third Rank are within its District, which is intermixt with Plains and Mountains.

Great Parrots are found here, that are easily taught to speak; also a kind of Powl, which discharges out of its Mouth Threads of Cotton; and very large Porcupines, which dart very long and sharp Quills at those who approach them. Some of its Mountains produce Iron Mines.

The Ninth City, Tay-ping-fu.

THIS City is situate in an Elbow made by a large River, by which it is inclosed on three sides, and fortify'd on the fourth by a Wall running from one Branch of that River to the other.

The Country depending on it is the best in the whole Province. The Soil is fertile, very populous, and well cultivated. It contains a great Number of Forts, as bordering on the Kingdom of *Tong-king*.

The Inhabitants are look'd on as *Barbarians* by the *Chinese*, because they have not much Politeness, and shew a Roughness in their Behaviour, very different from the *Chinese* Affability. The District of this City contains twelve Cities of the second, and two of the third Rank.

(A) In the Table Page 6. *Tsin cheu fu*.

PROV. XIII.
Quang-fu.
Se-ming-fu.

The Tenth City, Se-ming-fu. (B)

STANDS also near the Borders of *Tong-king*, in a mountainous Country, and not far from the Pillar, which the *Tong-kingese* have erected to serve for the Limits of their Kingdom, as I have elsewhere remark'd. Its Mountains furnish abundance of Wood, and its District contains only four Cities of the second Rank.

The Country produces all the Necessaries of Life, but the Inhabitants are not near so polite as those of other Parts of the Empire.

The Eleventh City, Chin-ngan-fu.

Chin-ngan-fu.

AS great Part of the District of this City depends on *Tong-king*, it contains only one City of the second Rank. It was formerly no more than a pitiful Borough, which was afterwards enlarg'd, and inclosed with Walls, in order to make it a City of the first Rank.

The Manners of its Inhabitants does not differ much from those of the *Chinese*. The Country produces all the Necessaries of Life, and among the rest much Honey and Wax.

The Twelfth City, Se-chin-fu. (c)

Se-chin-fu.

THE District of this City is inconsiderable, containing only two Cities of the second Rank. It is situate almost at the Spring of two little Rivers, which meet near its Walls. The Country is partly plain, partly mountainous. It borders on *Yun-nan*, and is full of populous Boroughs.

PROVINCE XIV. YUN-NAN.

PROV. XIV.
Yun-nan.
Bounds.

THIS Province, being one of the richest of the Empire, is bounded on one side by the Provinces of *Se-chuen*, *Quey-chew*, and *Quang-fu*; and on the other by *Tibet*, some savage Nations little known, and the Kingdoms of *Ava*, *Pegu*, *Laos*, and *Tong-king*. It contains twenty one Cities of the first Rank, and fifty five of the second and third. It is water'd every where by Rivers, whereof several take their Rise from considerable Lakes, which are in the Province, and render it very fruitful.

Gold Sand.

All sorts of Necessaries are very cheap here. The Gold alone that is gathered out of the Sand of the Rivers and Torrents, which descend from the Mountains situate in the Western part of the Province, amounts to a considerable Sum; whence it may be judged that those Mountains contain Gold-Mines, which would produce immense Riches, were they suffer'd to be open'd.

Mines of white Copper

Red Amber, precious Stones, Frankincense and Marble.

Besides the Mines of common Copper, found also in some other Provinces, there are some of a singular kind, named *Pe-tong*, which is white, both within and without. It produces red Amber, but no yellow; in a word, Rubies, Saphirs, Agats, Pearls, precious Stones, Musk, Silk, Benjamin, a sort of Frankincense, which is much esteem'd, *Lapis Armenus*, and very beautiful Marble. Some of this Marble, which is of divers Colours, naturally represents Mountains, Flowers, Trees and Rivers, whereof they make Tables and other Ornaments; some think that the Rubies, and other precious Stones, are brought hither from the Kingdom of *Ava*.

Among the Animals, one meets with excellent Horses, most of them low but strong and vigorous; Stags of a peculiar kind, which are neither taller nor thicker than our ordinary Dogs. The Lords keep them in their Gardens for their Diversion. The Birds, call'd *Kin-ki* or *Golden-Hens*, are also found here, which I have described elsewhere.

The People are very strong and courageous; besides they are of a mild affable Temper, and fit for the Study of the Sciences.

The First City, Yun-nan-fu, the Capital of the Province.

Yun-nan-fu.

THIS City has no navigable River, but is built on the side of a large and deep Lake, or to speak in the Language of the Country, on the Coast of the *South Sea*. It is not many Years since it was remarkable for its Beauty. Within its Walls, which are three Miles in Compass, it was full of handsome Buildings, and without, adorn'd with pleasant Gardens, two or three of which are still to be seen.

(b) In the Map *Se-min-fu*; but in the Tables as here.

(c) In the two Tables tis *Se-ching-fu*; but in the Map as here.



Li or Chinese Furlongs in degree
50 100 150 200 250
Common French League
5 10 15 20 25
English Miles
10 20 30 40 50 60 70

Table of the Latitudes (observed) and Longitudes (determined Geometrically) whereon this Map is grounded.

| Places | Lat. | Long. | Places | Lat. | Long. | Places | Lat. | Long. |
|--------------|---------|----------|-----------------|---------|-------|--------------|---------|-------|
| Ko-ling-fu | 25 32.2 | 103 38.0 | Ching-ling-chow | 24.0 | 103.0 | Meng-chai-fu | 25.0 | 103.0 |
| Lo-ping-chow | 24.38.0 | 103.20.0 | Ching-hsin-guan | 23.42.0 | 103.0 | Chai-fu | 25.44.0 | 103.0 |
| Quang-nam-fu | 24.38.0 | 103.20.0 | Ching-chow | 24.38.0 | 103.0 | Ching-chow | 25.31.0 | 103.0 |
| Meng-chai-fu | 25.44.0 | 103.0 | Ching-chow | 25.44.0 | 103.0 | Ching-chow | 26.31.0 | 103.0 |
| Meng-chai-fu | 25.44.0 | 103.0 | Ching-chow | 25.44.0 | 103.0 | Ching-chow | 27.31.0 | 103.0 |
| Meng-chai-fu | 25.44.0 | 103.0 | Ching-chow | 25.44.0 | 103.0 | Ching-chow | 28.31.0 | 103.0 |
| Meng-chai-fu | 25.44.0 | 103.0 | Ching-chow | 25.44.0 | 103.0 | Ching-chow | 29.31.0 | 103.0 |
| Meng-chai-fu | 25.44.0 | 103.0 | Ching-chow | 25.44.0 | 103.0 | Ching-chow | 30.31.0 | 103.0 |
| Meng-chai-fu | 25.44.0 | 103.0 | Ching-chow | 25.44.0 | 103.0 | Ching-chow | 31.31.0 | 103.0 |
| Meng-chai-fu | 25.44.0 | 103.0 | Ching-chow | 25.44.0 | 103.0 | Ching-chow | 32.31.0 | 103.0 |
| Meng-chai-fu | 25.44.0 | 103.0 | Ching-chow | 25.44.0 | 103.0 | Ching-chow | 33.31.0 | 103.0 |
| Meng-chai-fu | 25.44.0 | 103.0 | Ching-chow | 25.44.0 | 103.0 | Ching-chow | 34.31.0 | 103.0 |
| Meng-chai-fu | 25.44.0 | 103.0 | Ching-chow | 25.44.0 | 103.0 | Ching-chow | 35.31.0 | 103.0 |
| Meng-chai-fu | 25.44.0 | 103.0 | Ching-chow | 25.44.0 | 103.0 | Ching-chow | 36.31.0 | 103.0 |
| Meng-chai-fu | 25.44.0 | 103.0 | Ching-chow | 25.44.0 | 103.0 | Ching-chow | 37.31.0 | 103.0 |
| Meng-chai-fu | 25.44.0 | 103.0 | Ching-chow | 25.44.0 | 103.0 | Ching-chow | 38.31.0 | 103.0 |
| Meng-chai-fu | 25.44.0 | 103.0 | Ching-chow | 25.44.0 | 103.0 | Ching-chow | 39.31.0 | 103.0 |
| Meng-chai-fu | 25.44.0 | 103.0 | Ching-chow | 25.44.0 | 103.0 | Ching-chow | 40.31.0 | 103.0 |
| Meng-chai-fu | 25.44.0 | 103.0 | Ching-chow | 25.44.0 | 103.0 | Ching-chow | 41.31.0 | 103.0 |
| Meng-chai-fu | 25.44.0 | 103.0 | Ching-chow | 25.44.0 | 103.0 | Ching-chow | 42.31.0 | 103.0 |
| Meng-chai-fu | 25.44.0 | 103.0 | Ching-chow | 25.44.0 | 103.0 | Ching-chow | 43.31.0 | 103.0 |
| Meng-chai-fu | 25.44.0 | 103.0 | Ching-chow | 25.44.0 | 103.0 | Ching-chow | 44.31.0 | 103.0 |
| Meng-chai-fu | 25.44.0 | 103.0 | Ching-chow | 25.44.0 | 103.0 | Ching-chow | 45.31.0 | 103.0 |
| Meng-chai-fu | 25.44.0 | 103.0 | Ching-chow | 25.44.0 | 103.0 | Ching-chow | 46.31.0 | 103.0 |
| Meng-chai-fu | 25.44.0 | 103.0 | Ching-chow | 25.44.0 | 103.0 | Ching-chow | 47.31.0 | 103.0 |
| Meng-chai-fu | 25.44.0 | 103.0 | Ching-chow | 25.44.0 | 103.0 | Ching-chow | 48.31.0 | 103.0 |
| Meng-chai-fu | 25.44.0 | 103.0 | Ching-chow | 25.44.0 | 103.0 | Ching-chow | 49.31.0 | 103.0 |
| Meng-chai-fu | 25.44.0 | 103.0 | Ching-chow | 25.44.0 | 103.0 | Ching-chow | 50.31.0 | 103.0 |

PROVINCE XIV
YUN-NAN
Drawn on the spot by the Pères
Fidelli, Regis, & Boujour,
an Augustinian, in the Year 1725.
With Improvements by the Editor.
Inscribed to John Myddelton
of Chirk Castle in the County
of Denbigh Esq. Member of
Parliament for the said Town.

KYO-CHI-QUE, or KINGDOM of
TONG-KING.

LAU-CHWA, or Kingdom of
LAU.

A Chinese Prince formerly kept his Court here; the Tartars becoming Masters of China they gave him the Investiture thereof with the Title of King; but that Prince (D) being weary of the Yoke, and having taken up Arms against the Emperor, in 1679, his Family was ruin'd, and dying a while after of old Age, his Troops were of a sudden dispersed.

The Trade for Metals is greater here than in any other Province. They make a particular sort of Silk, named *Tong-hay-twan-tse*, that is, the *Satin of the Eastern Sea*, without knowing the Occasion of this Name. It is made of twisted Silk, is not flower'd, and without any Gloss. They dye it of all sorts of Colours, as they do the *Twan-tse*, or common Satin; but it appears neither bright nor lively; they also make very good Carpets.

After all, *Yun-nan*, at present, has more Reputation than Wealth; the Shops are but indifferently furnish'd, the Dealers poor, the Buildings mean, and the Concourse of People not very great, if compared with what is seen in most of the other Capitals of Provinces.

In this City the *Tsong-thi*, or Governor-General of the Provinces of *Yun-nan* and *Quey-chew*, resides, as also the *Vice-Roy* of the Province. Its District contains four Cities of the second, and seven of the third Rank.

The whole Country is agreeable and fertile, consisting partly in little Hills, and partly in large Plains. The Waters are very good, the Climate temperate, and the Canals give an easy Admittance to Vessels.

The Inhabitants are indued with Wit and Courage, and have always been addicted to Arms, or Agriculture. The Horses that are bred there are small, but hardy and strong. It produces *Lapis Armenus* and fine Marble. The Trees call'd *Rose-Wood*, are also found here.

The Second City, Ta-li-fu.

THIS City, like the Capital, stands on a Lake, which is very long, and abounds with all sorts of Fish. It is large, and very populous; the Climate is mild, and the Soil fertile, so that it is a very pleasant Place to live in.

It is here principally those fair Tables and other Ornaments are made of that most beautiful Marble, dug out of the Mountain *Tyen-fung*; and which is naturally variegated with so many different Colours, that one would think the Mountains, Flowers, Trees, and Rivers represented thereon were drawn by a skillful Painter.

Ta-li has under its Jurisdiction, four Cities of the second, and three of the third Rank.

The Third City, Ling-ngan-fu. (E)

THE whole Country, that belongs to this City, containing four Cities of the second Rank, and five of the third, consists either of Plains, little Hills, and Mountains, which afford no disagreeable Prospect; it is water'd by pretty large Lakes, and several Rivers, that render it fertile, especially in Rice and Wheat. It produces also plenty of Honey and Wax, as well as most of the Fruits found in the Indies.

The Fourth City, Chu-hyung-fu. (F)

THIS City stands in the Heart of the Province, and a very beautiful Country, water'd with several Rivers, and inclosed on all sides with fine Mountains, which serve instead of Bulwarks. The Air is healthful, and the Soil produces plenty of all sorts of Grain. It abounds also with good Pastures.

The Mountains yield the *Lapis Armenus*, and a fine green Stone; so do some of them Silver Mines in Case they were open'd. It has but two Cities of the second Rank under its Jurisdiction.

The Fifth City, Chin-kyang-fu.

NOTHING can be more agreeable than the Situation of this City. It stands on the side of a great Lake which lies to the South, and in a Plain encompassed with Mountains, which are at a proper Distance to render the Prospect agreeable. Its District is of no great Extent, containing no more than two Cities of the second, and two of the third Rank; but it is water'd by Lakes and Rivers that make it fertile, and abound with excellent Fish. The Inhabitants make Cotton Carpets, which are much esteem'd.

The Sixth City, King-tong-fu.

THE Country, where this City stands, is full of very high Mountains, which they say contain Silver Mines. It abounds with Rice, and its Valleys are well water'd with Brooks and Rivers. Altho' it enjoys the Rank of *Fu*, there is no other City in its District.

(D) This was the famous *U-fan-ghey*, who call'd in the Tartars to suppress the Rebels.

(E) In the Map *Ling-ngan-fu*, but in the Tables as here.

(F) In the Map as here, but *Chu-hyung-fu*, in the first Table, and *Chu-hyung-fu* in the second.

PROV. XIV. On the West of it is one of those Bridges, which I have described elsewhere, supported by Iron Chains. The Sight of the Precipices, and Agitation of the Bridge, when many Passengers are on it at once, never fail to terrify those who have not passed it before.

Yun-nan.

The Seventh City, Quan-nan-fu.

Quan-nan-fu.

THIS City, as well as the former, has no other within its District. It stands on the Borders of the Province of *Quey-chew*, and is separated, as it were, from the rest of the Province by frightful Mountains. Its Soil is fertile, but the Inhabitants are consider'd by the Chinese as *Barbarians*, on account of the Rudeness of their Behaviour.

The Eighth City, Quang-si-fu.

Quang-si-fu.

THIS City stands in a little Plain, and on the Side of a Lake. It is quite surrounded with Mountains, and has under it only two Cities of the third Rank, without any thing farther, worthy Remark.

The Ninth City, Shun-ning-fu.

Shun-ning-fu.

IS a very small City, not above a Mile and an half in Compass, surrounded with Mountains, so that the Avenues to it are thro' very narrow Valleys. The Soil is almost every where barren, and the Genius as well as Manners of the Natives as rude as the Climate they inhabit.

The Tenth City, Ku-tsing-fu. (G)

Ku-tsing-fu.

ALTHO' this City is surrounded with Mountains, yet the Country about it is fruitful enough. It commands over five Cities of the second, and two of the third Rank. Their Inhabitants are very laborious, and do not leave an Inch of Land unimprov'd; but they are so litigious, that they spend the best Part of their Effects at Law.

The Eleventh City, Yau-ngan-fu. (H)

Yau-ngan-fu.

THE Territory of this City is sufficiently large, altho' it has but two Cities, one of the second, and the other of the third Rank under its Jurisdiction. It is intermixt with fertile Valleys and Mountains, cover'd with fine Forests. It furnishes abundance of Musk.

Near the City is a Well of salt Water, whereof they make very white Salt. The People of this Country are of a strong Constitution, and naturally warlike.

The Twelfth City, Ko-king-fu.

Ko-king-fu.

THIS City, which is encompassed with Mountains, has no more than one City of the second Rank in its District, which is situate on a Lake, six Leagues in Compass. Its Inhabitants are courageous and brave. They usually go arm'd with Bows and Arrows.

The Country produces Musk and Pine-Apples. Very beautiful Carpets are made here. It is said there are Gold Mines in its Mountains, bordering on the Country of the *Si-san*, or Territories of the *Lamas*.

The Thirteenth City, Vu-ting-fu. (I)

Vu-ting-fu.

THIS City is situate on the Borders of the Province of *Se-chwen*, in a rich and fertile Soil, water'd with Brooks and Rivers that produce great plenty. It has a pretty large Garrison to defend the Country against any Incurfions of the neighbouring Mountaineers.

The Land is well cultivated, and its Pastures are stock'd with numerous Flocks. A great deal of Musk also comes from hence. Some of its Mountains are rugged and steep, and the Passages over them so narrow, that only one Man at a time can clamber up. In time of War the Inhabitants retire to them as inaccessible Holds. It has in its District only two Cities of the second Rank, and one of the third.

The Fourteenth City, Li-kyang-tu-fu. (K)

Li-kyang-tu-fu.

IT is said the Inhabitants of this City and the Territory belonging to it, are descended from the ancient Colonies of the Chinese, who came and settled here. It has no City depending on it, and is surrounded by Mountains, which separate it from the Dominions of the *Lamas*, wherein no doubt are Gold Mines. The whole Country is well water'd and fertile, yielding Amber and Pine-Apples.

(G) This City is call'd in Table 1. and the Map, *Ku cheu fu*.

(H) In the Map, *Yau-gan fu*.

(I) In both Tables *U-ting fu*; but in the Map as here.

(K) In the Map as here; but in the Tables *Li-kyang fu*.

THE
OFFICE
OF THE
TREASURER
OF THE
UNITED STATES
DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR
WASHINGTON, D. C.

| Place | Latitude | Longitude | Place | Latitude | Longitude |
|------------------|-------------|---------------|--|-------------|---------------|
| U-shen-hyen* | 28. 24. 00. | 8. 16. 11. W. | Yong-ning-chow | 25. 54. 0. | 11. 0. 50. W. |
| Se-nan-fu | 27. 56. 24. | 8. 2. 50. | Nam-shan-fu* | 26. 12. 0. | 10. 36. 00. |
| Tung-jin-fu | 27. 38. 24. | 7. 39. 3. | Ling-li-hyen | 26. 23. 50. | 9. 36. 00. |
| Tie-chow-fu | 27. 10. 48. | 7. 54. 0. | Tai-yuen-fu | 26. 12. 10. | 9. 4. 00. |
| Shi-fien-fu | 27. 50. 00. | 8. 18. 40. | Mah-chow* | 26. 46. 24. | 9. 1. 30. |
| Chin-yuen-fu | 27. 1. 12. | 8. 10. 40. | Que-ting-hyen* | 26. 30. 00. | 9. 22. 20. |
| Yao-ting-hyen | 27. 9. 36. | 8. 43. 52. | Que-ying-fu* | 26. 30. 00. | 9. 33. 20. |
| Shing-ping-hyen* | 27. 0. 20. | 8. 26. 40. | Yong-feng-hyen* | 25. 57. 36. | 7. 24. 30. |
| Tung-ping-hyen* | 26. 37. 12. | 8. 48. 32. | N.B. a* at the end of the name, Latitude or | | |
| Ping-yue-fu* | 26. 57. 24. | 9. 4. 52.* | Longitude of a Place denotes variation from of Map | | |
| Kay-chow* | 26. 58. 40. | 9. 45. 20.* | | | |
| Ya-ting-chow* | 27. 3. 36. | 10. 56. 00. | | | |
| Yong-ning-chow | 27. 53. 48. | 11. 5. 20. | | | |
| Wang-ning-fu* | 26. 43. 15. | 12. 12. 00. | | | |
| Ping-yuen-chow | 26. 57. 12. | 10. 45. 20. | | | |
| Ping-an-chow | 25. 44. 24. | 11. 49. 20. | | | |
| Nam-lang-chin | 25. 3. 36. | 10. 56. 20. | | | |

A Table of Latitudes (referred) and Longitudes (determined) geographically, whereon this Map is grounded.

Li or Chinese Furlongs in a Degree.

Common French Leagues.

English Miles.

A Line under the name of a Place

denotes the Lat. & Longitude; two

Lines both of Lat. & Long.

H U - Q U A N G

PROVINCE XV QUEY-CHEW

drawn on the Spot by the Pères
Fridelli and Regis in the Year 1716.
with Improvements by the Editor
Inferred to

D. Shaw M.D. & F.R.S.



The Fifteenth City, Ywen-kyang-fu

Prov. xiv.
Yun-nan.
Ywen-kyang-fu.

STANDS on a pretty large River, call'd *Ho-li-kyang*, and has no City under its Jurisdiction. The Country consists of Mountains, and Plains water'd by several Rivers. It furnishes Abundance of Silk; produces plenty of Ebony, Palm-Trees, and *Areka*, which the Inhabitants chew with Betel Leaf. Peacocks are very numerous here.

The Sixteenth City, Mong-wha-fu.

THIS is one of those Cities which has no Jurisdiction over others; it is surrounded with high Mountains, and is remarkable in that there is no Country in the whole Empire, which furnishes so great a Quantity of Musk.

The Seventeenth City, Yung-chang-fu. (A)

THIS City is pretty large and populous, built like the former, in the midst of Mountains, near an Extremity of the Province, and in the Neighbourhood of People, who are savage, and little known; the Disposition and Manners of the Inhabitants partake of those of their Neighbours. The Country furnishes Gold, Honey, Wax, Amber, and abundance of good Silk. One City of the second, and two of the third Rank are under its Jurisdiction.

The Eighteenth City, Yungning-tu-fu.

THIS City is situate at the end of the Province, almost touching the Dominions of the *Lamas*. There is a fine Lake on the East-side of it, with four little Isles in it, which appear above Water in pretty Eminencies. It has no other City under its Jurisdiction.

Here, as well as in *Tibet*, Numbers of that sort of Cows are to be met with, whose Tails serve for several Uses. They make Stuffs of them, that are Proof against Rain, and Carpets much esteem'd. The *Chinese* Officers employ them also in adorning their Standards and Helmets.

The Nineteenth City, Yung-pe fu.

ALTHO' this City stands amidst Mountains, its Territory is not the less fertile; having large Plains, watered partly by a fine Lake, partly by divers Brooks and pretty big Rivers, but has no City depending on it.

The Twentieth City, Kay-wha-fu. (B)

THIS City is considerable for nothing but that it borders on *Tong-king*, and is one of the Keys of the Province on that side. It stands in a Country, intermixt with fertile Valleys and high Mountains. It has no Jurisdiction or City depending on it.

The Twenty First City, San ta-fu. (C)

THIS last City, which stands on the Borders of the Kingdom of *Ava*, is properly a Fortress to defend the Frontiers. The whole Country is full of Mountains, which serve it for a Bulwark; and the Valleys are water'd with Rivers, that render the Soil fertile.

PROVINCE XV. QUEY-CHEW.

THIS Province, which is one of the smallest in the Empire, is situated between those of *Hu-quang*, *Se-chuen*, *Yun-nan*, and *Quang-si*. It contains ten Cities of the first Rank, and thirty eight of the second and third.

It is full of inaccessible Mountains, whence one Part of it is inhabited by People, who never were subdued, but are perfectly independant, as I have shewn at the Beginning of this Work. [p. 32]

Prov. XV.
Quey-chew.
Bonds, and Situation.

(A) The first Syllable in the Name of this City, and the following, is spell'd *Yung* in the second Table of Latitude and Longitude at the End of the Work.

(B) In the same Table it is *Que-wha-fu*.

(C) This City, as well as *Yung-ning-tu-fu*, is omitted in the first Table, p. 6.

PROV. XV The Emperors, in order to people this Province, have often sent Colonies hither, and even sometimes Governors with their whole Families.

It contains abundance of Forts, and Military Places, where numerous Garrisons are kept; but the Tribute which the Province pays, not being sufficient to maintain them, the Court is oblig'd to make up that Defect by sending them Supplies every Year.

The Mountains afford Mines of Gold, Silver, and Mercury; also part of the Copper, whereof the small Money, current thro' the Empire, is made, comes from hence.

Among these Mountains one meets with agreeable and fertile Valleys, especially near the Rivers. Provisions are cheap, but not in such Plenty as elsewhere, or as they might be, if the Land was better cultivated.

They have no Manufactures for Silks in this Province, but they make Stuffs of a certain Herb, which resembles Hemp, very fit for Summer-wear.

The Inhabitants breed a great Number of Cows, Hogs, and the best Horses in all China; the wild Fowl, whereof one meets with infinite Quantities, have an excellent Taste.

The First City, Quey-yang-fu, (D) Capital of the Province.

Quey-yang-fu. THIS City, which is one of the smallest in China, is not three Miles in Compass. Its Houses are built partly of Earth and partly of Brick, like those belonging to the Tribunals. The River whereon it stands, bears no Boats, whence it has but little Trade. But its Jurisdiction extends over three Cities of the second, and four of the third Rank, besides abundance of Forts, wherewith it is, as it were, surrounded. The Country is plain in some parts, and in others full of Mountains, some of which are very steep.

The Second City, Se-chew-fu. (E)

Se-chew-fu. SE-CHEW, situate at the Extremity of the Province towards *Hu-quang*, has only some Forts under its Jurisdiction. The Country is full of Mountains, and furnishes Red-Lead, Quicksilver, and divers other Metals.

Its Inhabitants, tho' more civilized than the rest of the People of the same Province, are perfectly ignorant of the Chinese Sciences. They go ordinarily barefooted, and are so inured to Fatigue that they travel over the Rocks with a surprizing Swiftness.

The Third City, Se-nan-fu.

Se-nan-fu. THIS City, which stands on a fine River, and in a long Plain, has in its District three Cities of the third Rank, and several Forts. It is bounded on both sides by Mountains, some whereof are inaccessible, there being but one narrow Way to get up any of them.

In time of War, the Inhabitants retire to these Mountains with their Effects, to prevent being plunder'd by the Soldiers, who pass thro' their Country. There also a savage People hide themselves, who have scarce any Correspondence with the Chinese.

The Fourth City, Chin-ywen-fu. (F)

Chin-ywen-fu. THE District of this City is very small, comprising only some Forts, and two Cities of the third Rank; but produces Pomegranates, Oranges, and the beautifullest Flowers in all China.

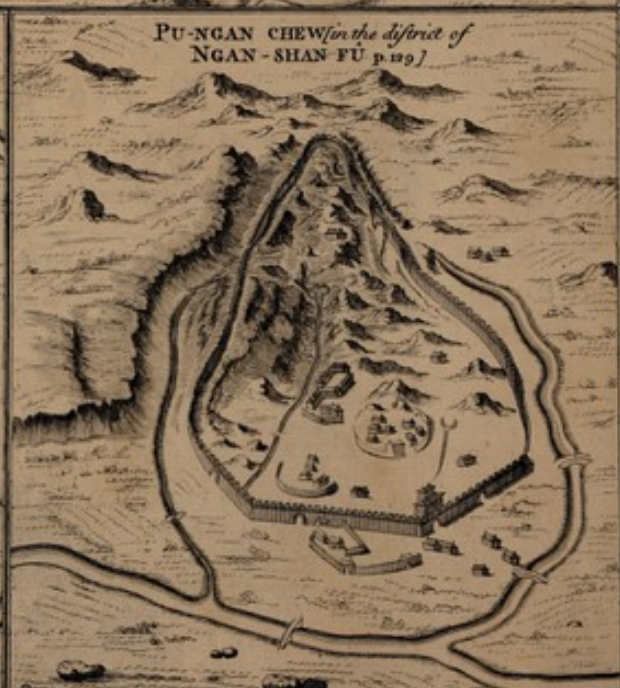
Some of its Mountains are inhabited by People, who having little Communication with the Chinese, are Boorish, and next to Barbarians.

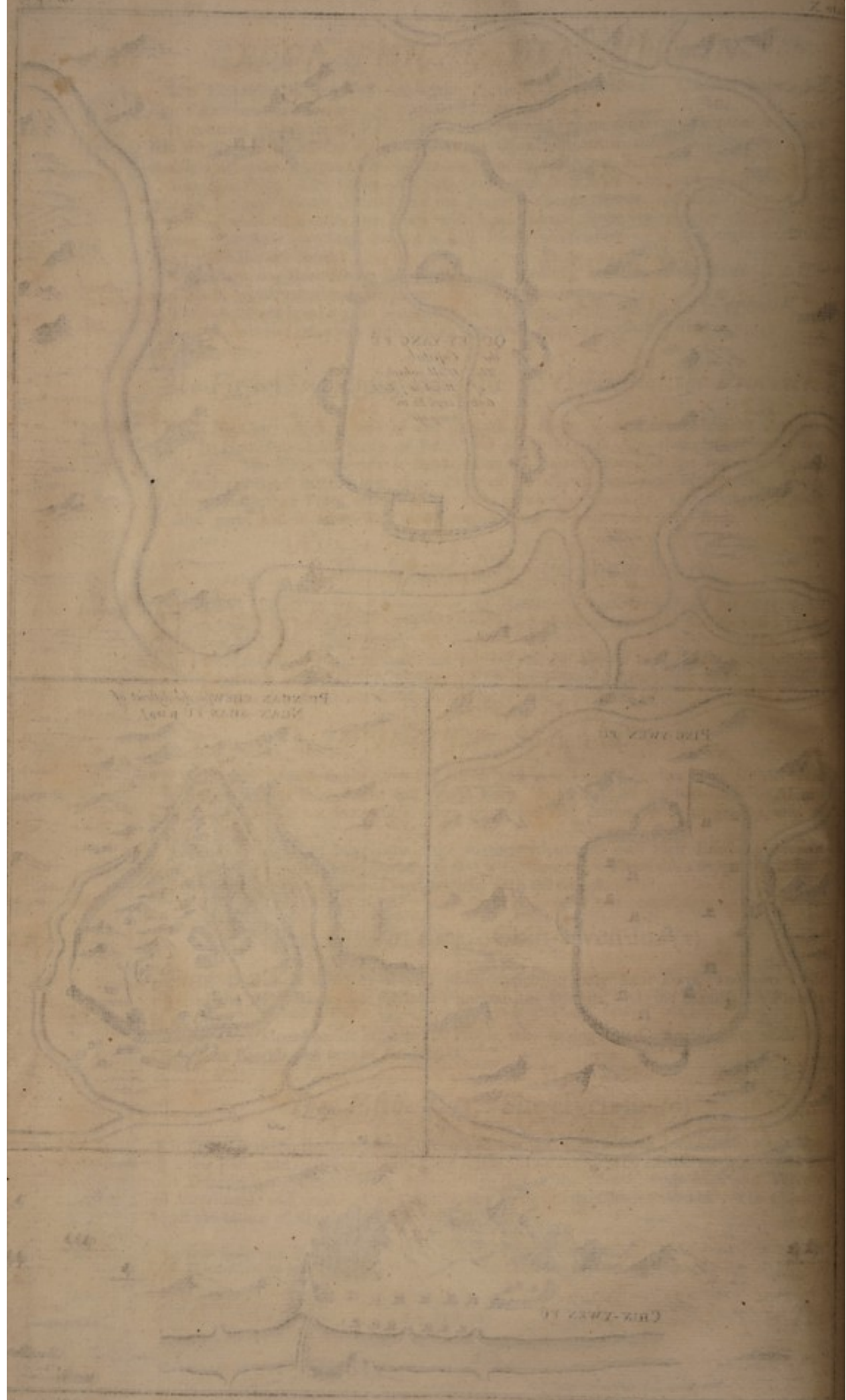
The Fifth City, She-tfyen-fu (G)

She-tfyen-fu. IS situate between the two former Cities, and has but a very small Jurisdiction, comprising a few Forts, and one Town of the third Rank. The People who inhabit the Mountains are of a Disposition and Character very different from that of the Chinese; both Men and Women go bare-footed, and retain other Customs very foreign to the Chinese Politeness. The Country yields abundance of Quick-silver.

(d) In the Second Table *Que-yang-fu*.
(e) *Se-chew-fu*, in the same Table.

(f) In the Map *Chin-ywen-fu*.
(g) In the first Table, *She-tfyen-fu*.





The Sixth City, Tong-jin-fu.

PROV. XV.
Queu-
chew.
Tong-jin-fu.

THIS is one of the Frontier Cities towards the Province of *Hu-quang*. It has only one City (A) and a few Forts under its Jurisdiction. Much Gold is gathered here, nor are there wanting Mines of Copper. Converging with the *Chinese* has in some Measure civilized the People, who were formerly cruel and savage.

The Seventh City, Ngan-lhan-fu. (B)

THE Country which belongs to this City is full of Mountains, and contains three Cities of the second Order, with five of the third Rank; besides several garrison'd Forts to keep the People of the Neighbourhood in Awe, who live in a State of Independance in their Mountains. The Rivers that water the Valleys and Plains, would render the Country fruitful enough, were the People more industrious.

The Eighth City, Tu-yun-fu. (C)

THE Jurisdiction of this City is of very small Extent, containing only two Cities of the second Rank, and as many of the third. It lies next the Mountains, inhabited by the *Seng-myau-tse*, People, whom the *Chinese* were never able to reduce, and who have a Government of their own, as I have already related; it is separated from them only by a River, and certain very steep Mountains.

The Ninth City, Ping-ywen-fu. (D)

THE Country belonging to this City is, like the former, in the Neighbourhood of those wild independent People, who inhabit inaccessible Mountains. It comprizes no more than five Cities, one of the second, and two (E) of the third Rank. The Soil produces excellent Tea, and Oranges of all sorts. They make Cloth of a kind of raw Hemp, very different from that which grows in *Europe*.

The Tenth City, Wey-ning-fu. (F)

THIS City stands on a fine Lake, and in the middle of a Plain, encompassed with high Mountains. It has under its Jurisdiction three Cities of the second Rank, and as many of the third, with several Forts, where there are Garrisons kept, for the Defence of the Country.

(A) By the First Table, p. 6 it appears, that this City is a *Hyeu*, or of the third Rank.

(B) In the Second Table *Ngan-Shan-fu*.

(C) In the Map and full Table as here, but in the second Table *Tu-yuen-fu*.

(D) In the first Table, *Ping-yuen-fu*.

(E) Here is a manifest Mistake, for the particular Numbers do not agree with the general; and the First Table makes four *Hyeu*.

(F) In the Second Table *Wey-ning-fu*.





ANNALS OF THE CHINESE MONARCHS; OR, *A compendious* HISTORY,

CONTAINING

The most remarkable Events under each REIGN,
according to Chronological Order.

The INTRODUCTION.



HAVE already observ'd, it is the common Opinion of those who have endeavour'd to trace the Origin of this Empire, that the Posterity of the Sons of Noab, spreading themselves over the Eastern Parts of Asia, arriv'd in China about two hundred Years after the Deluge, and settled in Shen-si. This Province, being thus peopled by the Heads of many considerable Families, who multiply'd greatly, new Colonies were sent into those of Ho-nan, Pe-che-li, and Shan-tong; which in time were united under one Sovereign, whose Dominion extended no farther Southward than the River Yang-tse-kyang.

In the Reign of the Emperor Yu, new Discoveries were made Southward, whereof Maps were drawn by that Prince's Order. Those Regions were then but thinly inhabited, nor did the People acknowledge the Emperor of China; but the succeeding Monarchs settling the Crown on their eldest Sons, gave those Countries to their other Children, who went and planted them.

Thus several petty Kingdoms came to be establish'd; and these new Inhabitants, being reduc'd insensibly to Obedience by sage and able Sovereigns, learned by Degrees the most useful Arts and apply'd themselves particularly to Agriculture; afterwards the Provinces, being united by the Policy or Force of the Emperors, form'd at length this vast Empire.

Hence we learn the Origin of those Principalities, or little Kingdoms, (so often mention'd in the Annals) whose Sovereigns were always either the Sons or the Nephews of the Emperors. It was customary for the eldest, who was invested with the supreme Authority, to give a Province or Country to his younger Brothers, with Liberty of raising Taxes, in order to support a Grandeur suitable to their Birth. In after-times certain Persons were rais'd to the same Dignity, either on account of their extraordinary Merit, or for having done important Services. This Partition of the sovereign Power, altho' dependant on that of the Emperor, has under weak Princes been the Source of infinite Divisions and civil Wars, that have rent the Empire in Pieces.

All the best Chinese Historians agree, that the Monarchy was founded by Fo-bi; so that whatever some Authors advance, who have endeavour'd to carry the Origin higher up, is manifestly groundless and fabulous. They agree also as to the Successors of Fo-bi down to the Emperor Yau, which are six in Number, viz, Shin-nong, Whang-ti, &c. but as to the Time of Fo-bi, and the Duration of the Reigns of those six Emperors, they confess it to be very uncertain

"uncertain, and their Chronology in that part defective. "Some also doubt whether the Emperors, plac'd between *Sbin-nong* and *Whang-ti*, succeeded one another; because they might possibly have been no more than tributary Princes, or great Officers, who were contemporary." (A)

However from the Reign of *Yau*, which began 2357 Years before *Christ*, their History is very exact; there we find the Names of the Emperors, with the Length of their Reigns, and an account of the Troubles, Revolutions, and Interregnums that have happen'd, all set down very particularly, and with great Fidelity.

"Indeed there are Criticks who dispute about the Duration of some of the Reigns and Dynasties, even since the Time of *Yau*. But I was not willing to enter into Discussions of this Nature, which would have been tedious, and only served to darken and confound the History; I have therefore, as to this Point, followed the Opinion of our ancient Missionaries (B), who were best versed in the *Chinese* Learning, and most of those who are still living; several of whom give Place to none, either for diligently studying, or well understanding the Books of that Nation. This in general may be said in Behalf of the *Chinese* Historians, that they appear to be sincere, and regard nothing but the Truth; that they do not seem to think the Glory of a Nation consists in its Antiquity; and that they have no Reasons, like other Nations, on account of Interest, or Jealousy of their Neighbours, to alter or falsify their History; which is no more than a simple Recital of the principal Events, proper for the Instruction and Imitation of Posterity. It will be said perhaps, that the *Shu-king*, which contains the History of those early Times, and the other Canonical Books were destroy'd in the Reign of *Sbi-uehang-ti*, who ordered them to be burnt, under pain of Death; and that consequently the Loss of those Monuments must render the History very uncertain. This would be a strong Objection, in case those Books, which are in the highest Esteem with the *Chinese*, had been all brought together, and burnt at one time; but they were dispersed thro' the Empire, and in the Hands of all the Learned. neither were all sorts of Books proscrib'd; among the rest those that treated of Physic were excepted, and in picking them out, means was found of preserving several Copies of the rest. The Zeal of the Learned saved a good Number of them; Caves, Tombs, and Walls became Places of Refuge against the Persecution. By degrees those precious Monuments of Antiquity were brought to light again; and at length restor'd without any Danger under the Emperor *Ven-ti*, that is, about 54 Years after."

Chinese History certain from the Time of Yau.

Sincerity of the *Chinese* Historians.

Objection to the Certainty of the *Chinese* History.

All the learned Historians of *China* are so unanimously agreed (as to the Authority and Exactness of their Chronology, since the Time of *Yau*) that he who should attempt to place the Origin of that Empire nearer our times, would be liable to be severely punish'd, as the Broacher of an erroneous Doctrine. And indeed the *Chinese* Chronology, as thus settled, deserves intire Credit for the following Reasons, viz.

Chinese Chronology vindicated.

I. It is very coherent and circumstantial.

II. It has not the Air of a Fiction, like that of the *Greeks* and *Romans* in the Beginning of their Histories.

III. It is supported by several Observations of Eclipses, which occur in the Course of the History, and have been found to agree with the Calculations of several learned Astronomers of these Times. Nor needs there any other Proof than the Verification of the famous Eclipse, which happen'd under the Emperor *Chong-kang*, who reign'd above two thousand Years before *Christ*.

IV. All the Parts of the ancient *Chinese* History have been written by Authors, who were contemporary with the Emperors, whose Lives they have given us.

V. *Confucius*, whose Authority ought to be of very great Weight on account of his Probity and extraordinary Merit, never calls this Chronology in Question; but on the contrary always supposes it to be true.

VI. *Mencius*, the most famous of the *Chinese* Philosophers after *Confucius*, and who liv'd about four hundred Years before the *Christian Era*, affirms; that from *Sbun*, whom *Yau* associated in the Empire, to the Emperor *Ven-vang*, there pass'd a thousand Years. This Authority of *Mencius* is unexceptionable among the *Chinese*. Now from *Ven-vang* to the time of *Christ*, there are eleven hundred and odd Years, as it appears by the History; the Certainty of which is confirm'd in proportion as it advances nearer the present Times.

VII. According to this Chronology, the Lives of the first Emperors of *China* correspond, in respect to Length, with those given by Scripture to Mankind in the same Ages.

It is true this Chronology appears too long to the Learned of *Europe*, who have an Interest in making it shorter; but how can they pretend to retrench the Times that incommode and weaken their System, without alledging plausible Reasons? And what Reasons can they produce, sufficient to persuade the *Chinese* to reject one part more than another of their History; which runs on in an uninterrupted Series, and is no way inconsistent with itself from Beginning to End?

Besides tho' it seems difficult to reconcile it with the *Vulgate*, it agrees very well with the *Septuagint* Version; which having been admitted in the Church for more than six Centuries, was approved of in the fifth [General] Council, in the same Manner as the *Vulgate* was approv'd in the Council of *Trent*. It is certain, that neither of these famous Assemblies have pretended

Its Agreement with that of the *Septuagint*.

VOL. I.

L 1

to

(A) This Passage, and all the other comma'd Parts of this Introduction (or Advertisement, as 'tis call'd in the *French*) are inserted from the Preface, according to what is mentioned

therein, P. 4. Note 1.

(B) P. P. Martini, Couplet, Noel, &c.

to establish either one or other Chronology; on the other hand some learned Authors of late have adhered to that of the *Septuagint*, and found a way of reconciling it with the *Vulgate*, in respect to the Years that passed between the Deluge and the time of *Christ*. Thus we see that the Points of Chronology, that are or ought to be most certain, are contested every Day by the ablest Men; and this Difference of Opinion, together with the Liberty that is allow'd of saying what one will within certain Bounds, has sometimes embarrassed the Missionaries in answering Questions put to them on this Subject. The late Emperor *Kang-hi*, perceiving this Diversity in reading the Religious Books, written by different Missionaries, some of whom followed the *Septuagint*, others the *Vulgate*; How comes it, said he, that your King are not clear? don't you affirm, that they contain nothing but what is sure and indubitable? They did not want solid Answers sufficient to satisfy an *European*; but what Effect could such have on a Prince, who was but little acquainted with our Religion, and could not conceive how its Doctrines could be true, and its Chronology (b) false?

It is easy to demonstrate, that the *Chinese* Chronology agrees exactly with that of the *Septuagint*: for according to the *Septuagint* there are 3258 Years from the Deluge to *Christ*, and the *Chinese* fix the Reign of *Yau* 2357 Years before *Christ*; whence it follows that from the Deluge to *Yau* there were above nine hundred Years. So that, supposing the Posterity of *Noah* did not arrive in *China* for two or even three hundred Years after the Flood, there will remain Time more than sufficient for the Reigns of *Fo-hi*, and the six Emperors who preceded *Yau*: for altho' the *Chinese* consider them as the Founders of their Empire, they acknowledge that they can fix neither the Times nor Duration of their Reigns; and that the Succession of their Emperors, with the Length of their Reigns, is to be prov'd unexceptionably only since the Time of *Yau*.

It was not without good Reason that I said it only seem'd difficult to reconcile the *Chinese* Chronology with the *Vulgate*, since a late Writer of Note (c) has found the Interval between the Deluge and *Christ* to contain 3234 Years. And in thus reconciling the *Vulgate* with the *Septuagint*, he has of Course also reconcil'd it with the *Chinese* Chronology; for when by adding an hundred Years to the Life of each of *Shem's* Descendants, he follows the *Samaritan* Text and *Septuagint* Version, he changes nothing in the *Hebrew*; since he only supplies what the sacred Penman seems to have omitted designedly. (d)

The Place in Question is the 11 Chap. of *Genesis*. *HEM*, says *MOSES*, v. 10. was an hundred Years old, and begot *ARPHAXAD*, two Years after the Flood; v. 11. and *HEM* lived after he begot *ARPHAXAD*, five hundred Years, and begot Sons and Daughters; v. 12. and *ARPHAXAD* lived thirty five Years and begot *SALAH*.

As a Hundred is a Capital Number, and not accompany'd with an inferior one, when *Moses* speaks of *Shem's* Age at the Time he begot *Arphaxad*, nothing more can possibly be understood; but it is not so in the twelfth and following Verses, where he speaks of the Age of *Arphaxad* and his Posterity, for there the inferior Numbers suppose the capital Numbers (which it was not necessary to repeat) to be understood; and this way of speaking is customary. Thus when a Man after talking of one Event, which happen'd for Instance in the Year 1710, passes to another, and says it fell out in seven hundred and twenty or seven hundred and twenty two; every Body knows the capital Number thousand is to be understood. In like manner, tho' according to the Strictness of the Letter, *Arphaxad* was but thirty five Years old, when he begot *Salah*, yet according to the Sense of the *Vulgate* (e) he became a Father at the Age of one hundred and thirty five.

We have no Reason to suppose the same Omission in the fifth Chapter of *Genesis*, because there the sacred Text is clear, (f) and will not admit the same Conjecture, which the eleventh Chapter offers us, and serves admirably well, to reconcile sacred with profane History, as well as the *Hebrew* Text with the two others: one of which is venerable in primitive Christianity, and the other cannot be suspected of being alter'd. (g)

(a) This is the true Sense of the Original, which literally render'd, is, And know not how to separate the Truth of its Doctrines from that of its Chronology.

(b) P. Tournemine.

(c) Doubtless the Years were either put originally as they are to denote the precise Years of the Patriarchs Ages, when they begot Children; or else were altered by the Jews, to serve some Turn; for what Design could the Penman have in omitting these Years, if they were necessary? Was it to confound and raise Scruples in his Readers? I don't wonder the *Chinese* Emperor should not be satisfy'd with such quibbling, stupid Answers, however sufficient they might be to satisfy the Majority of Europeans.

(d) This is not a parallel Case, nor indeed is it possible to find one that is. When we speak of Events in a Chronological Series, the two Capital Numbers, which stand for thousands and hundreds may be omitted; so we say the Year forty, sixty six, eighty eight; having first mention'd the Century, and so on till we begin a new Century. This is done commonly, even in Writing; nor is it liable to any Mistake, because those smaller Numbers of Years, or Divisions of the Century have a necessary Reference to the Capital Numbers. But it is very

different in speaking of Actions refer'd to the Ages of Men, which are independent one of another, and unconnected with the Course of Time. Besides, in speaking of the Years of the Century, it is allow'd, that the Century itself must be previously mention'd; but here is no previous mention of the Age of *Arphaxad*, only that he was begotten by *Shem*, when he was a hundred Years old. Which hundred Years of *Shem* have no Relation to the Years of *Salah's* Age; and therefore can in no wise stand as part of them, or as a Number connectible with them.

(e) How is the sacred Text more clear in one Place than the other? And why will not the fifth Chapter admit of the same way of Reasoning? For may it not as well be inferr'd, that *Enos* begot *Cainan*, not at ninety Years of Age, as is in the Text, but at one hundred and ninety; because *Seth* being one Hundred and five, when he begot *Enos*, the Capital Number, Hundred, has Reference to the Ages of all his Descendants, which are designated by inferior Numbers.

(f) There being an Opposition between the two, if the one cannot be suspected of being alter'd, the other must be a Corruption (supposing the *Hebrew* to be genuine) however venerable it was in Primitive Times.

If we stick to the Letter, we shall run into almost inextricable Difficulties; for the Ages at which the Patriarchs had Children, were proportionable to the Length of their Lives. Is it credible that the first seven Patriarchs, next after the Deluge, who liv'd three or four hundred Years each, had Children at thirty Years of Age; and yet that the succeeding Patriarchs, who did not live half so long, had not theirs till they were sixty or thereabout, *Terah* at 70, *Abraham* at 87, *Isaac* at 60, *Jacob* at 84, &c. Did *Noah* live to see nine Generations succeeding one another after the Flood? (F)

Besides, if this Omission be not allow'd in the *Vulgar*, there will be no more than 200 Years between the Deluge and the Building of *Babel*; whence it will follow that *Noah*, who according to the sacred Text lived three hundred and fifty Years after the Flood, must have been Witness of so rash an Attempt. Now is it likely that *Noah* and *Shem*, those holy Patriarchs, for whom their Descendants had so great Veneration, would have suffer'd such a presumptuous and impious Enterprize? (G) Would not so exact a Writer as *Moses* have told us what was become of *Noah*, and mention'd the Land where he lived at the time of the Dispersion of Mankind?

When therefore we read in the twelfth and following Verses that *Arphaxad* was thirty five Years old at the Birth of *Salab*, that *Salab* was thirty at the Birth of *Heber*, &c. it is reasonable to believe the Sense must be, that *Arphaxad* lived before the Birth of *Salab* thirty five Years more than *Shem* lived before the Birth of *Arphaxad*, which make one hundred and thirty five Years; and that the like must be understood with respect to the Ages of the succeeding Patriarchs, at the Birth of their first Child. (H)

The Author of this System supports his Dissertation (I), (which has been approv'd of by Men of Learning in *France* (*), *Italy* (†), and *England* (‡),) by Authority and solid Reasons, which it is not my Business to repeat here; it being sufficient for my Purpose to shew, that in the Judgment of the learned *Moderns*, the *Chinese* Chronology, and the Monuments produced in Confirmation of it, ought not to be rejected, as they have been by some, a little too rashly. (K)

"I am sensible that a few Years ago a Chronological Table was publish'd (L), which began no higher than the Reign of *Lye Vang*, that is, four hundred and twenty four Years before *Christ*. It was compos'd by a *Chinese* Lord who is still living, and was Vice-Roy of *Kan-ton* (M), when the Missionaries were banish'd thither; but that Lord, to my certain Knowledge, never had or assum'd the Character of an Historian, nor had he a Thought of entering into the Question about the *Chinese* Antiquity, much less of fixing the Epoch of it at the Period where his Table commences. So far from that, he would be highly offended, to be suspected of having retrenched the Reigns preceding that of *Lye Vang*, or even intending any such thing; neither durst any *Chinese* publish an Opinion so contrary to that receiv'd from Reign to Reign throughout *China*. That Chronological Table, publish'd by him, was copy'd from a Book intitled *KANG-MU*; and he had no farther Hand in it, than to adapt the Sexagenary Cycle, which he has done in a neat and commodious Manner.

"The Author of the *Kang-mu* is *Chu-bi*, who in the Chronology follows *Se-ma-wen-kong*: but neither of these eminent Writers had the least Thought of re-trenching the three first Families, or even of insinuating, that the Emperors, whose Names are inserted in the *Shu-king* are only fictitious and imaginary Persons. Should any one in *China* offer to impute such an Opinion to them, he would be look'd on as a Visionary, and might pay dear for his Temerity. Both of them begin their Histories with *Fo-bi*; and we have the Commentaries of *Chu-bi* upon the *Shu-king* (N) and *Shi-king*, where he always speaks as one who takes the Reigns and Princes therein mention'd to be real.

"*Confucius*, well known as to the Age he lived in, speaks in express Terms of the three first Dynasties, named *Hya*, *Shang*, and *Chew*; and affirms that he practiced the Rites prescribed by the last. This single Testimony would suffice in *China*, to cause any Person to lose his Head, who dared to say that those three Imperial Families ought to be struck

out

(F) Some will perhaps object here, that it would be of dangerous Consequence to deny what is positively affirm'd by the Scripture, without some *Criteria*, by which (if it seem to contradict) it may be reconcil'd to Reason.

(G) See this Argument confuted, *Univ. Hist.* Vol. 1. p. 143.

(H) This way of Reasoning we have already shewn to be unnatural and absurd; we shall only observe farther, with regard to the inconsistent and partial Conduct of a certain Set of Men; that let the Literal Sense of any Text be ever so absurd in itself, or injurious to the very Attributes of God, yet if it favours their own Schemes, how hotly will they stickle for the Letter against common Sense and Reason, nay and call the Opposers of it *Infidels* and *Atheists*? On the contrary, if the Literal Sense does not serve their Turn, how ready are they to oppose it themselves, and endeavour, like our Author, to demonstrate, that it is absurd and incredible?

(I) *P. Tournefort* Dissert. in Tab. Chronol. ad fin. Bibl. Sac. edit. cum Notis J. B. du Hamel, & in add. ad *Menebium*, p. 427.

(*) *Méthode pour étudier l'Histoire*; or, A Method of studying History, in 4 Vol. by the Abbé *Langelet du Fresnoy*.

(†) *Système Chronologique sur les trois Textes de la Bible*.
(‡) *Trattamento istorico e cronologico*, or, An Historical and Chronological Dissertation, by Signor *Francisco Maria Bionca*.

(L) The Universal History, from the earliest account of Time

to the present, by a Society of learned Men in *England*.

(K) Upon the whole, notwithstanding all *P. de Haldé's* Pains to establish the Veracity of the *Chinese* History as well as Chronology, at least from the time of *Yau*; it may yet be question'd from several Circumstances, which we shall take Notice of in our Notes as we go along. We shall only observe here, that Consistency, Connexion, and Simplicity are not infallible Tokens of a genuine History. In a Word, many of the first Reigns seem to be fictitious, and to be written by the early *Chinese* Historians; partly to give their Nation the Reputation above all others, for Antiquity, Wisdom, Politeness, wholesome Laws, and other Advantages; and partly to form Models and Characters for the Imitation of Princes. It seems very strange, that not only all their Sciences, but all their Arts and Utensils, even to those of the Plough and the Kitchen, should be invented by their first Emperors; as if there were no Men else of Genius or Capacity among them in those early Times.

(L) The Table here meant, is that, publish'd at *Rome*, in 1729, in three large Sheets, by *P. Faouet* Bishop of *Elushe-ropolis*, formerly a *Jesuit* and Missionary, intitled, *Tabula Chronologica Historiae Sinicae, connexa cum Cyclo qui vulgo Kia-fo dicitur*.

(M) *Faouet* gives it as the Work of a young Tartar Lord, named *Nyen*, very well versed in the *Chinese* History, who was living in 1720, when he left *China*.

(N) In the Original *Chu-bi*.

The Chronological Table lately publish'd consider'd.

"out of the *Chinese History* (R). I do not even believe that any one durst advance such a
 "Doctrine in *Europe*; for either he must deny that *Confucius* himself ever existed, or said the
 "Things ascribed to him; or else must acknowledge that we have in him an undeniable
 "Testimony (s) of the reality of the three first *Dynasties*, which compose the *Schu-king*. For
 "this Reason we ought not to believe that *Se-ma-wen-kong*, and after him *Chu-bi* reduce the
 "Epoch of the *Chinese History*, to the Reign of *Lye-Vang*, or exclude the preceding Reigns;
 "they have indeed in the History taken Notice, that the Chronology before *Lye-Vang* ap-
 "pear'd to them not sufficiently certain (T); at least so far as concerns the Beginning and
 "End of Reigns, and the Succession of Years compared with the *Kya-tse*, or *Chinese Cycles*.
 "And this their pointing out what is uncertain in their Antiquities, is a Proof of their great
 "Exactness and Fidelity.

"Other Critics, less scrupulous, affirm that the Beginning of the Years of each Reign may be
 "mark'd distinctly from the twelfth Emperor of the *Dynasty* of the *Chew*. Now from that Pe-
 "riod to the Emperor *Lye-Van*, where the Chronological Table in Question, commences, they
 "reckon seventeen Emperors.

"Whatever these different Opinions of the Critics may be, the Chronology of the *Chinese*
 "History may be deduced with Certainty from the time of *Yau*, to the present; so far as
 "relates to the Succession of the Emperors, and most remarkable Events during their Reigns.
 "This will appear more evidently still, from the Discourses of the Emperors themselves, and
 "the most illustrious *Chinese* of those Times, inserted in this Work."

Why no E-
 clipse men-
 tioned before
 Chong-kang.

As the Eclipse, which happen'd in the Reign of *Chong-kang*, and has been verifi'd by our
 Astronomers, is one of the most remarkable Proofs of the Extent of the *Chinese* Chronology,
 it may be asked, how comes it that the History mentions no Eclipse earlier than the Reign
 of that Prince?

The Answer made by the learned *Chinese*, who were consulted on this Occasion, was, that
 it was the Custom in those early times to insert the Eclipses; and that the only End of their
 History then was to instruct Posterity, by recording the most essential Matters relating to the Go-
 vernment: such as the Laws; the Progress of Arts and Sciences; the frequent Revolutions and In-
 trigues by which they were carry'd on; the great Instances of Virtue; the Advice given to
 the Emperors; the good or bad Actions of those Princes, that their Descendants might learn,
 by their Examples, what they ought to practise or avoid.

It is also very likely, that if *Hi* and *Ho* had done their Duty, by informing the Emperor
 when that Eclipse was to happen, the History had spoken of it no more than former Eclipses.
 As the Silence of those two famous Astronomers was not owing so much to Ignorance as Malice,
 and the Design they had of favouring the Treason of a Minister, who forc'd the Emperor to
 retreat

(s) This sort of Argument, which he makes use of so often,
 is very frivolous, and only proves how zealous the *Chinese* are for
 their Antiquities, not how genuine those Antiquities are.

(t) *Confucius's* mentioning those *Dynasties*, is far from being
 an undeniable Testimony of their Existence; it only proves at
 most, that the History of them was extant in his Time, and
 that it was commonly believed they had existed.

(r) Most of the Missionaries are of the same Sentiments;
 which are probably grounded on the Authority of these Au-
 thors, who are the Founders of the *Kang-no* or great *Chinese*
Annals, and most esteem'd of all their Historiographers. P. Fou-
 quet, Bishop of *Euboeopolis* before mention'd, accounts it one of
 the prime Uses of the Table he publish'd, That it fixes the
Era of the *Chinese History*, so far as is genuine, about four hun-
 dred Years before Christ; and says, there are some who think, not
 without strong Reasons, that it might be brought lower still. He al-
 lows the *Chinese* Nation to be almost as old as the Deluge, but
 denies their History deserves much Credit, if you ascend more
 than four hundred Years before Christ; and this, says Mr. Four-
 mont, is an Opinion at present pretty common among the Jesuit
 Missionaries. [Fourm. *Refl. Critiq. sur Hist. Anc. Peupl. Tom.*
2. p. 402.]

Mr. Maugret, Bishop of *Kams*, does not believe the *Chinese*
 Cycle very ancient; he says it is without Grounds ascribed to
Whang-ti; and that the Author of the *Annals* above mention'd
 first apply'd it to Years and Ages, it having been used before
 only to number the Days. He allows indeed of the Existence of
 the three first Races, and even of *Schu*, *Yau*, *Fe-hi*, and *Schu-
 wang*: But denies the Chronology of ancient times to be certain,
 and supposes the Annalist has adjust'd both the Years and Eclip-
 ses according to his Fancy. *Ibid.*

P. Premare, in his Letter against the Abbé Renaudet (in the
Lettres Edifiantes, Tom. 19. p. 457) distinguishes the Chronology
 of China into *fabulous*, *uncertain*, and *sure*. This Remark, he
 says, he takes from the most celebrated *Chinese* Historians, who
 are Enemies to Partiality, and reckon the Times betwixt *Fe-hi*
 and *Ghey-ye wang*, uncertain, (that is, not to be ranged accord-
 ing to an exact Chronological Series) and that all preceding
Fe-hi is fabulous; yet he allows that China was peopled above
 2155 Years before Christ; whereof he reckons the Eclipse of
 the Sun, which happen'd that Year [and is inserted in the *Chi-
 nese History*] as a Demonstration. [*Ibid.* p. 403.]

As these Missionaries only give their Opinion on the *Chinese*
 Chronology, without producing their particular Reasons and
 Proofs, they only serve to create Doubts in their Readers, with-

out affording them any Satisfaction. They are accused indeed with
 raising these Objections on a religious account; imagining if the
Chinese Chronology be admitted, it will overthrow the Verity
 of the Scripture Chronology, as being much more extended
 than the *Hebrew*. And this is very likely to be a Cause of their
 objecting to it, but it is a very bad one; especially as they have
 their Choice of the *Septuagint* or *Samaritan*, the last of which is
 as least as authentic if not more so than the *Hebrew*.

This is the Opinion of most of the Learned of late, and a-
 mong the rest M. Fourmont; who vindicates the Certainty of the
Chinese Chronology as well as History against the Objections of
 the *Jesuits*. He argues (1) that *Confucius* living in the time of
Ling wang one hundred and forty one Years before *Ghey-ye wang*,
 and writing himself the *Chun tseu*, containing the Annals of two
 hundred Years; the Chronology is fix'd for eight hundred eighty
 five Years before Christ, that is, to the time of *Li-wang*, or
 higher. [*Ibid.* p. 404.] (2) That the *Chinese* having fix'd E-
 pochas and Observations of Eclipses, the Historians could not
 mistake in ranging the Times; which would be a good Argu-
 ment were those Observations frequent enough in early times,
 as they are not, (3) He asks, why the Times before *Ghey-ye wang*
 should not be more certain and exact than the Chronology of the
Greek, *Latin*, and even *French Annals*? But the Chronology of
 these Nations goes but a small Way back in comparison of the
Chinese; and yet in that small Space of Time is confess'd to be
 very uncertain towards the earliest Periods of it. [*Ibid.* p. 405.]

Mr. Fourmont makes use of other Arguments, by way of In-
 ference, in behalf of the *Chinese* Chronology; but he judiciously
 observes, that without a diligent Examination of that Variety
 of Books which he mentions relating to the *Chinese History*, a
 Critic will never be able to judge absolutely of the Truth,
 either of any Event, or its Date. [*Ibid.* p. 411.]

With regard to the Commencement of the Cycle, Mr. Four-
 mont takes Notice, that there is some Difference among the
Chinese Authors; since Messrs. *des Missions Etrangères* begin the
 first Cycle at the eighth Year of *Whang-ti*, and P. Couplet at his
 first Year, agreeable to a *Chinese* Work composed on the Cycle;
 [*Ibid.* p. 424] which he believes to be the Result of the first
 Attempt of the *Chinese* to calculate the Motions of the Heavens.
 [*Ibid.* p. 405.] He also affirms, that nothing is to be found in
 profane History, so consistent and probable, as what occurs in the
Chinese Annals after *Whang-ti*: between whom and *Fe-hi* things
 appear somewhat uncertain, and before *Fe-hi*, all is confessedly
 fabulous. [*Ibid.* p. 405, 406.]

retreat for Safety Southwards, they were justly punish'd with Death; and as their Treachery was discover'd by means of the Eclipse, that gave Occasion to its being mention'd in the History.

To prevent the Reader's falling into any Error by augmenting or diminishing the Years of each Reign, it is necessary to inform him, that the Year wherein any Emperor dies, is reckon'd among those of his Reign; and let his Death happen in what Month it will, tho' his Successor be already proclaim'd, yet the deceased Prince has the Honour of having all Affairs dispatch'd in his Name. The new Emperor scarce ever does any thing in his own, till the Year following, unless when the Crown passes into a new Family; for then the Year of his Reign begins the same Day that he ascends the Throne.

The Uncertainty, with regard to the Length of the first seven Reigns, has induced me not to commence the Sexagenary Cycles before the Reign of *Yau*; altho' the Invention of those Cycles, which is a Period of sixty Years, (as our Century is a Revolution of an hundred) is commonly ascribed to *Whang-ti* (v). Nevertheless, I ought not to omit what the Chinese Authors report either of *Fo-bi*, whom they consider as the Founder of their Monarchy; or of the six Emperors, who succeeded him, and govern'd the Empire till the time of the great *Yau*. (x)

(v) We must observe here that *P. du Halde*, by commencing the Cycles in the Reign of *Yau*, seems to have made a considerable Alteration in the Chinese Chronology; first we are told the Chinese begin their Cycles from the first Year of *Whang-ti*, on account of his being the Inventor, or rather Perfectioner of them; [vid. *P. Mart. Sinic. Hist.* p. 25, 26. & *P. Couplet ad Sinic. Chronol. Praef.* p. 12] and *P. Gaubil* expressly tells us that the Year 1723 wherein he wrote, is the fortieth of the seventy fourth Chinese Cycle: [*P. Gaubil de Cycle Sinic. ap. P. Soucier. Obs. Math.* p. 28, 29] whence it follows that the first Year of the Cycle will fall in the Year 2697 before Christ, coincident with the first Year of the same Emperor, according to the Chinese Historians. In Beginning therefore the Chinese Cycles at the Reign of *Yau*, *P. du Halde* has retrenched six Cycles from the Chinese Account of Time; and so falls into the same Fault of curtailing the Chinese Chronology, which he has condemn'd so much in others.

Thus the Year 1723 does not fall according to him in the seventy fourth Cycle, as it ought to do, but in the sixty eighth, which begins with him in the Year 1684. It is true *P. Couplet* tells us, that most of the Chinese Historiographers do not use the Computation of Cycles before the Reign of *Yau*; And Mr. Fourmont particularly observes, that in the *Tsu chi tung kya*, or *Kang-mo*, that is, the Great Annals of *Su ma quang* (the same doubtless with *P. du Halde's* *Se ma wen kong*) tho' much is spoken of the Cycle in the Reign of *Whang-ti*, and afterwards, yet that it does not begin to be apply'd regularly to the Reign of each Prince before *Yau*. [Vide *Fourmont. Regl. Critiq. sur Hist. Anc. Peupl. Tom. 2. p. 424.*] But neither of them says that the Cycle which is first to apply'd by the Chinese Historians, is the first Cycle; or that they begin to reckon their Cycles from that wherein the Reign of *Yau* falls. Instead of that, the Words of the latter seem to imply the contrary; and it has been prov'd from the Passage of *P. Gaubil* before-mention'd, that the *Era of Whang-ti* is that, which is in common use with the Chinese; nor is it likely they have two sorts of Eras. It is probable therefore, that those Historians who do not compute by Cycles before *Yau*, connect his Reign with the 6th or 7th Cycle, and not with the first; and this ought to be the Case, the rather, if all or some of the Actions of the Emperors preceding *Yau*, are in the ancient Books con-

nected with the Years of the Cycle commencing with *Whang-ti*. But indeed the Authors above mention'd are silent in this, and other Particulars, relating to the Cycle; which yet it is necessary to know before we can judge of the Accuracy of the Chinese Chronology, and how high their Account of Time may be traced with any Certainty.

It is true the Reason *P. du Halde* assigns for this Alteration (for he produces no Chinese Author to give him a Sanction) is the Uncertainty with regard to the length of the Reigns of the first six Emperors. But on the other hand *P. Couplet* assures us that the Chinese Historians agree almost unanimously therein, notwithstanding their varying in applying the Cycles. [*P. Couplet ubi Supr.*] and was it true that they did not, the Reason *P. du Halde* alledges is insufficient; since the Cycles have no Dependence on the Reigns, as the Reigns have on them, and the first of them is fix'd by the Chinese to the Reign of *Whang-ti*.

In Effect, this Innovation seems to have been made for no other End than to make the Chinese Chronology more consistent with that of the Bible; which is the thing *P. du Halde* has been labouring at so much, thro' his Preface; but who would not strain a Point, even farther than this, to serve so good a Turn?

However it is easy to reduce *P. du Halde's* Chronology to the current Account of Time in China, or to the Era of *Whang-ti*, by adding six Cycles to that used by our Author.

P. du Halde seems to have committed still a greater Innovation; and to begin the Cycles with the first Year of *Yau's* Reign; but on Examination that proves to be an Error, which affects only his first Cycle, as we shall observe when we come to the Reign of that Emperor.

(x) As *P. du Halde* does not inform us whence he had his History, we cannot say precisely whether it is a Translation of, or an Extract from, a Chinese Author. It contains several things, omitted by *PP. Martini* and *Couplet*; tho' for the most part it is the same in Substance, with what those Authors have already publish'd on the same Subject. But it is neither so copious as the *Sinica Historia* of the former, nor so strictly Fasti or Annals as the *Monarchie Sinica Chronologica Tabula* of the latter; the Cycle not being so commodiously apply'd, nor the Facts so regularly dated, and ranged in Chronological Order.





A N N A L S

OF THE

CHINESE MONARCHS.

The Names of the first Emperors of
China.

FO - HI.
SHIN - NONG.
WHANG - TI.
SHAU - HAU.
CHWEN - HYO.
TI - KO.
CHI.

The Length of the Reigns of these Founders
of the Empire are unknown.

The Time of the Reigns of the following
Emperors are fix'd,

YAU reigned 72 Years alone, and 28 in
Conjunction with

SHUN, who reign'd alone 50 Years.

The Order of the twenty two *Dynasties* (c), or
Imperial Families, that have possess'd the
Throne successively.

| According to P. de Halde. | | | According to Mr. Fourmont. (v) | |
|--------------------------------|----------------|----------------|--------------------------------|----------------|
| <i>Dynasties.</i> | Empe- rors. | Dura- tion. | Beginning. | Dura- tion. |
| I. <i>Hya</i> | 17 | 458 | Year 2207 | 441 |
| II. <i>Shang</i> or <i>Ing</i> | 28 | 644 | before 1766 | 664 |
| III. <i>Chew</i> | 35 | 873 | 1122 | 874 |
| IV. <i>Tsin</i> | 4 | 43 | 248 | 42 |
| V. <i>Han</i> | 25 | 426 | 206 | 425 |
| VI. <i>Hew Han</i> | 2 | 44 | Year of 220 | 45 |
| VII. <i>Tsin</i> | 15 | 155 | Christ. 265 | 155 |
| VIII. <i>Song</i> | 8 | 59 | 420 | 59 |
| IX. <i>Tsi</i> | 5 | 23 | 479 | 23 |
| X. <i>Lyang</i> | 4 | 55 | 502 | 55 |
| XI. <i>Chin</i> | 5 | 33 | 557 | |
| XII. <i>Sui</i> | 3 | 29 | | 37 |
| XIII. <i>Tang</i> | 20 | 289 | 618 | 289 |
| XIV. <i>Hew Lyang</i> | 2 | [1] 16 | 907 | 16 |
| XV. <i>Hew Tang</i> | 4 | 13 | 923 | 13 |
| XVI. <i>Hew Tsin</i> | 2 | 11 | 936 (F) | 11 |
| XVII. <i>Hew Han</i> | 2 | 4 | 947 | 4 |
| XVIII. <i>Hew Chew</i> | 3 | 9 | 951 | 9 |
| XIX. <i>Song</i> | 18 | 319 | 960 | 320 |
| XX. <i>Ywen</i> | 9 | 89 | 1280 | 88 |
| XXI. <i>Ming</i> | 16(E) | 276 | 1268 | 277 |
| XXII. <i>Tjing</i> | 3 | [92 | 1645 | |

FO - HI, the First Emperor.

Fo-hi, first
Emperor.



E was born in the Province of *Sben-fi* (G), and chosen on account of his Superior Merit to govern his Countrymen, who call'd him *Tyen-tse*, that is, the *Son of Heaven*; thereby to denote that he was more favour'd by Heaven than the rest of Mankind, since it was from thence that he received those exalted, and extraordinary Qualities, which rais'd him to the Throne.

In these early times, says a certain Author, Men differ'd little from Beasts; they knew their Mothers, but not their Fathers; they were unciviliz'd and rude; they never eat but when press'd

(c) The Word in the *Chingfi* is *Chau*, which signifies neither *Dynasty*, Race, Family nor Succession, but a certain Number of Years; the whole Time which any Race possess'd the Dominion, being call'd the *Chau* of such a Race. For Instance, the *Hya Chau*, that is, the *Chau* of the *Hya*, or the Space of Time, during which the *Hya* reign'd; so they say the *Shang-Chau*, or the *Chau* of the *Shang*, &c. [*Voy. Fourm. Refl. Critiq. sur Hist. Anc. Peupl. Tom. 2. p. 377.*]

(v) *Voy. Fourmont Refl. Crit. sur Hist. Anc. Peupl. Vol. 2. p. 441* & seq. from whom I have added this.

(z) In the Original by Mistake 236.

(r) In the Original this Number and the following are transposed by some Mistake.

(o) He removed his Seat from *Sben-fi* to *Chin-chew*, a City of *Honan*. [*P. Couplet Pref. ad Sinic. Chronol. p. 20.*]

press'd by Hunger, and when that was satisfy'd they threw away what was left; they swallow'd the Hair, drank their Blood, and clothed themselves with the Skins of Animals.

Fo-bi taught them how to make Fishing-Nets, and Snares for Birds; also to rear Domestic Animals, as well for Food as for Sacrifices (H), whereby he provided for the Subsistence of his People. This Prince perceiving afterwards that the knotted Cords, which serv'd instead of Characters, and to instruct their Children, were unfit for publishing his Laws, and transmitting his Documents to Posterity; he invented the eight *Qua*, consisting of three Lines each, which, differently combin'd, make sixty four, to serve as Symbols for expressing whatever he had a mind.

These eight *Qua* or Symbols, whose Lines are either whole or broken, signify certain general Things, on which depend the Corruption and Generation of particular Things; one represents Heaven, another the Earth, the third Thunder and Lightning, the fourth Mountains, the fifth Fire, the sixth the Clouds, the seventh Water, and the eighth the Wind. He taught them how to make use of these famous Symbols; and to give the greater Credit to his new Laws, pretended that he had seen them inscrib'd on the Back of a Dragon-Horse, which rose from the Bottom of a Lake; he call'd it a Dragon-Horse, because it was shap'd like a Horse, with the Scales and Wings of a Dragon.

He took Occasion, from this Prodigy having gain'd him Reputation among the People, to create Officers, or *Mandarins*, under the Name of the Dragon. He call'd one the *flying Dragon*, and his Employment was to compose Books; he call'd another the *Dragon that hides himself*, whose Business it was to make the Kalender; a third was nam'd the *Dragon who inhabits*, and he had the Inspection of the Buildings; a fourth, call'd the *Dragon Protector*, had the Charge of relieving the People, and preventing their Miseries; a fifth, under the Name of the *Terrestrial Dragon*, had the Care of the Lands; a sixth was call'd the *Dragon of the Waters*, whose Office it was to procure the Growth of Trees and Plants, as also a Communication between Springs.

He establish'd a Prime Minister, and divided the Government of his Realm among four *Mandarins*; one of whom he sent to the North, another to the South, the third to the East, and the fourth to the West; in this Manner he gave Strength to his Laws. The two Sexes were not then distinguish'd by different Habits, but mix'd together, lived without Shame, and in perfect Ignorance of the connubial Laws. *Fo-bi*, to reform this Abuse, ordained that Women should go clothed in a different Manner from Men; and made Laws for conjugal Society, by one of which no Man could marry a Woman of the same Name, whether related or not, which Custom continues to this Day; for Instance, those of the Name of *Yong, Li, &c.* can not marry Wives of the same Name, altho' remov'd twenty Generations, or of different Families.

To mitigate the natural Fierceness of his new Subjects, and calm wild and turbulent Spirits, he invented Music, with the Instrument *Kin* (1); the upper part of which was convex, to represent the Heavens, and the under part flat, to represent the Earth. If the Harmony invented by *Fo-bi* was no better than what the *Chinese* make at present, we cannot conceive how it could have any Effect on the Mind; for this they apologize by saying, That the Music of *Fo-bi* was all divine, but that it is a Treasure they have irrecoverably lost.

Fo-bi dying (K), was buried in a Place called *Chin*, and was succeeded by *Shin-nong*. A certain *Chinese* Historian places fifteen Princes before *Shin-nong*, but others following the common Opinion affirm, that these fifteen Princes were no more than Lords of tributary Provinces, much like the *Chu* *hou* in after times.

SHIN-NONG, the second Emperor.

THE People being exceedingly multiply'd, the Plants and Animals were not sufficient to prevent Famine. *Shin-nong*, touch'd with the Misery of his Subjects, study'd to render the Earth fruitful, and inventing the Implements proper for Tillage, taught the People to sow five sorts of Grain. Hence he got the Name of *Shin-nong*, or *Celestial Husbandman*; he taught them also how to make Salt of Sea-Water.

The People becoming subject to many Diseases, for which they knew not the proper Remedies, *Shin-nong* made Trial on himself of the Virtues of Simples, and discover'd their good and bad Qualities; he consider'd, says the *Chinese* Historian, their Nature whether hot, cold or temperate, and made use of them accordingly, as a good King does of his Subjects. In one Day he discover'd seventy (L) poisonous Herbs, and had the Art of making them useful, that is, he found out the Counterpoison: After which he compos'd Books of Medicine, and taught the way to restore sick Folks to their Health; whence he is look'd on as the Author and Prince of Physic.

The Simplicity of Manners kept out the Spirit of Contention. Every one had enough to live on; the Laws were few, and there was no Occasion to multiply them, but the Government was majestic and severe. *Shin-nong* introduc'd Commerce, and appointed publick Markets, where the People resorted about Noon, and having furnish'd themselves with what they wanted, return'd quietly home.

(H) Which he offer'd to the Spirit of Heaven and Earth. [P. Compleat Pref. ad Sinic. Chronol. p. 20.]

(I) He invented two Instruments, one of twenty seven, and the other of thirty eight Strings. *Ibid.*

(K) He is reported to have begun his Reign 2952 Years be-

fore the *Christian Era*, and to have sat one hundred and fifteen Years on the Throne. [*Ibid.* & P. Martini Sinic. Hist. L. 1. p. 21. Art. *Fo-him*.]

(L) Martini agrees with our Author in this Point; but *Compleat* says only twelve Poisonous Herbs.

While this Emperor was wholly employ'd about the Good of his Subjects, a tributary Prince, named *So-sha*, revolted, and refused to obey his Orders. But his Disobedience was punish'd by his own Subjects, who put him to Death; after which every one return'd to his Duty. Nor was there one throughout the Empire, who did not willingly submit to the mild and just Government of *Shin-nong*.

His Death.

He dy'd at *Cba-byang*, a Place depending on *Cbang-cha*. A certain Chinese Author says, that *Cba-byang* is the City call'd at present *Cba-lin-chew*; which is under the Jurisdiction of *Cbang-cha-fu*, the Capital of the Southern part of the Province of *Hu-quang*. (M)

Successors uncertain.

Some Historians place seven Emperors between *Shin-nong* and *Wbang-ti*, viz. *Lin-que*, *Cbeng*, *Ming*, *I*, *Lay*, *Li*, and *Yu-wang*; this last was deposed, and perhaps the rest were no more than tributary Princes. However, it is certain that the Chinese Historians place only *Fo-bi*, *Shin-nong*, and *Wbang-ti* among the first Emperors to whom Arts and Sciences owe their Rise and Progress.

W H A N G - T I ^(N), the Third Emperor.

Wbang-ti, 3d. Emp.

THE History relates that *Yu-wang* was a Prince of a passionate and violent Temper; that the People groan'd under the Oppression of his Government; that the tributary Princes revolting, one of them, nam'd *Cbi-yew*, first appear'd in Arms against him; that the Emperor was deposed, and *Wbang-ti*, who was but twelve Years of Age, placed by the Princes on the Throne; that the Mother of *Shin-nong* had a younger Brother, who was hereditary Sovereign of the Principality of *Shau-tyen*; and that the Wife of the Regulo thereof, in the Reign of *Yu-wang*, was nam'd *Fu-pau*, who being much frighten'd with a Noise of Thunder, brought forth *Wbang-ti*, on a Mountain call'd *Swen ywen*. He was according to the History a wonderful Child; he spoke almost as soon as he was wean'd from the Breast. In his Infancy he discover'd a great deal of Wit and Address; in his Youth an exceeding good Nature and Sweetness of Temper; and in his Manhood an extraordinary Depth of Judgment and Sagacity.

Invents the Compass.

Cbi-yew, above-mention'd, was a Prince whose restless Temper and unbounded Ambition occasion'd great Disturbances. *Wbang-ti* attack'd and fought three Battles with him; when perceiving that the thickness of the Fogs hinder'd him from pursuing his Enemy, and that the Soldiers stray'd from following the right Course; he contriv'd a Card, which shew'd them the South and the other three Cardinal Points; by which means, at length, overtaking *Cbi-yew*, he seiz'd and put him to Death. Some say that on the Card were engraven the Characters of the Rat and the Horse, and Underneath a Needle to point out the four Quarters of the World. We see here the use of the Compass, or something like it, of great Antiquity, and expressly recorded; it is pity they have not explain'd the Method of it, but the Expositors knowing only the bare Fact, durst not venture on any Conjectures of their own. (O)

Makes Roads thro' his Dominions.

Creates 6 *Ko-lau*.Invents the *Kya-tse* or Cycle of 60 Years.

A Sphere and the Kalendar.

Having regulated the most important Affairs of the Empire, *Wbang-ti* employ'd his whole Care to make his People happy, by procuring them all sorts of Conveniences: he cut thro' and levell'd Mountains, made great Roads to facilitate Commerce, and enlarg'd the Bounds of his Empire; extending it Eastward as far as the Ocean, Northward to ancient *Tartary*, and Southward to the River *Kyang*, which serv'd as a Barrier to his Dominions. He created six *Ko-lau*, or Prime Ministers, to assist him in governing the Empire, and made *Tsang-kyay*, the Mandarin for composing the History. *Ta-nau* had the Charge of making the *Kya-tse*, or Cycle of sixty Years (P). This Cycle is compos'd on one side of ten Characters, nam'd *Tyen-kan*, and on the other of twelve, call'd *Ti-chi*. These Characters signify nothing (Q), but serve instead of Numbers and Signs; the first ten are call'd the ten Roots, and the others the twelve Branches. Every Year is mark'd by two of them, that is one of each sort, which are so combin'd, that the same two Signs never come together till the Cycle is out. (R)

Yong-cheng was order'd to make a Sphere and Kalendar; he discover'd the Pole-Star and the others that are about it. But what Figure the Sphere was of which he invented, representing the celestial Orbs, is not known. In short, by means of several Experiments he could foretell the Changes of the Weather and Air.

Li-chew's Office was to regulate Numbers and Measures. The Method he invented to cast up any Sum, and which is still in use, consists of a little Box, divided in two Parts, cross'd with several Iron Wires, thro' which pass little Balls. On every Wire in the upper Division there

(M) He translated the Imperial Seat from *Ho-nan* to *Yu-chew* in *Shan-ting*. He is said to have dy'd in his Progress thro' *Hu-quang*, after he had reign'd one hundred and forty Years, and to have been interr'd in the City *Tsing*. [Couplet, *ibid.*]

(N) *Wbang-ti* signifies the Yellow Emperor.

(O) As P. de Halde does not produce his Authors, to warrant the Antiquity of this Fact, it may have been inserted into their History of late Ages, to do Honour to the Founders of their Monarchy. Indeed as the thing is related it has the Air of a Fiction; nothing can be more absurd than to suppose a Compass invented to direct an Army in pursuit of a vanquish'd Enemy; if they were in View, as it should seem they were, being just defeated, the Victors had no Occasion for a Compass to direct them; if they were not in View, of what use was a Compass to find them out? Could they divine on what

Point of the Card the Enemy was fled, and yet not know how to find that Point out? In short, was not *Wbang-ti* himself sufficient to shew them the Way? However that be, it is not likely, if so useful a Secret had once been discover'd, that it ever would have been lost.

(P) These Chinese call this Cycle *Lo-shi-ueh-lyu*, that is, the Construction of sixty Conversions. [Couplet *Præf. ib.* p. 14.]

(Q) These Characters are the Names of Animals.

(R) P. Noel has given a Scheme of this Cycle, [Noel *Obs. Math. & Phys.* p. 39.] Ought bright treats of it at large, [*de Epichis Celestibus*, Cap. 6. p. 42.] but his Translator *Grauert* has committed many Mistakes in writing the Names of the Characters, as Dr. Hyde has justly remark'd. [Hyde *de Mens. & Pand. Sinic.* p. 30.]

there are only two Balls, each standing for five; but every Wire of the lower Division, which is much larger, has five Balls, each of which stands for one. When they reckon from right to left, the Numbers multiply the same as in Cyphering with us; which Method of casting Accounts is more ready and sure than ours with the Pen.

With regard to Measures, he took a Grain of Millet to determine the Dimension of a Line, reckoning ten Lines to an Inch, ten Inches to a Foot, &c. The various ways of ranging these Grains, which are of an Oval Figure, have occasion'd a Diversity in the Measures under different Dynasties.

Under the present Dynasty there are three sorts of Measures, 1. the Foot of the Palace, which is to the Paris Foot as ninety seven and an half to a hundred. 2. The Foot of the Tribunal of Publick Works, call'd *Kong-pu*, used by Workmen, is shorter by one Line than the Paris Foot. 3. The Taylors Foot, made use of also by the Mercers, is seven Lines larger than the *Kong-pu*.

To *Ling-lun* was given the Care of improving Music, and to explain the Order and Arrangement of the different Tones. Lastly *Yong-yuen* had Orders to make twelve Copper Bells, which represented the twelve Months of the Year.

W'hang-ti afterwards invented the Bonnet or Cap, call'd *Myen*, to serve him for a Diadem. This Bonnet dip'd a little before and rose behind, it was seven Inches broad and one Foot two Inches high. He also made Habits and Ornaments, proper for his Dignity; his Robe was blew and yellow, to imitate the Colours of the Sky and Earth. After having maturely consider'd the Feathers of the Pheasant, and various Colours of Birds and Flowers, he found out the Art of Dying, and order'd that the Stuffs, wherewith the Rich and Poor were clothed, should be of different Colours. He caus'd several useful Instruments to be made, as Machines to pound Rice, Kitchen-Stoves, Cauldrons, &c. and the People began to eat their Rice dress'd after different Manners, sometimes thicker, sometimes thinner. He caus'd Bridges to be built over Rivers, and Coffins to be made for the Dead. He taught the way of making Bows and Arrows; also Wind Instruments, as Flutes, Fifes, and Organs; Trumpets that imitated the Voice of the Dragon, and Drums that made the Noise of Thunder. Observing hollow Trees to swim, he caus'd Barks to be made, to which he added Oars. He likewise invented Waggon, and order'd Oxen and Horses to be train'd to draw them. His Subjects dwelling at that time in miserable Hutts, he drew Models for Building, and caus'd a Palace to be erected, nam'd *Ho-kong*, where he sacrific'd to the sovereign Lord of Heaven. To facilitate Trade, he coin'd Money, which he call'd *Kin-tau*, because it had the Figure of a Knife-Blade; and regulated the Expences of the Empire so well, that its Riches grew immense.

Mankind being tormented, from without by the Rigour of the Seasons, and within by their Passions, dy'd before their Time; therefore *W'hang-ti* having attentively consider'd the five Elements, the Seasons of the Year, and the Nature of Man, order'd three Doctors, nam'd *Ki-pe*, *Yu-fu*, and *Ley-keng*, to examine the Blood-Vessels, after which he appointed the Remedies proper for every Disease, so that Men lived as long as they ought to do, according to the Course of Nature. He order'd the Empress to teach the People the Manner of rearing Silk-Worms, to spin their Webs, and make Cloaths thereof (A). This Prince enjoy'd not a Moments Repose, and tho' he had taught his Subjects to build Houses, and had a Palace built for himself, yet he had no fix'd Abode, but encamp'd with his Soldiers in the Field.

He caus'd the Country to be measur'd, and divided it into *Cheu*; he establish'd several Principalities, consisting of a hundred *Li* each, wherein he built Cities. According to his Appointment, two hundred and forty Paces in length, and one in breadth, made a *Mu*, and a hundred *Mu* one *King*; so that the Pace consisting of five Feet, every *Mu* of Land contain'd six thousand square Feet, and the *King* six hundred thousand. He appointed also, that nine *King* should be call'd *Tsing*, and that a *Tsing* should be allotted to eight Families, each to have one *King* or a hundred *Mu*; the *King* which remain'd in the Middle to belong to the Emperor, and to be cultivated in common by the eight Families. He caus'd four Roads to be made to every *Tsing*, and farther ordain'd that three *Tsing* should be call'd *Ho-ki*; three *Ho-ki* one Street; five Streets a Town; ten Towns a *Tu*; ten *Tu* a *She*; and ten *She* a *Cheu*.

W'hang-ti dy'd on the Mountain *King-shan*, and was interr'd in the Province of *Shan-tong*. The Chinese Historians bestow on him the highest Praises: *The Virtue and Endowments of this Prince*, say they, *equal Heaven and Earth*; his Government was admirable, his Laws firm, and his Conduct unchangeable; he scatter'd his Benefits all over the Earth, and we still feel the Effects of his Liberality, insomuch that tho' he be dead, he may be said to be yet living. He had twenty five Children, whereof *Shau-kau* succeeded him in the Empire. (B)

(A) She also taught them the Art of Dying. [Couplet.]

(B) His Seat was at *Che-chow*, in the Province of *Pe-cheli*. He appropriated the yellow Colour to the Emperors, as their Livery, forbidding others to wear it. He invented Astronomy, Music, and Musical Instruments; also Arms, the Bow, Nets, Chariots, Barks, the Art of Building, making Earthen-Ware, Measures, and Weights; wrote several Books on the Method

of discovering Diseases by the Pulse. Eighty-five Emperors of three Imperial Families, which continu'd 2457 Years, derive their Pedigree from *W'hang-ti*. He dy'd in the fortieth Year of the second Cycle, aged one hundred and eleven Years, whereof he reign'd a hundred. [Vid. Couplet Tab. Chron. Musar. Sinic. p. 1, 2.]

SHAU-HAU, the Fourth Emperor.

Shau-hau, 4th
Emperor.

THIS Prince gain'd the Esteem and Love of his People by the Mildness and Goodness of his Disposition. It is reported that the *Feng-wbang* (c) appear'd at his coming to the Crown, which was look'd on as a happy Omen; because the *Chinese* say this Bird never appears but when good Kings are upon the Throne.

The *Feng-wbang*, or
Phoenix.

This *Feng-wbang* is a very extraordinary, or rather fabulous Bird, much like our Phoenix; according to the *Chinese* way of painting it, it resembles an Eagle, but differs a great deal from it, in the wonderful Variety of its Colours.

The Orders
of Mandarins
distinguish'd
by Birds.

From the pretended Appearance of this Bird, the Emperor took the Hint to distinguish his Officers by the Figure of divers Birds, which they wore on their Cloaths; a Custom that is still observ'd. Those of the *Literary Mandarins* are embroider'd with Birds in Gold, as a Mark of their Dignity; those of the *Mandarins of War* are adorn'd with Animals, such as the Dragon, Lyon, Tiger, &c. by which Marks the People know the Rank which the several Officers bear in the nine prime Orders of the State.

Kyew, or
preaching
Mandarins.

Among the *Mandarins* of the new Creation, some of them, call'd *Kyew*, were oblig'd to assemble the People; it was the Business of others to govern the five sorts of Artificers, while others had an Eye to the Tillage, and the Manners of the People.

This Prince govern'd his Dominions with much Equity. The *Chinese* Authors say, he was an exact Imitator of *Fo-li*; he reform'd the Measures for Grain, and had a Drum made to beat the Watches; he clear'd the Channels of Rivers, and smoothed the Roads over the Mountains; in short he invented a new sort of Music, that united Spirits with Mortals, and reconcil'd the high with the low; whence he is call'd *Ta-ywen*.

This Emperor dy'd very old, and left five Sons, whereof four were Men of Merit; but perceiving greater Talents in his Nephew *Chwen-tyo*, who was *Wbang-ti*'s Grandson, he prefer'd him before his own Children to be his Successor in the Empire. (D)

CHWEN-HYO, the Fifth Emperor,

Chwen-tyo,
5th Emp.

WAS so far from distrusting those whose Station he fill'd, that as soon as he was on the Throne, he conferr'd considerable Employments on them, suitable to their respective Capacities. As these Princes had a perfect Knowledge of the Nature of Metals, Waters, Trees, &c. he made one Governor of the Mines, another Master of the Waters, Forests, &c. and being assur'd of their Fidelity, rais'd them afterwards to the most honourable and important Posts.

Unites the
Priesthood
with the Im-
perial Digi-
nity.

Towards the End of the Reign of *Shau-hau* the People began to intrude into the sacred Ministry, each Family affecting to have Sacrificers among them; which Abuse *Chwen-tyo* reform'd, by uniting the Priesthood to the Crown, and ordaining that none but the Emperor should offer solemn Sacrifices to the Lord of Heaven. This Law has always been and still is observ'd; for the Emperor alone is the Pontif, and has a right to offer Sacrifices in the Temple of Heaven, from which if he be hinder'd by Age or Sickness, he deposes a Prince or some Great Man to perform that Duty in his stead.

Improves
Astronomy.

As this Emperor was an able Astronomer, he chang'd the Method of calculating and observing the Celestial Motions; which being to be view'd only at a Distance, he invented an Instrument to give a clearer Notion of them, and shew the Equations, Ascensions, &c.

Regulates
the Kalendar

The Interpreters say nothing about the Construction and Figure of this Instrument, which it is probable they were ignorant of. They speak only of the Conjunction of the five Planets in the Constellation *Sbe*, that happen'd in this Emperor's Reign; but as an able *Chinese* Astronomer remarks, it is an hypothetical Conjunction, not a real one. (*)

Chwen-tyo regulated the Kalendar also, ordering that the Year should begin the first Day of the Month, wherein the Conjunction of the Sun and Moon should fall nearest the fifteenth Degree

(c) It appear'd before in the time of *Wbang-ti*. (1)

(D) He built Cities for Men to dwell in; caus'd Chariots to be drawn by Oxen. *Kyew li*, or the 9 Regulo's, disturb the Order of Sacrifices, terrifying the People with Spectres and Goblins, which gave Rise to Superstitions, that brought the Empire in Danger. *Shau-hau* was born, reign'd, and bury'd in *Kyew-fu* in the Province of *Sban-tung*. (2) Martini makes *Kyew-li* a single Impostor. (3)

(*) As the Conjunctions of the Planets have always been look'd on as good Omens; these false Conjunctions often occur in the History, especially at the Change of Dynasties. To find one, we need go no farther back than the second Year of the present Emperor, when the Conjunction of 4 Planets was thought sufficient Reason for making 5 of them, in Favour of the new Monarch. The Emperor seem'd rejoic'd at it, and receiv'd the Compliments of the whole Court on that Occasion; every one found his account in it, especially the Tribunal of the Mathematics, which did not err thro' Ignorance. A certain Situation

(1) *Vid. Coupl. p. 1.*

(2) *Id. p. 2.*

(3) *Martini ubi sup. p. 32.*

of other Planets in respect of those in Conjunction, was sufficient Ground with them to form an Aspect, which flatter'd the Emperor, and was of Benefit to themselves. This false Conjunction, which is set down in the Registers, may possibly cause Disputes and Objections hereafter. What if 2 or 3,000 Years hence, on calculating this Conjunction of Planets in *Europe*, they should not find *Saturn* among them; would that be a sufficient Reason to doubt of the other Facts recorded in the Reign of *Yang-ching*? It would certainly be none to the *Chinese*, who being accusom'd to these Flatteries to their Emperors, know how to make Allowance for them.

[This Apology, which in the Original is inserted in the Text, does not free the *Chinese* History, as it is design'd to do, from a Suspicion of being corrupted in other Respects; on the contrary it shews it is liable to be corrupted, and if in Matters which flatter the Emperors, why not in those which flatter the Antiquity, &c. of the Empire and Nation?]

gree of Aquarius; whence he is call'd the Author and Father of the Ephemerides. He pitch'd on the Time when the Sun was in the middle of the Sign; because then the Earth is adorn'd with Flowers and Plants, the Trees resume their Verdure, and every thing in Nature revives and seems to be produc'd anew.

This Prince, who dy'd very aged, was interr'd at *Pu-yang*, and succeeded by *Ti-ko*, or *Kau-sin*, the Emperor *Shau-bau's* Grandson. To the Descendants of *Chwen-hyo*, who were very numerous, were afterwards given (E) several little Dominions, whereof they were Kings or tributary Princes. (F)

TI-KO, or KAU-SIN, the Sixth Emperor.

THIS King is greatly extoll'd by the *Chinese* Writers; they say he had a penetrating Judgment, and saw into every thing; that he examin'd all things himself, and entered into the minutest Particulars. He was popular without losing his Majesty, lov'd his Subjects, distributed his Bounty every where, reform'd himself, and was a religious Worshipper of the sovereign Lord of Heaven, whom he serv'd respectfully. His grand and august Air drew Veneration; his Virtue was eminent; he did nothing amiss, and kept a just Medium in all things. In short there was no Nation, enlighten'd by the Sun, and water'd by Rain, but what took Pleasure to obey his Orders. He establish'd Masters to teach the People Virtue, and invented Vocal Music; *Hyen-bo* was the first, who made Songs by his Order. He appointed others to make different sorts of Instruments, as Flutes, both direct and transverse, a Drum, a Bell, a King, (which is a thin flat Plate, beaten with a Wooden Mallet). He caus'd that Music to be play'd, which he nam'd *Lü-ing*, that is, *the Beauty of Heaven, Earth, and the four Seasons*.

Ti-ko, 6th Emperor.

Invents Vocal Music.

He set the first Example of Polygamy, by marrying four Wives. He had by the first a Son, nam'd *Ki*, whose Descendants founded the *Dynasty of Chew*; by the second, *Sze*, whose Posterity founded that of *Shang*; by the third he had *Yau*; and the fourth brought him *Cbi*, which last was so hopeful a Prince, that the Emperor chose him his Successor before the rest. (G)

Introduces Polygamy.

CHI, the Seventh Emperor.

THIS Prince did not answer the Opinion at first conceiv'd of his Merit, making use of his Authority only to serve his brutal Pleasures. The tributary Princes, who were accustomed to obey wise Emperors, unable to bear his excessive Riots, made him several Remonstrances on his Conduct; which having no Effect, they dethron'd and banish'd him, setting his Brother *Yau* on his Throne. (H)

Cbi, 7th Emperor.

There is no applying the Sexagenary Cycle before the Reign of *Yau*, for tho' invented by *Wbang-ti*, the Duration of these first Reigns is very uncertain. On the contrary, from *Yau* to *Christ* the Chronology is perfectly well deduc'd; the *Chinese* Authors having set down the particular Transactions of every Year, even to the Divisions that have disturb'd the Empire, and the Interregnums, with the Time of their Continuance; which Reasons have led me to begin the Cycle with that Emperor. (I)

YAU, the Eighth Emperor, reign'd alone seventy two Years, and twenty eight with SHUN, whom he associated in the Empire.

THIS Prince ascended the Throne in the forty first Year of the preceding Cycle (K). He is consider'd as the first Legislator of the Nation, and the Model of the Sovereigns. All the Emperors who were jealous of their Reputation, endeavour'd to imitate him and his Successor; and it is at present the greatest Praise that can be given to a *Chinese* Monarch, to say that he is like *Yau*, *Shun*, &c.

Yau, 8th Emperor.

Cycle I. Years before Christ 2337.

(E) It is the Emperor always who grants these Estates to the Princes, either as being his Relations, or on account of their Merit. They hold of the Empire much like the Dukes and Counts of Europe; and if the Emperor is engag'd in War, they are oblig'd to attend him with a certain Number of Troops.

(F) His Seat was at the Town of *Wu*, in the Province of *Shan-tsi*.

(G) His Seat was at *Yen-fu*, a City of *Ho-nan*. Peace all his Reign. He created his Brothers and their Sons Regulo's in the Province of *Se-chuen*. He dy'd in the thirty second Year of the sixth Cycle, ag'd 105. (2)

(H) He reign'd eight Years, being deposed the fortieth Year of the sixth Cycle; and is not reckon'd among the Emperors. (3)

(I) We have already shewn, p. 135. that this seems to be an Innovation in the *Chinese* Chronology.

(K) There are two or three considerable Mistakes in the Original in this Place; for *P. du Halde* by connecting as he does the first Year of the Cycle with the Year 2357 before Christ, which coincides with the first Year of *Yau's* Reign, not only

contradicts himself, and commits a great Anachronism (in telling us at the same time that *Yau* began his Reign the forty first Year of the former Cycle,) but makes the Cycle commence twenty Years earlier than the *Chinese* Historians. When I first met with this Passage, I concluded *P. du Halde* had determin'd to overturn the whole *Chinese* Chronology, by altering the Beginnings of the Cycles (and consequently misplacing the Dates of all Events) as well as retrenching their Number; but on Examination I found the Error went no farther, for his second Cycle (and generally all the rest of the Cycles) is collated with the right Year before Christ. However by referring the Beginning of *Yau's* Reign to a Cycle preceding the first Cycle, he seems not only to commit a Solecism, no less absurd than to refer to an Olympiad before the first Olympiad; but tacitly confesses, that he hath retrench'd Cycles from the *Chinese* Era. To have express'd himself therefore consistently with his new Chronology, he should have said *Yau* began his Reign twenty Years before the first Cycle.

(1) *P. Couplet ubi sup. p. 2.*

(2) *Ibid.*

(3) *Ibid. t. 3.*

CYCLE I.
Years before
Christ 2337.
Great Character.

The Historians tell us, that Virtue was natural to him; he was active, laborious, vigilant, and of such Penetration and Understanding that he foresaw every thing. His Moderation and Equity kept the Laws in Force, and at the same time made them esteem'd. He never employ'd his Authority, but for the Good of his Subjects. His Modesty was equal to his Dignity, and was remarkable even when he receiv'd Homages. His Frugality in his Diet was such, that he contented himself with the coarsest Meats; he used no magnificent Furniture; his Palace was without any Ornaments, and his Cloaths were of Woolen Stuffs during Summer, and of Deer-Skins in Winter. If any publick Calamity happen'd, or one of his Subjects committed a Crime, he imputed the Misfortune to his own Want of Virtue, or as a Punishment of Heaven, for his neglecting to instruct them. He never visited his Dominions, without having first offer'd Sacrifices to the sovereign Master of Heaven, and his Subjects long'd with as much Impatience for the Happiness of seeing him, as the parch'd Fields thirst for Rain. In short his Reign was so mild and amiable, that his Subjects scarce perceiv'd they had a Master. The Chinese Philosophers are wont to enforce their Maxims of Morality from their Uniformity with the Conduct and Actions of this Emperor and his two Successors; which Conformity, once prov'd, give them an undisputable Authority.

Astronomy cultivated.

Yau, who delighted mightily in observing the Heavens, order'd two able Mathematicians, call'd *Hi* and *Ho*, carefully to examine the Motions of the Moon and Stars, and make proper Instruments for observing them; by their Assistance he regulated the twelve Lunar Months, and re-establish'd the intercalated ones, which return'd seven times in nineteen Years.

The Empress had the Care of breeding Silk-Worms, and teaching Women how to make better Silk Manufactures than had been made before; for the first Essays were very coarse, as is always the Case, especially in Arts which require much Time and Experience to bring them to Perfection.

The six supreme Tribunals established.

Chinese Inundation.

This Prince introduc'd a new Regulation in the Administration of Affairs, by establishing six Supreme Tribunals, which still subsist. His Reputation for Virtue and wise Government drew several neighbouring Nations into his Dominions; but his Subjects had increas'd to such a Degree that there was not Room for so many Strangers as came to settle in the Provinces; chiefly because the Low Lands were overflow'd; which Inundation was either the Remains of the Universal Deluge, as many believe, or occasion'd by the Rivers meeting with some Obstruction in their Course. To recover these drown'd Lands, and render them of use, he order'd an Officer, nam'd *Yuen*, to drain the Plains by opening a Passage for the Waters to the Sea. This Officer, either thro' Negligence or Ignorance, spent nine Years to no Purpose about this Work, for which he was put to Death. His Son *Yu*, repairing his Father's Fault, after thirteen Years indefatigable Labour, levell'd Mountains, turn'd the great Rivers into their natural Channels, drain'd the Lakes and Marshes, confin'd several rapid Torrents between Banks, and divided the lesser Rivers into different Canals, which ended in the Sea; by this means he enlarg'd the Provinces, and render'd them more fertile; nor was so important a Piece of Service unrequited, as we shall see hereafter.

Care in choosing a Successor.

In the mean time *Yau* thought of choosing a Successor; wherein he was govern'd, not by the Dictates of Paternal Affection, but the Welfare of his People. Discovering his Design one Day to the Lords of his Court, one of them said, His eldest Son was as worthy of the Throne as of being his Son; and that the People would be sure to find hereditary Virtue in his Race, to which *Yau* reply'd: *I detest those who love the Wicked as much as those who blame the Good. I know what my Son is; under the specious Appearance of Virtue, he conceals real Vices.* Which Answer stop'd the Mouths of all the Courtiers.

Great Self-denial in a Minister of State.

Some time after *Yau* sent for one of his Ministers, whom he most confided in for his Prudence and Integrity, in order to resign the Crown to him. But that wise Minister refus'd the Honour, alledging that the Burden was too heavy for his Shoulders; and at the same time propos'd a Husbandman, nam'd *Sbun*, whose Virtue, Probity, and Patience under the severest Trials, join'd to the Confidence which all good Men had in him, and an infinite Number of other excellent Qualities, rendred him worthy of the Throne.

Yau hereon sent for *Sbun*, and to make Trial of his Abilities, rais'd him to be Governor of a Province; where he got so great Reputation for Wisdom, Prudence, Moderation and Equity, that at the End of three Years, *Yau* made him his Associate in the Empire, and gave him both his Daughters in Marriage.

CYCLE II.
Years before
Christ 2277.

The Emperor liv'd twenty eight Years in great Harmony with his new Colleague; and at length perceiving himself near his End, he exhorted *Sbun* to govern his Subjects like a true Father, and remember that he was made more for the People, than the People for him; and that an Emperor is exalted above the rest of Mankind, to no other End but to procure their Advantage, and prevent their Necessities. Having spoken these Words, he departed in the hundred and eighteenth Year of his Age, leaving nine Children behind him; the People, who found in this Prince the Love and Tendernefs of a Father and Mother, mourn'd for him the Space of three Years.

SHUN,

SHUN, the Ninth Emperor, reign'd alone Fifty Years.

Cycle II.
Year before
Christ 2277.
Shun, ninth
Emperor.
Custom of
mourning
three Years
for a Parent.

YAU dying in the twentieth Year of this Cycle, Shun began the Year following to reign alone, and is reckon'd one of the Chinese Lawgivers, as well as his Predecessor. Soon after Shun trusted the Government to his Ministers, and shut himself up for three Years in Yau's Tomb, the more freely to vent his Grief for the loss of a Prince, whom he consider'd as his Father; whence the Custom arose of mourning three Years for one's Parents.

The Chinese Historians attribute the Advancement of Shun to the Submission and Obedience he always shew'd to his Parents. Tho' he receiv'd nothing but bad Usage from them, and his Life was often in Danger, he mildly bore all their ill Treatment, so that by degrees his Respect and Patience wrought a Change in their Hearts, and made them virtuous. From hence the Chinese Philosophers deduce two great Principles of Morality; first, *That however wicked Fathers and Mothers may be, the Children are not the less bound to pay them Respect and Obedience.* Secondly, *That there is no Man so bad, but may be reclaim'd at last by good Offices.*

Shun having discharged his Duty of Piety and Gratitude towards Yau, took Possession of the Imperial Palace, and receiv'd the Homage of all the Tributary Princes. Finding abundance of Gold and Jewels in the Palace, he caus'd a Sphere to be made, exhibiting the Seven Planets; each of which was represented by the Precious Stone most suitable to it. He made new Laws for governing the Realm, and appointed inferior Officers to assist in the six Tribunals establish'd by his Predecessor. He always honour'd Philosophers and Men of Learning with his Favour and Protection. He visit'd the Provinces every Year; and in his Progress rewarded or punish'd the Tributary Princes with so much Justice, that he gain'd the Esteem and Admiration of the People.

A Sphere of
Jewels.

One of his principal Cares was to procure Plenty and to make Agriculture flourish; for which end he forbade the Governors, under severe Penalties, to exact Days-work from the Husbandman, as a thing that was a Hardship, and tended to flaken their Ardor for tilling the Lands.

He was equally careful, not to trust Governments to any but Persons of Merit and Capacity. In a word, he made several other Ordinances, the Wisdom and Justice of which have in all times caus'd him to be look'd on, as one of the greatest Heroes China ever produc'd. One of these Ordinances may appear somewhat extraordinary, as it permits any of his Subjects to set forth on a Table, expos'd to publick View, whatever he found blameable in his Conduct. He admitted twelve Lords into his Council, six whereof were descended from Chwen-bo, and six from Ti-ko. The Shu-king contains Discourses made by some of these Lords to the Emperor, concerning the Maxims of a wise Government.

Remarkable
Ordinance,
and

The fifty fourth Year of this Cycle he chose a Successor; in which Choice he wholly consult'd the Good of his People, preferring Yu to his own Children, on account of his Capacity and Merit, as well as in some measure to reward the Service he had done the Empire, by draining the Lands that were overflow'd. He lived seventeen Years after he had rais'd Yu to the Throne, and the Union was so great between these two Princes, that the Authority never seem'd to be divided.

Love for his
Subjects.

The Emperor Shun died the tenth Year of this Cycle, aged one hundred and ten Years, and was bury'd in the Province of Shen-si.

Cycle III.
Year before
Christ 2217.

The first DYNASTY (K) call'd HYA, consisting of Seventeen Emperors, in the Space of 458 Years.

YU, the first Emperor, reign'd alone Ten Years.

THE eleventh Year of the same Cycle, which answers to that of 2207 before Christ (M), Yu or Ta-yu, that is, Yu the Great, ruled alone, and kept his Court in the Province of Shen-si. One of the Sons of Shun, vex'd to see a Stranger on his Father's Throne, had a mind to revolt; but being abandon'd both by the Grandees and the common People, his Attempt only serv'd to fix the Crown more firmly on the Head of Yu, whose great Genius and Virtue had endear'd him exceedingly to the whole Nation.

H Y A.
DYNASTY
I.
Yu, first Em-
peror.

The Knowledge he had acquir'd of the Nature of Lands, by draining off the Waters, qualify'd him for composing an excellent Piece upon Agriculture; treating of the Method of Tilling and Sowing, and manuring Lands with the different kinds of Dung. Afterwards he caus'd the sloping and rising Grounds to be levell'd, that the Waters might run towards those Places which had most need of it.

He divid'd his whole Dominions into nine Provinces, and caus'd as many great Brazen Vessels to be made, with the Map of a Province engraven on each. In after-times these Vessels became very precious, inasmuch that it was believ'd the Security of the State depended

Division of
China into
nine Pro-
vinces.

VOL. I.

O o

on

(1) What is here render'd *Dynasty*, is in the Chinese term'd *Chou*, for an Explanation of which see p. 136, Note (c).

(M) P. de Halde makes it the Year 2217 before Christ, which coincides with the first Year of the Cycle.

HYA.
DYNASTY
I.
CYCLE III.
Year before
Christ 2217.

on their Preservation; and whoever could get Possession of them thought himself secure of the Crown. The Empire became hereditary under this Prince, as well as the Priesthood, which had been before united to the Crown, as it has continued inviolably ever since; it being Death by the Law for any Person but the Emperor to offer Sacrifice.

To give the Emperor *Tu* Advice as to his Conduct, was the way for a Man to gain his Favour; and he thought no Employment more worthy of a Sovereign, than that of rendering Justice to the People. For this End he was accessible at all times; and to make the Admittance more easy, he caus'd a Bell, a Drum, and three Tables, one of Iron, the second of Stone, and the third of Lead, to be fasten'd to the Gates of his Palace; on which was an Order fix'd, enjoining all those who wanted to speak to him, to strike on the Instruments or Tables, according to the Nature of their Business. The Ringing of the Bell distinguish'd Civil Affairs, the Drum was to be beaten for Business relating to the Laws and Religion; the Leaden Table for Matters concerning the Ministry and Government; the Stone Table to denote a Complaint against the Injustice of some Magistrate; and striking on the Table of Iron was to express very severe Treatment.

He always receiv'd graciously, and even with a sort of Acknowledgement, those who came either to give him Advice, or implore his Justice; it is reported, that one Day he rose from Table twice at the Sound of the Bell, and another Day left the Bath three times to hear the Complaints of People. We find in the *Shu-king* the Instructions he gave the Princes for governing their Dominions, and the Rules he prescribed with regard to bestowing Employments and raising Taxes.

His Sayings.

He us'd to say, that a Sovereign ought to be as cautious of his Conduct, as if he walk'd on Ice; that nothing is more difficult than to reign; that Dangers spring up under a Monarch's Feet; that he has every thing to fear, if he gives himself wholly up to Pleasures; that he ought to avoid Idleness, chuse good Ministers, and follow their Counsels; in short, that when he had once made a wise Resolution, he ought to execute it without the least Delay.

Wine prohibited, and the Inventor banished.

In this Reign *I-tse* invented the *Chinese* Wine, a Drink made of Rice; as soon as the Emperor tasted it, he shew'd his Displeasure at it, saying, *This Liquor will cause the greatest Troubles in the Empire.* He banish'd the Inventor, and forbid the making of it for the future under grievous Penalties. But the Art being preserv'd, the Law prov'd useless, and it is at present one of the greatest Delicacies at the Tables of the *Chinese*.

TI - KI, the Second Emperor, reign'd Nine Years.

Ti-Ki, second Emperor.

One of the tributary Princes rebels.

ALL the *Chinese* rejoic'd at so worthy a Successor, and finding in the Son the same Qualities which they admir'd in the Father, were more easily comforted for their Loss. The Beginning of his Reign was disturb'd by a War, declar'd against him by one of the Tributary Princes, who had treated his Subjects rigorously, and design'd to make himself independent; the Emperor therefore put himself at the Head of his Army, and with the Assistance of six other Tributary Princes so reduc'd the Rebel, that it was not in his Power to create new Troubles.

The People did not long enjoy the Happiness they began to taste under the Government of so wise a Prince, for he dy'd in the twenty ninth Year of the Cycle, and was succeeded by his Son *Tay-kang*.

TAY - KANG, the Third Emperor, reign'd Twenty nine Years.

Tay-kang, third Emperor erects several Principalities.

HE began his Reign by erecting several Territories into Principalities, which he divided among his five Brothers, in order to diminish the Jealousy they might entertain on seeing him prefer'd; but this was the only wise thing he did during his Reign.

Very different from his Predecessors, who were employ'd in governing the State, he abandon'd the Care of it, to give himself up to Wine and Women, with whom his Palace swarm'd. He spent intire Days in the Woods, hunting wild Beasts; his Horses and Dogs laid waste the Plains, and destroy'd the Harvests. The People in general complain'd heavily of this Tyranny; but Cries and Remonstrances proving ineffectual, they were at length driven to Despair, and revolted.

Is deposed by I.

One of his principal Officers, nam'd *I*, who was General, and had the entire Confidence of the Army, undertook to depose him; accordingly, in concert with the Grandees of the Empire, he seiz'd the Prince in the Woods, where he had been an Inhabitant for three Months, and sending him into Exile, set his youngest Brother nam'd *Chong-kang* on the Throne. This Revolution, which happen'd in the forty seventh Year of the Cycle, was brought about without the least Disturbance, not one appearing in behalf of the deposed Monarch.

CHONG-

CHONG-KANG, *the fourth Emperor, reign'd Thirteen Years.*H. Y. A.
DYNASTY

I.

CYCLE III.

Year before
Christ 2217.Chong-kang,
fourth Em-
peror.

THE Years that pass'd from the Deposition to the Death of *Tay-kang* are not reckon'd to the Reign of *Chong-kang*, because he constantly refus'd to take the Title of Emperor during his Brother's Life. This Conduct was no less prudent than modest; he was afraid that *I*, who had Power and Credit enough to dethrone his Brother, would one day serve him in the same Manner. Nevertheless, as he was beholden to him for the Crown, he found means of providing for his own Security, without being wanting in point of Gratitude. He declar'd that he could not be without the Counsel of so able a Minister as *I*, and desir'd to have him near his Person. *I* was caught in the Snare, not doubting but soon to get the Ascendant over the Prince, and govern the Empire in his Name. The Command of the Army being incompatible with this Employment, *Chong-kang* gave it to *Cheu*, an able Officer, of approv'd Fidelity.

I, soon perceiving that he had no Share either in the Emperor's Favour, or Confidence, vow'd in Revenge to destroy the Imperial Family; yet he conceal'd his Resentment: But finding he could not execute his Design while *Cheu* was at the Head of the Troops, and that he had no Hopes of corrupting so faithful a Subject, he attempted several times to make the Prince jealous of him, but in vain; nor did he succeed any better in his Contrivance to destroy him. His last Shift was to gain the Grandees by his Bounty; and he had the Address artfully to insinuate himself into the Confidence and Favour of the Prince who was to inherit the Crown, till he had an Opportunity of effecting his Plot without Hazard. In the mean time *Tay-kang* dy'd the fifty eighth Year of the Cycle, when *Chong-kang* assum'd the Title of Emperor.

I plots the
Destruction
of the Impe-
rial Family.

The second Year, or, according to others, the sixth of this Cycle, there happen'd a remarkable Eclipse of the Sun, at the Time of its Conjunction with the Constellation *Fang* (♋). Two Astronomers, nam'd *Hi* and *Ho* (†), who presided in the Tribunal of the Mathematics, were put to Death, because being overcome with Wine they had not foretold this Eclipse; and that by a like Neglect to calculate and observe the Motions of the Stars, they had disturb'd the Order of the Kalendar, entrusted by the Emperor to their Care, which is a capital Crime. It is the Opinion of some that these Mathematicians secretly favour'd the Treason of *I*, and suffer'd partly on that account.

CYCLE IV.
Year before
Christ 2157.

Chong-kang dy'd the thirteenth Year of the Cycle, and was succeeded by his Son *Ti-syang*, the Year following.

TI-SYANG, *the Fifth Emperor, reign'd Twenty seven Years.*

THE Imprudence of this Prince was the Cause of the Ruin of himself, and almost of his whole Family. Instead of following his Father's Example, by keeping *I* out of all considerable Employments, *Ti-syang* put his whole Confidence in him; nay, was so blind, as to deprive the faithful *Cheu* of his Command of the Army, and give it the Traitor, who by cringing and and flattering was become his Favourite.

Ti-syang, fifth
Emperor.

I, seeing himself restor'd to this important Post, which *Chong-kang* had depriv'd him of, began to think of executing his long-conceal'd Design. He first gain'd the Affections of the Soldiers; by degrees he accusom'd them to pay more Regard to his Orders than the Emperor's, and thus drew them over to his Interest. In short, he set on Foot so many Intrigues and Conspiracies, that the Emperor was forc'd to fly for Refuge to the Courts of two Tributary Princes his Relations.

I forces the
Emperor to
fly.

I, during the Time he was in Favour, made a World of Creatures, whom he rais'd to the chief Posts in the Empire; yet fearing lest the other tributary Princes should join the Emperor, he durst not so soon declare his Revolt: but having Recourse to his usual Stratagems and Artifices, he wrote the Emperor a very submissive Letter, full of Protestations of Fidelity, intreating him to return to his Palace, and assur'd him he would soon be convinc'd by Experience, that he had not a Subject more devoted than himself to his Interest and Service. He added that they were his Majesty's greatest Enemies who had given him such ill-grounded Suspicions; in effect, he accus'd them falsely of several Crimes, for which they were either banish'd or condemn'd to die, and their Places fill'd with Creatures of his own.

He thought that he was upon the Point of enjoying the Fruit of his detestable Crimes, when he perish'd himself by a like piece of Treachery. Among his Creatures there was one *Han-tso*, a dissembling, artful Man, whom he most confided in, and to whom he had given full Power over the Army. This ambitious Villain imagin'd he should mount the Throne himself, if he could destroy both his Benefactor, and his Sovereign, at the same time; and had laid his Plot in such a Manner, that he thought he could not fail of Success; for having order'd some Soldiers, who were intirely devoted to him, to assassinate *I*, as he was hunting,

Is himself
slain by
Han-tso.

(*) *Fang* is the second Star to the South of the *Lucid Star* in the Forehead of *Scorpio*.

(†) These seem to be Names of Employments rather than of Families. [for they cannot be the *Hi* and *Ho* mentioned in the Reign of *Tao*, p. 142.]

H Y A.
DYNASTY
I.

~~~~~  
CYCLE IV.  
Year before  
Christ 3157.

~~~~~  
The Empe-
ror and his
Family de-
stroy'd.

hunting, he gave out that it was done by the Emperor's Orders; and the Death of *I* was look'd on as a just Punishment due to a rebellious Subject.

To dispatch the Emperor, he made use of the following Contrivance: He sent for *Kyau*, the eldest Son of *I*, who was an active, violent young Man; and exciting him to revenge his Father's Death, furnish'd him secretly with a Body of his Troops for that Purpose. *Kyau*, marching towards the Emperor, who had not time to gather many Forces, defeated his Army entirely, kill'd him with his own Hand, and afterwards extirpated his whole Family.

The Empress alone escap'd his Fury, who being pregnant, with much Difficulty got to the Mountains. *Han-tso* immediately seiz'd the Crown, and to reward him who had so well serv'd his ambitious Views, erected certain Lands into a Principality, which he conferr'd on him.

HAN-TSO, an Usurper, reign'd Forty Years.

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*Han-tso*, an  
Usurper.

THE Empress, who took refuge among the Shepherds in the Mountains, was there deliver'd of a Son, whom she nam'd *Sbau-kang*, and brought up unknown to any body; so that the Birth of this Prince was a Secret for several Years, and he arriv'd to an Age of Maturity before the Usurper heard of it, who immediately caus'd a strict Search to be made for him; but the Prince being inform'd of it, retir'd, and became a Domestic at the Court of one of the Tributary Princes, where he pass'd for a Shepherd's Son. But his Master perceiving something grand and noble in his Air and Behaviour, beyond what could be expected from a low Birth and Country Education, he sent for him one Day; and in private ask'd him several Questions, concerning his Family, in so very kind a Manner, that *Sbau-kang*, judging he ought not to dissemble the Matter, told him ingenuously all the Misfortunes of his House, as he had heard them related by his Mother. The Prince, who was acquainted with them himself, embrac'd him tenderly, and gave him his Daughter in Marriage, with part of his Principality for a Portion. *Sbau-kang* having now a better Opportunity of shewing his excellent Qualities, made it appear, that he was worthy of the Throne.

His Father in Law without Delay wrote to all the Ministers and Nobles, who were in the Interest of the late Emperor; and being sure of having the People on his Side, who abhor'd the Tyrant, and wish'd for their lawful Sovereign, he rais'd an Army, and the eighteenth Year of the Cycle attack'd *Han-tso*, who making no great Resistance, was defeated, taken Prisoner, and put to an infamous Death. At the same Time *Sbau-kang* ascended the Throne of his Ancestors with general Acclamations.

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CYCLE V.
Year before
Christ 2097.

SHAU-KANG, Sixth Emperor, reign'd Twenty two Years.

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*Sbau-kang*,  
sixth Empe-  
ror.

AS soon as *Sbau-kang* was inaugurated, he order'd the General of his Forces to pursue the Accomplices of the Usurper and Murderer of his Father. *Kyau* stood on his Defence, but his little Army being cut to pieces he was taken Prisoner, and beheaded. By the Death of these Rebels, Tranquillity was establish'd in the Empire, the Laws re-assum'd their former Vigour, and the Emperor frequently assembled the Tributary Princes to reform the Abuses that had crept into the several parts of the Government. His Orders were exactly obey'd, and the People liv'd with Satisfaction under so wise an Administration. His Reputation drew Embassies from foreign Princes, and his Reign was as glorious as peaceable. He dy'd in the fortieth Year of the Cycle, and the next Year his Son *Ti-shu* succeeded him.

### TI-SHU, Seventh Emperor, reign'd Seventeen Years.

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Ti-shu, seventh
Emperor.

THIS Reign offers nothing remarkable; the sovereign Authority, which was so firmly establish'd by the late Emperor, and the Reputation that he on the Throne had acquir'd for Arms, kept the Princes, the Great Men, and the common People in perfect Obedience. The Empire enjoy'd a profound Peace, nor durst any body disturb it; there were indeed some Commotions towards the Sea-Coast, but they were quell'd as soon as they arose. This Prince dy'd the fifty seventh Year of the Cycle, and the Year following his Son *Ti-whay* ascended the Throne.

TI-WHAY, Eight Emperor, reign'd Twenty six Years.

~~~~~  
*Ti-whay*,  
eighth Em-  
peror.  
Art of Navi-  
gation  
known early.

PEACE and good Order had put the Empire in so flourishing a Condition, that the neighbouring Nations sent Ambassadors in the sixtieth Year of the Cycle, to the new Emperor, offering to put themselves under his Protection, and pay an annual Tribute. It appears by the History, that the Ambassadors came by Sea, and consequently that the Art of Navigation was then known.

This Prince growing effeminate, during a long Peace, became a Slave to his Pleasures; he spent the rest of his Life shut up in his Palace, among his Women and Eunuchs, without ever shewing

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CYCLE VI.
Year before
Christ 2037.

shewing himself to the People, and left the Care of the Government intirely to his Ministers. He dy'd the twenty third Year of the Cycle, and the twenty fourth was succeeded by his Son *Ti-mang*.

DYN. I.
H. Y. A.

Cycle VI.
Year before
Christ 2037.

TI-MANG, Ninth Emperor, reign'd Eighteen Years.

THIS Reign was much like the former; the Prince was not indeed so addicted to Pleasure as his Father, but his Life was equally indolent and idle; all that he did worth Notice, was removing his Court towards the *Yellow River*, and visiting some of the Maritime Parts of his Dominions. He dy'd in the fortieth Year of the Cycle, and was succeeded by his Son *Ti-sye*, who began his Reign the Year following.

Ti-mang, 9th
Emperor.

TI-SYE, Tenth Emperor, reign'd Sixteen Years.

THIS Prince was commendable for his Love of Justice, as well as his Care to prevent Disturbances, and maintain Peace in the Empire. The petty Sovereigns of the neighbouring Nations, who were become his Tributaries, came in Person to do him Homage, and put themselves under his Protection; to reward their Fidelity, he honour'd them with certain Titles of Dignity and Distinction. He dy'd the fifty seventh Year of the Cycle, leaving the Crown to his Son *Ti-pu-kyang*.

Ti-sye, 10th
Emperor.

TIPU-KYANG, Eleventh Emperor, reign'd Fifty nine Years.

IT is surprising, that during so long a Reign, nothing should happen worthy a Place in the Chinese History; which only applauds the Equity of this Emperor, and the Tranquillity of his State.

Ti-pu-kyang,
11th Emp.

He dy'd in the fifty-sixth Year of the Cycle. His Son *Kong-kye*, whom he had nominated his Successor, gave Way to the Power of his Uncle *Ti-kyang*, who forcing him out, usurp'd the Throne; but at the end of forty three Years he recover'd the Possession.

Cycle VII.
Year before
Christ 1917.

TI-KYONG, Twelfth Emperor, reign'd Twenty one Years.

THIS Usurper ascended the Throne peaceably the fifty-seventh Year of the Cycle; and to deprive *Kong-kye* of all Hopes of ever recovering it, nominated his Son *Ti-kin* his Successor. This is all the History says of a Prince, whom Ambition had rendered unjust and unnatural. He dy'd the seventeenth Year of the Cycle.

Ti-kyang, 12th
Emperor.

Cycle VIII.
Year before
Christ 1917.

TI-KIN, Thirteenth Emperor, reign'd Twenty one Years.

THE Usurpation continued as long under the Son as the Father, but his Debauches rendering him contemptible and odious to the People, some of the feudatory Princes studied to depose him. Nevertheless, he possess'd the Throne till his Death, which happen'd in the thirty-eighth Year of the Cycle; but he could not secure it to his Son, it being restor'd to the Prince, who had been dispossest'd by his Uncle.

Ti-kin, 13th
Emperor.

KONG-KYA, Fourteenth Emperor, reign'd Thirty one Years.

THIS Prince, who was the lawful Heir of the Throne, did not answer the People's Expectation. More than forty Years of Adversities should have taught him to govern his Passions; instead of that, as soon as he got the Power in his Hands, he gave himself wholly up to them, and became the most lewd and effeminate Prince that ever reign'd.

Kong-kye, 14th
Emperor.

He left the Government of the State to his Ministers, of whom he made a bad Choice, bestowing the most important Places on Flatterers rather than Persons of Merit; and to applaud his Extravagancies was sufficient to entitle a Man to the principal Employments of the Empire.

His Conduct brought him in such Contempt, that the tributary Princes refus'd to pay him Homage, and a voluptuous Course of Life had effeminated him to that Degree, that he durst not use his Authority, to bring them to their Duty.

Cbing-tang, the Founder of the following Dynasty was born the fifth Year of the Cycle, and the ninth *Kong-kye* yielded the Crown, by his Death, to his Son *Ti-ka*.

Cycle IX.
Year before
Christ 1837.

TI-KAU, Fifteenth Emperor, reign'd Eleven Years.

BY the Vices of the late Emperor the Throne began to totter in his Family; nor did his Son labour to fix it more secure: But copying after his Father, he made his Palace the Seat of the most infamous Pleasures; and shortning his Days by excessive Debauchery, dy'd in the twentieth Year of the Cycle, his Son *Ti-fa* succeeding him.

Ti-ka, 15th
Emperor.

DYN. I.
H. Y. A.
CYCLE IX.
Year before
Christ 1857.
Ti-fa, 16th
Emperor.

TI-FA, Sixteenth Emperor, reign'd Nineteen Years.

HISTORY says nothing either of the Vices or Virtues of this Emperor, mentioning only the Homage which was pay'd him by the tributary Princes on his Advancement to the Throne, and his Misfortune in being the Father of *Kya*, the most wicked of all Men; who succeeded him in the fortieth Year of the Cycle, (*Ti-fa* dying the Year before,) and was the last Prince of this *Dynasty*.

KYA, Seventeenth Emperor, reign'd Fifty two Years.

Kya, 17th
Emperor
the *Nero*
of *China*.

THE Cruelty and infamous Actions of this Emperor have caus'd him to be look'd on as a Monster. His Name is still as odious in *China*, as that of *Nero* is in *Europe*; and one cannot give a bad Prince a worse Character than to say, *He is another Kya*. He was indeed born with good Qualities, and endow'd with extraordinary Strength; but these Advantages were totally obscur'd by the Vices to which he abandon'd himself.

He had a Wife still more wicked and cruel than himself, whose Orders he blindly obey'd. He made nothing of shedding the Blood of his Subjects every Day, to please the Humour of this barbarous Princess; and both of them carry'd their Brutality to shameful Excesses. *Kya* caus'd a pretty large Space of Ground to be dug, resembling a Lake, and filling it with Wine, order'd three thousand of his Subjects to jump into it. There was a private Apartment in the Palace, where, by the Order, and in the Presence of the Emperor and Empress, the most abominable Vices were committed.

These scandalous Proceedings turning the Hearts of the whole Empire against them, the Princes, Great Men, and People were on the Point of taking up Arms, but were restrain'd by the chief Ministers; who having still some Remains of Tendernefs for his Person, represented in an humble Manner, the imminent Danger which his licentious Tyranny expos'd him to. But these Remonstrances only made him more furious; one of the Ministers, who spoke to him, being condemn'd and executed in his Presence. However the Rage of the Emperor did not abate the Zeal of these wise Ministers; they address'd a Memorial to him, wherein they boldly reproach'd him with his Murders, his Cruelty, and the horrid Actions of his Life. He had scarce read it, when transported with Fury, he resolv'd to put the Authors to Death.

Ching-tang, one of the tributary Princes, who was most esteem'd for his Wisdom and Virtue, and descended from *Whang-ti*, having join'd his Remonstrances to those above-mention'd, was for his Zeal cast into Prison, the twenty first Year of the Cycle; but he did not long remain confin'd.

Is oppos'd by
his Subjects.

These Violences, which encreas'd every Day, causing all the Orders of the State to unite against the Tyrant; they unanimously chose *Ching-tang* to supply his Place, and forc'd him to proclaim War against the Emperor; in doing which, this virtuous and disinterested Prince declar'd, he had no Right to the Crown, and that he took up Arms, only to bring the Emperor to Reason, and a Sense of his Duty. His Army was soon completed, each of the Princes furnishing him with Troops. The Emperor on his Side began to raise Forces; but the Disaffection was so general that he could only bring together a handful of Men. Nor had he better Success, for all his fair Promises, with the *Tartars*, by whom he was equally abhorr'd.

Feigns Re-
pentance,

Seeing himself thus abandon'd by every body, he had Recourse to Dissimulation; he acknowledged his Crimes, and seem'd to repent, desiring no other Favour than that they would grant him his Life.

Ching-tang hereon relented, and believing this Change to be sincere, not only spared his Life, but restor'd him the Crown; then quitting the Command of the Army, he return'd into his own little State, setting an Example of Moderation and Disinterestedness, which was admir'd by the whole Empire.

The Emperor was scarce re-settled on the Throne, but he fell again to his old Vices; nay, raising Forces in haste, he march'd against *Ching-tang*, whom he treated as a Traitor and Rebel. But when the two Armies met, the Emperor's Soldiers deserted to *Ching-tang*, who had put himself in a Posture of Defence, and throwing their Arms at his Feet, acknowledg'd him for their Sovereign.

and abdicates
the Crown.

Kya, who had now no other Course but to fly, banish'd himself, by going out of the Empire; and after three Years Exile, ended a Life which has render'd his Name and Memory odious to Posterity.

The Second DYNASTY, call'd SHANG, which comprehends Twenty eight Emperors, in the Space of Six hundred forty four Years.

DYN. II.
SHANG.
CYCLE X.
Year before
Christ 1797.

CHING-TANG, First Emperor, reign'd Thirteen Years.

THIS Prince ascended the Throne the thirty second Year of the Cycle, and gave to the Imperial Family the Name of *Sbang*; which belong'd to the little State he had long govern'd in Quality of a King, or tributary Prince. His Modesty, Gentleness, Justice and Application to Affairs, had already gain'd him the Admiration of the People, and he was acknowledg'd Emperor by all the Provinces, with universal Applause. He alone thought himself incapable of sustaining so weighty a Burden, and assembled his Ministers, and the Grandees of his Court, no less than three times, in order to resign a Crown, which, he say'd, any other would wear more worthily than himself. He added, that it was sufficient for him, that he had deliver'd his Country from the Persecution of the Tyrant; that he was contented with the small State which Heaven had allotted him; and that it was a great Grief to him to sit on the Throne to which he was not the lawful Heir.

Ching-tang,
1st Emperor.

Instance of
his Modesty,
and

The Grandees of the Empire persisted in remonstrating to him, that he sat on it by the particular Direction of Heaven; that Heaven, touch'd with the Misfortunes of the People, had chosen him to be the Deliverer of his Country; and that this appear'd visible enough from the unanimous Concurrence of all the Orders of the State, who would have no other Sovereign but him.

Ching-tang, whose Conduct was sincere, yielded at length to the pressing Instances of the Nobles, and govern'd the Empire with the same Modesty as had induc'd him to refuse it. He immediately abrogated the cruel Laws of his Predecessor, and establish'd others full of Wisdom and Equity. A Minister nam'd *I-in*, whose Merit, Prudence, and Fidelity were perfectly well known to him, being honour'd with his Confidence, was plac'd at the Head of his Council, and assign'd the Command of his Armies. The Soldiers, who before had been us'd to plunder, were brought under the strictest Discipline, and in a short time Order and Tranquillity reign'd throughout the Provinces. Every Place rung with the Benedictions which the People heap'd upon a Prince so studious to make them happy. He caus'd to be engraven on all the Vessels, which were for the Use of the Palace, the most eminent Maxims of Morality; that both himself and his Officers might have continually before their Eyes those Principles by which they ought to square their Conduct.

He gave a very signal Proof of his Tendernefs towards his Subjects, in the Time of a universal Drought, (which lasted seven Years, without one Drop of Rain, and perhaps is the same mention'd in *Genesis* (v)) attributing such a Calamity to his own Faults, he devoted himself a Victim for the Welfare of his People; after that he had observ'd a rigorous Fast, he laid aside the Ornaments of his Dignity, had his Hair cut off, which then was worn very long, and being bare-footed, in the Posture of a Criminal, lifted up his Hands towards Heaven, and entreated the Lord to spare his Subjects, and let the whole Weight of his Wrath fall on him alone. History relates, that at the End of his Prayer the Sky became cover'd with Clouds, and a general Rain follow'd, which render'd the Earth fruitful, and restored Plenty. The Death of this Prince, which happen'd the forty fourth Year of the Cycle, put the whole Empire in Mourning, and every one lamented for him as if he had lost his Father.

Tendernefs
for his Subjects.

His eldest Son *Tay-ting* dying before him, the Crown devolv'd to his Grandson nam'd *Tay-kyä*.

TAY-KYA, Second Emperor, reign'd Thirty three Years.

THE Beginning of the Reign of this Prince made all afraid of his Administration; far from treading in the Steps of his Grandfather, his Conduct was directly opposite, and such as was likely to draw on him the Contempt and Aversion of his Subjects. *I-in*, that wise Minister, already mention'd, in whom *Ching-tang* placed his whole Confidence, made use of his Authority, which was very great, to remonstrate to the new Emperor the Abuses that he made of a Power, which Heaven had intrusted him with, solely for the Good of his People. He related to him the Examples of Divine Wrath, on vicious Princes, and endeavour'd to inspire him with the Love of Virtues proper for a Sovereign.

Tay-kyä, 2d
Emperor.

(v) That is *Gen. 41*, according to P. Couplet*. But we see no Reason why they should be the same, which would be to suppose this Famine to have afflicted all Countries over the

* *Monarch. Sinic. Tab. p. 6.*

Earth, at least from Egypt to China; besides the Chinese Famine falls about the Year 1760 before Christ, that of Egypt in 1708.

DYN. II.
SHANG.
CYCLE X.
Year before
Christ 1797.
Bold Pro-
ceeding of a
prime Mi-
nister.

As the young Prince gave no Attention to the wholesome Advice of so wise a Minister, this latter bethought himself of an Expedient; the Rashness of which could hardly be excus'd, if his Integrity and the Uprightness of his Intentions had not been well known. He caus'd a House to be built near the Tomb of the late Emperor, and there shut up *Tay-kye*, that he might have Time to reflect on his ill Conduct; and form himself, over the Ashes of his Grandfather, to those Virtues of which he was so perfect a Pattern. At the same time he declared himself Guardian both of the Prince and the Empire. The Emperor, who had been blinded by the Splendor of his high Fortune, profited by his Disgrace, and for three Years together made wholesome Reflections on the Misfortunes which his Misconduct had plung'd him into, and on the Virtues requisite for governing a great Empire. When the Sincerity of his Change could be no longer doubted of, the Minister himself went to him; and conducting him to the Throne, from whence he had made him descend, proclaim'd him Emperor a second time, and caus'd him to be acknowledg'd by all the People: who unanimously loaded with Praises both the Docility of the Prince and the Moderation of the Minister.

CYCLE XI.
Year before
Christ, 1737.

Tay-kye took the severe Behaviour of his Minister to him very kindly, always respected him, as if he had been his Father, and followed his Counsels in every thing. Thus he govern'd the Empire with much Wisdom. The tributary Princes, who had begun to revolt, return'd with Joy to their Duty; and all the Orders of the State were perfectly submissive, while this Prince liv'd. He dy'd the seventeenth Year of the Cycle; his Successor was *Vo-ting*, another Grandson of the Founder of this Dynasty.

VO-TING, Third Emperor, reign'd Twenty nine Years.

Vo-ting, 3d
Emperor.

THIS Prince, who descended from *Ching-tang*, did not disgrace the Blood from whence he sprung, but was Heir to his Virtues, as well as to his Crown. Like him, he plac'd all his Confidence in *Tin*, but this wise Minister dy'd in the eighth Year of his Reign, and the twenty-fifth of the Cycle; when the Emperor, to testify his Gratitude and Esteem for so great a Person, honour'd his Memory by pompous Obsequies, which were worthy the Imperial Majesty. The loss of the Father was repair'd by his Son *I-pu*, who was endow'd with the same great Qualities, and equally merited the Confidence of the following Emperors. *Vo-ting* dy'd in the forty-seventh Year of the Cycle, and was succeeded by his Brother *Tay-keng*.

TAY-KENG, Fourth Emperor, reign'd Twenty five Years.

Tay-keng, 4th
Emperor.
CYCLE XII.
Year before
Christ 1677.

HISTORY relates nothing of this Emperor and the two following, except the Year they began their Reigns, and the Year they dy'd. This Emperor dy'd the eleventh Year of the Cycle, and his Son *Syau-kye* succeeded him.

SYAU-KYA, Fifth Emperor, reign'd Seventeen Years.

Syau-kye, 5th
Emperor.

ALL we know of this Emperor is, that he reign'd peaceably like his Father, assisted by the same Minister, whose Counsels he follow'd, and dy'd the twenty-eighth Year of the Cycle. He was succeeded by his Brother *Yong-ki*.

YONG-KI, Sixth Emperor, reign'd Twelve Years.

Yong-ki, 6th
Emperor.

THIS Prince was the Son of *Vo-ting*, but not by the same Mother as the two preceding Emperors. Some Disturbances began in his Reign, by certain tributary Kings, or petty Princes, refusing to come, according to Custom, to the Assembly, which the Emperors held from time to time. He dy'd the fortieth Year of the Cycle, the Crown descending to his Brother *Tay-vu*.

TAY-VU, Seventh Emperor, reign'd Sixty Years.

Tay-vu, 7th
Emperor.
CYCLE XIII.
Year before
Christ 1617.
Wise Answer
of a Minister.

HE was Son of the same Mother as *Yong-ki*. It is reported that at his Accession to the Crown, a Mulberry-Tree in the Palace was cover'd with Leaves in seven Days, and three Days after became wither'd. The Prince was terrify'd at this Accident, which he look'd upon as foreboding some Revolution or great Misfortune. He therefore consult'd *I-pu*, and desir'd to know what he thought of it; that Minister answer'd, "that Virtue directs Omens, and renders them good or bad. Govern your Subjects with Justice, continued he, and nothing will be able to disturb your Repose."

The Emperor receiv'd Advantage by this Lesson. His Zeal and Application to administer Justice to his People were so great, that he gave Audience daily betimes in the Morning, and did not end it till he had heard all the Parties who appear'd. His Love of Justice made him ador'd by the People, who reckon'd him equal to the greatest of his Predecessors. The tribu-

tary

tary Princes never absented themselves from the Assemblies convoked by him, and his Orders were always punctually observ'd.

Among the Laws, which he either establish'd or reviv'd, one was, that in every Town a certain Number of old People should be maintain'd out of the publick Treasure, which Custom is still kept up. After he had reign'd in Peace seventy five Years, he dy'd in the fifty-fifth Year of the Cycle, in the Province of *Ho-nan*, whither he had remov'd his Court, and was succeeded by his Son *Chong-ting*.

DYN. II.
SHANG.
CYCLE XIII.
Year before
Christ 1617.

CHONG-TING, Eighth Emperor, reign'd Thirteen Years.

THE frequent Inundations of the *Whang-bo*, or *Yellow River*, oblig'd this Emperor to abandon the City in the Province of *Sben-fu*, where he kept his Court, and to remove it, first into the Province of *Ho-nan*, and afterwards into that of *Pe-che-li*. His Reign was disturb'd by the Inhabitants to the South of the River *Yang-tse-kyang*, who made Irruptions into his Provinces, and committed all sorts of Rapines. He immediately sent Forces, who cut these Banditti in Pieces, and by that means prevented the like Inroads for the future. This Expedition re-establish'd Peace in the Empire; but the Emperor did not long enjoy the Fruits of his Victory, for Death seiz'd him the eighth Year of this Cycle, and his Brother *Vay-jin* ascended the Throne.

Chong-ting,
8th Emperor.
CYCLE XIV.
Year before
Christ 1557.

VAY-JIN, Ninth Emperor, reign'd Fifteen Years.

AT this Time began the Civil Wars between the Brothers and Children of the deceased Emperors, for the Right of Succession. These Wars lasted near two hundred Years, but History mentions no Particulars about them. All that we find concerning this Emperor, is, that he was respected and belov'd of his Subjects; that he dy'd in the twenty-third Year of the Cycle, and *Ho-tan-kyä* his Brother succeeded him.

Vay-jin, 9th
Emperor.

HO-TAN-KYA, Tenth Emperor, reign'd Nine Years.

HE fix'd his Court in a City of the Province of *Ho-nan*, situated on an Eminence, which prevented its being overflow'd by the Inundation of the *Whang-bo*. There is nothing remarkable related of this Prince, who dy'd in the thirty-third Year of the Cycle, and left the Crown to his Son *Tsu-ye*, who was very worthy of succeeding him.

Ho-tan-kyä,
10th Emp.

TSU-YE, Eleventh Emperor, reign'd Nineteen Years.

THIS Emperor had had a very prudent and able *Ko-lau*, or Prime Minister, call'd *Yen*; by following whose Counsels he preserv'd the Empire in profound Peace, and kept the Tributary Princes in perfect Submission. Tho' the Emperor never gives Principalities or little States to any but the Sons or Nephews of Emperors, yet he did to this Minister; on Condition however, that he should always remain in the Palace near his Person, for the Advantage of consulting him whenever he would; nor was he suffer'd to govern in Person his little Dominion, till after the Death of this Emperor, which happen'd the fifty-first Year of the Cycle, his Son *Tsu-sin* succeeding him.

Tsu-ye, 11th
Emperor.

TSU-SIN, Twelfth Emperor, reign'd Sixteen Years.

THE Brothers of the [late] Emperor would have usurp'd the Crown, to the Prejudice of the lawful Heir, under Pretence of being of an Age more proper for the Government than their Nephew. They had already begun to make Parties, and would have created great Disturbances by dividing the Grandees of the Empire, if the *Ko-lau*, *Yen*, had not by his Authority and Skill put an End to the Contest. These were but the Seeds of Ambition, which afterwards will appear more flagrant; when, without regard to either Justice or the Right of Blood, we shall see the Princes usurping the Inheritance of their Nephews. The Death of the Emperor happen'd in the seventh Year of the Cycle, and his Brother *Vo-kyä* succeeded him.

Tsu-sin, 12th
Emperor.

VO-KYA, Thirteenth Emperor, reign'd Twenty five Years.

TSU-TING, Son of the late Emperor, was not able to resist his Uncle, who usurp'd the Crown, and enjoy'd it more fortunately than he deserv'd. The Usurper's Design was to transfer it to his Son; but his Measures were disconcerted by the Address of the lawful Heir, who ascended the Throne immediately after the Death of *Vo-kyä*, which happen'd in the thirty-second Year of the Cycle.

Cycle XV.
Year before
Christ 1497.

Vo-kyä, 13th
Emperor.

DYN. II.
SHANG.TSU-TING, *Fourteenth Emperor, reign'd Thirty two Years.*Tsu-ting, 14th
Emperor.

TSU-TING could not, without secret Indignation, see the Crown which belong'd to himself on his Uncle's Head. But he dissimbled his Repentment, and insinuated himself so dexterously into the Usurper's Favour, as to gain both his Friendship and Confidence. He took his Measures with so much Wisdom and Secrecy, that he ascended the Throne without the least Violence, excluding his Cousin, the Usurper's Son. He govern'd the Empire with equal Wisdom, and before his Death gave a great Example of his Modesty; by leaving the Choice of a Successor to his Ministers, in case they judg'd his Son had not Virtue and Merit enough to govern his Subjects. Accordingly they chose *Nan-keng*, the Son of *Vo-kye*, who had been banish'd out of the Empire. *Tsu-ting* dy'd the fourth Year of this new Cycle, and *Nan-keng* succeeded him.

Leaves the
Choice of a
Successor to
his Ministers.CYCLE XVI.
Year before
Christ 1437.NAN-KENG, *Fifteenth Emperor, reign'd Twenty five Years.*Nan-keng 15th
Emperor.

ALTHO' *Nan-keng* was agreeable to the Ministers, yet their Choice was not generally approv'd of, the Provinces declaring for the Son of the late Emperor. So that there were two powerful Parties in the State, which made cruel War on each other; but the Party of *Nan-keng* being the stronger, kept him in Possession of the Empire. He remov'd his Court into the Province of *Ho-nan*. This Prince was succeeded by *Yang-kye*, the Son of *Tsu-ting*.

YANG-KYA, *Sixteenth Emperor, reign'd Seven Years.*Yang-kye,
16th Emp.

THE Divisions in the Imperial Family caus'd great Troubles in the Empire. The Tributary Princes began to withdraw their Obedience from their Sovereign, openly refusing to pay the Tribute; and were on the Point of rendring their little Governments independant, which would have endanger'd the Overthrow of the Monarchy, when the Emperor dy'd, in the thirty-sixth Year of the Cycle; and was succeeded by *Pwan-keng*, his Brother, who usurp'd the Throne, to the Prejudice of his Nephew.

PWAN-KENG, (2) *Seventeenth Emperor, reign'd Twenty eight Years.*Pwan-keng,
17th Emp.

THIS Prince, altho' an Usurper, was the Restorer of the Empire, by his Merit, and Application to Government. He kept his Court in the Province *Sban-fi*, and began his Reign with reviving the ancient Laws of *Cbing-tang*, which had been in a manner abolish'd, thro' the Negligence of his Predecessors. He took that great Emperor for his Pattern, and endeavour'd to imitate him. He made it a Rule, never to intrust the important Charges, either of his Court, or Empire, to any but those of his Subjects who had most Capacity and Merit. He punish'd with Severity the least Tendency to Rebellion. In short he establish'd so good Order throughout the State, that the Tributary Princes all return'd to their Obedience, paid him the usual Tribute, and renewed their Homage. Being sensible that the Usurpation of the Brothers of the Emperors was the Cause of the late Troubles, he resolv'd to remedy an Evil which he was guilty of himself, and made an Order to secure the Crown to their Children. However, this Decree, so wise, and proper to prevent new Disturbances, was of no use, with respect to himself; for in as much as he dy'd without Issue, in the fourth Year of the Cycle, his Brother *Syau-sin* succeeded him.

CYCLE XVII.
Year before
Christ 1377.SYAU-SIN, *Eighteenth Emperor, reign'd Twenty one Years.*Syau-sin, 18th
Emperor.

THIS Emperor inherited the Crown, but not the Virtues of his Brother. He left the Government intirely to his Ministers, to follow his Pleasures; and those who flatter'd him in his Excesses, and the Love of Idleness, had most of his Favour. In short his inactive and effeminate Life had like to have destroy'd all the good Order, which his Brother had establish'd in the Empire. By his Death, which happen'd in the twenty-fifth Year of the Cycle, the Crown fell to his Son *Syau-ye*.

SYAU-YE, *Nineteenth Emperor, reign'd Twenty eight Years.*Syau-ye, 19th
Emperor.

THIS Prince had an Education suitable to his Birth; and the wise Governors, who had the Care of it, did not in the least doubt but he was worthy of the Throne he was destin'd to. But he no sooner saw himself Master of this great Empire, but he forgot the

(2) This Emperor chang'd the Name of the Imperial Family, from *Sbang* to *Ing*.

the good Instructions that had been given him, and follow'd the pernicious Courses of his Father, whom he imitated in every thing. He would have been remarkable only for his Vices; and disorderly Life, if he had not given Being to a Son, who is to this Day reverenc'd, as one of the greatest and best Emperors that China ever had. This Son, nam'd *Vu-ting*, succeeded his Father, who dy'd the fifty-third Year of the Cycle.

DYN. II.
S H A N G.
CYC. XXVII.
Year before
Christ 1377.

VU-TING, *Twentieth Emperor, reign'd Fifty nine Years.*

VU-TING was yet young when he ascended the Throne. He trusted the Government of the Empire with his Prime Minister, during his three Years Mourning, and shut himself up in a House near his Father's Tomb, in order to lament his Death, and to beg of Heaven to assist him in acquiring the Virtues suitable to his Station. The Time of his Mourning being expir'd, he return'd to his Palace; where he saw in a Dream a Man, presented him by Heaven, to be his Prime Minister; and as he beheld him attentively, the Features of his Face were so strongly imprinted in his Fancy, that he drew an exact Portrait of him, when he awoke. Then he assembled his Ministers, and having related to them his Dream, and shew'd the Picture to them, sent some trusty People, to seek for the Person whose Picture they had seen. They found him in a Village among a Company of Artificers; his Name was *Fu-ywe*, a Mason by Trade. They carry'd him immediately to Court, where a great many Questions being propos'd to him, relating to Politics, the Virtues proper for a Sovereign, and the reciprocal Duties of Princes and Subjects, the different Charges of the Empire; &c. he made himself admir'd by every one, by the Justness, the Propriety and Eloquence of his Answers.

Vu-ting, 20th
Emperor.
CYC. XXVIII.
Years before
Christ 1317.

Then the Emperor address'd himself to the poor Mechanic, *It is you, dear FU-YWE, said he, whom Heaven has chosen to assist me with your wise Lessons. I look on you as my Master, and do you consider me as an unpolish'd Looking-Glass, which you are to finish; or as a feeble Man, staggering on the Brink of a Precipice, whom you are to guide; or as a dry and barren Soil, which you are to cultivate. Neither flatter me, nor spare my Faults, that by the Instruction of you and my Ministers I may acquire the Virtues of my Grandfather CHING-TANG; and restore in these unfortunate Times, the Moderation, Equity, and Mildness of his Government.*

Fu-ywe prostrated himself according to Custom before the Emperor, whom he found always very ready to receive his Instructions. These may be seen in the *Sku-king*, whereof I have given an Abstract; and by following them *Vu-ting* not only became a Pattern for good Princes, but his Reputation, extending to the most distant Nations, induc'd them to come and submit themselves to him.

This Prince dy'd in the fifty-second Year of the Cycle, and was succeeded by his Son, call'd *Tsu-keng*.

TSU-KENG, *Twenty first Emperor, reign'd Seven Years.*

THIS Reign was so short, and the State in such excellent Order, that the Emperor had no other Care but to preserve it. He wore the Crown no longer than seven Years, leaving it to his Brother *Tsu-kyu* in the fifty-ninth Year of the Cycle.

Tsu-keng, 21st
Emperor.

TSU-KYA, *Twenty second Emperor, reign'd Thirty four Years.*

THE great Virtues of *Vu-ting*, whose Loss was still regretted, render'd the Vices of *Tsu-kyu* more odious. They had not forgot the Wisdom, Modesty and Meekness of the Father, and they found in the Son a Prince full of Pride and Haughtiness, who despis'd his Subjects, and was given to all manner of Debauchery. Such a disorderly Conduct occasion'd many Commotions in the Empire, and seem'd to foretell the approaching Ruin of this Dynasty.

Tsu-kyu, 22d
Emperor.
CYC. XIX.
Years before
Christ 1257.

The twenty seventh Year of the Cycle is remarkable for the Birth of *Ven-vang*, whose Name is still rever'd on account of his Virtues. The Emperor dy'd the thirty third Year of the Cycle, and was succeeded by his Son *Lin-sin*.

LIN-SIN, *Twenty third Emperor, reign'd Six Years.*

THIS Prince was, like his Father, a Slave to his Lusts; and so far from taking any Care of his Empire that he not only left the Government of it wholly to his Ministers, but even forbid them to give him any Accounts of publick Affairs, that he might not be interrupted in his infamous Pleasures.

Lin-sin, 23d
Emperor.

This Prince's Days being shorten'd by his Debaucheries, he dy'd without Issue, the thirty eighth Year of the Cycle, and was succeeded by his Brother *Keng-ting*.

KENG-

DYN. II.

SHANG

CYCLE XIX.

Year before

Christ 1257.

King-ting,

24th Emp.

KING-TING, *Twenty fourth Emperor, reign'd Twenty one Years.*

HISTORY relates nothing of this Emperor, excepting the Years that he reign'd, and the Year of his Death; which was the fifty ninth Year of the Cycle, and nine Years after the Birth of *Vu-vang*, who was the Founder of the following *Dynasty*. His Son *Vu-ye* succeeded him.

VU-YE, *Twenty fifth Emperor, reign'd Four Years.*

Vu-ye, 25th

Emperor.

CYCLE XX.

Years before

Christ 1197.

AS short as this Reign was, it appear'd too long to the *Chinese*. They speak of *Vu-ye* as an impious and wicked Prince, who could not fail to draw on himself the Vengeance of Heaven. He was kill'd by Thunder, as he was hunting, the third Year of the Cycle, his Son *Tay-ting* succeeding him.

About this time some Islands to the Eastward were peopled by *Chinese* Colonies; and there are some who say *Japan* began then to be inhabited.

TAY-TING, *Twenty sixth Emperor, reign'd Three Years.*

Tay-ting, 26th

Emperor.

THIS Emperor began his Reign by declaring War against a Tributary Prince, whose little State was call'd *Yen*. It is in the Province of *Pe-che-li*; and *Pe-king*, which is at present the Metropolis of the Empire, was one of the Cities belonging to it. His Death, which happen'd the sixth Year of the Cycle, hinder'd him from finishing the War; which was continued by his Son, who succeeded him.

TI-YE, *Twenty seventh Emperor, reign'd Thirty seven Years.*

Ti-ye, 27th

Emperor.

THIS Emperor continuing the War, which his Father had begun, against the Prince of *Yen*; he gave the Command of his Forces to a General, call'd *Ki-lyé*, who defeated that little Sovereign, and having driven him out of his Territories, reduc'd him to the Condition of a private Man. The Emperor was so well pleas'd with the Conquest, that he gave that Principality to his General, and made it hereditary to his Family. *Ki-lyé* govern'd it seven Years, and at his Death his Son *Ven-vang* succeeded him, who afterwards founded the third *Dynasty*.

Ti-ye had three Children, two of which were by a Wife of the second Order, who were born before their Mother had the Title of Queen. The third, who was by the Empress, was lawful Heir to the Crown; but being very young, and of no promising Talents, his Father was induc'd to prefer the elder of the two others. The Empress herself to please him came into his Measures: But this Choice was oppos'd by the Ministers, who declar'd it to be contrary to the Imperial Laws, and that they would acknowledge none for their Lord, but the Son of the Empress, nam'd *Che-w*. They had Cause to repent it afterwards, for *Che-w* was a cruel Tyrant; whereas the Prince whom the Emperor had chosen, was indow'd with all the good Qualities requisite for a Sovereign. The Emperor dy'd the forty third Year of the Cycle.

CHEW, *Twenty eighth Emperor, reign'd Thirty three Years.*

Che-w, 28th

Emperor, a

cruel Tyrant;

but exceeded

by his Wife

Ta-kye.

PRIDE, Luxury, Debauchery, Tyranny, and Cruelty, mounted the Throne with this Prince. He marry'd a Woman nam'd *Ta-kye*, who was the most beautiful, but at the same time the most barbarous and wicked Person in the whole Empire. She would have all things directed according to her Caprice and imperious Humour; and if the Ministers fail'd to conform to her Opinion, in either their Representations or Counsels, they were immediately driven from the Palace, or condemn'd to Death. To disapprove what was done by her Orders, was accounted Rebellion; and she perswaded her Husband that he could not be absolute Master of his Subjects, unless he made himself dreaded by them. For that Purpose she invented a kind of Punishment, terrible to think of: She caus'd a brazen Pillar to be erected, which being made red hot, by means of a great Fire, the condemn'd Person was forc'd to embrace it, till such time as his Flesh was consum'd to the Bone. It was an agreeable Diversion to her, to see the unhappy Victims of her Fury suffer, and to hear the dreadful Shrieks, caused by the Exquiteness of the Torture.

One of the Ministers of *Che-w*, in order to insinuate himself into his Favour, and merit his Confidence, made him a Present of his Daughter, who was a great Beauty, but at the same time very virtuous. The Daughter, who detested this Action of her Father, resisted with an

an heroic Courage, the criminal Addresses of the Emperor; whose Love thereat changing of a sudden into Fury, he slew the young Virgin with his own Hands, and cutting her Body in Pieces, caus'd it to be served up at her Father's Table. Another Minister was so astonish'd at this Barbarity, that, not being able to contain his Indignation, he took an Opportunity to represent the Horror of the Action to the Emperor, who rewarded his Zeal with present Death.

These cruel Executions did not intimidate the wise *Ven-vang*, who had the Courage vigorously to oppose such Inhumanities. The Tyrant, who still respected his Virtue, did not treat him with the same Rigour, as he had done others, but sent him to Prison, to punish his Rashness, as he call'd it. The principal Subjects of *Ven-vang's* little State, quite dismay'd at his Imprisonment, assembled themselves; and believing that they might easily obtain their Prince's Liberty by Presents, that would flatter the Emperor's debauch'd Inclinations, among other things sent him a young Girl of very great Beauty. *Che-w*, as they had surmis'd, was so taken with her Charms, that he immediately order'd *Ven-vang* to be releas'd; whose Joy was doubled, to see himself both freed from his Confinement, and remov'd from so corrupt a Court. This Prince was dearly belov'd by his People; and tho' his Dominions were but small, yet he was as much respected throughout the Empire, as *Che-w* was hated.

Ven-vang was eminent for his Sweetness of Temper; his Love of Justice; the Care he took in having young Men brought up according to the purest Maxims of Morality; the good Reception he gave wise Men and Philosophers, which brought a great Number of them to his Court; the Pleasure he took in hearing their Discourses; his preferring Persons of Virtue and Merit to Employments; the Respect he shew'd to those of his Family, who were his Seniors; in short all these excellent Qualities join'd to his Modesty, Frugality, and Application to publick Affairs, gain'd him so great Reputation among the Princes, who were his Equals, that several of them made him the Arbiter of their Differences.

It is related, that two petty Kings [or Regulo's] who were always in War about the Limits of their States, having agreed to refer their Pretensions to his Decision: As soon as they enter'd his Territories, they observ'd that his Subjects strove to outdo one another, by reciprocal Proofs of Friendship and Kindness; that none durst even take up any thing which happen'd to be drop'd on the Roads, every one saying it did not belong to him; and that those who had Lands, gave a part of them to their reduc'd Friends for their Subsistence. When they arriv'd at Court, they were surpriz'd at the Unanimity and good Understanding, which they found among the Grandees, who were Strangers to Artifice, Dissimulation and Intrigue.

On seeing such great Order in the State, *What Business have we here?* say'd one of them, *What will VEN-VANG think of our Disputes? What Notion will he have of us?* They therefore without proceeding any further in the Business, instantly accommodated the Difference between themselves; and instead of insisting on their Rights and Pretensions, strove who should yield up most Lands to the other.

The Reputation of *Ven-vang* became so great, that forty Tributary Princes chose him for their Sovereign; perceiving that he alone could remedy the Evils which afflicted the Empire. But he dy'd soon after he had obtain'd that Dignity, leaving his Principality and his Riches to *Vu-vang* his second Son, whom he prefer'd to his eldest, because he would not enter into his Views of dethroning the Emperor. The eldest discovered a peculiar Greatness of Soul on this Occasion; for he did not make the least Complaint of any Injustice done him: and that he might not dishonour the Memory of his Father, he retired beyond the River *Yang-tse-kyang* towards the Borders of *Se-chuen*, where he founded the two Kingdoms of *Tue* and *Hu*.

In the mean time *Che-w* grew more cruel every Day, as well thro' Habit as the Influence of *Ta-kyu*, who was in effect Sovereign; the Emperor always confirming whatever Laws she propos'd. It is said to be owing to her, that little Feet is accounted one of the greatest Ornaments of the Sex; her own being very small, she bound them tight with Fillets, affecting to make that pass for a Beauty which was really a Deformity. However the Women will follow her Example; and this ridiculous Custom is so thoroughly establish'd, that to have Feet of the natural Size is enough to render them contemptible.

It is likewise said, that the great Number of Candles, which she caus'd to be lighted up in the Palace every Night; to supply, as it were, the Absence of the Sun, and continue the Day, gave rise to the *Feast of Lanterns*, which is annually celebrated on the fifteenth of the first Month.

Che-w became daily more hateful to his Subjects, who groan'd under his tyrannical Government. His nearest Relations seeing him running headlong to his Ruin, thought it their Duty to lay before him his ill Conduct. He would have put one of his Uncles to Death, who took that Liberty, if he had not counterfeited Madness. However, he imprison'd him to discover whether it was real or pretended; but he acted his part so well, that he deceiv'd the Tyrant. Another of them, thinking he ought to run any Risque to reclaim his Nephew, went to the Palace with surprising Intrepidity, prepar'd for the worst that could happen, and was immediately strangled by the Emperor's Orders; who afterwards caus'd his Heart to be pluck'd out, and had the Barbarity to view it for some time, not so much to satisfy his Curiosity, as to satiate his Revenge.

So great Inhumanities, carry'd to such a Length, provok'd at last the whole Empire to revolt. The Princes and Grandees intreated *Vu-vang* to put himself at the Head of an Army, and

DYN. II.

SHANG.

CYCLE XX.

Year before

Christ 1197.

Imprisons

Ven-vang.

Ven-vang's

Charact.

Influence of

his good Go-

vernment.

Kingdoms of

Tue and Hu,

erected.

Original of

little Feet in

China, and of

the Feast of

Lanterns.

Che-w's

Cruelties.

The whole

Empire

revolts.

and

DYN. II.
SHANG.
CYCLE XXI.
Year before
Christ 1137.

and give the Tyrant Battle, promising to furnish him with what Forces should be necessary. *Vu-vang* desir'd Time to consult what was the Will of Heaven; and in the mean time continued the Preparations for War, which had been put in great Forwardness by his Father. As soon as he found himself in a Condition to declare his Intentions, as if he had the Orders of Heaven, he march'd against *Cheu*, who, at the Head of a more numerous Army, advanc'd to meet him. As soon as the Signal was given for Battle, the greater part of the Imperial Troops went over to *Vu-vang*.

Cheu burns
himself and

Cheu seeing himself betray'd, fled in Despair to his Capital, and entering into his Apartment, set it on Fire, that he might not fall into the Hands of a rebellious Subject; this happen'd the sixteenth Year of the Cycle. Notwithstanding all the Care that was taken to extinguish the Flames, half of the Palace was burnt to Ashes, and *Vu-vang* enter'd it as a Conqueror, where the first Object which appear'd to him, was the Empress, *Ta-kye*, whom he slew at one Stroke with his Sword. Hereupon the Tributary Princes, and the Grantees of the Empire, unanimously elected him Emperor, and he became the first Founder of the third Dynasty, call'd *CHEW*. *

Ta-kye is
slain.

The Third DYNASTY, call'd *CHEW*, which comprehends the Reigns of Thirty five Emperors, within the Space of Eight hundred and Seventy three Years.

VU-VANG, First Emperor, reign'd Seven Years.

DYN. III.
CHEW.
Vu-vang, 1st
Emperor.

THIS new Emperor fix'd the Imperial Seat in the Metropolis of the Province of *Sben-fi*, call'd at present *Si-ngan*. He began his Reign, as usual, with offering Sacrifices to the Lord of Heaven, and re-establishing the Laws and Customs which his Predecessor had in some measure abolish'd.

I. He made strict Enquiry into all the Acts of Injustice that had been committed in the preceding Reign, and apply'd himself to redress them.

II. He set at Liberty many Persons of Merit, who had been imprison'd.

III. He sent for to Court, *Ki-tsu*, the Uncle of the Tyrant, who, to save his Life had feign'd himself mad; and frequently consulted him in Astronomy, Politics, and the Science of Government. His Instructions are to be seen in the *Shu-king*, a Book hereafter spoken of. The Emperor rewarded this learned Man, by giving him and his Posterity the Kingdom of *Korea*, and made it in a manner independant; for they were only oblig'd to come every new Reign to desire the Consent and Protection of the Emperor.

Gives Korea
to *Ki-tsu*.

IV. He restor'd several illustrious Families, which had been almost wholly unnobilitated; and gave the Descendants of the Emperor little Sovereignties to support their Rank with Decency.

Erects several
Principalities.

One Prince of the Family of *Shin-nong* was settled in the Province of *Sben-fi*; another of the Family of *Whang-ti* had for his Share a Country in the Province of *Hu-quang*, that was call'd *The Kingdom of Tsu*; a third, descended from *Yau*, had some Territories about *Pe-king*, which was nam'd the Kingdom of *Su*; another, who was of the Race of *Shun*, obtain'd Lands in the Province of *Ho-nan*, under the Title of the Principality of *Chin*.

V. He erected fifteen other Principalities, which he gave to fifteen of his Relations; not foreseeing that so many Sovereignties, tho' holding of the Crown, would in time become a Source of unhappy Wars. He also rewarded several of his Ministers with Estates not much inferior to the former, and rais'd others to the chief Dignities of the Empire.

The Fame of his Wisdom and Generosity reach'd the most distant Countries; and several foreign Princes, who refus'd doing homage to *Cheu*, came presently to pay *Vu-vang* the ancient Tribute, and put themselves under his Protection.

Falling sick,
Cheu-kong
offers his own
Life for his
Recovery.

Vu-vang having in the second Year of his Reign been attack'd with a dangerous Distemper, which it was fear'd would prove fatal, all the Court was alarm'd. *Cheu-kong*, his Prime Minister caus'd Sacrifices to be offer'd in the Palace for the Emperor's Recovery; in the midst of the Ceremony, lifting up his Hands towards Heaven, and praying with a loud Voice, he offer'd his own Life in Sacrifice, to save that of a Prince which was of such Importance to the State. The History informs us that the Emperor grew better next Day, and in a little time recover'd.

This Action of the Prime Minister was greatly applauded; and the Emperor was so affected with it, that he insert'd it with his own Hand in the Secret Registers, which are kept in the Palace in Coffers of Gold. He govern'd with the Tenderness of a Father, and was indefatigable in public Affairs to the Day of his Death; which happen'd the twenty third Year of the Cycle. He was succeeded by his Son *Ching-vang*.

* [*Cheu*, which is] the Name of the Dynasty, is [both the late Emperor.
written and] pronounced differently from [*Cheu*] the Name of

CHING-VANG, *Second Emperor, reign'd Thirty seven Years.*

DYN. III.
CHEW.
Cycle XXI.
Year before
Christ 1137.
Ching-vang,
2d Emperor.

DURING the tender Years of this Prince, which render'd him incapable of Governing, his Uncle *Che-w-kong*, who was Prime Minister, and whose Virtues were generally acknowledged, took upon him the Care both of the Empire, and the Education of the Emperor: over whom he plac'd an able Governor, capable of instructing him in the Royal Virtues; and shew'd so much Disinterestedness in the Administration of Affairs, that the Tributary Princes very readily paid him the customary Homage.

Nevertheless his Virtues could not screen him from the Malice of his Enemies; who persuaded the Emperor, that he abus'd his Authority, by making a great many Creatures, and design'd to usurp the Imperial Dignity. These Calumnies, which were whisper'd about, coming to the Minister's Ears, he took a Resolution of retiring from Court; which was an Affliction to all People, who were convinc'd of his Probity, and Zeal for his Nephew's Interest. On the contrary, the young Emperor was overjoy'd to be from under the Tuition of his Uncle, and took upon him the Government of Affairs with great Alacrity. But he quickly experienc'd the Weight of the Burthen which he had on him; and the ill Success which constantly attended him, having made him sensible of his own Incapacity, he sent for the Secret Records of the Empire, to consult them, and find out a way to free himself from the Difficulties he was plung'd in. In running them over, he met the Place where his Father had minuted down the generous Action of *Che-w-kong*, who had devoted himself to Death, to save the Emperor's Life. Being sensibly affected with such an extraordinary Instance of Love in a Subject to his Prince, he grew ashamed of his Distrust; and perceiving how much he stood in need of so great a Man, he went himself that instant to the Place where *Che-w-kong* had retir'd, and with Tears entreated him not to forsake him, but to assist him with his Counsel. *Che-w-kong* was thus re-instrated in his former Honours and Dignities, wherein he gave continual Proofs of his Zeal for the Glory of his Prince, and the Good of his State.

Brings back
Che-w-kong,
who had re-
tired from
Court.

It is reported of this Emperor, that in the fifth Year of his Reign, growing fond of the Recreations which he had us'd in his Childhood, one Day in play with his youngest Brother, by way of Joke, he gave him the Patents of a small Sovereignty. On which the *Ko-lau, Su ya*, his Governor say'd, that the Present, tho' made in jest, became a serious Matter, as soon as it went out of the Hands of the Sovereign; that a Prince was dishonour'd by breaking his Word; and that the Law, which oblig'd him not to enter too rashly into any Engagements, oblig'd him also to keep his Promise. Thus, at the same time, he both did his Brother Favour, and receiv'd solid Instruction, which was of advantage to him.

Is rebuk'd by
his Govern-
or.

The Emperor following the Instructions of his first Minister, govern'd his Dominions with great Wisdom; by which means he acquir'd such high Reputation, that the King of *Cochin-China* sent Ambassadors with Presents, to congratulate him on having a Subject of so extraordinary Merit as *Che-w-kong*; and they were receiv'd with the highest Marks of Esteem and Friendship. After they had their Audience of Leave to return into their own Country, *Che-w-kong* gave them an Instrument, which on one side pointed towards the North, and on the opposite side towards the South, to direct them better on their Way home, than they had been directed in coming to *China*. This Instrument was call'd *Cbi-nan*, which is the same Name the *Chinese* now give to the Sea-Compass; whence it is believ'd that *Che-w-kong* was the Inventor of the Compass. (x)

The Com-
pass in-
vented.

This great Minister, who was so greatly admir'd both at home and abroad, dy'd the thirty third Year of the Cycle, in the hundredth Year of his Age; and the Emperor, to shew his Gratitude to him by some remarkable Token, caus'd him to be bury'd near his Father's Tomb, with the same funeral Rites as were customary at the Interments of the Emperors. Sometime after the Emperor assembl'd the States of the Empire, where he order'd that every Prince should forbid the immoderate Use of Wine in his Dominions, as being the Source of infinite Misfortunes, and the Destruction of Families. This Prince dy'd the fiftieth Year of the Cycle, and left his Crown to his Son, call'd *Kang-vang*.

KANG-VANG, *Third Emperor, reign'd Twenty six Years.*

THIS Emperor being remarkable for maintaining Peace both at home and abroad, he took the Opportunity of this Tranquillity to apply himself to govern his People with Gentleness, and endeavour to make them happy.

One of his Maxims was, *That the Joy of a Prince depended on that which reign'd among his Subjects; and that he ought not to take any Pleasure when his Subjects were in Distress.* He assembled the States frequently, and from time to time visited the Provinces of his Empire.

He was principally attentive to promote Agriculture, the Care of which he trusted to one of his Ministers, nam'd *Chau-kong*. He us'd to decide the Disputes that arose among the Husbandmen, sitting under an old Willow-Tree; which was preserv'd from being cut down, out of Respect, and became famous in the Poetry of the *Chinese*.

Kang-vang,
3d Emperor.
Cycle XXII.
Year before
Christ 1077.

So

(x) *Wang-ti* is said before p. 138, to have been the Inventor. But neither Account seems probable.

DYN. III.
C H E N.
Cyc. XXII
Year before
Christ 1077.

So strict a Regard was had to Sincerity and keeping Promises, that the Prisoners were let out every Morning to till the Lands, and in the Evening return'd to Prison again. *Kang-vang* dy'd the twenty fifth Year of the Cycle, extremely lamented by his Subjects, and was succeeded by his Son *Chau-vang*.

CHAU-VANG, *Fourth Emperor, reign'd Fifty one Years.*

Chau-vang,
4th Emp.

ONE single Passion, to which this Prince was intirely devoted, eclips'd all his Virtues, and caus'd him to neglect the Care of his Empire. He was so given to Hunting, that he minded nothing else; the Havock which his Horses and Dogs made in the Fields, drove the People to Despair, who were continually lamenting to see their first Harvests ruin'd by an Army of Hunters, which perpetually follow'd him.

Cyc. XXIII.
Year before
Christ 1017.

This ill Conduct drew on him the universal Hatred of his Subjects, who seeing no end of their Sufferings, at length conspir'd his Death, and invented the following Stratagem, to prevent their being discover'd. Knowing that the Emperor, in his return from Hunting, was oblig'd to cross a River, which was pretty broad, and that Barks were order'd to attend his Passage, they prepar'd one so built as to fall in Pieces presently. The Emperor went into it with some of his Nobles, but they had scarce got to the middle of the River, before the Planks separated at once, and the Vessel sunk to the Bottom. Thus perish'd this Prince, the sixteenth Year of this Cycle, and was succeeded by his Son *Mo-vang*.

It is said that in the sixteenth Year of his Reign, and forty first of the former Cycle, *Po* was born in *India*; who was the Author of the abominable Sect of the *Bonzas*, and of the Doctrine of *Metempsychosis*: which was first introduc'd into this Empire, the sixty fifth Year after *Christ*, under the Protection of the Emperor, as will be related in its proper Place.

MO-VANG, *Fifth Emperor, reign'd Fifty five Years.*

Mo-vang, 5th
Emperor.

THE excellent Qualities of this Prince, and his Zeal for Justice, soon gain'd him the Hearts of his Subjects, and made them the more easily forget one remarkable Failing he had, which was an extreme Fondness for Horses. When he visited the Provinces, he had great Numbers in his Train, and always rode on Horseback, or in a Chariot drawn by Horses, most magnificently equipp'd; his Pleasure lay in making a pompous Appearance.

Marches a-
gainst the
Tartars.

Some of the Barbarians of the Southern Parts having revolted, he sent an Army against them, commanded by *Kau-fu*, who intirely defeated them; for which piece of Service the Emperor rewarded him; with the Principality of *Chau*, in the Province of *Sban-fi*. This Success encourag'd him to turn his victorious Arms against the *Tartars*, from which his Son-in-Law endeavour'd to dissuade him: representing to him that Wars ought never to be undertaken, unless there was an absolute Necessity for it; that they were often more prejudicial to the Conquerors than the Conquer'd; that the Desolation of one's own Country, and the Exhausting of the Revenues were the ordinary Consequences of them; and that in short a virtuous Prince was more inclin'd to Peace than War.

His Maxims.

These Remonstrances proving ineffectual, *Mo-vang* advanc'd at the Head of a very powerful Army to the Borders of *Tartary*. The *Tartars* hearing of his March, made the best of their Way into the Heart of their Country, with their Tents and Cattle; so that the Emperor finding no Enemies to fight with, was oblig'd to return, after having fatigu'd and impair'd his Army with long and troublesome Marches. He then repented that he had not taken his Son-in-Law's Advice, and promis'd him never to form an Undertaking of the Kind, without his Approbation. This Prince's Maxim was, *That a Sovereign ought always to guard against Deceit and Flattery; and that he will be esteem'd only in Proportion as those who art about him are virtuous.*

Cyc. XXIV.
Year before
Christ 957.

The Author of the Idolatrous Sect, mention'd in the former Reign, dy'd in *India* the ninth Year of the Cycle, and two Years before the Emperor dy'd, who left for his Successor his Son *Kong-vang*.

KONG-VANG, *Sixth Emperor, reign'd Twelve Years.*

Kong-vang,
6th Emperor.

THIS Prince began his Reign with an Action so cruel, that it would have been a perpetual Blot upon him, if he had not made Amends for it, by his future Conduct, which was full of Equity and Justice. He often us'd to walk by the Side of a Lake, in a Country call'd *Mye*, where the most beautiful Maidens at those times made their Appearance, with three of whom he fell desperately in Love; but they perceiving the Danger they were in, absented themselves from the Walk. This so enrag'd the Emperor, that in the first Transports of his Fury, he commanded all the Inhabitants of *Mye* to be massacred. He repented this most unjust and barbarous Action all the Days of his Life; and by a continual Course

of Equity and Moderation, which took off the Odium, he merited to be rank'd among the best of Princes. He dy'd the twenty third Year of the Cycle, and left the Crown to his Son *Ye-vang*.

DYN. III.
C H E W.

Cyc. XXIV.
Year before
Christ 957.

YE-VANG, *Seventh Emperor, reign'd Twenty five Years.*

THE Memory of this Prince had been bury'd in Oblivion, if his Negligence had not afforded Matter of Raillery to the Poets of his Time, by whose satirical Description he is only known. He dy'd in the forty eighth Year of the Cycle, (despis'd of all Men,) without being able to secure the Crown to his Children; his Brother *Hyau-vang* seizing it by Violence.

Ye-vang, 7th
Emperor.

HYAU-VANG, *Eighth Emperor, reign'd Fifteen Years.*

THIS Usurper maintain'd himself peaceably on the Throne by his Merit and Address. His only Fault was being over fond of Horses, whereof he had a great Number; expending large Sums to procure the best and most rare that were to be had in all Parts. *Fi-shu*, a mean Fellow, whom he had made his Master of the Horse, insinuated himself into his Favour, barely by his Skill in managing Horses. He us'd to ride them in the Emperor's Presence, who one Day was so delighted with his extraordinary Address, that he gave him a Principality in the Province of *Sben-fi*; one of whose Descendants founding the following Dynasty, destroy'd the Family to which he ow'd his Advancement.

Hyau-vang,
8th Emperor.

In the time of *Hyau-vang*, there fell Hail-Stones of such prodigious Bigness, that both Men and Beasts were kill'd with them. He dy'd the third Year of the Cycle, and his Son *I-vang* succeeded him.

Cyc. XXV.
Year before
Christ 897.

I-VANG, *Ninth Emperor, reign'd Sixteen Years.*

THE disorderly Conduct of this Prince and his want of Merit render'd him very contemptible to all his Subjects; he had no Talents, and was so timorous that he could neither make any Answer to his Ministers, when they came to him for Orders, or to give an account of their Administration. He could never bring himself to give Audience to foreign Ambassadors, or receive in Public the Homage of the Tributary Princes. He dy'd the nineteenth Year of the Cycle, and was succeeded the Year following by his Son *Li-vang*.

I-vang, 9th
Emperor.

LI-VANG, *Tenth Emperor, reign'd Fifty one Years.*

THIS Prince was proud, self-conceited, prodigal, and cruel. The Wealth which he drew from his Subjects by Exactions, could scarcely satisfy his Passion for Riches, which he spent lavishly and without Judgment; the Misery of his People was extreme, and nothing was heard every where but Complaints and Lamentations. Several Manifestos were publish'd, representing the cruel Inhumanity of the Emperor, in menacing Terms.

Li-vang, 10th
Emperor.
a Tyrant.

These Clamours and Repinings of an oppress'd People only increas'd his Fury; and he caus'd Search to be made after those whom he suspected to be at the Head of the Malecontents, in order to punish them with the utmost Severity. As he was conscious how odious he had made himself to his Subjects, he suspected that all their Discourse was on his ill Conduct, and therefore he forbid them, on Pain of Death, to converse together, or even whisper to one another; so that you might see all the Inhabitants of the Metropolis, walking the Streets with Eyes cast down in mournful Silence, and shunning each other. *Chau-kong*, one of his most faithful Ministers, having often in vain remonstrated to him on the Severity of his Government, ventur'd at length so far as to represent, that he was not plac'd on the Throne to make his People miserable; that it was much easier to stop an impetuous Torrent, than restrain the Tongue; that the Methods us'd for that Purpose only increas'd the Violence of it; and that the forc'd Silence, which he had impos'd on his Subjects, seem'd to forebode something more dangerous and terrible, than the Liberty which they had of complaining.

The Prediction of this Wise Minister prov'd but too true; for the fifty second Year of the Cycle the People quite driven to despair, like a Torrent which has broken down its Banks, rush'd of a sudden into the Palace, in order to assassinate the Tyrant, who having fled at the first Noise of the Tumult, escap'd their Fury. But they murder'd all his Family, excepting his youngest Son, whom *Chau-kong* had secretly convey'd home, in order to conceal him from the Rage of the Multitude; but they coming to hear of it, besieg'd the House, and demanded the young Prince with Threats. Being ready to force their way in, *Chau-kong*, after a severe Conflict betwixt his Loyalty and Paternal Affection, at last deliver'd them his own Son instead of him; whose Throat they inhumanly cut before the Father's Face.

Forces the
People to
revolt.

Great Loyalty
of *Chau-kong*.

DYN. III. *Li-vang* henceforward liv'd in Obscurity, a Wanderer, and Fugitive; all *Chau-kong* could do to appease the People, and to re-establish him on the Throne, was to no Purpose, so that the Throne was vacant for some Years.

CH EW.
Cyc. XXVI.
Year before
Christ 837.

SWEN-VANG, *Eleventh Emperor, reign'd Forty six Years.*

Swen-vang,
or Siun-vang,
11th Emp.

LI-VANG, dy'd in his Exile, the tenth Year of the Cycle; and the Throne was fill'd by the young Prince, whom *Chau-kong* had sav'd from the Fury of a revolted Nation. This faithful Minister having had time to inform the People, after what manner the right Heir to the Crown had been preserv'd, and how worthy he was of the imperial Dignity, he by Degrees brought them to Obedience; so that at the Death of *Li-vang*, *Swen-vang* was acknowledg'd Emperor.

As he was still very young, *Chau-kong* and another no less faithful Minister, were appointed to be his Tutors, and to take Care of his Education. They acquitted themselves of this important Employ with great Zeal, and their Royal Pupil was equally observant of their Instructions. Of this he gave sufficient Proofs, as soon as he was of Age to govern by himself; inasmuch that it was said in his Praise, that he restor'd the happy Times, when the Throne was fill'd by the great *Yu* and the wife *Ching-tang*.

Restores
Peace to the
Empire,

The Cruelty and Disorders of the preceding Emperors had driven from Court the Wise Men and Philosophers, who finding they could not put a Stop to these Evils, retir'd into the Desarts and Mountains, there to study Wisdom more at Ease. The young Emperor recall'd them from their voluntary Exile, and by his kind Treatment and Liberality fix'd them near his Person; all the Discontent likewise which his Father's Tyranny had caus'd was remov'd by his Virtue. The Tributary Princes took a Pleasure to do him Homage, and imitate him in governing their respective States; whereby all the Members of the Empire resum'd the most perfect Subordination.

which he ex-
tends beyond
the Yang-tse-
kyang.

Some of the Nations of the South, who were separated from *China* by the great River *Tang-tse-kyang*, taking Advantage of the Independency in which they liv'd, plunder'd the neighbouring Provinces; against whom *Swen-vang* sent an Army commanded by excellent Officers, who quell'd their Arrogance, and forc'd them to submit to the Laws and Custom of the Empire. The Prince dy'd the fifty sixth Year of the Cycle, and his Son *Yew-vang* succeeded him.

YEW-VANG, *Twelfth Emperor, reign'd Eleven Years.*

Yew-vang,
12th Emp.
Cyc. XXVII
Year before
Christ 777.
Extravagant-
ly fond of a
Concubine.

THIS Prince had very great Faults, without any of the good Qualities so much admir'd in his Father, which made him contemptible. Among others he suffer'd himself to be enslav'd by a Passion, which was the Cause of his Ruin, as well as of great Troubles in the Empire. He was so desperately in Love with a Concubine, nam'd *Pau-tse*, that for the Sake of her and her Son, he put away the Empress, and disinherited the lawful Heir to the Crown. The Prince with the Empress his Mother retir'd to his Uncle, who had a Principality in the Province of *Shen-fu*.

Notwithstanding all this Tenderness for *Pau-tse*, *Yew-vang* had no great Pleasure in the Enjoyment of her, because she was naturally of a splenetick and melancholy Temper; to remove which he had recourse to all sorts of Instruments, that might inspire her with Gaiety and Mirth.

His mean
Condescen-
sions to please
her,

He was then at War with the Western *Tartars*, and had given Orders that when the Soldiers saw Fires lighted, they should immediately take their Arms, and attend his Person. This Signal, which ought never to be us'd but in Case of Necessity, he often order'd to be given without any real Occasion, looking on it as a proper Diversion for the Object of his Love; who was highly delighted to see the Hurry that the Soldiers were in to run to the Emperor, in order as they thought to fight in his Defense, and then to see how much surpriz'd and astonish'd they look'd at having had so many fatiguing Alarms to no Purpose.

She took great Pleasure also in the Noise made by the Tearing of Silks, and the Emperor to humour her in this odd Fancy, debas'd himself so far as to be tearing them continually in her Presence.

punish'd in
his Death.

Nevertheless the Emperor was displeas'd that his Son had abandon'd him, and sent an Order to his Brother to bring him to him immediately. His Brother answer'd, that he would not obey his Orders, till the young Prince should be declar'd lawful Heir to the Empire; which so provok'd *Yew-vang*, that he instantly declar'd War against him. This Prince, not being in a Condition to oppose the Emperor's Forces, join'd the *Tartars*, and in the Night-time attack'd the Imperial Camp. The Fires were immediately lighted, but the Soldiers, who had been deceiv'd by this Signal so often before, disregarded it, looking on it as the usual Game to divert *Pau-tse*; in the mean time the Camp was forc'd, and the Emperor slain. This happen'd the seventh Year of the Cycle, and *Ping-vang* his Son succeeded to the Empire.

PING-

PING-VANG, *Thirteenth Emperor, Fifty one Years.*

THE *Tartars*, who were introduc'd into the Empire, taking Advantage of the Confusion which the Emperor's Death had caus'd among the *Chinese* Troops, plunder'd wherever they came, and made divers Conquests. The Tributary Princes being alarm'd at it, united their Forces to oppose this Torrent, which threaten'd to overwhelm them.

Among these Confederate Princes, the Kings of *Tsin* and of *Wey* distinguish'd themselves for their Valour, drove back the *Tartars*, and recover'd the Lands they had conquer'd. This Success put an End to a foreign War, but gave Rise to civil Commotions, still more dangerous. These two Kings kept Possession of the Lands which they had taken from the *Tartars*, in Right of Conquest, and looking on themselves as independent, refus'd to pay Homage to the Emperor, under Colour that he had lent them no Assistance. This Example produc'd fatal Consequences, which the Emperor brought on himself, by removing his Court from the Province of *Shen-si* to that of *Ho-nan*. This Caution was imputed to the Fear wherewith the melancholy Fate of his Father had inspir'd him; and it was more for the Security of his own Person than that of the Empire. Several Tributary Princes, seeing themselves abandon'd, follow'd the Example of the Kings of *Tsin* and *Wey*, and made themselves independant. There were three especially, who signaliz'd themselves by their Usurpations, and founded three considerable Kingdoms. The King of *Tsi* seiz'd the Southern Part of the Province of *Shan-tong*; the King of *Tsu* took the Provinces of *Hu-quang* and *Kyang-fi*; and the King of *Tsin* usurp'd the greatest Part of the Province of *Shen-si*.

These three Princes no longer acknowledging any Superior, follow'd the Dictates of their Ambition; and seeking only to enlarge their Dominions by the Spoil of their Neighbours, made War against each other. The Emperor endeavour'd to put a Stop to their Proceedings, and enjoin'd them to live in Peace, but they despis'd his Authority. These Wars lasted several Ages, and were not at an end in the Life-time of the celebrated Philosopher *Confucius*, whose History begins here, which he has intitul'd *Chun Tsyu*. *Ping-vang* dy'd the fifty eighth Year of the Cycle, and was succeeded by *Whan-vang* his Brother's Son.

DYN. III.
CH. III.
Cyc. XXVII.
Year before
Christ 777.

Ping-vang,
13th Emp.
Tartars de-
feated.

Several Kings
throw of their
Dependence,

and make
War on each
other for se-
veral Ages.

WHAN-VANG, *Fourteenth Emperor, reign'd Twenty three Years.*

WHAN-VANG ascending the Throne at this difficult Juncture, endeavour'd to bring the Tributary Princes to their Obedience by gentle means; but these proving ineffectual he had Recourse to Arms, wherein he was not more successful. His Army being defeated, and himself wounded, he gave up all Hopes of re-establishing his Authority in the revolted Provinces, and was content to preserve those which remain'd to him. He dy'd the twenty first Year of the Cycle, and his Son *Chwang-vang* succeeded him.

Whan-vang,
14th Emp.
Cyc. XXVIII.
Year before
Christ 717.

CHWANG-VANG, *Fifteenth Emperor, reign'd Fifteen Years.*

THIS Prince came to the Crown contrary to the Will of several of the Ministers, as well as of his Father, who nam'd for his Successor the Son of one of his Concubines, call'd *Kew*. But one of the Grandees, who had great Authority at Court, having represented to the rest of the Grandees and Ministers that this Injustice done to the lawful Heir, would necessarily occasion a civil War, and give a fatal Blow to the Imperial Authority, which totter'd but too much already, most of them approv'd of his Reasons, and acknowledg'd *Chwang-vang*.

Chwang-vang,
15th
Emperor.

Notwithstanding this, *Kew* had a Party, which form'd a Plot to assassinate the Emperor. The Chief of the Conspirators (who were three Years before their Design was discover'd) being one of the Council, and a Person of great Credit; the Minister, who had taken so much Pains to place *Chwang-vang* on the Throne, counsel'd him to seem not to know any thing of the Conspiracy, but to send for the Traitor as if he wanted his Advice on some important Affair. The Conspirator coming to Court was stabb'd by a Soldier, who had Orders for that Purpose; and *Kew* on this fled to the King of *Yen*. His Flight and the Death of the chief Plot secur'd the Emperor on the Throne; but the revolted Princes constantly maintain'd their Independency: and even the King of *Tsi*, by governing according to the Advice of his *Ko-lau*, or Prime Minister, call'd *Yuen-chu*, got so great an Ascendant over them, that they seem'd as if they had depended entirely upon him; and durst undertake no Affair of Moment without his Approbation. The Emperor dying in the thirty sixth Year of the Cycle, the same *Ko-lau* had such Influence in the State, as to procure almost all the Suffrages of the Ministers and Grandees in Favour of *Li-vang*; who was a Relation of the

Conspiracy
of *Kew* de-
feated.

Great Au-
thority of the
King of *Tsi*.

DYN. III.
C H E W.

Cyc. XXVIII.
Year before
Christ 717.

Ti-vang, 16th
Emperor
Growing
Power of the
King of Tsi.

the King his Master, and descended from a younger Brother of the Imperial Family, call'd Chew.

LI-VANG, Sixteenth Emperor, reign'd Five Years.

THE Crown, by natural Right, descended to one of the Nephews of the late Emperor, but he was excluded from it by the Election of *Li-vang*, who was supported by the King of *Tsi*, his Relation. This Tributary Prince enlarg'd his Power to the great Prejudice of the Imperial Authority, and usurp'd the Title of *Pa*, that is to say, the Chief of other Princes, the greater Part of whom acknowledg'd him in that Quality. But this Title, which others also assum'd after his Example, lasted but one hundred Years, and then was abolish'd. *Li-vang* dy'd the forty first Year of the Cycle, and his Son *Whey-vang* succeeded him.

WHEY-VANG, Seventeenth Emperor, reign'd Twenty five Years.

Whey-vang,
17th Emp.

Tartars de-
feated by the
King of Tsi.

First King of
Japan.

Cyc. XXIX.
Year before
Christ 657.

THE first six Years of this Reign were Peaceable, but this Tranquillity was afterwards disturb'd by the *Tartars* who inhabit to the North of the Province of *Shan-si*; against whom the Emperor sent an Army, commanded by the King of *Tsi*. This Army attacking them while they were besieging *Tay-tong-fu*, forc'd their Camp, put them to the Rout, and oblig'd them to retreat with Speed into their own Country. This Victory, and the Trust *Whey-vang* repos'd in the King of *Tsi*, gave him such Authority, that he wanted nothing of being Emperor but the Title; and his Ambition, which was still greater, would have put him upon dethroning his Master, if he had not apprehended that the other Princes, who were his Equals, would have oppos'd his Advancement to the Throne.

It is positively affirm'd, that *Japan* began to be govern'd by Kings in the fifty eighth Year of the Cycle, and the sixteenth of this Emperor's Reign.

The Emperor dy'd the sixth Year of this Cycle, and was succeeded by his eldest Son, call'd *Syang-vang*.

SYANG-VANG, Eighteenth Emperor, reign'd Thirty three Years.

Syang-vang,
18th Emp.

Defeats the
ambitious
Designs of
the King of
Tsi by a Stra-
tagem.

SYANG-VANG, altho' very young; observ'd in his Father's Time, that the King of *Tsi*'s Ambition was without Bounds, that his Authority increas'd daily, and that he aim'd at making himself Master of the Empire: Therefore as soon as he was on the Throne, he resolv'd to restrain his ambitious Designs; but as he could not effect it by open Force, he made use of a Stratagem, which prov'd successful.

The King of *Tsi* had found means through the Intrigues of his Prime Minister to assemble all the little Sovereigns that were dependant on the Imperial Crown. This was a kind of Convocation of the States, which none but the Emperor had a Right to summon. His Design was to engage these Princes to acknowledge him for their Sovereign; when the Emperor made use of the same Occasion to cause the rest of the Princes to be jealous of him. To this Purpose he sent a skilful Ambassador with Letters to the Assembly. The Order of the Ceremony is, that when a Letter comes from the Emperor, it should be plac'd on a Table magnificently adorn'd; and that the same Honours should be paid to it, as to the Emperor himself, before it was open'd.

The Ceremony was perform'd by all the Tributary Princes, except the King of *Tsi*; who seem'd to be at a stand, and had even refus'd to comply, if his Prime Minister had not made him sensible on one side, that his Conduct would give Distrust to the Princes assembled, who were in Reality his Equals; and on the other expose his own Orders to be treated with no more Regard by his Subjects, than he had treated the Emperor's. This Prince follow'd such wise Counsel against his Will, and put off the Execution of his Design to a more favourable Opportunity. In the mean time this public Proof of his Submission had great Influence on the other Princes, and help'd not a little to confirm them in a due Submission and Dependance on the Emperor; which restor'd the Government to its ancient Form.

His Son *Sbo-tay* retires to the King of *Tsi*, who soon after dies.

Syang-vang was beginning to enjoy the Pleasures of Peace, when it was disturb'd by the Discontent of his Son, *Sbo-tay*; who left his Court the fifteenth Year of the Cycle, and put himself under the Protection of the King of *Tsi*. At the same time a Tributary Prince of the Province of *Shen-si* openly revolted; but the Emperor soon defeated him with the Help of an Army of *Tartars*, whom he had brought over to his Interest by marrying the Daughter of their Chief. He was soon after deliver'd from his Fears of the King of *Tsi*, who dy'd of old Age; and the Wars which arose among his five Sons, who disputed the sovereign Power, together with the Division which ensu'd thereon in that Kingdom, seem'd to promise the Emperor lasting

lasting Ease. As therefore he thought he had nothing more to fear, he divorc'd his Tartar Spouse (whom he had marry'd for political Reasons) under Pretence that she was a Stranger.

The Chief of the Tartars being highly provok'd at this Affront, resolv'd to be reveng'd. He sent therefore for *Sbo-tay*, who was quite destitute of Help, and promis'd to make him Emperor, if he would join with him, which he did; and they both march'd to the Capital of the Empire, from which the Emperor was oblig'd to fly. *Sbo-tay* caus'd himself to be proclaim'd, while his Father wander'd about like a Fugitive, imploring Assistance of the Tributary Princes. But having receiv'd from them the Succours he expected, with which he form'd two Armies, one of them besieg'd the Metropolis, enter'd it in Triumph, and punish'd with Death the rebellious Prince; the other Army defeated the Tartars, and re-establish'd *Syang-vang* upon the Throne. This Event happen'd the seventeenth Year of the Cycle, when the Empire was restor'd to its former Splendour, and the Emperor enjoy'd it peaceably to his Death; which happen'd the thirty ninth Year of the Cycle, and his Son *King-vang* succeeded him.

DYN. III.
CHEW.

Cyc. XXIX.
Year before
Christ 657.

KING-VANG, Nineteenth Emperor, reign'd Six Years.

THE Empire began to flourish when this Prince took Possession of it; but his Reign was too short for the Good of his People, who were always praising his Mildness, Wisdom, and Moderation. He dy'd the forty fifth Year of this Cycle, as much lamented by his Subjects, as he had been tenderly lov'd by them, and left his Crown to his Son *Quang-vang*.

King-vang,
19th Emp.

QUANG-VANG, Twentieth Emperor, reign'd Six Years.

THIS Reign was equally short, and applauded by the People as the preceding. *Quang-vang* had inherited all the good Qualities of his Father, and the new King of *Tsi* was not in a Capacity to cause any Disturbance, being hated by his Subjects, because of his Cruelties, and want of Application to Government. A Prince, who was his Kinsman, having given him Advice with regard to his Conduct, he was so provok'd at it, that he sent a Ruffian, who had neither Fear nor Remorse, to assassinate him. The Villain, who was to pretend some Business from the King of *Tsi*, to make surer of his Blow, went betimes in the Morning to the Palace: where, finding the Prince seated on his Throne, receiving Petitions, and administering Justice, he became seiz'd with Horror at the Thought of staining his Hands in the Blood of so good a Sovereign; and not daring to return to his Master without having executed his Orders, slew himself at the Door of the Palace.

Quang-vang,
20th Emp.

Goodness the
Security of a
Prince.

The Emperor dy'd in the fifty first Year of the Cycle, and was succeeded by his Brother *Ting-vang*.

TING-VANG, Twenty first Emperor, reign'd Twenty one Years.

THE whole Care of this Prince was to keep Wars at a Distance, to preserve the Empire in profound Peace, and cause the Laws to be put in Execution.

Ting-vang,
21st Emp.

On the fourteenth Day of the ninth Month, in the fifty fourth Year of the Cycle, *Lau-kyun* was born in the Province of *Hu-quang*; who is the Founder of one of the two principal Sects, which have infected the Empire, and whereof I shall speak hereafter. He taught, that the Soul died with the Body; that the Happiness of a Man consisted in Voluptuousness; and confining all Felicity to this Life, he pretended to have found out a way to prolong it beyond its natural Term; hence this Sect was call'd the *Sect of Immortals*. It easily found Admittance among the Grandees, who flatter'd themselves that by embracing it they should prolong their Days. However there is Reason to believe, that the Founder of this impious Sect confess'd a Supreme Being, which he call'd *Tau*; for he says in one of his Treatises, "That this *Tau* has no Name that is suitable to him; that he created the Heaven and the Earth, without being corporeal; and that, tho' he is himself immovable, he gives Motion to all things." This has occasion'd some to think, that his Doctrines, where they are very bad have been much corrupted by his Disciples. He dy'd at the Age of eighty four Years; as did this Emperor in the twelfth Year of the Cycle, and his Son *Kyen-vang* succeeded him.

Birth of *Lau-kyun*,
Founder
of the Sect of
Immortals.

KYEN-VANG, Twenty second Emperor, reign'd Fourteen Years.

THIS Prince, by his Wisdom and Prudence, preserv'd the Grandeur of the Empire, and sustain'd with Dignity all the Burthen of the Crown. In his Reign two dangerous Opinions began, which made a great Noise, and were clearly refuted. The Names of

Kyen-vang,
22d Emp.

Cyc. XXX.
Year before
Christ, 597.

DYN. III.
C. H. E. W.
Crc. XXX.
Year before
Christ 597.
Kingdom
of U.

the two Philosophers who broach'd them, were *Yang* and *Me*; the former held, that all Men were to be lov'd alike, as well Strangers as those of the nearest Kin; the latter would have every Man to mind his own Affair, without having the least Concern about the rest of Mankind, or even the Emperor himself.

Before this Reign, History does not mention the Kingdom of *U*, which is at present the South part of the Province of *Kyang-nan*.

The Emperor dy'd the twenty sixth Year of the Cycle, and was succeeded by his Son, call'd *Ling-vang*.

LING-VANG, *Twenty third Emperor, reign'd Twenty seven Years.*

Ling-vang,
23d Emp.

THE Chinese History relates, that this Prince was born with Hair on his Head, and a Beard on his Chin. He is chiefly prais'd for his Wisdom and Prudence, in having preserv'd his Authority, and the Peace of the Empire, tho' all the Tributary Princes were continually at War among themselves.

The forty seventh Year of this Cycle, was remarkable for the Birth of *Kong-fu-tse* or *Confucius*, so often mention'd, whom the Chinese account the greatest Philosopher of their Nation; He was born in the Province of *Shan-tong*, the fourth Day of the eleventh Month. When he was but three Years old, he lost his Father *Sho-lyang-bo*, who was Prime Minister in the Principality of *Tsu*.

Great Instance of Modesty and Self-denial.

The Death of the King of *U* gave Rise to a Dispute between his two Sons, which is without Example; for the eldest, to whom the Crown belong'd, resolving to resign it to his younger Brother, who refus'd it, plac'd him on the Throne as it were by Force, put on him the Royal Ornaments, and saluted him as his Sovereign: But the latter left the Palace secretly, and hid himself in the Desarts, so that the elder was at last oblig'd to wear a Crown, for which he had such a noble Contempt.

The Emperor dy'd the fifty third Year of the Cycle, and was succeeded by his Son, call'd *King-vang*.

KENG-VANG, *Twenty fourth Emperor, reign'd Twenty five Years.*

King-vang,
24th Emp.
Crc. XXXI.
Year before
Christ 537.

THIS Emperor is blam'd for his Negligence in the Affairs of Government, and his Indolence, with Respect to what pass'd in the Empire. For which Reason the King of *U* alter'd his Design, of submitting himself to the Empire and its Laws: so that instead of sending Ambassadors to the Imperial Court, he sent them to that of the King of *Lü*, who was of the Family of the *Cheu*, and govern'd his Subjects according to the Laws establish'd by the Emperors of this Dynasty.

The Wars, which had continu'd so long among the Tributary Princes, having caus'd great Confusion in the Government of their respective States; the King of *Cbing*, who reign'd in the Province of *Shen-si*, began to think of restoring Order in his own. His Prime Minister, a Person of known Ability and Merit, to whom he had committed this Trust, entering into his Masters Views, began with reforming the Abuses which long Use had establish'd in the Court. He renew'd the ancient Laws that had been made by the best Princes, divided the Lands equally, and shew'd so much Wisdom therein, that the Rich did not complain of what had been taken from them to supply the Wants of the Poor. His Regulations on this Head were these; viz.

I. That the Lands should be divided into nine equal Parts, whereof the ninth Part should be the Domain, and cultivated at the common Expence.

II. That all People indifferently should be permitted to fish in the Lakes and Ponds.

III. That the Magistrates should have an Eye particularly to all Widows, old Men and Women, who have no Children, and to Orphans, in order to assist them in their Necessities.

Confucius marries and divorces his Wife.

Confucius marry'd at the Age of nineteen Years, contenting himself with one Wife, by whom he had one Son. A while after he divorc'd her upon some Pretence; but the true Reason was, that being freed from the Cares of a Family, he might pursue his Studies with greater Application; in effect, he made such a Progress in various kinds of Knowledge, that in a few Years he became the most learned Doctor of this Empire.

The Emperor dy'd the eighteenth Year of the Cycle, and was succeeded by his Son, call'd *Meng-vang*. This Prince reign'd but a few Months, in which time he had a Son born, whose Birth gave Rise to two powerful Factions in the Empire. The principal Courtiers declar'd this Infant Emperor, and nam'd Guardians to govern the Empire in his Minority; while some of the Governors of the Provinces, alledging in their Excuse his tender Age, and the Uncertainty of his Life, proclaimed the [second] Brother of *Meng-vang*. Both Parties proceeded to Arms, but this last Faction being the strongest, took the Metropolis, and plac'd *King-vang* on the Throne; whose Name tho' the same [in Sound] as his Father's (*s*), yet it is written in different Characters, and has a different Signification.

(s) It is Brother in the French by Mistake.

KING-VANG, *Twenty fifth Emperor, reign'd Forty four Years.*

DYN. III.
CHEW.
Crc. XXXI.
Year before
Christ 537.

CONFUCIUS had already acquir'd such great Reputation, that he was follow'd by three thousand Disciples, of which seventy two were distinguish'd by their Learning; and in this last Number there were ten, who were so accomplish'd in all sorts of Knowledge, that they were call'd by way of Excellence, The Ten Philosophers.

The thirty eighth Year of the Cycle Confucius was prefer'd for his great Merit to be Prime Minister of the Kingdom of Lu, his native Country. Thro' his wife Counsel the Face of Affairs was soon chang'd throughout the Land; he reform'd the Abuses that had crept into it, and restor'd Honesty in dealing; he taught young Men to respect the old, and honour their Parents, even after their Decease; he inspir'd the fair Sex with Mildness and Chastity; and caus'd Sincerity, Uprightness, and all other civil Virtues to prevail among the People. The Love of Justice became so universal, that if any thing happen'd to be drop'd on the high Roads, nobody durst meddle with it, but the Person it belong'd to; in short he establish'd such perfect Order and Union in all Parts of this State, that it seem'd like a well govern'd Family.

King-vang,
25th Emp.

Confucius is
made Prime
Minister of
the Kingdom
of Lu.

About this time the King of Tsi was assassinated by his Prime Minister, who seiz'd the Crown. This Usurper suspecting the Fidelity of his new Subjects, and fearing the Power of the King of Lu, courted his Friendship, and at the same time laid a dangerous Snare for his Virtue. He restor'd the Lands conquer'd by his Predecessors, and made him a Present of a young Maiden, who besides being exceeding pretty, had a charming Voice; she was order'd to employ all her Charms, and the usual Arts of her Sex, to inspire the King of Lu with Love.

King of Tsi
assassinated
by his Prime
Minister, who
usurps the
Crown.

Confucius employ'd all his Eloquence to dissuade his Prince from receiving such a pernicious Present; but Love was stronger than Reason, and what the Philosopher foresaw came to pass; for the Prince minding nothing but his Mistress, and the Diversions he made for her, neglected the Care of the State, ceas'd to administer Justice, and despis'd the Counsels of the Wise Men who were at his Court. Confucius finding that he could no longer maintain the prudent Maxims which he had establish'd, laid down his Place of Prime Minister, and retir'd out of the Kingdom. Mean time most of the Tributary Princes were still at War together, wherein the King of U perish'd miserably in Battle against the King of Ywe, which is at present the Province of Che-kyang.

Confucius re-
signs his Post
and retires.

The fifty second Year of the Cycle, the Family of Tsau, which had twenty five Kings in the Space of six hundred and thirty six Years, was entirely extinguish'd by the King of Song.

Confucius ends about this Time the History of the Wars of the Tributary Princes, which had lasted two hundred Years; and dy'd the fifty ninth Year of the Cycle, in the seventy third Year of his Age, and the forty first of this Reign. The Chinese pay the greatest Veneration to the Memory of this Philosopher. He is look'd on as the Master and Doctor of the Empire. His Works have so great Authority, that to make the least Alteration in them would be punish'd as a Crime. Whenever any Disorder arises in Point of Doctrine, a Quotation out of his Works decides it at once; so that the most obstinate among the Learned are oblig'd to submit. His Posterity are still in being, and enjoy the greatest Privileges; which have always subsisted, whatever Revolutions have happen'd in the Empire.

His Death.

In the sixtieth Year of the Cycle, the Kingdom and the Family of Chin, which continu'd six hundred and forty five Years, under Twenty four Princes was entirely destroy'd by the King of Tsi. The Emperor dy'd the second Year of this Cycle, and left his Crown to his Son Ywen-vang.

Kingdom of
Chin destroy-
ed.

Crc XXXII.
Year before
Christ 477.

YWEN-VANG, *Twenty sixth Emperor, reign'd Seven Years.*

IF the Reign of this Emperor had been longer, the Power and Dignity of the Empire had been compleatly re-establish'd, through the Wisdom and Mildness of his Government. The ancient Laws of his Predecessors were beginning to revive, and most of the Tributary Princes were return'd to his Obedience, excepting the King of Lu; who refus'd to come to the Assembly of the States, which the Emperor had conven'd, nor looking on himself as a Vassal of the Empire. On this the Emperor caus'd him to be proserib'd as a Rebel, which is the first Instance we find of that sort of Punishment. The Prime Minister of that Prince being discontented, came to the Emperor, who gave him the Command of the Army; with which he fought several Battles, conquer'd almost the whole Province, and sent Ambassadors with Presents to the Emperor, desiring the Investiture of that Principality; which was granted him, on Condition that he pay'd the ordinary Homage and Tributes. The Kingdom of U, which had subsisted for six hundred and fifty Years under twenty petty Kings, was subverted at that Time by the King of Ywe.

Ywen-vang,
26th Emp.

Proseribes
the King of
Lu as a Re-
bel.

Kingdom of
U destroy'd.

Ywen-vang dy'd the ninth Year of the Cycle, and was succeeded by his Son Ching-ting-vang.

CHING-

DYN. III.
CHING-
Ting-
Vang, 27th
Emperor.
Cyc. XXXII.
Year before
Christ 477.

CHING-TING-VANG, *Twenty seventh Emperor, reign'd Twenty eight Years.*

CHING-
ting-
vang, 27th
Emperor.
Kingdom of
Tsay destroy'd

THIS Prince found the Empire almost restor'd to its ancient Splendour, and maintain'd the Dignity of it, by his wise Conduct. The Empress dying, he liv'd in Celibacy; being an admirable, tho' rare Example of Continency, whence he was surnam'd the Chaste. The thirty first Year of the Cycle, the King of Tsi, put an end to the Principality of Tsay, which had continu'd six hundred and seventy six Years under twenty five Princes.

This Emperor dy'd the thirty seventh Year of the Cycle, leaving three Sons, who were old enough to reign. The eldest, call'd Ngan, succeeded him, but he only reign'd three Months, and was murder'd by his Brother Sâ; who enjoy'd the Fruits of his Crime no longer than five Months; being assassinated, under Pretence of revenging the Parricide, by his youngest Brother, Kau-vang, who ascended the Throne without the least Opposition.

KAU-VANG, *Twenty eighth Emperor, reign'd fifteen Years.*

Kau-vang,
28th Emp.

ALTHO' this Prince usurp'd the Crown without Opposition, yet the barbarous Action, by which he made his way to it, disgrac'd him throughout the Empire; and furnish'd most of the Tributary Princes with a Pretence to refuse paying him the usual Homage, or to acknowledge him for their Sovereign. He had a Brother, call'd Whan-kong, whom he remov'd, out of Policy, from Court, by giving him a Principality in the Province of Ho-nan; one of whose Descendants was the last Emperor of this Dynasty.

In the Kingdom of Tsi, a very numerous Family, call'd Tsen, having become exceeding powerful by their great Credit and Riches; they made themselves popular by their Liberality, and growing proud of the Authority they had acquir'd, caus'd the People to rebel, who secretly made away with their King. But to remove the Suspicion of their having been the Rigidists, they plac'd his eldest Son on the Throne, and made the youngest Prime Minister; however, as they had divided all the great Posts and Governments among themselves, they left the Prince nothing but an empty Title, and kept all the Power in their own Hands.

Kau-vang dy'd the fifty second Year of the Cycle, and was succeeded by his Son Ghey-lye-vang.

GHEY-LYE-VANG, *Twenty ninth Emperor, reign'd Twenty four Years.*

Ghey-lye-vang
29th Emp.

Miserable
State of the
Empire.

The Wars
begin again
among the
Tributary
Princes.

ABOUT this time the cruel Wars between the Tributary Princes began again, and lasted near three hundred Years. The Historians call these times *Chen-que*, or the *warlike Ages*. Each Prince aim'd at the Empire, and endeavour'd to destroy his Rival. The Emperors had scarcely any thing left them except their Dignity; and had the Affliction to see both their Authority and their Provinces taken from them by Degrees. The History tells us, that the nine Brazen Vessels, which Yu, the Founder of the first Dynasty, caus'd to be made, representing the Provinces of the Empire, shook of their own accord; which was look'd on as a Presage of the Evils that threaten'd the State.

The Kingdom of Tsin was divided among four Princes, who had conquer'd it. One of them, who was become famous by gaining several Battles, form'd the Design of seizing the other three Parts, but was prevented by Death. However his Son Chi-fyang, who succeeded him, being equally unquiet, and ambitious to enlarge his Territories, pick'd a Quarrel with the Kings of Han and Gbey; who chose rather to deliver up the Places, which he unjustly demanded by his Ambassador under Pretence of making Satisfaction for Injuries receiv'd, than engage their Subjects in a bloody War.

Chi-fyang, who breathed nothing but Hostilities, thought to have made the King of Chau, another of his Neighbours, truckle in the same manner; but that Prince not only dismiss'd his Ambassador without giving him any Answer, but engaging the injur'd Kings of Han and Gbey to join him with their Forces, the Army of Chi-fyang was intirely defeated, and himself slain. The King of Chau having subdued the Dominions of his Enemy, enter'd them in Triumph, and put all his Family to Death. Not content with this Vengeance, he caus'd the Corps of Chi-fyang to be brought before him; and cutting off his Head made a Cup of his Skull, out of which he us'd to drink, being varnish'd over for the Purpose. One of the Officers most firmly attach'd to Chi-fyang, was so enrag'd at this Affront done to the Memory of his Master, that he attempted several times to slip into the Palace of the King of Chau, and murder him; but being discover'd, he was put to death.

There was another War between the King of Lü and the King of Tsi. The former gave the Command of his Army to a brave General, nam'd U-ki, who entering the Kingdom of Tsi, gain'd a great Victory, took five important Places, and would have push'd his Conquests farther, if a Peace had not ensu'd between the two Kings. This Officer was as sober as he was valiant; he liv'd like one of the common Soldiers, and equally shar'd with them the Fatigue as well

as the Gain; whereby he inspir'd his Troops with that Vigour to which he ow'd his Success rather than to his Valour.

The Emperor dy'd the Sixteenth Year of the Cycle, and his Son *Ngan-vang* succeeded him.

NGAN-VANG, *Thirtieth Emperor, reign'd Twenty six Years.*

HISTORY relates nothing concerning this Emperor, excepting the Year of his Reign; and only gives an account of the Wars among the Tributary Princes.

The King of *Ghey* had engag'd in his Interest the famous General *U-ki*, just now mention'd, of whose Wisdom he had conceiv'd as high an Idea as of his Valour. One Day discoursing familiarly with him, concerning his Wealth, and the Strength of his Kingdom, which Nature had fortify'd with inaccessible Rocks: *U-ki* made Answer, that he deceiv'd himself much, if he plac'd his Security in steep Rocks; and that the Power and Grandeur of a State consisted in the Virtue and Application of the Person who govern'd.

This Answer encreas'd his Esteem with the Prince, who having declar'd War against the King of *Tsin*, gave *U-ki* the Command of his Army; with which he attack'd the Enemy, entirely defeated them, and forc'd the King to sue for Peace. These and other no less glorious Actions gain'd the General the Affection of the Prince, who to recompense him, made him his Prime Minister. The Grandees displeas'd hereat, endeavour'd to render his Fidelity suspected; and suggested to the King that it was not prudent to put a Stranger into the most important Post in the State. *U-ki*, being inform'd of the ill Offices they were doing him, left the Kingdom secretly, and retired to the Court of the King of *Tsi*; where his Merit being soon known he was plac'd at the Head of the Army, and having gain'd several Battles, against different Princes, oblig'd them to seek the Amity and Alliance of his Master. The Great Men envying his Prosperity, they endeavour'd to ruin him with the King; but not succeeding in their Design, they conspir'd against their Sovereign as well as his Favorite; who discovering the Plot, all those concern'd in it were either banish'd the Kingdom or put to Death. *U-ki* after this changed the Form of the Government, by limiting the Authority of the Grandees and Ministers, and lodging the Power solely in the King. This Reform in the State render'd it so flourishing that it became formidable to the neighbouring Princes; who conspir'd with the Governors and Magistrates of the Kingdom, to destroy a Man, who had render'd his Master so much their Superiour in Power and Authority. Accordingly he was found murder'd in his own House.

The Emperor dy'd the forty second Year of the Cycle, and was succeeded by his Son *Lye-vang*.

LYE-VANG, *Thirty first Emperor, reign'd Seven Years.*

THE Empire decay'd daily, and the Imperial Family was on the Brink of Ruin. All the Tributary Princes maintain'd their Independency, excepting the King of *Tsi*, who was the only one who renew'd his Homage on *Lye-vang*'s Accession to the Throne. The same Year that he took Possession of the Empire, the Kingdom of *Ching*, which had twenty three Princes in the Space of four hundred and thirty two Years, was destroy'd by the King of *Han*.

The forty second Year of this Cycle was remarkable for the Birth of the Philosopher *Meng-tse*, commonly known by the Name of *Mencius*, who is esteem'd most of all the Chinese Sages after *Confucius*. *Lye-vang* dy'd without Issue in the forty ninth Year of the Cycle, and his younger Brother *Hyen-vang*, succeeded him.

HYEN-VANG, *Thirty second Emperor, reign'd Forty eight Years.*

THIS Prince had scarcely any thing else but the Title of Emperor; the Imperial Authority being so little respected that the Tributary Princes not only refus'd to acknowledge him for their Sovereign, but also threaten'd to declare War against him if he oppos'd their Designs, or blam'd their Conduct. They being prepossess'd with an Opinion, that the Crown belong'd to the Possessor of the nine Vases of Copper, which the great *Yu* had caus'd to be made; each of them strove to get the Possession of them, in order to usurp the Authority over the rest. The Emperor, to defeat their Designs, was oblig'd to have them thrown into a deep Lake, from which it was impossible to get them out.

Mencius, who was but thirty six Years old, then flourish'd in the highest Reputation, and had seventeen Disciples that follow'd him. He travell'd over several Kingdoms, especially those of *Ghey* and *Tsi*, instructing Princes how to govern their Subjects, and the Subjects in their Duty towards their Princes; as well as in the Virtues that they ought to practise, both in the private and active Scenes of Life.

Hyen-vang dy'd the thirty seventh Year of the Cycle, and was succeeded by his Son *Shin-tsin-vang*.

DYN. III.

C H E W.

Cyc XXXIII.

Year before

Christ 417.

Ngan-vang,

30th Emp.

U-ki the fa-

mous Gene-

ral.

His Saying

to the King

of Ghey.

who makes

him his

Prime Mini-

ster.

Retires to the

King of Tsi.

Renders the

King absolute

and is murder-

ed.

Lye-vang,

31st Emp.

Kingdom of

Chin destroy-

ed.

Meng-tse the

Philosopher

born.

Hyen-vang,

32d Emp.

Has nothing

left but the

Title.

Meng tse

flourishes.

Cyc XXXIV.

Year before

Christ 357.

DYN. III.

C H E W.

Cyc. XXXIV.

Year before

Christ 357.

Shin-tsin-

vang, 33d

Emperor.

SHIN-TSIN-VANG, *Thirty third Emperor, reign'd Six Years.*His Sloth and
Cowardice.Great Power
of the King
of Tsin,who defeats
five Confe-
derate Kings.Of whom
that of Ghey
becomes his
Tributary.

IF this Prince had possess'd Strength and Courage enough to have taken Advantage of the Divisions and Wars, which reign'd among the Tributary Princes, doubtless he would have restor'd the Empire to its former Grandeur: but his Cowardice and Sloth, in which he exceeded his Predecessor, contributed more than any thing to the abasement of his Dignity, and the extinction of his Authority; while the King of *Tsin* encreas'd to such a Degree that he kept the other Princes in Subjection to him, and had the Imperial Authority, tho' not the Dignity. Five Kings, viz. of *Tsu*, *Cbau*, *Han*, *Ghey*, and *Yen*, joined their Forces to oppose his formidable Power; but the King of *Tsin* defeated their Army, and might have deprived them of their Kingdoms, if a more important Concern had not call'd him elsewhere. Two Princes of the Western Part of the Province of *Se-chwen*, who were independant of the Empire, were at War together, and each demanded Aid from the King of *Tsin*; who believing it was easy to take Advantage of their Difference, and join those vast Countries to his own, marched to the Assistance of one of these Princes, and defeated the Army of the other, who was found dead in the Field of Battle; in short he oblig'd the Prince, whom he had assisted, to pay him Homage, and an annual Tribute.

At the same time the King of *Ghey*, one of the Confederates, having no Hopes of living either easy, or secure in his Dominions, while he had so powerful a Prince for his Enemy, became his Tributary, and pay'd him the same Respect and Submission as if he had been Emperor. The King of *Tsin* granted him his Friendship and Protection the more willingly, as by the Kingdom of *Ghey*, he could more easily enter and subdue the Territories of the other Princes of the East.

The Emperor, who had been an idle Spectator of all the Victories of the King of *Tsin*, dy'd the forty third Year of the Cycle, and was succeeded by his Son *Ngan-vang*.

NGAN - VANG, *Thirty fourth Emperor, reign'd Fifty nine Years.*Ngan-vang,
34th Emp.

THIS Prince's Reign was not more happy for being so long; when he came to the Throne, the Imperial Authority was almost annihilated; and tho' he wanted neither Parts nor Virtue, yet the State was too weak to undertake any thing that might give the least umbrage to such a powerful Prince as the King of *Tsin*.

Honour paid
to the Me-
mory of a
virtuous Mi-
nister.

At this time a *Ko-lau* of the King of *Tsin*, nam'd *Kiu-yen*, who had gain'd the Hearts of all, by his Probity and Uprightness, fell a Sacrifice to Envy, and was unworthily depriv'd of his Honours; not being able to survive his Misfortune, he threw himself into the River and was drown'd. The People were so sensibly afflicted at his Loss, that they preserve the Memory of it by a Feast; which is still celebrated annually on the fifth Day of the fifth Month, when they sail about the Rivers in ornamented Barks, as if they were in search of that virtuous *Mandarin*, in order to bring him to life again.

Cyc. XXXV.
Year before
Christ 297.

Meng-tse dies.

Kingdom of
Song extinct.King of Tsin
dethrones the
Emperor.

Mencius dy'd the ninth Year of this Cycle, in the eighty fourth Year of his Age, and is look'd upon as the greatest Philosopher of the Empire, except *Confucius*. His Works are held in high Veneration, and his Descendants enjoy great Privileges. Mean time the King of *Tsin* followed closely his ambitious Designs, and insensibly clear'd the way to the Empire, by underhand supporting the War among the Tributary Princes; each of whom ask'd Succours from him, which he readily furnish'd them with, that they might destroy one another, and lessen the Number of the petty Sovereigns. Thus the Kingdom of *Song*, which had subsisted three hundred eighty one Years, under thirty two Princes, was destroy'd by the Kings of *Tsi* and *Tsu*; and the Principality of *Li*, which had been govern'd by thirty four Sovereigns, was subdu'd by the King of *Tsin*. This last also invaded the Territories of *Ghey*, who became tributary to him.

After this *Cbau-syang* King of *Tsin*, no longer concealing his Design upon the Imperial Crown, offer'd to the Sovereign Lord of Heaven a Sacrifice, with the same Ceremonies which none but the Emperors were allow'd to perform, by which publick Act he openly declared his Pretension to that sovereign Dignity. At that time there was no Prince powerful enough to dispute it with him, except the King of *Tsi*; but *Cbau-syang* gained a compleat Victory over him, and immediately sent part of his Troops to dethrone the Emperor, whose Army was so small, that it was defeated at the first Attack; and this unfortunate Prince was forced to implore the Clemency of the Conqueror, to acknowledge him for his Sovereign, and yield up to him the few Cities that remained in his Hands. This Submission saved him his Life, which he ended the Year following in the Province of *Sban-si*, whither he retired.

As soon as the Emperor's Misfortune was publickly known, several of the Princes, particularly the King of *Han*, hasten'd to pay Homage to the King of *Tsin*. Nevertheless, as he

he was not acknowledg'd by the whole Empire, and there were still some Princes, who adher'd to the Family of *Cbew*, they elected *Cbew-kyun*, one of the Grand-sons of the Brother of *Kau-vang*, the twenty eighth Emperor of this Race.

DYN. III.
CHEW.

Cyc. XXXV.
Year before
Christ 237.

CHEW-KYUN, *Thirty fifth Emperor, reign'd Seven Years.*

CHEW-KYUN took the Title of Emperor the forty third Year of the Cycle, and gather'd Forces on all sides to make Head against the Usurper, demanding Aids from the Kings of *Tsi*, *Tsu*, and *Gbey*; but these Princes fearing *Cbau-fyang*, and regarding no Interest but their own, refus'd to send him any. *Cbew-kyun* finding himself forsaken, and out of Hopes of maintaining himself on the Throne, abdicated the Crown, and liv'd a private Life. Thus ended the Dynasty of the *Cbew*.

Cbew-kyun,
35th Emp.

Abdicates,
and so puts
an End to the
Dynasty of
the *Cbew*.

Cbau-fyang did not long enjoy the Authority which he had usurp'd, but dy'd even before the Abdication of the Emperor; his Son *Hyaung-veng-vang* dy'd the same Year, and left the Imperial Crown to his Son, call'd *Cbwang-fyang-vang*, who was the Founder of the Dynasty of *Tsin*.

The Fourth DYNASTY, call'd TSIN, which had Four Emperors, within the Space of Forty three Years.

CHWANG-SYANG-VANG, *First Emperor, reign'd Three Years.*

THE Beginning of this Prince's Reign is remarkable for his Inroad into the Territories of the King of *Gbey*. At first he won several Battles, which so alarm'd the other Princes, that fearing after he had gotten the Empire, he would dispossess them of their Dominions, five of them viz. the King of *Han*, *Tsu*, *Yen*, *Cbau*, and *Tsin*, join'd the King of *Gbey*; their Forces consisted of two hundred thousand Men, who defeated the Emperor's Army, and oblig'd him to quit the Territories which he had conquer'd.

DYN. IV.
TSIN.

Chwang-fyang-vang,
1st Emperor.

Opposed by
Six of the
Kings.

During these Transactions the Emperor dy'd, and left the Crown to his adopted Son *Shi-whang-ti*, who succeeded in the fifty second Year of the Cycle. According to the Chinese History he was born in the twelfth Month after his Conception.

SHI-WHANG-TI, *Second Emperor, reign'd Thirty seven Years.*

IF the Confederacy form'd by the six Kings, above mention'd, for their common Defense, had continu'd, they might easily have maintained their Ground against the Forces of *Shi-whang-ti*; but their Ambition soon disuniting them, they made War on one another, and so weaken'd themselves by the Destruction of their Armies, that by little and little they became a Prey to *Shi-whang-ti*; who having subdu'd them one after another, put them to death with all the Males of their Families, excepting the King of *Tsi*, whom he reserv'd for a more lingering and cruel Punishment; for he shut him up in a Park, planted with Pine-Trees, where he allow'd him only just as much Food as was necessary to support Nature. This unfortunate Prince, by these means grown desperate, refus'd to eat any of the Provisions which they brought him, and starv'd himself to Death.

Shi-whang-ti,
2d Emperor.

Subdues the
Confederate
Kings, and
puts them
with their
Families to
Death.

The King of *Han* avoided the Fate of the other Princes, by delivering up himself with his Troops and Dominions to the Emperor; he liv'd at Court with the Honours belonging to his Rank, and as he had both Abilities and Experience, *Shi-whang-ti* often discours'd with him upon the Maxims of Government.

Except the
King of *Han*,
who submits.

All these Principalities being re-united under one Sovereign, and their Titles abolish'd, became thenceforth Provinces of the Empire; which, having been farther enlarg'd by the great Conquests the Emperor made Southward, was divided by him into thirty six Provinces.

Enlarges the
Empire, and
divides it into
36 Provinces

The Admiral of a little Fleet, sent to some of the *Japanese* Islands (†), assur'd the Emperor in the Account he gave him of his Expedition, that nothing could be more advantageous to the Trade of the Empire, than to have a Colony settled there; and to engage him

Japan first
peopled from
China.

more

(†) P. de Haldé omits the Expedition to *Bengal*, mention'd p. 1, which happen'd much about the same time with this to *Japan*.

DYN. IV.
T S I N.Circ. XXXV.
Year before
Christ 237.Builds the
Great Wall.Publishes a
Decree to
burn all the
Books which
treated of
History or
the Sciences.Which has
render'd his
Name odious
Makes Laws.Rejects the
Advice to e-
rect Principa-
lities for the
Maintenance
of the youn-
ger Children
of Emperors,
which he ap-
points ano-
ther Way.Dies, and his
younger Son
succeeds the
Elder, who
was nomina-
ted Emperor.

more effectually in that Design, he told him that one of the Islands produc'd a sovereign Remedy against all sorts of Diseases, and even Death itself.

The Emperor, fond of living long to enjoy his Conquests, was caught with this Bait, and sent him back with Ships, Soldiers, and three hundred young Men, with as many marriageable Maidens. The Admiral arriving at an Island, built a City, of which he declar'd himself Sovereign; in a short time the Country was peopled, and the Inhabitants are proud of deriving their Original from the *Chinese*.

Sbi-wbang-ti having observ'd in visiting his Empire that the Northern Provinces, especially *Pe-che-li*, *Shan-shi*, and *Shen-shi*, were much expos'd to the sudden Incurfions of the *Tartars*; he sent a formidable Army, which having driven them back a great way beyond the Frontiers of the Empire, he immediately put in Execution the Scheme he had form'd to secure his Country against such dangerous Neighbours, by building a Wall from the Sea to the Extremities of the Province of *Shen-shi*. In the forty second Year of the Cycle, he caus'd Ships loaded with Iron, to be sunk into the Sea, to secure the Foundation; one third part of the Men in the Empire, who were of a certain Age, were employ'd in the Work; and the Architect was oblig'd under Pain of Death to join the Stones so well with Mortar, that not a Nail could be driven between.

There were large Arches built for the Passage of Rivers, as also Forts along the Wall, at proper Distances for Garrisons, and Gates in the most convenient Places, to facilitate Commerce, and invade *Tartary* on Occasion. It was so thick that seven or eight Horsemen could ride abreast on it, and so solid that it is almost all standing to this Day; but, what is more surprising, is, that the whole was finish'd in five Years time.

This stupendous Work was enough to immortalize the Founder; but not satisfy'd with having Comparisons made between him and his Predecessors, much to his Advantage, he pretended he had eclipsed all their Glory, and that Posterity might have none to talk of but himself, he endeavour'd to destroy the very Remembrance of them. For this end he publish'd a Decree, commanding his Subjects on pain of Death to burn the Books call'd *King*, and all the Works of *Confucius*, which transmitted the Virtues and Actions of those great Emperors; he only excepted those that treated of Architecture and Medicine. To counteract these destructive Orders, he fram'd several Pretences: *These Books*, said he, *were useful when the Empire was divided among various Sovereigns, that the People might be govern'd by the same Laws; but now that it is under one Monarch, it is the same Spirit which governs and animates the whole. These Sciences*, added he, *to which an infinite Number of Men apply themselves, serve only to encourage Idleness, while Agriculture, which is the Source of Happiness to the People, is neglected.* In short, according to him, these Books contain'd the Seeds of Rebellion, and those who made them their Study went so far in their Pretence to reform the State, that if the wise Commands of the Prince, which must vary according to the several Occasions, were not conformable to the ancient Laws of the Empire, they took the Liberty rashly to condemn his Conduct, and with their seditious Discourses kindled a Spirit of Disobedience and Rebellion.

This Decree was executed by the Governors with the utmost Severity; they made the strictest Search for these valuable Books, and the Men of Learning, who were found with any of them in their Custody, were put to Death; however, some Copies of them were sav'd, as I have mention'd in another Place. This Decree of the Emperor, and the Severity with which it was put in Execution, have made his Name odious to Posterity, and the Loss of these ancient Monuments is much bewail'd by the *Chinese*, at this Day. A profound Peace succeeding after a twenty five Years War, the Emperor made several new Laws, and alter'd others. As he had several Children, some of his Ministers advis'd him to create the Younger, Sovereigns of certain Provinces; but the Emperor putting them in mind of the Troubles which the erecting such Principalities had caus'd under the preceding *Dynasties*, rejected that Method; and instead thereof order'd Palaces to be built for them in several Cities, where they should be maintain'd at the Emperor's Expence, and treated with the Respect due to their Birth, but have no Authority over the People. This Custom has been observ'd almost ever since, and in latter Reigns they have been oblig'd to reside in the Metropolis, and to follow the Court.

Sbi-wbang-ti, who was not us'd to be at rest, resolv'd to make a second Progress, through the Eastern Provinces of the Empire, and took his second Son with him; but falling dangerously ill on the Road, he dy'd in the thirty seventh Year of the Cycle.

Finding himself drawing near his End, he wrote a Letter to his eldest Son, declaring him Emperor, and deliver'd it together with the Seals of the Empire to his second Son, in order to send them to his Brother; but as soon as the Emperor was dead, the young Prince resolv'd to place the Crown on his own Head. The only way to succeed in this Affair, was to engage *Li-tse*, the Prime Minister, in his Party, who had great Authority in the Empire; he indeed rejected the first Proposal, but on new Solicitation, his own Interest and the Merit of the young Prince at length prevail'd with him; and being in great Esteem, his own Example drew almost all the Suffrages over to the young Prince. The eldest Son, who had got together some Forces, in order to maintain his Right, finding that most of the Provinces had already acknowledg'd his Brother Emperor, was oblig'd to submit; but the Steps he had taken, being look'd upon as Crimes of high Treason, he was order'd to kill himself.

EUL-SHI, *Third Emperor, reign'd Three Years.*DYN. IV.
T S I N.Cyc. XXXVI.
Year before
Christ 257.Eul-shi, 3d
Emperor,
misled by the
Advice of a
perfidious
Minister.

THIS Prince, who was both an Usurper and a Murderer of his Brother, during the short time that he reign'd, shew'd how unworthy he was of the Crown. He chose the greatest Enemy of the Family of *Tsin* for his *Ko-lau*, or Prime Minister, who affected a great Zeal for his Person, tho' secretly he was endeavouring to extirpate all his Race; and indeed the Emperor's Inclinations too well seconded the Views of the Traitor.

This Prince had told him several times, that, Life being short, he would pass it as pleasantly as possible, and indulge himself in an unbounded Looze of Pleasure.

The *Ko-lau* upon this advised him to remove all the Ministers and Governors appointed by his Father, who, he said, would be continually disturbing his Pleasures with their Remonstrances, and Threatnings, and put in their Places such as he was sure would have a regard to his Quiet. The Emperor follow'd this pernicious Counsel, and all Employments were fill'd with Creatures of the *Ko-lau*.

The Complaints and Murmurs which ensued in all the Provinces upon this Change, made the People, (who were burthen'd with Taxes to supply the Emperor's Expences in building Palaces, Parks, and fine Gardens,) ready to revolt. Add to this, that the smallest Faults were punish'd in the severest manner; and that often the Governors gratify'd their private Resentments, under Pretence of pleasing the Emperor, and executing his Orders.

One of the Generals of the Army, who had been sent into the Eastern Provinces, to quell some Troubles, was the first that revolted; and engag'd the Troops to proclaim for Emperor the Lawful Heir, who was Son of the eldest Brother, and to dethrone the Usurper, who had murder'd him.

One of his
Generals re-
volts.

At this Juncture there appear'd a Freebooter, call'd *Lyew-pang*, who from a private Soldier was become Captain of a Troop of Vagabonds. He was endow'd with great Qualities, being courageous, mild, and moderate; tho' a strict Observer of the Laws of Military Discipline among his Companions. He was also naturally eloquent and persuasive, especially when he declaimed against the Luxury and Indolence of the Emperor. A great Physiognomist meeting him on the Road, threw himself at his Feet: *By the Lines of your Face, which, says he, I have carefully examin'd, I know you will be Emperor, and I render you beforehand the Respects, which a Subject owes to his Sovereign. I have a Daughter, who has not her Equal for Beauty and Wisdom in the Empire; her I offer you in marriage, so sure I am, that my Prediction will one Day come to pass.* *Lyew-pang* charm'd with this Discourse accepted the Offer, and was instantly marry'd.

The Rise of
Lyew-pang.

Mean time the revolted General form'd a Design to make himself King of *Tsu*; and marching towards one of the Places of that Kingdom, which he hop'd to take in a short time, the Governor seeing the Danger he was in, begg'd Assistance of *Lyew-pang*: who by his Presence and the Terror of his Name caus'd the Enemy to retreat, and thus deliver'd the City. But the Governor, instead of acknowledging the Service, shut the Gates against his Deliverer.

He marries a
Fortune-Tel-
ler's Daugh-
ter;

Lyew-pang, being inform'd by a Letter fasten'd to an Arrow, which was shot into his Camp, that the Governor's Ingratitude had caus'd a Sedition in the City, immediately besieg'd, and scaling the Walls, took it. The Governor having been slain at the first Attack, the Inhabitants declar'd for the Conqueror, who enter'd with his Army in Triumph; and thus from being Captain of the Vagabonds, he became of a sudden General of a great Army, as well as Master of a rich Booty. Hereupon he caus'd red Ensigns to be made, and began to entertain Hopes of fulfilling the Prediction of the Fortune-Teller.

defeats the
revolted Ge-
neral;

In the mean time, tho' the Emperor's Throne shook under him, yet it could not rouse him out of that dead Lethargy, into which the Love of Pleasure had thrown him; and the perfidious *Ko-lau*, instead of endeavouring to recover him, precipitated his Ruin, by his pernicious Advice; he falsely accused of Crimes the Ministers and Governors, who were best affected to the reigning Family, and had them immediately put to Death. Such a Career of Covetousness and Cruelty making the People desperate, many Cities, and even whole Provinces, received those who came to take Possession of them, looking on them as the Avengers of publick Liberty. So that in the second Year of *Eul-shi*, several Provinces revolting, chose their own Sovereigns; and thus all the Kingdoms rose again, which had been destroy'd by the Dexterity of *Shi-wang-ti*, particularly those of *Tsi*, *Yen*, *Chau*, *Ghey*, and *Tsu*.

and becomes
General of a
great Army.

The King of *Tsu*, who was the most powerful, having taken into his Service the brave *Lyew-pang*, sent him and two other Generals, with each an Army under his Command, to attack the Emperor separately; promising to bestow the Kingdom of *Tsin* on any of the three, that should take the Metropolis, and drive the Emperor out of it.

Several King-
doms rise up
again.*Lyew-pang*
serves the
King of *Tsu*.

The Chinese Monarch concluding, that if he defeated the King of *Tsu*, he could easily subdue the rest, sent a large Body to oppose his three Generals; one of whom was beaten by the Imperial Army, which at length was routed in its Turn by the General of *Tsu*, named *Hyang-lyu*.

defeats the
Emperor's
Forces.

On this they sent to Court for a Reinforcement, but the Deputy being oblig'd to return without having had an Audience of the *Ko-lau*, they with their General join'd the Forces under *Hyang-lyu*.

DYN. IV.
T S I N.
Crc. XXXVI.
Year before
Christ 237.

The Empe-
ror murdered
by his Ko-lau.

The *Ko-lau* hearing of the Desertion of the Imperial Army, and fearing that his Treachery should be suspected, to prevent the Punishment which he justly dreaded, brought an Assassin into the Palace, who murder'd the Emperor in the twenty fourth Year of his Age, and the third of his Reign. Thus perish'd miserably a Prince, who pay'd his Way to a Throne by the Murder of his Brother.

Mean while the *Ko-lau*, who had shut himself in his Palace, pretending to be sick, came out in haste, as if he wanted to discover the Regicide and his Accomplices, and the better to make this Shew of his Fidelity pass unsuspected, he plac'd *Ing-vang*, who was Grand Nephew to the Emperor, on the Throne.

ING-VANG, Fourth Emperor, reign'd Forty five Days.

Ing-vang, 4th
Emperor,
puts to Death
the treacherous
Ko-lau.

THIS Prince had been but three Days Possessor of the Crown, when he discover'd that it was the treacherous *Ko-lau*, who had murder'd the late Emperor. But as it was hazardous to punish so powerful a Minister openly, he pretended to be sick, and commanded his Son to stab the Traytor, when he came alone, according to the Privilege of his Place, to speak with him in private. This was put in Execution, and the Empire thereby deliver'd from a Monster, who dispos'd of all Employments, and arbitrarily deprived the Ministers and Governors, both of their Substance and Life. Afterwards they put to Death all his kindred to the third Generation.

Lyew-pang
dethrones the
Emperor,
and puts an
End to the
Dynasty of
the *Tsin*.

In the mean time *Lyew-pang* was advancing towards the Capital: which when the Emperor heard, he drew out all his Troops that were in Garrison, to strengthen his Army. *Lyew-pang* on his side making use of Stratagem, sent abundance of his Soldiers, under Pretence of being Defectors, into the Imperial Camp; where they corrupted great Numbers, craftily persuading them that it was their Interest to follow *Lyew-pang*: who being inform'd that the Imperial Army was ready to mutiny, came upon it suddenly and defeated it. The Emperor finding himself forsaken by his Subjects, and fearing Death more than the Loss of his Crown, threw himself at the Conqueror's Feet, and deliver'd him the Seals and other Marks of the Imperial Dignity. *Lyew-pang* entred the City in Triumph, which he gave Leave to his Soldiers to plunder, excepting the Palace, where he found immense Riches; forbidding them under the severest Penalties to use any of the Inhabitants ill.

The Fifth DYNASTY, call'd HAN, which had Twenty five Emperors in the Space of Four hundred and twenty six Years.

KAU-TSU, First Emperor, whose Name before was LYEW-PANG, reign'd Twelve Years.

DYN. V.
H A N.

Kau-tsu, 1st
Emperor,
comes to an
Agreement
with *Hyang-
byu*.

LYEW-PANG was the Founder and first Emperor of this Dynasty, under the Name of *Kau-tsu*. At first he only assumed the Title of King of *Tsin*; because he had taken the Capital of the Empire, in the Name of the King of *Tsin*, who had promis'd to give him that Kingdom.

Hyang-byu (A), the other General, who as hath been observed had also been sent to dethrone the Emperor, was vex'd to find that *Lyew-pang*, through his Expedition and Address, had depriv'd him of the Glory and Principality to which he aspir'd; and as he was brutish and cruel, and at the Head of a numerous and well disciplin'd Army, it was fortunate for *Lyew-pang*, that he prevented its coming to an open Rupture. This was effected by means of an Interview, procur'd by the Father of *Hyang-byu*, at which the Generals being reconcil'd, they afterwards entred the Metropolis together.

who murders
the dethron'd
Emperor.

Hyang-byu, not pleas'd with the Clemency and Mildness of *Lyew-pang*, and to shew his hatred to the Princes of *Tsin*, set the City and the Imperial Palace on Fire; had the Tombs of the Princes of *Tsin* search'd, and their Bones thrown into unknown Places; and with his own Hands murder'd the dethron'd Prince, whom *Lyew-pang* had treated with great Respect ever since his Misfortune.

A great number of the late Emperor's Soldiers, who were among his Troops, having murmur'd at his Cruelty, he caus'd their Arms to be taken from them by Stratagem; after which they were surrounded by his Army, who cut all their Throats without Mercy, by his Orders.

(A) In the Orig. *Hyang-yu*.

Orders. So many barbarous Actions render'd him abhorr'd by the Soldiers, as well as the People; and serv'd as a Foil to set off the Justice, Clemency, and Moderation of *Lyew-pang*.

As *Hyang-byu* had made himself absolute in the State of *Han*, and plac'd Garrisons in most of the Cities, he next resolv'd to murder his Master, to whom he owed his present Fortune; whereby he propos'd both to attain the Empire, to which he had long aspired, and be revenged on him for having preferr'd *Lyew-pang* before him, in giving him the Principality of *Tsin*. With this Design he set toward the City of *Kyew-kyang*, in the Province of *Kyang-shi*, where the King of *Tsu* was. This Prince to honour his General, came himself to meet him, and was immediately assassinated. *Lyew-pang* being griev'd at the Misfortune of this Prince, who was his Benefactor, order'd the most magnificent Obsequies possible for him; which gain'd him still more the Affection of the People, who join'd with him to revenge the Death of their Sovereign. The two Generals, who from this time were at War together for the Imperial Crown, having fought seventeen Battles, with various Success, at last *Lyew-pang* entirely defeated his Antagonist's Army, who slew himself to avoid falling into his Enemy's Hands.

A Soldier, who found his Body on the Ground, cut off his Head, and carry'd it to *Lyew-pang*, after which it was fix'd on a Spear, and shew'd to all the Inhabitants of *Tsu*. The Conqueror us'd his Victory with Moderation; he order'd a magnificent Funeral for *Hyang-byu*, to shew the Esteem he had for his Valour, and gave his Father the Sovereignty of a Province.

This War being ended, he conven'd a General Assembly of the Estates of the Empire; wherein he was declared Emperor, under the Name of *Kau-tsu*, by all the Tributary Princes, Grandees, and Governors of the Provinces. He kept his Court at first in the Province of *Sben-shi*, but afterwards remov'd it into that of *Ho-nan*, where it continued one hundred ninety six Years, under twelve Emperors.

At a great Feast which he gave to his Officers and Soldiers, with whom he talk'd very familiarly, he ask'd them, to what they attributed his Advancement to the Empire; they making Answer in flattering Terms, ascribed it to his Merit, Valour, and other great Qualities; *You are mistaken*, reply'd the Emperor, *it is owing to this, that I knew how to distinguish the different Talents of those whom I honour'd with my Confidence, and to give them such Employments as they were most fit for.*

Kau-tsu falling sick, nam'd his Son *Whey-ti* for his Successor, appointing him Ministers in whom he might confide; he dy'd the forty third Year of the Cycle. The Chinese History bestows on him the highest Elogies.

WHEY-TI, Second Emperor, reign'd Seven Years.

THE Empire expected great things from this Prince, he being endow'd with Abundance of Meekness, and Moderation, as well as great Courage. But these Virtues were defac'd by much greater Faults; his immoderate Love for Women ruin'd his Health, and his Complaisance for his Mother induced him to intrust her with the Care of the Empire.

This Princess assum'd the whole Authority to herself, and was generally hated for her Cruelty and other Crimes. She removed the Ministers and Governors, according to her Fancy, and dispos'd of their Places to her Creatures. The ordinary Instrument of her Revenge was Poison, which she caus'd to be given secretly to those she wanted to get rid of.

The King of *Tsu*, who was the Emperor's eldest Brother, coming to visit him, when he was sick, had been dispatch'd in the same manner, if the Emperor himself had not taken the fatal Cup, which she had presented him, out of his Hand.

Whey-ti dy'd the fiftieth Year of the Cycle, being oppress'd with Infirmities, which his loose Life had brought upon him. *Lyu-bew*, his Mother, fearing that they intended to set one of the Emperor's Brothers on the Throne, pretended to have a Child, which she bought of a Countrywoman and declared herself his Guardian; but considering that the Cheat was in Danger of being discover'd, while the Mother lived, she caus'd her to be strangled.

LYU-HEW, the Usurper, reign'd Eight Years.

THIS Princess was not satisfy'd to have rais'd her Family out of the Dust to the highest Dignities of the Empire, but she wanted the Tributary Crowns at her Disposal; and put to Death one of her Ministers who had the Courage to tell her, that those Dominions belong'd of Right to the Princes of the Family of *Han*, and that her Husband had sworn all the Governors to maintain that Right even by Force of Arms, if Necessity required it. However, she thought herself powerful enough to fear nothing; and in effect gave the Sovereignty of some Provinces to her own Relations, on Condition of paying her Homage.

After this she murder'd the young Child, to which she was Guardian, and by so doing discover'd the Secret of the Artifice which her Ambition had prompted her to. Her Relations also abusing their good Fortune, behav'd themselves with so much Arrogance and Pride, that the Nobles combin'd together to reduce them to their former despicable Condition, when this wicked Princess was taken away by a sudden Death, in the fifty eighth Year of the Cycle.

DYN. V.
HAN.

Cyc. XXVII.
Year before
Christ 237.

Hyang-byu assassinated the King of *Tsu*.

Is defeated by *Lyew-pang*, and kills himself.

Lyew-pang declared Emperor.

The Maxim to which he ascribed his Advancement.

Whey-ti, 2d Emperor, intrusts his Mother with Affairs.

Her wicked Practices.

She sets up an Impostor on her Son's Death.

Lyu-bew, the Usurper.

Murders the pretended Heir.

Het

DYN. V.
H. A. N.

CYC. XXXVII.
Year before
Christ 177.

Her Memory was so odious, that nobody would take the Part of her Family; so that all her Relations were massacred throughout the Empire.

They proceeded immediately to elect an Emperor, and chose the Sovereign of a small State, who was the second Son of *Kau-tsu*. He ascended the Throne without Opposition, and took the Name of *Ven-ti*.

VEN-TI, Third Emperor, reign'd Twenty three Years.

Ven-ti, 3d
Emperor.
Restores the
Empire to its
former Lustre.

UNDER the Reign of this Prince the Empire recover'd its ancient Splendor; and his Virtues gain'd him in a little time the Love of the Nobles as well as the People.

In the Sacrifices which he offer'd, according to Custom, to the Lord of Heaven, he first pray'd for the Happiness and Prosperity of his Subjects, then for the Preservation of his Person. He was so frugal, that he would not suffer the least Alteration to be made in the Furniture of his Palace, nor to be served in Gold or Silver Plate; and prohibited his Wives, even the Empress herself, to wear Silks, that were either embroider'd or of various Colours. He testify'd his Tenderness for the People, by remitting the Duty on Salt, and one half of the ordinary Taxes; also by ordering all the poor old Men in every Province, after they were arrived to the Age of fourscore, to be maintain'd at his own Expence.

Wholesome
Regulations.

There being a Mint for Copper Money no where but in the Metropolis, whereby the Imperial Treasure found an Advantage, but the Public suffer'd in Proportion to the Distance of Places; he permitted the Coinage of them all over the Empire, ordering, that this sort of Money should be made round, with a square Hole in the middle for the Conveniency of carrying it. The preceding Wars having laid waste the Country and ruin'd Agriculture, which is one of the principal Supports of the State, he cultivated the Earth with his Royal Hands, in some sort to enoble that laborious Profession. He caus'd Mulberry-Trees to be planted, and Silk-Worms to be bred in his Palace, in order to induce the Grandees to follow his Example; obliging the Empress and his other Wives to employ themselves in Needlework, that they might set a Pattern of Industry to the *Chinese* Ladies. He protect'd Learning, and gave leave for the Books, which had been sav'd from the Fire, to be produc'd. In his Reign the Art of making Paper was also first discover'd, by grinding *Bambû* in Mills made on Purpose; every thing before being written on Leaves, or the Bark of Trees, with an Iron Pencil; instead of which they invent'd likewise Pencils made of Hair, and Ink which is dissolv'd in Water on a Piece of Marble. While this Prince was thus employ'd in making his People happy, the *Tartars* made several Inroads into the Empire, but were repuls'd with Loss, and driven a great Distance from the Frontiers. The most distant Nations were so affected with the Fame of his Virtue, and Wisdom of his Government, that the Provinces of *Quang-tong* and *Quang-si* voluntarily offer'd to submit to his Laws, and pay'd him Tribute; on which he sent Ambassadors to receive their Homages. The only Fault which this Prince is accus'd of, is his Weakness in giving credit to a certain Impostor, who presented him with a very costly Liquor, assuring him that, if he drank it, it would make him immortal.

Indian Ink
invented.

The *Tartars*
repuls'd.

Quang-tong
and *Quang-si*
submit to his
Laws.

He dy'd in the forty sixth Year of his Age, and the twenty first Year of the Cycle, and was succeeded by his Son *King-ti*.

KING-TI, Fourth Emperor, reign'd Seventeen Years.

King-ti, 4th
Emperor.

THIS Prince was remarkable for his Mildness and Clemency. One of his first Acts was to mollify the Rigour of Punishments which were then inflict'd on Criminals; but he re-establish'd the Taxes, which his Father had reduc'd to one half, alledging as a Reason, that since Agriculture was restored, the Imperial Treasure ought to be put in a Condition to support the Occasions of the State.

The rash
Action of his
eldest Son oc-
casion'd a War
in the Em-
pire.

The great Indulgence of those who had the Care of the Education of the young Princes, occasion'd great Disorders in his Reign. As it was the Custom for the Children of the Tributary Princes to be educated with those of the Emperor, the eldest Son of *King-ti* made a Feast for one of them, whom he had taken a particular Affection for, above the rest; in which he carry'd the Debauch to such Excess, that having quarrell'd with his Favorite, he stabb'd him dead with a Knife. The Father hearing of his Son's Death, swore to revenge it, and engag'd in his Quarrel six other Tributary Princes, who join'd Forces with him. The Emperor, to prevent their Designs, sent an able General with an Army against them; who had the Policy to draw the Enemy into a Province, where they had Difficulty to meet with Provisions, while himself, fortify'd in his Camp, had plenty of all things necessary for the Subsistence of his Army.

The Confederates perceiving they should soon be afflicted with Famine, resolv'd to divide their Forces, and attack the Camp on all sides at once. But being repuls'd with very great Loss, they fell into a disorderly Flight, on which the Imperialists made a dreadful Slaughter; and the six Princes were either kill'd by the Emperor's Soldiers, or kill'd themselves to prevent falling into the Enemy's Hands.

The

The Emperor dy'd the thirty seventh Year of the Cycle, and was succeeded by his Son *Vu-ti*.

DYN. V.
H. A. N.

CYC. XXXVII
Year before
Christ 177.

Vu-ti, 5th
Emperor,
an excellent
Prince.

VU-TI, Fifth Emperor, reign'd Fifty four Years.

THE Prudence, Moderation, and Valour of this Prince, his Application to Government, his Love for the Sciences, and particular Regard for learned Men, made him esteem'd as one of the greatest Emperors that ever reign'd in *China*. As soon as he had perform'd his Father's Obsequies, he sent for all the chief Philosophers in the Empire to his Court, to consult them upon the Measures of his Government. And as he was naturally inclin'd to War, he thought they would have encourag'd his Inclination, by advising him to attempt the Conquest of some neighbouring Countries, that he might establish Order and Tranquillity therein; but he was mightily surpris'd to find these Wise Men persuading him to maintain Peace, and avoid the most just Wars, which sooner or later prove fatal to a State.

This made him give over the Thought of such Projects, however fond he was of them, and apply himself to the Cares of Government, which he reliev'd with Hunting, the only Recreation he delighted in. He had for that Purpose a Park, enclosed with Walls of vast Extent, where all sorts of Game and Fallow Beasts were kept; but reflecting that so much Land lying uncultivated was a Loss to his People, he chose rather to deprive himself of that innocent Pleasure, than give them Cause to complain, and thenceforth contented himself with the ancient Parks belonging to his Predecessors.

He made several Laws, very conducive to the Peace of the Empire. The Extent of Land, given in Sovereignty to any Prince, was not to exceed one hundred *Li* square; But some of them had so encreased their Quantity, that they possess'd above a thousand *Li*. He remedy'd this Abuse, by ordaining that, whenever a Prince should die, his Estate should be equally divided among his legitimate Children; not thinking it just that only one should be enrich'd, while the rest, thro' Indigence, were unable, with Decency to perform the Honours indispensably due to their Father's Memory. He order'd withall, that for want of lawful Heirs, those Sovereignties should revert to the Crown.

His Laws.

In order to promote the Sciences he commanded the learned Men, whom his Liberalities had drawn to his Court, to put in Order those ancient and precious Books which had escap'd the general Destruction; causing them to be taught publicly; as also the Moral Maxims of *Confucius* and *Mencius*. These Books were Manuscripts, Printing not having been invented till within fifty Years before the *Christian* *Æra*.

Restores the
ancient
Books.

The good Qualities of this Prince were tarnish'd by his Weakness, in giving Ear to Impostors, who promised him an Elixir, which should render him immortal; once, when one of these Chemists brought him this Liquor of Immortality, and setting it on the Table earnestly intreated him to drink it for an Experiment; one of his Ministers, who had endeavour'd in vain to cure him of his Credulity, took up the Cup suddenly and drank it himself. The Emperor being incens'd that his Minister had deprived him of Immortality, resolv'd to punish him with death; to which the Minister reply'd with a Smile, *If this Drink, Sir, hath made me Immortal, how can you put me to Death? But if you can, how doth this frivolous Theft deserve it?* This Answer soften'd the Emperor, who, tho' he applauded the Wisdom of his Minister, was not thoroughly cured of his Weakness.

Deluded
with the Li-
quor of Im-
mortality.

Some time after a Magician appear'd at Court, who undertook to shew the Emperor one of his Wives of the second Order, who was dead, and had been tenderly beloved by him. The Impostor pretended she inhabited the Moon, where she enjoy'd the Effects of drinking the Liquor which render'd People immortal; and having order'd a Tower to be built, affirm'd that by his Power over Spirits, he would cause her to descend therein as often as the Emperor pleas'd. The Emperor assist'd at the conjuring Ceremonies, but the Immortal was deaf to the Voice of the Magician, who fearing to be punish'd, had recourse to this Artifice. Having on a piece of Silk written the Reasons, which hinder'd the Concubine from descending from the Moon, he caus'd a Cow to swallow it; after which pointing to the Beast, *I know not*, says he to the Emperor, in a fearful Tone, *what Crime we have committed, but I see in the Belly of this Creature things that surprize me; command it, O Prince! to be open'd in your Presence.* The Cow was accordingly open'd, and the piece of Silk found in its Belly. But after examining the Writing, they discover'd it to be the Impostor's own Hand, who not able to deny it was put to Death. This History serves for a Subject to several Comedies.

CYC. XXXVIII
Year before
Christ 117.

Punishes an
Impostor.

Vu-ti won four great Victories over the *Tartars*; and, after having driven them far beyond the Great Wall, he carry'd his victorious Arms into the Kingdoms of *Pegu*, *Siam*, *Kambeya*, and *Bengal*; dividing the vanquish'd Countries among the two Generals, and other Officers, who had conquer'd them. He built several Cities there, and honour'd the two Generals with the Title of King. These *Chinese* soon contract'd the Manners and Inclinations of the *Tartars*, and proved in time the greatest Enemies of their Mother Country.

Repels the
Tartars and
conquers se-
veral Coun-
tries.

One of these *Tartar* Kings, to prevent the Resentment of the Emperor, threw himself upon his Mercy, submitted to pay him Tribute, and sent his eldest Son to be

Origin of the
Kin or *Man-
chew Tartars*.

DYN. V.
H. A. N.

CYC. XXXV:11
Year before
Christ 117.

Vu-ti names a
Successor and
puts the
young Prince
Mother
to Death.

educated at his Court. The Emperor was greatly pleased with this young Prince, who, beside a graceful Shape, had a very lofty Air, mixt with a surprizing Sweetness; and being charm'd with his Dexterity in managing Horses, made him first his Master of the Horse, and afterward General of his Army: honouring him with the Name of *Kin (u)*, to distinguish him from the *Tartars*, as if he had been a Native of *China*.

When *Vu-ti* drew near his End, he declar'd the Son of one of his Concubines his Successor. This young Prince, whom he loved better than any of his Children, was no more than eight Years of Age; but he appointed him for Guardian one of his Ministers, in whom he had an entire Confidence. And fearing that the Mother of the young Emperor should stir up Troubles in the State, as *Lyu-bew* had done, he resolv'd to put her to Death, for the many Crimes she was accus'd of; allowing her the Favour however of choosing what Death she would die.

The Emperor dy'd the thirty first Year of the Cycle, and the seventy first of his Age, and the young Prince *Chau-ti* succeeded him.

CHAU-TI, Sixth Emperor, reign'd Thirteen Years.

Chau-ti, 6th
Emperor.

Wife Con-
duct.

Care to pro-
vide for the
poorer Sub-
jects.

Makes Peace
with the
Tartars, and
dies greatly
lamented.

Hyau-ti his
Successor
being vicious
is soon depo-
sed.

THIS Prince, tho' very young, discover'd good Dispositions, and a Prudence far above his Years; being very tractable to the Instructions which he receiv'd from the wise Guardian which his Father had appointed him. He began his Reign by rewarding the Officers who had serv'd the State well; by sending just and able Magistrates secretly into the Provinces, to enquire if the People were oppress'd; and by providing for the Poor in a time of Dearth, when he ordain'd that the rich People, who had more Corn than was necessary for their Subsistence, should furnish the poor with as much as they wanted, and be oblig'd to sow enough to supply them. To make them Amends, he remitted the Taxes on all sort of Grain; by which wise Regulation he sav'd the Lives of infinite Numbers of indigent People.

Equally careful of the Repose and Happiness of his Subjects, he concluded an honourable Peace with the *Tartars*; but did not long survive it, dying without Male Issue, in the forty fourth Year of the Cycle, before he was quite twenty two Years old, mightily lamented by the Empire, on account of his excellent Qualities.

Hyau-ti his Uncle succeeded him, with the Consent of the whole Nation, who soon repented their Choice; for he was negligent of the Government, had no Tenderness for the People, spent both Day and Night in Debauches, and despis'd all good Counsels, which oblig'd the Ministers and Nobility to depose him.

They went to the Palace, and seiz'd the Seals, and other Ensigns of the Imperial Dignity, declaring he had forfeited his Authority; and then sent him to the little State, whereof he had been Sovereign before; not one of his Subjects or Domestics finding Fault with what was done, so odious and contemptible he had render'd himself. They chose in his Place *Swen-ti*, who was Grand-Son of the Emperor *Vu-ti*.

SWEN-TI, Seventh Emperor, reign'd Twenty five Years.

Swen-ti,
or *Sien ti*,
7th Emperor.

Re-establishes
Censors.

Reduces the
Laws.

THE Misfortunes which this Prince suffer'd in his Youth, did not a little contribute to those Virtues which render'd him worthy of the Empire. He had been educated in a Prison, where the Princess his Mother was shut up by the Command of the Emperor; who suspected her, tho' falsely, of destroying the Princes and Princesses of the Royal Blood, by Witchcraft and Sorcery. The Keeper of the Prison was very careful of him, and *Swen-ti*, as soon as he was Emperor, rewarded him with a Principality.

This Prince was of easy Access, of a very mild compassionate Nature to the Unfortunate, and very constant in his Application to State-Affairs.

As he resolv'd to govern alone, he re-establish'd an Officer, suppress'd by his Predecessors, whose Business it was to put the Emperor in mind of his Faults, and to exhort him to reform his Conduct, when he departed from his Duty.

He caus'd exact Information to be given him of the Behaviour of the Governors and Magistrates of the People; gave Audience often, especially to Widows, Orphans, and poor Folks. He permitted all his Subjects to present him Memorials; because in that Form they could better explain, and he give more Attention to their Case, than in Audiences.

He reduc'd the multitude of Laws to a certain Number of Articles, and disannull'd the rest, which serv'd only to perplex the clearest Matters, and to perpetuate Suits.

Having been inform'd that the Kingdoms in *India*, which were conquer'd by his Grandfather, had thrown off the Yoke, he was preparing to go and chastise the Rebels; but was dissuaded

(a) The History is related confusedly in this Place. The Father of this Prince, who is called the *Tartar King*, seems to be one of the two *Chinese* Generals, mention'd just before, who were settled in the Parts of *India*, to the South of *China*; and if so, those Countries seem to be confounded with Eastern

Tartary, whence came the *Manchews*, who are Descendants of the *Kin Tartars*. Which last took their Name from a Descendant of this Prince, whose Father reign'd in Eastern *Tartary*, as will appear hereafter.

dissuaded from it by his Ministers, who told him, that the Blood of his Subjects ought to be dearer to him than Conquests so distant; and that those who resisted his Wisdom and Virtue did not deserve to taste the Sweets of his Government.

In the forty eighth Year of the Cycle there were dreadful Earthquakes, which separated Mountains, and fill'd up Valleys; and as such Accidents were not common, they struck the greater Terror among the People, who look'd on them as a Sign of the Anger of Heaven, and the Fore-runner of some greater Calamity. *Tan-yu*, a King of the *Tartars*, sent Ambassadors to pay the Emperor Homage, and to acknowledge himself his Tributary. As it was suspected that their Intentions were not sincere, and that they came only to discover the Strength of the Empire, and prevent War being declar'd against their Nation before they had recruited themselves, it was resolv'd at first not to admit them to Audience; but perceiving by the fine Furs which they brought, that this Step was taken solely for the Advantage of having free Liberty of Trade they were graciously receiv'd, and treated as Envoys of an Ally.

Swen-ti, who ascended the Throne at the Age of eighteen, was but forty three Years old, in the ninth Year of the Cycle, when he dy'd, leaving his Crown to his Son *Ywen-ti*.

DYN. V.
HAN.

CYC. XXXVIII
Year before
Christ 117.

Dreadful
Earthquakes.
Tan-yu a *Tar-
tar* King does
Homage.

CYC. XXXIX
Year before
Christ 57.

YWEN-TI, Eighth Emperor, reign'd Sixteen Years.

THE singular Taste this Prince had for Learning, and his Respect for learned Men, whom he invited to his Court, and often convers'd with, made him indeed a great Scholar, but not a Great Prince, tho' he did not want several good Qualities. He is prais'd particularly for his Moderation, his Love to his People, and the Frugality he discover'd after he was Emperor, being us'd to say, That He who could be contented with little, would want nothing. He regulated his House by this Maxim; he lessen'd the Number of his Domestics, and retrench'd all Superfluities in his Diet, Furniture, Stables, and Equipage; retaining only just as much of every thing as was purely necessary.

But these good Qualities, and many more, were quite obscur'd by the bad Choice of his Servants having regard neither to their Capacities nor Experience; to express themselves politely and eloquently, was with him the highest Merit, and all that he required in his greatest Ministers. Hence having no other Views than their own Promotion, they fill'd the Court with Factions and Cabals, endeavouring to destroy one another, and get the Ascendant over the Prince; who by his Credulity and Weakness suffer'd himself to be led into all their Measures. So that by Degrees they turn'd all Persons of Merit and Experience out of the Management of Affairs, and put their own Friends and Relations into their Places.

Notwithstanding the Peace which had been concluded with the *Tartars*, the Troops that were posted along the Walls took two of their Princes Prisoners; who trusting to the former Treaty, were hunting in the Mountains, and beheaded them both.

The Emperor, instead of punishing the Commander of those Troops for this piece of Treachery, rewarded him for it; but hearing that the Successor of one of those Princes, was levying numerous Forces, to revenge that infamous Breach of Peace; in order to appease him, and prevent the War, he was oblig'd to give him a Princess of the Imperial Family in Marriage, with a considerable Dowry. A Civil War was ready to break out in the Empire, among the numerous Parties form'd by the Ministers; when the Emperor dy'd in the twenty sixth Year of the Cycle, and the forty third Year of his Age. He was succeeded by his Son *Ching-ti*.

Ywen-ti, 8th
Emperor.

Is moderate
and frugal,

but ruins his
Affairs by a
bad Choice of
his Officers,

who violate
the Peace
with the
Tartars,

and create
Factions.

CHING-TI, Ninth Emperor, reign'd Twenty six Years.

THIS Prince's Fondness for Women and Wine, plung'd him into all manner of Vice, and infamous Pleasures. Out of that blind Respect which he had for the Empress his Mother, who was of the Family of *Lyang*, he conferr'd the most important Places of the Empire on her Relations, without considering the Prejudice he was doing to himself and his own Family. A Nobleman, who had the greatest Share of the Government in the former Reign, not thinking it for his Honour to remain at Court, ask'd Leave to retire, which was granted; but he was murder'd on the Way to one of his Country Seats, by order, as was believed, of the Emperor.

He fell so violently in Love with an Actress, as she sang in his Presence, that he drove his lawful Wife out of the Palace, to make Room for her, whom he declar'd Empress; and that the Meanness of her Father's Extraction might be overlook'd, he gave him a Principality. But his Ministers having in several Petitions reproach'd him with so shameful an Alliance, he order'd them all to be put to Death; and yet these are but a small part of his brutal Crimes.

A sudden Death deliver'd the Empire from this Monster, in the fifty first Year of the Cycle. He left no Issue, but was succeeded by his Nephew *Hyau-ngay-ti*.

Ching-ti, 9th
Emperor.

His Excesses;

Violent Pas-
sion for an
Actress.

HYAU-

H A N.
D Y N. V.

Cyc. XXXIX.

Year before

Christ 57.

Hyaung-
ti, 10th

Emperor,

Reforms the

Government.

Tan-yu does

Homage in

Person.

HYAU-NGAN-TI, Tenth Emperor, reign'd Six Years.

THO' this Prince was but eighteen Years old when he came to the Crown, yet they conceiv'd great Hopes from his Mildness and Moderation; as well as the Resolution he took immediately to restore Order in the Empire, and comfort the People.

He began by displacing several Governors, whom he thought unworthy of their Employments; and deposed the Prime Minister, whose Family was grown so exceedingly in Power and Credit, that it even seem'd to counter-balance the Sovereign Authority. He made several other Regulations, which were very necessary, and gave great Expectations of a most happy Reign, had his Life been prolong'd.

In the fifth Year of his Reign, Tan-yu, King of the Tartars, having obtain'd Leave to come in Person to pay Homage to him, was receiv'd in a very magnificent Manner, and a firm Peace was establish'd between the two Nations.

The Emperor dy'd the Year after this happen'd, at the Age of twenty five, being the same Year that Christ was born. They placed on the Throne a Prince descended from Ywen-ti, the eighth Emperor of this Dynasty, who was but nine Years old.

HYAU-PING-TI, Eleventh Emperor, reign'd Five Years.

Hyaung-ping-ti,

11th Emp.

Vang-mang

made Prime

Minister.

THE Empress, Grandmother to the young Emperor, very imprudently trusted the Government, during his Minority, in the Hands of one Vang-mang, whom she made Kaulau, or Prime Minister. This Man join'd an unbounded Ambition to Deceit and Art; and made no Scruple to commit the most cruel Actions, to gratify the secret Desire he had of usurping the Sovereign Authority.

His first Step towards it, was to get rid of his Associate in the Ministry, who was a Man of Merit; and having thus made himself absolute, his whole Care was to strengthen his Party. He erected several new Principalities, and bestow'd them on those who were most devoted to his Interest. He even dared to offer Sacrifice to the Lord of Heaven; and tho' he did it in the Emperor's Name, his Design was to accustom the People to see him perform those Functions, which belong'd solely to the Imperial Dignity. In short he spread sham Reports of Prodigies, by means of his Creatures; who took much Pains to persuade the People that by those Signs Heaven declared that Vang-mang was sent for the Relief of the Empire.

Cyc. XL.

Year of

Christ 4.

Poisons the

Emperor.

In the second Year of the Cycle, the treacherous Vang-mang mix'd Poison with the Emperor's Food, which in a few Days reduc'd him to the last Extremity. The Traitor, who pretended to be pierced with Grief at the Danger the young Prince was in, made the Palace resound with his Cries, offering Vows continually to Heaven, for his Recovery, and even devoting his own Life as a Sacrifice for the Emperor's; by which means he avoided the Suspicion of his Crime.

However, he did not think it proper, at this Juncture, to usurp the Crown, but placed it for the present on the Head of a young Infant of two Years old, call'd Zbu-tse-ing, who descended from Swen-ti, the seventh Emperor of this Dynasty.

ZHU-TSE-ING, Twelfth Emperor, reign'd Three Years.

Zhu-tse-ing,

or Ju-tse-ing,

12th Emp.

THE Infancy of this Prince maintain'd Vang-mang in the Power which he had assum'd, and he made use of it, to increase his Party by his Favour; but three Years were scarcely at an end, before he deposed the young Prince, and proclaim'd himself Emperor.

VANG-MANG, the Usurper, reign'd Fourteen Years.

Vang-mang,

a Usurper.

Divides the

Empire into

nine Provin-

ces.

Several In-

surrections.

AS soon as the Usurper was plac'd on the Throne, which he had obtain'd by the blackest Crimes, he gave to his Family the Name of Tsin, which signifies New; and indeed the Empire receiv'd a new Face from the Alterations which he made in it. He divided the Empire into nine Provinces, and each Province into several Districts, over which he set Governors in whom he could confide; he also created several new Principalities, to increase the Number of his Dependants. After taking these and some other Precautions, the Tyrant began to think his Authority so well fix'd, that it was not in the Power of any thing to shake it; but he soon found himself mistaken. The Empire was presently in a Flame, several numerous Armies appearing, some of which were commanded by the confederate Lords; who were call'd Che-mu-i, because the Soldiers had painted their Eyebrows, red, to distinguish themselves from their Enemies. The other Armies were commanded by two Brothers, of the Family of Han, whose Names were Lyew-syew and Lyew-ing. These Wars lasted a long time, and were very bloody. The nineteenth Year of the Cycle, the Country was pester'd with such multitudes of Grasshoppers, that they devour'd the Harvest, and caus'd almost a general Famine, which occasion'd abundance of Insurrections and Robberies.

In the twentieth Year, the Usurper's Army was entirely defeated, his Palace plunder'd and burnt to the Ground, his own Throat cut, his Body cut in pieces, and his Head put on a Pitchfork and publicly expos'd, for the Mob, to make Sport with. The victorious Army elected *Whay-yang-vang* Emperor, who was a Descendant of *King-ti*, the fourth Emperor of this Dynasty.

DYN. V.
H. A. N.
Cyc. XL.
Year of
Christ 4.

WHAY-YANG-VANG, Thirteenth Emperor, reign'd Two Years.

THE loose and effeminate Life, which this new Emperor led, induced the Army who had set the Crown on his Head to take it from him again, as being unworthy to wear it. They gave it first to *Vang-lang*, who was an Impostor, pretending himself to be the Son of *Ching-ti*, the ninth Emperor. But the Cheat being soon discover'd, they cut off his Head, and elected in his Place *Lyew-syew*; who assum'd the Name of *Quang-vu-ti*, and was descended from the tenth Son of *King-ti*, the fourth Emperor of this Dynasty.

Whay-yang-vang, 13th Emperor.

QUANG-VU-TI, Fourteenth Emperor, reign'd Thirty three Years.

THIS Prince removed his Court from the Province of *Sben-fi* to that of *Ho-nan*, and made himself famous by his Politics, and warlike Achievements. The homely Education which he had at first in the Country, where he shar'd the Labour and Wants with the meanest Peasants, made him sensible of the Miseries of the People. Besides he was mild, affable, liberal, and very fond of learned Men; whom he sent for to Court from all Parts, and gave them honourable Employments.

Quang-vu-ti, 14th Emp.

At a time when he pass'd thro' the Country, where he was born, in visiting the Provinces, he sent for several Husbandmen, who were his Countrymen, and admitted them to his Table. Being inform'd, that one of his old Friends, call'd *Nyen-quang*, a Fisherman, was living, he sent for him, received him honourably, and pass'd the whole Night in Discourse with him, about their past Adventures.

Instances of his Affability

He was twelve Years employ'd in subduing the Rebels, and settling the Peace of the Empire. Mean time the Army, the Soldiers of which had painted their Eyebrows red, chose an Emperor of the Family of *Han*, call'd *Pwan-tse*, who being defeated, went to the Emperor, threw himself at his Feet, and intreated his Clemency. The Emperor using his Victory with Moderation, granted him not only his Life, but gave him a Principality. The Chinese Annals say, that in the twenty eighth Year of the Cycle, the last Day of the seventh Moon, there was a total Eclipse of the Sun, which happen'd sooner than it ought to have done by the Calculation. I leave it to Astronomers to examine, if this Eclipse is the same which happen'd at the Death of Christ.

and Generosity.

Total Eclipse of the Sun about the Time of Christ's Death.

Quang-vu-ti dy'd in the sixty first Year of his Age, and the fifty fourth of the Cycle, leaving ten Children; one of whom, call'd *Ming-ti*, succeeded him.

MING-TI, Fifteenth Emperor, reign'd Eighteen Years.

THIS Prince is extoll'd by the Historians for his Prudence, Clemency, and Judgment. He establish'd an Academy of Sciences in his Palace, for the Education of young Noblemen of the Empire; Strangers were also admitted into it, and he was often present himself at their Exercises.

Ming-ti, 15th Emperor, Establishes an Academy in his Palace.

He caus'd the Pictures of the most eminent Men, both in time of Peace and War, to be painted, with which he adorn'd one of his Halls. He was mightily applauded for his choice of the Daughter of one of his best Generals for Empress; this Lady, who was a Pattern of Discretion and Modesty, never wearing any Cloaths that were embroider'd.

The *Whang-bo*, or *Yellow River*, having often overflow'd the neighbouring Country, whereby Cities and Fields receiv'd considerable Damage; the Emperor, to prevent these Inundations, caus'd a Bank to be rais'd, which was ten Leagues long, and employ'd one hundred thousand Men at Work.

Having dreamt in the second Year of the Cycle, that a Man of Gigantick Size appear'd to him, it brought to his Mind an Expression often in the Mouth of *Confucius*, viz. that the Holy one was in the West, with which he was so deeply affected, that he sent immediately Embassadors to India, in Quest of the true Religion.

Cyc. XLI.
Year of
Christ 64.

These Embassadors stop'd at a Place where the Idol *Fo* was in great Veneration; and taking some Bonzas with them to *Cbina*, they introduc'd their impious Sect, with the ridiculous Opinion of the Metempsychosis. This Emperor is greatly condemn'd by all the Chinese Historians

The Religion of *Fo* first brought into the Empire.

DYN. V.
HAN.
Cyc. XLI.
Year of
Christ 64.

storians for having admitted such a detestable Doctrine into his Dominions. He dy'd the twelfth Year of the Cycle, and left the Crown to his Son *Chang-ti*.

CHANG-TI, Sixteenth Emperor, reign'd Thirteen Years.

Chang-ti,
16th Emp.

THE Reign of this Prince was very pacifick, being neither disturb'd by Wars, or any Commotions: which is attributed to the Fame of his Wisdom and Prudence; to his Affection for his People, whose Taxes he lessen'd; to the Protection he granted to Men of Learning; and to his Aversion to Luxury and superfluous Expence. He often reminded his Subjects of the wise Oeconomy of the Ancients; and setting it as an Example to the Nobility and Magistrates, forbid all Magnificence in their Tables, Habit and Furniture of their Houses. He dy'd the twenty fifth Year of the Cycle, in the thirty first Year of his Age; and his Son *Ho-ti*, who was but ten Years old, succeeded him.

HO-TI, Seventeenth Emperor, reign'd Seventeen Years.

Ho-ti, 17th
Emperor.
Extends his
Arms as far
as *Ta-tsin*, or
Judea.

AS this Prince was very young, the Empress, his Mother, became his Guardian. His Power was extended to very remote Countries, by the Valour and Conduct of one of his Generals, call'd *Pan-chau*; who oblig'd a great number of Sovereigns to pay Homage to the Emperor, and to crave his Protection. It is said that he advanced as far as *Judea*, which the *Chinese* call *Ta-tsin*, spending several Years in these Expeditions.

The Emperor having thro' Jealousy divorced his Wife, who soon after dy'd with Grief, he made Empress in her stead, the Grand-Daughter of one of his Generals. She was a Princess of extraordinary Merit, and what is rare in Persons of her Sex, well skill'd in all the *Chinese* Learning; which Accomplishments still receiv'd greater Lustre from her Modesty. When those who came according to Custom to felicitate her Advancement, offer'd her Presents; she would accept of nothing but a few Pencils, and a sort of Paper, which had been newly invented.

First gives
Power to the
Eunuchs.

Ho-ti was the first who gave exorbitant Authority to the Eunuchs of the Palace, by advancing them to the highest Places in the Empire, which was the Occasion of great Troubles and Disorders afterwards.

This Prince dy'd the twenty seventh Year of his Age, and the forty second of the Cycle, being succeeded by his second Son call'd *Shang-ti*.

SHANG-TI, Eighteenth Emperor, reign'd One Year.

Shang-ti,
18th Emp.

THIS Prince ought not to be number'd among the Emperors, because he was only a Child in the Cradle, when the Crown was plac'd on his Head, and lived scarcely a Year after. *Ngan-ti*, Grand-Son to *Shang-ti*, succeeded him.

NGAN-TI, Nineteenth Emperor, reign'd Nineteen Years.

Ngan-ti,
19th Emp.

AS this Prince was but thirteen Years of Age, the Empress, his Mother, was vested with the Sovereign Authority; which she was so well pleas'd with, that she prolong'd her Regency much beyond the Term prescrib'd by the Laws.

In a time of great Scarcety, she visited the Prisons herself, and gave the People all the Relief she was able. Apprehending, that a Dominion of such vast Extent as the Empire, could not be durable; she releas'd great Numbers of foreign Nations, and sovereign Princes, who had submitted to the Emperor, from the Obligation of Homage, and reduced the Empire within narrower Bounds.

About this time there was a famous Pyrate, call'd *Chang-pe-lu*, who after infesting the Seas of *China* for five Years, was taken and beheaded.

Earthquakes.

Several Earthquakes happen'd in this Reign, especially one in the eighth Year, which extended over great part of the Country, the Earth opening in several Places, and making great Havock.

Cyc. XLII.
Year after
Christ, 124.

Ngan-ti had created one of his Wives Empress; who grieved to find herself barren, took another Woman's Son, pretending it to be her own, and secretly poison'd the Mother. The Emperor dy'd the thirty second Year of his Age, and was succeeded by his Son *Shun-ti*.

SHUN-

SHUN-TI, *Twentieth Emperor, reign'd Nineteen Years.*

D Y N. V.
H A N.
Cyc. XLII.
Year of
Christ 124.
Shun-ti,
20th Emp.

THE Beginning of the Reign of this Prince was signalized by several Victories, which he obtain'd over the *Barbarians*.

The Empress, who had poison'd the Concubine, Mother of *Shun-ti*, did not long outlive her Crime; and the Emperor being inform'd of it, in Revenge forbid she should have the funeral Honours, which were due to her Dignity.

In the fourth Year of his Reign he made a Law, whereby no one could be admitted into the Magistracy, before he was forty Years old, unless he had some extraordinary Merit to supply the Want of Age.

In the ninth Year of the Cycle a great Number of Vagabonds uniting, form'd a considerable Army under the Command of one *Ma-myen*; who, being flush'd with Success in plundering several Cities of the Southern Provinces, began to aspire even to the Empire; but he was slain before he could accomplish his bold Design.

Rebellion of
Ma-myen.

The Emperor dy'd in the twenty-first Year of the Cycle, and thirty second Year of his Age, and was succeeded by his Son *Chung-ti*.

CHANG-TI, *Twenty first Emperor, reign'd One Year.*

HE ascended the Throne in the second Year of his Age, and dy'd before it expir'd. The Reign of his Successor was of no longer Duration.

Chang-ti,
21st Emp.

CHE-TI, *Twenty second Emperor, reign'd One Year.*

ALTHO' he was but eight Years old, when he succeeded to the Crown, yet he discover'd a Genius far above his Years, which gave the Nation mighty Hopes of him. However, he being so young, *Lyang-ki*, the Brother of the Empress, did not pay him the Respects due to him, but abusing his Sister's Authority, spoke and acted as if he had been Sovereign. Nor could he forbear shewing his Pride and Insolence at a public Assembly, where the Emperor himself was present; who offended at his Behavior, and looking at him with a threatening Countenance, said in a low Voice, yet loud enough to be heard, *That is an arrogant Person*.

Che-ti,
22d Emp.
a promising
Prince.

These Words cost the Prince dear; for *Lyang-ki* finding that he had Reason one Day to fear this Emperor's Resentment for his ill Conduct, took care to get him poison'd; so that this young Prince reign'd but one Year, and his eldest Brother *Whan-ti* succeeded him.

Is poison'd
by *Lyang-ki*.

WHAN-TI, *Twenty third Emperor, reign'd Twenty one Years.*

UNDER the Reign of this Emperor the Magistracy became Venal. He was a great Patron of the Sect of *Liau-kyun*, and Eunuchs were his Chief Favorites, which made all the learned Men retire from his Palace; nor could the Emperor either by Invitation or rich Presents bring them back again: they preferring the Tranquillity of their Solitude to the Folly of a Court, where the whole Authority was in the Hands of Eunuchs.

Whan-ti,
23d Emp.

However *Lyang-ki*, the Murderer of the late Emperor, was raised to the highest Employments of the Empire; and his Wife was honour'd with the Title of *Heroine*, besides a Yearly Revenue of five hundred thousand *Taels*. These Smiles of Fortune made him excessive haughty, so that he thought he might do whatever he pleas'd. At the beginning of the *Chinese* Year, when all the *Grandees* pay their Duty to the Emperor, he had the Confidence to enter the Palace with his Sword by his Side, contrary to the Laws. Upon this, he was immediately disarm'd, and acknowledging his Crime, ask'd the Emperor's Pardon, which was granted him; but having made himself odious to every body, by his Insolence and Pride, he was shortly after, as it were, besieged by a Troop of Eunuchs, and finding he could not escape their Vengeance, he slew both his Wife and himself. His Relations and Friends were stript of all the important Places to which he had prefer'd them, and his Riches, which were immense, confiscated.

Lyang-ki
grows info-
lent,

and is reduc'd
to kill him-
self.

In the twenty eighth Year of the Cycle there was such a dreadful Famine in several Parts of the Empire, that many of the *Chinese* were oblig'd to feed upon human Flesh. The Emperor dy'd the forty fourth Year of the Cycle, and in the thirty sixth Year of his Age, without Issue, notwithstanding he had a great many Concubines. *Ling-ti*, who was of the Family of *Chang-ti*, succeeded him.

Dreadful
Famine.

LING-

DYN. V.
HAN.
Cyc. XLII.
Year of
Christ 124.
LING-TI,
24th Emp.

LING-TI, *Twenty fourth Emperor, reign'd Twenty two Years.*

THIS Prince, among other bad Qualities, is chiefly blam'd for his exceeding Fondness for Eunuchs, to whom he gave more Power than his Predecessors had done; his Aversion to those who were able to give him good Counsel; his insatiable Avarice, and sharp Satirical Humour. He took a Fancy to establish a Fair in his Palace, for selling all sorts of Curiosities, where his Pleasure was to see his Concubines outbid, wrangle, and abuse one another.

One of his ordinary Diversions, which was no less fantastical, was to take the Air in his Gardens in a Chariot drawn by Asses; whence, in imitation of the Court, Asses came to be prefer'd every where to Horses.

The only good Action for which this Emperor is extoll'd, was the Care that he took to have the wise Instructions of the ancient Emperors, contained in the five Classical Books, engraven on Marble Tables, and publicly expos'd at the Entrance of the Academy.

Gives exorbitant Power to Eunuchs.

The Power of the Eunuchs became so very great, that they caus'd a great Number of the Nobility, who had conspired their Ruin, to be put to Death. This Neglect or Abasement of the Imperial Authority naturally produced Revolts. In a little time several great Armies appear'd in the Field, who stil'd themselves *Yellow Caps*, under the Command of three Brothers call'd *Chang*, of the Sect of *Lyau-kyun*, who plunder'd divers Provinces; but at last they were defeated one after another, and slain.

Rebellion of the *Yellow Caps*.

The *Barbarians*, (for so the *Chinese* call all Strangers) endeavour'd several times to make Conquests in the Empire, but were always defeated by an able *Chinese* General, named *Twan-kyong*; who, as the Report goes, for ten Years that the War lasted, never went to Bed.

Cyc. XLIII.
Year of
Christ 124.

In the fifth Year of the Cycle some Remainers of the Rebel *Yellow Caps*, appear'd again, in order to create new Troubles.

The Emperor died the following Year, in the thirty fourth Year of his Age, without having nam'd a Successor.

HYEN-TI, *Twenty fifth Emperor, reign'd Thirty one Years.*

Hyen-ti,
25th Emp.

PREN-TI, the eldest Brother of this Monarch, who reign'd some Months, and then abdicated the Crown to *Hyen-ti*, who was but nine Years old, is not number'd among the Emperors. The Weakness and Indolence, or rather Stupidity of this young Prince, occasion'd perpetual Wars at home as well as abroad.

Murder'd by his General.

China was divided first into three, and afterwards into four Parts, and had as many Sovereigns. The Eastern Part first conspir'd against *Tong-cho*, General of the Imperial Army, who murder'd the Emperor and his eldest Brother; and having burnt the Palace, and open'd the Sepulchres of the Emperors, where he found immense Riches, he removed his Court into the Province of *Shen-si*. But his Crimes did not long go unpunish'd, for the next Year he was murder'd, and his Body hung on a Fork in the publick Market Place, and his Treasures confiscated. In the mean time the *Yellow Caps* took Advantage of these Disorders to increase the Number of Rebels; but they were gradually destroy'd by *Tsau-sau*, who usurp'd the sovereign Authority: of which he was strip'd the thirty seventh Year of the Cycle, by his own Son, *Tsau-poy*, and banish'd to a Principality, which he gave him, where he dy'd fourteen Years after, generally despis'd.

Yellow Caps destroy'd.

DYN. VI.
HEW-HAN.
HAN.

The Sixth DYNASTY, call'd HEW-HAN, that is, the latter Family of HAN; which had two Emperors, in the Space of Forty four Years.

CHAN-LYE-VANG, *First Emperor, reign'd Three Years.*

Chan-Lye-vang,
1st Emperor.

CHAU-LYE-VANG was call'd before *Lyew-pi*, and was descended from *King-ti*, the fourth Emperor of the preceding Dynasty. This Prince was very tall, and had an Air of Grandeur and Majesty, which commanded Respect. His Courage corresponded to his Aspect; he spoke but little, and in all Events, whether good or bad, was still of an even Temper.

His last sayings.

When he drew near his End, he spoke to those that were about him in the following Manner: *When once a Man has attained to the Age of Fifty Years, he has no Reason to complain of the Shortness of his Life; why then should I complain, who am more than sixty Years of Age?*

Afterwards

Afterwards he sent for his Son, whom he had appointed his Successor, and his first Minister call'd *Ko-lyang*; *If, said he to the latter, my Son should refuse to pay that Regard to your wife Counsel, which he ought, dethrone him, and reign in his stead.* Then turning to his Son, he said, *How light soever a Fault may seem to you, beware of committing it; and how small soever a virtuous Action may appear, neglect not to do it. Virtue alone deserves our Attention, and Pursuit; I have had too little to serve you for an Example; but follow the Advice of Ko-lyang, and you will find in him a second Father.*

This Prince dy'd in the sixty third Year of his Age, and the fortieth of the Cycle, after he had nam'd his Son *Hew-ti* for his Successor.

HEW-TI, Second Emperor, reign'd Forty one Years.

WHILST the Prime Minister liv'd, *Hew-ti* trod in the Steps of his Father; he kept his Court at *Cbing-ai*, the Metropolis of the Province of *Se-chuen*. There were then in the Northern Provinces three Sovereigns of the Family of *Gbey*, and in the Southern Provinces the Family of *U* kept their Court at *Nan-king*. The Family of *Gbey*, which was the most powerful of the three, lasted but forty six Years; it was destroy'd by one of its Generals, whose Son became the Founder of the following Dynasty. The Family of *U* had four Kings in the Space of fifty nine Years.

These different Principalities necessarily occasion'd Wars; in one of which the Emperor lost two famous Generals, call'd *Cbang-fi* and *Quang-yu*. This latter is number'd among their Idols, and honour'd as the *Mars of China*.

The famous *Ko-lyang*, who still remain'd, had divers Encounters with the King of *Gbey*, but was often overcome. He was admired for his extraordinary Skill in making a Retreat in presence of the Enemy; which always prov'd no less to his Glory and Honour than if he had gain'd the Victory.

The King of *Gbey*, being now grown so powerful, that he thought himself able to conquer the Kings both of *Han* and *U*, who were leagu'd together. In order to put his Design in Execution, march'd with a formidable Army to the side of the great River *Yang-tse-kyang*, which he intended to have cross'd; but seeing the Waves very rough and boisterous, *Doubtless, say'd he, these are the Bounds which Heaven hath put to the Ambition of Mortals*, and immediately turn'd back.

Song-chau, who was General to the King of *Gbey*, being puffed up with his Victories, and observing the Credit he had obtained in the Army, rebell'd against his Master, whom he overcame, and thereupon resolv'd to make his Way to the Throne. The Son of *Hew-ti* seeing things in a desperate State, went to his Father; *There is no Room to deliberate, says he, this Moment must decide your Fate, either to vanquish or die, with this Sword in your Hand, and Crown on your Head.* But the Emperor wanting Courage refus'd to give his Enemy Battle; at which the young Prince was so griev'd, that retiring into the Hall of his deceased Ancestors, he desperately slew his Wife, and then himself.

In the fortieth Year of the Cycle, the Imperial Army was cut in pieces, and the Palace plunder'd. The cowardly Emperor went and deliver'd himself into the Hands of the Conqueror, who gave him a small Principality; where he lived seven Years an obscure and contemptible Life, and dy'd in the sixty fifth Year of his Age.

The Seventh DYNASTY, call'd TSIN, which had Fifteen Emperors in the Space of One hundred and Fifty five Years.

SHI-TSU-VU-TI, First Emperor, reign'd Twenty five Years.

THIS Name was assum'd by the Son of the General *Song-chau*, Founder of this Dynasty of the *Tsin*; which Denomination seems to be the same with that of the fourth, yet it is quite different, both as to the Character wherein it is written, and the Pronunciation. This new Emperor, who kept his Court in the Province of *Ho-nan*, was a magnanimous Prince, and of a quick Apprehension, and penetrating Judgment; his Integrity was so great, that he could not endure the least Dissimulation.

His Reign was very much disturb'd by the warlike Preparations of many petty Sovereigns, who aspir'd to the Crown. But those of the South were often overcome by those of the North who, besides being more inured to the Fatigues of the Camp, were assisted by the *Tartars*, with whom they were in League.

DYN. VI.
HEW-HAN.
Cyc. XLIII.
Year of
Christ 184.

China divid-
ed among the
Princes of 3
Families.

The King of
Gbey aspires
to the Em-
pire.

Cyc. XLIV.
Year of
Christ 244.

Which is sei-
zed by his
General *Song*
chau.

Cowardice of
the Emperor.

DYN. VII.
TSIN.

Shi-tsu-vu-ti,
1st Emperor.

Wars among
the petty So-
vereigns.

DYN. VII.
751 N.
The Emperor having in time subdued and pacify'd the Northern Provinces, march'd with his victorious Arms into the Southern Provinces; and having pass'd the River *Yang-tse-kyang* without Opposition, he enter'd the Kingdom of *U*, and belieg'd the Metropolis. The King not daring to make any Resistance, came out of the City, and surrender'd himself to the Emperor, who gave him a small Principality, where he ended his Days.

Cyc. XLIV.
Year of
Christ 244.

Are all sub-
dued by the
Emperor.

In the seventeenth Year of his Reign, finding himself Master of the whole Empire, and that he had no more Enemies to fear, he resolv'd to enjoy the Repose which his Victories had procur'd him. He was even so imprudent as to disband his Army, and shutting himself up in his Palace, gave himself up to Idleness and Luxury. His ill Conduct reviv'd the Ambition of the petty Sovereigns, whom the Terror of his Arms had before kept within the Bounds of their Duty. He dy'd in the fifty fifth Year of his Age, and the forty fifth of the Cycle, and left a numerous Posterity, whereof *Whey-ti*, his eldest Son, succeeded him.

WHEY-TI, Second Emperor, reign'd Seventeen Years.

Whey-ti,
2d Emperor.

Troubles rais-
ed by the 2d
Queen.

THIS Prince had no Spirit or Genius, and was altogether unfit for the high Station he possess'd. However, the Beginning of his Reign was successful, thro' the Ability of four of his chief Ministers, in whom he put Confidence; but a jealous and passionate Wife soon threw the Court and Empire into Confusion. This Woman, who had the Title of Second Queen, got the Empress remov'd from Court, poison'd her only Son, and procur'd all the Nobles who were of her Party to be put to Death.

These barbarous Actions occasion'd several Battles, and a great deal of Blood-shed; the Second Queen was slain in her turn, with all that were of her Party, and the Emperor himself oblig'd to fly in order to save his Life.

The Regulo's
aspire to the
Empire.

The Regulo's took Advantage of all these Disorders. The King of the Principality of *Tse* took the Field with an Army, and being swell'd with some Success which he had at first, doubted not to make his Way to the Crown; and perhaps had obtain'd it, had he not been slain in a Battle. Another Prince of the Family of *Han*, who reign'd in the Northern Provinces, and had taken Arms, met with the same Fate. At that time there sprang up a new Sect, (which was only a Branch of that of *Lau-kyun*) call'd *Vu-gbey-kyau*, that is to say, *The Doctrine of the Void, and of Nothing*. These Sectaries taught the way how to attain to a certain Degree of Tranquillity, which bound up all the Faculties of the Soul, and suspended the Functions of Sense, in which they made Perfection to consist.

Sect of
Quintists in
China.

Cyc. XLV.
Year of
Christ 304.

The third Year of the Cycle *Whey-ti* dy'd of Poison which was given him, in the forty eighth Year of his Age, leaving no Issue behind. The Grandees and Nobles chose the twenty fifth Son of the Founder of this *Dynasty*, for Emperor, call'd *Whay-ti*.

WHAY-TI, Third Emperor, reign'd Six Years.

Whay-ti,
3d Emperor.

Conquer'd
and slain by
one of the
Regulo's.

THE Choice of this Emperor at first was generally approv'd, for he was endow'd with Qualities which promised a happy Reign; but the Ambition and Power of some of those little Sovereigns, already mention'd, which increas'd daily thro' the Weakness of the Emperors, caused infinite Troubles in the Empire, for many Years, and rendred the Crown precarious.

One of these petty Kings, call'd *Lyew-ywen*, was ready to dethrone the Emperor, when Death interrupted the Course of his Victories. However, his Son *Lyew-tsong*, following the same Design with Success, got Possession of the Palace; which he plunder'd, slew the Emperor's Son, and after forcing the Emperor himself to wait on him at Table, in the Habit of a Slave, put him to Death, in the tenth Year of the Cycle, and the thirtieth Year of his Age. The Grandees chose for his Successor *Min-ti*, Grand-Son of the Founder of this *Dynasty*.

MIN-TI, Fourth Emperor, reign'd Four Years.

Min-ti,
4th Emperor.

Conquer'd
and slain.

THIS Prince had no better Fortune than his Predecessor. He had scarcely reign'd three Years, when *Lyew-yau* drove him from his Palace, which he plunder'd, and banish'd him, as it were, into a Principality, in the Province of *Shan-si*; where he had not liv'd a Year before he was slain by the King of *Han*. A Grand-Son of the Founder of this *Dynasty* was chosen in his Room.

YWEN-TI, Fifth Emperor, reign'd Six Years.

Ywen-ti,
5th Emperor.

THIS Emperor is commended for his Gravity, Frugality, Moderation, and Esteem of wise and learned Men. Of this last he gave a singular Proof to *Yang-tau*, his Prime Minister, who had been *Ko-lau* to three Emperors, by pressing him to sit down by him; but that Minister modestly refused this Honour; Prince, says he, *how should we see the Sun, which becomes visible by being placed at a due Distance from us, should he abase himself so far as to descend into these low Places which he enlightens?*

This Prince remov'd his Court from the West to the East, and fix'd it in the City of *Nanking*, whence his Family has been nam'd the *Eastern Family of Tsin*. In the sixth Year of his Reign he fell into a deep Melancholy, which was the Cause of his Death in the forty sixth Year of his Age. His Son succeeded him.

DYN. VII.
T S I N.

Cyc. XLV.
Year of
Christ 304.

MING-TI, *Sixth Emperor, reign'd Three Years.*

THE *Chinese* History mentions nothing of this Prince, who after three Years Reign dy'd the twenty second Year of the Cycle, in the twenty seventh Year of his Age, and was succeeded by his Son *Ching-ti*.

Ming-ti,
6th Emperor

CHING-TI, *Seventh Emperor, reign'd Seventeen Years.*

THIS Prince being but five Years old when he ascended the Throne, the Empress, his Mother, was intrusted with the Government. The Imperial Authority was too weak to curb the petty Sovereigns, whose Ambition was boundless; some of the more powerful aiming to destroy each other, only to clear the Way to the Throne. This young Prince was but twenty one Years old when he dy'd; his Brother *Kang-ti* succeeding him.

Ching-ti,
7th Emperor.

The Regulo's
aim at the
Crown.

KANG-TI, *Eighth Emperor, reign'd Two Years.*

THIS Prince ascended the Throne the fortieth Year of the Cycle, and dy'd the forty first, in the forty second Year of his Age, leaving the Crown to his eldest Son *Mo-ti*.

Kang-ti,
8th Emperor.

MO-TI, *Ninth Emperor, reign'd Seventeen Years.*

THE Empress was declared Guardian of this young Prince, who was but two Years old when he came to the Crown. As soon as he had pass'd his Infancy, he discover'd shining Marks of Wisdom and Virtue far above his Age; he made good use of the Advice of his Ministers, and recover'd several Provinces.

Mo-ti,
9th Emperor.

Wban-ven, who commanded the Imperial Army, march'd into the North, to punish a revolted petty King of the Family of *Han*, whose Palace he plunder'd and burnt to the Ground.

However, the Punishment of this Prince did not appease the Troubles; the petty Sovereigns still continued the War with each other, in order to increase their Power, and obtain the Empire. Had the Emperor liv'd, he would without doubt have reduced them to Obedience, but he dy'd in the nineteenth Year of his Age, and fifty eighth of the Cycle. The Nobles chose *Ngai-ti*, who was the Son of *Ching-ti*, seventh Emperor of this Dynasty.

Regulo's still
at War.

NGAI-TI, *Tenth Emperor, reign'd Four Years.*

THIS Prince dy'd in the second Year of the Cycle, the twenty fifth of his Age, when *Ti-ye* his younger Brother was elected by the Grandees to succeed him.

Cyc. XLVI.
Year of
Christ 364.

Ngai-ti,
10th Emp.

TI-YE, *Eleventh Emperor, reign'd Five Years.*

THE Reign of this Prince was not much longer than that of his Predecessor, altho he lived much longer; for *Wban-ven*, his Prime Minister, after obtaining a great Victory in the North, over the King of *Ywen*, dethron'd the Emperor, and confin'd him in a Cittadel; where having lived an obscure Life fifteen Years, he dy'd the forty third Year of his Age, and the Grandees chose in his room *Kyen-ven-ti*, the last of the Children of *Ywen-ti*, fifth Emperor of this Dynasty.

Ti-ye,
11th Emp.
Dethroned
by his prime
Minister.

KYEN-VEN-TI, *Twelfth Emperor, reign'd Two Years.*

DURING his short Reign of two Years, nothing remarkable is said of him. He dy'd in the fifty third Year of his Age, and was succeeded by his Son *Vu-ti*.

Kyen-ven-ti,
12th Emp.

VU-

DYN. VII.

T S I N.

Cyc. XLVI.

Year of

Christ 364.

Vú-ti.

13th Emp.

VU-TI, Thirteenth Emperor, reign'd Twenty four Years.

VU-TI ascended the Throne the tenth Year of the Cycle. *Fú-kyen*, who was Emperor in the North, resolving to attack the Emperor, and conquer his Provinces, his Ministers endeavour'd to dissuade him from such a dangerous Enterprize; by observing to him that the Family of the *Tsin* had been placed on the Throne by the Direction of Heaven, and that as yet they had neither incurred its Wrath, nor done any thing to render them unworthy of its Protection.

Defeats the
Emperor of
the North.

These Remonstrances proving ineffectual, *Fú-kyen*, who rely'd on the Number and Bravery of his Soldiers, march'd Southward with a formidable Army; which *Vú-ti* being inform'd of, hasten'd with a small but select Body of his Troops, and without giving his Enemy time to bring all his Forces together, attack'd him in his Camp, with such Courage and Resolution, that he intirely defeated him. The Generals of *Fó-kyen's* Army being driven to Despair, seiz'd him in the Rout, and conducting him to a Temple, there strangled him.

Suffers several
Regulo's
to revolt.

Notwithstanding this great Success of *Vú-ti*, so fatal to the Empire of the North, several of the smaller Sovereigns revolted; whom he might have easily subdued, had he made good Use of his Victory, and march'd with his Forces into the Northern Provinces; but he return'd to his Court, and gave himself up to all manner of Voluptuousness and Sensualities. This Hero at last dy'd by the Hands of a Woman; for having by way of Raillery call'd the Second Queen an old Woman, who was but thirty Years of Age; this Princess being highly exasperated with such an ill-grounded Reproach, immediately revenged herself upon him, for the Emperor was found stifled in his Bed. *Ngan-ti* his Son succeeded him.

Is slain by the
2d Queen.

NGAN-TI, Fourteenth Emperor, reign'd Twenty two Years.

Ngan-ti,
14th Emp.

Revolts and
Wars among
the Regulo's.

THE little Merit found in this Prince, his Indolence, and Want of Application, gave but small Hopes of his restoring the Tranquillity of the Empire; and indeed we meet with nothing but Revolts and Wars among the Regulo's, during his Reign. A Grandson of the King of *Tay*, the only remaining Branch of that Family, intirely defeated the King of *Ten*, with whom he was at War, and took his Principality from him; whereby he founded a Dominion, which was govern'd by thirteen Monarchs of his Family, in the Space of one hundred forty nine Years.

Lyew-hú a
Shoemaker,
Founder of
the following
Dynasty.

About this time there was a Man of mean Birth, call'd *Lyew-hú*, who got his Living at first by selling Shoes about the Country; but afterwards turning Soldier, he came to be General of a great Army, signaliz'd himself by several Exploits, and was so powerful as to usurp the Imperial Throne, being the Founder of the following Dynasty. He murder'd the Emperor at the Age of thirty seven, and *Kong-ti*, his Brother by the same Mother, succeeded him.

KONG-TI, Fifteenth Emperor, reign'd Two Years.

Kong-ti,
15th Emp.

THIS Prince ascended the Throne in the fifty sixth Year of the Cycle, and in the second Year of his Reign was stifled or choak'd by *Lyew-yú*, who ascended the Throne, and took the Name of *Kau-tsú-vú-ti*. Thus was the Dynasty of *Tsin* extinguish'd, to make room for that of *Song*.

DYN. VIII.

S O N G.

The Eighth DYNASTY, call'd SONG, which had Eight Emperors, in the Space of Fifty nine Years.

KAU-TSU-VU-TI, First Emperor, reign'd Two Years.

Kau-tsú-vú-ti
1st Emperor.

His
Gate.

THIS new Emperor fix'd his Court at *Nan-king*, which was his Native Place. His Air, his Gate, his Size, in short his whole outward Deportment had something in them inexpressibly Noble and Majestick; to a great natural Courage he join'd equal Moderation, which appear'd principally in his Cloaths, Train, and Drefs, being in all of them remarkably frugal.

Dynasties na-
med U-tay.

Empire divi-
ded into Nor-
thern and
Southern.

This Dynasty and the four following, which altogether go by the Name of *U-tay*, are accounted small in comparison of the others, because they continued but very few Years. *China* was still divided into two Empires, the Northern and the Southern, each of which had its proper Monarch.

In the fifty ninth Year of the Cycle *Kau-tsú-vú-ti* dy'd, at the Age of Sixty seven. *Sbau-ti* his eldest Son succeeded him.

SHAU-

SHAU-TI, *Second Emperor, reign'd One Year.*

DYN. VIII.
S O N G.
Cyc. XLVI.
Year of
Christ 364.
Shau-ti,
2d Emperor.

THIS Emperor was seventeen Years old, when he ascended the Throne, it was soon perceived that he wanted Understanding, because he delighted to busy himself in trifling Matters. *Tan-tau-tsi*, the *Ko-lau*, or Prime Minister, took away the Crown from him, and not long after his Life. He was but eighteen Years old when he dy'd, and was succeeded by *Ven-ti*, the third Son of the Founder of this new *Dynasty*.

VEN-TI, *Third Emperor, reign'd Thirty Years.*

Ven-ti,
3d Emperor.
Cyc. XLVII.
Year of
Christ 424.
Bloody War
with the Em-
peror of the
North.

THIS Prince was esteem'd on Account of his good Nature, Moderation, Justice, and great Integrity; he was blam'd only for having too great an Affection for the *Bonzas*, whose Protector he openly declar'd himself. He ordain'd that no Magistrates should continue in the same Post above six Years: and after some other Regulations of this sort, for the good of his People, he declar'd War against the Emperor of the North, whose Power daily increased, having already sixteen *Regulo's* in intire Subjection to him. *Ven-ti* lost the first Battle, but afterwards obtain'd many Victories, by the Conduct and Bravery of *Tan-tau-tsi*, his Prime Minister, who by this extraordinary Success gain'd no little Credit and Authority; but that Credit render'd his Fidelity suspected to the Emperor, who fearing too powerful a Subject, procur'd him to be put to Death, which was the Reward of his Services.

The News of this great General's Death being spread abroad, the Northern Men took Courage, and boldly entred the Southern Provinces, renewing the War with more Fury than ever. *Ven-ti's* Troops, no longer commanded by that able General, were defeated in several Battles; but in the twenty sixth Year of his Reign there was such a horrible Slaughter on both sides, that the Fields were overflow'd with *Chinese* Blood.

Tay-vu-ti, the Emperor of the North caused a General Massacre of the *Bonzas*, throughout his Dominions, and burnt all their Temples and Idols. *Ven-ti* was murder'd at the Age of thirty five, by his eldest Son, and the Parricide was kill'd in his turn, by his second Brother, who immediately revenged his Father's Death.

Massacre of
the Bonzas.

VOU-TI, *Fourth Emperor, reign'd Eleven Years.*

THIS Prince was much addicted to the *Chinese* Sciences, and had the Reputation of being learn'd: he was likewise exceeding skilful in managing a Horse, and drawing the Bow, which gave him a more than ordinary Inclination to Hunting. He is censur'd for Prodigality, and bestowing Favours without Reason or Distinction. He treated those about his Person with a Roughness little suitable to their Rank, for having no Command over his Tongue he often us'd sharp and reviling Language.

Vou-ti,
4th Emperor.

He dy'd in the thirty fifth Year of his Age, and forty first of the Cycle, *Fi-ti* his eldest Son succeeding him.

FI-TI, *Fifth Emperor, reign'd One Year.*

HE was no sooner on the Throne but he discover'd a cruel and bloody Disposition; many innocent Persons were put to Death by his Orders, and he was slain himself in the first Year of his Reign.

Fi-ti,
5th Emperor.

His Successor was *Ming-ti*, the eleventh Son of *Ven-ti*, the third Emperor of this *Dynasty*.

MING-TI, *Sixth Emperor, reign'd Eight Years.*

THIS Prince was as barbarous and cruel as his Predecessor. He put to Death thirteen young Princes of the Imperial Blood, who were his Nephews; and as he had no Children of his own, he introduc'd Men among his Wives, with a Design to have a Male Child, then to kill the Mother, and give it to the Empress, who was barren. He prefer'd *Syau-tau-ching* to the highest Dignity of the Empire, a Man exceeding ambitious, and who afterwards murder'd two Emperors to make way to the Throne. *Ming-ti* dy'd the forty ninth Year of the Cycle, being only thirty four Years old, and was succeeded by *Tsang-ngu-wang* his eldest Son.

Ming-ti,
6th Emperor.

DYN. VIII.
SONG.
Crc. XI VII.
Year of
Christ 424.
Yau-nga-
vang, 7th
Emperor,
murder'd.

TSANG-NGU-VANG, *Seventh Emperor, reign'd Four Years.*

THE rough and untractable Temper of this Prince serv'd to colour the Perfidiousness and Treason of *Syau-tau-ching*; who dip'd his Hands in the Blood of his young Master, being yet but fifteen Years of Age when *Shun-ti*, the third Son of *Ming-ti*, was advanc'd in his room.

SHUN-TI, *Eighth Emperor, reign'd Two Years.*

Shun-ti,
8th Emperor,
murdered.

THIS young Prince met with the same Fate as his Brother, falling a Sacrifice to the Ambition of his Prime Minister, who murder'd him in the second Year of his Reign, and fourteenth of his Age.

By this double Murder *Syau-tau-ching* put an End to the *Dynasty* of *Song*, and became the Founder of a new *Dynasty* call'd *Tsi*, under the Name of *Kau-ti*.

DYN. IX.
TSI.

The Ninth DYNASTY, call'd TSI, which had five Emperors in the Space of Twenty three Years.

KAU-TI, *First Emperor, reign'd four Years.*

Kau-ti,
or *Kau-ti*
1st Emperor.

HE fix'd his Court at *Nan-king* the Capital of the Province of *Kyang-nan*, but enjoy'd not long the Fruit of his Crimes. He was more remarkable for his Skill in the Sciences, than Military Exploits. He us'd to say, That if he liv'd to govern the Empire but ten Years, he would make Gold as cheap as Dirt. One Day being dress'd in a Habit set over with precious Stones, all of a sudden he order'd them to be beaten to Powder, saying they were good for nothing but to inspire Luxury and Covetousness. He dy'd in the fifty ninth Year of the Cycle, at the Age of fifty four, and was succeeded by his eldest Son *Vu-ti*.

VU-TI, *Second Emperor, reign'd Eleven Years.*

Vu-ti,
2d Emperor.

Crc. XLVIII.

Year of

Christ 434.

Fan-chin, Au-

thor of a

new Sect.

HE began his Reign with publishing a Law, that the *Mandarins* should not hold their Employments longer than three Years; and revived an ancient Statute, which prohibited the Intermariages of Families of the same Name.

At this time there appear'd a pretended Philosopher, whose Name was *Fan-chin*, who taught most pernicious Tenets, hitherto unheard of, viz. "That all Events in this World are the Effects of pure Chance; that after this Life the State of Mankind is the same with that of Beasts; and that the Soul dies with the Body," which impious Doctrines were quickly oppos'd by several able Men, and learnedly refuted by them in their Writings.

Syau-ywen, famous for his Skill in Politicks and Military Affairs, was rais'd to the Dignity of *Ko-lau*; we shall see him presently tread in the Steps of his Predecessor, and shedding the Blood of his Masters to usurp their Crown.

Vu-ti dy'd the tenth Year of the Cycle, and forty fifth of his Age; *Ming-ti*, the Brother of the Founder of this *Dynasty*, being advanced in his Room.

MING-TI, *Third Emperor, reign'd Five Years.*

Ming-ti,
3d Emperor,
a Murderer
and Usurper.

KAU-TI, the Founder of the *Dynasty*, thought he could not do better, than to commit the Care and Education of two of his young Children to his Brother *Ming-ti*; who placed them successively upon the Throne, but cut them off one after another, in the short Space of four Months, and seiz'd the Crown.

The Northern Provinces enjoy'd a profound Peace, whose Emperor was so addicted to Study, that whether he was in a Chair or on Horseback he had always a Book in his Hand.

Ming-ti dy'd at forty Years of Age, the fifteenth of the Cycle, and left the Crown to his third Son *When-bew*.

WHEN-HEW, *Fourth Emperor, reign'd Two Years.*

DYN. IX.

781.

Cyc. XLVIII.

Year of

Christ 484.

When-hew,

4th Emperor,

murder'd by

his Prime

Minister.

THE Debaucheries and Cruelty of this Prince, his Aversion to those who were capable of giving him wise Counsels, and the Credit into which he brought the Eunuchs, were so many Pretences for *Syau-ywen* under which to cloak his Passion for Reigning. He join'd the King of the Principality of *Lyang*, and having made himself Master of the Palace, set it on Fire, and after built another more magnificent. The Emperor was dethroned, and at nineteen Years old kill'd by the Hands of this traitorous Prime Minister, who plac'd *Ho-ti* the Brother of that unfortunate Prince on the Throne.

HO-TI, *Fifth Emperor, reign'd One Year.*

SYAU-YWEN, when he placed this young Prince on the Throne, did not design that he should enjoy it long; for at the Year's End and Age of fifteen he depriv'd him both of his Life and Crown, which he seiz'd, and founded a new *Dynasty*.

Ho-ti,

5th Emperor.

The Tenth DYNASTY, call'd *LYANG*, which had Four Emperors, in the Space of Fifty five Years.

DYN. X.

LYANG.

KAU-TSU-VU-TI, *First Emperor, reign'd Forty eight Years.*

SYAU-YWEN, who after his Accession to the Throne, which he so traiterously obtained, assumed the Name of *Kau-tsu-vu-ti*, was descended from the ancient Family of *Syau-ho*, and endow'd with excellent Qualities, being active, laborious, and vigilant. He dispatch'd all his Affairs, which always pass thro' his own Hands, with surprising Readiness; was skilful in almost all the Sciences, particularly the Military Art; was austere in whatever concern'd his own Person, and so saving, that the same Cap served him three Years; but at last his Fondness for the Bonzas carry'd him so far, that he neglected intirely the Business of the State, and in effect became a Bonza himself. He put out an Edict forbidding to kill Oxen or Sheep, even for Sacrifices, appointing ground Corn to be offer'd instead of those Animals.

Kau-tsu-vu-ti

1st Emperor.

Ruin'd by his

Fondness for

the Bonzas.

In the fifteenth Year of his Reign he laid Siege to the City of *Shew-yang* in the Province of *Shen-si*, which lasted ten Years; losing before it an incredible Numer of Men either by Water, Sword or Famine.

At this time happen'd the entire Ruin of the Empire of the North, call'd *Ghey*. This vast Dominion was divided between two Sovereigns, one of the Eastern, the other of the Western Part, but at length was united under the King of *Tsi* and *Cheu*. The Empress of the North, nam'd *Hu*, built a Monastery large enough to lodge a thousand Bonzas, and gave it the Name of *Fong-ching*, that is, *Perpetual Peace*.

Empire of

the North

destroy'd.

For twenty six Years the Emperor govern'd with Success, till the Fancy took him to leave the Court, and dwell in a Temple of the Bonzas, where he had his Head shaved, wore a coarse Garment, and liv'd upon Herbs and Rice; and tho' the Grandees of the Empire brought him back against his Will, from the Place of his Retirement to his Palace, yet he obstinately continued to live after the Manner of the Bonzas. According to their Doctrine of the Transmigration of Souls, he durst not condemn any, even the greatest Criminal, to Death; which open'd the Door to Licentiousness, and occasion'd infinite Murders and Robberies.

The Emperor

turns Bonza

or Pagan

Monk.

Kyen-woen, the *Ko-lau* of the Empire, griev'd that he was forc'd to serve an Usurper, starv'd himself to Death, which Practice is common enough among the *Chinese*. When the Emperor heard of it, he cry'd out: *Do not I hold my Crown of Heaven? Am I beholden for it to the Grandees of the Empire? What Reason then had this miserable Man to make himself away?*

Hew-king, who was King of *Ho-nan*, and the Emperor's Vassal, revolted suddenly, and making himself Master of *Nan-king*, seiz'd the Emperor; who appearing intrepid before his Conqueror, and without the least Sign of Concern in his Countenance, the Rebel, tho' naturally fierce, was scarce able to look him in the Face; and felt such Emotions, that the Sweat ran down in Drops; *I could not have believed, said he, that it was so difficult to resist a Power, which Heaven has establish'd.* So that he durst not imbrue his Hands in the Blood of the old Man, but

Is seiz'd by

the King of

Ho nan, and

starv'd to

Death.

contented

DYN. X.
T S I.

Cyc. XLVIII
Year of
Christ 424.
Great Influen-
ce of Filial
Piety.

contented himself with putting him to a lingering Death, by retrenching part of his Sustenance every Day.

There were great Encomiums made at this time on the filial Piety of a young Man fifteen Years of Age, call'd *Kye-fwen*; whose Father being condemn'd to lose his Head for several Offences committed by him, during his Magistracy, *Kye-fwen*, as soon as he was inform'd thereof, went and threw himself at the Feet of the Prince, intreating him, with Tears, that he might be allow'd to suffer in his Father's Stead. The Prince after a strict Examination, finding he was in Earnest, and acted voluntarily, in Consideration of such remarkable Tendernefs, pardon'd the Father, and rewarded the Son with a Title of Honour; which yet he constantly refused, because it would continually put him in mind of his Father's Fault.

Cyc. XLIX.
Year of
Christ 544.

Kau-tsu-vu-ti being deny'd a little Honey which he call'd for, to take away a bitter Taste he had in his Mouth, dy'd immediately in the sixth Year of the Cycle, and fourcore and sixth of his Age, his third Son *Kyen-ven-ti* succeeding him.

KYEN-VEN-TI, Second Emperor, reign'd Three Years.

Kyen-ven-ti,
2d Emperor.

HEW-KING did not suffer this Emperor to remain long upon the Throne; for he seiz'd his Person in the second Year of his Reign, and having put him to Death, assum'd the Title of Emperor, but preserv'd it scarce one Year.

Kyen-ven-ti, when slain, was forty nine Years of Age, and was succeeded by *Ywen-ti*, the seventh Son of the Founder of the *Dynasty*.

YWEN-TI, Third Emperor, reign'd Three Years.

Ywen-ti,
3d Emperor,
devoted to
the Sect of
Lau-kyun,

CHIN-PA-SYEN who was Sovereign of a small Dominion, and at the same time *Ko-lau* of the Empire, attack'd *Hew-king*, cut his Army in pieces, and caused him to be beheaded. But this *Ko-lau*, [or Prime Minister] also revolted in his turn, and besieged *Nan-king*. The Emperor, who resided there, and was wholly befottered with the idle Conceits of the Sect of *Lau-kyun*, being by this Revolt roused to Arms, went round the Walls of the City; but seeing all was lost, he broke his Sword, and burnt his Library, which consisted of a hundred and forty thousand Volumes, saying, "There was an End, both of the Sciences and the Military Art." After this, the Rebel having taken the City, *Ywen-ti* mounted on a white Horse went and surrender'd himself into the Hands of the Conqueror, who slew him at the Age of forty seven, *King-ti* his ninth Son succeeding him.

is seized and
murder'd by
his Prime
Minister.

KING-TI, Fourth Emperor, reign'd Two Years.

King-ti,
4th Emp.
murder'd by
the same
Hand.
Destruction
the Bonzian
Temples.

IN the thirteenth Year of the Cycle this Prince was advanced to the Imperial Dignity, which he held not above two Years, the Murderer of his Father dispatching him likewise, in the sixteenth Year of his Age. With this Prince expired the *Dynasty* of *Lyang*; and *Chin-pa-syen*, the Founder of the *Dynasty* of *Chin*, made himself Master of the Empire, taking the Name of *Kau-tsu-vu-ti*. In the same Year the Emperor of that part of the North, call'd *Cbew*, caused all the Temples of the Bonzas and their Idols to be burnt.

DYN. XI.
CHIN.

The Eleventh DYNASTY, call'd CHIN, which had Five Emperors in the Space of Thirty three Years.

KAU-TSU-VU-TI, First Emperor, reign'd Three Years.

Kau-tsu-vu-ti,
1st Emperor.

THIS new Emperor was descended from *Chin-she*, the famous General, distinguish'd by his glorious Actions, under the fifth Family of *Han*; he was a Lover of the Sciences, and very fond of Bonzas; but Death in a little time depriv'd him of that Crown which he had obtain'd by a double Crime, for he dy'd in the third Year of his Reign, which was the fifty ninth of his Age, and sixth of the Cycle, his Brother *Ven-ti* succeeding him.

VEN-

VEN-TI, *Second Emperor, reign'd Seven Years.*DYN. XI.
CHIN.

Cyc. XLIX.

Year of
Christ 544.Ven ti,
2d Emperor.The Hours
distinguish'din the Palace
by beat of
Drum.

VEN-TI always lived privately, without concerning himself in Affairs, till the Moment he was made Emperor; but it soon appear'd that he had the proper Qualities of a great Prince, by the Affection he bore to his Subjects, and the Trouble he took to hear their Law-Suits himself, and bring them to a speedy Issue. He order'd a Drum to beat within the Palace to distinguish the Hours of the Night, which Custom is observ'd to this Day. Being sensible that his Son was a Person of no great Capacity, he resolv'd to choose his Brother, the King of *Ngan-ching*, for his Successor; but the *Ko-lau* and Nobles making a strong Representation against it, he alter'd his Intention.

The Emperor of that part of the North call'd *Cheu*, revived at this time an ancient Custom, which was to maintain at the publick Charge all aged Persons, who had done any important Service to the State.

Ven-ti was forty five Years old when he dy'd, in the twenty fourth of the Cycle, and his Son *Ling-hay-vang* succeeded him.

LING-HAY-VANG, *Third Emperor, reign'd Two Years.*

THIS Prince was hardly seated on the Throne, before he was deposed by his Uncle, the King of *Ngan-ching*; and dying soon after at Nineteen Years of Age, *Swen-ti*, Nephew to the Founder of this *Dynasty*, seiz'd the Crown by Force.

Ling-hay-
vang, or Li-ti,
3d Emperor.SWEN-TI, *Fourth Emperor, reign'd Fourteen Years.*

THIS Prince was of a sweet and easy Temper, and his chief Delight was Music, to which he devoted part of his Time. The Sages, whom he lov'd and protect'd, had always an easy Access to him. One of his Vassals having, out of some interested View, sent him Presents of great Value, he, to check his Ambition, order'd them to be burnt in his Presence.

Swen-ti,
or Siwen-ti,
4th Emperor.

The Emperor of the North, having promoted *Yang-kyen* to the Dignity of *Ko-lau*, and given his Daughter in Marriage to his Son, not long after made him Sovereign of the Principality of *Swi*, by which he became so powerful, that in a few Years he was in a Condition to subdue all *China*.

The Rise of
Yang-kyen.

Swen-ti dy'd in the forty ninth Year of the Cycle, and the forty second of his Age, his Son *Chang-ching-kong* succeeding him.

CHANG-CHING-KONG, *Fifth Emperor, reign'd Seven Years.*

THIS Prince was no sooner invest'd with the sovereign Power, but he plung'd himself into the most criminal Excesses. *Yang-kyen*, who was become very powerful in the North, being inform'd of his debauch'd and effeminate way of living, assum'd the Title of Emperor; and advancing Southward, with a very numerous Army, cross'd the River *Yang-tse-kyang*, without the least Opposition, and enter'd the Imperial City of *Nan-king* in Triumph. *Chang-ching-kong* choos'd Death rather than to fall into the Enemy's Hands, threw himself into a Well, from whence however he was taken out alive; but being dethron'd he spent the remaining four and twenty Years of his Life in a private Condition, dying at the Age of fifty two. *Yang-kyen* took the Name of *Kau-tsu-ven-ti*, and became the Founder of a new *Dynasty*.

Chang-ching-
kong, 5th Emp.dethron'd by
Yang-kyen.

The Twelfth DYNASTY, call'd SWI, which had Three Emperors in the Space of Twenty nine Years,

DYN. XII.
SWI.KAU-TSU-VEN-TI, *First Emperor, reign'd Fifteen Years,*

THIS Prince seiz'd the Throne in the forty seventh Year of the Cycle, and in the fifty fourth he re-united the Northern and Southern Empires; which had existed separately for three hundred Years, the *Yang-tse-kyang* being their common Boundary. He was descended from a noble Family, which had perform'd great Services to the fifth Race, call'd the *Han*, and kept his Residence in the Province of *Sben-fi*. His solid and penetrating Judgment made Amends

Kau-tsu-ven-
ti, 1st Emp.
unites the
Northern
and Southern
Empires.

DYN. XII

8 W. Y.

Cyc. XLIX.

Year of

Christ, 544.

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for his want of Learning, while his admirable Temperance and Love of his Subjects gain'd him their Esteem and Confidence. He reform'd the ancient Music, and commanded the Learned to make use of nothing but sound Reasoning in their Compositions, avoiding all Rhetorical Flourishes and vain Ornaments, as fit only to please the Ear, and enervate Eloquence; he caused also publick Granaries to be built in all Cities; and ordained that each Family, in proportion to its Substance, should furnish every Year a certain Quantity of Rice and Corn, for the Support of the Poor in time of Famine. He publish'd likewise an Edict making it Death to steal the Value of eight Sols; which afterwards, upon the Representations that were made to him, he abolish'd, but was inexorable towards the Judges who received Bribes. Lastly, he render'd Merchants and Mechanics incapable of enjoying publick Employments. Altho' he knew his eldest Son to be a Person of no Merit, yet he intended to make him his Heir; which Preference so exasperated his second Son *Yang-ti*, that he murdered his Father in the sixty fourth Year of his Age, and the first of the Cycle. With the same Barbarity he treated his Brother, whom he look'd upon as his Rival, and by this double Parricide mounted the Throne.

YANG-TI, *Second Emperor, reign'd Thirteen Years.*

Yang-ti,
2d Emperor.

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THO' this Prince had valuable Qualities, yet he is generally blamed for his Luxury and Prodigality. Having removed his Court from the Province of *Sben-fi* to that of *Ho-nan*, he caused two vastly large public Granaries to be built, and a Park to be made, fifteen Leagues in Compass, with stately Palaces and magnificent Gardens; where he took the Air on Horseback, accompany'd by a Great number of his Wives, who perform'd Concerts of Vocal and Instrumental Music. His Fame drew several foreign Princes to his Court, in order to put themselves under his Protection. He forbid his Subjects to carry Arms, a piece of Policy still in Force. He also repaired the great Wall dividing *China* from *Tartary*, in which Work it is said a Million of Men were employ'd. He was so intent upon the Advancement and Progress of the Sciences, that he commission'd a hundred of the most learned Men to revise and re-print, after the Manner of those Days, all Books treating of War, Politics, Physic, and Agriculture. He establish'd the Degrees of Doctor, to qualify both Literary and Military Men for their respective Employments. He attack'd the *Koreans* both by Sea and Land; and tho' his first Attempt was without Success, yet in a second Expedition he forced them, in Quality of Vassals, to send Ambassadors to implore his Clemency.

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In visiting the Southern Provinces, the thirteenth Year of the Cycle, he arriv'd at *Yang-chew*, a City of *Kyang-nan*, where he was assassinated at thirty nine Years of Age, by a mean Fellow, whose Name was *W'ba-kye*, on which *Li-ywen*, one of the Regulo's, having assembled an Army of one hundred and twenty thousand Men, placed the Crown upon the Head of *Kong-ti*, Grandson of the Emperor *Kau-tsu-ven-ti*.

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KONG-TI, *Third Emperor, reign'd One Year.*

Kong-ti,
3d Emperor.

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THIS Prince was enthron'd and deposed the same Year, by *Li-ywen*, whose second Son, at the Head of an Army rais'd by his Father, made himself Master of the Palace. It is reported, that while he was viewing its Magnificence and Riches, he fetch'd a deep Sigh, and said, "No, such a stately Edifice must not be suffer'd to stand any longer, being good for nothing but to soften the Spirit of a Prince, and cherish his vicious Inclinations," and so order'd it immediately to be burnt down. Thus ended the *Dynasty* nam'd *Sui*, the last of five petty ones. *Li-ywen* was the Founder of the following Race, and reign'd by the Name of *Shin-yau-ti*.

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DYN. XIII.

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The Thirteenth DYNASTY, call'd TANG, which had Twenty Emperors, in the Space of Two hundred eighty nine Years.

SHIN-YAU-TI, *First Emperor, reign'd Nine Years.*

Shin-yau-ti,
1st Emperor.

Shin-yau-ti,

Shin-yau-ti,

Shin-yau-ti,

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Shin-yau-ti,

Shin-yau-ti,

In the sixteenth Year of the Cycle, he reduc'd all the Rebels, and thereby became the peaceable Possessor of this vast Monarchy. It was he who ordain'd that one Ounce of Copper should be coined into ten Pieces of Money, with these Words, TONG PAU, impress'd on them. This was the only Money current in China, and is in use at this time. By the Advice of his *Ko-lau*, call'd *Fu-yue*, he enjoin'd one hundred thousand Bonzas to marry, in order to propagate Soldiers for his Army. In the twenty third Year of the Cycle he abdicated the Crown in favour of his second Son call'd *Tay-tsong*, and dy'd nine Years after in the seventieth Year of his Age.

DYN. XIII.
T A N G.
Cyc. XLIX.
Year of
Christ 604.

TAY-TSONG, *Second Emperor, reign'd Twenty three Years:*

THIS Prince, who began his Reign in the twenty fourth Year of the Cycle, is accounted by the Chinese one of their greatest Emperors; whom they praise especially for his Wisdom, and the favorable Reception all those met with, who were capable of giving him prudent Counsels, or had Courage enough to tell him of his Faults. So great was his Temperance and Frugality, that he never suffer'd more than eight Dishes of Meat to be served up to his Table; and drove almost all the Concubines out of his Palace. In his Reign the Christian Religion gained Footing in his Empire, as will be observ'd hereafter. He caused the best Books to be brought from all Parts; and became in some respect the Restorer of the Sciences, by the Care he took to re-establish in his Palace an Academy for Literature, wherein were reckon'd eight thousand Scholars, many of them Sons of foreign Princes; whom he provided with able Masters, appointing eighteen of the most eminent, call'd *She-pa-byo-tse*, to superintend their Studies. He founded likewise a Military Academy for Archery, where he often assisted himself. This was not at all agreeable to the Ministers, who represented to him the Indecency, as well as the Danger that might accrue to his Person, by frequenting this Academy; to which *Tay-tsong* answer'd, "I look upon myself in my Empire as a Father in his Family, and I carry my Subjects in my Bosom, as if they were my Children; What have I then to fear?"

Tay-tsong,
2d Emperor.

establishes
Academies
for Literature
and Archery.

This Affection for his Subjects made him say, "That he wish'd his People to have Plenty of the common Necessaries of Life;" adding, "That the Welfare of the Empire depends on the People; an Emperor who fleeces his People to enrich himself, is like a Man who cuts his own Flesh in pieces, to supply his Stomach, which is fill'd, it is true, but in a short time his Body must perish. How many Emperors have ow'd their Ruin to their Luxury! What Expences were they at to support it? and what heavy Taxes did the poor People groan under to supply those Expences? When the People are rack'd and oppress'd, what becomes of the Empire? Is it not then on the Brink of Destruction? And if the Empire perish, what Condition must the Emperor be in? These are the Reflections, continued he, that serve as a Curb to my Desires."

His strong
Reasons
against Luxu-
ry and oppres-
sing the
Subject.

He forbid the Magistrates, under pain of Death, to receive Presents; and that he might be satisfy'd whether his Orders were obey'd, he made a Trial upon a Mandarin, by suborning a Man to make him a Present, which the Mandarin receiving, the Emperor condemn'd him to Death. Upon this the Prime Minister addressing him, "Great Prince, said he, your Sentence is just, and the Mandarin deserves to die; but are you who laid the Snare for him, to fall into the Crime which he has committed, altogether innocent? and do you not partake of his Fault?" This Remonstrance had its Effect, and the Emperor pardon'd the Offender.

Makes it
Death in
Magistrates
to receive a
Bribe;

In the Year following one of the great Mandarins of War, having in like manner received a silk Suit as a Present, the Emperor, who was inform'd of it, sent him immediately a Quantity of Silks; upon which the Courtiers could not suppress their Repentment, but cry'd out, "This Mandarin deserves the Punishment inflicted by the Law, and not a Reward." To which the Emperor answer'd, "The Confusion wherewith he will be struck, will give him a more sensible Pain than the severest Punishment; for these Silks, which I send him, instead of redounding to his Honour, will continually reproach him with his Fault." Whenever the Country was threaten'd with Scarcity, Drought, or immoderate Rains, after the Examples of the ancient Emperors, he publish'd an Edict, by which he order'd his Failings to be laid before him, that by reforming them he might appease the Wrath of Heaven. He gave no Credit to Soothsayers; for one Day as the Storks were building their Nests in his Presence, they stood and clapped their Wings, whereat his Courtiers testify'd their Joy, as portending him some unexpected good Luck; upon which the Emperor smil'd, and said, "*Sbwi tsay te byen*," which signifies "A happy Preface for me is to have wise Men about me," and immediately order'd the Nest to be destroy'd.

a Passage on
that Occasion,

another,

His Con-
tempt of Au-
guries.

In the second Year of his Reign the Fields were cover'd with Locusts, which by the Havock they made threatened a terrible Famine. "Mischievous Insects," cry'd the Emperor with a deep Sigh, "in ruining the Harvest, you destroy the Lives of my poor People. Alas! I had much rather you would devour my own Bowels," and at these Words he swallow'd a Locust alive. In reading the Book of Physic, compos'd by the Emperor *Whang-ti*, he found that the Vital Parts are injur'd by a Blow or Bruise upon the Shoulder: from that time he made a Law, that none should be bastinado'd upon the Back, but upon the Lower Parts, after the Manner that it is now practis'd throughout the Empire. He us'd to say, "That an Emperor is like an Architect. When a Fabrick is well built, and rais'd upon firm Foundations, if the Architect offers to make any Alterations, he exposes it to certain Ruin; it is the same with the Empire, when

Extraordina-
ry Instance
of Affection
for his People.

Changes the
Method of
giving the
Bastinado.

Compares
the Emperor
to an Archi-
tect.

"per-

DYN. XIII.

T A N G.

Cyc. XLIX.

Year of

Christ 604.

Affinity to
please his
People.First Arrival
of Christians
in China.Excellent
Character of
the Empress
Chang-sun ;composes a
Book relat-
ing to the Be-
haviour.The Empe-
ror builds her
a stately
Tomb,and destroys
it again.Takes the
famous *Vu-
foi* into his
Palace.Writes the
Elogy of his
faithful Mi-
nister.

"once it is well establish'd, and govern'd by wise Laws, great Care must be taken not to intro-
duce any Innovation. It is a common Proverb," said he another time, "that an Emperor
is fear'd by every body, and has nothing to be afraid of himself. This is not my Sentiment, I
perpetually stand in Fear, both of the Providence of Heaven, whom nothing escapes, and of
the Eyes of my Subjects, which are continually fix'd upon me. It is for this that I watch every
Moment over my own Actions, that I may do nothing but what is agreeable to the Will of
God, and to the Desires of my People.

To comfort his Subjects in a time of Drought, he released the Prisoners, and granted a general
Pardon; declaring nevertheless, that this was an Indulgence which a Prince ought to use very
cautiously, for fear the Impunity of the Wicked might turn to the Prejudice of the Good; and
that the Tares ought to be rooted out, lest they should damage the good Corn. In the seventh
Year of his Reign, he went in Person to the publick Prison, in which were three hundred and
ninety capital Offenders, whom he order'd to be let out, with an Injunction to return thither
after Harvest, which they all did to a Man. The Emperor was so delighted as well as surpris'd
at their Punctuality in keeping their Word, that he granted them both their Lives and Liberties.

The *Chinese* Annals report, that in the eighth Year of his Reign there came Ambassadors
from foreign Nations, whose Air, Form, and Habit were altogether new to the *Chinese*; and the
Emperor himself rejoiced that in his time Men with fair Hair and blue Eyes arriv'd in the Em-
pire. It is certain that these Strangers were those, whose Names we read upon the Stone Monu-
ment, found in 1625, at *Si-ngan-fu*, in the Province of *Sben-si*; on which is the Figure of the
Cross, and an Abstract of the *Christian* Law, together with the Names of its Preachers, engraven
in *Syriac* Characters; and a Date, specifying the eighth Year of the Reign of *Tay-tsung*. In
the *French* King's Library is preserved an old *Arabic* Manuscript; wherein we read, that at this
very time the Catholic Patriarch of the *Indies* sent Preachers of the Gospel into *China*, who were
honourably received in the Imperial City, where they were introduced by *Pan-hien-ling*, *Ko-lau*
of the Empire.

About the same time the Emperor chose out thirteen Persons, the most eminent for their
Merit and Integrity, to visit all Parts of his Empire; giving them full Power to execute Justice,
and to punish severely the Governors of Cities and Vice-Roys of Provinces, whose Conduct was
blameable. In the tenth Year of his Reign he was deeply affected for the Loss of the Empress
Chang-sun, who was a Princess endow'd with great Prudence, and a Capacity not common among
her Sex. It was observed, as a Circumstance scarce to be parallell'd, that while she lived, not one
of the great Number of Officers, who serve, in the Palace, suffer'd any severe Punishment. The
Emperor, tired with the frequent Admonitions of his *Ko-lau*, *Gbey-ching*, having forbid him
his Presence, the Empress, who was inform'd of it, immediately dress'd herself in her richest Ap-
parel and went to her Husband, to whom she said, "Prince, I have often heard that when an
Emperor is endow'd with Wisdom and Penetration, his Subjects are endow'd with Honesty,
and fear not to speak the Truth. You have an honest *Ko-lau*, who is of an upright Mind and
who knows not how to dissemble; this is a Proof to me of your Wisdom, and how much it
deserves to be applauded, therefore I am come to wish you Joy, and to express my Satisfaction."
This Compliment appeased the Emperor, and restor'd the Minister to favour. The same Princess
composed a Book divided into thirty Chapters, concerning the Manner of Behaving in the inner
Apartments of the Women. The Emperor holding this Book in his Hand, and melting in Tears,
"See, says he, the Rules that ought to be observ'd in all Ages. I know, added he, that my Af-
fliction comes from Heaven, and cannot be remedy'd; but when I reflect upon the Loss of so
faithful and accomplish'd a Companion, and that I am for ever deprived of her wise Counsels,
how is it possible for me to refrain from Tears?" Intending to leave a lasting Monument of his
Grief, he caused a stately Tomb to be rais'd, far more magnificent than that which he had or-
der'd for his Father, who dy'd the Year before. One Day being with his *Ko-lau*, [or Prime Mi-
nister] upon an Eminence, in View of this Tomb, which he was desirous to have him take
notice of, the *Ko-lau* pretending not to understand him, said, "Prince, I thought you would
shew me the Sepulchre of your Father, as for that of your Spouse, I saw it long ago." At
this Discourse the Prince burst into Tears; and stung with the secret Reproach of his Minister,
order'd the Mausoleum to be demolish'd.

In the eleventh Year of his Reign he admitted into his Palace a young Girl of fourteen, endow'd
with extraordinary Beauty, heighten'd by an agreeable Wit, named *Vu-foi*; who in the next
Reign usurp'd the Sovereign Power, and tyrannised over the Empire. In the twelfth Year the
Emperor permitted the *Christian* Law to be preach'd in his Dominions, and even granted a piece
of Ground in the Imperial City for building a Temple to the true God.

Gbey-ching, *Ko-lau* of the Empire, dy'd in the seventeenth, extremely regretted by the Empe-
ror, who wrote his Encomium, and caused it to be engraven on his Tomb. After which turning to
his Courtiers, he said, "We have three sorts of Mirrors: one is of Steel, which serves the La-
dies for dressing their Heads, and adjusting their Cloaths; the second is the Ancient Books,
treating of the Rise, Progress and Fall of Empires; the third are Men themselves, by a little
Observation of whose Actions we see what to shun, and what to practise. I had this last
Mirror in the Person of my *Ko-lau*, whom to my Misfortune I have lost without Hopes of
finding such another."

Another Time discoursing with his Courtiers, he spoke thus, "A Prince has but one Heart, and this Heart is continually besieged by those about him; some attack him by the Love of vain Glory, which they endeavour to inspire into him; others by Luxury and Pleasure; some by Careless and Flattery; others have recourse to Artifice and Falshood, in order to impose on him; and all these Engines are set at work, solely with a View to insinuate themselves into the good Graces of the Prince, whereby they may be advanced to the high Offices and Dignities of the Empire; for if a Prince ceases but for a Moment to watch over his Heart, what has he not to fear?" At the Age of twenty one he marry'd the Daughter of his *Ko-lau*, call'd *Sin-whey*, and gave her the Title of *Wife*. This Princess was celebrated for her fine Genius, and Skill in the *Chinese* Sciences: it is said that when four Months old, she began to speak; that in her fourth Year she had learn'd the Books of *Confucius* by Heart; and in her eighth she made learned Compositions upon all sorts of Subjects; this at least is certain, that she employ'd almost all her Time in Reading.

DYN. XIII.
T A N G.
Cyc. 1.
Year of
Christ 604.

Great Character of the
Empress *Sin W'ey*.

The Emperor had Thoughts of sending a formidable Army to reduce the *Koreans*, who had revolted; but his Death intervening put a stop to that Expedition for the present.

The *Koreans* revolt.

It is scarcely credible how intent and careful this Prince was in the Education of his Children, every Object furnishing matter for his Instructions; if, for Instance, he was eating Rice, he made them sensible how much Toil and Sweat this Rice had cost the poor Husbandmen. One Day as he was taking the Air with them on the Water, he said, "You see, my Children, that this Bark is supported by the Water, which at the same time can overwhelm it; consider that the People resemble the Water, and the Emperor the Bark."

Emperor's Care in educating his Children.

Influence.

The Year before his Death he gave his Son, whom he had declar'd his Heir, the following Advice, consisting of twelve Maxims, which were express'd in twenty four Characters. "Get the Command over your Heart and all its Inclinations; promote none to Places and Dignities but Persons of Merit; invite wise Men to your Court; watch over the Conduct of Magistrates; drive Slanderers from your Presence; be an Enemy to Pomp; keep good Oeconomy; let your Rewards and Punishments be proportion'd to the Merit and Crimes of Persons; take a particular Care to make Agriculture, the Military Art, Laws and Sciences flourish; search among the ancient Emperors for the Models of your Government, for I do not deserve your Notice, having committed too many Mistakes in my Administration; have an Eye always to that which is most perfect, otherwise you will never attain to that just Medium, wherein Virtue consists; lastly, take Care not to be puffed up with the Splendor of your Rank, nor to enervate yourself by the Pleasures of a voluptuous Life, for if you do not, you will ruin both the Empire and yourself."

Fine Maxims of Government given to his Heir.

Tay-tsung dy'd in the forty sixth Year of the Cycle, and the fifty third of his Age; and the Year following his Son *Kau-tsung* was acknowledg'd Emperor.

KAU-TSUNG, Third Emperor, reigned thirty-four Years.

WHEN he had reigned five Years he fell passionately in Love with *Vu-shi*, the young Girl mentioned before, whom *Tay-tsung* had placed in the Rank of his Wives; and who was now retired to a Monastery of *Bonze*s, whither the Emperor went himself to fetch her out, and conduct her to his Palace. A little after, under Pretence that he had no male Issue, he put away the Empress and one of the Queens, malgre the Remonstrances and the strongest Opposition of his Ministers. *Vu-shi* was then placed upon the Throne; but perceiving that the Emperor did not forget the divorced Princesses, she in a Rage caused their Hands and Feet to be cut off, and a few Days after their Heads. She had scarce committed these horrid Cruelties, when she fancied herself pursued Day and Night by the Ghosts of these Princesses, who were as so many Furies ready to fall upon her: And the Fright it put her in made her shift her Place continually. Nevertheless the Emperor grew more and more enamoured with this Wretch; and was even infatuated to such a Degree, that he put the Government of the Empire into her Hands, giving her the Name of *Tyen-bew*, i. e. *The Queen of Heaven*; a Title of Honour till then unheard of in *China*.

Kau-tsung, 3d Emperor.

Makes *Vu-shi* Empress.

Her horrid Cruelty.

This Monster was no sooner invested with Sovereign Power, but the first Use she made of it was to poison her eldest Son; that so the Crown falling to her Brother's Children, her paternal Family might be settled on the Throne: However she did not obtain that Satisfaction.

Poisons her eldest Son.

In the sixth Year of the new Cycle, the *Koreans* returned to their Obedience, and did Homage in the accustomed manner. This Emperor favoured the Christian Religion, as appears by the Stone Monument mention'd before. Churches were built for the Worship of the true God, and the Faith was preached in the Provinces: One of the Missionaries, whose Name was *O lo pwen*, had a Title of Honour conferred upon him. *Kau-tsung* died at the Age of Fifty-six, and in the twentieth Year of the Cycle, when the cruel *Vu-bew* seized on the Throne.

The *Koreans* return to their Duty.

Cycle L.
Year of
Christ 664.

VU-HEW, an Usurper, reigned twenty-one Years.

THIS Princess, who was as subtle as she was cruel, resolving to maintain herself in all the Power which the late Emperor had been so weak to entrust her with, drove away her second Son, who had been declared Heir of the Crown by *Kau-tsung*; and gave him a petty Sovereignty

Vu-bew, an Usurper.

DYN. XIII.
T. A. N. G.

Cyc. LI.
Year of
Christ 664.

Persecutes
the Chris-
tians.

verignty in the Province of *Hà-quang*; placing in his Room her third Son, who being very young had only the Name of Emperor. The first thing she did was to get rid of all those she suspected not to be in her Interest, and in one Day put to Death a great many Lords of the chief Families of the Empire.

In the fifteenth Year of her Reign, a Persecution was raised against the Christians, which lasted about fifteen Years. In the same Year the *Ko-lau, Tye*, had the Courage to make vigorous Remonstrances to her in Behalf of her Son, the rightful Heir, now banish'd fourteen Years. He urged as a Reason, that it would be a thing unprecedented to place in the Hall of Ancestors a Name which did not belong to the Family, and which besides Posterity would never acknowledge. Hereupon the Prince was recall'd from Exile, and lived seven Years in the Eastern Palace till the Death of *Vù-bew* in the eighty first Year of her Age; after which he ascended the Throne, in the forty first Year of the Cycle.

CHUNG-TSONG, *Fourth Emperor, reign'd Five Years.*

Chung-tsong,
4th Emperor.

THIS Prince little deserved the Crown, which he ow'd to his Birth, the Tendernefs of his Father *Kau-tsong*, and the Courage of the Prime Minister. He gave himself up to Indolence and Debauchery; and that he might have nothing to think of but his Pleasures, resign'd his whole Authority into the Hands of the Empress *Ghey*, who had been the faithful Companion of his Exile. This Princess, by the Advice of *San-se*, Governor of the Palace, intended to place her Son *Sbang* upon the Throne; but the Princes and petty Kings on all sides took up Arms to oppose it.

Poisoned.

Chung-tsong however dying of Poison in the fifty fifth Year of his Age, *Sbang* was immediately proclaim'd Emperor. But his Uncle who possess'd a Principality, at the same time seiz'd the Palace, where the Empress was kill'd together with her Daughter; and young *Sbang* saved his Life by surrendering himself to the Mercy of his Uncle *Zbwi-tsong*, the deceased Emperor's Brother, into whose Hands he deliver'd his Crown.

ZHWI-TSONG, *Fifth Emperor, reign'd Two Years.*

Zbwi-tsong,
or *Jew-tsong*,
5th Emperor,
an Usurper.

THE Shortnefs of this Prince's Reign ranks him amongst those of whom we find nothing farther than that he took Possession of the Empire in the forty seventh Year of the Cycle, and dy'd in the forty eighth, aged fifty five. *Hivn-tsong*, his third Son, was declar'd his Successor.

HIVN-TSONG, *Sixth Emperor, reign'd Forty four Years.*

Hivn-tsong,
or *Hivn-tsong*,
6th Emperor.

THE good Nature of this Prince, his Moderation, singular Temperance, and Zeal for the Publick Good, gave presently great Hopes of the Happiness of his Reign. He was the Restorer of his Family, then upon the Brink of Ruin; but he committed one almost irreparable Fault, in promoting an Eunuch, call'd *Kau-lye-se*, to be Master of the Palace: without doubt because he did not foresee the Misfortunes which the Power of the Eunuchs would one Day bring upon him and his Successors.

State of Chris-
tianity in
China.

The Christian Religion began to recover and flourish under this and the three succeeding Emperors.

Endeavours
to suppress
Luxury.

Hivn-tsong, looking on Luxury as the Bane of good Morals, declar'd open War against it, and publish'd an Edict forbidding to fish for Pearls. One Day he caused all his Gold and Silver Vessels, and all his Cloaths embroider'd with Gold, to be burnt before the Palace Gate; in order to restrain by his own Example the Extravagance of his People, who ruin'd themselves by such costly Superfluities.

Cyc. LII.
Year of
Christ 724.

Establishes
the College
of the *Han-
Lin*.

He establish'd a College in his Palace, consisting of forty of the most learned Doctors of the Empire, which still bears the Name of *Han-lin-yuen*, and furnishes Historiographers, Visitors of Provinces, Governors, Vice-Roys, &c. He caused the ancient Books, which treated of the Military Science, to be sought out, and new ones compos'd for the training up Soldiers. He one Day visited the House where *Confucius* was born, and honour'd that great Man with the Title of the *King of Learning*. It could have been wish'd, that this Prince had shew'd more regard to the Counsels of *Ywen-chau*, his Prime Minister; who in a Memorial advis'd him, among other things, to confer no publick Employment upon the Eunuchs, to grant no Power to his Relations, to abolish the Idolatrous Sects of *Po* and *Tan*, &c. but he gave no Ear to these wise Admonitions. This Emperor was the first who honour'd with the Title of petty Kings or Sovereigns the Generals of his Armies, who had most distinguish'd themselves by doing the greatest Service to the State, tho' not of Imperial Blood. In a Progress he made over his Empire he divided it into fifteen Provinces.

Honours
Confucius
with the Ti-
tle of King.

Empire di-
vided into
fifteen Pro-
vinces.

Statue of *Lau-
kyun* set up in
the Palace.

He caused the Statue of *Lau-kyun*, Author of one of the Sects which are found in *China*, to be placed with great Solemnity in his Palace. The Disciples of this Sectary, as well as the Bonzas, used to burn silk Stuffs and Ingots of Silver at Funerals; but this Custom the Emperor alter'd by Advice of his Brother *Van-yu*, commanding that for the future none but Stuffs or Cloaths made

of Paper, should be burnt; which Law is still observed among the Bonzas. The Empire had enjoy'd a profound Peace almost thirty Years, when it was disturb'd by fresh Insurrections, and the Imperial Army entirely defeated, with the Loss of seventy thousand Men; while the Emperor himself knew nothing of the matter, because all the Avenues to his Throne were kept shut by the Eunuchs. The Chief of the Rebels was a foreign Prince, named *Ngan-lo-shan*, whom the Emperor against the Advice of his Ministers had rais'd to the highest Employments, and even entrusted with the Command of his Army. This Traitor, imbolden'd by Success, and seeing himself Master of a great Part of the North, had the Insolence to assume the Title of Emperor. Mean time the Palace itself was in a Combustion, for the Emperor divorc'd his Wife, put three of his Children to Death without any just Cause, and marry'd his Daughter-in-Law. As one Misfortune often draws on another, these Disasters encouraged a Company of Robbers to attack the Imperial Army, which having routed, with the Slaughter of forty thousand Men, the Emperor was oblig'd to fly into the Province of *Se-chwen*.

DYN. XIII.
T A N G.
Cyc. LII.
Year of
Christ 724.

Ngan lo Shan
rebeis.

The Empe-
ror flies.

SO-TSONG, *Seventh Emperor, reign'd Six Years.*

TOWARDS the end of the thirty third Year of the Cycle, *Hien-tsong* made his shameful Retreat, and *So-tsong* took Possession of the Government, tho' his Father was still living; being a warlike Prince, he with the help of his *Ko-lau*, *Ko-tsu-i*, destroy'd the Army of the Robbers and dispers'd them. The publick Tranquillity was no sooner settled, but he brought back his Father from the Province of *Se-chwen*, and conducted him into the Palace with all the Honours due to his Rank; but he did not long enjoy the Repose which his Son had procur'd him, for he dy'd the thirty eighth Year of the Cycle, and the seventy eighth of his Age. In the mean time *Ngan-lo-shan* had plunder'd the Palace of *Chang-ngan*, and along with the Riches, carry'd into the Province of *Ho-nan* an hundred Elephants and Horses; which had been taught to dance to the Sound of Instruments, and to present the Emperor a Cup with their Mouths.

So-tsong,
7th Emperor.

Ngan lo Shan
plunders the
Palace.

Ngan-lo-shan wanted to have the same Diversion, but as if these Beasts had refused to acknowledge him Emperor, they could never be brought to do what he desired, which so enraged him, that he order'd them to be kill'd on the Spot. The Treachery of this Wretch, who made use of his Master's Favours to destroy him, was not long unpunish'd, he being murder'd in Bed by his own Son. The Parricide was assassinated in his turn by *Se-mong*, General of the Army, who intending to make his youngest Son his Heir was likewise killed by his eldest Son. *So-tsong* dy'd in the Ninth Year of the Cycle, and left the Crown to his Son *Tay-tsong*.

Is murdered
by his own
Son.

TAY-TSONG, *Eighth Emperor, reign'd Seventeen Years.*

THE beginning of this Reign was tolerably prosperous, thro' the Care of able Ministers, in whom the Emperor confided; the Rebels were forced to return to their Obedience, and Peace was restored in the Empire. But it did not continue long, for five of the most powerful Kings shook off the Yoke; and refusing to acknowledge the Emperor as their Master pretended to reign in an absolute Independency.

Tay-tsong,
8th Emperor.
Several Re-
gulo's revolt.

A Mandarin, named *Fu-bu-tsen*, finding himself at the Point of Death, order'd his Head to be shav'd, and his Corpse to be interr'd after the Manner of the Bonzas, whose Protector he was; which Example, we shall see, was afterwards follow'd by many Grandees in the nineteenth Dynasty.

In the eighth Year of this Reign, more than two hundred thousand *Tartars* made an Irruption into the Empire, and forced the Emperor to fly; they plunder'd his Palace, and loaded with immense Treasures retired into their own Country.

Irruption of
the *Tartars*.

The Emperor return'd to his Palace with the Assistance of the famous General *Ko-tsu-i*, whose Elogy is to be seen upon the Stone Monument, which I have spoken of more than once. There his Liberality is applauded, and it is not to be doubted but that he employ'd both his Credit and Substance in erecting Temples to the true God; some even conjecture that he imbraced Christianity. The same Monument relates, that on *Christmas* Day the Emperor sent rich Perfumes to the Church, and Fruits from his own Table to the Ministers of the Gospel.

Tay-tsong dy'd in the fifty third Year of his Age, and fifty first of the Cycle, *Te-tsong* his eldest Son succeeding him.

TE-TSONG, *Ninth Emperor, reign'd Twenty five Years.*

THE Empire found no great Support from this Prince, for he minded nothing but Trifles, was of a timorous Nature, extremely mistrustful, and ready to give ear to Flatterers. However he deserves Applause for refusing Presents from Strangers, which was esteem'd a happy Omen; "The best Augury I can have, says he, is to see Wise Men about me." He shew'd one Sign of Disinterestedness, which gain'd him great Encomiums; for a very considerable Sum of Money being presented him, instead of receiving it he order'd it to be distributed among his Soldiers.

Te-tsong,
9th Emperor.

In

DYN. VIII.
TANG.
Cyc. LIII.
Year of
Christ 784.

Eloge of Ko-
tsü-i.

Great Power
of the Eu-
nuchs.

Wife Saying
of a Ko-lau
about Des-
tiny.

In the third Year of his Reign the famous *Ko-tsü-i*, who had render'd such important Service to the Empire, dy'd in the eighty fifth Year of his Age; he had been Prime Minister under four Emperors, and got such mighty Reputation for his Probity, that it was generally allow'd there had not been his Equal for many Ages. Such Confidence was placed in this Minister, that it may with truth be affirm'd that the Fate of the reigning Family was in his Hands. Tho' he attained to the highest Honours, and had acquired immense Riches, yet he was respected by Envy itself, whose Strokes he never felt; and notwithstanding the Splendor he lived in, yet still his Liberality exceeded his Magnificence. He left eight Children, who all acquired lasting Glory in the different Magistracies to which their Merit raised them. *China* mourned three Years for this great Man, whom she bewailed as her Father.

The Power of the Eunuchs became so formidable, and their Insolence grew to such a Pitch, that there was nothing to be heard of but Insurrections; this oblig'd the Emperor to augment his Army by a great Number of fresh Troops, to maintain which he was constrained to double the Taxes. There was even a Duty laid on Tea itself, which is the common Drink of the *Chinese*. These extraordinary Impositions exasperated all Persons, and the extreme Misery of the People occasion'd infinite Thefts and Robberies. By good Fortune the Imperial Arms were victorious every where, and the Rebels being destroy'd, Peace was re-establish'd, and the People relieved. The Emperor on a time attributing the Wars and Calamities to his own Destiny, added, "That this had been in part foretold him by the Astrologers," on which *Li-myé* his *Ko-lau* reply'd, "Prince, leave this kind of Talk to the Ignorant, and Vulgar, such Language does not become either you or me. It is ourselves who render our Destiny happy or unhappy, according as we govern the State well or ill." This Prince dy'd at the Age of sixty four, in the twenty first Year of the Cycle, and was succeeded by his Son *Shun-tsung*.

SHUN-TSUNG, Tenth Emperor, reign'd One Year.

Shun-tsung,
10th Emp.

THERE was all the Reason imaginable to expect a happy Reign from this new Emperor; but being attack'd by a grievous and an incurable Distemper, he abdicated the Crown, and assign'd it to his Son *Hyen-tsung*.

HYEN-TSUNG, Eleventh Emperor, reign'd Fifteen Years.

Hyen-tsung,
11th Emp.

THIS Prince was endow'd with wonderful Penetration and Dexterity in disentangling as well as dispatching the most intricate Affairs; he had also a Firmness of Mind, in pursuing the thing he had once resolved on, which no Consideration could shake. He gave solid Proofs of his Affection for his People in a time of Famine, by opening his Treasures and the publick Granaries in favour of the afflicted Provinces; at the same time sending the great Lords of his Court to inquire into the Peoples Distress, and to relieve them in proportion to their Indigence.

Care to re-
lieve his Peo-
ple in Dis-
tress.

Honours a
Finger-bone
of Fo.

Poison'd with
the Liquor of
Immortality.

In the thirty sixth Year of the Cycle, he order'd a Finger-bone of the Idol *Fo* to be brought with great Solemnity from the Province of *Sben-shi*. The Chief Tribunal of Rites strongly oppos'd this sottish Resolution of the Emperor, boldly alledging that the execrable Reliques of this Idol [or Impostor] ought to be burnt. As they firmly persisted in their Determination, without regarding the Displeasure of the Emperor, several of them were degraded; which is a Punishment pretty commonly inflict'd on great *Mandarins*. He fell into another Piece of Folly, which cost him his Life; for having sent every where in Quest of the pretended Liquor of Immortality, promised by the Sect of *Tau*, to which he was greatly devoted; it was at length brought him by the Eunuchs, who it is not doubted mix'd it with Poison; for this unhappy Prince, after he had taken it, dy'd suddenly, at the Age of forty three, and his Son *Mo-tsung* succeeded him.

MO-TSUNG, Fifth Emperor, reign'd Four Years.

Mo-tsung,
12th Emp.

THE Choice which the last Emperor made of his Son *Mo-tsung*, to succeed him, was at first thwarted by certain Lords, who had a Design to place another Prince on the Throne; but their Projects miscarrying they were put to Death. Seeing himself in quiet Possession of the Crown, he granted as usual a General Amnesty, and was so ill advised as to disband Part of his Troops; who being thereby reduced to great Straits went and took Refuge among the Robbers, whose Number they increased.

The Family
of the *Tang*
begins to de-
cline.

It was under this Prince that the Imperial Family of the *Tang* began to decline from that State of Splendor which it had till then maintained, and the following Princes completed its Ruin. He dy'd at the Age of thirty, after he had taken a Medicine that had been prepared for him. His Son *King-tsung* succeeded him the Year following, which was the forty second of the Cycle.

KING-TSONG *Thirteenth Emperor, reign'd Two Years.*

IT was by the Eunuchs, who were now become Masters, that *King-tsong* was elected to the Throne; and by the same usurped Authority, they deprived him of the Government not long after, in order to confer it on the Empress-Mother. The childish Behaviour of this young Prince, and his Irregularities, were Reasons to them for dispossessing him, and leaving him nothing but the Title of Emperor, in the forty fourth Year of the Cycle, and eighteenth of his Age.

This Prince returning from Hunting, went into his Apartment to change his Cloaths; when the Candles being suddenly put out, he was murdered by the Eunuchs, who placed his Brother *Ven-tsong* in his room.

DYN. XII.
T A N G.
Cyc. LIII.
Year of
Christ 784.
King-tsong,
13th Emp.

Murdered by
the Eunuchs.

VEN-TSONG, *Fourteenth Emperor, reign'd Fourteen Years.*

THIS Prince, who had a great Affection for the wise and learned Men of his Empire, being impatient at the Power of the Eunuchs, in the ninth Year of his Reign took Measures secretly to destroy them; but perceiving the Snares that were laid for them, they fell on a sudden with so much Fury on the Ministers, and Guards of the Palace, that they slew above a thousand of them, and many Families were entirely destroy'd. These Misfortunes, in Conjunction with others still greater, which the Emperor foresaw, so overwhelmed him with Grief; that, tho' he often endeavoured to divert it or drown it in Wine yet, it prey'd upon his Spirits, to such a Degree, that he wasted away insensibly, and at last died of a Consumption, in the fifty seventh Year of the Cycle. The Eunuchs, who now took upon them to nominate the Emperors, never thought of the Son of the Deceased, but chose his Brother *Vu-tsong*, who was the fifth Son of the twelfth Emperor of this Dynasty.

Ven-tsong,
14th Emp.
Eunuchs rise
and slay the
Ministers.

Like the
Emperors.

VU-TSONG, *the Fifteenth Emperor, reign'd six Years.*

THE superior Qualifications of this Prince justified the Preference he met with, being of a warlike Inclination, and dreading neither Danger nor Fatigue. He drove the Tartars out of the Province of *Sben-fu*, where they had fortify'd themselves; and cleared several other Provinces of the Robbers, who march'd in Troops, and made great Havock. His Judgment was so excellent, that he was never deceived in his Choice of Ministers. He established, or rather revived a Law, still observed, which is a Check upon the Mandarins of the Imperial City, (upon whom depend the Mandarins of the Provinces) enjoining, that every five, or at least every seven Years, the Conduct of the Chief Officers of the Empire should be strictly enquired into; and these Mandarins are obliged to commit to Writing, a sincere and particular Account of all their Miscarriages, and intreat the Emperor's Pardon; and if in this humble Confession, they offer either to excuse, disguise, or extenuate their Faults, they have then no Favour to expect, and are inevitably deprived of their Employments.

Vu-tsong,
15th Emp.
Drives the
Tartars of
Sben-fu.

Law to curb
the Mandarins.

This Emperor did not live long enough for the Good of his People, (A) being but thirty three years old when he died, in the third Year of this new Cycle. The Eunuchs rejected his Son, and in his stead elected *Swen-tsong*, the Grand-son of the eleventh Emperor of this Dynasty.

Cyc. LIV.
Year of
Christ 844.

SWEN-TSONG, *Sixteenth Emperor, reign'd Thirteen Years.*

IT is probable, that the little Genius which this Prince discovered in his Infancy, induced the Eunuchs to prefer him to all others; rightly judging that nothing established their Authority so much as the Incapacity of the Emperor. However they were deceived; for *Swen-tsong* was no sooner upon the Throne but he appeared another Man, and was eminent for all the Qualities which constitute a great Prince. His Wisdom, Judgment, Moderation, Equity, Application and Love for the Welfare of his People, made them consider him as another *Tay-tsong*, the second Emperor of this Dynasty, whose Memory was still revered thro'out the Empire: But notwithstanding all this Prince's Merit, he could not reduce the Power of the Eunuchs. *Hu-tau*, his Prime Minister, in a Memorial advised him to be inexorable to the Eunuchs who should commit any Fault, and not to supply the Places of those who died; that their Number lessening by Degrees, it might be more easy to destroy them. This Project, being discovered by the Eunuchs, occa-

Swen-tsong,
or *Sben-tsong*,
16th Emp.

Power of the
Eunuchs continues.

(A) The Christians from *Tai-fong*, or *Judea*, who had been reckoned three thousand, should return to a secular Life. This appears by an Ordinance of the same Emperor, but without his Name, to be found hereafter among those of *Tay-tsong* Second Emperor of the *Tang*.

DYN. XIII.

TANG.

Cyc. LIV.

Year of

Christ 844.

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Takes the  
immortal Li-  
quor and dies  
soon after.

sioned a mortal Enmity between them and the Minister, so that the Troubles grew greater than ever.

The Chinese Historians blame this Prince for inviting to his Court the Sectaries of *Tau*, in order to procure by their Means the pretended Drink which renders People immortal. On this Occasion one of his Ministers represented to him, that the best way to procure himself a long and happy Life, was to get the Mastery over his own Heart, to subdue his Passions, and practise Virtue: "Most of the Emperors who preceded you, added he, would have arrived to extreme old Age, if they had followed the Counsel which I give you." He had no sooner taken the Drink which the Sectaries gave him, but he saw himself devoured by Worms, that swarm'd in his Body; and a few Days after he died, at the Age of fifty Years, being succeeded by his Son *I-tsung*, who was elected by the Eunuchs.

### I-TSUNG, Seventeenth Emperor, reign'd Fourteen Years.

*I-tsung*, 17th  
Emperor.

Scottish Re-  
spect for a  
Relique of *Fo*.

THE Haughtiness, Pride, Prodigality, Luxury and excessive Debaucheries of this Prince made him universally detested. In the fourteenth Year of his Reign he caused a Bone of the Idol *Fo* to be brought with Pomp into his Palace, and three Months after dy'd, at the Age of thirty one Years. The Chinese Writers attribute both his Death, and the Troubles which ensued, to his stupid Devotion for the said Idol. The Eunuchs placed his Son *Hi-tsung* in his room.

### HI-TSUNG, Eighteenth Emperor, reign'd Fifteen Years.

*Hi-tsung*, 18th  
Emperor.

Driven from  
his Capital  
by *Whan-tyau*.

Brought back  
by *Li-ke-yong*.

THE Eunuchs, who were absolute Masters, settled this Prince upon the Throne, being but twelve Years old. He spent his Time wholly in Play and Music, in Riding and Shooting with the Bow; at the same time that there was nothing to be seen on all Sides, especially in the Northern Provinces, but Tumults and Revolts. The Taxes wherewith the People were over loaded, the Famine caused by the over-flowing of Rivers, and by the Locusts which destroyed the Corn, encreased the Number of the Rebels. *Whan-tyau*, a Native of the Province of *Sben-tong*, being at the Head of them, went and laid Siege to the Imperial City; and having driven his Sovereign from thence caused himself to be proclaimed Emperor, and gave to his Family the Name of *Tsi*.

A young Man call'd *Li-ke-yong*, who was but twenty eight Years of Age, and having but one Eye, was nick-named *To-yen-long*, commanded the Imperial Troops, and attack'd the Captain of the Rebels. At first he was repulsed, but rallying his Soldiers, he renew'd the Battle with such Vigour, that he obtained a compleat Victory, and brought the Emperor back in Triumph to his Palace. For these Services he was rewarded with the Principality of *Tsin*, and his Son became the Founder of the fifteenth Dynasty.

The Emperor did not enjoy the Fruit of this Victory above three Months, for he dy'd in the forty fifth Year of the Cycle, at the Age of twenty seven, and the Eunuchs set the Imperial Crown on the Head of *Chau-tsung*, who was the sixth Son of the last Emperor.

### CHAU-TSUNG, Nineteenth Emperor, reign'd Sixteen Years.

*Chau-tsung*,  
19th Emp.

Imprison'd  
by the Eu-  
nuchs.

who are mas-  
sacred, and  
the Emperor  
murdered by  
*Chü-ven*.

Cyc. LV.  
Year of  
Christ 904.

THIS Prince, who wanted neither Parts nor Courage, shew'd great Marks of Esteem for Men of Learning, and for his Principal Ministers; proposing by their Assistance to retrieve in time the Affairs of the Empire, which the usurp'd Authority of the Eunuchs, and the rebellious Disposition of the People had thrown into great Disorder. To effect this Change, he judg'd it necessary to begin with the Destruction of the Eunuchs; but while he was considering of the Means, they suspecting his Design, came suddenly upon him with their Soldiers, and seizing his Person, confined him in a remote Apartment, under a secure Guard, leaving only a Hole in the Wall, for conveying him Food. But the *Ko-lau*, *Tsu-yu*, having discover'd the Place, sent thither a number of resolute Fellows, well armed, who slew the Guards, released the Emperor, and brought him back to his Palace.

*Chü-ven*, Captain of the Robbers, invited by the *Ko-lau* to come to the Emperor's Assistance against the Eunuchs, arriv'd just at the Time that this Prince publish'd an Edict for extirpating them all, excepting thirty of the youngest to be reserved for the most servile Offices of the Palace; and executed this Commission with such Zeal, that many hundreds of Eunuchs were put to the Sword. *Chü-ven*, who hitherto had appear'd loyal, being soon after seized with a Spirit of Ambition, caused the *Ko-lau*, who had been so faithful to his Prince, to be slain; and obliged the Emperor to remove his Court from the Province of *Sben-si* to that of *Ho-nan*. Which he had no sooner done, but the Traitor put him to Death, in the thirty eighth Year of his Age, and first of the Cycle; placing the Imperial Crown on the Head of *Chau-swen-tsung*, Son of the murdered Emperor, till he could take it himself with Safety.



## CHAU-SWEN-TSONG, *Twentieth Emperor, reign'd Two Years.*

**T**HIS young Prince was scarce two Years upon the Throne, when seeing plainly that he should be sacrific'd, as well as his Father, to the Ambition of the pertidious *Chü-ven*, chose voluntarily to resign the Crown to him, to prevent his committing a fresh Crime, and to save his own Life. The Usurper, who took the Name of *Tay-tsu*, gave him a Principality, which he possess'd no longer than three Years, being slain at the Age of seventeen; and with him ended the Family of *Tang*.

The five following Successions are call'd by the *Chinese*, *Hew-ü-tay*, that is, the *Five latter Dynasties*, being accounted Petty Races, as well as the five which precede that of the *Tang*. They resemble them also in Wars, Revolts, and Parricides, which so often stained the Throne with Blood; but they differ from each other in the Number of Princes, and in the Time of their Duration. The five former reckon twenty four Emperors, in the Space of one hundred and ninety eight Years, whereas these latter continued not one Cycle, and reckon no more than thirteen Emperors. The warlike Nation of the *Sye-tan*, inhabiting the Country now call'd *Lyau-tong*, being exceedingly increased by many Colonies, that came from *Korea*, gave much Uneasiness to the following Emperors.

DYN. XIII.  
TANG.  
Cyc. LV.  
Year of  
Christ 904.  
*Chau-swen-tsong*, or  
*Sye-tan*,  
10th Emp.  
reign'd to *Chü-ven*, and is  
slain.

The *Hew-ü-tay*, that is  
the five latter  
*Dynasties*.

Nation of  
*Sye-tan* or  
*Lyau* grow  
powerful.

## The Fourteenth DYNASTY, call'd HEW-LYANG, which had Two Emperors, in the Space of Sixteen Years.

### TAY-TSU, *First Emperor, reign'd Six Years.*

**D**URING these troublesome Times, many Principalities fell off by Degrees from the Body of the Empire, under the arbitrary Government of their respective Sovereigns, who still did Homage to the Emperor. *Tay-tsu* fix'd his Court in the Province of *Ho-nan*, but did not long sit on a Throne, to which he had mounted by so many Treasons, being murder'd at the Age of sixty two Years, by his eldest Son, tho' his third Son *Mo-ti* succeeded him.

DYN. XIV.  
HEW-  
LYANG.

Murder'd by  
his eldest Son.

### MO-TI, *Second Emperor, reign'd Ten Years.*

**A**S soon as this Prince, who was Sovereign of a petty State, heard of his Father's Death, he instantly march'd at the Head of his Army; and engaging that of his Brother, entirely defeated it, kill'd the Parricide, and ascended the Throne the tenth Year of the Cycle.

Towards the thirteenth Year the Barbarians above-mention'd, changing their Name from that of *Sye-tan* to *Lyau*, laid the Foundation of their Government, which in the Space of two hundred and nine Years reckon'd a Succession of nine Princes.

*Chwang-tsong*, Son of the famous Warrior *Li-ke-yong* before-mention'd, who had done such Service to the State under the eighteenth Emperor [of the *Tang*], took Advantage of these Troubles to gain a Crown, which he was more worthy to wear, than the Usurper; he commanded an Army accusom'd to conquer, and having taken several Cities, engaged and defeated *Mo-ti's* Forces, who in Despair slew himself, and with him his Family became extinct.

*Mo-ti*, 2d  
Emperor.

The King-  
dom of *Lyau*  
founded.

*Mo-ti* defeat-  
ed by  
*Chwang-  
tsong*, and

slays himself.

## The Fifteenth DYNASTY, call'd HEW-TANG, comprizing Four Emperors in the Space of Thirteen Years.

### CHWANG-TSONG, *First Emperor, reign'd Three Years.*

**C**HWANG-TSONG inherited the Martial Genius of his Father, being inur'd to the Fatigues of War from his Youth. In all his Campaigns he lay on the Ground, and for fear of sleeping too long wore a Bell about his Neck to awaken him.

This Prince would have deserved a Place among the Heroes of his Nation, had he not tarnish'd the Glory of his earlier Years by Idleness, Luxury, and a Love for publick Shews. He

DYN. XV.  
HEW-  
TANG.

*Chwang-  
tsong*, 1st  
Emperor.

turns Actor.

not



DYN. XV.  
HEW-TANG.

Cyc. LV.  
Year of  
Christ 904.

Slain in a Sedition.

not only delighted in seeing Plays, but would descend so low as to act himself, to divert his Queens and Grand-Daughters; and employ'd his time in so many other Amusements unworthy of Majesty, that he became the contempt of all his Subjects. He was moreover so fondly-covetous, that tho' his Coffers were full of Gold and Silver, yet he could not find in his Heart to open them for the Relief of his People.

At length a Sedition arising among the Soldiers, he was wounded by an Arrow, of which he dy'd, the twenty second Year of the Cycle, and thirty fifth of his Age; but it is not known whether the Stroke was given by Design or Accidentally. *Ming-tsung* was elected Emperor by the Grandees.

### MING-TSUNG, Second Emperor, reign'd Eight Years.

*Ming-tsung*,  
2d Emperor.

Printing in-  
vented.

His usual  
Prayer.

Eunuchs ex-  
cluded public  
Employment.

*Fong-tau's*  
Observation  
on Govern-  
ment.

THE Father of the late Emperor had adopted *Ming-tsung*, tho' he was not born in the Empire. This Prince had acquired a general Esteem, and proved himself perfectly worthy of the Choice that had been made of him. He is chiefly praised for his Liberality, Moderation, Love of Peace, and a particular Affection for his Subjects. Tho' he was illiterate, he gave frequent Marks of his Esteem for Learned Men. The Art of Printing was invented in his Reign.

The Chinese Historians also praise his Piety and Modesty, affirming that every Night he burnt Perfumes in Honour of the Lord of Heaven, and implored his Assistance in these Words, "I was born a Barbarian, and in a Country of Barbarians, yet in the midst of the Troubles that afflicted this Empire, they have chosen me to govern it. I make but one Request, which is, that the Heavenly Majesty would condescend to watch over my Conduct, and send me wise and experienced Men, whose Counsel may aid me to govern this State without falling into Mistakes." Indeed he had always in his Palace a great Number of able Men, by whose Counsel he made many excellent Regulations, and among others one excluding Eunuchs from all Public Employments. The Birth of that illustrious Person, who was afterwards the Founder of the nineteenth Dynasty; the Profound Peace the Nation enjoy'd, all the while he was on the Throne, and the Plenty which reign'd throughout the Empire, are attributed by the same Writers to the Piety of this Prince.

Among the many great Men who were about this Prince, a *Ko-lau*, named *Fong-tau*, is highly praised for his extraordinary Understanding and Integrity; he used to say, "That a State is to be govern'd with the same Care and Circumspection that is required in riding a Horse. I have often, said he, travell'd in very rough and mountainous Countries, and never got any Hurt, because I always took Care to keep a stiff Rein; whereas in the smoothest Plains, thinking the same Care needless, and giving my Horse the Bridle, I have fallen; and been in Danger of hurting myself. It is just the same with the Government of a State; when it is in the most flourishing Condition, a Prince ought not to abate any thing of his usual Vigilance and Attention."

*Ming-tsung* dy'd in the sixty seventh Year of his Age, and thirtieth of the Cycle, leaving the Crown to his Son *Min-tsung*.

### MIN-TSUNG, Third Emperor, reign'd One Year.

*Min-tsung*,  
3d Emperor,  
slain by *Sbe-king-tang*.

THIS Prince was scarce seated on the Throne, when *Sbe-king-tang*, Son-in-Law of the late Emperor, with an Army of fifty thousand Men, furnish'd by the People of *Lyau-tong*, made himself Master of the Palace, and deprived *Min-tsung* of his Life and Crown, in the forty fifth Year of his Age; he was succeeded by *Pi-ti*, his adopted Son, before named *Lo-sang*.

### FI-TI, Fourth Emperor, reign'd One Year.

*Pi-ti*, 4th  
Emperor,  
slain by the  
same Hand.

FI-TI, unable to resist the Murderer of his Father, fled to the City *Ghey-chew*, where not being safe he shut up himself and his Family in a Palace, with every thing he had of Value, and then setting it on Fire, perish'd in the Flames. By the Extinction of this Dynasty, *Sbe-king-tang* became Emperor, and took the Name of *Kau-tsü*.

DYN. XVI.  
HEW-TSIN.

The Sixteenth DYNASTY, call'd HEW-TSIN, which contains Two Emperors in the Space of Eleven Years.

### KAU-TSU, First Emperor, reign'd Seven Years.

*Kau-tsü*, 1st  
Emperor.

THE General of the Auxiliary Forces of *Lyau-tsung*, who had so much contributed to the Advancement of *Kau-tsü*, refused to acknowledge him for Emperor, having an Inclination to assume that Title himself; so that *Kau-tsü*, not caring to undertake a new War, purchased a Peace at the Expence of the Honour of his Country, yielding up to the Tar-  
tarian



tarian Chief, in recompence of his Service, sixteen Cities of the Province of *Pe-che-li*, which were nearest to *Lyau-tong*, and engaged to give him annually three hundred thousand Pieces of Silk. This imprudent Donation exceedingly augmented the Force and Power of a warlike and turbulent People; and was the Occasion of numberless Wars, which ravaged *China* for more than four hundred Years.

*Kau-tsü* dy'd in the thirty ninth Year of the Cycle, aged fifty one Years, and his Nephew *Tsi-vang* was elected by the Grandees of the Empire.

DYN. XVI.  
H E W.  
T S I N.  
Cyc. L.  
Year of  
Christ 904.

### TSI-VANG, Second Emperor, reign'd Four Years.

THE barbarous People of *Lyau-tong*, soon breaking the Treaty made with *Kau-tsü*, invaded the Empire when least expected. *Tsi-vang* opposed them with an Army sufficient to have given them a Repulse, under the Command of *Lyew-chi-ywen*; but this General concealing a violent Ambition under an Appearance of Zeal, made short Marches, and by affected Delays gave the Barbarians time to make the Emperor Prisoner; who, being dethron'd, was contented to accept of a small Sovereignty, where he ended his Days.

*Lyew-chi-ywen* took Possession of the Crown by the Name of *Kau-tsü*, and founded the following Dynasty.

*Tsi-vang*, 2d  
Emperor.  
The *Lyau* in-  
vade the Em-  
pire, and  
take the Em-  
peror Prison-  
er.

### The Seventeenth DYNASTY, call'd HEW-HAN, which reckons only Two Emperors in the Space of Four Years.

DYN. XVII.  
HEW-HAN.

#### KAU-TSU, First Emperor, reign'd Two Years.

THE Army of *Lyau-tong* finding no Resistance, ravag'd all the Northern Provinces, after which they march'd into the Southern, but were stopp'd by considerable Bodies of Troops, that opposed their Passage; which occasion'd the General of the Barbarians to say, "He could not have believed the Conquest of *China* would have prov'd so difficult;" wherefore contenting himself with a rich Booty, he retired to his own Country. During these Transactions, *Kau-tsü* dy'd at the Age of fifty four, and the next Year, which was the forty sixth of the Cycle, his Son *In-ti* succeeded him.

*Kau-tsü*, 1st  
Emperor.  
The *Lyau* ra-  
vage *China*,  
and return.

#### IN-TI, Second Emperor, reign'd Two Years.

THE Youth of this Prince gave Opportunity to the Eunuchs to raise Commotions, in order to regain their Authority; especially as the Army was employ'd at a Distance from the Court, in opposing the Invasions of the *Tartars* of *Lyau-tong*.

This Army was commanded by *Ko-gbey*, who fought several successful Battles with the Barbarians, and thereby restored Peace to the Northern Provinces; but at the same time the Palace was in Confusion, the Intrigues of the Eunuchs having raised a Sedition, in which the Emperor was slain at the Age of twenty Years.

The Empress placed his Brother on the Throne, but he was scarcely seated before *Ko-gbey* returning with Triumph from his glorious Expedition, the Army cover'd him with the Banners of the Empire, and proclaim'd him Emperor; which the Empress seeing, she abandon'd the Prince she had set up, and submitted to the General as her Sovereign, who in acknowledgment always respected her as his Mother. He took the Name of *Tay-tsü*.

*In-ti*, 2d  
Emperor.

The *Lyau* often defeat-  
ed by *Ko-  
ghey*, and the  
Emperor  
slain by the  
Eunuchs.  
*Ko-ghey* the  
General  
usurps the  
Throne.

### The Eighteenth DYNASTY, call'd HEW-CHEW, which contains Three Emperors, in the Space of Nine Years.

DYN. XVIII.  
H E W.  
C H E W.

#### TAY-TSU, First Emperor, reign'd Three Years.

THE new Emperor fix'd his Court in the Capital of the Province of *Ho-nan*, he visited the Sepulchre of *Confucius* in Person, and to honour his Memory gave him the Title of King.

Some of his Courtiers representing to him that this Honour did not suit a Man who had always been a Subject, not only to the Emperor, but also to a petty King: "You are mistaken, reply'd he, we cannot give too much Honour to a Man, who has been the Master to Kings

*Tay-tsü*, 1st  
Emperor.  
Gives *Kong-  
fü-tse* the  
Title of  
King.  
*Mohamme-  
dani* enter  
*China*.



DYN. XVIII. *and Emperors.* Some believe that about this time the *Mohammedans* first settled in this Country; but other Authors place their Establishment here much sooner, viz. under the thirteenth Dynasty of the *Tang*.

C. H. E. W. *Tay-tsü* dy'd at the Age of fifty three, in the fiftieth Year of the Cycle, leaving no Issue, and was succeeded by *Shi-tsung*, his adopted Son.

Cyc. LV.  
Year of  
Christ, 904.

### SHI-TSUNG-, Second Emperor, reign'd Six Years.

*Shi-tsung*,  
2d Emperor.

His Humi-  
lity,

and Compa-  
sion for the  
Poor.

Coins the  
*Bowar* Im-  
ages into Mo-  
ney.  
Several Re-  
gulo's return  
to their Al-  
legiance.

THE Love of the Sciences, and the Proofs which this Prince had given of his Bravery and Skill in the Art of War, were the Steps by which he ascended the Throne; but in the height of his Grandeur he was always so modest, as to keep a Plough and a Loom in his Palace, to remind him of the Station and hard Labour of his Ancestors.

In a time of Scarcity he order'd the publick Granaries to be open'd, and the Rice to be sold at a very low Rate, which the People were to pay when they were able; but the Surveyors of the Provisions representing, that the Poor would never be in a Condition to pay it; "How, says the Emperor, don't you know that they are my Children, and that I am their Father? Was a Father ever known to let his Son perish for Hunger, because he saw no Prospect of ever being repay'd what he lent him?" At the same time he caused all the Statues of Idols to be melted down, and coin'd into Money, which was become very scarce.

Several Petty Sovereigns, who had for a long time shaken off their Dependence on the Emperor, were so charm'd with the Fame of this Prince's Virtue, that they voluntarily submitted to his Authority, and return'd to their Allegiance. A Memorial was presented him, proposing Methods for recovering the Provinces and Principalities, which the Empire had lost during the late Troubles; but while he was considering how to put it in Execution, Death interrupted him in the fifty sixth Year of the Cycle, and the thirty ninth of his Age; and his Son *Kong-ti*, who was but seven Years old, succeeded him.

### KONG-TI, Third Emperor, reign'd some Months.

*Kong-ti*, 3d  
Emperor,  
dethroned  
and his *Ko-lau*  
made Em-  
peror.

WHEN *Shi-tsung* declar'd *Kong-ti* Heir to the Crown, he put him under the Guardianship of his *Ko-lau*, *Chau-quang-yu*, who had distinguish'd himself in the Wars, and done great Services to the State; but this Prince's Nonage made the Grandees of the Empire, and Generals of the Army resolve to set him aside, and enthrone the Guardian, on account of his extraordinary Merit. They went therefore to his Palace, and finding him in Bed, saluted him Emperor, and clothed him in a yellow Habit, which is the Imperial Colour, giving a Principality to the young Prince; and thus ended this Dynasty. *Chau-quang-yu* took the Name of *Tay-tsü*, and accepted the Crown, on Condition that his Mother should take Place of him on all Occasions.

DYN. XIX. *The Nineteenth DYNASTY, call'd SONG, which con-*  
S O N G. *tains Eighteen Emperors, in the Space of Three hundred*  
*and nineteen Years.*

### TAY-TSU, First Emperor, reign'd Seventeen Years.

*Tay-tsü*, 1st  
Emperor.

The Empire  
recovers it-  
self.

NINE Emperors of this Dynasty kept their Court for one hundred and sixty Years in the Northern Provinces of *China*, the other nine resided one hundred fifty two Years in the Southern Provinces.

Under this Dynasty the Empire began to take Breath, after the many Commotions, Wars, and other Misfortunes, which afflicted it. These continual Storms were succeeded by a long Calm; and the Blessing which usually accompanies Peace had been more lasting, had all the Princes of this Family been as much addicted to Arms as Learning.

*Tay-tsü* was endow'd with all the Qualities which the *Chinese* require in their Emperors; being a Prince of solid Judgment, attentive to the Affairs of State, wise, prudent, liberal, and tender of his People; modest, frugal, exceeding good-natur'd, and naturally inclin'd to Clemency; which appear'd from the moderate Punishments he inflict'd on Criminals, as well as by his mild and affable Behaviour to the Vanquish'd. He order'd the four Gates of his Palace, which fronted the four Quarters of the World, to be left always open, being willing, he said, "That his House should be as his Heart, open to all his Subjects." By this Character of Goodness and Condescension he regained the Obedience of ten Petty Sovereigns, and establish'd Peace, which seem'd by their continual

Ten Regulo's  
submit.



continual Wars to have been banish'd for ever from their Dominions. Intending to root Luxury out of the Empire, he began by reforming himself and the Court; to which end he always appear'd in a plain and modest Habit, and forbad his Daughters to wear Pearls and precious Stones.

To honour the Memory of his Ancestors, he gave the Title of Emperor to his Father, Grand-Father, and Great-Grand-Father's Father; and made his Mother (who was reckon'd a Pattern of Prudence and Modesty) an Empress. When the Nobles came to congratulate her on the Advancement of her Son, she did not shew the least Sign of Joy; at which they being surprized, she said, "I have been told that the Art of ruling well is very difficult; if my Son governs his Subjects with Wisdom, I shall receive your Compliments with Pleasure; if not, I shall contentedly resign these Honours to finish my Days in my former Condition."

A Year before her Death she conjur'd the Emperor not to be sway'd by Affection for his Children, in the Choice of an Heir, but rather to nominate his Brother; "for in short, added she, remember, my Son, that you are beholden for the Throne you sit on, much less to your own Merit, than to the Infancy of the Prince of the preceding Family."

The Emperor, during a severe Winter, reflecting on the Hardship his Army, (which was opposing the Tartars of *Lyau-tong* in the Northern Provinces) was like to suffer from the Rigour of the Season; pull'd off his Garment, lin'd with Furrs, and sent it to the General, telling him, "That he wish'd it was in his Power to do the like to each of his Soldiers." It is incredible what a vast effect this generous Act of the Emperor had upon the Courage and Ardour of his Troops.

This Prince ordained an Examination for the Military Men like that for the *Literati*, which those who aspire to Posts in the Army are oblig'd to pass; nor can they rise to the Chief Employments till they have given Proofs of their Capacity, by their writing on the Art of War, as well as by their Skill in Horsemanship and Archery.

Among the illustrious Men who flourish'd during his Reign, two are particularly distinguish'd, one in the Magistracy, the other in the Army; the first was call'd *Chau-pu*, the second *Kau-pin*.

*Chau-pu*, who was of the Emperor's Council, was continually presenting some Petition or Memorial to put him in mind of his Duty, or other Matters relating to the publick Welfare. The Emperor being tir'd with so many Remonstrances, one Day took his Petition and tore it before him; *Chau-pu*, without being concern'd, gather'd up the Pieces, and having on his Return home join'd them together in the best Manner he could, the very next Day appear'd before the Emperor in the most respectful Posture, and presented him the same Petition; who far from being angry with his Minister, admir'd his Constancy and Resolution, and to reward such uncommon Virtue made him Chief *Ko-lau*.

He gave on another Occasion an extraordinary Proof of his Tendernefs for his People; the Town of *Nan-king* being besieged by *Kau-pin*, and reduced to the last Extremity, the Emperor, who foresaw the Slaughter which would happen on the taking this Place, feign'd himself sick; whereat the great Officers were alarm'd, and surrounding his Bed, every one was proposing some Remedy: "The most effectual Remedy, reply'd the Emperor, and from which I expect a Cure, depends only on you; assure me by your Oath, that you will not shed the Blood of the Citizens." They all swore accordingly, and the Emperor immediately appear'd to be well. The Generals took such wise Precautions to restrain the Soldiers, that very few of the Inhabitants were slain; yet even this drew Tears from the Emperor: "Alas! said he, what a dreadful thing is War, which cannot be carry'd on without destroying innocent Persons!" And as the City had suffer'd by Famine, during a long Siege, the instant it was taken he sent one hundred thousand Measures of Rice to be distributed among the People.

To excite Emulation and a greater Inclination for Learning, he visited the Birth Place of the celebrated *Confucius*, and compos'd a Panegyric on him. He also conferr'd on one of his Descendants a Title of Honour, which rais'd him to a considerable Rank in the Empire. *Tay-tsu* dy'd the thirteenth Year of the Cycle, having nam'd for his Successor his Brother *Tay-tsung*, pursuant to the Recommendation of his Mother on her Death-Bed.

## TAY-TSONG, Second Emperor, reign'd Twenty one Years.

THIS Prince was endow'd with great Moderation, and was a famous Protector of Learned Men. Being learned himself, he employ'd part of the Day in Reading, and erected a very rich Library, which contain'd, as they affirm, eighty thousand Volumes.

In an Expedition which he undertook, to reduce one of the petty Kingdoms, and make it a Province of the Empire, while he besieg'd the principal City, there happen'd one Night a great Tumult in the Camp, which was commanded by *Chau* the Emperor's Brother; occasion'd, as was reported the next Day, by a Design of the Soldiers to set that General on the Throne. The Emperor concealing his Resentment, employ'd himself wholly to reduce the Town; but a few Days after it was taken, his Brother discoursing familiarly with him, intimated his Surprize that he had so long deferr'd to reward those who had distinguish'd themselves in the Siege. "I expected, answer'd the Emperor, that you would have rewarded them." *Chau* was so stung at this Answer, that he kill'd himself before Night; but when the Emperor heard of his Death, he fainted, and shed a Flood of Tears, often embraced his Corps, and caused the greatest Honours to be render'd him at his Funeral.

DYN. XIX.

S O N G.

Cre. LVI.

Year of

Chris 964.

Noble Sen-

timents of

the Empress-

Mother.

Another In-

stance.

Generous Act

of the Em-

peror.

He institutes

an Examina-

tion for the

Soldiery.

Rewards

the *Chau-pu*

for his un-

common Re-

solution.

Great In-

fluence of

Tendernefs

for his People.

Visits the

Birth Place

of *Kong-fu-**tsu*.*Tay-tsung*,

2d Emperor.

Modestly re-

bukes his

Brother,

who kills

himself.



DYN. XIX

S O N G.

Cyc. XLVI

Year of  
Christ 604

He passionately wish'd to recover the Cities which his Ancestors had yielded to the *Tartars* of *Lyau-tong*; but *Chang-tsi-hyen*, the General of his Army, always dissuaded him from that Undertaking. "Because, said he, it is more proper first to settle the Empire in Peace, and when that is well establish'd, we shall have more Leisure and less Difficulty to reduce those Barbarians." The Emperor being of a different Opinion, several Battles were fought, in which sometimes the *Chinese* and sometimes the *Tartars* were victorious.

The General *Chang-tsi-hyen* made use of a remarkable Stratagem, to raise the Siege of a City: he detach'd three hundred Soldiers, carrying each a lighted Torch, with orders to approach as near as possible the Enemy's Camp; who being surpris'd at such a Number of Lights, and imagining that the whole *Chinese* Army was coming upon them, immediately fled, and falling into the Ambuscades, which the General had placed in all the Passages, very few of them escaped Slaughter.

This Prince dy'd in the thirty fourth Year of the Cycle, at the Age of fifty nine, and was succeeded by his third Son *Ching-tsong*.

### CHING-TSONG, Third Emperor, reign'd Twenty five Years.

*Ching-tsong*,  
3d Emperor.  
Good Effects  
of a Comet.

THE manner in which this Prince began his Reign prognosticated a happy Government. Upon the Appearance of a Comet, which was deemed the Fore-runner of some Calamity, he published an Edict, enjoying his Subjects to let him know his Faults, that he might amend them, in order to avert the Evils which threatened the Empire; and at the same time remitted ten Millions of the Taxes, and set thirteen thousand Prisoners at Liberty. As he had an Heir born at this Juncture, he own'd his Obligation to the Lord of Heaven, whom he had long importun'd for that Blessing.

He makes  
the *Lyau* fly,

The *Tartars* of *Lyau-tong* having besieged a City in the Province of *Pe-che-li*, the Emperor came upon them suddenly with his Army, which so terrified the Barbarians, that they instantly rais'd the Siege. He was advis'd to take Advantage of their Consternation, to recover the Country which had been yielded to them; and is blam'd not only for neglecting to pursue his Victory, but also for making a Treaty, after their shameful Flight, as disadvantageous as if he had been defeated himself: for he bought the Peace at the Price of an hundred thousand *Tael* and two hundred thousand Pieces of Silk, to be paid annually.

and then  
buys a  
Peace of  
them.  
His Simple  
Credulity.

He is blamed also for his Credulity, whereby Magic, and many other Superstitions gained Ground during his Reign. In the eleventh Year of the Cycle, being told that a choice Book had fallen from Heaven, near one of the Gates of the Imperial City, he immediately took it in his Head to go in Person, to receive this Celestial Gift. The *Ko-lau's*, to prevent his taking such an imprudent Step, endeavouring to convince him, that it was only an Imposture of some Flatterers and idle People, and that the Book ought to be burnt, he remain'd a while in Suspense, but at last resolv'd to follow his first Design, because, as he said, "a Spirit had appeared to him" in a Dream, about a Year before, and promised him this wonderful Book." He set out immediately on Foot, with several of his Courtiers, to receive this miraculous Book with the more profound Respect; and even built a Temple on the Place where it fell. Upon Examination it appeared full of Sorcery, and to contain all the Principles of the abominable Sect of *Tau*; concerning which an Interpreter, named *Hu-sin-ngan*, observes, that from this fatal Time the Respect due to the Sovereign Lord of Heaven much decreased amongst great Numbers of the *Chinese*.

Occasions Superstition to  
gain Ground  
in China.

In the sixteenth Year of his Reign he caus'd all the People employed in Agriculture to be numbered, who were found to be 21,976,965 able Persons; exclusive of the Magistrates, the *Literati*, the Eunuchs, the Soldiers, the *Bonzas*, and those who live in Barks, and form floating Cities on the Rivers, of whom the Number is incredible.

Number of  
Husbandmen  
in China in  
his time.

*Van-tan's* Pen-  
ance.

*Van-tan*, one of the *Ko-lau's* of the Empire, being at the Point of Death, call'd his Children, and spake to them in this manner: "My Conscience does not reproach me with having done any thing against the Interest of the Emperor or the Good of the State; but there is one thing for which I cannot forgive my self, and that is my not having counselled his Majesty to burn that pernicious Book which he received with so much Respect. For this Neglect I desire to be punished after my Death; wherefore, my Children, I command you as soon as I am dead to shave my Head and Face, and bury me without either Cap or Girdle, as if I was a wretched *Bonza*."

Ancient  
Books re-  
printed.

The Emperor having re-printed the ancient Books, to disperse them through the Empire, died the fifty ninth Year of the Cycle, aged fifty five; and was succeeded by *Jin-tsong*, his sixth Son by his second Queen.

### JIN-TSONG, Fourth Emperor, reign'd Forty one Years.

*Jin-tsong*,  
4th Emp.

JIN-TSONG was but thirteen Years old when he was proclaimed Emperor. The Empress took the Government in her Hands during his Minority, and held it till her Death; which happened eleven Years after the Accession of this Prince, who always paid her the same Respect as if she had been his own Mother. As soon he began to govern by himself, his whole Em-



Employment was to preserve Tranquillity in his Dominions, and to make his Subjects taste the Sweets of it. This pacifick Disposition revived the Courage and Ambition of the *Tartars of Lyau-tong*, who had renewed the War, if the Emperor had not bought a Peace on most shameful Terms.

The best thing he did, was banishing all the Images with their Worshippers out of the Palace, and commanding that none should offer him any Present which came from foreign Countries. In the twenty sixth Year of his Reign the Empire was afflicted with a great Drought; but abundance of Rain succeeding caused a general Rejoycing, when all the great Officers being assembled on this Occasion to congratulate the Emperor, "All the Time, said this Prince, that my People suffered by the Scarcity, I never failed to burn Incense, and lift up my Hands to Heaven. Hearing the Noise of Thunder in the Night, I rose hastily out of Bed and went into my Garden; and, as soon as I saw the Rain fall, prostrated my self on the Earth, to return Thanks to the Lord of Heaven. The Favour I ask of you is to tell me, without Reserve, what you have observed amiss in my Conduct. Perhaps I have only the empty Title of Emperor, and am blind to my own Defects, being dazzled by the Splendor of my Greatness. I am sensible of what Importance it is for one to address his Prayers to Heaven Morning and Evening, with a pure Heart".

His extreme Desire of having a Son led him to put away the Empress, whereby he suffered somewhat in his Reputation; for tho' some approved this Conduct, the greater Number blamed it. But he was universally applauded for the Succour he sent his Subjects, by the Counsel and Care of one of his *Ko-lau's* named *Fu-pyê*; which sav'd the Lives of 500,000 People, who were ready to perish with Hunger and Distress. About the same time he had another Vexation; *Hyen-tsong*, seventh King of the *Lyau-tong Tartars*, having sent Embassadors to demand the Restitution of ten Cities in the Province of *Pe-che-li*, which had been re-taken by the Founder of the eighteenth Dynasty; the Emperor, who loved Peace, dispatched *Ku-pyê* to the *Tartar Prince*, and engaged to pay him yearly 200,000 *Taels*, and 300,000 Pieces of Silk, instead of those Cities; and, what was most shameful of all, made Use of the Character *Na* in the Treaty, which signifies a Pension by way of Tribute.

After he had divorced the Empress, he married the Grand-Daughter of *Kau-pin*, the famous Chinese General spoken of before, but had no Heirs by this Princess: So that being near his End, he was obliged to name *Ing-tsong* the thirteenth Son of his Brother, for his Successor; he died at the Age of fifty four, in the fortieth Year of the Cycle.

### ING-TSONG, Fifth Emperor, reigned Four Years.

IN the first Year of his Reign he was so vexed at some Misunderstanding which happened between him and the Empress, who had a Share in the Government, that it threw him into a Fit of Sickness: But upon his Recovery, his *Ko-lau*, *Han-ki*, managed it so that he paid her a Visit.

This wise Minister, having shew'd them the Misfortunes which such a Dissension might produce, exhorted the Emperor in particular to pay the Empress the Respects and Duty of a Son, tho' she was not his Mother, and gave frequent Instances of a disagreeable Temper. He represented to him, that Virtue was easily practis'd where Love and Complaisance engage our Affections, but that it does not deserve that Name till it has been tried, and stood the Shock of Opposition; that he should have always before his Eyes the Example of *Shun*, that ancient Emperor, who had been revered for so many Ages, because his Respect and Obedience could never be diminished, either by the harsh Usage of a barbarous Father, or a cruel Step-Mother. By the Care of this Minister so perfect a Reconciliation was wrought between the Emperor and Empress, that shortly after she entirely resigned her Part of the Government.

The *Ko-lau*, *Su-ma-quang*, one of their best Historians, flourish'd about this Time. He is the Author of Annals, compiled from above two thousand Volumes, beginning with *Whang-ti*, the third Emperor of China.

*Ing-tsong* died the forty fourth Year of the Cycle, aged thirty six, and was succeeded by his Son *Shin-tsong*.

### SHIN-TSONG, Sixth Emperor, reign'd Eighteen Years.

THIS Prince had more Courage and Magnanimity than Wisdom and Conduct. He passionately desired to deliver the Northern Provinces from the Yoke of the Barbarians; but was diverted from it, by calling to mind the Counsel his Mother gave him at her Death, to sacrifice every thing to preserve Peace.

Learned Men had a great Share in his Favour; and he gave the Title of Duke to *Mençius*, who is reckoned the greatest Philosopher after *Confucius* his Master, who had been declared a King by a former Emperor.

In his Reign flourish'd several Authors of a New Philosophy, who undertook to explain the ancient Books; their Names were *Chew*, *Ching*, *Chang*, *Shau*, &c. The Emperor distinguish'd them by Titles of Honour, both while they lived, and after their Death. *Van-ngan-she*, a Disciple

DYN. XIX.  
30 N. G.

CYC. XVII.  
Year of  
Ching 1024.

Clears the  
Palace of I-  
dols and their  
Worshippers

Repudiates  
the Empress.

Relieves  
500,000  
People in  
Distress.

becomes tri-  
butary to the  
Lyau.

Ing-tsong,  
5th Emp.

happy in a  
prudent Mi-  
nister.

Su-ma-quang,  
the Historian  
flourished.

Shin-tsong,  
6th Emp.

creates Men-  
tze a Duke.

Authors of  
a New Phi-  
losophy.



DYN. XIX.  
S O N G.

Cyc. LVII.  
Year of  
Christ 1024.

The only  
Check on  
Monarchs.

Cyc. LVIII.  
Year of  
Christ 1034.

ciple of the New Philosophy, which now began to degenerate into Atheism, observing that the Emperor appeared sad in a time of Drought, and endeavoured to appease the Anger of Heaven by Fasting and Prayer; "To what Purpose do you afflict yourself thus, says he, and what have you to fear from Heaven? Know, O Prince, that whatever happens is the Effect of Chance, and that you torment yourself in vain". *Fu-pye*, one of the most eminent *Ko-lau's*, not able to bear such Language, "How dare you teach such Doctrine?" says he in a resolute Tone; "if an Emperor should once come to lose all Respect and Fear of Heaven, what Crimes would he not be capable of committing?"

The same *Van-ngan-she* strove to introduce many other Novelties; but the celebrated *Su-ma-quang*, who was in the highest Esteem, vigorously opposed all the Attempts of this rash and subtle Genius.

*Shin-tsung* died in the second Year of the Cycle, at thirty eight of his Age, and was succeeded by his Son *Che-tsung*.

## CHE-TSONG, Seventh Emperor, reign'd Fifteen Years.

*Che-tsung*,  
7th Emp.

10 Instru-  
ctions of his  
*Ko-lau*.

bold Saying  
of a Minister.

CHE-TSONG being but ten Years old when he ascended the Throne, the Empress his Grand-mother governed the State with great Prudence during the eight Years that she lived. A few Moments before her Death she sent for the *Ko-lau's*, and ordered them to clear the Palace of that great Number of Ministers, who were of no Use but to corrupt the Inclinations of the young Prince; but as she ought to have done this herself when the Power was in her own Hands, her Orders were now too late. *Lyu-kong-chu*, being raised to the Dignity of *Ko-lau*, presented a Memorial to the Emperor, which contained the ten following Instructions, expressed in twenty Characters. 1. Fear Heaven. 2. Love your Subjects. 3. Labour to be perfect. 4. Apply yourself to the Sciences. 5. Bestow Employments on Persons of Merit. 6. Be ready to hear Advice. 7. Lessen the Taxes. 8. Mitigate the Severity of Punishments. 9. Shun Prodigality. 10. Detest Debauchery.

The Emperor having divorced his Wife, one of the Ministers presented a Petition containing Remonstrances on that Occasion; the Prince told him he had followed the Example of some of his Ancestors: *You had better* (reply'd the Minister) *imitate their Virtues than their Faults*. The Emperor was so stung with this Reply, that he threw down the Petition, trampled upon it, and deprived him, who gave him that Counsel, of his Dignity.

*Che-tsung* was but twenty five years of Age when he died, in the seventeenth Year of the Cycle. He was succeeded by *Whey-tsung*, the eleventh Son of *Shin-tsung*, who was the sixth Emperor of that Dynasty.

## WHEY-TSONG, Eighth Emperor, reign'd Twenty-five Years.

*Whey-tsung*,  
8th Emperor.

Encourages  
the Eunuchs.

Favours the  
Sect of *Tau*.

The De-  
struction of  
the King-  
dom of *Lyau*.

THIS Prince divided his Authority with the Empress his Grand-mother, and was more addicted to the Luxury and Pleasures of his Palace, than to the Business of the State; yet he loved Literature, and had made a considerable Progress in it.

In one thing he is inexcusable; that tho' he could not be ignorant of the Troubles occasioned in former Times by the Authority of the Eunuchs, yet he honoured them with his Favour and Protection, so far as to bestow Sovereignities on some of them; a Honour never granted to any but Princes of the Imperial Family, or (which was seldom practised) to Great Men who had done signal Services to the Empire. His Reputation suffered still more by his Folly, in adhering to the abominable Superstitions of the Sect of *Tau*; for he carefully collected all the Books which contained their Doctrine, and was so infatuated, as to give the Title of *Ssang-ti*, or *Supreme Lord*, to a famous Disciple among them, named *Chang-i*, who lived under the Dynasty of the *Han*; nay, he went farther, for he declar'd himself Head of this impious Sect.

The Authors of this Time cannot forbear inveighing against his Conduct, and make no Difficulty to ascribe all the succeeding Misfortunes, and even the Destruction of the Empire to a Blasphemy so dishonourable to the true Sovereign of Heaven.

The Emperor, contrary to the Advice of the King of *Korea* and most of his Ministers, joined Forces with the *Nyu-che* or *Eastern Tartars*, whom he called in to destroy the Kingdom of *Lyau-tong*. The *Nyu-che* joyfully entered into this Confederacy, and several Battles were fought, in which the Army of *Lyau-tong* was always defeated, and reduced at last to such Extremity, that those who remained were obliged to quit their Country, and fly for Safety to the Mountains in the West (A). Thus ended the Kingdom of *Lyau*, which had stood for the Space of two hundred

(A) The Remainder of the *Lyau* flying into the West founded a Western Tartars (1), that is *Jenghiz Khan*; but I don't find where this Kingdom was.

(1) Couplet. Monarch. Spec. Tab. Chron. p. 72.



dred and nine Years, under nine Princes. The *Tartar* grew so elated with this Conquest, that he determin'd to found an Empire, and give it the Name of *Kin*.<sup>(B)</sup> Soon after extending his Views of aggrandizing himself, he openly broke his Treaties with the Emperor of *China*, and invading the Provinces of *Pe-che-li* and *Sben-fi*, made himself Master of them, more by the Treachery of some *Chinese* Malecontents, than by Force of Arms. The Emperor, in Danger of losing the greater Part of his Dominions, made several advantageous Proposals to the *Tartar*, who invited *Wbey-tsung* to come in Person, and settle the Limits of the two Empires; which he did, and new Articles of Peace were agreed on between them. But on the Emperor's Return to his Capital City, his Ministers made him change his Mind, telling him, that the Treaty could not subsist, and that the most cruel War was preferable to so shameful a Peace. The *Tartar*, who was inform'd of this Resolution, had immediately recourse to Arms, and taking several Towns, entered the Province of *Sben-fi* in Triumph, where he invited the Emperor once more to come and settle their Limits. This unhappy Prince, who dreaded nothing so much as War, was weak enough to go a second time to his Enemy; who presently after his Arrival seized his Person, and having stript him of all the Marks of his Dignity kept him Prisoner. A faithful Minister, nam'd *Li-fa-shin*, who accompany'd the Emperor, enraged at such Treachery, cry'd out with a deep Sigh, "Heaven cannot have two Suns, nor can I obey two Masters." The Endeavours of the *Tartars* to appease him only enraged him the more, and in the height of his Fury he cut off his Lips and his Tongue, and then kill'd himself.

*Wbey-tsung* dy'd in the Desert of *Sba-mo*, where he was confin'd under a strong Guard, the forty second Year of the Cycle, and fifty fourth of his Age; having before his Death named *Kin-tsung*, his eldest Son, to succeed him.

DVN. XIX.  
S G N G.

Cyc. LVIII.  
Year of  
Christ 1684.

The King of  
the *Nyu che*  
or *Kin* *Tar-*  
*tars* founds  
the Empire  
of *Ka-tay*.

Seizes the  
Emperor.

who dies in  
*Tartary*.

### KIN-TSONG, Ninth Emperor, reign'd One Year.

**K**IN-TSONG began his Reign by executing the Orders of his Father, which enjoin'd him to put to Death six of his Ministers, who had basely betray'd him to the *Tartars*. In the mean time they pursued their Conquests, invading the Province of *Ho-nan*, and passing the *Yellow River* without Opposition; which made them wonder at the Indolence of the *Chinese*, who with a Handful of Men could have prevented it. Then they marched directly to the Imperial City, which they took and plunder'd, carrying away the Emperor and his Queen Prisoners; but the Principal Lords and several of the Ministers, preferring Death before so ignominious a Bondage, slew themselves. The *Tartars* being informed by the Empress *Meng*, that she had been divorced, and had no Hand in the Management of Affairs, they left that Princess behind; who preserved the Empire by her Wisdom and Conduct, in getting the Crown placed on the Head of *Kau-tsung*, Brother of the late Emperor, and ninth Son of *Wbey-tsung* by his divorced Empress.

*Kin-tsung*,  
9th Emperor.

The *Kin* *Tar-*  
*tars* pass  
the *Yellow*  
*River*, and  
seize the Em-  
pire.

### KAU-TSONG, Tenth Emperor, reign'd Thirty six Years.

**K**AU-TSONG fix'd his Court first at *Nan-king*, but shortly after was oblig'd to remove it to *Hang-chew*, Capital of the Province of *Che-kyang*. Tho' he was of a peaceable Disposition, and a Lover of Learning, yet he gain'd some Victories, both over the *Tartars*, and certain Chiefs of the Rebels; who took Advantage of the present Troubles to enrich themselves by plundering the Provinces. *Kang-ye*, who commanded his Army, had several times repulsed the *Tartars*, but to no great Purpose, since none of the conquer'd Countries were recover'd from them.

*Kau-tsung*,  
10th Emp.

This Prince is blamed for two things: first, for slighting his Ministers of greatest Experience and Integrity, and placing his whole Confidence in two or three Parasites, who had neither Honesty nor Honour. Secondly for being so much devoted to the Sect of the Bonzas, as to abandon the Government to his adopted Son, that he might have the more Time to spare for his superstitious Contemplations.

Fond of Pa-  
rasites and the  
Bonzas.

*Hi-tsung*, the *Tartar* King, to gain the Love of his new Subjects, gave public Proofs of his Esteem for Learning and learned Men; he also visited the Hall of *Confucius*, and in imitation of the *Chinese* paid him regal Honours. The Courtiers being displeased that a Man, who was far from being Noble by Birth, should receive such Honours, discover'd their Surprise to the King, who reply'd: "If he does not merit those Honours by his Birth, he merits them for the excellent Doctrine he has taught." He fell afterwards on the Town of *Nan-king*, from whence the Emperor was retired, and took it.

*Hi-tsung*,  
King of *Kin*,  
honours *Kang-*  
*shu-ssu*, and  
takes the Im-  
perial City.

The Fidelity of a *Chinese* General, named *Yang-pang*, is highly commended. Having been taken Prisoner by the *Tartars*, he was greatly importuned to side with them; but he not only refused the most advantageous Offers, but wrote with his Blood on his Robe, "That he had rather die, and meet again the Spirit of the Imperial Family of *Song*, than live to serve Barbarians." Which resolute Behaviour cost him his Life, for he was kill'd that Instant.

Fidelity of a  
*Chinese* Ge-  
neral.

(B) The Dominion founded by this Nation was the famous Empire of *Katay*, which Name came to us from the *Mongol* or *Mogul* (1). It contain'd, as appears from this History, the Northern Provinces of *China*, with part of *Tartary*, particu-

larly the Country of the *Manchows*, whose Progenitors, these *Kin* were. *Kin* signifies Gold; whence the Emperor of *Katay*, in the Histories of *Jenghis-khan*, is called *Aitai-khan*, or the Golden King.

(1) See p. 1.



DYN. XIX.  
S O N G.Crc. LIX.  
Year of

Christ 1144.

The Emperor by a shameful Peace makes himself the Subject and Tributary of the Kin.

The King of Kin breaks the Peace,

is kill'd by his own Soldiers.

The Emperor abdicates the Crown.

Mean time *Yo-shi*, another *Chinese* General, was advancing by long Marches to relieve the City of *Nan-king*; of which the *Tartars* having Intelligence, they set Fire to the Palace, and retir'd towards the North. However *Yo-shi* arriv'd time enough to fall upon their Rear-Guard, which suffer'd very much, and from that time they never durst cross the *Kyang*.

A few Years after the Emperor made Peace with the *Tartar* King on very dishonourable Conditions; for in signing this Treaty he made no Scruple to use the Word *Chin*, that is *Subject*, and *Kong*, which signifies *Tributary*. The *Tartar*, in Consideration of these submissive Terms, engag'd to send the Emperor the Bodies of eight of his Relations, who had died within eight Years. When these Bodies arriv'd at the Imperial City, they were received with great Demonstrations of Joy; the Prison Doors were set open, and a general Pardon granted thro' the whole Empire. The *Chinese* Authors, far from blaming this Action of the Emperor, highly praise it as a rare Example of Filial Piety.

In the thirteenth Year of his Reign the *Tartar* King broke the Peace, and at the Head of a very formidable Army invaded the Southern Provinces, and took *Yang-cheu*. Afterwards approaching the *Yang-tse-kyang*, which is not far from that City, he order'd his Troops to pass over near the Mouth of the River, where it is widest and most rapid; upon which the whole Army mutinied, and the King being kill'd in the beginning of the Tumult, they immediately retir'd towards the North, where several Disturbances and Insurrections began to appear.

In the Nineteenth Year of the Cycle, *Kau-tsong* resign'd his Crown to his adopted Son *Hyaу-tsong*, but liv'd twenty five Years longer, and dy'd without Children at the Age of eighty four.

### HYAU-TSONG, *Eleventh Emperor, reign'd Twenty seven Years.*

*Hyaу-tsong*,  
11th Emp.

THIS Prince, who was descended from the Founder of this *Dynasty*, enjoy'd a peaceful Reign; because the *Tartar* King, named *Shu-tsong*, very different from his Predecessor, was of a mild and pacifick Temper.

*Chu-bi* flourish'd.

*Chu-bi*, one of the most celebrated Interpreters of the ancient Books, flourish'd at this time, and discharg'd with Honour the highest Functions in the State under four Emperors.

*Hyaу-tsong* dy'd in the forty sixth Year of the Cycle, and sixty eighth of his Age, being succeeded by his third Son *Quang-tsong*.

### QUANG-TSONG, *Twelfth Emperor, reign'd Five Years.*

*Quang-tsong*,  
12th Emp.

THIS Prince was taken suddenly with an Apoplexy, in the fifty first Year of the Cycle; and in Spight of all Remedies dy'd a few Days after, at the Age of fifty four, his third Son *Ning-tsong* succeeding him.

### NING-TSONG, *Thirteenth Emperor, reign'd Thirty Years.*

*Ning-tsong*,  
13th Emp.

THIS Prince was with Difficulty persuaded to accept of the Crown. He was sober, and of a gentle Disposition, but withal of such a slender Capacity, that his Courtiers govern'd him as they pleas'd; or rather continually abus'd his Credulity and Confidence. He publish'd an Edict, which forbid all private Persons to print or even to write Annals of the Empire, without an exprefs Licence.

*Chu-bi* created Prince of Literature.

About this time dy'd the famous *Chu-bi*, who was honour'd after his Death with the Title of *Ven-kong*, which signifies *Prince of Literature*, and his Tablett was order'd to be placed in the Hall of *Confucius*, in the Rank of his Disciples. It is an establish'd Custom in *China* that when any Person has remarkably distinguish'd himself by his Virtue, or Knowledge in the Art of Government, the Emperors rank him among the Disciples of *Confucius*; that he may partake of the Honours which the *Mandarins* and learned Men pay to that Philosopher on certain Days in the Year.

The Palace having been set on Fire, continued burning four Days before it could be extinguish'd. And some Years after a Fire happen'd in the Imperial City, which was *Hang-cheu*, whereby five hundred and thirty thousand Houses were consum'd.

Crc. LX.  
Year of

Christ 1204.

The Empire of the Western Tartars founded by *Jenghis-khan*.

The Twelfth Year of this Reign the (\*) Chief of the Western *Tartars* laid the Foundation of his Empire, and gave his Family the Name of *Yuen*. These *Tartars* possess'd the Country which extends from the Province of *Sben-fi* to *Tibet* and *Samarkand*. Ever since the time that they had been intirely defeated by the fifth Emperor of the *Dynasty* named *Han*, about a hundred Years before *Christ*, they never made any Attempt against the *Chinese*; either because the Western People of *Asia* found them Employment, or their Forces being divided among many Petty Sovereigns, they were disabled by their frequent Quarrels with each other.

They relate, what has much the Air of Fiction, viz. that these *Tartars*, having destroy'd the

(\*) This Chief is said to be [the Author might have said was] the famous *Jenghis-khan*.



the Kingdom of *Matena* (c), and push'd their Conquests to the *Indies* and *Samarkand*, advanced to *Tyê-muen* (d), that is, the *Iron Gate*, which was the Name of a Citadel; that in this Place their General was stop't by a Monster resembling a Stag, he was cover'd with green Hair, had a Horn in the middle of his Forehead, and a Tail like a Horse; that this Monster spoke to the Prince of the *Tartars*, and ask'd him, if he was not satisfy'd with so many horrid Slaughters, and if he would set no Bounds to his Fury? That this so frighted the *Tartar*, that without proceeding farther he return'd to his own Country, and sometime afterwards invaded *China*.

Mean time the Eastern *Tartars*, named *Kin*, broke the Peace, and invading the *Chinese* Territories afresh, the Emperor enter'd into a League with the Prince of the Western *Tartars*, to destroy them; in order to rid himself of an Enemy, who made a Jest of the Faith of Treaties, and continually gave him Disturbance. The Eastern *Tartars*, in a great Consternation, immediately sued for Peace, and made very advantageous Proposals; but the Emperor, incensed by their Breach of so many solemn Treaties, and depending more on the Integrity of the Western *Tartars*, rejected these Conditions with Scorn (e). *Ning-tsong* dy'd without Issue, the twenty first Year of the Cycle, and fifty seventh of his Age. He was succeeded by *Li-tsong*, who descended from the Founder of this *Dynasty*.

DYN. XIX.  
SONG.Cyc. LX.  
Year of  
Christ 1204.The Empe-  
ror leagues  
with the  
Mongols a-  
gainst the  
Kin.

### LI-TSONG, Fourteenth Emperor, reign'd Forty Years.

THE present Juncture required a warlike Prince, but *Li-tsong* was wholly addicted to the Sciences, and very much attach'd to the idle Whimsies of the Sect of *Tau*. In the second Year of his Reign he gave the Title of Duke in Perpetuity to the eldest Son of the Family of *Confucius*, which is the only Family in the Empire exempted from paying Tribute.

Mean time the War was carry'd on vigorously against the *Tartars*; who, being attack'd on one side by the *Chinese*, and on the other by the Western *Tartars*, commanded by an able General nam'd *Pe-yen*, were defeated in several Battles. The City of *Ho-nan* was taken, where the King of the Eastern *Tartars* kept his Court; and tho' the Capital of the Province of *Shan-tong* held out a long time (the Besieged defending the Place so obstinately, that they were driven for want of other Victuals to feed on human Flesh) yet at length *Ngai-ti*, the *Tartar* Prince, despairing of Relief, hang'd himself: whose Death put an end to the Empire of the Eastern *Tartars*, which continued under nine Princes in the Space of one hundred and seventeen Years. Nevertheless the small Remains of these People, who were almost intirely destroy'd, gave Rise to the Family, which at present possesses the Empire of *China*, and governs it with so much Glory, as we shall see in the sequel.

Whilst *Li-tsong* had only the Southern Provinces of *China* under his Dominion, the Western *Tartars* possessed the Empire of the North. Their King *Ho-pi-lyé* (f), who was skill'd in the Sciences, gain'd the Good Will of his Subjects by the Esteem he shew'd for learned Men, and by the Honour he did to the Memory of *Confucius*.

*Li-tsong* dy'd without Issue, the first Year of the Cycle, aged sixty two, and *Tu-tsong* his Nephew succeeded him.

*Li-tsong*,  
14th Emp.  
dignifies the  
Family of  
*Kong-fu-tse*.The Empire  
of *Kin* de-  
stroy'd.and succeed-  
ed by that of  
the *Mongols*.Cyc. LXI.  
Year of  
Christ 1264.

### TU-TSONG, Fifteenth Emperor, reign'd Ten Years.

THE vicious Counsels which this Prince fell into, prov'd fatal to himself and the Empire. He had the Misfortune to be encouraged in his Excesses by a treacherous *Ko-lau*, [nam'd *Hya-fu-tau*] who was equally a Slave to the most infamous Passions. The Ministers presented Memorials to disengage the Emperor from this Monster, but without Success; so that many of them, seeing no Remedy for the Misfortunes, which were ready to fall on the Imperial Family, retired to the Western *Tartars*, who were pursuing their Conquests (g). Their Army having overrun the Provinces of *Tun-nan*, *Se-chwen*, and *Sben-fi*, enter'd that of *Hu-quang*; most of whose Cities open'd their Gates to the Conqueror, whilst the wretched *Tu-tsong*, drown'd in Pleasures, was stripp'd of his Dominions by Degrees without knowing any thing of the Matter (\*).

*Tu-tsong* dy'd the eleventh Year of the Cycle, at the Age of twenty five, leaving three young Children, who were born to be the Sports of Fortune. *Kong-tsong*, his second Son, was placed on the tottering Throne.

*Tu-tsong*,  
15th Emp.  
loses all to  
the *Mongols*.

(c) Here the *Chinese* Historians speak very confusedly. *Matena*, which, as we observ'd before, p. 46, seems to be the City of *Medina*, is in this place supposed to be a Country lying between *Samarkand* and *China*.

(d) This seems to be *Darbend* in the Province of *Shirvan* in *Persia*, call'd by the *Turks* (whose Language is the same originally with that of the *Mongols*) *Demir kapı*, or *Iron Gate*.

(e) When their Refusal of Peace was told the Emperor of *Kin*, "To Day, said he, the Western *Tartar* will take my Empire from me; to Morrow he will take yours from you (1)," meaning *Ning-tsong*; which accordingly came to pass.

(1) Couplet, *Monarch. Sinic. Tab. Chron.* p. 74.

(f) This is the *Chinese* Name for *Kublay* or *Kaplay Khân*, fifth Emperor of the *Mongols*, Founder of the next *Dynasty*.

(g) Here we find the *Mongols* at War with the *Chinese*, who but a while ago were their Friends. Neither *P. de Halde* nor *P. Couplet* in his Chronological Table informs us when or how this Change happen'd.

(\*) About this time *Marco Polo* or *Mark Paul*, a Venetian Gentleman, came into *China*, and travell'd thro' the finest Provinces of it; wherof he afterwards publish'd a Relation, which gained but little Credit in Europe.



DYN. XIX.  
SONG.

Cyc. LXI.

Year of

Christ 1264.

Kong-tsong,

16th Emp.

Tartar Ge-

neral his

great Cha-

racter,

who takes

the Emperor

Prisoner.

KONG-TSONG, *Sixteenth Emperor, reign'd Two Years.*

THE Empress, who govern'd the Empire for her Son, who was but an Infant, sent Ambassadors to the Tartar King, to demand Peace, offering to submit to the most hard and abject Terms; but (n) that inexorable Monarch answer'd, "Your Family owes its Rise to the Infancy of the last Prince of the preceding Dynasty; It is therefore but just that the remaining Princes of the Family of Song, who are Infants also, should give Place to another Family."

Mean time Pe-yen advanced with a numerous Army of Tartars, subduing all before him. This General is highly praised, both for his Prudence in conducting two hundred thousand Men with as much Ease as a single Soldier; and for his Modesty, which was so extraordinary, that in the midst of all his Victories he never dropt the least Word in his own Praise. The thirteenth Year of the Cycle he took the Emperor Prisoner, who dy'd in the Desert of Tartary, nam'd *Ko-bi*, or [as the Chinese call it] *Sba-mo*; and was succeeded by his eldest Brother *Twan-tsong*, in his Misfortunes as well as his Throne.

TWAN-TSONG, *Seventeenth Emperor, reign'd Two Years.*

Twan-tsong,

17th Emp.

THE victorious March of the Tartars, who met with no Resistance, obliged the Emperor to go on Board his Fleet, with the Lords of his Court, and one hundred and thirty thousand Soldiers, which remain'd with him, designing to have retired to the Province of *Ho-kyen*; but being closely pursued by the Tartars, both by Sea and Land, he was oblig'd to fly to the Coast of *Quang-tong*, the most Southern Province of China, where he dy'd of a Disease, aged eleven Years. His younger Brother *Ti-ping*, the only Remains of the Family of Song, succeeded him.

TI-PING, *Eighteenth Emperor, reign'd Two Years.*

Ti-ping, 18th

Emperor.

THE Chinese Fleet, being overtaken by that of the Tartars, could not avoid an Engagement, which was very bloody, and decisive in Favour of the Tartars, who gain'd a complete Victory. The *Ko-lau*, *Lo-syeu-se*, to whose Care the Emperor had been intrusted, seeing his Ship surrounded by the Tartarian Vessels, took the young Prince, who was but eight Years of Age, in his Arms, and threw himself into the Sea. The rest of the Lords and Ministers follow'd his Example. The Empress, quite distracted, with dreadful Shrieks threw herself also in. This terrible Catastrophe happen'd near an Island dependant on *Quang-chew-fu*, Capital of the Province of *Quang-tong*. Another General, who commanded a part of the Chinese Fleet, having forced his Way thro' the Enemy, and escaped their Fury with some of his Vessels, endeavour'd to make to Shore, but was driven off by a strong Wind, which blew from the Land; and a violent Storm arising at the same time, he was sunk at once with all his Followers. It is affirm'd that above one hundred thousand Chinese perish'd in this Fight, either by the Sword or the Water, into which the greater part threw themselves in Despair.

Thus ended the Dynasty of the Song, and with it the Dominion of the Chinese; for *Shi-tsu*, before call'd *Ho-pi-lye*, (the fourth Son of *Tay-tsu*, [or *Jengbi-z Khán*] who founded the Empire of the Western Tartars,) took Possession of his Conquest, and was the First Emperor of this new Dynasty.

DYN. XX.

YWEN.

The Twentieth

## DYNASTY, call'd YWEN, which contains Nine Emperors in the Space of Eighty nine Years.

SHI-TSU (1), *First Emperor, reign'd Fifteen Years.*

Shi-tsu, or

Ho-pi-lye, 1st

Emperor.

THE Chinese Nation, which for so many Ages had been govern'd by its Natural Princes, now first became subject to a Foreign Power; if indeed this Emperor ought to be call'd a Foreigner, who in his Manners was more of a Chinese than a Tartar. At his coming to the Crown, he made no Alteration, either in the Ministry or in the Laws and Customs; he was so conformable to the Humour of his Subjects, and won them so much by his sincere Conduct, by his Equity, by the Protection he gave to Men of Letters, and by his tender Affection

(n) P. Couplet reports this as spoken by the famous *Pe-yen*, the Tartar General above mention'd. (i)

(1) *Shi-tsu*, or *Ho-pi-lye*, that is *Koplay* or *Kublay Khán*, was

the fifth Mongol or Mogol Emperor, who reign'd in *Katay*, which

included the Northern Provinces of China; but the first who

made a Conquest of the whole. It is to be wish'd the Missionary, who made this Extract, had given us the Mongol Names of the Successors of *Koplay* in China, to compare with those of his Successors in Tartary, as given us by the Oriental Authors.



Affection for the People, that, even at present, the Administration of this Tartar Family is call'd *The wise Government*.

He first establish'd his Court at *Tay-yuen-fu*, Capital of the Province of *Shan-shi*, and afterwards remov'd it to *Pe-king* (\*). He caus'd it to be publish'd that all Persons should continue in the Employments and Dignities which they possess'd in the preceding Reign; but many refused that Bounty, and prefer'd a voluntary Death to an Honourable Servitude. Among the rest was a *Ko-lau*, named *Ven-tyen-syan*, who had been taken Prisoner in the Sea-Bight; in vain was he told, that there were no Hopes of restoring the Family of *Song*, which was extinct; that a wise Man ought to comply with the Times, especially when there was no Remedy; that the Emperor knew his Merit, and that he might be assur'd of his Esteem and Confidence. "A faithful Minister, reply'd he, is attach'd to his Prince as a Son to his Father; if his Father is sick he employs all sorts of Remedies to cure him; if the Strength of the Disease prevails over the Remedy, yet he does not cease to continue his Endeavours to give him Ease, because he ought never to cease discharging the Duties of Filial Piety, and is withal sensible that Heaven is the Sovereign Arbitrer of Life and Death." This was all the Answer they could get from his invincible Obstinacy.

After his Death these two Sentences were found written by himself on his Girdle; the first is from *Confucius*, "Let the Body perish, provided Filial Piety is brought to Perfection." The other from *Mencius*, "The Loss of Life is a Trifle, when in the support of Justice." This *Ko-lau* dy'd, being forty seven Years of Age, greatly lamented.

The Emperor, in the third Year of his Reign, form'd a Design against *Japan*, and sent one hundred thousand Men to invade it. But the Expedition prov'd very unfortunate; not above three or four Persons returning home with the News; all the rest were either shipwreck'd, or perish'd in the neighbouring Islands.

The same Year he caus'd all the Books of the Sect of *Tau* to be burnt; and ordain'd that there should be but one Kalendar for the whole Empire, which should be made at Court, and publish'd every Year: forbidding all private Persons under pain of Death to undertake any Work of this kind. Four Years after, his only Son, whom he had nam'd his Heir, dy'd, and tho' he left Children, yet the Emperor was inconsolable for his Loss. Some *Mohammedans* having offer'd the Emperor a precious Stone of great Value, he forbid it to be bought, "Because, said he, the Money that it would cost, might be much more usefully employ'd, in relieving the Necessities of the Poor."

Being inform'd, that the Barks which brought to Court the Tribute of the Southern Provinces, or carry'd on the Trade of the Empire, were oblig'd to come by Sea, and often suffer'd Shipwreck; he caus'd the Great Canal to be made, which is at present one of the Wonders of *China*. It is three hundred Leagues in Length, and forms a great Road of Water; by which above nine thousand Imperial Barks transport with Ease, and at a small Expence, the Tribute of Grain, Stuffs, &c. which is annually paid to the Emperor.

Had this been the only Advantage this Prince procur'd for *China*, he would have been worthy of the high Praises which the *Chinese* give him (x). He dy'd at the Age of eighty, and in the thirty first Year of the Cycle, succeeded by his Grandson *Ching-tsung*.

### CHING-TSONG, Second Emperor, reign'd Thirteen Years.

THIS Prince is praised for his Clemency and Love to his Subjects. He mitigated the Severity of Punishments, and lessen'd the Taxes with which several of the Petty Sovereigns began to burthen the People; but his ill State of Health, and almost continual Disorders, hinder'd his applying himself as diligently as he inclin'd to the Affairs of Government.

He dy'd at the Age of forty two, in the forty fourth Year of the Cycle, and *Vu-tsung* his Nephew succeeded him.

### VU-TSONG, Third Emperor, reign'd Four Years.

THE People thought the Reign of this Emperor too short, being charm'd with the Affection he bore them, and the great Inclination he shew'd to make them happy. He was naturally liberal, but bestow'd his Bounties only on those who did some real Service to the State, on which Occasions he rewarded them with a Generosity truly Royal.

To give a Lustre to Learning, and excite Emulation among the *Literati*, he gave to *Confucius*, who is look'd on as the Master of the Empire, the same Titles with which the Regulo's

(\*) This City is call'd *Kambalu*, instead of *Hampalu*, by *Marco Polo*; for in the Tartar Language *Ham* signifies King, and *Pala* a Court or Seat of the Emperor. It is easy for a Stranger to mistake the Pronunciation of Words, which is not readily attained, and hence it is that Author has vary'd the Names of several other Chinese Cities. (But this Etymology may be question'd, for not *Ham* but *Han*, or perhaps rather *Khan* signifies King in the Mongol Language, which is originally the same with the Turkish; so possibly *Pala* is a Mistake for *Balik* or *Baluk*, which in the same Language signifies a City.)

(x) We are told by another *Jesuit* Missionary, who has given us a very curious Abstract from the Chinese History of the five first *Mongol* Emperors, (which I have prepared for the Press, with Notes,) that the Chinese Historians exaggerate the Faults of *Hu-shi-hsi*, but say nothing of his Virtues. They reproach him particularly for his Fondness for the Superstitions of the *Lama's*. (1)

(1) *Voy. P. Sautet Obs. Math.* Vol. 1. p. 201.

DYN. XX.

Y W E N.

Cyc. LXI.

Year of

Christ 1264.

Loyalty of a

Ko-lau.

Unfortunate

Expedition

against Japan.

Death of the

Emperor's

only Son.

The Great

Canal made,

300 Leagues

in Length.

Ching-tsung.

2d Emperor.

Vu-tsung.

3d Emperor.

honours

Kang-fu-ta.

are



DYN. XIX.  
S O N G.  
Cyc. LXI.  
Year of  
Christ 1264.

are honour'd; and being inform'd that Gold, Silver, Grain, and Silk, were carry'd out of the Empire, he forbid the Exportation of them under very severe Penalties.  
This Prince was but thirty one when he dy'd, in the forty eighth Year of the Cycle, and *Jin-tsong*, his Brother, by the same Venter, was his Successor.

### JIN-TSONG, *Fourth Emperor, reign'd nine Years.*

*Jin-tsung*,  
4th Emperor.

THE People had no Reason to grieve for the Loss of the late Emperor, since they found still more excellent Qualities in his Successor; who, besides a lively and penetrating Genius, was indued with great Equity, Mildness and Moderation. The way to obtain his good Graces was to give him sage Advice, especially if it tended to the Ease and Happiness of his Subjects. He punished with Reluctance, but rewarded with Generosity; in short he applied himself wholly to govern his Dominions well.

makes a Law  
against Hunt-  
ing.

He publish'd an Edict, forbidding all the Princes and Petty Sovereigns to hunt, from the fifth Month of the Year to the tenth, for fear of doing Damage to the Country. He used to say that the *Mohammedans* were extremely fond of Jewels; but that he set a much greater Value on wise Men, and that he always endeavour'd to have them near his Person; for in short said he, if by their Advice I can procure my People Tranquillity, and the Conveniencies of Life, what Riches can be comparable to this Happiness?

His Wisdom.

His Com-  
passion.

Being inform'd that five Brethren were guilty of Crimes, for which they were condemn'd to die, "Let one at least be pardoned, said the Emperor, that their unfortunate Parents may have somebody to feed and comfort them." In the time of a great Drought, when the Harvest was in Danger of being destroyed for want of Rain, 'Tis I, cry'd he sighing, 'tis I who bring this Calamity upon my People: and repeating often these Words, he offered Incense, and implor'd the Assistance of Heaven; and it was observ'd that next Day abundance of Rain fell, which revived the parch'd and languishing Fields.

This Prince died the fifty seventh Year of the Cycle, aged thirty six, and was succeeded by his Son *Ing-tsong*.

### ING-TSONG, *Fifth Emperor, reign'd Three Years.*

*Ing-tsung*, 5th  
Emperor.  
Assassinated.

AS all the Virtues of the Father were possessed by the Son, his Subjects expected the Continuation of their happy Government, when he was assassinated, (in the last Year of the Cycle, as he was entering his Tent with one of his most faithful *Ko-lau's*,) by some wicked Villains; who were conscious of having committed the most enormous Crimes, and dreaded the Punishment they deserved.

This Prince lived but thirty Years, and had for his Successor *Tay-ting*, eldest Son of King *Hyen-tsung*.

### TAY-TING, *Sixth Emperor, reign'd Five Years.*

*Tay-ting*, 6th  
Emperor.

Cyc. LVII.  
Year of  
Christ 1324.

Publick Ca-  
lamities.

Priests of  
Tibet forbid-  
den to enter  
China.  
Great Self-  
denial in a  
Prince.

A Month after *Tay-ting* ascended the Throne he condemned the Murderers of his Predecessor to the most tormenting Death; and extirpated their Families, by executing their Children and Grand-Children.

In this Reign, as in the former, China was afflicted with various Calamities, as Earthquakes, falling of Mountains, overflowing of Rivers, Droughts, Conflagrations, and many other Misfortunes; on which Occasion both Emperors gave Proofs of their Love for their Subjects, by the Care they took to succour them.

*Tay-ting* ordered that the Entrance into his Dominions should be denied to the *Bonzas* of *Tibet*, called *Lamas*; who used to come in Swarms to China, and wandering from House to House were very burdensome to the People.

This Prince dying the fifth Year of the Cycle, aged thirty six Years, the States assembled and elected his second Son; but he refused to accept a Crown, which he said belonged of Right to his eldest Brother *Ming-tsong*, who thereupon was sent for out of *Tartary* where he then was, and proclaimed Emperor.

### MING-TSONG, *Seventh Emperor, reign'd one Year.*

*Ming-tsung*,  
7th Emperor.

SIX Months after this Prince was made Emperor he gave a great Entertainment to all the Lords of his Courts, but in the Height of their Mirth he died suddenly; and some suspect he was poison'd. His younger Brother *Ven-tsong*, who had before refused the Crown, was his Successor.

VEN-



VEN-TSONG, *Eighth Emperor, reign'd Three Years.*DYN. XVI.  
Y W E N.

Cyc. LXII.

Year of  
Christ, 1324.Ven-tsong, 8th  
Emperor.Honours the  
Great Lama.Whose Pride  
is mortified  
by a Manda-  
rin.

THIS Prince seemed to deserve the Crown by shewing so much Indifferency for it; and indeed the Care he took to choose good Ministers, and his readiness to follow their Counsels, are worthy of Praise. He is blamed only for one thing, and that is, for receiving the Great Lama, who is chief of the Bonzas of Tibet, into his Palace, with the most distinguishing Honours, and commanding his Courtiers to pay him the profoundest Respect.

The Great Lords were seen to salute this Bonza on their Knees, and present him Wine in this humble Posture; whilst he did not offer in the least to stir from his Seat, nor shew any Token of Civility. Whereupon one of the principal Courtiers being extremely piqu'd at this Haughtiness, "Honest Man (says he) I know that you are the Disciple of Fo, and Master of the Bonzas; but perhaps you are ignorant that I am a Disciple of Confucius, and one of the chief among the Literati in the Empire; it's fit you should be acquainted with it, therefore let us lay aside all Ceremony". And at the same time standing up he offered him the Cup, when the great Lama rising from his Seat, took it with a Smile and drank it.

Ven-tsong died the ninth Year of the Cycle, aged twenty nine Years; and Ning-tsong, who was the Son of the seventh Emperor succeeded him. But as he lived only two Months, he is not reckoned among the Emperors: His eldest Brother Shun-ti, was fetch'd from the Province of Syang-fi, and placed on the Throne, being thirteen Years old.

SHUN-TI, *Ninth Emperor, reign'd Thirty five Years.*

SHUN-TI was the last of this Tartar Dynasty who govern'd China. These Princes, enervated by the Pleasures of so fine and fruitful a Climate, by degrees degenerated from the Courage and Bravery of their Ancestors; while the Chinese whom they subdued, growing a war-like People, deprived them of the Fruits of their Conquest, and drove them for ever out of the Empire.

Shun-ti, tho' a Prince of great Parts, drew on himself this Disgrace by his effeminate Indolence and love of Pleasure, which made him wholly neglect the Affairs of the State; leaving the Government to his Ko-lau, Pe-yew-ha-ma, who was become absolute Master, and had all Favours at his Disposal.

To complete his Misfortunes he sent for the Lama's of Tartary, who introduced Idolatry and Magic; and as they study'd only to indulge his vicious Inclinations, they settled in the Palace a Company of young Female Dancers, who intirely enervated the little Courage that remained in him.

In the twenty third Year of the Cycle, a Chinese named Chü; who had been a Servant in a Monastery of Bonzas, taking Part with a numerous Company of Revolters, became their Leader, and made a surprizing Advantage of the present Juncture of Affairs; for after seizing by degrees several Cities, he made himself Master of some Provinces, and in a celebrated Battle defeated the Emperor's Troops sent to oppose his victorious March. These great Successes soon encreas'd his Army, and the Chinese flocking to him from all Parts, Chü having cross'd the Yellow River, and finding no Resistance, easily got Possession of all the Cities in his way; when at length meeting the Imperial Army, he immediately fought and cut it to Pieces. The Emperor, who had nothing to do but to fly, retired towards the North, where he died two Years after; and with him ended the Tartar Family of Ywen, which was succeeded by the Dynasty of the Ming, founded by Chü, who was called before Hong-vü, and afterwards took the Name of Tay-tsu.

Shun-ti, 9th  
Emperor.His Indo-  
lence and Ef-  
feminacy.is addicted to  
the Lamas.Dynasty of  
Ywen, or of  
the Mongols,  
extinguished  
by Hong-vü.

The twenty first DYNASTY, nam'd MING, which contains Sixteen Emperors in the Space of Two hundred and seventy six Years.

DYN. XXI.

M I N G.

TAY-TSU, or HONG-VU, *First Emperor, reign'd Thirty one Years.*

TAY-TSU took Possession of the Empire with the general Applause, in the forty sixth Year of the Cycle, and fix'd his Court at Nanking, the Capital of the Province of Kyang-nan; the Year following he became Master of Pe-king, after one Day's Siege; erecting that Country in-

Tay-tsu, or  
Hong-vü, 1st  
Emperor.



DYN. XXI.  
M I N G.  
Crc. LXII.  
Year of  
Christ 1324.  
his Laws.

to a Sovereignty, which he gave to his fourth Son. Afterwards he honoured, with the Title of Emperor, his Father, Grand-father, Great Grand-father, and Great Grand-father's Father. He made several Laws to preserve the national Tranquillity, by which he ordain'd,

- I. That those who possessed Sovereignities should not extend their Power beyond their respective Territories, nor meddle with publick Affairs.
- II. That the Eunuchs should not enjoy any Employments civil or military.
- III. That Women should never be suffered to become *Bonzesses*, nor Men to put themselves into a Monastery in order to commence *Bonzas* before the Age of forty Years.
- IV. That the ancient and modern Laws should be reduced into a Body of three hundred Volumes. It was a whole Age before this Work appeared.
- V. That the twenty seven Months of Mourning for the Death of Parents should be reduced to twenty seven Days.

Receives Ambassadors from several Countries.

His Court was soon crouded with Ambassadors from all Parts, who came to congratulate him on his Accession to the Crown. Among other Presents made him, one was a Lyon, which was the first that the *Chinese* had ever seen. *Korea*, *Japan*, the Island of *Formosa*, the Kingdom of *Siam*, and the Southern Isles distinguished themselves by celebrated Embassies.

The Joy which reigned at the Court of this Prince was very much allay'd by the Death of the Emperor's Wife, named *Ma*; who ascended the Throne with him, and whom he highly esteemed, openly declaring that he ow'd the Crown to her wife Counsels. His Grief for the Loss of her was so great, that he could never think of creating another Empress.

Crc. LXIII.  
Year of  
Christ 1384.  
Degrades  
*Kong-si-tse*.  
Some of his  
Sayings.

As it was one of his chief Cares to encourage Learning, he granted extraordinary Privileges to the Imperial College, and us'd to be present himself at the Examinations for attaining the Degree of Doctor. However he would not suffer *Confucius* to be honoured like a King, as some of his Predecessors had done, but only in quality of *Syen-tse*, that is, *Master of the Empire*.

Among the various Sayings reported of this Prince, there are two which were very familiar to him: "When there are any Commotions and Disturbances in the Empire, said he, never act precipitately." And again, "If every thing is quiet, beware of treating your People with too much Severity, and of insisting upon Niceties." He used to say also, "That as Heaven and Earth produce all things necessary for the Support of Men, so a wise Emperor should only study how to provide for the Want of his People; and tho' with this View he should lessen the Taxes, and moderate publick Expences, yet he ought always to fear his Subjects might want Necessaries".

Mourns in a time of Drought. Fine Lesson to his eldest Son.

In a time of great Drought he put on Mourning, and going up a high Mountain, staid there three Days, to implore the Clemency of Heaven; and the abundance of Rain which ensued, was deemed the Effect of his Prayers.

When he visited the Provinces of the Empire, accompanied by his eldest Son, one Day he stopp'd his Chariot in the midst of the Fields, and turning to him, said, "I took you with me, that you might be an Eye-Witness of the Sweat and Labour of the poor Husbandmen; and that the Compassion which so toilsome a Condition must excite in your Heart, might hinder you from overloading them with Taxes." The unexpected Death of this Son, which happen'd soon after, overwhelm'd the Emperor with Grief; he mourn'd for three Years, contrary to the Custom, [rather to his own Law] and named his Grandson Heir to the Throne.

Great Instance of filial Piety and conjugal Fidelity.

A young Man named *Sui*, travelling with his Father and his Wife, fell unfortunately into the Hands of Robbers; who going to murder the good old Man, his Son step'd between, and beseeched them with Tears to kill him instead of his Father. As they offer'd Violence to his Wife, *Can you be guilty, says she, of such an infamous Action while my Husband is living?* Whereupon they took and threw the young Man into a great Fire that was hard by; but the Wife cast herself instantly into the Flames, and closely embracing her Husband they were both burnt to Ashes. To preserve the Memory of their Piety and Fidelity, the Emperor caused a fine Monument to be erected in their Honour; but at the same time he severely punished another young Man, who had sacrificed his Son to an Idol, in hopes of recovering the Health of his dying Mother.

This Prince dyed the fifteenth Year of the Cycle, aged seventy one, and his Grandson *Kyen-ven-ti*, who was but thirteen Years old, succeeded him.

### KYEN-VEN-TI, Second Emperor, reign'd Four Years.

*Kyen-ven-ti*, 2d Emperor.

THIS Prince, tho' so young, began his Reign with an Action of Clemency, for which he had the Blessing of his Subjects, by remitting the third Part of the Imposts; and gave other Marks of his good Nature, and Compassion for the Unfortunate, which promised one of the most happy Reigns. But it was disturbed from the Beginning by the ambitious Pretensions of his Uncles, who were the late Emperor's Sons, and could not bear to see a Child prefer'd to so many Princes of riper Years, and capable of governing by themselves. They attributed their Father's Choice to the secret Management of the *Ko-lau's*, whose Intrigues they had partly discovered. *Yong-lo*, King of *Pe-king*, (the fourth Son of *Tay-tsu*), appeared the most incensed, and took up Arms

Opposed by his Uncle *Yong-lo*.



Arms to punish the Authors of this Injustice, as he called it. The Court having sent a great Army to oppose his Designs, a Battle ensued, which was long and bloody, and produced Officers of Peace; but *Yong-lo* would hearken to no Accommodation, unless the Emperor's Ministers were first delivered to him. Which being refused, he continued his March to the Imperial City, the Gates of which being open'd to him by a Traytor, named *Li-king-long*, a great Slaughter was made in the Town, and the Imperial Palace reduced to Ashes. The Body of the young Emperor, half consumed by the Flames, being brought before the Conqueror, he could not refrain from Tears at the Sight, and gave Orders for his Obsequies suitable to his Dignity. But the Conqueror's Fury fell chiefly on the Ministers, Numbers of whom were put to cruel Deaths; many prevented the Torments to which they were doomed by killing themselves, while others shaved their Heads, and escaped his Vengeance in the Habit of *Bonzas*.

Thus perished the Emperor in the seventeenth Year of his Age, the fourth of his Reign, and the twentieth of the Cycle. When *Yong-lo*, who took the Name of *Ching-tsu*, seized on his Nephew's Throne and *Yong-lo* succeeds.

DYN. XXI.  
MING.  
Crc. LXIII.  
Year of  
Christ 1584.  
Is burnt in  
Palace.

## CHING-TSU, or YONG-LO, Third Emperor, reign'd Twenty three Years.

THIS Prince was endued with a great Soul and uncommon Wisdom; but he made himself dreaded at first by the cruel Examples he gave of his Severity. He restored his Brothers to their Dignities, and continued them in Possession of their Revenues; rewarding with the same Liberality all those who had assisted him to ascend the Throne, except the Traitor *Li-king-long*.

This Miscreant committed a fresh Crime, and being condemned to die, insolently reproach'd *Ching-tsu* with Ingratitude to the Man to whom he owed his Crown: "Would you be now reigning, says he, if I had not opened you the Gates of the City? Traitor, reply'd the Emperor, I owe the Crown to my own good Fortune, and not to your Treachery: Would not you have opened the Gates to any other Person who had appeared with the same Forces?"

A great Number of young Men having been consecrated *Bonzas* before the Age of forty, against the Law made by his Father, he obliged them all to quit their Monasteries; and burn'd all the Books of Chemistry which treated of the pretended Art to become immortal.

The seventh Year of his Reign he removed his Court to *Pe-king* from *Nan-king*, where he left his Son and Heir with several Tribunals and *Mandarins*, like those established at *Pe-king*. One Day some precious Stones, which were found in a Mine discovered in the Province of *Sban-si*, having been presented to him, he gave immediate Orders to shut the Mine: Because he would not, he said, fatigue his People with a fruitless Toil, in regard those Stones, however valuable they might be thought, could neither feed nor cloath his People in a time of Scarcity. He caused five Bells of Brass to be cast, each of which weighed 120,000 Pounds.

The thirtieth Year of the Cycle he appointed forty two Doctors of the Court, called *Han-lin*, to explain more fully the ancient Classical Books, and therein confine themselves to the Opinions of the two Authors, named *Ching-tse* and *Chu-tse*; who had interpreted them in their own Way about three hundred Years before, under the Dynasty of the Song. These Doctors composed another Work, intitled, *Sing-li-ta-tseuen*, which signifies *Natural Philosophy*; wherein, seeming not to deviate from the ancient Doctrine, they endeavour to reconcile it with the Fictions of an empty System, which intirely overthrow it.

As this Work was printed by the Emperor's Authority, and the Authors held a considerable Rank in the State; as there are also some who are fond of every thing that has the Air of Novelty, it is not surprising that some of the *Literati* have embraced a Doctrine, whose Principles are as inconsistent with Reason as dangerous to Morality.

*Yong-lo*, or *Ching-tsu*, dy'd in the forty first Year of the Cycle, at the Age of sixty three, and was succeeded by his Son *Jin-tsong*.

Removes his  
Court to *Pe-king*.

Causes five  
huge Bells to  
be cast,  
and the an-  
cient Books  
to be ex-  
plained a-  
new.

## JIN-TSONG, Fourth Emperor, reign'd a few Months.

AT his coming to the Crown he gave a signal Instance of his great Affection for his Subjects; for the Province of *Sban-tong* being afflicted with a general Famine he resolved to send thither the *Ko-lau*, *Yang-tse-kye*. But the *Ko-lau* representing that it would be proper to consult the Tribunals about the Means of relieving such numbers of People, "Let me not have so many Consultations, reply'd the Emperor; when my People are distressed, we must fly to their Succour with as much Speed and Readiness, as if it was to extinguish a Fire, or stop a sudden Inundation." Some others remonstrating, That a Distinction ought to be made between those who stood more or less in need of Assistance: "With all my Heart, reply'd the Prince, but let them be very careful not to be too nice in their Scrutiny, nor be afraid of exceeding my Intentions by being too liberal."

He gave much Credit to Astrology; having spent a whole Night observing the Stars, and perceiving some Change in the Heavens, he sent for two of his *Ko-lau's*, to whom he said: "My Life is at an End. You have been Witnesses of all I have suffer'd from my Enemies during the

*Jin-tsong*,  
4th Emperor,  
quick in re-  
lieving his  
distressed  
Subjects.

added to  
Astrology.



DYN. XIX.  
M I N G.  
Cyc. LXIII.  
Year of  
Christ 1384.

"the twenty Years I have resided in the Eastern Palace; you have supported me by your Fidelity and Union, take therefore this Token of my Friendship." Speaking these Words, he gave each of them a Seal, on which were engraven these two Characters, *Chong-ehing*, which signifies *Faithful and upright Minister*; they received this Mark of Distinction, with Tears in their Eyes, and ever after sealed their Dispatches with this Seal. From that time the Emperor languish'd continually, and a Courier was dispatch'd in haste to his Son *Swen-tsong*, who kept his Court at *Nan-king*, with an Account of it; but he had not the Comfort to hear the last Words of his Father, who dy'd before his Arrival. This Prince dy'd at the Age of forty eight, in the forty second Year of the Cycle. This Year is reckon'd to the Reign of his Son, contrary to the Custom of *China*, which includes that of the Emperor's Death in the Years of his Reign.

### SWEN-TSONG, Fifth Emperor, reign'd Ten Years.

*Swen-tsong*,  
5th Emperor,  
Defeats the  
Tartars who  
invade the  
Empire.

SWEN-TSONG publish'd an Edict in the beginning of his Reign, forbidding to confer the Degree of Licentiate on any of the *Literati*, who had not attained the Age of twenty five Years. Soon after, his Uncle revolted, and being taken Prisoner in an Engagement, he condemn'd him to perpetual Imprisonment. The *Tartars* were also punish'd for invading the Empire; for *Swen-tsong* at the Head of his Army gave them Battle, and intirely defeated them. The King of *Cochin-china*, who had been nominated by the Emperor, being slain three Years after by a Company of Rebels, they immediately sent Embassadors to beg Pardon, and to implore the Emperor's Clemency. The Emperor was inclinable enough to punish this Treason; but since it would have oblig'd him to send an Army into a distant Country, which could not be done without great Inconveniency to his Subjects, he alter'd his Resolution, and even sent back the Ambassadors with Titles of Honour.

The Palace  
burnt.

About this time the Palace took Fire, which continued several Days; whereby a prodigious Quantity of Copper, Gold and Pewter being melted together, form'd a Mass of mixt Metal, of which a great Number of Vessels were made, that are still much esteem'd in *China*, and bear a very great Price. (A)

*Swen-tsong* dy'd the fifty second Year of the Cycle, at the Age of thirty eight, and was succeeded by his eldest Son *Ing-tsong*.

### ING-TSONG, Sixth Emperor, reign'd Fourteen Years.

*Ing-tsong*,  
6th Emperor.

BEING only nine Years old, he was put under the Guardianship of the Empress and the principal Eunuchs. He began his Reign with rebuilding the nine Gates of the Imperial City; and in the third Year he publish'd an Edict, forbidding any Honours to be paid to *Confucius* in the Idol Temples.

Cyc. LXIV.  
Year of  
Christ 1444.  
Defeated and  
taken Prisoner  
by the  
Tartars.

In the mean time the *Tartars*, taking Advantage of the Emperor's Youth, made continual Irruptions into the Provinces of *China* which lay nearest their Country, and committed all sorts of Rapine; against whom the young Emperor in the sixth Year of the Cycle, and fourteenth of his Reign, march'd beyond the Great Wall, at the Head of a numerous Army. But his Troops being weaken'd by want of Provisions, and unable to stand the Shock of the Enemy were intirely defeated; the Emperor himself being taken Prisoner, and carry'd into the remotest Part of *Tartary*. This News putting the Court in a Consternation, they placed his Son, an Infant of two Years old, on the Throne, under the Guardianship of *King-ti* (the eldest Brother of the Captive Emperor) who soon usurp'd the Imperial Title and Authority.

Mean while the Empress sending a great Quantity of Gold, Silver, and Silks for the Emperor's Ransom, the *Tartar* King received the Presents, and conducted his Prisoner to the Borders of *China*, as if he intended to release him; but there reflecting that the Ransom was too small for so great a Prince, he in a few Days carry'd him back into *Tartary*.

### KING-TI, Seventh Emperor, reign'd Seven Years, in his Brother's stead.

*King-ti*, 7th  
Emperor.  
*Ing-tsong* is  
released and  
renounces the  
Empire.

THE seventh Year of the Cycle, *King-ti* took Possession of his Brother's Throne; nevertheless, a new Agreement being made for the Release of the captive Prince, some of the Grandees were sent to receive him. But the *Tartar* thought they were not of a Rank considerable enough to accompany so mighty an Emperor, and that all the Chief Men of the Empire ought to have come out to meet him with the greatest Pomp. He was conducted by a numerous Retinue to the Frontiers of *China*, near the Mountain *Tang-kye-lin*; from which Place he wrote to acquaint the Court that he renounc'd the Empire, intending to pass the rest of his Days in an easy Solitude, and that therefore no Preparation should be made for his Reception; moreover, to avoid all Ceremony he entred the City by a private Gate. The two Brothers met, and

(A) The like happen'd at the Sack of *Corinth*, under *L. Mummius*; when all the Metals in the Town being melted into one Mass, formed the famous *Æs Corinthium*, which was more valued than Silver by the *Romans*.



and after they had tenderly embraced each other with Tears in their Eyes, *King-ti*, follow'd by all his Courtiers, conducted his Brother to the South Palace, which he had chosen for his Retirement.

*King-ti* therefore continuing to govern, intended also to declare his Son Heir to the Empire, and had fix'd the Birth-Day of the young Prince for that Ceremony. Mean time, conversing one Day with his *Ko-lau*, he said, "The Birth-Day of the Prince, my Heir, happens the second Day of the seventh Moon;" Give me Leave to tell you, (reply'd the *Ko-lau*) that it is the "first Day of the eleventh Moon." Intimating thereby the Birth Day of *Ing-tsong*, who was the lawful Emperor. These Words silenced *King-ti*, and there was no more Talk of declaring his Son Heir, who lived but a Year; and *King-ti* himself being seized with a mortal Distemper, *Ing-tsong* was brought out of the Southern Palace, and re-ascended the Throne a Year before the Death of *King-ti*.

DYN. XXI.  
M I N G.

Cyc. LXIV.  
Year of  
Christ 1444.

### ING-TSONG, Eighth Emperor, re-ascended the Throne, and reign'd Eight Years.

AS soon as *King-ti* was dead, the Emperor was petition'd to stigmatize his Memory, and to erase his Name from all public Acts, as a Punishment for having usurp'd the Crown; but he rejected this Proposal, being content with ordering his Funeral to be perform'd with the Honours due only to a Prince of the Blood, and the Emperor's Brother.

*Ing-tsong* dy'd at the Age of thirty one, the twenty first Year of the Cycle, and was succeeded by his eldest Son *Hyen-tsong*.

*Ing-tsong*, 8th  
Emperor.

### HYEN-TSONG, Ninth Emperor, reign'd Twenty three Years.

HYEN-TSONG, who was the Son of the second Queen, ow'd the Crown to the Empress's being barren. All that is related of him is that he was greatly attach'd to the Sect of the Bonzas; that the twenty third Year of the Cycle he defeated an Army of Rebels in the Province of *Hu-quang*; that he cut in Pieces the Army of the *Tartars*, who from time to time came and plunder'd the Provinces; and that the next Year the King of *Korea* having proposed a more short and easy Way of paying his Homage, than by an Embassy, he would never consent to it.

He dy'd at the Age of forty one Years, the forty fourth of the Cycle, and was succeeded by his eldest Son, *Hyau-tsong*, who was before call'd *Hong-chi*.

*Hyen-tsong*,  
9th Emperor,  
added to  
the Bonzas.

### HYAU-TSONG, or HONG-CHI, Tenth Emperor, reign'd Eighteen Years.

IN the fifth Year of his Reign *Hyau-tsong* declar'd the Prince, whom he had chosen Heir to the Crown, with great Solemnity. He is blam'd for his Attachment to the ridiculous Superstitions of the Bonzas, his Infatuation for Chemistry, and for the Love of Flattery. The fifty second Year of the Cycle, the most considerable among the Bonzas, having been the Ring-Leader of a Rebellion, was taken Prisoner in an Engagement, brought to Court, and beheaded, notwithstanding his Function.

*China* was afflicted in his Reign with many Calamities; the Famine was so great in the Western Provinces, that Fathers were known to eat their own Children. The Plague, which is an Evil scarce heard of in *China*, laid waste the Eastern part of the Southern Provinces; and there happen'd such terrible Earthquakes, that several thousands of People were buried alive.

The first Year of this Cycle was remarkable for the Grief caused by the Death of the Empress, for the Irruptions of the *Tartars*, and the great Booty they carry'd away. The next Year was still more remarkable for the Death of the Emperor himself, who was succeeded by his Son *Vu-tsong*.

*China* afflicted  
with Fa-  
mine, and  
the Plague.

Cyc. LXX.  
Year of  
Christ 1504.

### VU-TSONG, Eleventh Emperor, reign'd Sixteen Years.

SEVERAL new Calamities render'd the beginning of this Reign unhappy, and gave Occasion to the *Ko-lau*, named *Tau*, to present a Memorial to the Emperor: in which he advis'd him to apply himself seriously to the Affairs of State; to repress the Sallies of his Passion; to moderate his Fondness for Hunting; to banish Flatterers from his Court, as well as the debauch'd young People, who prevail'd too much there, and to supply their Places with Men of Wisdom and Zeal for the Public Welfare. This he urg'd as the Means of appeasing the Anger of Heaven for the present, and deserving its Protection for the future.

*Vu-tsong*, 11th  
Emperor,  
is admonish'd  
by his *Ko-lau*.



DYN. XXI.

MING.

Cyc. LXV.

Year of

Christ 1504.

Rebellion of

the *Lyew-tse*.

Instance of

Courage and

Fidelity,

in a *Ko-lau*.

Emperor pre-

pare to re-

tire South-

ward.

Dissuaded in

vain by his

*Ko-lau*,

is diverted

by an Omen.

*Shi-tsung*, or*Kya-tsung*,

12th Emp.

Repairs the

Great Wall.

Honours

Chastity.

Seeks for the

Liquor of

Immortality.

Press'd to ex-

tirpate the

Sect of *Fo*and *Lau-kyun*.*Tartars* in-

vade the Em-

pire and are

repuls'd.

*Japanese* in-vade *China*

several times,

but are re-

puls'd.

The sixth Year of the Cycle, the *Tartars* renew'd their Ravages; and the next Year a Petty Sovereign of the Blood Royal, having revolted, was taken Prisoner in a Battle, and punish'd with Death.

Mean time the Famine, which laid waste the Provinces of *Sban-tong* and *Ho-nan*, join'd to the heavy Taxes, had reduc'd the People to such Misery, that they took up Arms in Despair; and forming several Bodies, advanc'd to the Territories of *Pe-king*. They were call'd *Lyew-tse*, because they suddenly overspread the Provinces, like an impetuous Torrent, destroying all before them. Several Forces were sent against them, which only put a stop to their Attempts, and stifled their Rebellion for a Time, for it appear'd again upon the first favourable Opportunity.

The fifteenth Year of the Cycle *Vu-tsung* having form'd a Design of marching against the *Tartars* incognito, in Quality of Generalissimo; his Ministers earnestly represented to him, that such a Disguise could not but greatly endanger his Person, and occasion Revolts. These Remonstrances so enrag'd him, that he drew his Sword to strike those who oppos'd his Resolution; at the same Instant, one of his *Ko-lau's* offer'd his Head to receive the Stroke, which resolute Behaviour appeas'd the Prince's Fury, and made him change his Design.

The next Yearas, he was preparing to retire into the Southern Provinces, that is, either *Kyang-nan*, or *Che-kyang*, his *Ko-lau's* presented fresh Memorials; wherein they observ'd, that as the *Tartars* would certainly look upon this Journey as a shameful Flight, they would grow more haughty and insolent, and that his Absence would expose the Northern Provinces to their Irruptions. These prudent Counsels only incens'd him the more; and to punish their Rashness, he left them exposed to the Weather five whole Days, on their Knees, before the Gate of his Palace, and imprison'd some of them. But a sudden Inundation at this time, which he took for a bad Omen, having appeas'd him, he sent home his Ministers, and laid aside all Thoughts of going into the Provinces of the South. This Prince finding himself very ill the eighteenth Year of the Cycle, sent for the Grandees of his Court; and in their Presence appointed the Empress Guardian of his second Son, who was thirteen Years old, and whom he had nominated his Successor. He dy'd at the Age of thirty one Years.

## SHI-TSONG, or KYA-TSING, Twelfth Emperor, reign'd Forty five Years.

THE Conduct of this Prince at first seem'd to promise a wise Government; but the End was not suitable to such hopeful Beginnings. He examin'd himself the Petitions which were presented to him; and in a time of Scarcity, was willing to be told of the Failings he was subject to, and gave large Sums out of the Imperial Treasury for Relief of his People. He repair'd the Great Wall, which separates *China* from *Tartary*; and renew'd the Law, made by the Founder of this Dynasty, that only the Title of *Syen-tse*, or Master of the Empire, should be given to *Confucius*. Two young Maids, who perceived that their Father's Indigence inclin'd him to sell them for Prostitutes, having, to escape that Disgrace, drown'd themselves, *Shi-tsung* erected a fine Monument to their Memory, with this Inscription: *The two illustrious Virgins*.

This Prince is blam'd for his Passion for Poetry; for his Credulity in believing the Superstitions of the Bonzas; and for the diligent Search which he caus'd to be made thro' the Empire for the Liquor of Immortality, promised by the Sect of *Tau*.

The eighteenth Year of his Reign he had thoughts of resigning the Crown to his Son, but was dissuaded by the Grandees of the Court; who in several Memorials press'd him, but in vain, to extirpate the Sect of *Fo* and *Lau-kyun*.

The forty seventh Year of the Cycle the *Tartars* drew near *Pe-king* with an Army of sixty thousand Men; but it was intirely cut to pieces by the *Chinese*, and above two hundred Officers taken Prisoners. The next Year the *Tartar* King sent an Ambassador to the Court, to ask the Emperor Pardon, with Leave for his Subjects to come into his Dominions to sell Horses. The Emperor readily consented; but finding afterwards that this Permission was the Ground of continual Quarrels between the *Mandarins* and the Merchants, and often occasion'd Revolts, he absolutely prohibited this Trade. (\*)

The fiftieth Year of the Cycle some Pirates, commanded by one *Whang-che*, infested the Coast of *China* with a Fleet of a Hundred Barks and *Chinese* Vessels of Burden. And in the fifty second Year the *Japanese*, who before us'd to bring Presents as Vassals of the Empire, began to shake off the Yoke, waged open War with the *Chinese*, and made a Descent, to the Number of four thousand, upon the Coast of the Province of *Che-kyang*. But they were received so very roughly, that eighteen hundred of them were kill'd, and the rest, flying to their Ships, perish'd in the Sea. The next Year returning ten thousand strong, *Kau-ling*, a *Chinese* Captain, at the Head only of nine hundred Men, gave them a notable Repulse; by which, Time being gained for the Army to come to his Assistance, the *Japanese* were furrounded, and not a Man escap'd to carry home the News of their Defeat. These Losses did not abate the Eagerness of the *Japanese*, who some Years after made a Descent with fresh Forces on the Coast of *Fo-kyen*, but with small Success; for the *Chinese* Commander, nam'd *Tsyé*, fell upon them unexpectedly, and made a great Slaughter.

(\*) In the 49th Year of the Cycle, and 31st of this Reign, in the Year of Christ 1552, dy'd St. Francis Xavier,

Apostle of the East, the 2d of December, in the Island *Shang-chuen-shan*, commonly call'd *Sanjian*, aged 46.] See Vol. II. p. 4.



At the same time, *Lyew-ban*, General of the *Chinese* Army, marching beyond the Great Wall; the *Tartars*, upon the Report of his Arrival in their Territories, fled, and hid themselves in their Forests: so that there were but twenty eight *Tartars* kill'd in this Expedition, and the whole Booty was only one hundred and seventy Camels.

The third Year of this Cycle, a Memorial was presented to the Emperor, in which he was counsell'd to be more watchful over his Conduct, and the Public Affairs. It represented that for above twenty Years past the Laws had insensibly lost their Authority, and that the Empire was going to Ruin; that he seldom conversed with the Prince his Heir; that his most faithful and honest Vassals were either despised or ill used without Cause, and on the slightest Suspicions; that he spent his Time in Pleasure and Idleness, amidst a Company of Concubines, despising the Empress, his lawful Spouse; that he gave the Command of his Army to Men who were unskill'd in the Art of War, and fonder of Gold and Silver than of Honour and Glory; that the Treasury was daily exhausted by his ridiculous Expences, either in building Palaces, or making Gardens, or in defraying the Charges of the extravagant Ceremonies of the Bonzas, and seeking after the Liquor of Immortality, which those Impostors pretended came down from Heaven: as if, since the happy Times of the Emperors *Tau* and *Shun*, any Person whatever had been exempted from the fatal Necessity of dying. The Emperor, on reading this Memorial, unable to restrain his Rage, threw it on the Ground; but soon took it up again, and discover'd Signs of a sincere Repentance. However, he had not time to reap the Benefit of it, for a few Days after he fell sick; and had no sooner drank the pretended Liquor of Immortality, but he expir'd, at the Age of fifty eight, and was succeeded by his Son, nam'd *Mo-tsong*.

DYN. XXI.

M I N G.

Crc. LXVI.

Year of

Christ 1564.

A bold Me-

morial pre-

sented the

Emperor,

who dies af-

ter drinking

the Liquor of

Immortality.

### MO-TSONG, Thirteenth Emperor, reign'd Six Years.

**M**O-TSONG began his Reign with Acts of Clemency, releasing those whom his Father had imprison'd upon slight Grounds; and conferring Titles of Honour on others, who had been put to Death, by way of Consolation to their Families. For the rest, he could never bear the Advice of his Ministers; and some of them having taken this Liberty, were degraded to an inferior Rank.

As the Laws of *China* forbid that any Person should possess an Employment in the Magistracy of his native Province, the Emperor qualify'd this Law; and at the request of a *Ko-lau* permitted the inferior *Mandarins*, such as the Officers who have Inspection over *Literature*, and over those who collect the Taxes, to enjoy these Employments in their native Country.

The ninth Year of the Cycle this Prince falling sick, declar'd his Son, who was but ten Years old, Heir to the Crown; putting him under the Tuition of the Empress, and of *Chang-kyu-ching*, a *Ko-lau*. This Prince was named *Van-lye*, but from his Accession to the Throne he was call'd *Shin-tsong*.

### SHIN-TSONG, or VAN-LYE, Fourteenth Emperor, reign'd Forty eight Years.

**T**H<sup>O</sup> *Shin-tsong* was but ten Years old, there appeared in all his Actions a Prudence, much above his Years. He paid so much Respect to his Tutor and Master *Chang-kyu-ching*, that every time he came to give him a Lesson, if it was in the Summer, he order'd a Servant to fan him, and in the Winter he caus'd a double Carpet to be spread upon the Floor; he also visited him when he was sick, and gave him Broths and Medicines with his own Hands. This *Ko-lau* had a Son, who, in the Examination for the Doctor's Degree, had obtained the first Rank of the second Order, and the Emperor his Master rais'd him to the second Rank of the first Order. This excellent Disposition was supported by a great Stock of Uprightness and of Justice; he had withal a lively and penetrating Genius, and a strong Inclination to make himself Master of the *Chinese* Sciences. He ordain'd that for the future the Emperor should defray the Expences of the Licentiates, in their Journey from any of the fifteen Provinces to the Imperial City, when they came to pass their Examinations for the Degree of Doctor, at which he assisted himself. Every Day, at four in the Morning, he examined and answer'd the Petitions presented the Day before; and order'd a Book to be printed every three Months, for the Convenience of the Publick, containing the Names, Rank, Degree, and Country of every *Mandarin* in the Empire: which Custom still continues.

The eleventh Year of the Cycle, the *Tartars*, who had made an Irruption into *Lyau-tong*, were entirely routed. The Emperor, at his Mother's request, who had a great Affection for Images, intended to grant a general Amnesty, but was dissuaded from it by his *Ko-lau*; who represented, that the Hope of escaping Punishment would open the Door to all manner of Crimes, and that he ought to imitate the Lord of Heaven, who sooner or later never fails to punish wicked Villains.

The Emperor was marry'd the sixteenth Year of the Cycle, and immediately after created his Wife Empress. The nineteenth Year there was so great a Dearth in the Province of *Shan-si*, that numberless People dy'd of Hunger; so that sixty great Pits were dug in several Places, each of which held a thousand Bodies, and on this account were call'd *Van jin keng*. A Woman

who dies af-

ter drinking

the Liquor of

Immortality.

Mo-tsong, 13th

Emperor.

Law in Fa-

vour of infe-

rior Manda-

rins.

Shin-tsong,

or Van-lye,

14th Emp.

His great

Character.

Application

to Business.

Tartars in-

vading Lyau-

tung are re-

pulsed.

Dreadful

Famine.

† The eighteenth Year of the Cycle P. Michael Roger landed in China, being the first Missionary of the Jesuits in that Country.



DYN. XXI.  
M'YNG.

Cyc. LXVI.

Year of  
Christ 1564.

Tartars de-  
feated.

His Ko-lau  
first honoured  
then dis-  
graced after  
his Death.

Tartars  
swarm into  
China.

Great Fa-  
mine.

A Comet.

A Son offers  
his own Life  
to save his  
Father's.  
Terrible Fa-  
mine in Ho-  
nan.

Japanese in-  
vade Korea  
with ill Suc-  
cess.

Nyu-che, or  
Eastern Tar-  
tars, begin to  
grow power-  
ful again.

Ravages Lyau-  
tong and  
Pe-che-li.

Their King  
assumes the  
Title of  
Emperor of  
China.

Makes a  
great slaugh-  
ter of the  
Chinese.

Woman seeing her Husband, who was famish'd to Death, thrown into one of these Pits, threw herself in also; and tho' she was taken out by Order of the Mandarin, it was to no Purpose, for not being able to survive her Loss, she dy'd three Days after.

This same Year was remarkable for two great Events; one was the Defeat of the Tartars, of whom ten thousand were slain by the Chinese General Li-chin; the other was the Loss which the Emperor had in the Death of Chang-kyu-ching, his Ko-lau and Master; whom he honour'd after his Death with the Title of Ven-chong, that is, *A Man remarkable for Knowledge and Fidelity*, and his Corps was carry'd in a pompous manner to his Sepulchre in the Province of Hanguang. But these Honours lasted not long, for two Years were scarce at an end, when his Enemies having laid heavy Accusations to his Charge, he and his Posterity were depriv'd of their Titles, and his Estate was confiscated; while his Son thro' Grief or Fear of Punishment kill'd himself.

The twentieth Year the Rivers were frozen, which facilitated the Irruptions of the Tartars into the Empire, who came in Swarms, but were cut to pieces by the Chinese Troops. || The twenty second Year was fatal to the Empire, on account of a terrible Famine, when the Emperor gave stronger Proofs than ever of his Affection for his Subjects; he often implored the Assistance of Heaven, remitted a great Part of the Taxes, and sent Mandarins into all the Provinces, to examine the Conduct of the Governors, and relieve the Miseries of the People. The twenty ninth Year of the Cycle a Comet appear'd towards the East; upon which Occasion a Ko-lau, named Pong-nzen, presented a Petition to the Emperor, setting forth that the Figure of this Meteor warn'd him to rid his Palace of certain Ministers, who took Bribes, and preserved their Employments by the basest Flattery. The Emperor being incensed at his Admonitions, order'd him to be imprison'd, and condemn'd him to Death; but his Son coming to offer his own Life to save his Father's, Shin-fong relented, and changed the Sentence to that of Banishment.

The thirtieth Year of the Cycle the Inhabitants of the Province of Ho-nan were reduced to such Extremity by Famine, that they fed on Human Flesh; upon which the Emperor immediately order'd Supplies to be sent them out of the Imperial Treasury. The same Year the Japanese enter'd the Kingdom of Korea, destroying all before them with Fire and Sword, wherever they came, and took several Cities. The King was forced to fly, till he had received the Succours from China, which he had demanded by his Ambassadors; but the Succours arriving very seasonably, there ensued an obstinate and bloody Battle, wherein the Japanese were intirely routed. After their Defeat they implor'd the Emperor's Clemency in a solemn Embassy; by which, having first begg'd Pardon for their Fault, they pray'd him to honour their Chief with a Title that might authorize his Claim: Accordingly the next Year Shin-fong granted him the Title of *Je-pwen-vang* (A), which signifies King of JAPAN, forbidding him to send any more Ambassadors to China.

The thirty third Year the Emperor, contrary to the Advice of his Ministers, ordered the Gold and Silver Mines in the Provinces of Ho-nan, Shan-si, and Shen-si to be open'd; but six Years after he caus'd them to be closed again. (\*)

Mean time the Nyu-che, or Eastern Tartars, began to grow formidable; they were divided into seven Classes, or different Dynasties, which, after they had been long at War together, were united under one Prince, who erected a Kingdom. As to the Tan-yu, or the Western Tartars, they lived peaceably within their own Territories, having given over to disturb the Chinese, as they had formerly done by their frequent and unexpected Irruptions. (†)

The fifty third year the Tartars, whose Forces being united under one Chief were more capable of undertaking something considerable, no longer thought of making transient Irruptions into the Empire, but resolv'd to seize the Cities which were most for their Convenience; being incensed against the Chinese, because the Mandarins abused their Merchants trading into Lyau-tong, and had seized their King by Treachery and cut off his Head. Accordingly the Son of this Prince, named Tjen-ming, entering Lyau-tong with a strong Army, took the City of Kay-yuen; but at the same time wrote his Complaints to the Emperor, offering to restore the City and lay down his Arms, if his Majesty would give him a proper Satisfaction for such a cruel Injury. The Mandarins concern'd, to whom the Emperor communicated the Letter, slighted it, not deigning so much as to return an Answer; which Contempt so enraged the Tartar, that he vow'd to sacrifice 200,000 Chinese to his Father's Spirit. In Effect, at the Head of 50,000 Men he took the City of Lyau-yang, entered the Province of Pe-che-li in Triumph, and was even preparing to attack the Imperial City. But he was repuls'd by the Chinese Forces, and oblig'd to retire into Lyau-tong, where he haughtily assumed the Title of Emperor of China.

The fifty fifth Year of the Cycle, the Tartar King, under Pretence of a solemn Embassy, made his Troops file off towards the Empire. The Artifice being discovered, the Chinese Army march'd to oppose them; Upon which the Tartars fled, and by that Feint drawing the Chinese on, they furrounded and made a great Slaughter of them, the General himself being found among the

(\*) The same Year 1583, P. Matthew Ricci came into China, and is justly esteem'd the Founder of this noble Mission. See Vol. II. p. 4. & seq.

(A) Or Je-pwen-vang. Je-pwen, or Je-pen, signifies in Chinese, the Origin of the Sun; because the Sun seems to rise thereabouts, and hence comes the Name of Japan brought first into Europe by the Portuguese.

\* The next Year, viz. 1597. happened the glorious Death of

the Martyrs in Japan, who were crucified out of Hatred to the [Romish] Faith. Four Years after P. Matthew Ricci was the first Time introduced into the Palace of the Emperor, who express'd much Esteem for him and received his Precepts. See Vol. II. p. 4. and 7.

† The fortieth Year of the Cycle, A. D. 610, P. Matthew Ricci died in the Odour of Sanctity. See Vol. II. Page 10. where P. du Halde repeats more at large what he says here.



Slain. Next Year the Emperor opposed the *Tartars* with very numerous Forces, supported by twelve thousand Auxiliaries, sent by the King of *Korea*. The Armies engaged, and Victory remain'd a long time doubtful, but declar'd at last for the *Tartars*, who advanc'd towards the Capital. Which caused such a Consternation that the Emperor would have abandon'd the City, and retired to the Southern Provinces, had not his Council represented to him that such a Retreat would dishonour him, and animate the *Tartars*, while it would sink the Spirit of his Subjects, and cause Troubles through the whole Empire.

*Sbin-tsung* dy'd during these Transactions, aged fifty eight Years, and was succeeded by his Son, nam'd *Quang-tsung*, who was before call'd *Tay-chang*.

DYN. XXI  
M. J. N. G.  
Cyc. LXVI  
Year of  
Christ 1564.

### QUANG-TSUNG, or TAY-CHANG, Fifteenth Emperor, reign'd but one Month.

THIS Prince dy'd a Month after his Accession to the Throne, aged thirty eight Years. His Death is attributed to the Neglect and Ignorance of his Physician; but before he dy'd he declared his eldest Son *Hi-tsung*, who was before nam'd *Tyen-ki*, Heir to his Crown.

*Quang-tsung*,  
or *Tay-chang*,  
15th Emp.

### HI-TSUNG, or TYEN-KI, Sixteenth Emperor, reign'd Seven Years.

THE natural Timidity of *Hi-tsung*, and his placing too great Confidence in the Eunuchs of the Palace, who were twelve thousand in Number, made every body fear at first that he would not oppose the *Tartars* vigorously enough; nevertheless he took Courage, and resolved to give them an effectual Check. He augmented his Army with a great number of new Troops, which he drew from all the Provinces; he sent magnificent Presents to the King of *Korea*, and demanded a greater Number of Auxiliaries, than had been sent to the Emperor his Grandfather; At the same time there arriv'd a *Chinese Amazon*; which Name we may give to a Woman who march'd at the Head of several thousand Men, drawn from a little State her Son possess'd in the Mountains of the Province of *Se-chwen*. The Emperor also fitted out a Fleet, and with all these Preparations put himself in a Condition to humble the Pride of the *Tartars*. Upon this Occasion two *Christian Mandarins* of his Court, advised him to send to *Ma-kau* for *Portuguese Engineers*, to serve the Artillery, to which the *Chinese* were but little used. But before they arriv'd, the *Tartars* were driven out of the Province of *Lyau-tong*; and the Capital was the more easily recover'd from them, as the Inhabitants of the City and the neighbouring Country detested the Cruelty of their King *Tyen-ming*, who was then engaged in another War in *Tartary*. But as soon as he had finish'd his Expedition he re-enter'd *Lyau-tong*, and renew'd the Siege of the Capital; during which the *Chinese* lost thirty thousand Men, and the *Tartars* twenty thousand; but at length they carry'd the City, by means of a Traitor. As soon as the King was Master of the Palace, he publish'd an Edict, by which all the *Chinese* were commanded under pain of Death to shave their Heads after the *Tartar* Fashion; but several thousands choose rather to lose their Heads than their Hair. *Mau-ven-long*, one of the most able *Chinese* Generals, being sent with fresh Troops against the *Tartars*, so strongly fortify'd the Citadel of *Shang-bay*, that he made it impregnable; and by this means shut up the Entrance into *China* from *Tartary*.

*Hi-tsung*, or  
*Tyen-ki*, 16th  
Emperor.

Makes great  
Preparations  
against the  
*Tartars*.

who are driven  
out of  
*Lyau-tong*.

But return  
and conquer  
it.

The same Year, which was the second of the Reign of *Hi-tsung*, the City of *Ma-kau*, which the Emperor had given to the *Portuguese*, for their important Service in clearing the *Chinese* Sea of Pirates, was besieged by the *Dutch*, both by Land and Sea; but the *Portuguese* forced them after a great Loss of Men to a precipitate Flight.

*Ma-kau* be-  
sieged by the  
*Dutch*.

Cyc. LXVII.  
Year of  
Christ 1624.

The first Year of the Cycle was unfortunate to the Empire, on account of the fresh Troubles rais'd by a great number of seditious People, and Robbers, call'd *Lyew-tse*, before-mention'd, who over-run and plunder'd four Provinces, their Number increasing daily. (\*)

The fourth Year the Emperor dy'd at the Age of thirty two, and was succeeded by his Brother, *Wbay-tsung*, before call'd *Tsong-ching*, the fifth Son of *Quang-tsung*.

*Tyen-ming*, King of the *Tartars*, who had signalized himself by his Fierceness, dy'd the same Year. He was succeeded by his Son *Tyen-tsung*, who was quite the reverse of his Father, being a Prince of great Mildness, Clemency and Goodness.

(\*) The second Year was remarkable for the Stone Monument which was dug out of the Earth, near the Capital of the Province of *Shen-hi*, containing an Abridgement of the Christian Law, and the Names of 70 Preachers of the Gospel, engraven in Syriac Characters. [See an Abstract of this Monument, Vol. II. p. 2. and 3.]



DYN. XIX.

M I N G.

CY. LXVII.

Year of

Christ 1624.

Wbay-tsong,

17 Emp.

Is bigotted

to the Bonzas.

The chief

Eunuch poi-

sons himself.

The Lyeu-

tse increas-

Treachery

of the Eu-

nuch Yuen

discover'd,

and punish-

ed.

Tjong-ti King

of the Man-

chew.

The Rebel-

lion increas-

under Li and

Chang.

Li conquers

Ho-nan and

Shen-si.

Puts to Death

all the Man-

darins in

those Pro-

vinces.

Assumes the

Title of Em-

peror.

Pe-king be-

tray'd to him.

## WHAYTSONG, or TSONG-CHING, Seventeenth Em- peror, reign'd Seventeen Years.

THE Chinese Power ended with the Reign of *Wbay-tsong*, to give place to that of the *Tartars*, who still govern this vast Empire with an absolute Authority. *Wbay-tsong* was a great Lover of the Sciences, and wrote the *Chinese Characters* very neatly; But tho' he had some favourable Sentiments of Christianity, which he protected on several Occasions, yet he continued extremely bigotted to the *Bonzas*. He repress'd the Luxury which began to be introduced, especially in Apparel; he was mild, chaste and temperate, slow in his Resolutions, and distrustful in his Temper, even towards his most faithful Ministers. He forbid the *Mandarins* to have any Correspondence with the Eunuchs: The latter having introduced Soldiers into the Palace, the Emperor gave them leave for a Month to visit their native Country and Friends, and furnished them with Money for their Journey, but afterwards forbid their Return. As he had often counselled his Brother to get rid of the Chief of the Eunuchs named *Ghey-tsong*, who domineered in the Palace with a very formidable Pride and Intolence, as soon as *Wbay-tsong*, ascended the Throne, this Villain by Poison prevented the Punishment due to his Crimes: his Body was torn to Pieces by the Populace, his Riches which were immense confiscated, and the Temples, which his Flatterers had erected to his Honour, burnt and demolished.

The Imperial Troops being employ'd on the Side of *Tartary*, the Seditious multiplied in the Provinces; the Suppression of whom requiring the greatest Expedition, the Emperor resolved to make Peace with the *Tartars*. To this end he sent a fresh Army into their Country, under the Command of an Eunuch, named *Yuen*, who had full Power to negotiate a Treaty: But the Villain suffering himself to be brib'd, made a Peace upon the most shameful Terms, which the Emperor refusing to ratify, the Traitor took the following Measures to force him thereto.

*Mau-ven-long*, who commanded the *Chinese Army*, being a Person of the strictest Fidelity, *Yuen* invited him to a Feast, where he poisoned him. After this he advised the *Tartars* to march directly to *Pe-king*, by a different Road from that which he took with his Army. This they did without Opposition, and besieged the Imperial City: Hereupon, Orders being instantly dispatch'd to *Yuen*, to come with his Forces to its Relief, he set out directly, not in the least suspecting that his Treason was discovered; but as soon as he was got into the Town he was put to the Torture, and after being convicted of Perfidy was strangled. The *Tartar* was no sooner inform'd of his Death, but he raised the Siege, and return'd to *Lyau-tong* loaded with rich Spoils †.

At the same time, by consent of the Empress, several of the principal Court-Ladies were instructed in the Christian Religion, and received Baptism.

The twelfth Year of the Cycle died *Tyen-tsong*, the *Tartar King*, who was succeeded by his Son *Tjong-tê*, Father to the Founder of the following Dynasty. This *Tjong-tê* was a very affable, good natur'd Prince; and as he had been secretly educated from his Infancy among the *Chinese*, he had acquir'd their Genius and Manners, as well as their Language and Sciences. This gain'd him the Friendship and Esteem of the *Chinese Generals and Mandarins*, who fell off insensibly from the Emperor; whose ill Success having quite altered his Temper, he grew thoughtful, uneasy, melancholy, and cruel. This, and all the following Years of his Reign, was a continued Series of Robberies, Murders, and intestine Wars. The Numbers of the Seditious and Malecontents were so vast, that they formed eight Armies, under eight different Commanders, who were afterwards reduced to two named *Li* and *Chang*. These, that they might not annoy each other, agreed to divide the Provinces between them: *Chang* took the Western Provinces of *Se-chwen* and *Hs-quang* for his Share; and *Li* marching Northwards seiz'd on great Part of the Province of *Shen-si*, and then entering *Ho-nan*, beleaguerr'd the Capital *Kay-fong*, but was forced to raise the Siege with Loss. Six Months after, he invested that City a second Time, where he met such obstinate Resistance, (the Besieged choosing rather to feed on human Flesh than surrender) that the Imperial Army having time to come to its Relief, the *Chinese General* thought he should infallibly have destroyed all the Rebels, by breaking down the Dikes of the *Yellow River*; but they escaped to the Mountains, while the City, which was much lower than the River, was quite laid under Water; an Inconvenience which the General had not foreseen, whereby 300,000 of the Inhabitants perished. Nevertheless *Li* made himself Master of the Provinces of *Ho-nan* and *Shen-si*, where he put to Death all the *Mandarins*, and exacted great Sums from those who had possessed Employments; treating none favourably but the Populace, whom he freed from all manner of Taxes. This Conduct even drew to his Party great Numbers out of the Imperial Army, whence he found himself so powerful that he no longer scrupled to assume the Title of Emperor. He afterwards advanced to the Imperial City, where there was a Garrison of seventy thousand Men, but where he was sure to meet with no Resistance. He knew the Divisions that were between the *Mandarins* and the Eunuchs; besides a great Number of his Soldiers had got into the City in Disguise, and gain'd a considerable Party, who were to open the Gates to him. In effect, three Days after his Arrival the Gates were open'd, and he entered in Triumph.

† [The eighth Year of the Cycle, or of Christ 1621, the Dominican Friars arrived in China to preach the Gospel, and were followed soon after by the Franciscans. Two Years after died the famous Doctor Paul Sy. See Vol. II. p. 8, 9, 10, 11.]



umph, at the Head of 300,000 Men. The Emperor was at this time shut up in the Palace, wholly taken up with the ridiculous Superstitions of the *Bonzas*, and quite ignorant of what was doing without: But as he could not be long so, when he found he was betray'd, he intended to have gone out of the Palace with six hundred of his Guards, who forsook him. Being thus deprived of all Hopes of escaping, and preferring Death to the Disgrace of falling alive, into the Hands of Rebels, he retired into his Garden; and after he had written these Words on the Border of his Vest, *My Subjects have basely deserted me, do with me what you please, but spare my People*, he kill'd his Daughter with the Stroke of a Sabre, and then hung himself upon a Tree, being thirty-six Years of Age. The chief *Ko-lau*, the *Queens*, and the most faithful Eunuchs, followed his Example and killed themselves.

The Body of the Emperor was search'd for a long time, and being at last found, was brought before the Tyrant, seated on a Throne, who treated it with Indignity; and afterwards caused two of the Emperor's Children, and all his Ministers to be beheaded, but his eldest Son escap'd by Flight.

Every body submitted to the Power of the Usurper, except Prince *U-san-gbey*, who commanded the *Chinese* Army in *Lyau-tong*. Against him the Tyrant set out with his Army, and having besieged the Place where he was Governor, to force him to surrender, shew'd him his Father, loaded with Chains; declaring he should be instantly slain if he refused to submit. This great Man beholding his Father from the Top of the Wall, fell on his Knees, and bursting into Tears, begg'd to be forgiven if he sacrificed his Filial Tendernefs to his Duty to his Prince and Country. The generous Father applauded the Resolution of his Son, and submitted to his Fate.

*U-san-gbey*, to revenge at once the Death of his Prince, and of his Father, struck up a Peace with the Eastern, or *Manchew Tartars*, and invited them to his Assistance against the Rebels. *Tjong-té*, their King, without Delay advanced with an Army of eighty thousand Men, which joining that of the *Chinese* General, the Usurper raised the Siege, and hasten'd to *Pe-king*. But not thinking himself safe there, he plunder'd the Palace, and set it on Fire; and then fled with his Troops into the Province of *Shen-si*, enrich'd with the Spoils of the Empire, and loaded with the Curses of the People.

*Tjong-té* dy'd almost as soon as he had set Foot in *China*; but before his Death he declar'd his Son *Shun-chi* Emperor, who was but six Years old, and committed the Care of him and the Empire to his Brother *Ama van*.

The young Prince was strait conducted to *Pe-king*, and receiv'd with the Acclamations of the People, who look'd upon him as their Deliverer; and nothing was heard on all sides but joyful Shouts of *Long live the Emperor! May he live ten thousand Years! VAN-SW1!* *VAN-SW1!* a *Chinese* Expression, which signifies, *May he live many Years*. This Revolution happen'd the twenty first Year of the Cycle, which answers to the Year of *Christ* 1644.

DYN. XXI.

MING.

Cyc. LXXVIII.

Year of

Christ 1624.

The Empe-

ror in Delfair

hangs him-

self.

Cruelty of

the Tyrant

Li.

U-san-gbey

the Chinese

General op-

poses him.

His great

Loyalty.

Calls in the

Tartars under

Tjong-té a-

gainst the Re-

bels.

Li flies.

Death of

Tjong-té.

His Son

Shun-chi pro-

claim'd Em-

peror.

The Twenty second DYNASTY, named TSING, now reigning, which to the present Time reckons three Emperors.

DYN. XXII.

TSING.

SHUN-CHI, First Emperor, reign'd Seventeen Years.

IT is not certainly known what became of the Usurper, who was pursued for some time by the *Tartars*. Some think he was kill'd in an Engagement by *U-san-gbey*, who found too late his Error in having recourse to the *Tartars* (A), to get rid of the Tyrant, and would sometimes say, *That he had sent for Lyons to drive away Dogs*. Nevertheless, he received from *Shun-chi* the Dignity of King, and Title of *Ping-si*, which signifies *Pacifier of the West*; and the City *Si-ngan-fu* the Capital of *Shen-si*, which had been ravaged with Fire and Sword, was assign'd him for his Residence.

Shun-chi, 1st

Emperor.

U-san-gbey

made a King.

*Shun-chi* thus seeing himself Master of the Northern Provinces turn'd his Arms to subdue the Southern. *Hong-quang*, a Grandson of *Shin-tsong*, or *Van-lye*, the thirteenth Emperor of the preceding Dynasty, had been proclaim'd at *Nan-king*; but being taken Prisoner, he was brought to *Pe-king*, where he was strangled. The *Tartars* afterwards enter'd the Province of *Che-kyang*, and besieged the Capital. *Lo-vang*, who was King of this Place, and had refused the Title of Emperor, ascended the Wall, and on his Knees beseech'd the *Tartars* to spare his Subjects, offering, if they must needs have some Victim, to sacrifice his own Life to save theirs; and at the same time went out of the City, submitting himself to the Mercy of the Conqueror.

The Man-

chew Tartars

reduce all by

Degrees to

their Obe-

dience.]

(A) The Nation here call'd *Tartars* and *Eastern Tartars*, are *Manchews*, the Descendants of the *Kim*, (a Name they still retain) who formerly possess'd the Northern Provinces, common-

ly call'd the Empire of *Katay*, (See p. 210, 211, & seq.) and now are Masters of all *China*.



*Long-vü*, another Grandson of *Shin-tsung*, or *Van-lye*, was proclaim'd in the Province of *Fo-kyen*, but all the Cities open'd their Gates at the Approach of the Conqueror; nor could this Prince escape Death, being forced to strengthen the Conquest with his Blood.

There was at this time a remarkable Person, named *Chin-chi-long* (\*), who had a great Share in these Transactions. He was at first a Servant to the Portuguese at *Ma-kau*, among whom he was instructed in the Christian Religion, and received at his Baptism the Name of *Nickolan*: afterwards from a petty Trader he grew to be the richest Merchant in all *China*, by the Commerce he carry'd on with the Spaniards and Dutch; and became at length the Commander of a very numerous Fleet. He at first acknowledged *Long-vü* for Emperor, and after his Death the Tartar Prince. *Shun-chi* offer'd him the Dignity of King, and gave him an Invitation to a solemn Feast, which he accepted of, in hopes of obtaining the greatest Dignities at Court, whither he was conducted with Honour: leaving the Command of the Fleet to his Son *Ching-ching-kong*, whose Zeal and Fidelity to his Natural Princes could never be shaken, either by the Intreaties of his Father, or the Promises of the new Emperor.

The Chinese elect a new Emperor,

The Army of the Tartars advancing into the Province of *Quang-teng* met with no resistance; but the Course of their Victories was interrupted in that of *Quang-si*, where *Thomas Kyu*, Vice-Roy of this Province, and *Luke Chin*, Generalissimo of the Chinese Forces, both Christians, oppos'd the Progress of the Tartars, and after an obstinate Battle intirely routed, and put them to flight. The Conquerors immediately elected a Prince of the Imperial Family, named *Tong-lye*, who was King of the Capital of the Province of *Quey-chow*, and, after being proclaimed Emperor, removed his Court to *Shau-king*. A Christian Eunuch, nam'd *Pan Aebilles* (A), who was very zealous for the Faith, was his chief Counsellor; by whose means Father *Andrew Koffler* instructed the Emperor's Mother, his Wife, and eldest Son, in the Truths of Christianity, and baptized them. It was expected that this Emperor would one Day be the *Constantine of China* (B); which Name was given him when he received the Sacrament of Spiritual Regeneration. For these illustrious Converts, with the Consent of the Emperor, sent Father *Michael Boym* to Rome, to pay a Filial Obedience to the Holy See in their Names.

and attack the Tartars both by Sea and Land with great Success.

The Report which was spread thro' all the Provinces of a great Victory gain'd over the Tartars, and of the Election of the new Emperor, roused the Courage of the Chinese. A Commander who had got together an Army in the Province of *Fo-kyen*, and *Ching-ching-kong*, who scour'd the Seas with a numerous Fleet, retok several Cities; the one within the Country, and the other upon the Sea-Coasts; at the same time the Vice-Roy, of the Province of *Kyang-si* shook off the Yoke, and defeated the Tartars in several Engagements. In the Northern Parts two Chiefs, one nam'd *Ho*, the other *Kyang*, had rais'd each a considerable Army. The first took several Cities in *Sben-si*, and the second entering the same Province with an hundred and forty thousand Horse, and a still greater number of Foot, they defeated the Tartars in two Battles, and put them in such Dread, that they durst not appear any more in the Field.

The Tartars recover all again.

Nevertheless, in the Space of three or four Years, the Tartars, partly by Craft and Policy, and partly by Rewards and Promises, join'd to the Quarrels between the two Chinese Leaders, at length conquered them, and recover'd all the Cities they had lost. In the West another Chief of the Revolters, named *Chang-byen-chong*, who seem'd to be a Demon in Human Shape, made Havock wherever he came; and after having exercised all manner of Cruelties in the Provinces of *Ho-nan*, *Kyang-nan*, and *Kyang-si*, he turn'd his whole Fury against the Province of *Se-chwen*.

*Chang-byen-chong*, Head of the Revolters in the West.

His monstrous Cruelty

He was good natured and affable to none but his Soldiers, with whom he made merry, and eat familiarly; but to others he was exceeding barbarous. He put to Death the King of *Ching-tu-fu*, the Capital City, who was a Prince of the preceding Dynasty; and if any Man committed even the most trifling Fault, he caus'd all the People that lived in the same Street to be kill'd. Five thousand Eunuchs were slain by his Orders, because one of them had refused to give him the Title of Emperor. Having call'd ten thousand Literati to an Examination, as soon as they were assembled in the Hall appointed for their Compositions, he caus'd them all to be murder'd, on Pretence that by their Sophistry and Arguments they stir'd up the People to rebel. Being about to depart from *Ching-tu-fu*, to go into the Province of *Sben-si*, he caus'd all the Inhabitants to be brought out in Chains, and massacred in the Fields (+). He also order'd his Soldiers to kill their Wives, because they were only Incumbrances in time of War; and he set them an Example by cutting the Throats of three hundred of his own, reserving only twenty to wait on the three Queens. In short he did not leave the Province of *Se-chwen*, till he had burnt the Capital and several other Cities.

\* See before p. 91.

(A) The Reader is not to imagine that *Thomas Kyu*, *Luke Chin*, *Pan Aebilles*, and such like curious Names, are to be met with in the Chinese Annals; but that they have been inserted by the Missionaries to do Honour to their Spiritual Conversions.

(B) How comes it the Emperor has not his Christian Name join'd to his Chinese Name as well as others?

(f) It was on this Occasion, that several Children were baptized by PP. Braglio and Magalhães. [P. Couplet relates what is more to the Purpose; That this Monster having sacrificed to the Devil, (a very Christian Expression) twenty thousand Humans, on account of one of that Order (who had formerly rais'd a

great Persecution against the Christian Converts) he boasted of it before those Fathers, saying: "These Men would have taken away your Lives, but the Lord of Heaven sent me to punish them." He seems, by taking his Commission for his Villanies and Murders from God, to have been originally a Jew: for there are Jews in China, as well as in other Countries. P. Couplet adds, "That he often praised the Law of Christ, promising, when he came to the Empire, to build a magnificent Temple to God (1). This I fancy should have been the Constantine of China, as having so near a Resemblance for Piety and Humanity to the Constantine of Rome. See more of this Monster Vol. II. p. 13.]

(1) P. Couplet. *Manarch. Sinic. Tabl. Chron.* p. 96



Then entering *Shen-fi*, as he was preparing to engage the *Tartars*, who were not far off, he was told that five Warriors were seen upon the Hills; upon which he went, immediately to view them, without putting on either his Helmet or Cuirass, but was scarce got in sight of them, before he was shot thro' the Heart with an Arrow. His Army dispersing after his Death, the People received the *Tartars* as their Deliverers, and joyfully submitted to their Government.

By this Time eleven Provinces being reduced under the Dominion of the *Tartar* Monarch, there remained only five in the South in the Possession of the *Chinese* Emperor; to subdue which three different Armies were sent by the Court. Accordingly Siege was laid to the Capital of *Yang-tong*, which lasted a whole Year, with great Losses on both sides; but at length it was taken, and the Soldiers were allow'd to plunder it for ten Days. They march'd afterwards to *Shau-king* where *Tong-lye* kept his Court; but this Prince not having Forces sufficient to resist the Conqueror, retired first to the Province of *Yang-shi*, and afterwards into that of *Yun-nan*.

The next Year, which was the twenty eighth of the Cycle, dy'd *A-ma-van*, Uncle and Guardian to *Shun-chi*. His Death was the more regretted, as he had gain'd the Esteem of the *Chinese* by his great Qualities and sweet Disposition; in short, it is properly he who fix'd the *Tartar* Family now reigning on the Throne. His Brother, who had a small Sovereignty, claim'd a right of succeeding in the Guardianship of the young Emperor; but all the Grandees oppos'd it, because being now fourteen Years old, and marry'd to a Daughter of the Prince of the Western *Tartars*, they thought him capable of governing alone: they went so far as to hang up the Ensigns of their respective Dignities at the Gates of their Palaces, saying, *That they would receive them from the Hands of Shun-chi only*. It was then agreed that this Prince should assume the Government, which he did in a manner that soon gain'd him the Hearts of the People; instead of shutting himself up in his Palace, as the *Chinese* Emperors used to do, *Shun-chi* began his Reign by shewing himself in public, and giving free Access to his Person. He made no Alteration either in the Laws or Government of *China*, not even suffering the *Chinese* to learn the *Tartarian* Language, without a particular Licence. He preserv'd the six Supreme Tribunals, but would admit them no where, except at *Pe-king*, so that those of *Nan-king* were suppress'd; he also order'd that there should be a *Tartar* President besides the *Chinese*.

He continu'd to bestow the Government of Cities and Provinces only on the *Literati*; and, as the Safety or Ruin of the Empire depends on the Choice of proper Persons to fill such important Posts, having been inform'd that some *Literati* had bought the Suffrages of their Examiners, he condemn'd thirty six of the latter to be beheaded, and order'd the *Literati* to undergo a fresh Examination; pardoning those whose Qualifications intitled them to their Degrees, but banish'd the rest with their Families into *Tartary*, which is at present the common Place of Exile for Offenders; and the Design in peopling these vast Deserts is, that the Children who are born here might more easily contract the Disposition and Manners of the *Tartars*.

This Prince had a singular Affection for *P. Adam Sebaal*, and always call'd him *Ma-fa*, which is a Term of Respect that signifies, *My Father*; he made him President of the Tribunal of the Mathematics, that he might reform the *Chinese* Astronomy, and expell'd the *Mohammedans*, who had been in Possession of it for three Centuries. He also permitted him to present his Petitions into his own Hands, without their passing thro' the Tribunals, according to Custom; which remarkable Favour contributed much to the Advancement of Religion, and soon after two fine Churches were built at *Pe-king* by the Authority and Protection of the Emperor.

The thirty third Year of the Cycle the first Embassy from the *Czar* of *Russia* (A) arriv'd at *Pe-king*, but it was not favourably received, because the Ambassador refused to submit to the *Chinese* Ceremonies; nor was that which came from the *Dutch* more successful.

The thirty sixth Year of the Cycle *Ching-ching-kong*, who till then contented himself with making Incursions, and plundering the Coast of *China*, came and laid Siege to *Nan-king* with three thousand Ships. A *Chinese*, who was a young Man, being Vice-Roy of the City and Province, a Council of War was held, and the *Tartar* Chief declar'd, "That considering the multitude of Inhabitants, the City could not be defended, unless they were all destroy'd." This Proposal was received with Horror by the Vice-Roy, "You must begin this Butchery with me," (said he) if it be really so that the City cannot otherwise be preserv'd. This Answer stop'd the *Tartar's* Mouth, and saved the Lives of the Citizens.

On the twentieth Day of the Siege there was a great rejoicing in the Besiegers Camp, on Account of the Birth-Day of their General, and the Festival held three whole Days, which were spent in feasting and all manner of Diversions; when the Besieged took this Opportunity to sally out at Midnight with great Silence, and finding their Enemies overcome with Sleep and Wine, attack'd them and destroy'd near three thousand, forcing the rest to fly in haste to their Ships, and abandon their Camp, Baggage, and Provisions to the Conqueror.

*Ching-ching-kong* seeking to repair this Loss as soon as possible, fail'd to engage the *Tartar* Fleet, and coming up with it, after an obstinate Fight, sunk, and took several of their Ships; and having put the rest to Flight, cut off the Noses and Ears of his Prisoners, which amounted to four thousand, and then set them on Shore. As the *Tartar* Soldiers could not bear the Sight of this dismal Spectacle, and their hideous Countenances were a constant Mark of their Defeat, they were all put to Death by the Emperor's Order; as being culpable either for not conquering, or for not dying gloriously in Defence of their Country.

(A) He is call'd in the Text, *The Great Duke of Moscow*, according to the Custom in the last Century.

DYN. XXII.

T S I N G.

Cyc. LXVII.

Year of

Christ 1624.

The Chinese

Emperor flies

to Yun-nan.

A-ma-van

the Guardian

dies.

and Shun-chi

assumes the

Government.

He makes

no Change

in the Laws.

punishes Cor-

ruption.

Sets P Sebaal

over the Ma-

thematical

Tribunal.

Embassies

from Russia

and Holland.

Ching-ching-

kong besieges

Nan-king.

Noble Spirit

of the Vice-

Roy.

The Siege

raised.

Cruel Action

of Ching-

ching-kong.



DVN. XXI. After this Victory, *Ching-ching-kong* begun to think of a Place of Retreat, and pitch'd upon  
 T S I N G. the Island of *Formosa*, which was possess'd by the *Dutch*; he besieg'd it both by Sea and Land,  
 Cyc. LXVII. and after four Months Resistance, the Besieged were oblig'd to surrender for want of Provisions.  
 Year of Here he establish'd his new Dominion, but did not enjoy it long, for the following Year he dy'd,  
 Christ 1624. and left it to his Son. There now only remain'd *Tong-lye*, who, tho' driven out of *China*, and  
 fled for Refuge to the Kingdom of *Pegu*, which borders on the Province of *Tun-nan*, still kept  
 the Title of Emperor, and consequently might be able to give some Disturbance; therefore the  
 Chinese Em- Court sent some Troops with threatening Letters to the King of *Pegu*, which enjoin'd him to de-  
 peror flies to liver up the fugitive Prince. Accordingly he was immediately surrender'd with his whole Family  
 to the *Tartars*, who carry'd him to the Capital, where he was strangled; the two Queens, his  
 Mother and Consort, were sent to *Pe-king*, and had each a separate Palace, where they  
 were honourably treated, and always persevered in the Faith which they had embraced.

is delivered  
 up and  
 strangled.

*Shun-chi's*  
 Passion for  
 the Wife of a  
 Tartar Lord.

The same Year, being the thirty eighth of the Cycle, proved fatal to the Emperor, occasioned  
 by his violent Love for the Wife of a young *Tartar* Lord, whom he had seen with the  
 Empress. This Lady having informed her Husband of the Prince's Solicitations, he gave her In-  
 structions how to behave, which she disclosed to her Lover, either thro' Simplicity or Design.  
*Shun-chi*, who was entirely governed by his Passion, sent for this Lord, and under Pretence of some  
 Neglect in the Business of his Post, gave him a Box on the Ear; which Affront the *Tartar* took  
 so much to Heart, that he died of Grief the third Day after.

is inconsola-  
 ble for her  
 Loss.

The Emperor immediately marrying the Widow, made her Queen, and had a Son by her,  
 whose Birth was celebrated with great Magnificence; but this Child dyed in three Months, and  
 his Mother followed him soon after to the Grave. The Emperor was inconsolable for this Loss,  
 (w) and signified by his Will, that thirty Men should kill themselves [voluntarily] to appease her  
 Manes; which Ceremony the *Chinese* look upon with Horror, and was abolished by the Care  
 of his Successor.

Grows fond  
 of the Super-  
 stitions of the  
 Bonzas.

He ordered the Grandees of the Court and Ministers of the Empire to go in Mourning for  
 a Month, and the People for three Days, as if she had been Empress. After the Body was burnt  
 on a Funeral Pile, he gathered up the Ashes himself, and with Tears in his Eyes inclosed  
 them in a Silver Urn. He then devoted himself wholly to the *Bonzas*, and the Worship of their  
 Images, which before he had treated with Contempt; in short, in a few Days this unhappy  
 Prince was reduced to the last Extremity, and his Life despaired of. *P. Adam* (x) had often  
 made him strong Remonstrances upon his Conduct, which the Prince look'd upon as the Effect  
 of his Love, but were unavailing; however seeing him in this melancholy Condition, he re-  
 solved to make a last Effort. The Prince receiv'd him kindly, heard what he had to say, forbid-  
 ding him to kneel, made him drink Tea, and dismissed him.

His Death.

After the Jesuit was gone, he ordered four Lords of the Court to draw near, and in their Pre-  
 sence reproached himself for his Neglects in the Government of his Dominions; for his Ingrati-  
 tude to those who had served him faithfully; for despising the Counsel of his Mother; for his  
 Avarice, and idle Expences in vain Curiosities; for his Affection to the Eunuchs; his inordinate  
 Passion for the deceased Queen, and the Affliction he had occasion'd to his People. After this he  
 declared them Guardians of his youngest Son *Kang-bi*, who was but eight Years old. Then call-  
 ing for the Imperial Mantle, he put it on, and shrinking himself up in the Bed, said, *Now I*  
*leave you*: and expired the same Instant, about Midnight, aged twenty four Years.

*Bonzas* driven  
 from the Pa-  
 lace.

The next Morning all the *Bonzas* were driven out of the Palace, and the Body of the Em-  
 peror was inclosed in a magnificent Coffin: The Day after *Kang-bi* ascended the Throne, and  
 received the Homage of all the Grandees of the Empire.

## KANG-HI, Second Emperor, reign'd Sixty Years.

KANG-HI,  
 2d Emperor.

HAVING in the Course of this Work, spoken at large of the great Qualities and Merit of  
 this Emperor, whose Name is respected throughout the East, and justly regarded by all  
*Europe*; nothing remains in this Place but to relate the principal Events of his Reign in Chro-  
 nological Order. The Empire was pretty free from Disturbances under the Administration  
 of the four Guardians; the first Use they made of their Authority was in beheading the Chief  
 of the Eunuchs, who had been the Author of many Misfortunes, and driving from the Palace four  
 thousand others, retaining only a thousand to be employed in the meanest Offices. Afterward  
 an Edict was published, commanding all those who inhabited the Coast of the six Provinces,  
 on pain of Death, to leave their Dwellings, and to settle themselves three Leagues from the Sea.  
 In pursuance of which they demolished all their Cities, Forts, and Maritime Towns; and all  
 Commerce by Sea was absolutely prohibited.

Eunuchs dri-  
 ven from the  
 Palace.

By this Means, indeed, the Power of a formidable Enemy (y) who had made himself Master  
 of the Sea, was weakned, but then an infinite Number of Families, who lived by Fishing, were  
 reduced to Want. A great many Idol Temples and Churches were also destroyed; and the City  
 of

(1) *P. Coupl.* [w] Upon the first News of their Death, he snatched up a  
*Monarch Sin.* Sword and would have killed himself, if he had not been pre-  
*Tab. Chron.* vented by the Queen Mother and Eunuchs. (1)  
 p. 100. (x) That is, *Adam Scheval*, or *Scaliger*, President of the Tri-

bunal of the Mathematics before mentioned.

(y) This was *Ching-Ching-kong*, or his Son mentioned before,  
 p. 229, of whom the History has been already given, p. 91, &  
 seq.



of *Ma-kau* would have shared the same Fate, had it not been for the earnest Solicitations of *P. Adam* [*Schaal*] who employed all his Credit to exempt it from the general Law.

In the Year forty *Yang-quang-fyen*, one of the *Literati*, presented a Petition to the Regents, full of the most horrid Calumnies against [our] Religion and the Missionaries; of whom *P. Adam* being look'd upon as the Chief, he and three of his Companions were loaded with nine Chains, and dragg'd before several Tribunals, where they underwent very long and mortifying Interrogatories. Their Books of Devotion, their Beads, their Medals, &c. were look'd upon as secret Marks, by which the Conspirators might know one another, and these Symbols of Christian Piety were ordered to be burnt: However it was forbidden to persecute the Christians, or to profane their Churches and their Images. The following Year *P. Adam* was condemned to be strangled; but this Sentence was afterwards revoked, and they condemned him to be cut while living into ten thousand Pieces, which is the Punishment for the most atrocious Crimes. This Sentence was carried to the Princes of the Blood, and to the Regents, to be confirm'd by them; but as often as they attempted to read it, a dreadful Earthquake dispersed the Assembly. The Consternation was so great, that they granted a general Pardon, and all the Prisoners were released except *P. Adam*; who was not set at Liberty till a Month afterwards, when the Royal Palace was consumed by the Flames. All the Missionaries except four remained at Court, were banished to *Kan-ton*, among whom were three *Dominican* Fryars, one *Franciscan*, and twenty one *Jesuits*.

The 15th of *August*, in the same Year, *Adam Schaal* died at the Age of seventy years, forty seven of which he spent in the Labours of an Apostolical Life. The Emperor afterwards declared him innocent, and honoured him with an Elogium, and several Titles [which he formerly enjoy'd.]

The forty third Year of the Cycle happened the Death of *So-ni*, the Chief of the four Regents; when the young Emperor, taking the Government into his own Hands, soon raised Hopes of that glorious Reputation which he acquired in the Sequel of a Reign, the most flourishing that ever was.

*Su-ka-ma*, who had the greatest Credit of the four Regents, and who was the more dangerous as he was a more secret Enemy of Christianity, had twenty Articles of Accusation brought against him. His Effects were confiscated, he was loaded with Irons, and condemned to the most torturing Death; but the Emperor mitigated the Rigour of his Sentence, and he was only strangled; seven of his Children or Grand-children were beheaded, and his third Son was cut into many Pieces. In the forty fifth Year of the Cycle, an Ambassador from the King of *Portugal* came to Court, who was received with Honour, and contributed not a little to establish his Nation in the Possession of the City of *Ma-kau*.

The Year following *P. Ferdinand Verbiest* was ordered by the Emperor to examine, and set down in Writing, all the Faults of the *Chinese* Kalendar made by *Yang-quang-fyen*; who had succeeded in *P. Adam* [*Schaal's*] Place, and had set the *Grandeess*, the *Bonzas* and *Mohammedans*, against the Christian Religion. The Faults being very many and enormous, *Yang-quang-fyen* was deprived of his Office, degraded of his Honours, and even condemned to Death: However, the Emperor was content to banish him into his own Country, but before he could reach it he died of a pestilential Ulcer (D).

*Pere Verbiest* was then made President of the Tribunal of the Mathematics, being in great Esteem with the Emperor, to whom he taught those Sciences for five Months. He took this Opportunity to present a Petition to that Monarch, wherein he detected the Calumnies that had been raised against the Christian Law, and the Injustice which had been done, under Colour of his Authority, to the Preachers thereof. Seven Days were spent in examining this Petition, in a general Assembly of the *Mandarins*, after which it was declared, That the Christian Law taught nothing that was evil, or tending to Sedition; and the banished Missionaries were recalled by an Imperial Decree, forbidding them however to build any more Churches, and the *Chinese* to embrace their Religion.

In the fiftieth Year of the Cycle, *U-san-gbey*, who had introduced the *Tartars* into the Empire to destroy the Rebels, began to think of delivering his Country from their Yoke. The Emperor invited him to Court; but his Answer to the Deputies was, "That he would not go thither, unless in the Company of eighty thousand Men", and presently after made known his Design.

He had already made himself Master of the Provinces of *Yun-nan*, *Se-chuen*, *Quey-chew*, and part of *Hu-quang*; and, which is a Mark of the Imperial Authority, had sent the *Chinese* Kalendar to the Princes his Neighbours, and among the rest to the King of *Tong-king*. But they all refused to receive it, and sent it back to the Emperor, who caused the eldest Son of *U-san-gbey*, then at Court, to be beheaded. Soon after the Kings of *Fo-kyen* and *Quang-tong* revolted, and were joined by the Prince of *Formosa*; so that the *Tartars* would have had no Chance for it, if all these Princes had acted in concert, in behalf of the common Liberty; but they were divided by Jealousies. The Prince of *Formosa* thinking himself not treated with due Honour by the King of *Fo-kyen*, declared War against him, defeated him in several Battles, and forced him to submit to the *Tartars*. The King of *Quang-tong*, for a like Reason of Discontent, broke the Treaty which he had made with

DYN. XIX.

T S I N G.

Ct. LXVII.

Year of

Christ 1624.

The *Christians* persecuted.*P. Schaal* condemn'd to Death.

is pardoned, and the Missionaries banished.

Emperor assumes the Government.

Chief of the Regents put to Death.

*P. Verbiest* reforms the *Chinese* Kalendar.

Made President of the Mathematical Court.

The Missionaries recalled.

*U-san-gbey* takes up Arms against the *Tartars*.

Other Kings revolt but soon fall out.

(D) The Author doubtless would have it imagined that these Misfortunes or Punishments, were Judgments which befel *Su-*

*ka-ma* and *Yang-quang-fyen*; as he expressly intimates elsewhere, imputing them as the Work of God. See Vol. II. p. 16.



DYN. XXII.  
T S I N G.  
Circ. LXVII.  
Year of  
Christ 1624.  
Hong-cha  
proclaim'd  
Emperor.  
Dreadful  
Earthquake.  
Palace burnt.

with *U-san-ghey*, and put his Province into the Hands of the Emperor; who sent several Armies, commanded by *Tartarian* Princes, into the Provinces of *Hu-quang*, *Che-kyang*, *Po-kyen*, *Qyang-tong*, and *Qyang-si*, to reduce the rest that refused to acknowledge his Authority. However *U-san-ghey* dy'd in the fifty sixth Year of the Cycle, being very aged, and his youngest Son *Hong-cha* was proclaim'd Emperor.

The second of September, in the same Year, a dreadful Earthquake happen'd at *Pe-king*, whereby a great many Palaces and Temples, with the Towers and Walls of the City, were overthrown, which bury'd upwards of four hundred Persons under the Ruins. More than thirty thousand perish'd in the neighbouring City of *Tong-chew*, and as the Shocks were perceived from time to time for three Months, the Emperor, the Princes, and the Nobility quitted their Palaces, and dwelt in Tents; on this Occasion the Emperor was exceeding liberal in relieving his Subjects. In the last Month of the same Year the Imperial Palace was all in Flames, and in a few Hours was reduced to Ashes; it is said that the Loss amounted to 2,850,000 *Taels*.

Four Days after this Fire the Emperor set out to take the Diversion of Hunting at his Pleasure-House; and perceiving at a Distance the magnificent Monument which his Father had erected for the last *Chinese* Emperor, he went to it, and having prostrated himself to the Ground, and burnt Perfumes: "You know, O great Emperor, (said he, shedding Tears) that it was not we, but your rebellious Subjects, who were the Cause of your Death."

Altho' the King of the Province of *Qyang-tong* had submitted to the *Tartars*, yet his Conduct was not the less suspected at Court; because he had an enterprising Spirit, and was very powerful by the Trade, which, notwithstanding the Emperor's Prohibition, he continued to carry on by Sea with the *Spaniards* and *Dutch*. The fifty seventh Year of the Cycle he received Orders to march against the Rebels of the Province of *Qyang-si* with his Army; which being divided into several Bodies, as Occasion required, he was artfully prevailed on to return to his Palace: where a few Days after two Lords of the Court arrived, who, on the ninth of October, early in the Morning, presented him with a silken Halter, and the Emperor's Order to strangle himself. One hundred and twelve of his Accomplices, among whom were three of his Brothers, were beheaded; and his great Riches divided amongst his other Brothers, whereof one was the Emperor's Son-in-Law. (\*) The Year following the King of *Po-kyen*, who in the Time of his Revolt had mal-treated the *Mandarins*, who were faithful to the Emperor, was put to Death, and his Body cast to the Dogs; his Brothers too, tho' innocent, were beheaded.

Mean time the *Tartars* having taken the Capital of *Yun-nan*, *Hong-cha*, who had been declared Emperor, prevented the Punishment design'd for him, by killing himself. The Bones of his Father *U-san-ghey* were dug up, and carry'd to *Pe-king*; where some of them were expos'd with Marks of Infamy on Stakes, in several Places, the rest reduced to Ashes, and scatter'd in the Wind. †

The fifty ninth Year, the Emperor, having happily subdued the fifteen Provinces of *China*, and establish'd Peace throughout the Empire, determined to visit his own Country, and the Tombs of his Ancestors; accordingly he set out for *Eastern Tartary*, the third of *March*, accompanied by the Prince his Heir, his three Queens, the great Lords and principal *Mandarins*, with an Army of about seventy thousand Men: He likewise ordered *Pere Verbiest* to attend him, and to be always near his Person during the Journey. In the sixtieth Year, which was the last of the Cycle, he made a second Progress into *Western Tartary*, with a greater Retinue, and a more numerous Army. He continued to make these Journeys every Year into that Country (‡), where he spent several Months in the Exercise of Hunting. The third Year of the new Cycle, *Ching-ke-sai*, the Grandson of the famous Pirate, who had taken the Island of *Formosa* from the *Dutch*, was obliged to surrender it to the Emperor, and repair to *Pe-king*, where the Title of Count was conferr'd on him. (§)

The fifth Year the PP. *Gerbillon* and *Pereyra* had Orders from the Emperor, to accompany the *Chinese* Plenipotentiaries into *Tartary*, who went to settle with those of *Russia* the Limits of the two Empires.

*China* enjoy'd a profound Peace, which was owing to the Wisdom and superior Abilities of the Emperor. The indefatigable Application of this Prince to all the Affairs of State; his Equity and Penetration in the Choice of proper Persons to fill the principal Places of Trust; his Frugality and Aversion to Luxury with respect to his own Person, joined to his Profuseness and Magnificence with reference to the Public; his Tenderness for his People, and Forwardness to relieve them; his Steadiness in maintaining the Laws in their full Vigour; his continual Watchfulness over the Conduct of his Vice-Roys and Governors; and the absolute Dominion which he had over himself; all these put together kept up a perfect Subordination among the Members of this vast Empire, without which there commonly is nothing but Trouble and Confusion.

Tho' this Prince was so much taken up with Affairs of Government, yet he found Leisure to apply himself to the Sciences, for which he had a particular Taste and Genius. He was not contented with the *Chinese Literature*, in which he was very well vers'd; but was desirous of being

(\*) Towards the End of this Year the *Austin Friars* landing safely at *Ma-kau*, from the *Philippine Isles*, entered *China*.

(†) The fourth Year of the Cycle, Febr. 7, five new *Missionaries*, who were all French *Jesuits*, arriv'd at *Pe-king*, having left *Brest* in *March* 1685. See Vol. II. p. 17, 18.

(‡) His View in these Visits was, to keep his Troops in Exercise, to harden them with Fatigue, and prevent their growing

effeminate by the Delicacies of *China*; as well as, by displaying the Magnificence of his Court, and the Valour of his Power, to make his Authority on the one Hand formidable to the *Tartar* Princes his Subjects, and on the other, by his personal Affability and Beneficence, to make it amiable.

(§) [The thirtieth Year of the Cycle, 1710, *St. Lord*, the Cardinal de Tournon, Apostolical Legate, dy'd at *Ma-kau*.]

He studies the  
Sciences.

Great Cha-  
racter of the  
Emperor.

*Formosa* sur-  
rendered.

Emperor's  
Journeys into  
*Tartary*.

All *China* re-  
duced by the  
*Mandchus*.

*Hong-cha*  
kills himself.

The Kings  
of *Qyang-  
tong* and *Po-  
kyen* put to  
Death.



being instructed in the *European Sciences*, viz. *Geometry, Algebra, Natural Philosophy, Astronomy, Physic and Anatomy*. The *Peres Gerbillon, Bouvet, and Thomas*, for several Years composed their Lectures in the *Tartarian Language*, and explained them to him twice a Day, either at *Pe-king*, or his *Pleasure-House*. It was his Will also that *Pere Gerbillon* should attend on him in all his Journey into *Tartary*.

As the *Christian Religion* was only tolerated in *China*, it was not secure against *Persecution* in the *Provinces*. In that of *Che-kyang* there arose a very cruel one; whereupon the *Jesuits* presented a *Petition* to the *Emperor*, and after great *Opposition* from the *Tribunals*, they at length, by the *Protection* of the *Prince So-fan*, a *Relation* of the *Emperor*, obtained a *Decree* which spoke in *Commendation* of it, and permitted its free *Exercise* throughout the *Empire*. This *Decree*, was obtained in the ninth Year of the Cycle, of *Christ 1692*, and in the thirty-first of the *Reign* of *Kang-hi*, who confirmed it the twenty second of *March*, and caused it to be published soon after in all the *Provinces*.

The twenty-sixth Year of the Cycle was remarkable for a very uncommon Event; the *Emperor's* second Son, who was appointed his *Heir*, and almost his *Equal* in *Dignity*, was all of a sudden deposed, and loaded with *Irons*, his *Children* and principal *Officers* being involved in his *Disgrace*. Likewise an *Astrologer*, who had predicted, that if this *Prince* was not *Emperor* in such a Year he never would, was condemn'd to be cut in a thousand *Pieces*. The public *Gazettes* were filled with *Invectives* against the *Prince*, whose *Actions* were canvas'd from his very *Infancy*.

Soon after it appeared that he was innocent, and that his eldest *Brother*, to render his *Loyalty* suspected, had recourse to *Magick*, and divers *Delusions*, by the *Assistance* of certain *Lama's*, who were skill'd in *Sorcery*. These *Lama's* were put to *Death*, the eldest Son condemn'd to perpetual *Imprisonment*, and the *Prince* his *Brother* re-established in the *Quality* of *Heir*. Publick *Rejoicings* were made on this *Occasion*, and a *Comedy* was acted for some time, taken from a *Passage* in ancient *History*, that alluded to this *Event*. But this *Restoration* was not lasting, for afterwards he was deprived of the *Title* and *Privileges* of his *Rank*, for real *Conspiracies* against his *Father*.

The thirty-seventh (A) Year of the Cycle, 1717, a *Tsong-ping*, or *Mandarin* of *War*, whose Name was *Cbin-mau*, presented a *Petition* to the *Emperor*, full of *Invectives* and *Calumnies* against the *Christian Religion*, and the *Preachers* thereof; under the specious Pretence of *Watchfulness* over the publick *Tranquillity*, which, he said, was ready to be disturbed at *Home* by the *Missionaries* and their *Disciples*, and from *Abroad* by the *Europeans*, who trade to *China*. They were astonished when they found that this *Petition* was sent to the *Tribunals* to be examined, and that the *Emperor* confirmed their *Sentence*, which revived two *Decrees*: one of the eighth Year of *Kang-hi*, which prohibits the building of *Churches* and embracing the *Christian Religion*; the other of the forty fifth Year, obliging every *European* to receive an *Imperial Patent*, wherein shall be mentioned his *Country*, the *Religious Order* he is of, the *Time* he has been in *China*, and the *Promise* to be made by him never to return to *Europe* any more.

Father *Parrenin*, with two other *Missionaries*, went and threw themselves at the *Emperor's* Feet; but he could get no other Answer, than that none were prohibited to preach their *Law*, but those who had not received the *Patents*.

The Year following the *Emperor's* Mother dy'd, on the eleventh of *January*, and the whole *Empire* went into deep *Mourning* for upwards of forty Days. The *Mandarins*, and even the *Sons* of the *Emperor*, went to sleep in the *Palace* without putting off their *Cloaths*: All the *Mandarins* on *Horseback*, with white *Garments* and a small *Train*, went for three Days together to perform the usual *Ceremonies* before the *Tablet* of the deceased *Empress*. The *Tribunals* were shut up during the *Mourning*, and red *Silk* was prohibited, so that none wore either it or any other *Ornament* in their *Caps*. The same Year the *Emperor* was attacked with a *Distemper*, which gave a general *Alarm*; especially because his *Design* was to set aside his own *Children*, and choose for his *Successor* a *Prince* of the *Dynasty* of the *Yuen*, of whom there still remained more than a thousand. On this *Occasion* one of the chief *Mandarins* caused his *Son* to present a *Memorial*, wherein he respectfully shewed, of how great *Importance* it was to the *Repose* of the *Empire* to appoint his second Son the inheriting *Prince*. The *Emperor*, incensed at this *Remonstrance*, pardon'd him who presented it, because it was done in *Obedience* to his *Father*, but gave *Orders* that the *Father* should be put to *death*. This *Example* of *Severity* stoppt the *Mouths* of all the *Grandeess*, who durst not speak of a *Successor* any more.

The fortieth Year of the Cycle, 1720, the *Court* received the agreeable *News* of a compleat *Victory* gain'd by the *Chinese Troops* over *Tse-vang Raptan*, *King* of the *Elutbs*, who possessed the *Country* of the *Lama's*, and ravaged it for four Years together; by which Means *Tiber* fell into the *Hands* of the victorious *Army*. Though this *Conquest* was far enough from the *Confines* of *China*, yet it was of great *Consequence*, because the *Emperor* had the finishing of this *War* much at *Heart*, and all the *Grandeess* congratulated him upon it.

The seventh of *June* the same Year, an *Earthquake* happened at *Pe-king* at nine in the *Morning*, which lasted two *Minutes*. The *Shock* began again the next Day at half an *Hour* after *seven* in the *Evening*, and continued about six *Minutes*, nothing being heard in the *City* but confused *Cries* and *Shrieks*; at length it ceased for the present, tho' ten *Shocks* more were felt in the *Night*, but not so violent as the former. At break of Day the *Calamity* did not appear so

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N n n

great

(A) It should be the 34th Year of the Cycle, supposing the Year of *Christ* to be right: so the Year 1720, answers to the 37th Year of the Cycle.

DYN. XXII.  
TS I N G.  
CY. LXVIII.  
Year of  
Christ 1684.

Persecution  
in Che-kyang.

Papery toler-  
ated in Chi-  
na.

Emperor de-  
poses his  
Heir.

Who is re-  
stored to his  
Dignity.

and deprived  
of it again.

A Decree to  
prevent the  
Growth of  
Papery.

Great  
Mourning  
for the Em-  
peror's Mo-  
ther.

He designs  
to choose a  
Successor out  
of another  
Family.

Tibet, con-  
quered.

Earthquake  
at Pe-king.



DYN. XXII  
Y S I N G.  
Cr. LXVIII  
Year of  
Christ 1634.

Ambassador  
from Russia,  
Legate from  
the Pope.

Rebellion in  
Formosa.

death of  
Kang-hi;

Yong-Ching,  
3d Emperor;

displeased  
with some of  
his Brothers.

Disaffects the  
Missionaries.

The Manda-  
rian petition  
against them.

great as was apprehended, there being but a thousand Persons crush'd to death in *Pe-king*. For as the Streets are generally broad, they could place themselves out of the Reach of the falling Houses; for twenty Days after some slight Shocks were perceived from time to time.

The twenty second of November, a Russian Ambassador made his public Entry into *Pe-king*, with much Pomp and Magnificence; having almost a hundred Persons in his Retinue, most of them richly dress'd after the European Fashion. The Gentlemen, who rode on each Side the Ambassador, had drawn Swords in their Hands, which was a Sight both new and extraordinary. My Lord Mezzabarba, the new Legate from his Holiness, who came from *Lisbon* in a Portuguese Ship, arrived at *Pe-king*, and was received by the Emperor with Distinction. After several Audiences he took his Leave, in order to return to *Europe*, to give the Pope an Account of what the Emperor had said to him, promising to return to *China* as soon as possible. He was conducted to *Kan-ton*, where he stayed but four or five Days, and from thence to *Ma-kau*, with all the Honour due to his Person and Dignity.

The Year following, the Island of *Formosa* in a few Months threw off the Emperor's Yoke, but was soon obliged to return to its Obedience. The Chinese Inhabitants, assisted by those of *Fo-kyen* and *Kew-mi*, had killed all the Mandarins, except one who escaped, and put all the Imperial Troops to the Sword. When the News was spread at *Pe-king*, the Revolt was imputed to the Dutch, (who had certainly no Hand in it) doubtless on Account of that Aversion which the Chinese have to all Strangers, and with design to render the Europeans odious. But there were great Rejoycings soon after, when they came to know, that the Imperial Troops, lately sent thither, having entered the Capital, had cut in Pieces one Party of the Rebels, excepting their Chief, who fled into the Mountains, and that the rest were intirely dispersed.

The forty second Year of the Cycle, 1722 (A), in December, the Emperor, diverting himself with hunting the Tyger in his Park of *Hay-tse*, was seized with a Chilnells, and immediately gave Orders to those that were with him to return to his Pleasure-House. This sudden Return surprised his whole Attendance, who soon were acquainted with the Cause, his Blood being coagulated, so that no Remedy could do him any Service. Perceiving himself near his End, he assembled all the Grandees, and declared his fourth Son his Successor. He expired the twentieth of December, about eight in the Evening, aged sixty nine Years, and the same Night his Body was conveyed to *Pe-king*.

### YONG-CHING, Third Emperor, now reigning.

THE Day after the Death of *Kang-hi*, the new Emperor ascended the Throne, about five in the Morning, in the forty fifth Year of his Age, assuming the Name of *Yong-Ching*, which signifies lasting Peace (B); and was acknowledged by all the Princes, the Grandees, and the Mandarins belonging to the Tribunals. As soon as he came to the Crown he shew'd some Disatisfaction against some of his Brothers, especially the ninth, condemning him to refund large Sums, which he pretended were unlawfully acquir'd in his Father's Reign, and banished him into *Tartary*, where he died soon after his Arrival of the Flux, as the *Gazettes* gave out. He afterwards recalled to *Pe-king*, his fourteenth Brother, who commanded the Chinese Army; his eighth and tenth fell likewise under his Displeasure; nor had any of them his entire Confidence, except the thirteenth, to whom he communicated all the Affairs of State. At the same Time he imprisoned or banished several Princes and Lords; many of whom protected the Missionaries, and, by so doing, favoured Christianity. Whether this Prince hath not the same Taste for the Sciences as his Father, or that he seeks Occasion to dismiss the Missionaries, they have as yet received but few Marks of his Benevolence, contenting himself with letting them live in quiet. One Italian Jesuit only, an excellent Painter, is employed in the Palace. If he has given a new Title of Honour to Father *Kegler*, President of the Tribunal of the Mathematics, it was not from any favourable Inclinations to our Religion; but only with a View that he might appear with Decency in his Presence, especially on certain Days of Ceremony. In his Application to Affairs of State he is indefatigable and assiduous, steady and resolute; always ready to receive Memorials, and to answer them. He governs intirely by himself, insomuch that there never was a Monarch more absolute, or more to be dreaded.

He was prejudic'd against the Europeans from the first Year of his Reign, by means of several Petitions presented to him by the *Literati*, remonstrating; That these Foreigners had deceived the late Emperor, who had lost much Reputation, in condescending to let them settle in the Provinces; that they had built Churches where ever they came, and that their Law made a very swift Progress; that the Chinese Christians acknowledged no other Doctors, and that in troublesome Times they followed none but their Directions, &c.

These bad Impressions were strengthened by a public Petition address'd to the Emperor by the *Tsong-tu* of *Fo-kyen*; wherein, after specifying what important Reasons there were for prohibiting Christianity throughout his Dominions, he besought him, both for the Repose of the Empire, and

(A) The Year 1722, was the 39th of the Cycle.

(B) P. de Halde tells us elsewhere what more properly comes in here: that *Kang hi*, a few Hours before his Death, named this Prince his Successor, who took the Name of *Yong-ching*, which signifies firm Peace, or indissoluble Concord. That he is witty and

speaks well, but sometimes too fast, and without giving Time for any Reply; which some think he affects, to prevent hearing any Reasons that might induce him to change his Resolutions when they are once fixt.



and the Good of the People, to order the Strangers to be sent out of the Provinces, either to Court or to *Ma-kau*, and that their Temples might be put to other Uses.

This Petition was referr'd to the Tribunal of Rites to determine what was to be done: whose Sentence was, to keep at Court the *Europeans* that are already there; to bring thither those from the Provinces that might be useful; to send the rest to *Ma-kau*; to convert their Temples to public uses; and strictly to prohibit their Religion. This Sentence of the Tribunal was confirm'd by the Emperor, to which he only added; That the Vice-Roys of the Provinces should allow them a *Mandarin* to conduct them to the Places appointed, and protect them from any Insults. The Missionaries bestir'd themselves heartily by means of their Friends, and especially the Emperor's thirteenth Brother, but to no Purpose; all the Favour they could obtain was, to be convey'd to *Kan-ton* instead of *Ma-kau*, nor were they allow'd to stay there, but on Condition they gave no Cause of Complaint.

By Virtue of this solemn Edi&t, which was publish'd throughout the Empire, the Missionaries were driven from their Churches, and tolerated no where but at *Pe-king*, and *Kan-ton*. Upwards of three hundred Churches were either demolish'd or converted to profane Uses; and more than three hundred thousand *Christians*, depriv'd of their Pastors, saw themselves deliver'd up to the Rage of Infidels. There was then, and still is, every Method employ'd that a prudent Zeal can inspire, to re-animate, as often as possible, the Faith of those several Communities, and keep them stedfast in it.

This Edi&t was scarcely publish'd, when the Emperor let fall the whole weight of his Anger and Indignation upon an illustrious and numerous Family which had embraced the Faith. The Head of this Family is a Prince of the Blood, descended from the eldest Brother of the Founder of the present *Dynasty*; whom, without any regard to his Dignity, his old Age, or his important Services to the State, he banish'd into *Tartary*, together with his Children; being no less than eleven Princes, besides sixteen Princesses, who were marry'd to *Mongol* Princes, or *Mandarins* of *Pe-king*. All these Princes and Princesses, who had each a numerous Family, were degraded from their Rank, and allow'd no other Abode than a desert Place in *Tartary*, where they were closely confin'd, and guarded by Soldiers. This venerable old Man was seen setting out for the Place of his Exile, with his Children and Grand-Children, to the Number of thirty seven, without reckoning the Wives and Daughters, who were near as many; and about three hundred Domesticks of both Sexes, the greater Part of whom were baptized. All these Disgraces not being able to shake their Constancy, the Princes were brought back to *Pe-king* in Waggon, loaded all the Way with nine Chains; there undergoing several Interrogatories, they were promised to be restored to their former Dignities if they would renounce their Faith, but were threatn'd with more dreadful Tortures if they refused. These Methods proving ineffectual, they were condemn'd to die by the Tribunals; But the Emperor changed this Punishment into perpetual Confinement. Accordingly some were shut up in close Prisons, where three dy'd merely thro' Hardships; the rest were dispersed in the Provinces, to end their Days in obscure Dungeons, under a Load of Irons. The Ambassadors of *Portugal* and *Russia*, who were then at the Court of *Pe-king*, were Admirers of the Constancy and Intrepidity of these Illustrious Confessors of *Jesus Christ*.

How little soever this Prince appear'd to favour our Religion, which yet he could not but esteem, we cannot avoid praising his unwearied Application to Business; For he employ'd his Thoughts Night and Day to establish a wise Form of Government, and procure the Happiness of his Subjects. The way to gain his Favour is to present him some Scheme tending to benefit the Public, and comfort the People, upon which he immediately resolves, and puts it in Execution, without sparing any Expence. He hath made several fine Regulations to honour Merit, and reward Virtue, to raise an Emulation among Husbandmen, and to relieve his Subjects in Years of Sterility. These excellent Qualities have in a very short time gain'd him the Respect and Love of all his Subjects.

The fiftieth Year of the Cycle, 1730 (c), the Emperor's thirteenth Brother, who shar'd with him the Burthen of Affairs, dy'd the nineteenth of June, of a languishing Distemper, being worn away merely by his excessive Application. The Emperor was so inconsolable for his Loss, that it even prejudiced his Health. He caus'd extraordinary Honours to be paid to this Prince, which he was pleas'd to account for to the Public by frequent Declarations; wherein he intimated, how desirous he was that all the World should share in his Grief, and assist at his Funeral, without Distinction of Rank; giving leave both to Great and Small to honour the Deceased in their own way, either by Presents or Encomiums. He added nevertheless, that he would constrain no body, and that those who did not think this Prince deserved such Honours were at Liberty not to pay them; yet at the same time he appointed Officers to take Notice of all those who perform'd this Duty, and to give him an account of them daily. His Body was expos'd in the great *Ting*, where none were admitted but the Princes of the Blood. Before the first Gate of the Palace there is a great Court, in the middle of which a Hall was erected, made of Mats, with a Throne in it, for the Deceased was not only a *Regulo* of the first Order, but had also the Title of *Quê-vang* or *King*; and before this Throne stood a small Table, upon which were only two Candlesticks and a Perfuming-Pan. The Entrance into the Hall was by a Folding-Door, which was opened as often as the Officers of the Tribunal came in their turns to pay their Reverence, a set Number entering at a time. At first they stood upright behind the Tables, placed on the side of the Hall; then kneeling down, they made six several Prostrations, giving a deep Groan all together, and so silently withdrew; being succeeded by others, who perform'd the same Ceremonies

DYN. XXII.

T S I N G:

Crc. LXXVIII.

Year of

Ching 1684.

The Missiona-

ries banish'd

and their Re-

ligion prohib-

ited.

Their Churches demol-

ished.

Some Con-

verts of the

Royal Family

severely treated.

Great Char-

acter of the

Emperor.

Extraordi-

nary Honours

paid to one of

his deceased

Brothers.



DYN. XXII.  
T S I N G.  
Cyc. LXVIII.  
Year of  
Christ 1634.

Ceremonies. Some time after the Body was carry'd to a Palace built on purpose, above half a League from the City, where those Rites were repeated; and here the *Mandarins* of the City, with the whole Body of Merchants, and the meaner sort of People went to pay him the last Honours.

One hundred Days after this he was carry'd to another Place, prepared in the same manner, where he lay the same space of Time. In short, there were five several Stations, of an hundred Days each, where the same Ceremonies were observ'd; and then he was convey'd to the Place of his Sepulchre, which the Emperor had caused to be prepar'd, being four Leagues in Circumference. The *Mandarins* of the Provinces either came to perform this Rite themselves, or deputed their Sons in their stead; afterwards they caused Monuments to be rais'd in their respective Districts, which contain the greatest Elogiums on the illustrious Deceased. The Emperor had his Name plac'd in the Hall of Emperors; a very extraordinary Distinction, and which is never conferr'd on private Persons, but when they have render'd the most important Services to the State.

Emperor's  
3d Brother  
imprison'd.

Soon after the Emperor caus'd his third Brother to be arrested, and closely imprison'd; but it is not known what occasion'd his Disgrace, which has even reach'd his Family, who are intirely out of Favour, and degraded from their Rank and Dignities.

Dreadful  
Earthquake.

On the thirteenth of November, the Year following, being 1731, the City of *Pe-king* was almost overturn'd by an Earthquake, the most extraordinary that ever afflicted *China*. The first Shocks, which happen'd a little before eleven in the Morning, were so very sudden and violent, that they were not perceived but by the dreadful Noise made by the falling of the Houses and Buildings. One would have imagin'd that they had been blown up in the Air by a general Mine, and that the Earth had open'd under Foot; for in less than a Minute upwards of a hundred thousand Inhabitants were bury'd in the Ruins, and a still greater number in the Country, where whole Towns were intirely destroy'd.

In singular  
Course.

What is singular in this Earthquake is, that it was not equal throughout the Line of its Course; for in some Places it made great Devastations, and seem'd to skip over others, where the Shocks were but slightly felt. Nothing could resist two Shocks so sudden and contrary to each other; and where the resisting Matter was most solid, there the Effects were most violent. This was follow'd by twenty three other smaller Shocks in less than twenty four Hours.

The Emperor was then at his fine Pleasure-House two Leagues from *Pe-king*, which was instantly reduc'd to such a miserable Condition, that to repair it will require an immense Sum of Money. He was taking the Air in a Bark upon a Canal, which runs thro' his Gardens, when immediately falling prostrate, he lifted his Hands and Eyes towards Heaven. Afterwards he publish'd an Edict, wherein he accus'd himself; attributing this Evil to the Wrath of Heaven for his Offences, and to his want of Care in governing the Empire.

Emperor's  
Liberality.

This Prince appear'd very sensible of the Affliction of his People, and commanded several Officers to make a List of the demolish'd Houses, and to enquire what Damage each Family had sustain'd, advancing several considerable Sums towards their Relief. The Missionaries at *Pe-king* partook of his Liberality; for he admitted them to Audience, where he receiv'd them kindly, and gave them a thousand *Taels* towards repairing their Churches.

The Missio-  
naries expel-  
led to Ma-  
kau.

The fifty second Year of the Cycle, 1732 (A), the Missionaries, who were ten Years before driven from the Provinces, and banish'd to *Kan-ton*, were now forced from *Kan-ton* to *Ma-kau*, (a little City belonging to the *Portuguese*, but where notwithstanding the *Chinese* are Masters) being allow'd but three Days to prepare for their Journey, and to carry away their Goods. The only Reason given for such hard Usage was, that they had disobey'd the Emperor's Order, in preaching the *Christian* Law.

and their  
Followers  
punish'd.

The twentieth of August they embark'd to the number of thirty, under the Convoy of four Gallies and two *Mandarins*. When they came to *Ma-kau*, the *Mandarins* caus'd their Domestics, and the *Christians*, who had follow'd the Missionaries, to land also, and sent them back, loaded with Irons to *Kan-ton*; where, after being dragg'd in an ignominious Manner before several Tribunals, some were cast into Prison, others receiv'd the Bastinado, and others were condemn'd to carry the *Kan-ghe* for a Month or two. They all confess'd openly the Name of *Christ*, and gave public Testimony to the Truth and Holiness of their Religion. (B)

These are the most remarkable Transactions hitherto under this Emperor, who is now in the twelfth Year of his Reign, and governs his vast Dominions with an absolute Authority; so that here I must finish the *Fashi* [or Annals] of this great Monarchy.

(A) The Year 1732 was the 49th of the Cycle.

(B) Since this was written *Yang-ching* dy'd in 1736, and the Missionaries are in hopes of being restor'd; but methinks without any real Grounds. For since they acknowledge they found numbers of *Jews* and *Mohammedans* in *China*, on their first Arrival, but no *Christians*, notwithstanding their being so numerous, as they pretend, in former Ages, and that several Emperors themselves embraced the Faith, how can they hope for better Success now? And indeed it seems almost impossible that the

*Romish* Religion should ever gain firm footing in that Country; considering how very averse the *Mandarins* in general (with the rest of the Followers of *Confucius*) are to it, as looking on it to be the counterpart of the Religion of the *Bamars* or *Lamas*, who, by their Arts to delude and fleece the Peoples by their pretended Revelations and Miracles; by their recommending a Monastic Life to both Sexes; and especially by their praying to Saints, and use of Images in Religion, have been odious to them in all Ages, as appears from the foregoing Annals.





O F T H E

## Antiquity and Extent

O F T H E

## CHINESE MONARCHY.



**C**HINA has this Advantage over all other Nations, that for more than four thousand Years, it has been almost constantly governed by its own Princes; and has continued the same, with regard to the Attire, Morals, Laws, Customs and Manners of the Inhabitants, without deviating in the least from the wise Institutions of its ancient Legislators.

Antiquity of  
the Chinese  
Nation.

As the Inhabitants find within themselves every thing that is necessary for the Conveniences and Pleasures of Life; so judging their native Soil sufficient to supply all their Wants, they have ever affected to carry on no Commerce with the rest of Mankind. This Ignorance of distant Countries led them into the ridiculous Persuasion that they were Masters of the whole World; that they inhabited the greater Part of it; and that all without the Bounds of *China* were Barbarians: Which Aversion to foreign Trade, joined to the Solidity of the People, has not a little contributed to the constant Uniformity found in their Manners.

Unchange-  
able in their  
Manners and  
Customs.

Concerning the Origin of this Empire, there are two Opinions among the learned *Chinese*; for they do not give into the Chimerical Notions of the Vulgar, who, on the Credit of some fabulous Authors, place it in imaginary Ages before the Creation. Their best Historians distinguish their Chronology into the Fabulous, the Doubtful, and the Certain; and being unwilling to admit any thing that is not grounded on Truth, reject the Ages preceding *Wbang-ti*, as uncertain, or not to be reduced to a true Chronological Order; and the Times before *Fo-bi*, as fabulous.

Opinions a-  
bout the O-  
rigin of  
the Empire.

These Authors therefore consider (A) *Fo-bi* as the Founder of their Monarchy, who about two hundred Years after the Deluge, according to the Septuagint, reigned first towards the Confines of *Sben-si*. and in the Province of *Ho-nan*, situate almost in the Heart of the Empire; after which he cleared all that Tract of Land extending from thence to the Eastern Ocean.

*Fo-bi* the  
Founder of  
the Monar-  
chy.

This is the Opinion of almost all the *Literati*: and indeed it is so well supported by a constant Tradition, and the Authority of their most ancient Histories, which could not have been altered by Strangers, that it's generally look'd upon as incontestable. According to these *Yau* was the fifth Emperor, tho' there are other *Chinese* Authors, who carry their Monarchy no higher than his Reign: But should any one presume to place its Commencement lower, he would not only

O o o

be

(A) Among the Chimeras of the Learned, may be placed the Notion some of late have entertained, that *Fo-bi* is the same with *Nuab*; which Conjecture is grounded on some faint, or

rather forced Resemblance between certain Circumstances in the History of each, set forth at large in a Modern Performance. See *Univ. Hist. Vol. I. p. 116.* in the Note.



be laughed at, but severely chastised, if not put to Death; and should the Missionaries betray the least Suspicion of that Kind, it would be sufficient Ground to banish them out of the Empire.

*China Inhabited for certain 2155 Years before Christ.*

It is certain however, that *China* was inhabited above 2155 Years before the Birth of Christ, which is demonstrable from an Eclipse of the Sun that Year; as may be seen in the Astronomical Observations, extracted from the *Chinese* History and other Books in that Language, and published in the Year 1729. (B)

The most ancient Empires of the *Assyrians*, *Medes*, *Persians* and *Greeks*, have been long since destroyed; whereas that of *China*, like its great Rivers, which always flow with the same Majesty, has lost nothing in so many Ages, either of its Beauty or Splendor: For as often as this Monarchy has been disturbed by Civil Wars, the weak or bad Conduct of its Emperors, or by a foreign Yoke, the Evil has been but of short Continuance; the Wisdom of the fundamental Laws, joined to the happy Dispositions of the People, always affording the Means to recover itself.

*Govern'd by Monarchs above 4000 Years.*

Thus for four thousand Years and more, this Imperial Throne has been possessed, without any Interruption, by twenty two Families; in which they reckon two hundred and thirty-four Emperors, who reigned successively till the Invasion of the *Tartar* King, who about eighty-five Years since seized the Crown, and has given *China* three Emperors of his Family, namely, *Shun-chi*, who reigned seventeen Years; *Kang-bi*, who reigned sixty Years; and *Tong-ching*, who ascended the Throne in 1722. [but is since dead.]

*Easy Conquest by the Manchew's, to what owing.*

This Conquest was made with the most surprizing Facility, thro' the Mis-understandings of the *Chinese*, and the various Factions which divided both the Court and the Empire. The greater Part of the Imperial Army was employ'd at that time near the Great Wall, in opposing one of the Kings of the Eastern *Tartars*, called *Manchew's*: who to revenge the Injustice done his Subjects in trading with the *Chinese* Merchants, and the little Regard shewn by the Court to his Complaints, had entred into *Lyau-tong*, at the Head of a formidable Army, and begun a War, which lasted many Years; in the Course of which several Battles were fought, Cities besieged, and Irruptions made into the Empire, with various Success on both Sides.

*Great Success of Li-kong, a Rebel.*

Mean time the Emperor *Tsong-ching*, lived very easy in his Capital, tho' he had but little Reason to be so. For the unjust Punishment, to which he had condemned one of his most considerable Ministers, his excessive Severity, and extreme Covetousness, which would not permit him to lessen the Taxes, even in a time of the greatest Scarcity, having provoked the People to revolt, in the Capital as well as in the Provinces; a *Chinese* of the Province of *Se-chuen*, called *Li-kong-tse*, who was a bold enterprizing Man, put himself at the Head of a great Number of Rebels; and his Army increasing daily with the Malecontents, in a short time he made himself Master of several considerable Towns, and even whole Provinces. He gained the Affections of the People, by easing them of the heavy Taxes, and by turning out the Magistrates, placing in their stead others, in whom he could confide, charging them to use his Subjects with Mildness; but on the other hand, he gave up every City which made the least Resistance, to be plunder'd by his Soldiers. In short, after he had enriched himself with the Spoils of the delightful Province of *Ho-nan*, he went into that of *Shen-si*, where he was declared Emperor, under the Name of *Tyen-shun*, which signifies, *He that obeys Heaven*; in order to persuade the People, that he was the Instrument appointed by Heaven to deliver them from the Tyranny and Oppression of the Ministers.

*He is declared Emperor.*

When the Rebel found himself near *Pe-king*, where the Divisions among the *Grande'es* favour'd the Attempts of his Spies to get Intelligence, he resolv'd without farther Delay to take that Capital. Most of its Troops were then on the Frontiers of *Tartary*, and several Chiefs of those which remain'd, being gain'd over, were ready to join with the Tyrant: who besides had sent a great Number of his best Soldiers into the City, disguised like Merchants, with Money to hire Shops and carry on a Trade; that being thus dispersed into every Part of it they might awe the Inhabitants and favour his Design, whenever he should appear before the Walls.

*Takes Pe-king.*

The Success answered his Expectations: for his Army was no sooner in sight of the City, before Sun-rise, than one of the Gates was opened to him; and the few faithful Soldiers that resisted him being quickly overpower'd, he march'd thro' the City, like a Conqueror, directly to the Palace, the first Wall of which was forced before the Emperor heard any thing of the Matter. This unhappy Prince, thus forsaken and betray'd by his Courtiers, finding it not in his Power to escape the Fury of his Enemy; and fearing to fall into the Hands of a Rebel more than Death itself, retired in Despair into one of his Gardens with his Daughter, and having first killed her at one Stroke with a Sabre, he hanged himself on a Tree.

*All submit but the General U-san-gbey.*

After this Catastrophe all submitted to the Tyrant, who, to establish himself on the Throne, put to Death several of the great *Mandarins*, and exacted large Sums of Money from others. None refused to acknowledge him for Emperor, except *U-san-gbey*, who commanded the Forces that were on the Frontiers of *Tartary*; to reduce whom he set out with his Army, taking along with him the Father of that General, called *U*, who then lived at *Pe-king*, and was venerable for his Age as well as Dignities.

*U-san-gbey* having retired into one of the Cities of *Lyau-tong*, the new Emperor besieged it, and ordering *U* to be brought out in Chains, threaten'd to cut his Throat before the General's Face, if he did not submit to him forthwith.

(B) We are obliged for the Extracts here meant to *P. Gaubil*, who transmitted them with many other very curious Matters relating to the *Chinese* Astronomy and History, which were pub-

lished by *P. Etienne Soucier*, under the Title of *Observations Mathematiques, Geographiques, Chronologiques & Physiques*, &c.



*U-fan-ghey*, after being agitated for a while between the Love of his Country and Filial Tenderness, at length sacrificed his Father to his Virtue; the old Man himself, extolling the Loyalty of his Son, met his Fate with an heroic Courage. This cruel Action provoked the General so much the more to seek Revenge; but as it was difficult for him long to resist the Efforts of the Usurper, he thought that by piquing the Generosity of the *Tartar King*, he might not only obtain Peace from him, but likewise his Assistance, with all his Forces. *Tsong-té*, (which was the Name of this King) incited by a secret Ambition, more than the Riches offer'd by the *Chinese* General, liked the Proposition so well, that the very same Day he appear'd at the Head of eighty thousand Men. The Usurper being inform'd of the Union of the *Chinese* and *Tartarian* Armies, durst not encounter two such great Commanders, but retir'd in haste to *Pe-king*; and having loaded several Wagons with the choicest Goods of the Palace, he set it on Fire, and fled into the Province of *Shen-si*, where he took such Care to hide himself, that the Place of his Retreat could never be found; Altho' he made great Speed, yet part of the Plunder fell into the Hands of the *Tartarian* Cavalry, who pursued him; However, *Tsong-té*, who might easily have routed his Army, chose rather to repair to *Pe-king*, where he was joyfully received, both by the Gracians and the People. All looked on him as their Deliverer, and were manag'd so dexterously that they intreated him to take into his Hands the Government of the Empire, which was the thing he aim'd at. But he did not long enjoy his Conquest, for he dy'd quickly after, having only time to name *Shun-chi*, his Son, for his Successor, who was but six Years Old; leaving the Care of his Education and the Government to one of his Brothers call'd *A-ma-vang*.

*U-fan-ghey* calls in the *Manchews*.

*Li-king* flies; and is heard of no more.

King of the *Manchews* proclaimed Emperor and dies.

This Prince by his Courage and Policy reduced most of the Provinces, which were averse to the *Tartar* Yoke; and tho' he might have kept the Empire to himself, yet he surrender'd the Government to his Nephew, as soon as he had attain'd the proper Age. The young Emperor shew'd himself at once so able in the Art of Reigning, that he soon gain'd the Hearts of his Subjects; and as nothing escap'd his Vigilance and Penetration, he found Means to unite the *Chinese* and *Tartars* so firmly, that they seem'd to be but one Nation. During his Reign he maintain'd the Grandeur of the Empire with such a Superiority of Genius, as made him admired by his Subjects when living, and regretted when dead. Being at the Point of Death, which happen'd in the twenty fourth Year of his Age, he call'd his four chief Ministers; and having express'd his Concern for not having been able to reward those who had faithfully serv'd his Father, he declared, that *Kang-hi*, who was then but eight Years old, was of all his Children fittest to succeed him, and recommended his Education to their Care.

Most of *China* reduced under his Son *Shun-chi*.

The Day after the Death of the Emperor *Shun-chi*, his Body being put in a Coffin, *Kang-hi* was proclaim'd Emperor; when ascending the Throne, all the Princes, Lords, Prime Officers of the Army and the Crown, with the *Mandarins* of the several Tribunals, prostrated themselves at his Feet three times, striking the Ground with their Fore-Heads every Time they kneel'd, and made the nine Customary Reverences.

*Kang-hi* succeeds.

Nothing could equal the Magnificence of the Great Court, where this Ceremony was perform'd. All the *Mandarins* were ranged on both sides, dress'd in Silk, flower'd with Gold, in the form of Roses; there were fifty who carry'd great Umbrellas of Gold-Brocade and Silk, with their Staves gilt, and were divided in two Rows, twenty five on each side of the Throne. On the side of them were fifty other Officers with large Fans of Silk embroider'd with Gold; and near these were twenty eight large Standards, imbroider'd with golden Stars, great Dragons, and the Figure of the Moon in its Change, its Full and Wane, with all its various Phases and Appearances: In order to represent its twenty eight Mansions in the Heavens, and its different Conjunctions and Oppositions with the Sun, as they appear in the Intersections of the Circles, which the Astronomers call Nodes, or the Dragon's Head and Tail. A hundred Standards follow'd these; and the rest of the *Mandarins* carry'd Maces, Axes, Hammers, and other Instruments of War or Ceremony, with Heads of strange Monsters and other Animals.

Ascends the Throne with great Magnificence

The Sovereign Power was never so absolute as under this Monarch; who during his whole Reign, which was one of the longest to be met with, was not only held in Veneration throughout *Asia*, but his great Merit and Renown passing the Ocean, procur'd him the Admiration and Esteem of all *Europe*. It was he, who, uniting the two *Tartaries* with *China* into one Empire, brought under his Power a vast Extent of Country, which is no where interrupted by the Territories belonging to any foreign Prince. As none but the *Western Tartars* were able to give him Disturbance, he partly by Policy, and partly by Force, oblig'd them to remove three hundred Miles beyond the Great Wall, where he gave them Lands and Pastures, settling his own Subjects in their Room. In short, he divided this immense Country into several Provinces, which were tributary and subject to him; and kept them still more in Awe by means of the *Lama's*, who have an absolute Sway over the Minds of the *Tartars*, being ador'd by them like so many Divinities.

Unites the two *Tartaries* with *China*.

His Policy.

He made use of another Piece of Policy: for whereas his Predecessors shut themselves up in their Palaces, and were never seen by the People; he on the contrary went out of his three times a Year, either to travel or perform Hunting-Matches, which resembled so many military Expeditions.

Appears among his Subjects.

As soon as he had establish'd a solid Peace in his Dominions, he re-call'd the greater part of the Forces that were dispers'd thro' the Provinces; and to prevent their being soften'd by Ease and Luxury, march'd them from time to time into *Tartary*, arm'd with Bows, Arrows, and Cimeters: there to wage War with Stags, Boars, Bears, Tygers, and other wild Beasts, making his Soldiers perform long and fatiguing Journeys. This great Army was divided into Companies, and march'd in Order of Battle, at the Sound of Drums and Trumpets. It had its Van, Rear, main Body, right

Makes frequent Journeys into *Tartary*.



right and left Wings, commanded by so many Princes and great Lords; and was follow'd by Waggon, Horses, Camels, and Mules, loaded with Provisions, and Ammunition. It was oblig'd to encamp every Night, there being neither Cities, Towns, nor Villages in the *Western Tartary*, whose Inhabitants dwell in Tents, dispersed over the Country; where they feed their Oxen, Horses, and Camels, removing from Place to Place for the Convenience of Pasture. They know nothing of sowing Corn or cultivating Land, but live on Milk, Cheese, and what they can take in Hunting.

Mixes the  
Tartars with  
the Chinese in  
the Tribunals

While the Emperor thus kept his Troops in Action, and the *Tartars* in Obedience, he did not lessen his Application to State-Affairs, but held his Councils regularly with his Ministers under a Tent, as if it had been a Palace, and gave them his Orders. He was inform'd of every thing, and govern'd the Empire wholly, by himself, as the Soul that gave Motion to all the Members of so great a Body, not intrusting the Administration either to his *Ko-lau's*, or to the great Lords of the Court; as for the Eunuchs of the Palace, who had so much Power in the preceding Reigns, they had not the least Authority. Another piece of his Policy was, to appoint one half of the Officers of the Tribunals *Chinese*, and the other half *Tartars*, who being so many Spies on each other, might prevent any Attempts to the Prejudice of either Nation; besides, it oblig'd the *Tartars* to apply themselves early to Literature, in order to qualify themselves for Employments, according to the ancient Custom of the Empire.

Extent of the  
Empire.

Ever since the Peace, which this Prince concluded with the *Russians* at *Nip-chu*, for settling the Limits, the true Extent of this great Empire has been known; being in length from the most Southern Point of [the Island of] *Hay-nan*, to the Extremity of that Part of *Tartary*, subject to the Emperor, upwards of nine hundred common Leagues of *France*. Besides there are many Kingdoms, as *Korea*, *Tong-king*, *Kochin-china*, *Siam*, &c. which are tributary to the Emperor, who sometimes appoints, and must always confirm their Kings. But these Countries differ from *China*, as well in their respective Forms of Government, as in the Fertility of their Soil; the Number, Beauty, and Largeness of their Cities; the Religion, Genius, Manners, and Politeness of their Inhabitants: so that the *Chinese* have very little Esteem for them, calling them Barbarians, and industriously avoiding all Alliance with them.

Multitude of  
its Inhabitants.

The fifteen Provinces, into which *China* is divided, are not equally peopled; for from *Pe-king* to *Nan-chang*, which is the Capital of *Kyang-si*, the People are not so numerous as in the Provinces of *Che-kyang*, *Kyang-nan*, *Quang-tong*, *Fe-kyen*, and some others, where the great Roads as well as Cities are so crowded, that it is troublesome to travel; whence the Missionaries, who have seen only those fine and populous Provinces, have exaggerated the Number of Inhabitants, which however far exceeds that of all *Europe* put together. Altho' *Pe-king* stands on more Ground than *Paris*, I don't believe it contains above three Millions of Souls; which Computation is the more certain, as every Head of a Family is oblig'd to give the Magistrates an account of the Number of Persons that compose it, with the Age and Sex of each.

Great Number of Cities,  
Towns, Fortresses, &c.

Several things contribute to make this Country so prodigiously populous, as the *Chinese* being allow'd many Wives; their Sobriety and strong Constitution; their Contempt for other Nations, which prevents their settling or even travelling abroad; the Goodness of the Climate which has been hitherto free from the Plague; and especially the almost perpetual Peace which they enjoy.

There are in each Province, besides the Capital (which is very large and fit to be the Seat of the Empire) a great Number of Cities of the first, second, and third Order; most of which are built on the Banks of navigable Rivers, with large Suburbs on each side. Add to these a multitude of Forts, Castles, Villages, and Towns; some of which latter, especially those call'd *Cbing*, vye with Cities in Magnitude, Number of Inhabitants, and Trade: tho' they are only call'd Towns, because they have neither Walls, nor Magistrates of their own, being govern'd by those of the neighbouring Cities; thus *King-te-ching*, where the finest Porcelain is made, depends on a City in the District of *Zbau-chew*, and *Fe-shan* on *Kan-ton*, which is but four Leagues distant, &c.

Form of the  
Cities.

Most of the Cities of *China*, (but not all as some have affirmed) are alike, being Oblong Squares, whose Walls are built on a Line at right Angles, and facing the four Cardinal Points as near as may be. In like manner, whatever way the Streets are disposed, the Houses ought always to front the South, in order to avoid the sharpness of the Northwind, which does not agree with the *Chinese*; and for this Reason the Door is commonly made slanting in one of the sides of the Court.

Their Walls.

The Walls of the Cities, which are generally very broad and high, are either of Brick or square Stone, surrounded by a wide Ditch, and fence'd behind with a Rampart of Earth, as well as fortify'd with square Towers at certain Distances.

Their Gates.

Every Gate is double, and opens with two Leaves; and between the Gates is a Place of Arms for exercising the Soldiers. When one enters the first Gate, the second is not to be seen, because not opposite. Above the Gates are fine Towers, which serve for Arsenals and Guard-Houses for Soldiers; and without the Gates are frequently large Suburbs, almost as populous as the City.

Their Towers.

In the most frequented parts of each City, there is one or more Towers, which make a most beautiful Appearance, on account of their Architecture and Height; some consisting of nine, but none of less than seven Stories. The principal Streets are generally streight, but often narrow, except those of the Imperial City, which are very wide, as well as long; and perhaps the most convenient in the World, especially for Horses and Waggon. All the Houses, excepting the Towers and some particular Buildings overtopping the rest, are very low; and so hid by the Walls of the City



City, that were it not for a great number of square Towers that appear, one would take it at a distance for a vast Park. There are waste Places in some of the Cities, because not re-built since they were ruin'd by the *Tartars*, who lately conquer'd *China*. But what is very remarkable, near the great Cities, especially in the Southern Provinces, there are seen a kind of floating Cities; consisting of a prodigious multitude of Barks on both sides of the River, which are inhabited by numbers of Families, who have no other Dwellings: so that the Water is almost as populous as the Land.

There are properly but two Orders in the Empire, one of the Nobility, and the other of the People. The first comprehends the Princes of the Blood; the Dukes, Earls, *Mandarins* of Learning and Arms; those that have been *Mandarins* formerly, but are not so at present; and the *Literati*, who by their Studies having obtain'd the first Degrees of *Literature*, are aspiring to the Magistracy and Dignities of the Empire. The second comprehends the Husbandmen, Merchants, and Tradesmen. I shall treat of each of these in their Order, according to the Plan I have laid down.

*China's divided into two Classes.*

### *Of the Authority of the Emperor, and Seals of the Empire; his common Expences, his Palace, his Equipage, and the Order of his March when he goes abroad.*

THERE is no Monarchy whose Government is more despotic than that of *China*. The Emperor is vested with absolute Authority, and to appearance is a kind of Divinity; The Respect which is paid him amounting to a sort of Adoration. His Words are like so many Oracles, and the least of his Commands as implicitly obey'd as if they came down from Heaven. None are suffer'd to speak to him but on their Knees, not even his eldest Brother; or to appear before him with Ceremony in any other Posture, unless he gives Orders to the contrary. Only the Lords who accompany him, are permitted to stand before him, and to bend one Knee when they speak to him.

*Authority and Majesty of the Emperor.*

The same Honours are paid the Emperor's Officers, when representing his Person, and giving his Orders, either as Envoys, or *Mandarins* of the Presence. Little short of this is the Respect due to Governors, when they administer Justice, who with regard to the People may be said to be Emperors, and Subjects with regard to their Superiors: which admirable Subordination contributes more than any thing else to the Repose of the Empire, where it is never consider'd who the Person is, but whom he represents.

*Descend to his Officers.*

The *Mandarins*, the Grandees of the Court, and the Princes of the Blood, prostrate themselves not only in the Presence of the Emperor, but often even before his Chair, his Throne, and every thing that is for his Use; kneeling down sometimes at the sight of his Habit or his Girdle. Not that they are either blind to his Faults, or approve of them; on the contrary, they blame them in their Hearts, and condemn him, when they see him abandon'd to Avarice, Anger, or any such shameful Passion. Yet they think they ought to give these public Marks of Veneration for their Emperor, in order to maintain Subordination so essential to every good Government; and to inspire the People, by their Examples, with the Submission, and Obedience due to his Authority. In consequence of this Maxim they give him the most lofty Titles, calling him *Tyen-tse*, the Son of Heaven; *Wbang-ti*, August and sovereign Emperor; *Sbing-wbang*, Holy Emperor; *Sbau-ting*, Palace Royal; *Van-fwi*, Ten thousand Years. These Names, and many more of the same Nature, shew not only their great Respect for his Person, but the Vows they make for his Preservation.

*Profound Veneration paid him.*

No Subject, be his Rank or Quality ever so great, dares ride on Horseback, or pass in a Chair before the Gate of his Palace; but as soon as he approaches it, he must alight, and not mount again till he comes to the Place appointed for that Purpose. On certain stated Days of the Week, or Month, all the Grandees are oblig'd to appear in Habits of Ceremony, in one of the Courts of the Palace, to pay their Homage; where, if he does not appear personally, they must prostrate themselves before his Throne. If he falls dangerously sick, it causes a general Alarm, the *Mandarins* of all Orders assemble in a vast Court of the Palace; and without regarding the Inclemencies of the Air, or the Rigor of the Season, pass both Nights and Days on their Knees, to testify their Grief, and intreat Heaven to restore his Health. For if the Emperor suffers, all the Empire suffers in his Person, his Loss being the only Misfortune which his Subjects ought to dread.

*His Throne adored in his Absence.*

In the middle of the Courts of the Palace, there is a Path paved with large Stones, for the Emperor to walk on when he goes out; and those that pass along it must run fast, which is a mark of Respect observ'd in passing before a Person of Quality: but they have a particular way of Running, which is esteem'd as graceful among the *Chinese*, as the making a handsome Bow in Europe. The first Missionaries were oblig'd to learn this Ceremony before they saluted the late Emperor

*Marks of Respect.*



Emperor upon their Arrival at *Pe-king*: After they had pass'd thro' eight great Courts, they arriv'd at his Apartment, which was a *Kong*; for so they call the great Halls or Parlours, standing by themselves, built upon Slabs of white Marble, where the Emperor lives.

This *Kong* consisted of a Hall, in which there was a Throne, and a Chamber, where he was sitting on a *Kan* or *Estrade*, raised three Foot, which took up the whole length of the Room. The *Kan* was cover'd with a plain white Felt, affecting perhaps this Simplicity as being in Mourning for his Grand-Mother. His Habit was only of Black Sattin, lin'd with Sable-Fur, such as most of the considerable Officers wear; he sat cross legg'd after the *Tartarian* Fashion, and they made the Imperial Salute, as perform'd by those who have Audience of this Prince.

The Imperial Salute.

As soon as the Person is enter'd the Door of the Hall, he must run in a graceful manner till he comes to the Bottom of the Chamber fronting the Emperor; where he must stand a little while with both Arms stretch'd downwards, and after bending his Knees, bow to the Ground three times, then rise up again: and repeat this last Ceremony the second and third time, till he is commanded to advance, and kneel at the Emperor's Feet.

The Imperial Colour and Arms.

Yellow is the Emperor's Colour, and is forbidden every body else. His Vest is cover'd with Dragons, which is his Coat of Arms; none else daring to wear them with five Claws, on pain of Punishment. He dates his Letters, Decrees, and all his publick Acts with the Years of his Reign, and the Day of the Moon; as for Instance, The sixteenth Year of my Reign, and the sixth of the fourth Moon.

The Sentiments of the profoundest Veneration for their Emperors, which the *Chinese* are brought up in from their Cradles, are corroborated by that absolute and boundless Power vested in him by the Laws. He only has the Disposall of the Lives and Fortunes of his Subjects; nor can the Vice-Roy, the Tribunals, nor any sovereign Court of Judicature, punish a Criminal with Death, till the Sentence be first confirm'd by the Emperor.

The Condition of the Princes of the Blood.

The Princes of the Blood-Royal, however dignify'd by their Birth, have neither Power nor Credit in the State. They have the Title of *Regulo*, and are allow'd a Palace, and a Court with Officers and a Revenue conformable to their Rank; but they have not the least Authority over the People, who yet pay them the greatest Respect. Formerly, when they were dispersed in the Provinces, the Officers of the Crown remitted them their Revenue every three Months; that by spending it as fast as it came to hand, they might be disabled from laying up any part of it for seditious or rebellious Purposes, and they were even forbidden on pain of Death to remove from the Place appointed for their Residence: but since the *Tartars* have been Master of *China*, the Emperor judg'd it more proper that all the Princes should live at Court under his Eye. They have also Houses, Lands, and Rents, besides what the Emperor allows them for their Expences; and improve their Money by the Industry of their Domesticks, so that some of them are very rich.

Emperor disposes of all Employments.

The Emperor alone disposes of all Offices in the State. He names the Vice-Roys and Governors, raising and degrading them according to their Capacities and Merits, (for, generally speaking, no Place in the Empire is venal;) even the Princes of the Blood have no Right to their Title, without his expresse Permission, which they could not obtain if they were irregular in their Conduct, or negligent in their Duty. He chuses for his Heir such of his Sons as he judges fittest to succeed him; and if he thinks there is none of his Family capable of governing well, he pitches on one of his Subjects whom he deems most worthy. In the earliest times there have been Instances of Princes, who are still revered by the *Chinese* for having prefer'd the Welfare of the State to the Glory and Splendor of their own Family; but for several Ages past, the Emperors have nominated their Successors out of the Princes of their own Blood. However, it is necessary that the Person elected should have real Merit, and proper Qualifications, for otherwise the Emperor would lose his Reputation, and infallibly occasion great Disorders. On the other hand if he prefers to the eldest one who has more Merit, then his Name becomes immortal; but if, after being declar'd his Successor with the usual Solemnities, he is wanting in his Duty, or commits any great Misdemeanor, it is in the Emperor's Power to disinherit him, and name another in his Place.

Can choose a Successor,

and depose him at Pleasure.

The late Emperor *Kang-hi*, making use of this Right, deposed in a very singular Manner his only Son by his lawful Wife, on suspecting his Fidelity. It was surprizing to see him, who but a little before was almost equal to the Emperor, loaded with Irons. His Children and principal Officers were involv'd in the same Fate; and the publick Gazettes were immediately fill'd with Manifesto's, wherein the Emperor inform'd his Subjects of his Reasons. No Sentence of any Tribunal whatever is of force till ratify'd by the Emperor: but those that proceed immediately from himself are perpetual and irrevocable; the Vice-Roys and Tribunals of the Provinces being oblig'd to have them registred, and publish'd immediately in all Places of their Jurisdiction. His Power extends over the Dead as well as Living, bestowing Titles of Honour on the Deceased; for, to recompense the Personal Merit, either of the Deceased or their Descendants, he confers Titles of Honour on them, which extend to their whole Families.

Fundamental Principle of the *Chinese* Government

But absolute as his Power is, it is restrain'd by the same Law that enforces it. It is a Principle as old as the Monarchy itself, That the State is a large Family; and that a Prince ought to have the same Regard for his Subjects, that a Father has for his Children, whom he ought to govern with an equal Goodness and Affection. This Notion is engrafted in the Minds of the *Chinese*, who judge of the Merit and Talents of the Prince, solely by the Paternal Affection which he shews to his Subjects; and the Care he takes to make them sensible of it by procuring their Happiness. So that he ought to be, according to their way of expressing it, *The Father and Mother of his People*; nor ought he to make himself

A Check to the Emperor's Power.

fear'd



fear'd by them, but in proportion as he gains their Love by his Goodness and Virtue. It is in this manner they draw the Character of their great Emperors, and their Books are full of this Maxim.

It is the general Notion of the *Chinese*, that an Emperor is oblig'd to attend to the minutest matters which concern his People; that he is not elevated to so high a Station to divert himself; but that he should place his Diversions in discharging the Duties of the Emperor, and prove by his Application, Vigilance, and Tenderness for his Subjects, that he is *The Father and Mother of his People*. When his Conduct is not agreeable to this Idea, he falls into the utmost Contempt; "Why (say the *Chinese*) has *Tyen* placed him on the Throne? Is it not that he may be as a Father and a Mother to us?"

He is considered as a Father of the People.

A *Chinese* Emperor is continually studying how to preserve this Reputation. Whenever any Province is afflicted with Calamities, he shuts himself up in his Palace, fasts, denies himself of all Pleasures, and publishes Decrees to exempt it from the usual Taxes, and procure it sufficient Relief. In those Decrees he affects also to set forth how deeply he is touch'd with the Miseries of his People, saying, "That he carries them in his Heart; that he bewails their Misfortune Night and Day; and that all his Thoughts are employ'd to render them happy:" making use of many such Expressions, to convince his Subjects how tenderly he loves them. The Emperor *Tong-ehing* went so far as to order, that whenever any part of the Empire was threatened with a Calamity, he should be inform'd of it instantly by a Courier; that as he believed himself accountable for every Misfortune that befel the State, he might by his Conduct appease the Anger of *Tyen*. The Laws are a farther Check on the Sovereign Authority, in that they allow the *Mandarins*, whenever the Emperor commits any Faults in his Administration tending to overthrow good Order in the Government, to represent them to him in the most humble and respectful manner by way of Petition: and should he either disregard such Remonstrances, or punish the *Mandarin*, who had the Courage and Zeal to make them, he would intirely lose the Hearts of the People; while the *Mandarin* would have the highest Applauses, and his Name become immortal. There have been several of these Martyrs for the Public in *China*, who, when the Prince deviated from a wise Administration, spoke their Minds, without fearing either Punishment or Death itself.

Endeavours to preserve that Character.

The *Quán* or *Mandarins* allow'd to tell him his Faults.

Besides, the Tranquillity of the Empire depends intirely upon the Prince's Care to see the Laws put in Execution. For such is the Genius of the *Chinese*, that were not the Emperor and his Council steady and attentive to the Conduct of the Vice-Roys and the *Mandarins*, who are at a distance from the Court, they would become so many petty Tyrants in the Provinces, and banish Justice from the Tribunals. This would raise such a Spirit in that numerous People, that finding themselves ill used and oppress'd in any Province, they would begin to assemble, and soon break out into a General Revolt. The Discontent would quickly spread from one Province to another, and thus the whole Empire would presently be in a Flame. For it is the Character of this Nation, that if the first Sparks of Rebellion be not immediately quench'd, they in a short time produce the most dangerous Revolutions, whereof *China* furnishes several Examples: which have taught the Emperors, that nothing but an indefatigable Application, and their treading in the Steps of their wise Ancestors, can secure their Authority.

One of the most considerable Marks of the Imperial Authority is, *The Seals*; which are employ'd to authorise the Public Acts, and all the Decisions of the Tribunals. The Emperor's Seal is about eight Inches square, and of a very fine Jasper, a Stone highly esteem'd in *China*; nor is any other Person whatever allow'd to use it in a Seal. It is call'd, *Yu-she*, and taken out of the *In-yu-shan*, that is, *The Mountain of the Agate Seal*, concerning which the *Chinese* relate several Fables. Among the rest they tell us, that formerly the *Fong-wang* having appear'd on this Mountain, rested on a rough Stone; which being broken by a skilful Lapidary he found therein this famous Stone, whereof the Seal of the Empire is made. The *Fong-wang* is the Phœnix of the *Chinese*, who account it a Bird of Prosperity, and the Fore-runner of the *Golden Age*; but indeed it exists only in their Books and Chimerical Paintings.

The Imperial Seals.

The Honorary Seals given to the Princes are of Gold; those of the Vice-Roys and great *Mandarins*, or Magistrates of the first Rank, are of Silver; and those of the inferior *Mandarins*, or Magistrates, are only of Brass or Lead, being larger or smaller according to the Dignity of the Magistrate. When it is worn out, they are to acquaint the Tribunal, which sends them another, obliging them to return the old one. Since the *Tartars* have settled in *China*, the Characters inscribed on these Seals are both *Chinese* and *Tartarian*, as the Tribunals are composed of both Nations. When the Emperor sends Visitors into the Provinces, to examine the Conduct of the Governors, Magistrates, and private Persons, he gives each of them the Seal of their Office.

Seals of Princes and the *Quán*.

One of these Visitors, having acted for some time in the Province appointed him, of a sudden disappear'd; and when any came to apply to him for Justice, his Domestics put them off, telling them their Master was so dangerously ill, that he could neither hear their Complaints, nor receive their Petitions. A *Mandarin*, who was one of his Friends, suspecting it to be only a feign'd Sickness, and fearing such a piece of Negligence would hurt him at Court, went to see him. After being put off several times by the Servants, he at length got Admittance into his Chamber, and ask'd his Reason for concealing himself in that manner.

Visitors or Censors of the Empire.

The Visitor still pretended to be indisposed: but the *Mandarin* press'd him so home, protesting to serve him, if Occasion were, at the hazard of his Life; that the Magistrate disclosing his Distress, "They have stolen, said he, the Seals given me by the Emperor, so that not being able to seal the Dispatches, I have thought fit to disappear". The *Mandarin*, who saw that the least

Story of one.



least ill Consequence that could attend his Friend was the loss of his Employment, his own Fortune, and that of his Family, asked him if he had any Enemies. "Alas!" answered the Visitor "sighing, Hence arises my Confusion and Despair. The chief Magistrate of the City has declared himself against me on all Occasions which concern the Functions of my Office. He will certainly inform the Court, as soon as he comes to know I have lost the Seals, and then I am undone. Take my Advice, (reply'd the Mandarin, who was an ingenious Man,) remove every thing you have of Value into the most secret Part of your Palace, and at Night set the Apartment on Fire, and alarm the Neighbourhood. As soon as that Officer comes to give Orders according to his Duty, do you publickly deliver into his Hands the little Coffer where the Seals were kept; telling him, that as you have nothing so precious as that *Depositum* of the Emperor's, you give it into his Custody, till you have Occasion for it; and if he, my Lord, added the Mandarin, maliciously caused the Seals to be stolen, he will replace them in the Coffer; or you may accuse him with having lost them". The Matter succeeded as the Mandarin had foreseen, and the Seals were restored to the Visitor.

The Seals which the Magistrates receive from the Emperor, are on the Days of Ceremonies, (or when they go to visit those to whom they would show Respect) carry'd before their Chair in a golden Box, by two Men, upon a kind of a Litter; and being come to the Place appointed, they are laid on a Side-Table, cover'd with a Carpet.

**Emperor's Revenue.** The Emperor of China is render'd no less formidable on account of his great Revenue, than the Extent of his Empire. But it is not easy to say exactly what the first amounts to, because the Annual Tribute is paid partly in Money and partly in Commodities: and is collected from all kinds of Lands, even the Mountains; from Salts, Silks, Calico, Linen, and divers other Goods; from the Ports, Sea-Coasts, Custom-Houses and Barks; from the Forests, Royal Gardens, Consecrations, &c.

**Number of People,** The Tribute paid by every Person in this populous Empire between the Years of twenty and sixty, amounts to immense Sums; they say that formerly upward of 58,000,000 Inhabitants paid this Tax. In the Poll made at the Beginning of the Reign of Kang-hi, there were found 11,052,872 Families; and 59,788,364 Men able to bear Arms: and yet neither the Princes nor Officers of the Court; nor the Mandarins, nor the Soldiers who have served and been discharged; nor the *Literati*, the *Licentiates*, the Doctors, the *Bonzas*, nor young Persons under twenty years of Age; nor the great Multitudes living either on the Sea, or on Rivers, in Barks, are comprehended in this Number.

**and Bonzas paying Tribute.** The Number of *Bonzas* is a great deal above 1,000,000; of which there are 2,000 unmarried at Pe-king, besides 350,000 more in their Temples established in different Places by the Emperor's Patents. The [Literary] Batchelors alone are about 90,000. 'Tis true, the Civil Wars, and Settlement of the Tartars, destroy'd an innumerable Quantity of People; but they have increased extremely since, by means of the profound Peace.

**Imperial Barks, and amount of the Tribute.** There are, besides, 10,000 Barks maintained by the Emperor, for bringing to Court the Tribute in Commodities; he receiving annually 40,155,490 Sacks of Rice, Wheat and Millet, each Sack weighing a hundred and twenty Pounds; 1,315,937 Loaves of Salt, weighing fifty Pound each; 210,470 Sacks of Beans, and 22,598,597 Bundles of Straw for his Horses; in wrought Silks and Stuffs 191,530 Pound weight, each Pound of twenty Ounces; 409,896 Pound of unwrought Silk; 396,480 Pieces of Calico; 560,280 Pieces of Linen Cloth: besides vast Quantities of Velvet, Sattin, Damask, and other Silks; Varnish, Oxen, Sheep, Hogs, Geese, Ducks, Wild-Fowl, Fish, Pot-Herbs, Fruits, Spices; and many sorts of Wine, which are annually brought into the Imperial Palace. The whole Revenues of the Emperor amounting in French Money to near 200,000,000 of *Tael*; each being an Ounce of Silver, whose intrinick Value is a hundred French Sols.

The Emperor may lay new Taxes on the People, if the Occasions of the State should require it; but the settled Tributes being sufficient to defray all his Expences, he very seldom uses this Power. There is scarcely a Year but he excepts some Province or other from paying the Tribute, if it happens to be afflicted with Famine, or any other Calamity.

**Order in levying,** As the Lands are survey'd, and the Number of Families, as well as what is due to the Emperor, is known, 'tis easy to compute what each City ought to pay yearly. The Tax Gatherers of the respective Cities never seize the Goods of those who are slow in paying, or seek to avoid it by continual Delays, for that would ruin Families; and therefore from the middle of the Spring, when they begin to plow, to the time of Harvest, the Mandarins are not suffered to molest the Peasants. The Course they take to oblige them to pay, is by the Bastinado and Imprisonment; or else by billeting on them the old Men maintain'd in each Town on the Emperor's Charity, who remain in their Houses till they have consumed as much as their Arrears amount to.

**and transmitting the Tribute.** These Officers are accountable for what they receive to the *Pu-ching-tse*, or Treasurer General of the Province, who is next to the Viceroy; to whom at certain times they are obliged to remit the Money they collect. They send it on Mules, each carrying two thousand *Tael*s, in two wooden Vessels, like long Barrels, which are secured with Iron Cramps. The *Pu-ching-tse* accounts to the *Hu-pu*, which is the second supreme Tribunal of Pe-king, having the Super-intendency of the Finances; and the *Hu-pu* accounts to the Emperor. Nothing is better order'd than the manner of imposing and collecting the Tributes, allowing for some little Frauds in the Under-Officers.

**How it is employ'd.** China is remarkable in that its Emperor is as a great Head of a Family, who provides for all the Necessities of his Officers. This Custom, which has continued invariable among the *Chingse*, is



is not unlike what was practised formerly in the Court of the Kings of *France*; where Bread, Wine, Meats, Candles, and the like were distributed. From which Distributions, called *Livraisons*, or *Deliveries*, came the Term *Livery*, applied to the Domestics, who were of the same *Livery* or Distribution, that is, belonged to the same Master.

Great Part of the Imperial Commodities are consumed in the Provinces, in Pensions, in maintaining the Poor, especially old People and Invalids, who are very numerous; in the Salary of the *Mandarins*, Payment of the Forces, publick Buildings, &c. and the Overplus is carried to *Pe-king*, to defray the Expences of the Palace and the Metropolis: where the Emperor maintains 160,000 regular Troops, exclusive of their Pay, which they receive in Money, besides near five thousand *Mandarins*; among whom there is distributed, every Day, a certain Quantity of Flesh, Fish, Salt Herbs, &c. and once a Month they have Rice, Beans, Wood, Coals and Straw, all which are delivered them very plentifully. The same Custom is observed with regard to those who are called to Court, or sent from thence into the Provinces; they are served, and all their Charges defrayed on the Road, being furnished with Barks, Horses, Carriages and Inns, which are kept at the Emperor's Expence.

In Pensions;

Payment of the Forces.

Defraying the Expences of the *Quân*.

When a *Mandarin* is dispatch'd by the Court, they give him a *Kang-bo*, that is, an Order of the Court, made out by the *Ping-Pü*, or Tribunal of the Militia, and sealed with its Seals; by which the Officers of the Posts and Cities are obliged to furnish without Delay, whatever the *Kang-bo* directs, and as a Proof of having executed it, apply their Seals to it. They provide Men to draw the Barks, and carry the Baggage, which is weighed by the Post-master General's Order, who allows as many Men as are necessary to carry it, at the Rate of fifty *Chinese* Pounds Weight each Man.

The Number of Soldiers maintain'd by the Emperor along the Great Wall, and in the Cities and fortify'd Places, amounted formerly to 770,000; which Number has been increased, but not diminished, for they never reduce their Forces. They are to serve for Guards to the Grand *Mandarins*, Governors, Officers and Magistrates: they even attend them on their Journeys, and in the Night keep Watch about their Barks or Inns, being relieved at every Place the *Mandarin* halts at. The Emperor likewise keeps near 565,000 Horses to remount the Cavalry, and for the Use of Posts and Couriers to carry his Orders, and those of the Tribunals into the Provinces. He also defrays the Expences of all Foreign Ambassadors, from the Day they enter till the Day they leave his Dominions; furnishing them with Horses, Barks, and all necessary Carriages, as well as Provisions for the Journey: and when they arrive at Court lodges them in a Palace, where as a Token of Friendship he sends them every other Day Dishes from his own Table; and when he has a Mind to shew particular Marks of his Affection, he adds some extraordinary Meßes. I do not mention this Monarch's Expences with regard either to public Buildings, in the Cities and Country, or the Repairs of his Palace.

Emperor's Forces.

Expences of Ambassadors defray'd.

Altho' the Description of the Palace in the Beginning of this Volume [*p.* 67.] may seem sufficient to give the Reader an Idea of it; yet I shall here add several other Particulars, in the Words of one of the Missionaries, who had the Honour to be admitted into the Emperor's Presence, and to salute him in his own Apartment. "It consists, says he, of an astonishing Collection of Buildings, and a long Row of Courts, Galleries and Gardens, which altogether make a magnificent Appearance. As the Southern Gate is never opened but for the Emperor, we came in by that facing the East, which leads into a vast Court to the South of the Palace. This Court is square, being two hundred Geometrical Paces from North to South; it is paved with large Bricks, and the Walks laid with broad flat Stones. At each Angle is a large oblong Building, with a double Roof, whose Ground-Story has three Entrances, like the Gates of Cities. Before we enter'd the next Court, we came to a Canal, most dry, running parallel to the Walls of it from East to West. We passed over this Canal by one of the six white Marble Bridges, built towards the Middle, facing so many Arches or open Gates, each supporting a large Building that has a Platform or Tower, with a double Roof, whose Thickness is upwards of twenty Geometrical Paces. At each End of the Bridge leading to the middle Gate are two great round Pillars of white Marble, upon a large Pedestal, surrounded with a Balustrade of the same. The Base is adorn'd with two great Lions, each between seven or eight Foot high, and seeming as if they had been cut out of one Block. Passing Northward thro' the Gate into this second Court (which is in Length about a hundred Geometrical Paces, and fifty in Breadth) we found at the Entrance two other white marble Columns, adorn'd with Dragons in Relief, with two small Wings below a Chapter, which is flat and very broad.

Supplemental Description of the Palace.

First Court.

Second Court

From thence we enter'd a third Court, twice the Length of the second, and a little wider, with five Gates, and Buildings over them like the former. These Gates are very thick, and covered with Plates of Iron, fasten'd on with rows of Brass Nails, whose Heads are bigger than a Man's Fist. all the Buildings of the Palace are placed on Bases as high as a Man, of a reddish grey Marble, very ill polished, and adorn'd with Mouldings.

Third Court.

All these Courts are surrounded with very low Buildings, covered with yellow Tiles. At the Bottom of this third Court, there is a long Building flank'd with two Pavilions, whose Wings are terminated by two other Pavilions, which are like the first: being double roofed and surrounded with Galleries as well as the Wings, and the lower Part of the Building; which stands on a Platform of Bricks with its Parapet, and little Embrasures, being near thirty five Foot high. The Base of the Platform, for six Foot above the Ground, is of Marble. The Passage is by three



Gates like the former, with this Difference, that the Nails and Iron Work are gilded. There were several Guards at this Gate, among whom was a *Ko-lau*, or [one of the Prime] Ministers of State, who having been accused of taking a Bribe, was condemn'd as one of a Company of Soldiers to guard this Post: But notwithstanding his Disgrace, all who pass'd saluted him by bending the Knee; still regarding him on account of the high Station he once possess'd.

**Fourth Court** After we had pass'd thro' these three Courts, which have nothing remarkable excepting their Extent, we entered into a fourth. Near fourscore Geometrical Paces square, and exceedingly agreeable. It is surrounded with Galleries, interrupted at proper Distances with little open Halls, somewhat high, having Steps before them, with their Flights of white Marble; which go quite round. Thro' this Court runs a little Canal, lin'd with white Marble, whose Sides are adorn'd with Balusters of the same Fashion: It has over it four or five single arch'd Bridges of white Marble, adorn'd with Mouldings and Basso Relievo's. At the Bottom of this Court there is a large and magnificent Hall, with three fine Stair-Cases, whose Flights are adorn'd with Balusters of the same Kind.

**Fifth Court.** The fifth Court, which follows, is nearly of the same Form and Size; but makes a finer Appearance, as having a large square Perron, three Stories high, each adorn'd with Balusters of white Marble. This Perron takes up near half the Length of the Court, and two thirds of its Breadth: It is about eighteen Foot high, built upon a Base of *Siam* Marble, which is coarser, and upwards of six Foot high. It has three Stair-Cases, whereof the middle one is most considerable, having near the Foot of it two great Brass Lions; and on the Top of the Perron are eight Vases of the same Metal, about seven Foot high. This Perron is before a large and magnificent Hall, where the Emperor receives the Memorials and Petitions daily presented him by the *Mandarins* of the sovereign Tribunals, who first perform the accustom'd Prostrations at the great Stairs.

**Sixth, seventh and eighth Court** Afterward we pass'd thro' two other such Courts, with Perrons of the same Form as well as Size, and encompass'd with the like Buildings, furnished with Stair-Cases and Balusters round them. We were conducted through a Door on the Right-hand of the last Court into another, about two hundred Paces long; being a kind of *Hippodrome*, [or Place for Horse Racing] at the End of which on the Left-hand, we enter'd a great open Hall, where we found Guards, and waited some time for the *Mandarin*, appointed to conduct us into the Apartment of the Emperor.

**Ninth Court** Him we followed thro' a ninth Court, something less than the former, but equally sumptuous. At the End of it appear'd a large Building, of an oblong Figure, with a double Roof, cover'd with yellow varnish'd Tiles, like the preceding. This is the Palace where the Emperor's Apartment is; to which there led a Causey, rais'd about five or six Foot high, inclos'd with Balusters of white Marble, and pav'd with the same. None but the Emperor may pass this way, or thro' the middle of the other Courts.

**The Palace.** This Palace, which shines with Carvings, Varnish, Gilding and Painting, stands upon a kind of a Platform, pav'd with large square Pieces of a beautiful green Marble, polish'd like Glass, and laid so close together, that one can scarcely discern the Joinings. At the Entrance of the great Hall, there is a Door, which opens into a large square Room paved with Marble; where the Emperor was sitting on an Estrade, after the *Tartar* Fashion. The Beams of this Room were supported by wooden Columns varnish'd with red; and fixed in such a manner in the Wall that they were even with its Surface. We perform'd the usual Ceremonies, that is, we rang'd ourselves in a Line facing the Emperor, and fell on our Knees three times, bowing every time to the Ground. In receiving these Marks of our Respect himself, he did us a great Favour; for when the *Mandarins* of the six Sovereign Courts come every fifth Day, on the first Day of the Year, and on the Emperor's Birth Day, to perform these Ceremonies, he is scarce ever present; and is sometimes at a good Distance from the Palace when they pay him their Homages. After we had performed this Duty we approach'd his Person, kneeling on one Side, and in a Line: He ask'd us our Names, Ages and Country, and entertain'd us with a Sweetness and Affability which would be surprizing in any Prince, but was much more so in the Emperor of *China*. It must be confess'd, that this Series of Courts all on a Level and rang'd in a Line; this Collection of Buildings, tho' confus'd and ununiform; interspers'd with Pavilions, Galleries, Collonades, Balusters, Stair-Cases of Marble, and a multitude of varnish'd Roofs, cover'd with yellow Tiles, so bright and beautiful, that when the Sun shines on them, they look as if they were gilt with Gold: I say it must be confess'd that all this presents something so inexpressibly magnificent to the Eye, as to discover it to be the Palace of a great Emperor.

If to these we add, the Courts that have been made on the Wings for Offices, and Stables; the Palaces of the Princes of the Blood, with those of the Empress, and of the Women; the Gardens, Ponds, Lakes and Woods, in which are kept all sorts of Animals, the Whole will appear surprizing. What we have describ'd is only the inner Palace separated by a great Wall from the outer, which itself is inclos'd with a very high and thick Wall, about two Leagues in Compass, and resembles a little City; the different Officers of the Court, and a great Number of Tradesmen of all sorts who are in the Service of the Emperor, lodging in it.

**Pleasure-House of the ancient Emperors.** Near *Pe-king* lies the Pleasure-House of the ancient Emperors, no less than ten common *French* Leagues in Circumference; but it differs vastly from the Royal Palaces in *Europe*, having neither Marble nor Water-Works, nor Stone Walls about it. It is furnished with four Rivulets of excellent



lent Water, whose Banks are planted with Trees; and is composed of three Buildings very large and neat, with several Fish-ponds, Pastures for Roebucks, wild Mules, and other fallow Beasts; Sheep-folds, Kitchen-gardens, green Walks, Orchards, and some Pieces of Ground under Corn; with all that renders a Country Life agreeable. Hither the Emperors formerly retired from Business, to relieve the Cares of Government, and taste the Sweets of a private Life. They seldom went out of their Palaces, imagining that the less they appeared in Publick the greater Respect would be paid them; but the *Tartars*, who now possess the Throne, affect greater Popularity, without departing too far from the Customs of the *Chinese*.

When the Emperor goes out of the Palace, he is always attended by a great Number of Lords of his Court; every thing glitters in his Train, the Arms, the Harness of the Horses, the Streamers, the Umbrella's, the Fans, and all the other Ensigns of the Imperial Dignity.

The Princes and the Lords go foremost on Horseback, follow'd by the *Ko-lau's* or Prime Ministers, and the Great *Mandarins*; they advance close to the Houses on both Sides, leaving the middle of the Streets clear. After them march twenty four Standards of yellow Silk, which is the Emperor's Livery, embroider'd with golden Dragons, which is his Coat of Arms. These are followed by twenty-four Umbrella's of the same Colour, and as many Fans, which are very curious and rich. The Life-Guards are cloathed in Yellow, each wearing a kind of Head-Piece, and in their Hands a sort of Javalin or half Pike gilt; on the Top of which is the Figure of the Sun or of a Crescent, or the Head of some Animal. Twelve Footmen dress'd in the same Colour, carry on their Shoulders the Emperor's Chair, which is very magnificent. At divers Places on the Road there are a great Number of these Footmen to relieve one another. A Band of Musick, of Trumpets, and other sorts of Instruments, accompanies the Emperor, playing all the while. Last of all, a great Number of Pages and Footmen close the Procession: But now that the Emperors appear oftner abroad, they are attended with a less Retinue. When *Kang-bi* visited the Southern Provinces, he went by Water, going on board a new Bark built on purpose; accompanied with his Children, the great Lords, and an infinite Number of trusty Officers: besides, there were such a Number of Troops on the Road that he seem'd to march in the midst of an Army. He made but short Stages, stopping from Time to Time to examine Things himself, and to be inform'd exactly of whatever occur'd; but in his Return to *Pe-king*, his Bark proceeded Day and Night.

When he went into *Tartary*, to take the Diversion of Hunting, he then actually march'd at the Head of an Army, as if he was going to conquer an Empire: But having described elsewhere the Magnificence of the Habits, Tents, and Equipages, belonging to the Train of this Prince, and of all the Grandees who attended him on these Occasions; I shall speak at present only of the Pomp in which he us'd to go, when he offer'd solemn Sacrifices in the Temple of *Tyen*. The Account whereof (taken from *P. Magalbaens*) is the more certain, because these sorts of Ceremonies are always regulated and invariably observ'd.

This Procession began with twenty four Drums, rang'd in two Files; and twenty-four Trumpets, (made of *U-tong-shu*, a Wood greatly esteem'd by the *Chinese*) more than three Foot long, and about eight Inches in Diameter at the Mouth: they are in the Shape of Bells, adorn'd with Circles of Gold, and suit very well with the Drums.

Next to these were twenty four Men in the same Livery; arm'd with Staves seven or eight Foot long, varnish'd with red, and adorn'd with gilded Foliages. Then a hundred Soldiers carrying Halberts, the Iron Part of which ends in a Crescent. A hundred Mace-Bearers, whose Arms were japan'd with red Varnish, mixed with Flowers, and gilded at the End. Four hundred great Lanthorns finely adorn'd. Four hundred Flambeaux made of a Wood, which burns for a long Time, and yields a great Light. Two hundred Spears, some set off with Locks of Silk of various Colours; others with the Tails of Panthers, Foxes, and other Animals. Twenty four Banners, on which were painted the Signs of the Zodiac, which the *Chinese* divide into twenty four Parts. fifty six other Banners, exhibiting the fifty six Constellations, to which the *Chinese* reduce all the Stars. Two hundred Fans (supported by long gilded Sticks) painted with diverse Figures of Dragons, Birds and other Animals. Twenty four Umbrellas richly adorn'd; and a Boufët carry'd by Officers of the Kitchen, and furnish'd with gold Utensils, such as Basons, Ewers, &c.

After these had march'd in good Order, the Emperor follow'd on Horseback pompously dress'd, with a grave majestic Air; on each Side of him was carry'd a rich Umbrella, large enough to shade both him and his Horse. He was surrounded with ten white led Horses (whose Saddles and Bridles were enrich'd with Gold and precious Stones. A hundred Spear Men, and the Pages of the Bed Chamber.

After which appear'd in the same Order, all the Princes of the Blood, the Regulo's, the Chief *Mandarins*, and the Lords of his Court in their Habits of Ceremony. Five hundred young Gentlemen belonging to the Palace richly clad. A thousand Footmen in red Gowns embroider'd with Flowers, and Stars of Gold and Silver. Then thirty six Men carry'd an open Chair, follow'd by another that was close and much larger, supported by a hundred and twenty Chair-Men; lastly, came four large Chariots, two drawn by Elephants, and the other two by Horses, cover'd with embroider'd Houfings; each Chair and Chariot had a Company of a hundred and fifty Men following it for its Guard.

This Procession was clos'd by two thousand Literary, and as many Military *Mandarins*, in magnificent Habits of Ceremony. Such is the Grandeur and Power of the Monarch, who governs

Emperor's  
State when  
he goes out  
of his Palace.

His Procession  
on to the  
Temple of  
*Tyen*.



verns so vast an Empire. In him alone every thing centers, being the Soul that gives Motion to that vast Body, and keeps all its Members in the most perfect subordination, as will appear in the Sequel.

*Of the Form of Government in China: the different Tribunals; the Mandarins, the Honours that are paid them, their Power and their Offices.*

Principle of  
the Chinese  
Government

THE Political Government of China entirely turns on the reciprocal Duty of Parents and Children. The Emperor is called the Father of the Empire; the Vice-Roy is the Father of the Province under his Command; as the *Mandarin* is of the City which he governs. This single Principle is the Foundation of that great Respect and ready Obedience which the Chinese pay to the Officers who assist the Emperor to sustain the Weight of Government.

'Tis very surprizing, to see a Nation so vastly numerous, so naturally restless, so excessively selfish, and so eager in its Pursuit of Riches, govern'd and kept within the Bounds of its Duty by a small Number of *Mandarins*, at the Head of every Province. So true it is, that the bare Shadow of Imperial Authority, which appears in their Persons, can do every thing with this People.

Nine Orders  
of the *Quán*

From the very Commencement of the Monarchy, the *Mandarins* have been divided into nine different Orders, in so perfect a Subordination to each other, that nothing can be compar'd to the Respect, and Submission, which the *Mandarins* of an inferior Order bear to those who are of a Superior.

First Order.  
the *Ko-lau*.

The first Order of *Mandarins* is that of the *Ko-lau's* or Ministers of State, the Chief Presidents of the Supreme Courts, and other principal Officers of the Army. This is the highest Degree that the *Literati* can arrive at; unless in Return for very important Services done the Nation, the Emperor should think proper to confer more honourable Titles on them; such as those equivalent to Earls, Dukes, &c. The Number of the *Ko-lau's* is not fix'd, but depends on the Will of the Prince, who chooses them at Pleasure, out of the other Tribunals; however they are seldom more than five or six, and one of them is commonly more distinguish'd than the rest, and stiled *Sbew-Syang*; he is President of the Council, and in greatest Confidence with the Emperor. The Tribunal of these *Ko-lau's* is kept in the Palace on the Left-hand (which is accounted most honourable) of the Imperial Hall; where the Emperor gives his public Audience, and receives the Veneration and Homage of the *Mandarins*. As there are in the Palace several magnificent Halls pompously adorn'd, each of the *Ko-lau's* is assign'd one; in which he examines what ever comes under his Cognizance, and has the Name of the Hall added, as a Title of Honour to his own: for Instance, such a *Ko-lau*, *Supreme Hall of the Middle*.

Second Order

The Tribunal which is call'd *Nwi-ywen*, that is the *Inner Court*, because it is within the Palace, is compos'd of three Orders of *Mandarins*. The first are properly the Ministers of State, whose Business is to inspect almost all the Petitions of the supreme Tribunals, whether relating to War or Peace, Civil or Criminal Matters: after which Examination, they remit them to be represented to the Emperor, unless they have any Objection thereto, wherewith they acquaint his Majesty; who receives or rejects their Advice, as he thinks proper, reserving sometimes solely to himself the Cognizance of Affairs and the Examination of the Memorials that are presented to him.

The *Mandarins* who compose the Second Order of this Tribunal are, as it were, Assistants to the former; and out of their Number are appointed the Vice-Roys of Provinces, and the Presidents of other Tribunals. They bear the Title *Ta-hyo-se*, that is *Literati* or *Magistrates of approved Capacity*; and are taken out of the Second or third Order of *Mandarins*.

Third Order

The *Mandarins* of the third Order, who are call'd *Cbong-shu-ko*, that is *The School of Mandarins*, are the Emperor's Secretaries, whose Office is to see all Matters, deliberated upon in the Tribunal, reduced to writing; these are taken out of the Fourth, Fifth, or Sixth Order of *Mandarins*.

Privy Council,  
and  
Council of  
State.

These three Orders of Officers compose the Emperor's Privy-Council; and at this Tribunal the principal part of the great Affairs are examin'd and determin'd, unless the Emperor assembles the Great Council for that Purpose. This Great Council is compos'd of all the Ministers of State, the chief Presidents, and Assistants of the six supreme Courts, and three other considerable Tribunals. For, besides this Council within the Palace, there are in *Pe-king* six sovereign Courts, call'd *Lew-pú*, whose Power and Authority extend over all the Provinces of the Empire: each of them has always had a President, who is commonly a *Mandarin* of the first Order, and two Assistants of the second Order; without reckoning the forty four subordinate Tribunals, who have every one a President and at least twelve Counsellors.

After



After this Manner the Tribunals were compos'd under the *Chinese* Emperors; but since the *Tartars* became Masters of *China*, they have doubled the Officers, both of the Superior and Inferior Courts, placing therein as many *Tartars* as *Chinese*. This was a Master-Piece of Policy in the Conqueror, who thus brought the *Tartars* into the Administration, without discontenting the *Chinese*; who would have had Cause to complain, if they had been excluded from the public Employments.

The Business of the Chief of their Supreme Courts, call'd *Li-pu*, that is, the *Tribunal of the Mandarin*, is to furnish all the Provinces with Officers; to watch over their Conduct; to examine their good and bad Qualities; and to give an account thereof to the Emperor: that some may be rais'd to the highest Offices, as the Reward of their Virtue and Merit; and others degraded, for behaving unworthy of the Station they were rais'd to. These are, properly speaking, the Inquisitors of the State.

This Court has four Tribunals under it; the first is charged with choosing, those who, by their Learning and other Qualities, deserve to possess the great Offices of the Empire. The second examines the Conduct of the *Mandarins*. The third is to seal all Judicial Acts, to assign to the *Mandarins* of different Dignities and Offices their respective Seals, and to examine if the Seals of the Dispatches, that are sent to Court, be true or counterfeit. The fourth is to examine the Merit of the *Grandees* of the Empire, that is, the Princes of the Blood, the *Regulos*, those who are honour'd with Titles, like our Dukes, Marquisses, and Counts, and in general all Persons of Rank and Distinction.

The second Supreme Court, call'd *Hu-pu*, that is, *High Treasurer of the King*, hath the Superintendence of the Finances, with the Care of the private Estates, Treasures, Expences, and Revenues of the Emperor. It makes out Orders for Salaries and Pensions, appoints the Delivery of Rice, Silks, and Money, which are distributed to the great Lords, and all the *Mandarins* of the Empire. It keeps an exact Catalogue of all Families; of all the Duties that ought to be paid; of the Custom-Houses and public Magazines. To go thro' this prodigious Throng of Business, it has fourteen subordinate Tribunals for the Affairs of the fourteen Provinces, whereof the Empire is compos'd; for the Province of *Pe-che-li*, being the Province of the Court, and consequently superior to the rest, enjoys in many Cases the Prerogatives of the Court and Household of the Emperor. The Province of *Kyang-nan*, whereof *Nan-king* is the Capital, had heretofore the same Privileges, on account of its being the Emperor's Residence; but the *Tartars* have reduc'd it into a common Province, and changed the Name of *Nan-king* into that of *Kyang-min*.

The third Supreme Court is call'd *Li-pu*, or *The Tribunal of Rights*; *Pu* signifying *Tribunal*, and *Li*, *Right*; so that, tho' the Name seems to be the same with that of the first Court already spoken of, yet there is a great Difference between them, which is determin'd by the Pronunciation. It belongs to this Court, to see that Rites and Ceremonies be duly observ'd, and look after the Improvement of Arts and Sciences; it has also the Care of the Imperial Music, and examines those who are Candidates for Degrees, and permits them to come to be examined: it is consulted, concerning Titles of Honours, and other Marks of Distinction, wherewith the Emperor would gratify those that deserve them. Besides, it has the Charge of the Temples and Sacrifices offer'd by the Emperor; also of the Feasts given by the Prince to Subjects, or Strangers. It receives, entertains, and dismisses Ambassadors; it has the Direction of the Liberal Arts, and of the three Laws or Religions that are tolerated in the Empire, viz. of the *Literati*, the *Tau-ssé*, and the Disciples of *Fo*. In short, it is a kind of Ecclesiastical Tribunal, before whom the Missionaries have been oblig'd to appear in Times of Perfection.

This Court is assist'd by four subordinate Tribunals: the Business of the first is to deliberate on the most important Affairs, as when Patents are to be made out for the greatest Offices of the Empire; such are those of the *Tsong-tu*, or Vice-Roys. The second has the Charge of the Sacrifices which the Emperor offers; of the Temples; of the Mathematics; and of the Religions approved or tolerated. The third is to receive those who are sent to the Court. The fourth has the Direction of the Emperor's Table, and the Feasts which he gives either to the *Grandees* or Ambassadors.

The fourth Supreme Court is call'd *Ping-pu*, the *Tribunal of Arms*. The Soldiery of the whole Empire is under its Care, and the Officers of War, as well general as particular, have their Dependence on it. It examines them in their Exercise, keeps the Fortresses in Repair, supplies the Arsenals and the Magazines with Weapons offensive and defensive, Ammunition and Provisions; it causes all sorts of Arms to be made, and in short has the Management of every thing in general, which concerns the Defence and Safety of the Empire.

It has four Inferior Tribunals to assist it; the first disposes of all Military Employments, and sees that the Troops are well disciplin'd. The second distributes the Officers and Soldiers into their respective Stations, for maintaining the public Tranquility, and take Care to clear the Cities and Highways of Thieves and Robbers. The third has the Superintendence of the Horses of the Empire, the Posts, Stages, Imperial Inns, and Barks, appointed to carry Victuals and other Provisions for the Soldiers. The Fourth orders the making of all sorts of Arms, and stowing them in the Arsenals.

They have given the Name of *Hing-pu* to the fifth Supreme Court, which is like the *Tournelle*, or Criminal Chamber belonging to the Parliaments of *France*, where those, guilty of any Crime, are examined; under it are fourteen subordinate Tribunals, according to the Number of the Provinces.



Sixth Court,  
or *Kong-pu*.

The sixth and last Supreme Court, call'd *Kong-pu*, or *The Tribunal of public Works*, is employ'd in keeping in Repair the Palaces as well of the Emperor as of the Tribunals, the Princes of the Blood, and Vice-Roys; the Imperial Sepulchres, Temples, &c. It superintends the Towers, Triumphal Arches, Bridges, Causeways, Dykes, Rivers, [Canals] Lakes, and all the Works necessary to render them navigable; the Streets, Highways, Barks, and all Vessels requisite for Navigation.

Its Tribunals.

This Court has likewise four Subordinate Tribunals; the first prepares the Plans and Designs for the public Works. The second has the Direction of all the Work-Shops of the [Imperial] Joiners, Masons, Carpenters, &c. in the several Cities of the Empire. The third is employ'd in repairing the Canals, Bridges, Causeys, Roads, &c. and making the Rivers navigable. The fourth takes Care of the Royal Houses, Gardens, and Orchards; causes the latter to be improv'd, and receives the Profit arising from them.

Each of these Inferior Tribunals hath a Palace, with proper Halls, and is compos'd of two Presidents and twenty four Counsellors, one half *Tartars*, the other *Chinese*; besides a great number of Clerks, Registers, Tipstiffs, Messengers, Provosts, Sergeants, and other Under-Officers, which I pass over.

The Power  
of the Courts  
how limited  
and restrain'd.

As there might be room to fear, that Bodies of Men, invest'd with so much Power, would by Degrees weaken the Imperial Authority, the Laws have provided against this Inconvenience two Ways; first, none of these Tribunals is vest'd with an absolute Power of judging in Matters that are brought before them, but requires the Assistance of another, and often of all the rest, to put its Decrees in Execution. For Instance, the Army is subject to the fourth Supreme Tribunal, but the Payment of it belongs to the second, while the Barks, Waggon, Tents, Arms, &c. are under the Management of the sixth: so that no military Operation can be carry'd on, without the Concurrence of these different Tribunals, and this is the Case with regard to all Affairs of Importance that concern the State.

Public In-  
spectors or  
Censors.

Secondly, nothing can be better contriv'd to curb the Power of the Magistrates, belonging to the Supreme Tribunals, than the Precaution that is taken to appoint an Officer, whose Business is to assist at all their Assemblies, and to revise all their Acts which are communicated to him. He can decide nothing himself, but is only an Inspector to take notice of every thing that passes in each, and give an account thereof to the Court; being oblig'd by his Office to give private Information to the Emperor of the Faults of the *Mandarins*, not only in the Administration of public Affairs, but in their private Conduct. Nothing escapes their Vigilance, nor do they spare even the Emperor himself when he is blameable; and that they may neither be corrupted by Hopes, nor intimidated by Threats, they are kept constantly in their Employment, unless advanc'd to a more considerable Post.

Their Intre-  
pidity.

This sort of Inspectors or public Censors, call'd *Ko-tau*, are extremely dreaded, and there are astonishing Instances of their Courage and Constancy; they have ventur'd to accuse Princes, great Lords, and *Tartar* Vice-Roys, tho' under the Protection of the Emperor; nay they commonly, either thro' Obstinacy or Vanity, choose to fall into Disgrace with the Prince, and even suffer Death, rather than desist from their Pursuits, when they believe them to be consistent with Equity and the Rules of a wise Government.

Regard paid  
to their In-  
formations,

One of these Censors having, in the Reign of the late *Kang-hi*, accus'd and convicted four *Kalau's*, and as many great Officers, of receiving Bribes to put People into Posts; they were immediately displaced, and reduced to the Condition of Warders, who are petty Officers among the Commonalty. So that one may well say of the Officers of this Court, what a *Persian* Courtier said of his own Prince, "They are in the Hands of the King my Master, like Counters, which have no Value but what he puts upon them."

much dread-  
ed.

When the Emperor, according to Custom, refers the Petitions of these Censors to the Tribunals, to deliberate upon them, the *Mandarins* seldom contradict them, for fear of being accus'd themselves; this, it is true, gives them great Power in the Empire, but then it is a means of keeping every one to his good Behaviour, and in the Subordination necessary to maintain the Imperial Authority. Whatever Deference the *Mandarins* pay to the least Intimations, as well as Orders of the Emperor, they do not fail on proper Occasions to discover a great deal of Resolution. When the Emperor interrogates the Tribunals, and they answer according to the Laws, they are not liable to either Blame or Reproach; whereas, if they answer contrary thereto, the Censors of the Empire have a right to accuse, and the Emperor to punish them.

Tribunal for  
the Affairs of  
the Princes.

There is at *Pe-king* another Tribunal establish'd, solely to inspect the Affairs relating to the Princes; which they are not willing should be confounded with those of the common People. The Presidents and Officers of this Tribunal are Princes; but the inferior Officers are choic'd from among the common *Mandarins*, who draw up the Acts of their Proceedings, and all other necessary Writings. Also in the Registers of this Tribunal, all the Children of the Imperial Family, as soon as they are born, are enroll'd; the Titles and Dignities they are honour'd with inscrib'd; and in this Court they are tried and punish'd when culpable. The Regulo's, besides their lawful Wives, have commonly three more, on whom the Emperor bestows Titles, and whose Names are registr'd in this Tribunal. Their Children take Place next to those that are legitimate; and are more respected than those born of meer Concubines, of whom the Princes may have as many as they please.

I shall give no farther account of the several Tribunals establish'd in the Imperial City, having been so particular in that of the six principal, to which the rest are subordinate; but I cannot omit



one of a singular kind, which will serve to inform us in how great Esteem Men of Learning are in China.

Every three Years all the *Kyu-jin*, or *Licentiates* in the Empire, resort to *Pe-king*, to obtain their Doctor's Degree; where they are strictly examin'd for thirteen Days together, and not above three hundred can be admitted. Out of these new Doctors, those who have given Proofs of their Capacity and Skill, are chosen to compose the Tribunal, whereof I am speaking; which is call'd *Han-lin-ywen*, and is a kind of Academy, whose Members are Men of the greatest Genius and Learning in the Empire.

These Doctors direct the Education of the Heir to the Crown, and are to teach him Virtue, the Sciences and Rules of Civility, and the great Art of governing well. It is their Business to write the History of the Empire in general, and to record all the considerable Events, worthy to be transmitted to Posterity. Their Profession is to study continually, and to compose useful Books. They are properly the *Literati* of the Emperor, who discourses with them about Matters relating to the Sciences; and often chooses the *Ko-lau's* and Presidents of the Supreme Tribunals out of their Body, they being at once both esteem'd and dreaded.

The Emperor likewise nominates and vests with Authority the *Mandarins* in the Provinces, who are govern'd by two General Officers, on whom they depend; one is call'd *Fu-ywen*, the same with the Vice-Roy, or Governor of a Province in *Europe*; the other, whose Jurisdiction is much more extensive, since he has two, and sometimes three Provinces subject to him, is call'd *Tsong-tu*. Both these are at the Head of a Supreme Tribunal in the Province, wherein all Affairs of Moment, Civil or Criminal, are determin'd; to them the Emperor immediately issues his Orders, and they take Care to transmit them off hand to all the Cities in their District.

However great the Authority of the *Tsong-tu* may be, it does not in the least diminish that of the particular Vice-Roys; but every thing is regulated in such a manner, that they never have any Contest about Jurisdiction. The Supreme Tribunal of every Province hath several other subordinate Tribunals under it; and a certain number of inferior *Mandarins*, who assist the Vice-Roy in dispatching Affairs.

In all the Capital Cities of the Provinces two Tribunals are establish'd, one for Civil, and the other for Criminal Affairs. The first call'd *Pu-ching-tse*, has a President who is like the Treasurer General of a Province in *Europe*; and two Assistants, who are all *Mandarins* of the second Order. The Criminal Tribunal, nam'd *Ngan-cha-tse*, has a President of the third Order, and instead of Assistants, it has two Classes of *Mandarins*, call'd *Tau-li*.

These *Mandarins* are Visitors of the different Districts, into which every Province is divided, and have their respective Tribunals; their Business is to give an account of what passes to the Emperor, especially when there is no Visitor in the Province sent expressly from the Court. Some of them, call'd *I-chwen-tau*, have the Care of the Posts, as also of the Imperial Inns and Barks within their District; others named *Ping-pi-tau*, have the Inspection of the Army; the *Tun-tyen-tau* oversee the repairing of the High Roads; the *Ho-tau* take Care of the Rivers; and those call'd *Hay-tau*, visit the Sea Coasts. They have all a Power to punish Criminals, and are as the Substitutes of the six Supreme Tribunals of the Court.

The Cities being of three different Ranks, have also their own Governors, and several [other] Magistrates. The [chief] *Mandarin* of Cities of the first Rank, is call'd *Cbi-fu*, and is of the fourth Order, but his three Assistants are *Mandarins* of the sixth and seventh Order; he has besides a number of inferior *Mandarins* under him, in Proportion to the Extent of his Jurisdiction and number of Cities within it.

The *Mandarin* of Cities of the second Rank, is nam'd *Cbi-chew*, and is of the second Degree of the fifth Order; his two Assistants are of the second Degree of the sixth and seventh Order.

In short, all the rest of the Cities of the Empire have each a Tribunal, whose President is call'd *Cbi-byen*. He is a *Mandarin* of the seventh Order, and has two Assistants, one of the eighth, and the other of the ninth Order.

Besides the Tribunals, common to all the Provinces, there are others peculiar to certain Places, or which have particular Functions. Such are for Instance (1) the *Mandarins* of the Salt, whose Business is to distribute it thro' the Provinces by trusty Persons, and to hinder private Traders from selling it in Prejudice to the Revenue; the President of this Tribunal is call'd *Yen-fa-tau*. (2) The *Mandarin-General* of the Tribute of Rice, named *Lyang-tau*. (3) Another *Mandarin-General*, call'd *Hyo-tau*, who presides at the Examination of the Students of the Province, and those who appear to take the Degrees of Literature; besides several others too tedious to mention, who have particular Offices.

The number of Literary *Mandarins*, dispersed thro' the Empire, amount to more than thirteen thousand six hundred; four times a Year is printed an exact Catalogue of them, wherein their Name, Titles, Country, and the Times when they took their Degree, are mention'd. I shall speak elsewhere of the Military *Mandarins*, or Officers of War.

The Governors of Cities, who are inferior *Mandarins*, do not commonly determine matters of Importance themselves, but are oblig'd to make their Report to the Superior *Mandarins*; that is, to the *Pu-ching-tse* and *Fu-ywen*, who have none above them, except the Tribunals of *Pe-king*. As for the *Tsong-tu*, who is above a Vice-Roy, and has the Government of two or three Provinces, he is subject to the same Tribunals; but his Office is so considerable, that there is no advancing him without making him a Minister of State, or President of one of the Supreme Courts.

The



Badges of the  
Quân.

The *Mandarins* are extremely jealous of the Badges of their Dignity, which distinguish them not only from the common People, but also from other *Literati*, and all those of an inferior Rank among themselves. This Badge consists of a Piece of square Stuff, which they wear upon their Breasts, richly work'd, and carrying in the Middle the Devices peculiar to their respective Employments. The Literary *Mandarins* have, some a Dragon with four Claws, others an Eagle, or a Sun, and so of the rest: In like manner, those of the Military Class bear Leopards, Tygers, Lions, &c. They likewise affect a Distinction in their Girdles: In former Times before the *Chinese* took the *Tartarian* Habit, they were divided into small Squares, and fasten'd before with great Clasps, made of the Horns of Buffaloes and Rhinoceroses, of Ivory, Tortoise-shell, Eagle Wood, Silver, Gold, and Jewels; the Materials differing according to the different Employment of the Persons. None but a *Ko-lau* might wear one of Jewels, which was given him by the Emperor, when he put him in Possession of his Office; but at present a silk Girdle is all that is worn.

Power of the  
several *Quân*.

There is an absolute mutual Dependence among the several Powers that govern the Empire. The most inconsiderable *Mandarin* has full Authority within the Extent of his District; but he depends on other *Mandarins*, who tho' more powerful, yet are subject to the General Officers of every Province; as these latter are to the Tribunals of the Imperial City; and the Presidents of the Supreme Courts, who are dreaded by all other *Mandarins*, tremble themselves before the Emperor, in whom resides the Sovereign Power.

Manner of  
distributing  
Offices among them  
by Lot.

The Employments are divided among the *Mandarin* Officers, in the following Manner. Any Person who has gain'd two of the three Degrees of Literature, is capable of enjoying Public Offices. The Names of these three sorts of the Learned, that is, *Si-ew-tsi* or Batchellors, *Kyu-jin* or Licentiates, and *Tsing-tse* or Doctors, are written on the Registers of the first supreme Tribunal, call'd *Li-pu*; which distributes the vacant Offices, according to the Rank and Merit of the *Literati*, who when duly qualify'd repair to Court for that Purpose; but they do not usually raise even *Tsing-tse*, or Doctors, to be more than Governors of Cities of the second or third Rank. As soon as any of these Employments fall, suppose four, they immediately acquaint the Emperor with it; and then calling the four *Literati*, who are first upon the List, write the Names of the four Governments on four Tickets, which are put into a Box, placed so high as just to be within Reach of the Candidates, who draw by turns according to their Rank, each possessing the City which falls to his Lot.

Besides the common Examinations, they pass thro' another; in order to discover what sort of Government they are fit for: and it is said, that when a Person has Friends or Money to bestow, the *Chinese* do not want Ways to cause the best Governments to fall to those they design to favour.

The Ease  
with which  
a single *Quân*  
governs  
Multitudes.

'Tis surprizing with how much Ease a single *Mandarin*, for Instance, a *Chi-fu*, governs Multitudes of People; he does no more than publish his Orders on a small Piece of Paper, sealed with his Seal, and fix'd up at the Corners of Streets, and he is instantly obey'd. This ready Obedience is grounded on that profound Veneration and unlimited Submission with respect to Parents, in which the *Chinese* are brought up from their Infancy. It proceeds also partly from the Reverence the *Mandarin* acquires by his Conduct towards a People, who are accusom'd to look upon him as the Emperor himself, whose Person he represents. They never speak to him but on their Knees when he is distributing Justice in his Tribunal; and he never appears in Public without a great Attendance, in a very majestick Manner; he is pompously dress'd, his Countenance grave and severe, being carried by four Men in a gilded Chair, open if in Summer, but cover'd with Silk in Winter; preceded by all the Officers of his Tribunal, whose Caps and Garb are of a very extraordinary Fashion.

The Pomp  
in which they  
appear a-  
broad.

These Officers march in Order on each Side the Street, some carrying before him an Umbrella of Silk, some striking from time to time on a Copper Bason, and giving Notice to the People, with a loud Voice, to shew Respect as he passes along. Some carry great Whips, others long Staves or Iron-Chains, the Din of all which Instruments makes the People tremble; for they are naturally timorous, and know that in Cases of Disobedience they cannot escape Correction. So that as soon as he is in Sight, all who are in the Street, shew their Respect; not by saluting him in any manner whatsoever, for that would be a Familiarity deserving Punishment; but by withdrawing out of the Way, standing upright with the Feet close together, and their Arms hanging down; in which Posture as the most respectful, they continue till the *Mandarin* has pass'd by.

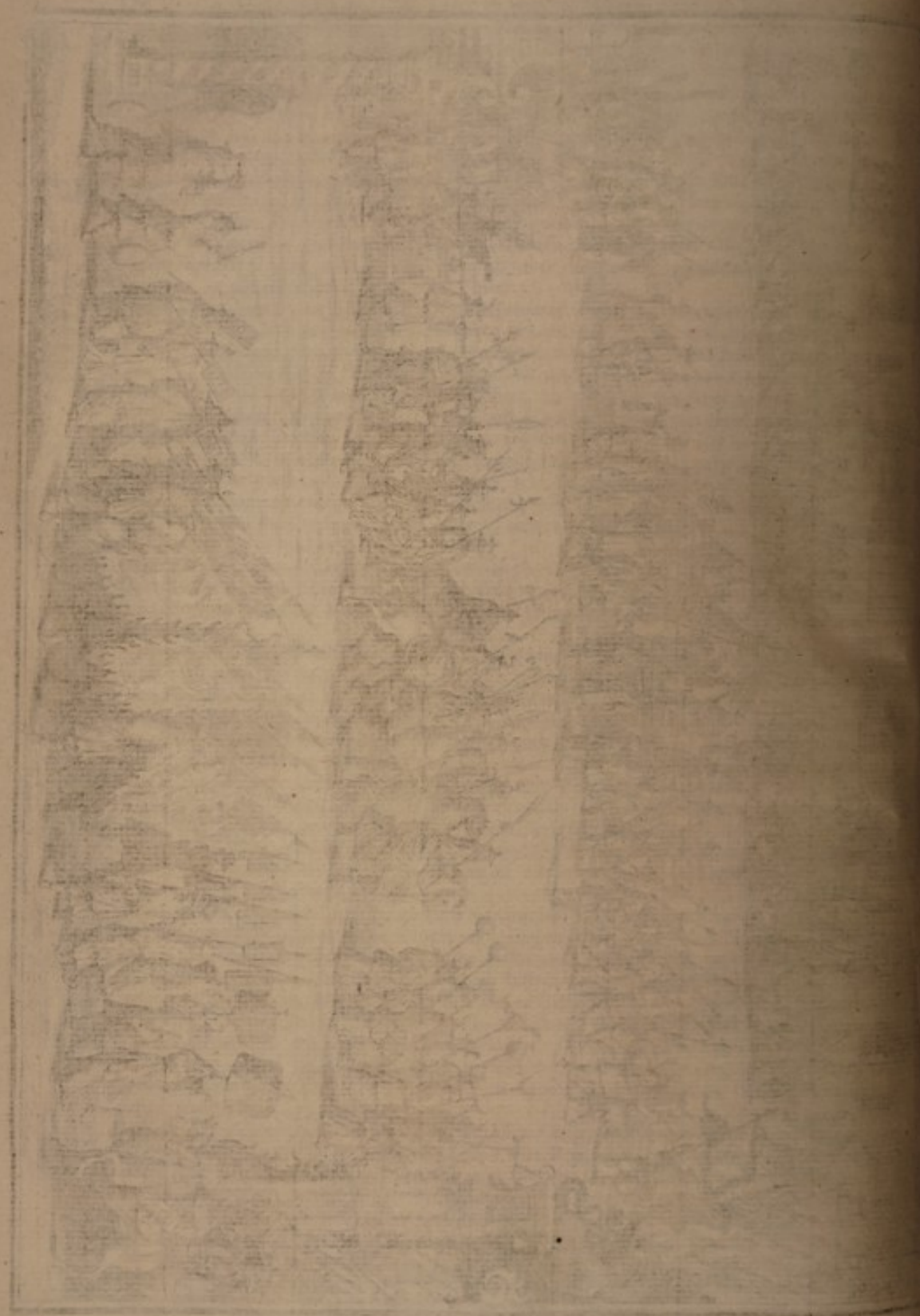
That of a  
*Tsing-tu*, or  
Vice-Roy.

If the *Chi-fu*, who is a *Mandarin* of the fifth Order, marches with so much Pomp, what must be the Magnificence of the *Tsing-tu*, or a Vice-Roy, when he goes abroad? He is always accompany'd with a hundred Men at least, and this long Train, which has nothing embarrassing, because every one knows his Post, sometimes takes up a whole Street. In the middle of this Procession he appears, clad in his Habit of Ceremony, and sitting in a very large Chair, handsomely gilt, carry'd on the Shoulders of eight Men. First, two Kettle Drums beating upon Copper Basons, gives Notice of the March. Next follow eight Persons bearing Colours, (with japan'd Staves) whereon are written in large Characters, the Vice-Roy's Titles. Then fourteen other Ensigns, exhibiting the Symbols peculiar to his Office, such as the Dragon, Tyger, Phoenix, flying Tortoise, and other winged Animals. Six Officers carrying a Board in the Shape of a large Shovel, suspended at a pretty good Height; whereon are written, in large golden Characters, the particular Qualifications of the *Mandarin*. Two others bearing, the first, a large triple Umbrella of yellow Silk; the second a Case, wherein the Umbrella is kept. Two Archers on Horseback,











at the Head of the chief Guards. The Guards arm'd with strait Scythes, adorn'd with Locks of Silk in four Rows; two other Files of arm'd Men, some of them carrying Maces, either with long Handles, or in the Form of a Hand or Serpent of Iron; others arm'd with large Hammers and long Hatchets like a Crescent. Another Company of Guards, some arm'd with sharp Battle-Axes, others with strait Scythes like the former. Soldiers carrying three pointed Halberts, Arrows or Axes. Two Porters, with a kind of handsome Coffer, containing the Seals of his Office. Two other Kettle Drummers, who give Notice of the *Mandarin's* Approach. Two Officers with Plumes of Geese Feathers in their Hats, and arm'd with Canes, to keep the Crowd in Awe. After them come two Mace-bearers, with gilt Maces in the Shape of Dragons, and a great number of Officers of Justice; some holding Whips or flat Staves, to give the Bastonado, others arm'd with Chains, Whips, and Cutlances, or carrying Silk Scarfs. Lastly, two Standard-bearers, and the Captain, who commands the Company. This is the Equipage that precedes the Vice-Roy, who is carry'd in his Chair, surrounded with Pages and Footmen, having near his Person an Officer, who carries a large Fan, shap'd like a Skreen. He is follow'd by several Guards, some armed with Maces, in form of Polyhedrons, and others with long handled Sabres. After which come several Ensigns and Cornets, with a great number of Domestics on Horseback, every one carrying something for the Use of the *Mandarin*; as the second Cap, inclosed in a Case, if the Weather should oblige him to change the one he wears, &c.

When he is abroad in the night time, they do not carry Flambeaux as in *Europe*, but several very handsome large Lanthorns, on which are written in Capital Letters the Titles and Quality of the *Mandarin*, with the Order of his *Mandarinat*; thereby to inspire every one with the Reverence due to him, as also that those who are walking may stop, and others who are sitting may rise in a respectful manner.

It is the Duty of the Governor of every *Hyen* or *Cheu* to administer Justice; to receive the Tribute due from each Family to the Emperor; to visit personally the Bodies of those who have either been kill'd in some Scuffle, or thro' Despair have laid violent Hands on themselves. Twice in a Month he is oblig'd to give Audience to all the Heads of the Wards in his District, and to inform himself exactly of every thing that passes. It is likewise his Business to give Passports to Barks and other Vessels, to hear Complaints and Accusations, which must be almost continual, in a Country so populous. All Law-Suits come before his Tribunal, and he punishes the Person he judges to be in the Wrong, with a severe Bastonado. In a Word, he condemns Criminals to Death, but his Sentence, or indeed that of any superior *Mandarin*, cannot be executed till it be ratify'd by the Emperor. Causes of small Importance are determined first by the three inferior *Mandarins*, who are like the private Deputies of our Judges of the Presidial Courts [in *France*].

However formidable the Authority of these *Mandarins* may be, they could not maintain themselves in their Offices, if they did not gain the Reputation of being the Fathers of the People, and of having nothing in view, but their Happiness; so that a good *Mandarin* ought to place all his Glory in rendering the People happy. A Magistrate of this Character has made it his Business to send for Persons skill'd in breeding Silk Worms and making Silk, that he might teach those Arts in his District; and thus by enriching his City, he has acquired the greatest Applause.

There have been others, who in the Time of a Storm were not contented to forbid Persons to cross the River, but have come themselves to the Bank, and staid there all Day; to prevent, by his Presence, any from being so rash thro' Desire of Gain as to expose himself to the Danger of perishing miserably. A *Mandarin* who did not shew the like Affection, or was too severe to the People under him, could not avoid being noted down in the Informations sent by the Vice-Roys every three Years to the Court, and this would be sufficient to deprive him of his Office. If a Prisoner dies in his Confinement, a great number of Attestations must be produced, to prove, that the *Mandarin* was not suborn'd to compass his Death; that he visited him, sent him a Physician, and furnish'd him with proper Remedies, &c. for an account must be transmitted to the Emperor of all those who die in Prison, and of the manner of their Death, and according to the Advice which he receives, he often orders an extraordinary Process.

There are certain Occasions whereon the *Mandarins* affect chiefly to shew their Tendernefs for their People; for instance, when they are apprehensive of a bad Harvest, occasion'd either by Drought, too much Rain, or any other Accident, such as the swarming of Grass-Hoppers, which sometimes over-run certain Provinces; for then the *Mandarin*, either thro' Affection, Interest, or Dissimulation, omits nothing that may render him popular. Tho' the greater Part of them are Men of Letters, and detest the Idols of *Fo* and the *Tau*, yet they fail not to make solemn Visits to their Temples, and that on Foot, contrary to their Custom, to implore Rain or fair Weather. When Calamities of this Nature happen, the *Mandarin* causes his Orders for a general Fast to be fix'd up in all public Places, forbidding Butchers and Cooks to sell Meat under heavy Penalties; which, tho' they cannot do it openly in their Shops, they do privately by means of a little Money, given under hand to the People of the Tribunal, appointed to see that the Orders are observed.

The *Mandarin* goes to the Idol Temples on Foot, negligently dress'd, sometimes even with Straw Shoes on, accompany'd with inferior *Mandarins*, and follow'd by the principal Persons of the City. Being arrived, he lights upon the Altar two or three small perfume-Sticks, after which they all sit; and to pass away the Time, drink Tea, smoke, and chat an Hour or two together, and then retire.

Duty of Governors of Cities of the first and second Rank.

The greatest Merit of the *Qian* is the Love of the People.

Great Value set on the Life of the Subject.

The *Qian* visit the Idol Temples to pray for Rain.



An Idol  
beaten to  
pieces for not  
sending Rain.

This is all the Formality they observe on such Occasions, wherein the Reader may perceive they treat the Idol with very little Ceremony; and if they are oblig'd to pray too long before the Favour is granted, they sometimes bring him to Reason with a good Cudgel, but this is rare. It is said that at *Kyang-chew*, in the Province of *Shen-fi*, an Image was beaten to pieces by Order of the Officers, for very obstinately refusing to send Rain in Time of a great Drought. It may be presum'd that during this Execution, there were delicate Hymns sung in his Praise; and when Rain fell, they made another Image, which was no difficult matter, (for they are generally of Earth, or a sort of Plaister,) and led it in Triumph into the City; where they offer'd Sacrifices to it, and in a Word restored it to its Saintship again.

Another Idol  
ill treated on  
a like ac-  
count.

The Vice-Roy of a Province proceeded in the same Manner with another Idol, which not vouchsafing to answer his reiterated Prayers, he could not restrain his Choler; but sent an inferior *Mandarin* to tell him, that if there was not Rain by such a Day, he would drive him out of the City, and level his Temple with the Ground. It is likely the Image did not understand that Language, or was not afraid of his Menaces; for on the Day limit'd there fell no Rain. Upon which the Vice-Roy, to be as good as his Word, forbade the People to carry any Offering to the Image, and ordered the Temple to be shut up, and the Gates seal'd, which was immediately done; but the Rain falling a few Days after, the Vice-Roy's Anger was appeas'd, and the Image permitted to be worshipp'd as before.

In these kinds of public Calamities, the *Mandarin* addresses himself chiefly to the Guardian-Genius of the City, according to ancient Custom, imploring his Assistance usually in the following Form; viz.

Form of ad-  
dressing the  
Guardian  
Genius of a  
City.

"Guardian Genius! Notwithstanding I am the Pastor and Governor of this City, you, tho' invisible, are much more so. This Quality of Pastor obliges me to procure the People what ever is advantageous for them, and to remove from them every thing that is hurtful. But it is from you, properly, that they receive their Happiness; it is you who preserve them from the Misfortunes they are threaten'd with: and tho' you are invisible to our Eyes, yet whenever you please to accept our Offerings, and hear our Vows, you are in some Sense no longer so. But if you are pray'd to in vain, the Heart can have no Share in the Honours paid you; you indeed will continue to be what you are, but you will be little known: in the same manner as I, who am commission'd to protect and defend the People, would make them doubt of my Quality if I did not act answerable to it. In public Calamities we ought to lay before you the Ills which we cannot remedy, and implore your Aid. Behold then the great Affliction the People are in! from the sixth to the eighth Month no Rain hath fallen, nor any Grain been yet reap'd, if all be destroy'd, how can the Earth be sown hereafter? It is my Duty to represent this to you. I have appointed several Fast-Days: the Butchers are forbidden to open their Shops; the use of Meat, Fish, and even Wine, is prohibited; every one applies himself sincerely to purify his Heart, examine his Conscience, and repent: but our Virtue and Merits are not sufficient to move *Tyen*. As for you, O Spirit! the invisible Governor of this City, you have Access to him; you can request Favours of him for us Mortals, and beseech him to put an end to our Afflictions. Such a Favour obtain'd by your Intercession, will answer the utmost Desires of the People. I shall see then accomplish'd what my Office obliges me earnestly to wish for; and you will be more and more ador'd in the City, when it appears to the Inhabitants, that you do not preside over it in vain."

Duty of the  
Governors  
to administer  
Justice;

As the *Mandarin* is appointed solely to support and protect the People, he ought always to be ready to hear their Complaints, not only at the stated Hours of Audience, but at all other Hours of the Day. If the Affair be urgent, then they go to his Palace, and beat loud upon a kind of Kettle-Drum, which is sometimes on one side of the Hall of Justice, but commonly without Doors, that the People may come at it both Night and Day. At this Signal, the *Mandarin*, tho' ever so much employ'd, is oblig'd to leave every thing immediately, to grant the Audience demanded; but whoever gives the Alarm, unless he has suffer'd some extraordinary Wrong that requires speedy Redress, is sure to receive the Bastinado for his Pains.

to preach as  
Priests under  
the Emperor.

One of his principal Functions is to instruct his People as he is in the Emperor's stead; who according to the *Chinese* is not only a Monarch to govern, and a Priest to sacrifice, but is also a Master to teach. Hence it is that from time to time he assembles all the *Grandees* of the Court and chief *Mandarins* of the Tribunals, to give them Instructions, always taking his Text out of the Canonical Books.

Their Times  
of assembling  
the People.

In like manner, on the first and fifteenth Day of every Month the *Mandarins* assemble, and give their People a long Discourse, wherein every Governor acts the Part of a Father, who instructs his Family. There is a Law of the Empire for this Practice, and the Emperor himself has appointed the Subjects to be handled in their Sermons; which are comprehended in sixteen Imperial Ordinances as follows; viz.

Subjects for  
Texts.

The First.

That they very carefully practise the Duties prescribed by filial Piety, and the Deference that the younger Brother ought to pay the elder; whereby they will learn how to set a Value on the essential Obligations, which Nature lays on all Mankind.

The Second.

That they always preserve a respectful Remembrance for the Ancestors of their Family; which will be constantly attended with Unity, Peace, and Concord.

That



That there be Union in all the Villages; by this means they will be Strangers to Quarrels and Law-Suits. The Third.

Let them have a great Esteem for the Profession of Husbandmen, and those who cultivate Mulberry-Trees, wherewith the Silk-Worms are nourish'd; they will then never want Grain to feed on, nor Garments to cover them. The Fourth.

That they accustom themselves to a prudent Oeconomy by Frugality, Temperance and Modesty; and this will be the means of avoiding many idle Expenses. The Fifth.

That great Care be taken to encourage public Schools; to the end young Students may be taught good Morals. The Sixth.

That every one apply himself to his proper Business; which will be an infallible means to keep the Heart and Mind at Ease. The Seventh.

That they stifle Sects and Errors in their Birth; in order to preserve the true and solid Doctrine in its Purity. The Eighth.

That they inculcate to the People the Penal Laws establish'd by the supreme Authority; for Fear will keep rude and untractable Minds in their Duty. The Ninth.

That they instruct Persons thoroughly in the Laws of Civility and decent Behaviour; thus the good Customs, which Decorum has establish'd, will always be punctually practised. The Tenth.

That they apply all their Endeavours to give Children, and younger Brothers, a good Education; which will prevent their giving themselves up to Vice and disorderly Passions. The Eleventh.

That they abstain from all slanderous Accusations; thus Innocence and Integrity will have nothing to fear. The Twelfth.

That they take Care not to conceal the Guilty, whose Crimes oblige them to lead a wandering and vagabond Life; by this Means they will avoid being involved in their Misfortunes. The Thirteenth.

That they be punctual in paying the Contributions establish'd by the Prince; whereby they will prevent the Inquiries and Vexations of the Tax-Gatherers. The Fourteenth.

That they act in Concert with the Heads of the Wards in every City; which will prevent Thefts, and the Escape of those who are Guilty. The Fifteenth.

That they repress the Sallies of Anger, which will secure them against all Danger. The Sixteenth.

These are the Ordinances which serve the *Mandarins* for a Text to their Sermons. The following Discourse of one of them upon the third Head, will shew their Manner of instructing the People.

"The Emperor orders you to preserve Union in the Villages, that Quarrels and Law-Suits may be banish'd from thence; listen attentively to the Explanation that I shall make of this Ordinance. A Sermon preached by a *Qian*.

"When you dwell in the same Place (whether Relations or not, imports little) you pass for an Inhabitant of that Place or Town; you there live with Kinsfolks or Acquaintances, with Persons advanced in Age, and with your School-Fellows; you cannot go abroad without seeing one another Morning and Evening, and at all times you will meet. It is this Assemblage of Families united in the same Place, that I call a Village: in this Village there are rich and Poor; some are your Superiors, some your Inferiors, and other are your Equals.

"First of all therefore let this be a Maxim with you, that your Credit ought never to be employ'd to make yourself dreaded; and that you are never to be allow'd to make use of Craft or to lay Snares for your Neighbours. To speak of the latter with Contempt; to be ostentatious of your own good Qualities; and to seek to enrich yourself at the Expence of others, are things that you ought absolutely to avoid.

"One of the Ancients has wisely remark'd, that in a Place where there are old Men as well as young, the latter ought to respect the former, without examining whether they are rich or poor, learned or ignorant, they ought to regard nothing but their Age. If being in easy Circumstances you despise the Poor; if being in Indigence you look upon the Rich with an Eye of Envy; this will cause perpetual Divisions. What! says the proud rich Man, will you not give Place to me? and behold I am ready to crush you in pieces. In effect, if you have Lands or Houses he will endeavour to deprive you of them, and by Violence encroach upon your Property; neither your Wives nor Daughters will be secure from such a Creditor: as you are insolvent he will force them from you, under the specious Pretence of equitable Compensation. Sometimes when he is in an angry Mood, he will let loose his Horses and Oxen into your Fields, which will spoil your Lands newly sown; sometimes in the Heat of Wine he will give himself up to the greatest Excesses. Honest Men will not be able to avoid his Insults. The Patience of his Neighbours being quite tir'd out, they will exclaim against him, and apply to the Gentlemen of the Quirk, to sue him in form. These mischievous crafty Vermin will aggravate every thing in order to involve them over Head and Ears in Law. They will magnify a small Pond to a raging Sea, whose foaming Waves swell to the very Clouds; and the merest Trifle will become a most serious Matter: mean time the Accusation will be carry'd into all the Tribunals; and the Expence of the Prosecution will be attended with Consequences that will be felt ever after.

"Are you on a Journey? if you chance to meet a Man of your own Village, as soon as you know him by his Tongue, nothing can be comparable to the secret Pleasure which

"you



" which you feel ; you lodge together, you love one another as if you were own Brothers : how  
 " then comes it to pass, that when you live in the same Place, instead of preserving Peace and  
 " good Order, you excite Quarrels and sow Divisions ?

" Never speak Evil of others, and then they will let you be easy, never fall out with any  
 " Body. Give way of your own Accord to others ; let your Patience be Proof against Contra-  
 " diction, and you need never to fear being abused or insulted.

" When a Difference arises between two Persons, if charitable People draw near to reconcile  
 " them ; when the Fire of Discord is kindled in a Family, if the Neighbours run to quench  
 " it ; if when a Man is in a violent Passion, another takes him aside, and mildly endeavours to  
 " pacify his Anger : the great Fire that seemed to menace Heaven, will disappear in a Mo-  
 " ment ; and that important Affair, which was going to be carried before the Tribunals of the  
 " Great, will be brought to an End with as much Ease as an Icicle is melted, or a Tile taken  
 " from the Roof of an House. But if an Incendiary interposes, like a great Stone which, fal-  
 " ling with Violence, breaks to Pieces every thing in its Way, he will engage you by his pern-  
 " cious Counsels and Practices, which will lead you to the Brink of Ruin. But since I am speak-  
 " ing of the fatal Consequences that attend Quarrels and Law-Suits, hearken attentively to what  
 " I have farther to say on this Head.

" When once the Affair comes before a *Mandarin*, either you or the adverse Party must be  
 " vanquish'd. If you have the worst on't, and are not willing to submit, you will seek every  
 " where for Support and Protection ; you will endeavour to obtain the good Graces of the  
 " *Mandarin's* Favourites, and they must be well paid for their Services. You will be desirous  
 " also of gaining over to your Side the People belonging to the Court, and how many Feasts  
 " will that oblige you to give them ? have you wherewithal to defray such Expences ?

" But if you fall into the Hands of an evil Judge, who, to ruin you, borrows the Colours and  
 " Appearances of Uprightness and Equity ; in vain have you made Interest with those who  
 " have Access to him, and are much in his Esteem ; in vain the Officers of the Court, those  
 " venal Wretches, those Blood-Suckers of the People, will declare themselves in your Favour.  
 " After all the Expences laid out, on one Side by you to oppose your Enemy, and by your  
 " Enemy on the other to avoid your Fury, you will both be forced at length into an Accommo-  
 " dation. But if you refuse to agree ; if after being cast in a subordinate Tribunal, you will ap-  
 " peal to a superior Court ; you will see Petitions every Day running thro' all the Tribunals :  
 " the Law-Suit will be spun out for several Years, by the Tricks of roguish Practitioners.  
 " The Witnesses will suffer by it ; a great Number of Persons will be involved in your Affair :  
 " some will be thrown into Prison, others punish'd by the Hand of Justice. In short, before  
 " Sentence be pronounced, an infinite Number of Families will be reduced to shameful Beggary.  
 " You may conclude from what I have said, that had you Mountains of Copper, and Mines of  
 " Gold, they would hardly defray such Expences ; and tho' you had a Body of Iron you would  
 " scarcely be able to hold out against the Fatigues you must undergo.

" The Emperor, whose Compassion to his People is unbounded, prohibits Law-Suits ; and  
 " having your Peace and Unanimity at Heart, is so good as to give you Instructions himself,  
 " to prevent the Broils which may arise among you.

" To that end reverence old Age, honour Virtue, respect the Rich, and pity the Poor.  
 " Don't you concern yourself to rectify what you find out of Order. If you suspect any  
 " Body has a Design to disparage you, never seek to revenge yourself ; if you have Libertines  
 " among you, exhort them with Civility and Mildness to change their Life. On the Work Days due  
 " to the Public, shew your Unanimity, by your mutual Readiness to assist one another. The  
 " next Piece of Advice, which does not less concern you is, that if you are rich, you should  
 " not pride yourself in keeping plentiful Tables, or in wearing costly Apparel ; if you have  
 " Authority and Credit, never employ them to oppress the Weak and Defenceless. What I re-  
 " quire of you is, that you be humble in your Prosperity, as well as active and vigilant in your  
 " Duty. 'Tis my Wish also, that being quite free from Ambition, you may be content with  
 " a little ; and that you would distinguish yourselves by Mildness, by Moderation, and above all  
 " by Frugality,

" Beware of those Years which happen from time to time, when Epidemic Distempers,  
 " joined to a Scarcity of Corn, make all Places desolate : Your Duty then is to have Compas-  
 " sion on your Fellow-Citizens, and assist them with whatever you can spare.

" This Point, as it promotes your Interest, claims your Attention ; for by this Means your  
 " Husbandmen will be faithful, your Fields will not be abandon'd, your Neighbours will be  
 " careful of your Preservation, and your Interest will be that of the Publick : On the other  
 " hand, Heaven, by Ways to you unknown, will protect and shower down Blessings upon  
 " you.

" As for Tradesmen and all Mechanics, tho' by the immutable Laws of a superior Being,  
 " they are born to Poverty and in a low Condition ; their Happiness consists in living according  
 " to their Circumstances, in not being uneasy at their own Poverty, nor envying others in the  
 " Possession of their Wealth. This Rule of Morality will be to them a Source of Peace and  
 " Consolation. A good Man will assuredly prosper ; for true Virtue can never remain long in  
 " Obscurity. You are now acquainted with the Intentions of the Emperor, whereto it behoves  
 " you to conform ; which if you do (as I make no doubt but you will) the greatest Advantages  
 " will accrue from your Obedience : for you will content the Paternal Heart of his Majesty :  
 " "Discord"



"Discord will be no more seen among you; you will save the *Mandarins* the Trouble of multiplying Arrests and Punishments; and you will promote the Tranquillity and Peace of the Emperor. When you shall return Home apply your selves, each of you, seriously to the Practice of so useful a Doctrine".

In this manner every *Mandarin* gives the People twice a Month a Lecture of Morality; and it is so essential a Part of his Office, that there are some sorts of Crimes for which, if committed within his District, he must be accountable. The *Qada* accountable for the Crimes of the People.

When a Theft or a Murder happens in a City, he is obliged to discover the Thief or Murderer, or else he will lose his Employment. If a Crime be committed, as for Instance, if a Son should be so unnatural as to kill his Father, the Court is no sooner inform'd of it than all the *Mandarins* of that District are deprived of their Offices. "The Fault is theirs, say they, nor could this Misfortune have happened had they been careful to promote good Morals: For the same Reason, where the Children have been guilty of extraordinary Crimes, they put their Parents to Death along with them.

As nothing is comparable to the excellent Order established for the Government of the Empire, so no State would be more happy, did all the *Mandarins*, instead of gratifying their Passions, conform themselves strictly to the Laws of their Country: But among so great a Number there are always some, who, placing their Happiness in the Pleasures and Enjoyments of this Life, do not often scruple to sacrifice the most sacred Laws of Reason and Justice to their private Interests. Not free from Corruption.

There are no Tricks or Artifices which some of the inferior Officers do not make Use of to deceive the superior *Mandarins*; among the latter there are some who endeavour to impose upon the supreme Tribunals of the Court, and even to deceive the Emperor himself. They are so dexterous at cloaking their Design, under the most humble and flattering Expressions; and in the Memorials, which they present, affect such an Air of Disinterestedness, that it is often a very hard Matter for the Prince not to mistake Falsehood for Truth.

Besides, as their Salaries are not always sufficient to support their Pomp and Luxury, they make no Difficulty to commit Injustice, provided they can do it secretly; and even Ministers of State, and chief Presidents of the supreme Courts, have been known to extort Money underhand from the Vice-Roys of Provinces; and these again, are forced to recruit themselves by squeezing the subordinate Officers, who do not fail to exact from the People wherewithal to defray the Expence.

The Laws, however, have provided against this Disorder by several Precautions, which keep the *Mandarins* within Bounds, and shelter the People from Extortions. The Emperor [*Yong-ching*] now reigning, has apply'd a still more effectual Remedy; for he has augmented their Salaries, and declared he will receive no Presents himself: forbidding them to receive more than their Due, under the Penalty of the Law, which ordains, that a *Mandarin*, who shall receive or unjustly exact fourscore Ounces of Silver, shall be punished with Death. Means used to prevent it.

Besides this, First, it is difficult to prevent Commotions among the People when they groan under Oppression; and the least Interruption which happens in a Province is imputed to the Vice-Roy, who is almost sure to lose his Employment, if it be not immediately suppressed. He is considered in the Eye of the Law, as the Head of a great Family, whereof, if the Peace be disturbed, it must be his Fault. 'Tis his Business to govern the subordinate Officers, and hinder them from oppressing the People. When the Yoke is easy, they are so far from shaking it off, that they bear it cheerfully. (1.) The *Qada* accountable for all Insurrections.

Secondly, The Law prescribes, that no Person shall be made a *Mandarin* of the People, either in the City he belongs to, or even in the Provinces where his Family dwells. And commonly he does not possess the same Office many Years, in the same Place, before he is advanced; whence it happens, that he contracts no such particular Intimacies with the People of the Country, as may occasion his being partial: and as almost all the other *Mandarins*, who govern in the same Province, are unknown to him, he hath seldom any Reason to favour them. (2.) None to be preferred in his native Country.

If an Employment be given him in a Province joining to that where he came from, it must be in a City at least fifty Leagues from it; the Reason is, because a *Mandarin* ought to think of nothing but the publick Good. If he possessed a Place in his own Country, his Neighbours and Friends would not fail to solicit him, whereby he might either be biased in his Decrees to do Injustice to others in their Favour, or carry'd, by a Spirit of Revenge, to ruin or oppress those from whom he, or some of his Family, had formerly received Injury. Reasons for this wise Regulation.

They are so nice in this Respect, that they will not permit a Son, a Brother, or a Nephew, &c. to be a subordinate *Mandarin*, where his Brother, Uncle, &c. is the Superior. For Instance, Suppose such a one is *Mandarin* of a City of the third Rank, and the Emperor designs to send his eldest Brother to be Vice-Roy of the same Province; on this Occasion, the younger is obliged to give Notice of that Circumstance to the Court, which removes him to a *Mandarinate* of the same Degree in another Province.

The Reason of this Regulation is, because either the elder Brother being the Superior Officer, might favour the younger by conniving at his Faults; or the younger, presuming on the Dignity and Protection of his Brother, be more partial and remiss in the execution of his Office. On the other hand, it would be very hard for one Brother to be obliged to draw up an Accusation against another.



To avoid such Inconveniencies, Relations are not permitted to possess Employments which have the least Dependence upon each other. What has been said with regard to a Father, an elder Brother, or an Uncle being a superior *Mandarin*, ought likewise to be understood of a Son, a Brother, or a Nephew, in the same Station, with Respect to a Father, elder Brother, or Uncle, being their Inferiors; and in a word, of all Persons whatever who are nearly related.

(3) The triennial Examinations of the *Quān*.

Thirdly, Every three Years there is a general Review of all the *Mandarins* of the Empire, who are examined with Regard to their good or bad Qualifications for Government. Every superior *Mandarin* examines the Conduct of the inferior, from the time the last Informations were made, or ever since they have been in Office; and give Notes to each of them, containing Praises or Reprimands. For Instance, the chief *Mandarin* of a City of the third Rank, who has under him three or four petty *Mandarins*, gives them Notes, and sends them to the *Mandarin* of a City of the second Rank, on whom he depends; this latter, who has likewise under him several *Mandarins* governing Cities of the third Rank, examines these Notes, and either agrees thereto, or adds others, according to his Knowledge.

Notes or Certificates given them.

When the *Mandarin* of the City of the second Order, has received the Notes from all the *Mandarins* of the Cities of the third Order, he gives them his Note; and then sends the Catalogue of all the *Mandarins* in his District, to the *Mandarins*-General of the Province, who reside at the Capital. This Catalogue passes from them to the Vice-Roy; who after he has examined it in private, and then with the four *Mandarins*-General, sends it to Court with his own Notes; that the chief Tribunal may have an exact Knowledge of all the *Mandarins* of the Empire, in order to reward or punish them according to their Deserts.

They reward a *Mandarin* by raising him some Degrees higher, or giving him a better Place: and they punish him by removing him a few Degrees lower, or turning him out of his Post.

For two Months that this Examination lasts, the Vice-Roy sees no Body, admits no Visits, nor receives any Letters from those who are in his Government. He takes these Measures that he may appear to be a Man of Integrity, and to regard nothing but Merit.

Form of the Notes.

As to the Form of these Notes under the Name of *Mandarins*, and Title of their *Mandarinate*, they write: *He is a Man greedy of Money; he is too severe in his Punishments; he treats the People harshly: Or else, He is too much advanced in Years. He is no longer able to perform the Duties of his Office. This Man is proud, fantastical, capricious, of an uneven Temper. That Person is rash, passionate, has no command of himself. Such a one is weak in his manner of Governing, does not know how to make himself obey'd; or else, He is slow, he is not expeditious in dispatching Business. He is not well acquainted with the Laws and Customs, &c.*

Favourable Notes run in this manner: *He is a Man of Integrity, who does not oppress the People, who is attentive to all the Duties of his Office. Or else, He is a Man of Experience. He is steady without Harshness, and gains the Love of the People; He has the Art of governing, &c.*

The *Quān* rewarded or punished according thereto.

When the Catalogue of Notes arrive at *Pe-king*, the supreme Tribunal to which it is address'd, examine them; and having set down such Reward or Punishment as it appoints for each *Mandarin* of the Province, send them back to the Vice-Roy. They deprive those of their Employments whose Certificates are defective as to the smallest Point of Government: and raise those who are commended, to superior *Mandarinate*s. For Instance, one who has been *Mandarin* of a City of a third Rank, and has given Proof of his Capacity, is advanced to the Government of a City of the second Rank, for which he seems to have the necessary Talents.

They are contented with raising or turning down others a few Degrees; in which Case the *Mandarins* are obliged to put at the Head of their Orders, the Number of Degrees that they have been advanced or degraded. For Instance, *The Mandarins of this City, raised three Degrees, Kya-san-kye: or else, Kyang-san-kye, turned down three Degrees, do give Notice and ordain, &c.* By this Means the People are apprized of the Reward or Punishment that the *Mandarin* deserved. When he has been raised ten Degrees, he has room to hope that he will be advanced to a superior *Mandarinate*: On the contrary, if he has been depressed ten Degrees, he is in Danger of losing his Employment.

(4) The sending Inspectors into the Provinces.

Fourthly; As the General Officers might be corrupted with Bribes, by the Governors of Cities, and so connive at the Injustice of the *Mandarins* who oppress the People; the Emperor from time to time sends Inspectors secretly into the Provinces, who passing from City to City, slip into the Tribunals, while the *Mandarin* gives Audience; and also by their Enquiry among the Mechanics and common People, dexterously inform themselves in what Manner he behaves in the Administration of his Office. And if by these secret Informations, they discover any thing irregular in his Conduct, they presently unveil the Ensigns of their Dignity, and declare themselves the Emperor's Envoys.

As the Inspector's Authority is absolute, he that Moment prosecutes the faulty *Mandarins*, and punishes them with all the Rigor of the Laws; but if the Injustice be not very flagrant, he sends his Information to Court, that they may determine what is to be done.

Method of their Proceedings.

A few Years ago, the Emperor appointed Commissioners of this kind for the Province of *Quang-tong*, to enquire into an Affair which concern'd the Vice-Roy and the Comptroller General of Salt, who had sent Accusations to *Pe-king* against each other. The People of the Province, who suffered by the dearth of Salt, the Price of which was considerably augmented, took the Vice-Roy's Part, and most of the *Mandarins* General spoke in favour of the latter.

The



The Emperor being very desirous of knowing who was in the Fault, sent the *Tjong-tu* of the Provinces of *Che-kyang* and *Fo-kyen*; and the *Tjong-tu* of *Kyang-nan* and *Kyang-shi*, in Quality of his Commissioners to *Kan-ton*. At their Arrival they refused the usual Honours paid at their Reception; and to remove all Suspicion, that they might be gained to either Side by Presents, they had even no Communication with the *Mandarins*, but when they cited them one after another to take their Informations. For which Reason, without receiving or making any Visit, they went directly to the Palace prepared for them, and shut themselves up, till such time as having cited the Vice-Roy and Comptroller General they had begun the Process, by repeated Interrogatories put to those two great *Mandarins*, who appeared several Times like common Criminals before their Judges.

The Vice-Roy, during the whole Time of the Trial, was obliged to leave his Palace every Morning, and repair to a Place near the Hall of Audience, and there to wait till Night; in which he was treated yet more favourably than the Comptroller-General, who was obliged all the Time to absent himself from his Tribunal, and to be continually at the Door of the Audience-Chamber.

All the Shops in the City were shut up, and the People by their Deputies, sent in their Accusations against the Comptroller, which were received by the Commissioners, as well as those of the *Mandarins*. The Informations being ended, the Commissioners sent them to *Pe-king*, by a particular Express; after which they received Visits from all the *Mandarins*, except the Comptroller-General.

Fifthly, Tho' the Inspectors of Provinces are always chosen from among the Officers of considerable Posts, and known Integrity; yet, as they may sometimes abuse their Power, and be tempted to enrich themselves by taking Bribes from the Guilty, to wink at their Unjustice, to keep them upon their Guard, the Emperor, when they least think of it, makes a Progress into certain Provinces, that he may hear in Person the just Complaints of the People against their Governors. These Visits, wherein the Prince affects to render himself popular, make the *Mandarins* tremble, let their Conduct be ever so little liable to blame. The late Emperor *Kang-bi* in one of his Journeys into the Southern Provinces, made in 1689, passed thro' the Cities of *Su-chew*, *Yang-chew*, and *Nan-king*. He was on Horseback, follow'd by his Guards, and about three thousand Gentlemen, in which manner he made his Entry into the last. The Citizens came to receive him with Standards, silk Ensigns, Canopies, Umbrellas, and other Ornaments without Number. At the Distance of every twenty Paces they had erected in the Streets Triumphant Arches cover'd with the finest Stuffs, and adorn'd with Festoons, Ribbands, and Tufts of Silk, under which he pass'd. The Streets were lin'd with an infinite Number of People, who shew'd the greatest Marks of Veneration, and observ'd so profound a Silence, that there was not heard the least Noise. He lay in his Bark the Night he arrived at *Yang-chew*, and the next Day made his Entry on Horseback into the City; where finding the Streets cover'd with Carpets, he ask'd the Inhabitants, if that had been done by the *Mandarin's* Order: and finding they did it of their own accord, to give a public Testimony of their Veneration for his Majesty, he express'd his Satisfaction. The Streets were so full of Men and Children, who throng'd among the Horsemen, that the Emperor stop't every Moment, seeming to be highly delighted with it. The Inhabitants of *Su-chew*, having laid Carpets upon the Pavement of the Streets, the Emperor alighted, at the Entrance of the City, and commanded the Horses to stop, that they might not spoil so many fine pieces of Silk, which belonged to the People: he went therefore on Foot to the Palace prepar'd for him, and honour'd the City with his Presence for two Days.

In these kinds of Journeys the Emperor declares himself the Protector and Father of the People, by executing speedy and severe Justice upon the *Mandarins*, when the Complaints against them are just. *P. le Comte* relates an Example of this, by which the late Emperor *Kang-bi* render'd himself equally formidable to the *Mandarins*, and amiable to the People.

"This great Prince being separated at some Distance from his Attendants, (says that *Jesuit*) and perceiving an old Man who wept bitterly, ask'd the Cause of his Tears. My Lord, reply'd the Man, who did not know him, I had but one Child, in whom I placed all my Joy as well as the Care of my Family; and a *Tartarian* *Mandarin* has taken him from me, so that I am at present deprived of all Succour: for how can I, who am a poor weak Man, oblige the Governor to do me Justice? This is not so difficult as you think it, (reply'd the Emperor) get up behind me, and guide me to the House of this Ravisher. The good Man obey'd without Ceremony, and in two Hours time they arriv'd at the *Mandarin's* Palace, who did not expect such an extraordinary Visit.

"Mean time the Guards and a great Company of Lords, after long rambling about, arriv'd at the *Mandarin's*; and without knowing what was the matter, some surrounded the House, while others enter'd with the Emperor: who having convicted the *Mandarin* of the Violence he was accused of, condemn'd him to lose his Head on the Spot. After this turning towards the afflicted Father, "To make you full Amends, said he to him with a serious Air, I give you the Employment of the guilty Person, who is put to Death. Take Care to behave yourself in it with more Moderation than he did; and let his Crime and Punishment be a Warning to you, that in your turn you be not made an Example of."

Lastly, Nothing can be more instructive, as well as proper, to keep the *Mandarins* in Order, and prevent their committing Faults, than the Gazette, which is printed every Day at *Pe-king*, and dispers'd from thence into all the Provinces. There is nothing inserted in it, but what

(5) The Emperor visiting the Provinces in Person.

*Kang-bi's* Progress in 1689.

His speedy Justice on a *Tartarian* *Quán*.

(6) The Imperial Gazette.



what relates to the Government; and as that of *China* is absolutely Monarchical, and all Affairs however inconsiderable are referr'd to the Emperor; it contains nothing but what may be of great Use to direct the *Mandarins* in the Execution of their Offices, and instruct the *Literati* as well as the Commonalty. For Instance; you find there the Names of the *Mandarins* who have been deprived of their Employments, and for what Reasons; one, because he was negligent in gathering the Emperor's Tribute, or had imbezzel'd it; another for being either too indulgent or severe in his Punishments; this for his Oppressions, and that for want of Talents to govern well. If any *Mandarin* has been advanc'd to a considerable Place, or remov'd to a worse, or if he has been depriv'd, for some Fault, of the Annual Pension he receiv'd of the Emperor, it is immediately put into the Gazette.

Nature of  
the Articles  
contain'd in  
it.

It contains an Account of all Criminal Matters, which are punish'd with Death; likewise the Names of the Officers who fill the Places of the *Mandarins* that are remov'd; all the Calamities that happen in a Province, and the Relief given by the *Mandarins* of the respective Cities by the Emperor's Order; an Extract of the Expences disbursed for the Subsistence of the Soldiers, the Necessities of the People, the Public Works, and the Benefaction of the Prince; the Remonstrances made by the Supreme Tribunal to the Emperor, concerning his own Conduct or his Decisions; therein is mention'd also the Day when the Emperor plough'd the Earth, in order by his Example to excite Emulation in the People, and inspire their Governours with a Love of Labour and Application to Agriculture; the Time he has fix'd for assembling the Grandees of the Court, and all the Chief *Mandarins* of the Tribunals at *Pe-king*, to be instructed by him in their Duty. There you meet with the Laws, and new Customs that have been establish'd; as also the Praises or Reprimands given by the Emperor to a *Mandarin*; for Instance, *Such a Mandarin has no good Reputation; if he does not mend, I will punish him.*

In short, the *Chinese Gazette* is so contriv'd, that it is of great Use to instruct the *Mandarins* how to govern the People; for which Reason they read it carefully, and as it gives an account of all the public Transactions in this vast Empire, most of them write down Remarks upon the Passages in it, that may help to direct their Conduct.

To add any  
thing to it  
criminal.

Nothing is printed in the Gazette but what has been presented the Emperor, or comes from him; those who have the Care of it not daring to add a tittle, not even their own Reflections, upon pain of Corporal Punishments.

In 1726, a Writer belonging to a Tribunal, and another employ'd in the Post-Office, were condemn'd to die, for having inserted certain Falshoods in the Gazette; the Reason, upon which the Tribunal of Criminal Affairs founded their Judgment, was, that what they had done shew'd a Failure of Respect towards his Majesty, which is by the Laws declar'd Capital.

The *Quân*  
restrain'd  
from Pleasure.

To conclude, the Laws prohibit the *Mandarins* most of the common Pleasures of Life. They are but seldom permitted to treat their Friends, and give them a Play; they would risk their Fortune if they took the Liberty to game or walk abroad, to make private Visits, or frequent public Assemblies; being debarr'd all Diversions but what they can take in the most private Apartments of their own Palace.

## Of the Military Government and Forces of the Empire; the Forts and Soldiers, their Arms and Artillery.

AS there were formerly in *France* Knights belonging to the Army, and Knights belonging to the Laws, there are likewise in *China* Literary Doctors, and Military Doctors. Having already spoken of the first, upon whom the Government depends, we proceed now to the latter, who are appointed to preserve Tranquillity in the Empire, to keep their Neighbours in Awe, and to stifle or prevent Rebellions.

Degrees a-  
mong the  
Military  
*Quân*.

The Military *Mandarins*, or Officers of the Army, must pass several Examinations, as well as the Literary *Mandarins*, and give Proof of their Strength, Dexterity, and Experience in the Art of War. Accordingly there are three Degrees among them, which they are to take, viz. those of Batchelor, Licentiate, and Doctor of Arms. The Batchelors are examined in the Capital of every Province, in order to be Licentiates, in the Manner explain'd elsewhere.

5 Tribunals  
or Classes.

There are at *Pe-king* five Tribunals of Military *Mandarins*, call'd *U-fu*, that is, *The five Classes, or Troops of Mandarins of War.*

The first Class is that of the *Mandarins* of the Rear-Guard, call'd *Hew-fu*. The second consists of the *Mandarins* of the left Wing, which is nam'd *Tso-fu*. The third is of the *Mandarins* of the right Wing, call'd *Yew-fu*. The fourth of the *Mandarins* of the Van-Guard of the main Body, nam'd *Chong-fu*. The fifth of the *Mandarins* of the Van-Guard, call'd *Tjen-fu*.

These five Classes have at their Head a Chief [or President] and two Assistants, which are of the first Order of *Mandarins*. They commonly choose for these Posts great Lords of the Empire, and their



these are they who command the Officers and all the Soldiers. These five depend on a Supreme Tribunal of War, call'd *Yong-ching-fu*, whose President is one of the greatest Lords of the Empire, and has Authority over the five Tribunals, and all the Officers and Soldiers of the Court; but to prevent the Abuse of so extensive a Power, which renders him Master of so many Troops, they give him a Literary *Mandarin* for an Assistant, with the Title of Superintendent of the Army, and two Inspectors nam'd by the Emperor, who have their Share in all Affairs. Moreover, when the Execution of any Military Project is in Agitation, they depend absolutely on the fourth of the six Supreme Courts, call'd *Ping-pu*, already spoken of, which has the whole Militia of the Empire under its Jurisdiction.

Supreme Tribunal of *Yong-ching-fu* or *Zhong-ching-fu*

Tho' there are great Lords, who, holding in the Empire the Rank of Princes, Dukes, and Earls, are above all the Orders of *Mandarins*, by their Dignity, Merit, and Services; yet there is not one of them but thinks himself honour'd by the Title he derives from his *Mandarinate*, and the Quality of Chief of the five Tribunals of Military *Mandarins*. None can be more ambitious to command than the *Chinese*, placing all their Glory and Happiness in having Authority in the State.

The Rank and Business of the principal Military *Mandarin* is much the same with that of a General in *Europe*. He has under him in some Places four *Mandarins*, and in others only two, whose Employment is not unlike that of our Lieutenant-Generals, who have likewise four subordinate *Mandarins*, answering to Colonels; these again have under them others, who may be considered as Captains, and have likewise their subaltern Officers resembling our Lieutenants and Ensigns.

Degrees of Military Rank.

Each of these *Mandarins* has a Train suitable to his Dignity; and when he appears in Public, he is always attended by a Company of Officers belonging to his Tribunal. All of them together command a great number of Troops, partly Horse, and partly Foot.

These Officers exercise their Soldiers regularly: the Exercise consisting in a kind of tumultuous and disorderly Marches, which they perform when they attend the *Mandarins*; or else in forming Squadrons, in filing off in Order, in encountering each other, or in rallying at the Sound of Horns and Trumpets; in a Word, they draw the Bow, and handle the Sabre with a great deal of Skill. They also from time to time review their Troops, examining carefully their Horses, Muskets, Sabres, Arrows, Cuirasses, and Helmets. If there be the least Rust on their Arms, they are punish'd on the Spot for their Negligence; with thirty or forty Blows of a Battoon, if they are *Chinese*; or so many Lashes of a Whip, if they are *Tartars*. At other times they are at Liberty to follow what Trade they please, unless they are on some Duty which gives them full Employ; as when, for Instance, they are placed to guard a City-Gate, or to take Care of the high Roads.

Discipline of the Troops.

As the Military Business does not take up much of their Time in a Country which has been so many Years at Peace; far from being oblig'd to enlist Men by Force, or Money, as is practis'd in *Europe*, the Profession of a Soldier is commonly look'd upon as a Fortune, which they endeavour to procure by means of their Friends, or by Presents to the *Mandarins*; the Service being generally in the Country where they dwell, and have their Family.

Profession of a Soldier coveted in China.

The three Northern Provinces furnish abundance of Soldiers, who every three Months receive their Pay; being five Sous of fine Silver, and a Measure of Rice a day, which is sufficient to maintain one Man. Some have double Pay, and Horsemen have five Sous more, with two Measures of small Beans to feed their Horses, which also are provided by the Emperor.

The Pay.

They reckon more than eighteen thousand *Mandarins* of War, and above seven hundred thousand Soldiers distributed among the Forts, Cities, and Fortifications, belonging to the several Provinces, and along the Great Wall. These Troops being well clothed, and well arm'd, make a very fine Appearance in their March, or on a Review; but they are not comparable to the Soldiers of *Europe*, either for Courage or Discipline, being easily put into Disorder and routed.

Number of Military *Qua* and Forces.

Besides, that the *Chinese* are naturally effeminate, and the *Tartars* are almost degenerated to *Chinese*, the profound Peace they have enjoy'd, gives them no Opportunity to become Warlike. Add to this the Esteem that they have for Learning preferable to every thing else; the Dependence which the Soldiers have on the *Literati*; and the Education that is given to Youth, (who see nothing but Books and Characters, who are instructed with a grave and serious Air, and hear nothing spoken of but Law and Politics,) are so many Obstructions to their being Warriors. These Troops are scarce ever employ'd, especially since *Tartary* has submitted, for any thing else, but to prevent Revolts, or to quash Commotions on their first Appearance in a City or Province. Twenty four *Tartar* Officers have at Court the Dignity of Captain-Generals, and there are likewise many Colonels. Besides these Officers, who were establish'd by the *Tartars*, there are also Officers of the *Ping-pu*, or Tribunal of War; who superintend the *Chinese* Troops throughout the Empire, and have always Couriers ready to carry necessary Orders into the Provinces, which is perform'd with great Secrecy. Their chief Employment is to purge the high Ways of Robbers, whom they follow and observe so carefully, that they seldom escape. On these Occasions, Orders are sent to the City, and, if there be a Necessity for it, the Forces of several Cities, nearest to the Place infested by the Robbers, are employ'd. In War-time several Battallions are detach'd from every Province to form an Army.

*Chinese* no good Soldiers, and why.

Number of Generals.

Before the Union of the *Tartars* and *Chinese*, a prodigious Number of Troops were rang'd along the Great Wall, in order to guard it, and cover the Empire against the Attempts of such formidable Enemies; but at present only the most important Places are garrison'd.



*China fortified by Nature.*

Nature has taken care to fortify *China* in all other Places, where it might be liable to be attacked. The Sea, which washes six Provinces, is so shallow near the Shore that no large Vessel can approach it, without being broken to Pieces; and Storms are so frequent that no Fleet can ride there in safety: On the West there are inaccessible Mountains, which are no less a Defence on that side, than the Sea and the Great Wall on the other two.

*Great Wall, when and how built.*

Two Hundred and Fifteen Years before Christ, this prodigious Work was built, by order of the First Emperor of the Family of *Tsin*, for securing three great Provinces against the Inruptions of the *Tartars*. To execute this grand Design he drew every third Man, capable of working, out of each Province; and in laying the Foundation of it on the Sea-Coast, he ordered several Ships laden with Iron and huge Stones to be sunk: whereon the Wall was raised with so much Art, that the Workmen were not to leave the least Chink between the Stones on Forfeiture of their Lives; hence the Work is almost as intire at present, as when it was first built. It is about 500 Leagues in Length, and broad enough for six Horsemen to ride abreast upon it. [See p. 20.]

This Wall is admirable on two accounts; First, That in its Course from East to West it runs in several Places with a gradual Ascent, over very high Mountains; and is fortified with large Towers, no more than two Bow-shots a sunder, that no part of it may be left undefended. It is hard to conceive how this enormous Bulwark could be raised, of the Height it is, in dry and barren Places; considering the Bricks, Mortar, and all the necessary Materials for the Work must have been brought with incredible Labour from a great Distance.

The second is, That this Wall does not run in a strait Line, but, as may be seen in the Map, turns and winds in several Places, according to the Disposition of the Mountains, in such a manner, that the North Part of *China* may be said to be encompassed with three Walls instead of one.

*Chinese Fortifications.*

The Cities of War have no Advantage of other fortified Cities but in their Situation, which renders them difficult of Access. The whole Art of Fortification among the *Chinese* consists in an excellent Rampart, Brick-Walls, Towers, and a large Ditch full of Water; and, to say the Truth, this is sufficient Security against all Efforts of Enemies, who are as ignorant of the offensive as the defensive part of War.

*Fortresses several kinds.*

The Forts, fortified Places, and Cittadels, are very numerous, and distinguish'd in seven different Orders, named by the *Chinese*, *Quang*, *Gbey*, *So*, *Chin*, *Pau*, *Pu* and *Chay*. There are about six hundred of the first Order, five hundred and upward of the second, three hundred and eleven of the third, three hundred of the fourth, one hundred and fifty of the fifth, and three hundred of the last: which make above two thousand fortified Places, without reckoning the Towers, Castles, and Redoubts of the famous Wall, which have every one its particular Name and Garrison.

*Places of Refuge.*

Among the latter, there are Places of Refuge in the middle of the Fields, whither the Husbandmen and Peasants retire with their Flocks and Moveables, in case of Commotions, which rarely happen, or of the sudden Incurfion of Robbers, where they are secure from all Insults. There are others built on the Tops of Rocks and craggy Mountains, inaccessible but by Ladders or Steps cut into the Rock. These Places are not encompass'd with Walls, their Strength consisting solely in their impregnable Situation, or in deep and broad Ditches capable of stopping the Rebels in their March. They reckon, besides these, more than three thousand Towers, or Castles called *Tay*; wherein are constantly kept Centinels and other Soldiers on Duty, who, when they discover any Disturbance, make a Signal: in the Day, by a Flag on the Top of the Tower, and in the Night, by a lighted Torch, to alarm the Neighbouring Garrisons; for there is not a Province, City, nor walled Town in the Empire, but what has Soldiers for its Defence.

*Artillery and Gunpowder.*

Artillery is but a modern Invention among the *Chinese*, and tho' that of Gunpowder is very ancient, they have seldom made use of it but for Fireworks, wherein they excel. There are however three or four Bombards short and thick at the Gates of *Nan-king*, ancient enough to prove that they have had some Knowledge of Cannon, tho' they seem'd to be ignorant of their Use; for they serve for nothing but to be shewn as Curiosities. They had also a few Patarreroes on Board their Vessels, but had not skill enough to make use of them.

*European Cannon admired.*

In the Year 1621, the City of *Ma-kau* having presented the Emperor with three Cannon, and Men to manage them, the first Trial of them was made before the *Mandarins*; who were greatly surprized at the Novelty, but more when they saw that one of the Pieces in recoiling kill'd a *Portuguese*, and three *Chinese*, who did not get out of the way time enough. These Guns being employ'd against the *Tartars*, who came in swarms towards the Great Wall, they were to terrify'd at the Havock made by them, that they fled, and durst never approach it any more.

*P. Sebaal ordered by the Emperor to cast some.*

In the Year 1636, when the Persecution was raised against the Missionaries, who had not dar'd to appear for ten Years, the *Tartars* having made a new Irruption into the Empire, the military *Mandarins* consulted about Measures for putting a stop to their Inroads, and talked of fortifying the Towns, and furnishing them with Artillery. On this occasion, remembering they had often heard Dr. *Paul Syu* say, that the Missionaries understood the Art of founding Cannon, they immediately besought the Emperor to command P. *Adam Sebaal*, President of the Tribunal of the Mathematicks, to cast some. His Majesty was desirous to know before hand if this Father had ever actually founded any, or knew how to do it. But the *Mandarins* taking upon themselves to make the Enquiry, without letting him perceive their Design, intreated the Emperor to hasten what they desired, they made the Father a Visit, under pretence of proposing some Difficulty in Astronomy, and putting him Questions concerning several parts of the Mathematics: among the rest asked him, as it were by chance, if he understood the method of casting Cannon; and the



the Father replying that he understood its Principles, they immediately presented him the Emperor's Orders. The Missionary excused himself, by alledging that the Practice was quite different from the Theory; but obey he must, and instruct the Workmen. Accordingly they assigned him a proper Place near the Palace, that he might be assisted by the Eunuchs of the Court. Afterwards the several Pieces of Work relating to Optics, Statics, Architecture and Fortification, and several Instruments of Wood and Copper, made by P. *Ferdinand Verbiest*, for the Observatory at *Pe-king*, persuaded the *Mandarins* that he must be equally skilled in founding Cannon; which they wanted in order to defend the Empire against its Enemies, and especially certain Robbers who infested the Coasts and Frontiers of *China*, from whence it was difficult to chase them.

For this reason they presented a Memorial to the Emperor, beseeching him to order P. *Verbiest* to instruct Workmen in the manner of founding and making of Cannon, for the Preservation of the State. The Jesuit having read in the Register of the Church of *Pe-king*, that a great number of Missionaries have been brought into the Empire by the same means, under the last Family of the *Chinese* Emperors; and believing that such a piece of Service done for the Emperor would induce him to favour the *Romish* Religion, he cast 130 Pieces of Cannon with wonderful Success.

P. *Verbiest*  
casts 130  
Cannon.

Some time after, the Council of the Chief *Mandarins* of War, having presented a Memorial to the Emperor, whereby they required 320 Pieces of Cannon, of different Bores, after the *European* Fashion, for the defence of the fortified Places; his Majesty granted their Request, and ordered that *Nan-wbay-jin* (for so the *Chinese* called P. *Verbiest*) should oversee the Work, which was to be perform'd accordingly to the Patterns, to be painted and presented him in a Memorial. Accordingly the 11th of *February* 1681, P. *Verbiest* having presented the Patterns, they were approved of; and an Order was sent to the Tribunal, which has the Inspection of the Publick Buildings and Works, to furnish all things necessary for the Purpose without Delay.

Casts 320  
more.

It took up above a Year to make these Cannon, in which time the Father met with many Obstructions from the Eunuchs of the Palace, who, impatient to see a Stranger so much in favour with the Emperor, us'd their utmost endeavours to defeat the Undertaking; they complained every Moment of the Slowness of the Workmen, while they caused the Metal to be stolen away by the Under-Officers of the Court. As soon as one of the largest Guns was cast, before it could be polished on the inside, they forced an Iron Bullet into the Mouth of it, thinking thereby to render it useless; but *Verbiest* having charged it thro' the Touchhole, it was fired out with such a terrible Noise, that the Emperor hearing it in the Palace wou'd needs see it repeated. When all the Cannon were finished, they were taken to the foot of the Mountains, half a Day's Journey West from *Peking*, whither several *Mandarins* went to see them tried; whereof report being made to the Emperor, he went himself, with several Governors of Western *Tartary*, who were then at *Peking*, and the principal Officers of his Army, besides his whole Court, to see the Experiment. Accordingly they were loaded in his Presence, and discharged several times against such Places as he directed.

They are a  
Year in mak-  
ing.

Observing that the Balls hit the Places they were levell'd at by the Jesuit with his Instruments, he was so greatly pleased that he made a solemn Feast for the *Tartarian* Governor, and principal Officers of the Army, in the middle of the Fields under Tents; drinking out of his Golden Cup, to the Health of his Father-in-Law, of his Officers, and even of those who had so exactly directed the Cannon. At length sending for P. *Verbiest*, who by his Orders was lodged near his own Tent, he said to him, *The Cannon you caused to be made for me the last Year were very serviceable against the Rebels, in the Provinces of Shen-si, Hô-quang and Kyang-si, and I am well satisfied with your Services*; then taking off his Vest furred with Martin-skins of great value, and also his Gown that was under it, he gave them to him as a Testimony of his Friendship.

Who ho-  
nours *Ver-  
biest*.

They continued several Days to make Proof of the Guns, in which time they discharged twenty three thousand Bullets, to the great Satisfaction of the *Mandarins*, whose Officers assisted at the same time. P. *Verbiest* compos'd a Treatise on the founding of Cannon, and their Use, which he presented the Emperor; with forty four Tables of Figures necessary for understanding the Art, and of the Instruments proper to level the Cannon for shooting at any Mark.

A few Months afterwards, the Tribunal for enquiring into the Deserts of Persons who have done service to the State, presented a Memorial to the Emperor, wherein they besought him to have regard to the Service P. *Verbiest* had done, by casting so many Pieces of Artillery. His Majesty granted their Petition, and bestow'd on him a Title of Honour, like that conferr'd on the Vice-Roys, when they have deserved well in their Government by their prudent Conduct. To prevent the Superstition of the *Chinese*, who sacrifice to the Spirit of the Air, Mountains and Rivers, according to the various natural Events, and the different Works they begin or finish, P. *Verbiest* fixed a Day to bless the Cannon in a solemn Manner. For this purpose he erected an Altar in the Foundry, on which he placed a Crucifix, and then in his Surplice and Stole, adored the true God, making nine Prostrations, and beating his Forehead against the Ground; and as it is the Custom in *China* to give Names to such kinds of Works, the Father gave to every Piece of Cannon the Names of a he or she Saint of the *Romish* Church, tracing the Characters that were to be engraven on the Breech of the Gun.

The Jesuit  
blesses the  
Cannon.

Some Persons, with a design to render the Jesuits odious, published Libels in *Spain* and *Italy* against P. *Verbiest*; affirming, that it was unworthy of a Priest and a Regular to furnish the Infidels with Arms, and that he had incurred the Excommunications of the Popes who have forbidden it.

The



The Father prudently reply'd, That the Intention of the Church in this Prohibition, was to hinder the Infidels from making use of those Arms against the Christians; that nothing like this could happen in *China*, since neither the *Chinese* nor *Tartars* could make war against the Christians: That, on the contrary, by this means the Romish Religion was established in *China*; since the Emperor, in recompence of such a Service, gave the Missionaries leave to preach throughout his Dominions.

But *P. Verbiest* is cleared from these Invectives by the honourable Brief sent him by Pope *Innocent XIth*; who therein praises him for having so wisely employed the profane Sciences for the Conversion of the *Chinese*, and exhorts him to continue, by his Zeal and Knowledge, to promote his Religion, promising him all the Assistance of the Holy See, and his Pontifical Authority.

*Of the Polity of the Chinese, as well in the Cities for maintaining good Order, as in the great Roads for the Safety and Conveniency of Travellers; of the Custom-Houses, Ports, &c.*

IN such a vast Dominion as *China*, so prodigiously populous, and so full of Cities, there would be nothing but Confusion and Disorder, if the Regulations were not so exactly observed as to prevent the least Disturbances; the Repose which it enjoys being the Effect of the Wisdom of its Laws.

Cities divided into Wards.

Every City is divided into Wards, each of which has a Head, who keeps an Eye over a certain Number of Houses, being responsible for whatever passes within his Precinct; so that should any Tumult happen, and he neglect immediately to inform the *Mandarin* about it, he would be very severely punish'd.

Masters of Families are equally responsible for the Conduct of their Children and Servants; he who has all the Authority being deem'd culpable, when his Inferiors, who owe him Obedience and Respect, have committed any Crime. The very Neighbours themselves are obliged to lend mutual Assistance when any Misfortune happens, for Instance, a Robbery in the Night; and in such Cases one House answers for the next.

Guards at the Gates.

There is always a good Guard at the Gates of every City, who examine all Passengers; and if they see any thing suspicious about a Man, if his Physiognomy, Air, or Accent, discover him to be a Stranger, he is immediately stopp'd, and Notice given to the *Mandarin*.

One of their principal Maxims, and which they believe contributes most to good Government, is, not to suffer Foreigners to settle in the Empire; for besides their hereditary Pride, and Contempt of other Nations, whom they look upon as barbarous, they are persuaded, that a Mixture of People would introduce a Diversity of Manners and Customs, which would gradually produce personal Quarrels, Parties and Rebellions, fatal to the Tranquility of the Empire.

None abroad after Night-fall.

As soon as Night falls, the Gates of the City, as also the Barricades at the End of every Street are carefully shut; and at proper Distances there are Centries, to stop those who are abroad. In some Places there are Horsemen continually patrolling upon the Ramparts; *The Night, say they, is for Repose, and the Day for Work.* This Law is so well observed, that no People of Credit will be seen at Night in the Streets; and if any one happens to be found, he is look'd upon as a Scoundrel or Robber, on the Lurch to do Mischief by favour of the Darkness, and therefore he is stopp'd: So that it is very dangerous to be abroad at unreasonable Hours; it being difficult, however innocent, to escape the Severity of the Magistrates.

Watches of the Night.

There are in every City large Bells, or a Drum of a very extraordinary Size, with which they distinguish the Watches of the Night. Every Watch lasts two Hours. The first begins about Eight in the Evening, during which they strike from time to time one Stroke, either on the Bell or on the Drum; in like manner, they strike two Strokes throughout the second Watch, three in the third, and so on; insomuch that at any Time of the Night, one may know within a Trifle what it is o' Clock. The Sound of their Bells is not very harmonious, because the Hammer which they strike with is not of Metal, but of Wood.

The Gate of Arms is only for the Use of Soldiers, who seldom are in their military Accoutrements but when on Duty, as in time of War, when they keep Guards; when they pass in Review, or when they attend the *Mandarins*; at other times they apply themselves to Trade, or follow their own private Professions.

If there happens to be a Quarrel among the Populace, and from abusive Language they come to Blows, they are extremely careful not to shed Blood; for which Reason if they chance to have any Stick or Iron Weapons in their Hands, they lay it aside, and fall a Boxing.

They commonly end their Quarrels by complaining to a *Mandarin*, who sitting in his Chair of State, and surrounded with his Officers, very calmly hears both Parties plead their own Cause; after which he causes the culpable, and sometimes both Parties, to be bastonaded in his Presence.

There



There are common Prostitutes in *Cbina* as well as elsewhere; but as they generally cause Disturbances, they are not permitted to live within the Walls of the City, or have private Houses to themselves; but several of them lodge together, and often under the Government of a Man, who is responsible for any Disorder. After all, these loose Women are but barely tolerated, being look'd upon as infamous; and some Governors of Cities will not permit them to live within their Districts.

Common Women how regulated.

In short, the Education they give to Youth, contributes much to the Repose which the Cities enjoy; for as Offices and Dignities are obtained according to the Progress made in the Sciences, young Persons are kept continually to their Studies, being wholly debar'd from Play, and all Diversions likely to promote Idleness: by which close Application to cultivate their Minds, and exercise their Memories, they are accustomed to moderate their unruly Passions, and free from a great Part of those Vices that necessarily attend Idleness and Sloth.

Nor is the Government less careful to render the great Roads safe, handsome and commodious, than to preserve Peace in the Cities. The numerous Canals, so useful for the transporting of Merchandizes into several Provinces, are border'd with Quays of hewn Stone; and in low, marshy, and watery Places, very long Causeways have been raised for the Convenience of Travellers.

The great Roads,

Great Care is taken to keep the Roads even, and often to have them well pav'd, especially in the Southern Provinces, where they use neither Horses nor Waggon. The Roads are commonly very broad, and as in many Places the Soil is light, it dries almost as soon as the Rain ceases. They have made Ways over the highest Mountains, by cutting thro' Rocks, levelling the Tops of Hills, and filling up the Valleys.

kept in Order.

In some Provinces the high Roads are like so many great Walks, having very tall Trees, and sometimes Walls on each Side, eight Foot high, to prevent Travellers from riding over the Fields; with Openings into the Cross-ways leading to different Villages.

like Garden-Walks.

In the great Roads there are at proper Distances resting Places, very neat and conveniently fenced, as well against the Winter Cold as the Summer Heats. Most of the *Mandarins* on their Return to their own Country, after being dismiss'd from their Employments, endeavour to recommend themselves by Works of this Kind.

with resting Places.

There are also Temples and Pagods, which afford a Retreat in the Day time, but it is with great Difficulty that any Person is permitted to stay there all Night, except the *Mandarins*, who have that Privilege. The *Bonzas* wait on them with great Affection, receiving them with the Sound of Musical Instruments, and lodging them in their own Apartments: They also take Care of their Baggage, their Servants and Porters.

This sort of Gentlemen make very free with their Gods; for they put their Temples to all manner of Uses, not thinking such Familiarity inconsistent with the Reverence due to them.

There are some charitable Persons, who hire Men to distribute Tea to poor Travellers in the Summer, and in the Winter a kind of Water with Ginger infused in it; requiring no other Return, but that they would not forget the Name of their Benefactors.

Inns are numerous enough on the Roads; but nothing can be more wretched or ill contrived, excepting those on the great Roads, which are very large and handsome; but Travellers must carry their Beds along with them, or else be forced to lie on a plain Mat. The *Chinese*, especially the meaner sort, never use Blankets, being content to wrap themselves, sometimes quite naked, in a Cover-lid lined with Linnen; so that their Beds are easily carry'd. The Entertainment is suitable to the Lodging, for you will have very good Luck if you meet with any Fish or the least Bit of Meat. In several Places, however, Pheasants are cheaper than other wild Fowls; for sometimes four may be bought for ten Sols. 'Tis true some of these Inns afford better Accommodations than others, but the best of them are very mean; consisting for the general of four Mud Walls without any Plastering. All the Rafter in the Roof appear, and 'tis well if you do not see thro' it in many Places; besides the Rooms which are seldom paved are full of Holes. In some Provinces these Inns are built only of Earth and Reeds, but in the Cities they are of Bricks, and pretty convenient. In the Northern Parts one meets with what they call *Kan's*; being great Brick Estrades, the whole Breadth of the Room, with a Stove underneath, and a Mat made of Reeds on the Top, whereon you may lay your Bed if you have one.

Wretched Inns on the Roads.

They have taken Care to publish an Itinerary, which contains all the Roads, with the Distances of Places both by Land and Water, from *Pe-king* to the Borders of the Empire (F). The *Mandarins* make use of this Book when they set out from the Court, to take Possession of their Employments in the Provinces. At the End of every Stage there is a House called *Kong-quan*, appointed to receive the *Mandarins*, and all those who travel by the Emperor's Order, who defrays their Expences.

Book of the the Roads.

The Day before a *Mandarin* sets out on his Journey, a Courier is sent forwards, who carries a Tablet, wherein is written the Name and Employment of that Officer; on Sight of which the Lodgings are immediately prepared for him according to his Dignity; and he is furnish'd with all Necessaries, such as Provisions, Porters, Horses, and Chairs, or Barks if he goes by Water. The Couriers, who publish the Approach of the *Mandarin*, always find Horses ready; and

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that

(F) Had the Missionaries sent a Translation of these Itineraries, it would have been very acceptable to the Curious; thereby we might have improved the Maps with the Roads, and in

some Measure have supplied the Want of the Journals of their own Travels over the Provinces, when they made the Maps.



that they may not be disappointed, one or two *Li*, before their Arrival, they strike very hard several times upon a *Bafon*, to give Notice that the Horse may be immediately saddled if it be not already done.

The *Kong-quan*.

These Houses appointed for Lodging of the *Mandarins*, are not so handsome as might be expected; for which Reason, when one reads of such things in the Relations of foreign Countries, he ought to make some Allowance: not that the Authors are given to magnify, but they often borrow the Descriptions from the Natives, to whom very mean Things seem magnificent. Besides, they are obliged to make Use of Terms, which convey very lofty Ideas to *Europeans*: When it is said, for Instance, that the *Kong-quan* are prepared for the Reception of the *Mandarins*, and those who are entertained at the Emperor's Expence, one would imagine them from hence to be noble Structures. When farther we read that an Officer is sent before hand with Orders to get every thing ready *against the Mandarin arrives*. It is natural to believe that they were in a Hurry to spread Carpets, and adorn the Apartments with handsome Moveables; but the *Chinese* Frugality, and the great Number of Messengers, who are dispatch'd from Court, free them from this Trouble: the Furniture to be prepared consisting of a few Felts and Mats, two or three Chairs, a Table, and a wooden Bedstead cover'd with a Mat, when there is never a *Kan*. If he be a *Mandarin* of considerable Rank, and the *Kong-quan* not suitable to his Dignity, he is lodged in one of the best Houses of the City, where an Apartment is borrowed for him.

Their Furniture.

*Kong-quan* of *Kan-ton* described.

The *Kong-quan* are sometimes large and sometimes small, and there are some handsome and commodious enough. By that of *Kan-ton* which is one of the common sort, one may judge of the rest: It is of a moderate Size, consisting of two Courts, and two principal Buildings; one of which, at the Bottom of the first Court, is a *Ting*, or large open Hall, for receiving Visits. The other, standing at the end of the second Court, is divided into three Parts; that in the middle serving for a Salon, or Anti-Chamber, to the two great Rooms that are on the Sides, with each a Closet behind. This Disposition is observed in most of the Houses belonging to Persons of any Distinction. The Hall and Anti-Chamber are each adorn'd with two great *Lanterns* of transparent Silk painted, hung up in the manner of a Branch; also the Gate towards the Street, and those of the Courts are each enlightened with two large Paper-*Lanterns*, adorn'd with large Characters.

Watch Towers and Centries on the Roads.

On the great Roads, at proper Distances, there are a sort of Towers, with Centry Boxes upon them for Centinels, and Flag-staffs to make Signals in Case of Alarms. These Towers are made of Turf, or temper'd Earth; they are square, about twelve Foot high, with Battlements, and are built slanting. In some Provinces there are large Bells of cast Iron on the Top of them; but most of those which are not upon the Road to *Pe-king*, have neither Centry Boxes nor Battlements. According to the Laws, these Towers ought to be found on all frequented Roads, at the Distance of every five *Li* [or half League] one small and another large alternately; with Soldiers continually upon Duty to observe what passes, and prevent any Disturbance. These Soldiers have their Guard-Houses, and place themselves in a Rank, when any considerable Officer passes by. They are very regular, especially in *Pe-che-li*, which is the Province of the Court, and there is always a Centry in the Box.

In some other Provinces these Towers falling to Ruin, Orders are given from time to time to repair and keep Guard in them; especially when they are apprehensive of Robbers, or any Disturbance. In which Case the Number of Soldiers not being sufficient, they oblige the Villages to lend Assistance in their Turns. The *Mandarins* make a List, and the Inhabitants agree among themselves in dividing the Duty.

Robbers rare in *Cbina*.

If this Law was observed strictly, there would be no Robbers in *Cbina*; for at every half League there would be a Guard to stop suspicious Persons; not only in the Roads leading to the Capitals, but also in those from one City to another; so that as the Cities are very numerous, and all the Country is crossed with great Roads, these Towers occur almost every Moment. For this Reason Highway-Men are very rare in *Cbina*; indeed they are sometimes found in the Provinces neighbouring to *Pe-king*; but they seldom murder those they rob, and when they have done their Business, they make off very dexterously. In other Provinces there are very few Robbers. These Towers are also of Use to determine the Distance from one Place to another, much in the same manner as the *Roman* Stones.

Chairs or Sedans for travelling.

When the Roads are too rough to travel on Horseback, they make Use of Chairs, which the *Chinese* call *Quan-kyau*, that is to say, *Mandarin-Chairs*; because the Chairs used by the *Mandarins* are of much the same Fashion. The Body of the Chair is not unlike that of the Hackney-Chairs of *Paris*, but it is larger, higher and lighter. It is made of *Bambù's*, a kind of Cane, very strong and light, laid a-cross each other in the Form of a Lattice, and tied together very strongly with Rattan; which is another sort of Cane very small but strong, creeping along the Earth, to the Length of eight hundred or a thousand Foot. This Lattice is covered from Top to Bottom with a Piece of coloured Linnen, Silk, or Woolen Cloth, according to the Season; over which, in rainy Weather, they put an Oil-Cloath [if we may call that so which is made of Taffaty].

How carry'd.

This Chair which is of a convenient Size for sitting at Ease, is carried by Men like our portable Chairs or Sedans. If there be but two Chairmen, the Ends of the Poles rest upon their Shoulders; but if it be a Sedan with four Chairmen, then the Ends of the Poles as well before as behind, pass thro' two running Knots of a strong pliable Cord, hung by the middle to a thick Stick,



Stick, whose Ends rest on the Shoulders of the Chairmen, (c) and then there are commonly eight in order to relieve each other.

When to avoid the Heats, they travel in the Night, especially along Mountains infested with Tygers, they hire Guards on the Spot with Torches; which serve both to light them and to scare those wild Beasts, who are naturally afraid of Fire. They are made of Branches of the Pine Tree, dried by the Fire, and prepared in such a manner that the Wind and Rain do but make them burn the faster, each Torch, which is six or seven Foot long, lasting near an Hour: and with the Help of four or five of these Guides, they travel all Night over the Hills, with as much Safety and Ease as at Noon Day in a plain Country; Wherefore in mountainous Countries these sorts of Conveniencies are to be found at proper Distances. However, scarce any Body but those sent from Court, the *Mandarins*, and other great Lords, travel in this Manner during the Night; for having a great Train they have nothing to fear either from Tygers or Robbers.

The Nobility travel by Night in Summer-time.

The great Number of Villages upon the Roads, full of Pagods, is no small Conveniency to Travellers. Over against these Pagods, and in the great Roads, one meets with a great many Monuments, called *She-pei*, with Inscriptions on them; being great Stones generally of Marble, standing upright upon Bases of the same; wherein a Mortis being made, the Stones are fixt in by means of Tenons cut at the Ends, and joined together without farther Trouble. Some of these Stones are eight Foot high, two broad, and almost one thick; tho' commonly the Height is not above four or five Feet, and the other Dimensions in Proportion.

Monuments on the Roads called *She-pei*.

The largest of all are erected on a Stone Tortoise, in which the *Chinese* Architects (if they deserve that Name) have more Regard to Probability than the *Grecian*, who introduced Caryatides (n) and Supporters. Nay, what was still more extravagant, some put Cushions on their Heads for fear such heavy Burdens should incommode them.

Some few of these *She-pei* are surrounded with large Halls; others to avoid Expence, are inclosed with a small Brick Building, and covered with a neat Roof: they are exactly square except towards the Top, which is somewhat rounded or covered with some Grottesque Figure, often cut out of another Piece of Stone.

When they are erected on Account of some Favour or Honours received from the Emperor, they carve two Dragons variously twisted: The Inhabitants of the Cities erect them in Memory of their *Mandarins*, when they are satisfied with their Government. The Officers erect them to perpetuate the extraordinary Honours bestowed on them by the Emperor, and for several other Reasons.

One great Conveniency to those that travel by Land in *China* is, the Ease and Safety where-with their Goods are carried by Porters, who are very numerous in every City, and have their Head, to whom Persons apply; and having agreed for the Price, he gives them as many Tickets as they have hired Porters, by means whereof they are furnished in an Instant, and he becomes answerable for the Contents of their Bales. When the Porters have brought their Loads to the Place appointed, you give every one of them a Ticket, which they carry back to their Chief, who pays them with the Money you have advanced.

Goods carry'd from City to City by Porters.

In much frequented Roads, as for Instance, that over the Mountain of *Mey-lin*, (which separates the Province of *Kyang-si* and *Quang-tong*), there are in the Cities between which they pass, a great Number of Officers, where all the Porters, both in the City and Country, give in their Names with good Security: so that if you have Occasion for three or four hundred, they will provide them. Having applied to the Head of the Office, he makes out an exact List in a Trice, of all you have to carry, whether they be Boxes or other things; and agrees with you for so much a Pound, the Price being commonly about ten Sols a hundred Weight for a Day's Carriage, which you pay before-hand, and then you have no farther Trouble: for the Principal gives every Porter his Load, with a Note of what it contains; and when you arrive at the City on the other Side, all that belongs to you is faithfully delivered by the Correspondent Office. The Burden is fastened by Cords to the Middle of a Pole of *Bambú*, the Ends of which are carried by two Men on their Shoulders; and if the Weight be too great, then they make use of four Men with two Poles. They are changed every Day, and obliged to make the same Stages with those who employ them. When one Man carries a Bundle alone, he lightens his Load, by dividing it into two equal Parts, and fastening them with Cords or Hooks, to the Ends of a flat *Bambú* Pole; afterwards he poises the Pole upon his Shoulders like a Balance, which bends and rises alternately as he goes along. When he is weary of carrying his Load on one Shoulder, he dexterously gives the Pole a twist round his Neck upon the other Shoulder, and by this Means some will carry a hundred and sixty *French* Pounds ten Leagues in a Day; for as they are paid by the Pound, they carry as much as they can at a time.

Manner of hiring the Porters.

How they carry the Goods.

In some Provinces they make use of Mules for carrying the Bales and Merchandizes, but oftener Carts with one Wheel; which indeed are Wheel-barrows, excepting that the Wheel is very large and placed in the middle. On each end of the Axel-Tree, which comes out on both sides, they place a Lattice, whereon they lay Loads of equal Weight. This Custom is very common in several Parts of *China*; one Man only thrusts it forwards, or if the Load be heavy, another Man,

Carts with one Wheel.

(c) The Chairmen must be supposed to follow one another, two before and two behind the Sedan, which is carried as it were in Slings; for such the Stick and Rope seem to be by the Description.

(n) Caryatides, is a sort of Pilastr representing the Figure of a Woman without Arms, and cover'd with a Robe down to the Heels, and the Supporters Statues of Men.



Man, or else an *Ass*, is put before to draw it, and sometimes both. They have *Axle-Trees* resembling with the *Wheel* plac'd forward, but they scarce ever make use of them in Journeys. When the Loads are carry'd by Mules, the common Price for twenty five Days is four *Tails* and an half, or at most five, according to the different Seasons and Price of Provisions; return'd Mules may be hired a great deal cheaper. The Muleteers are oblig'd to maintain and bear their own Charges back, if no body hires them. Their Mules are very little if compared with those of *Europe*, but they are very strong; their usual Load being from one hundred and eighty to two hundred *Chinese* Pounds. The *Chinese* Pound is four Ounces heavier than ours.

Custom-Houses in *China* not severe.

There are Custom-Houses in *China*, but they are not so rigorous as those in the *Indies*, (where Passengers are search'd without regard to Decency or Shame) or indeed any where else; for they search no Man's Person, and very rarely open the Bales. Nay, if a Man makes a tolerable Appearance, they not only forbear to open his Chest, but take nothing of him, *We see plainly*, say they, *that the Gentleman is no Merchant*.

There are Custom-Houses where they pay by the Lump; and then Credit is given to the Merchant's own Bill of Parcels. There are others that require so much a Load, which is easily settled. Even the Emperor's *Kang-ko* [or Travelling Order] does not exempt one from paying Custom; nevertheless the *Mandarin* out of Respect lets him pass, without requiring any thing; But at *Pe-king* they are generally more strict.

The Bales of Goods, which come from, or are sent to, the great Officers of the Court, have each a *Fong-tyau* pasted on it, which is a large slip of Paper, whereon is written the Time it was pack'd up, with the Name and Dignity of the Owner; and if these Officers are considerable, they dare not venture to open them.

Formerly the Custom-Houses were shut up, and the *Mandarin* belonging to them changed every Year. This *Mandarin* by his Employ was a considerable Officer, who had the right of Memorial, that is, to address the Emperor immediately; but for twelve Years past the Emperor has committed the Care of the Custom-House to the Vice-Roy of each Province, who appoints a trusty *Mandarin* to receive the Customs; however, they have been oblig'd of late to appoint particular *Mandarins* for those of *Quang-tong* and *Fo-kyen*, on account of the Trouble occasion'd by the Sea Trade.

Post-Houses.

In every Place, where there is a Post-House, there is a *Mandarin* to take Care of it. All the Post-Horses belong to the Emperor, and no body is to make use of them but the Couriers of the Empire, the Officers, and others who are sent from Court. Those who carry the Emperor's Orders are commonly Persons of some Note, and attended by several Horsemen; the Orders are inclosed in a great Roll, cover'd with a piece of yellow Silk, and wrap'd in a Scarf, which hangs at their Backs. Their Horses are but ordinary to look at, but they are very good, and capable of performing long Journeys, for they commonly ride sixty or seventy *Li's* without changing them. One Post-Stage is call'd *Chan*; two Post-Stages two *Chan*.

These Stages where they change their Horses are not always of the same Length; the shortest contains fifty *Li's*, and rarely so few as forty. The ordinary Couriers carry their Wallet fasten'd upon their Back, and when they ride, it rests upon a Cushion lying on the Horses Buttocks. Their Wallets are not heavy, for they carry nothing but the Emperor's Dispatches, or those of the Sovereign Courts, or Advice from the Officers of the Provinces. They also carry privately the Letters of other Persons; and in this consists their Perquisites.

The Roads greatly incommoded with Dust.

The greatest and almost the only Inconvenience in travelling, especially in Winter time, and in the North Part of *China*, is the Dust, for it scarce ever rains in that Season; but there falls a great Quantity of Snow, in some of these Provinces, but not much at *Pe-king*. When the Wind blows very hard, it raises such Clouds of Dust, and that so frequently, that the Sky is darken'd with them, and one can hardly breathe. They are often obliged to cover their Faces with a Veil, or their Eyes with Glasses, fix'd in Leather or Silk, and ty'd behind the Head, whereby one may see and not be incommoded with the Dust. As the Soil is very loose, it easily flies off in Dust, when there has been a want of Rain for any considerable time.

The same thing happens in other much frequented Roads of the Empire, where the continual Motion of such infinite numbers of People as travel on Foot, on Horseback, or in Waggon, raises a thick Cloud of very fine Dust, which would blind them, if they did not take care to prevent it. The Southern Provinces are indeed free from this Inconvenience; but they have another to fear, which is the overflowing of the Waters, if they had not provided against it by building a vast Quantity of Wooden and Stone Bridges.

## Of the NOBILITY.

Nobility not hereditary in *China*.

NOBILITY is not Hereditary in *China*, tho' there are Dignities belonging to some Families, which are bestow'd by the Emperor on such of them as he judges to have the greatest Abilities. However illustrious any Man has been, nay, tho' he had arriv'd to the highest Dignity of the Empire, his Children have their Fortune to make; and if they want Parts, or love their Ease, they become like the common People, and are often obliged to follow the meanest Occupations. It is true that a Son may succeed to his Father's Estate, but not to



to his Dignities or Reputation, to which he must raise by the same Degrees as his Father did. For this Reason they place their chief Dependence on a constant Study, and they are sure to be advanced, let their Condition be what it will, if they have a Disposition for Literature. Thus one sees every Day several very surprizingly jump into Honours, not much unlike the Ecclesiastics in *Italy*, who, tho' of the meanest Extraction, are allow'd to aspire to the Prime Dignity in the *Romish Church*.

All the Inhabitants of *China* are divided into three Classes, the People, the *Literati*, and the *Mandarins*. None but those belonging to the Family now reigning, have any Title of Distinction: these possess the Rank of Princes, in whose Favour five honorary Degrees of Nobility are established, much like those of Dukes, Marquisses, Earls, Viscounts, and Barons in *Europe*. These Titles are granted to the Descendants of the Imperial Family, such as the Children of the Emperor, and those to whom he gives his Daughters in Marriage, who have Revenues assign'd them equal to their Dignity, but not the least Power. However, there are Princes who are not at all ally'd to the Imperial Family; being either Descendants of the preceding *Dynasties*, or such, whose Ancestors have acquired the Title by the Services done to the Public. The Provinces are govern'd solely by *Mandarins*, sent thither by the Emperor, as has been already observ'd, after he has examin'd them himself.

Superior Degrees of the Princes or Regulo's.

The Prince now reigning is the third of the Family, which for ninety nine Years has govern'd all *China* and *Tartary*; but the fifth if you go back to his Great Grand-Father's Father. This latter having subdued his own Country, conquer'd also *Eastern Tartary*, the Kingdom of *Korea*, and the Province of *Lyau-tong*, beyond the great Wall; fixing his Court in the Capital, call'd *Shin-yang* by the *Chinese*, and *Mukden* (A) by the *Manchew Tartars*. They then gave him the Name *Tay-tsu*, which is conferr'd on all Conquerors, who are Founders of a *Dynasty*; and as his Brothers, who were very numerous, had contributed very much by their Valour to the Conquest of so many Countries, he gave them Titles of Honour, creating some *Tsin-vang*, others *Kyun-vang*, and *Pey-lé*. The *Europeans* have thought fit to give these sorts of Dignities the Appellation of Regulo's, or Princes of the first, second, and third Rank. It was then determined, that from among the Children of every Regulo, one should always be chosen to succeed his Father in the same Dignity.

Besides these three the same Emperor created others of an inferior sort, which are bestow'd on the other Children who are most worthy. Those of the fourth Rank, are call'd *Pey-tse*; those of the fifth *Kong-beu*, and so of the rest.

This fifth Rank is above that of the greatest *Mandarins* in the Empire; but the Princes of the inferior Ranks have nothing to distinguish them, like the former, from the *Mandarins*, either in their Equipage or Habits, except a yellow Girdle, which is common to all the Princes of the Blood, as well those who possess Dignities, as those who have none; but these latter hide it, being asham'd to let it be seen, when their Circumstances are too low to afford an Equipage suitable to their Rank and Birth. For this Reason we should have a false Notion of the Princes of the Blood in *China*, if we compare them to those in *Europe*, and especially *France*; where their Descent from so many Royal Ancestors, raises them far above Persons of the highest Distinction in the State: Besides the small number of them attracts greater Regard and Veneration, which increases in Proportion as they are nearer to the Throne. On the contrary, in *China* the Origin of the Princes of the Blood is at no great Distance, as being but five Generations backward; and yet their Number has increased to such a Degree, in so short a Time, as to amount at present to no less than two thousand. Hence, as their Multitude puts them at a vast Distance from the Throne, they are little esteem'd, especially those who, having neither Titles nor Employments, cannot make a Figure suitable to their Birth; which makes a great Difference between Princes of the same Blood. Polygamy causing the Princes to increase exceedingly, they hurt one another in Proportion as they multiply, for they have no Estates in Lands; and as the Emperor cannot afford Pensions to them all, some of them live in extreme Poverty, tho' they wear the yellow Girdle.

Those of inferior Degrees often very poor.

Towards the End of the *Dynasty* of the *Ming*, there were more than three thousand Families of that Race in the City of *Kyang-chew*, several of whom were reduced to submit upon Charity. The Banditti, who made themselves Master of *Pe-king*, slew almost all those Princes, which is the Cause that some Part of the City lies waste; the few that escaped quitting the yellow Girdle, and changing their Names, mix'd themselves with the People. But they are still known to be of the Imperial Blood of the *Ming*; and one of them was a Servant of the Missionaries, in a House belonging to our Society in that City, which was built by one of those Princes; who, knowing that the *Tartars* sought after him, betook himself to Flight and disappear'd.

Princes of the Family of the *Ming* still remaining.

The Princes, besides their lawful Wife, have commonly three others, on whom the Emperor bestows Titles, and whose Names are enter'd in the Tribunal of the Princes; their Children take Place next to those of the lawful Wife, and are more respected than those of common Concubines, of whom they may have as many as they please. They have likewise two sorts of Servants, the one are properly Slaves, the others are *Tartars*, or *Chinese Tartarized*; whom the Emperor bestows upon them in a greater or lesser number, according to the Dignity where-with he honours the Princes of his Blood.

Wives and Children of Princes of the Blood.

These latter make the Equipage of the Regulo, and are commonly call'd *The Men of his Gate*. There are among them considerable *Mandarins*, Vice-Roys, and even *Tsong-tsi's*; who, tho' not Slaves like the first, yet they are almost equally subject to the Will of the Regulo, so long as

Their Equipage and Domestics.

(A) In the Original *Mukden*, elsewhere and in the Map *Mingden*.



he possesses his Dignity, and descend after his Death to his Children, in case they are honour'd with the same Dignity. But if one of these Princes is degraded from his Rank in his Life-time, or if his Dignity does not descend to his Children, this kind of Domestic is kept in reserve; and they are bestow'd on another Prince of the Blood, when his Household is establish'd, and he is raised to the same Dignity.

They are  
under great  
Restraints.

The Employment of these Princes of the five first Orders is most commonly to assist at public Ceremonies, and to appear every Morning at the Emperor's Palace; after which they retire to their own Houses, and have nothing to do but to govern their Families, the *Mandarins*, and the other Officers of their Household: but they are not allowed to visit one another, nor to lodge out of the City without an express Permission.

It is easy to see for what Reason they are put under such Restraints: it may suffice to say they have a great deal of time upon their Hands, and that most of them do not apply it to the best Advantage. However, some are employ'd in public Affairs, and do great Services to the Empire; such was the thirteenth Brother of the present Emperor.

The Nobility  
of whom  
composed.

They reckon in the Rank of Nobility, First, Those who formerly have been *Mandarins* in the Provinces, whether they have been dismissed from their Posts, of which sort almost all of them are, or have retir'd, either of their own Accord with the Emperor's Consent, or else constrain'd thereto by the Death of a Parent; in which case a *Mandarin* ought to give public Proof of his Grief, by laying down his Office.

Secondly, Those who not having Capacity enough to obtain the Literary Degrees, have yet by Favour or Presents procur'd certain Titles of Honour, which give them a Privilege of visiting the *Mandarins*; and hence they are fear'd and revered by the People.

Thirdly, An infinite number of Students, who from the Age of fifteen or sixteen to forty, come every third Year to be examin'd before the Tribunal of the Governour, who gives them a Subject to write upon. It is Ambition rather than the Desire of Improvement, that keeps them so long at their Studies. Besides the Degree of Batchelor, when they have attain'd it, exempts them from the Chastisement of the *Mandarin*: They are also admitted to his Audience, to sit in his Presence, and to eat at the same Table; an Honour which is exceedingly priz'd in *China*, and seldom ever granted to any of the People's Class.

Family of  
*Kang-fu-ti*,  
the most  
noble in  
*China*.

The Family, at this Day accounted the most noble in *China*, and which, with respect to its Antiquity, is the most noble in the World, is descended from *Confucius*, their celebrated Philosopher. And indeed, properly, there are no hereditary Nobility besides this Family, which has been continued in a direct Line for above two thousand Years, from one of his Nephews; who is call'd on this Occasion *Shing-jin-ti-shi-ell*, that is to say, *The Nephew of the Great Man*, or by way of Eminence, *The Sage*; for so the *Chinese* call the Restorer of their Moral Philosophy. And in Consideration of this Original, the Emperors have constantly honour'd one of the Descendants of this Philosopher with the Dignity of *Kong*, which answers to that of our Dukes or ancient Earls. He who is now living, passes thro' the Streets of *Pe-king*, with all the Honours due to his Rank, when he comes every Year from *Kyo-few*, in the Province of *Sban-tong*; which is the Birth Place of his illustrious Ancestor, and always govern'd by a *Mandarin* of the same Family.

Titles of  
Honour con-  
ferr'd by the  
Emperor  
enobles.

One of the Principal Marks of Nobility is, the Titles of Honour bestow'd upon Persons of distinguish'd Merits by the Emperor, who sometimes entails them for five, or six, or eight, or ten Generations, in Proportion to the Service done to the Public; and with these the *Mandarins* stile themselves in their Letters, and on the Front of their Houses. In *Europe* Nobility descends from Father to Son, but in *China* it sometimes ascends from the Son to the Father and Grand-Father; for when any one has signaliz'd himself by his extraordinary Merit, the Emperor is not contented to raise him to the Honours I have been speaking of, but by distinct Patents extends them to his Father, Mother, Grand-Father and Grand-Mother: or to speak more properly, he confers on each a particular Title of Honour, in acknowledgment of their Care in the Education of so great and useful a Man.

Instance in  
the Case of  
*P. Verbiest*.

I cannot give a more remarkable Instance than that of *P. Ferdinand Verbiest*, a Flemish Jesuit, President of the Tribunal of the Mathematics at the Court of *Pe-king*; who being call'd to assist *P. Adam Schaal*, in the Reformation of the Kalendar, had Orders to make Tables of the Celestial Motions and Eclipses, for two thousand Years: wherein he apply'd himself with great Diligence, employing all the *Mandarins* of the first Class of the Astronomical Tribunal, to calculate the Revolutions of the Planets, according to the Rules he laid down. After he had finish'd this great Work, he reduced it to thirty two Volumes of Maps with their Explanations, and presented them to the Emperor, in the Year 1678, with this Title, *The perpetual Astronomy of the Emperor KANG-HI*.

Hereupon that Monarch convened a General Assembly of the *Mandarins* of all Orders of the Princes, the Vice-Roys, and the Governors of Provinces; who were come to salute and rejoice with him, on occasion of having declared his Son for his Successor. He received the Present from *Pere Verbiest* with a great deal of Pleasure; and not only caused it to be placed among the Archives of the Palace, but to reward his indefatigable Labour, made him President of the Tribunal of the first Order, and gave him the Title of that Dignity. And tho' the Father by Petition remonstrated, that the religious Profession he had embraced would not permit him to accept of this Honour, the Emperor gave no heed to it; so that the Fear both of offending that Monarch, and of hurting the Progress of our Religion in the Empire, oblig'd him to receive the following Patent, which confers this Dignity upon him.

" We



" We the Emperor, by the Appointment of Heaven, ordain: The Constitution of a well govern'd State requires, that wor thy Actions should be made known, and that the Services done to a State with a ready Will should be rewarded, and receive the Encomiums they deserve. It is also the Duty of a Prince who governs wisely according to the Laws, to praise Virtue and exalt Merit: this is what we now do by these Letters patent, which, it is our will, shall be published throughout the Empire; that all our Subjects may know what Regard we have to Services performed with due Application and Diligence.

Patent to enoble P. Verbiest.

" For this Cause, *Ferdinand Verbiest*, to whom I have committed the care of my Imperial Kalendar, the Excellent Dispositions, the Sincerity and Vigilance, which you have discovered in my Service, as well as the profound Learning you have acquired by continually applying your Mind to all sort of Sciences; have obliged me to place you at the Head of my Astronomical Academy. Your Care has answered our Expectation, and by labouring Night and Day, you have fully perform'd the Duties of that Office. In a word, you have happily brought your Designs to an End, with indefatigable Pains, of which we our selves have been Witnesses.

" It is proper, that during this great Festival, when my whole Empire is assembled to testify their Joy, I should make you sensible of my Imperial Favour, and of the Esteem I have for your Person: For this Reason, by a Special Grace, and of our own Accord, we grant you the Title of GREAT MAN, (大) which ought to be famous every where; and we ordain, that this Title be sent into all Parts of our Empire, there to be published.

" Assume new Vigour for our Service: This Title of Honour, which begins in your Person, extends to all your Kindred and those of your Blood. You have deserved, by your Care and your extraordinary Application, this Encomium, as well as Dignity; and your Merit is so great, that it fully amounts to the Honour we confer on you. Receive then this Favour with due Respect: you are the only Person on which I have conferred it; let it therefore be a new Motive to employ all your Talents and all the Faculties of your Mind, in our Service."

The like Titles of Honour, as already observed, ascend to the Ancestors of him who receives them: all his Relations are proud of them; they cause them to be written in several Places of their Houses, and even upon the Lanthorns that are carried before them when they walk in the Night-time, which gains them great Respect. As *Pere Verbiest* was a *European*, he had no Relations in *China* to partake of this Honour; but very luckily for our Religion, all the Missionaries, as well Jesuits as others, pass'd for his Brothers, and were considered under the said Title by the Mandarins. This Quality of *Great Man* gain'd the Bishop of *Heliopolis* an easy Admission into *China*; and most of the Religious caus'd it to be inscribed on the Door of their House.

All the Missionaries partake of it as his Brothers.

After having thus honour'd *Pere Verbiest*, the Emperor conferr'd the same Titles on his Ancestors, by so many Patents, which he caused to be drawn up: viz. one for his Grandfather *Peter Verbiest*; another for *Paschasia de Wolff* his Grandmother; a third for *Louis Verbiest* his Father; and the fourth for *Ann Vanberke* his Mother; whereof I shall on'y produce those for the two first, which will be a sufficient Specimen of the *Chinese* Genius.

His Ancestors made noble also.

The Patent granted to *P. Verbiest's* Grandfather was express'd in these Terms:

" We the Emperor, &c. The Honours which we grant to those, who by their Merit have been raised to the Dignities of Mandarins, and the chief Magistrates, ought to be ascribed to the Care of their Ancestors, as their original; since it was owing to the Instruction, Education and good Examples received from them, that they practis'd Virtue, and became worthy of those Honours.

His Grandfather's Patent.

" For this Reason, being willing to ascend to the Fountain of Merit, I extend my Favours to you, *Peter Verbiest*, who were the Grandfather of *P. Verbiest*, whom I have honoured with the Title of, &c. Your Virtue, like a well planted Tree, has taken deep Root, and will never fall: It still upholds your Posterity, and continues in your Grandson, who by his extraordinary Merit, has made known to us what yours was. For this Reason, considering you as the Origin of his Greatness, by a particular Grace, I confer on you the same Titles of Honour.

His Grandmother's Patent was to this Sense: " We the Emperor, &c. When according to the laudable Customs of our Empire, we would reward the Deserts of those who have faithfully served us, and, by those Rewards, excite them to continue their Services to us; it is just that part of the Glory, which thereby redounds to them, should pass to their Ancestors.

His Grandmother's Patent.

" Wherefore, in Consideration of the Care you took in the Education of *P. Ferdinand*, who so worthily acquits himself in the Charges and Employments which I have entrusted to his Care, I confer on you by these Presents, the Title given to the Wife of him, who is a Mandarin of the first Rank, under the Stile of, &c. Enjoy this Title of Honour, which exalts the Care you have taken in the Education of your Children, and will excite the Care of others; when they shall see, that our Imperial Favours extend even to those who have any way contributed to Virtue, and to the Merit of Persons whom we honour. Your Posterity will thereby become more illustrious, and have for you the greater Veneration; for this Reason it is that we are willing by these Patents to raise the glory of your Name."

(x) I suppose the Word in the original *Chinese* is *Ta-jin*, which signifies *Great Man*, a Title of Honour, as appears from several Places of this Work.



From what had been said it appears, that, excepting the Descendants of *Confucius*, and the Princes belonging to the reigning Family, no Person is noble in *China*, but in consequence of the Emperor declaring his Merit, or advancing him to a Rank which he thinks him worthy of; all who have not taken Degrees being reckon'd Plebeians. And hence, as there is no such thing as an Ancient and Hereditary Nobility in Families, there can be no Fear of their establishing an Authority in the Provinces dangerous to that of the Sovereign.

*Of the Fertility of the Lands ; of Agriculture, and the Value set on those who apply themselves thereto.*

The Soil of *China* productive every where.

**I**N an Empire of such vast Extent, as we have observed this to be, the Nature of the Soil cannot be every where the same; accordingly it differs in *China*, in proportion as the Lands are more or less Southward. But so indefatigably industrious and inured to Labour, are the Husbandmen, that every Province is very fruitful; and there is scarce one but what will yield Subsistence for an inconceivable Number of Inhabitants.

Besides the Goodness of the Land, the prodigious Number of Canals, wherewith it is interspersed, contribute not a little to it's Fertility; and tho they reap so many different Sorts of Grains, that great Quantities are used for making Wine and strong Waters, yet when Scarcity is apprehended in any Place the more experienced *Mandarins* forbid the making such Liquors for a Time. Agriculture is in great Esteem; and the Husbandmen, whose Profession is look'd upon as the most necessary one in a State, are of a considerable Rank; for they are prefer'd to Merchants and Mechanics, besides having large Privileges.

Manured with Ordure,

The Attention of Husbandmen is chiefly employ'd in the Cultivation of Rice. They manure their Land extremely well, gathering, for that purpose with extraordinary Care, all Sorts of Ordure, both of Men and Animals, which they truck for Wood, Herbs, or Linseed-Oil. When they are not employ'd in the Fields, they go into the Mountains to cut Wood for this Sort of Traffic, or else cultivate their Kitchen Gardens; for the *Chinese* are very far from preferring the Agreeable to the Useful. They very seldom employ their Land for unprofitable Uses, such as Flower-Gardens, or fine Walks; believing it more for the Public Good, and what is still dearer to them their private Interest, that every Place should be sown in order to produce useful Things.

This kind of Manure, which elsewhere would burn up the Plants, is very proper for the Lands of *China*, where they have an Art of tempering it with Water before they use it. They gather the Dung in Pails, which they commonly carry cover'd on their Shoulders, and this contributes very much to the Cleanness of their Cities, whose Filth is thus taken away every Day.

and the Hair of Animals.

In certain Places, as in the Province of *Che-kyang*, when they sow Rice, they buy Balls of Hogs, or even human Hair, which according to them give Strength to the Land, and makes the Rice grow better. For this reason Barbers are very careful to save the Hair which they shave off Heads, to sell to the Inhabitants of those Parts, who come to purchase it, for about a Half penny a Pound, carrying it away in Bags; and you may often see Barks loaded with it.

Lime mixt with Water.

When the Plant begins to ear, if the Land be watered with Spring Water, they mix quick Lime with it; saying, that it kills Worms and Insects, destroys Weeds, and gives a Warmth to the Ground, which contributes much to it's Fertility.

The Mountains cultivated.

This Country, like all others, has its Mountains and Plains, which latter are all cultivated; but one sees neither Hedges nor Ditches, nor scarce any Tree; so fearful they are of losing an Inch of Ground. In several Provinces the Land bears twice a Year, and even between the two Crops, they sow small Grains and Pulse. The Provinces which lie to the North and West, as *Pe-che-li*, *Sban-fi*, *Sben-fi* and *Se-chuen*, produce Wheat, Barley, several kinds of Millet, Tobacco, Peas that are always green, also black and yellow Peas, which serve instead of Oats to feed their Horses; they likewise produce Rice, and that in several Places where the Earth is dry, but then not so plentifully; besides it is harder, and requires more boiling than the Rice of the Southern Provinces, especially *Hu-quang*, *Kyang-nan* and *Che-kyang*, which produce great Quantities, because the Lands lie low, and have Plenty of Water.

All Grain transplanted.

The Husbandmen sow their Grain at first without any Order; but when it has shot forth about a Foot, or a Foot and a half high, they pluck it up by the Roots, and making it into a sort of small Sheaves, plant it by a Line, and chequer-wise; to the end that the Ears, resting upon each other, may stand more firmly, and resist the Violence of the Wind.

Manner of Levelling the Land.

But before the Rice is transplanted, they are careful to level the Land, and make it very smooth, after the following Manner. Having plow'd the Ground three or four Times successively always up to the Ankles in Water; they break the Clods with the Head of their



their Mattocks; then by the help of a wooden Machine (on which a Man stands upright and guides the Buffaloe that draws it) they smooth the Earth, to the end that the Water, so necessary to the Rice, may be every where of an equal Height, inasmuch that the Plains seem more like vast Gardens than open Fields; the Plains in those Provinces, where they are mingled with Hills and Mountains, are sometimes barren, but the greater part have good Soil, and are cultivated to the very Edges of the Precipices.

It is very agreeable to behold in some Places Plains three or four Leagues in Length, surrounded with Hills and Mountains, cut, from the Bottom to the Top, into Terraces three or four Foot high, and rising one above another, sometimes to the number of twenty or thirty. Mountains cut into Terraces.

These Mountains are not generally rocky as they are in *Europe*, the Soil being light, porous, and easy to be cut; and so deep in several Provinces, that one may dig three or four hundred Foot without meeting with the Rock.

When the Mountains are rocky, the *Chinese* loosen the Stones, and make little Walls of them to support the Terraces; then they level the good Soil, and sow it with Grain. So painful a Task shews how laborious the *Chinese* are, which will appear still more plainly from what I am going to say.

Tho' in some Provinces there are barren and uncultivated Mountains, yet the Valleys and Fields, which separate them in a vast number of Places, are very fruitful, and well cultivated; there being not an Inch of arable Land, but what is cover'd with fine Rice, the *Chinese* having been industrious enough to level all the unequal Places that are capable of Culture. Method for watering the Terraces and higher Grounds.

The Husbandman divides that Part of the Land, which is of the same Level, into Plots, and that along the Edges of the Valleys, which is unequal, into Stories, in form of an Amphitheatre; and as the Rice will not thrive without Water, they make Reservoirs at proper Distances, and different Heights to catch the Rain Water, and that which descends from the Mountains, in order to distribute it equally among all their Rice-Plots: never grudging their Pains or Fatigue, either, in letting the Water run down from the Reservoir above to the Plots below, or in causing it to ascend from the lower Reservoirs, Story by Story, even to the highest Plots. For this Purpose they make use of certain Hydraulic Engines, to convey the Water from Place to Place, continually, for moistening the Ground; inasmuch that on the one hand the Husbandman is almost sure every Year to find a Harvest proportionable to his Industry and Labour; and on the other, the Traveller receives every Moment new Pleasures in beholding those charming Fields and Valleys, which, tho' uniformly green, present so many Scenes wonderfully diversify'd by the various Appearances of the Mountains that surround him; and will be every Instant agreeably surpriz'd by a new Landkip, offering to his View a constant Succession of verdant Amphitheatres, as he proceeds on his Journey.

This kind of Engine, which they make use of, is very simple, both with respect to its Make and the manner of playing it. It is compos'd of a Chain, made of Wood, resembling a Chaplet or Pair of Beads, strung as it were with a great number of flat Boards, six or seven Inches square, and placed at equal Distances, parallel to each other. One half of this Chain is laid in a Trough or Gutter, made of three Planks, which is clos'd up with a fourth; on the Outside whereof the other half of the Chain lies. At the lower End of the Gutter, or Tube, is a smooth Cylinder or Barrel, whose Axis is fix'd in the two sides thereof; and to the upper end is fasten'd a sort of Drum, set round with little Boards, to answer those of the Chain, which passes round both it, and the Cylinder: so that when the Drum is turn'd, the Chain turns also, and consequently the lower end of the Gutter or Tube being put into Water, and the upper or Drum-end set to the height where the Water is to be convey'd, the Boards filling exactly the Cavity of the Tube, must carry up a continual Stream of Water, so long as the Machine is in Motion; which is perform'd three Ways: First, with the Hand, by means of one or two Handles apply'd to the ends of the Axis of the Drum. Secondly, with the Feet, by means of certain large wooden Pegs, about half a Foot long, set round the Axel-tree of the Drum, for the Purpose. These Pegs have great longish Heads, rounded on the outside, that is, of a proper Shape for applying the Soles of the naked Feet; inasmuch that one or more Men, according to the number of the Rows of Pegs, either standing or sitting, may with the greatest Ease put the Engine in Motion, and raise a continual Stream of Water; their Hands being employ'd all the while, the one in holding an Umbrella, and the other a Fan. Thirdly, By the Assistance of a Buffaloe, or some other Animal, made fast to a great Wheel, about four Yards in Diameter, placed horizontally; round its Circumference are fix'd a great number of Pegs or Teeth, which, tallying exactly with those in the Axel-tree of the Drum, turn the Machine, tho' much larger, with a great deal of Ease. Engine, for raising the Water, described.

When a Canal is to be cleans'd, which often happens, it is divided at convenient Distances by Dikes; and every neighbouring Village, being allotted its Share, the Peasants immediately appear in Companies, with their Chain-Engines, just now describ'd, to raise the Water out of the Canals into the Fields. As the Banks are very high, they place three Engines one above another, whereby the Water is convey'd from one to the other; this Labour, tho' long and painful, is soon ended by means of the multitude of Hands employ'd therein. Useful in cleansing the Canals.

Tho' in some Parts, as the Province of *Fo-kyen*, the Mountains, which are not very high, are contiguous to each other, and almost without any Valleys between; yet they are all cultivated by the Art the Husbandmen have to convey the Water, in what Quantity they please, from Mountain to Mountain, through Pipes made of *Bambù*. Water convey'd over the Mountains.



The Harvest  
often de-  
stroy'd by  
Locusts.

The continual Labour and Pains of these poor People are oft times render'd ineffectual, especially in some Provinces, by the great number of Locusts, which destroy the Fruit of the Earth. It is a dreadful Plague, if we may judge of it from a *Chinese* Author: "There appears," (says he) a prodigious multitude which covers all the Sky, being so thick together, that their Wings seem to touch, and their Number so great, that in lifting up your Eyes, you would think you saw over your Head very high green Mountains, [that is his Expression] and the Noise they make in flying, is like the Sound of a Drum."

The same Author observes that this incredible Quantity of Locusts does not appear but when the Inundations are follow'd by a very dry Year; and, philosophizing in his own way, he pretends, that the Spawn of the Fish being left upon the Ground, and afterwards hatch'd by the Heat of the Sun, produce this prodigious multitude of Insects, that destroys, in a short time, the Hopes of the most plentiful Harvest.

It is then that one beholds the wretched Husbandmen sweat all the Day, underneath the burning Sky, to drive away these Insects, with Clouts which they spread over their Crop. This deadly Plague is very common in *Sban-tong*, in the time of a great Drought; but sometimes it does not extend above one League, the Harvest being very good in the rest of the Province.

Agriculture  
held in great  
Esteem.

That which makes these People undergo such incredible Fatigues in cultivating the Earth, is not barely their private Interest; but rather the Veneration paid to Agriculture, and the Esteem which the Emperors themselves have always had for it, from the Commencement of the Monarchy. The common Opinion is that it was first taught by *Shin-nong*, one of their first Emperors, who is revered to this Day as the Inventor of an Art so useful to the Public; which has still gain'd farther Credit from one of their Emperors, who was taken from the Plow to sit upon the Throne, as the Story is related in the Books of their ancient Philosophers. According to them the Emperor *Yau*, who began to reign 2357 Years before *Christ*, and sat on the Throne so long, having appointed the several Tribunals of Magistrates still subsisting, had thoughts of freeing himself from the Weight of the Government. On this account he conferr'd with his principal Ministers, who reply'd, he could not do better than to commit the Care of the Empire, to the eldest of his Children, who was a wise Prince of a good Disposition, and of great Hopes. But *Yau* more thoroughly acquainted, than his Ministers, with the Genius of his Son, who was crafty and full of Dissimulation, look'd upon their Counsel to be the Effect of a foolish Complaisance; wherefore, without coming to any Conclusion he broke up the Assembly, and put off the Business to another time.

A Husband-  
man chosen  
by *Yau* for  
his Successor.

Some time after (having then reign'd seventy Years) he caus'd one of his most faithful Ministers to be call'd; and said to him, "You are endow'd with Probity, Wisdom and Experience, I believe you a fit Person to fill my Place, and accordingly appoint you to it. Great Emperor, (reply'd the Minister) I am altogether unworthy of the Honour you bestow on me; and I want the Qualifications requisite for an Office, whose Dignity is of so exalted a Nature, and Duties difficult to discharge. But since you are desirous of finding out a Person worthy to succeed you, and able to preserve the Peace, Justice and good Order, which you have already introduc'd into your Dominions; I assure you, with the greatest Sincerity, that I know of none more capable than a young Husbandman, who is yet unmarried. He is no less below'd than admir'd by all who know him, for his Probity, Wisdom and Evenness of Temper; considering the Lowness of his Circumstances; and that he lives in a Family where he suffers intolerably from the ill Humours of a fretful Father, and the Fury of a Mother, who sets no Bounds to her Severity. His Brothers are so haughty, insolent, and quarrelsome, that no body has been able to live with them hitherto; he alone has had the Art to find Peace, or rather to bring it into an House compos'd of such fantastic and unreasonable Creatures. I judge, Lord, that a Man, who can conduct himself with so much Wisdom in a private Condition, and joins to the Sweetness of his Temper, such Address, such Labour, and such an indefatigable Application, is the most capable of governing your Empire, and preserving the wise Laws establish'd therein."

*Yau*, equally charm'd with the Modesty of the Minister, who refused the Crown, and with his account of the young Husbandman, order'd him to send for the latter, and oblig'd him to reside at Court; where the Emperor observ'd all his Conduct for several Years, and in what manner he acquitted himself in the Employments which he bestow'd upon him. At length, finding himself declining with Age, he sent for him, and spoke thus, "*Sbun* (for that was his Name) I have for a long time made a Trial of your Fidelity, in order to satisfy myself that you will not baulk my Expectation, but govern my People with Wisdom. I therefore give up to you my whole Authority; be rather their Father than their Master: and remember that I make you Emperor, not for the People to be your Servants, but to protect them, to love them, and to relieve them in their Necessity. Reign with Equity, and render them the Justice they expect from you."

Books of A-  
griculture  
written by the  
Emperor *Yu*.

This Choice of an Emperor out of the Country, has inspir'd the *Chinese* with a great Esteem for Agriculture. *Yu*, who succeeded *Sbun*, came to the Throne after the same Manner. At the beginning of the Empire several low Countries were still cover'd with Water, and it was he who found out the Art, by means of Canals, to drain off the Water into the Sea, and afterwards made use of them to render the Soil fruitful. He wrote several Books con-



concerning the manner of cultivating Land, by dunging, tilling, and watering it; which induc'd *Shun* to appoint him for his Successor.

So many Books written upon so useful a Subject, by an Emperor, have contributed much to raise the Credit of Agriculture, as they see it has been thought worthy the Care and Application of a great Prince.

Several other Emperors have expressed their Zeal for this Art: *Kang-wang*, who was the third Emperor of the *Chew*, caused the Land to be measured and surveyed by *Chau-kong*, one of his Ministers; he himself visited all the Provinces in his Dominions, and caused Landmarks to be fixed, to prevent Disputes and Differences among the Husbandmen. *Chau-kong* heard their Complaints, and administered Justice under a Willow Tree; which was had in Veneration for a long time among the People.

*Agriculture promoted by Emperors;*

*King-wang*, who was the twenty fourth Emperor of the same Family, and reigned at the same Time that *Confucius* was born, being 531 Years before the *Christian Era*, made a new Division of the Lands, and renewed the Laws that had been made for promoting Agriculture. In a Word, no Emperor has raised its Esteem to so great a Pitch as *Ven-ti*, who reigned 179 Years before Christ; for this Prince, perceiving that his Country was ruined by the Wars, assembled his Council to consult on the Means to restore it to its former Condition, and engage his Subjects to cultivate the Land; he himself set them an Example, by ploughing, with his own Hands, the Land belonging to his Palace, which obliged all the Ministers and great Men of the Court to do the same.

*especially by King-wang and Ven-ti,*

It is thought that this was the Original of a great Festival that is solemnized every Year in all the Cities of *China*, on the Day that the Sun enters the fifteenth Degree of *Aquarius*; which the *Chinese* look upon as the beginning of their Spring.

*Festival in its Honour.*

On this Day the Governor, or the Chief *Mandarin*, comes out of his Palace, carried in his Chair, preceded by Banners, lighted Torches, and divers Instruments. He is crowned with Flowers, and marches in this Equipage towards the Eastern Gate of the City, as it were to meet the Spring: being attended with several Litters painted and adorned with Variety of Silk-Tapestry, exhibiting various Figures, and the Portraits of Illustrious Persons, who had practised Husbandry, with Histories relating to the same subject. The Streets are covered with Tapestry, and at proper Distances, Triumphal Arches are erected; They also hang out Lanthorns, and make Illuminations.

*The Ceremonies described*

Among the Figures, there is a Cow of Earthen-Ware, so monstrously large, that forty Men can hardly carry it. Behind the Cow, whose Horns are gilt, is a young Child with one Foot naked, and the other shod: him they call the *Genius of Labour and Diligence*, who strikes the earthen Cow incessantly with a Rod, as tho' it were to make it advance. All the Husbandmen follow with their Instruments; after whom proceed Companies of Masquers and Comedians, acting Plays.

In this manner they march to the Governor's Palace, where they strip the Cow of her Ornaments, and drawing out of her Belly a prodigious Number of small Cows made of Clay, distribute them among the Multitude, as well as the Fragments of the Cow which they break in Pieces. Afterwards the Governor makes a short Discourse, recommending the Care of Husbandry as one of the things most conducive to the Good of a State.

The Attention of the Emperors and *Mandarins* to the Cultivation of the Land is so great, that when Deputies arrive at Court from the Vice-Roys, the *Chinese* Monarch never forgets to demand in what Condition the Fields appeared to them: And the falling of a seasonable Shower furnishes a proper Occasion for visiting a *Mandarin*, to compliment him thereupon.

Every Year in Spring, the Emperor (according to the Custom of the antient Founders of this excellent Monarchy) goes himself in a solemn manner to plough a few Ridges of Land; in order to animate the Husbandmen by his own Example, and the *Mandarins* of every City perform the Ceremony. *Yong-ching*, who is now upon the Throne, declared, that as soon as the Time of Mourning was expired, he would duly observe this ancient and laudable Custom; having a few Months before published an Instruction signed with the red Pencil, that is, with his own Hand, to exhort the People to apply themselves to Husbandry without Interruption.

*Ceremony of the Emperor ploughing in Spring,*

The Order observed in this Ceremony, is as follows, at the Beginning of the *Chinese* Spring, which falls in the Month of *February*, the Tribunal of the Mathematics having received Orders to find out the proper Day for the Ceremony of Tillage, fixt on the twenty-fourth of the second Moon; whereof the Tribunal of Rites gave Notice by a Memorial to the Emperor, in which were set forth the following Particulars to be observed by him, preparatory to this Festival: First, that he should appoint twelve illustrious Persons to attend, and plow after him, viz. three Princes, and nine Presidents of the sovereign Courts; or the Assistants of the latter, in Case they were too old or infirm.

*described;*

*Directions to be followed by the Emperor.*

Secondly, This Ceremony does not solely consist in the Emperor's ploughing the Earth, in order to stir up Emulation by his own Example; but it also includes a Sacrifice, which He, as chief Pontif, offers to *Shang-ti*, to procure Plenty from him in favour of his People. Accordingly in preparing for the Sacrifice, he ought to fast and observe Continence the three preceding Days; both the Princes and *Mandarins*, who accompany his Majesty, ought to prepare themselves in the same manner.

Thirdly,



Thirdly, On the Eve of the Ceremony, his Majesty is to send several Lords of the first Quality to the Hall of his Ancestors, to prostrate themselves before their Tablet; and give them Notice, as tho' they were yet living, that the next Day he will offer the Great Sacrifice.

**Preparations.** These are in Brief, the Directions of the Tribunal of Rites to the Emperor. It likewise prescribes the Preparations to be made by the different Tribunals; one is obliged to prepare the Sacrifice; another to compose the Formula, which the Emperor repeats when he makes the Sacrifice; a third to carry and set up the Tents, under which the Emperor is to dine, in Case he so orders it; a fourth is to assemble forty or fifty Husbandmen venerable for their Age, who are to be present when the Emperor ploughs the Ground, with forty of the younger Sort to make ready the Plough, yoke the Oxen, and prepare the Grain that is to be sown. The Emperor sows five Sorts of Grain, supposed to be the most necessary; under which all the rest are comprized, as Wheat, Rice, Beans, Millet, &c. and a kind of Millet called *Kau-lyang*.

**Emperor offers Sacrifice.** These are the Preparations. On the twenty-fourth Day of the Moon the Emperor went with his whole Court, in his Habit of Ceremony, to the Place appointed, to offer to *Sbang-ti* the Spring Sacrifice; by which he is implored to increase and preserve the Fruits of the Earth: for this Reason the Offering is made before they put their Hand to the Plough. The Place is a little Hillock made of Earth, a few Furlongs distant from the City to the South. On the Side of this Elevation (which ought to be fifty Foot four Inches high) is the Spot which is to be ploughed by the Imperial Hands.

**Ploughs a Field.** After the Emperor had offered Sacrifices, he descended with the three Princes and nine Presidents, who were to plough with him. Several great Lords carried the valuable Chests, which contain'd the Grains that were to be sown. All the Court attended with profound Silence; then the Emperor took the Plough and tilled the Ground several times backwards and forwards. When he quitted it a Prince of the Blood held it, and ploughed, as did all the rest in their Turns. After having ploughed in several Places, the Emperor sowed the different Grain; and the Day following the Husbandmen by Profession, (forty-four of whom were old and forty-two young Men) finished the Remainder of the Field which was left untilled. The Ceremony concluded with the appointed Reward which the Emperor bestowed upon each of them; consisting of four Pieces of dy'd Cotton to make Cloaths.

which is often visited by the Governor of *Pe-king*. The Governor of *Pe-king* goes often to visit this Field, which is cultivated with great Care, and examines all the Ridges thoroughly, to see if he can meet with any uncommon Ears, such as they reckon good Omens: On which Occasion he gives Notice that he found a Stalk, for Instance, that bore thirteen Ears. In the Autumn, the same Governor gets in the Grain in yellow Sacks, which are stowed in a Granary built for that Purpose, call'd the Imperial Magazine. This Grain is kept for the most solemn Ceremonies: for when the Emperor sacrifices to *Tyen* or *Sbang-ti*, he offers it as the Fruit of his own Hands; and on certain Days in the Year he presents it to his Ancestors, as if they were still living.

**Fine Regulation of Yang-ching, to encourage Agriculture.** Among several good Regulations made by the same Emperor, he has shewn an uncommon Regard for the Husbandmen. To encourage them in their Labour, he has ordered the Governors of all the Cities to send him Notice every Year, of the Person of this Profession, in their respective Districts, who is most remarkable for his Application to Agriculture; for unblemished Reputation; for preserving Union in his own Family, and Peace with his Neighbours; for his Frugality and Aversion to all Extravagance.

Upon the Report of the Governor, the Emperor will advance this wise and diligent Husbandman to the Degree of a *Mandarin* of the eighth Order, and send him Patents of an honorary *Mandarin*: Which Distinction will entitle him to wear the Habit of a *Mandarin*, to visit the Governor of the City, to sit in his Presence, and take Tea with him. He will be respected all the rest of his Days, and after his Death will have funeral Obsequies suitable to his Degree; and his Title of Honour will be written in the Hall of his Ancestors. What Joy must this afford the venerable old Man and his whole Family! besides the Emulation such a Reward excites among the Husbandmen, the Emperor still adds fresh Lustre to a Profession which is of so great Importance to the State, and has always been had in Esteem thro' the Empire.

### Of the Ingenuity of Mechanics, and the Industry of the common People.

The People divided into three Classes.

**T**HE People, as before observed, are distinguished into three sorts of Professions: that of the Husbandmen, which is in great Esteem; that of Merchants, of whom I shall speak, when I come to treat of the *Chinese* Trade; and that of Mechanics, who being constantly employed in the manual Arts, help these to supply Necessities and Conveniences of Life.

The common People cannot provide for their own Maintenance without a continual Toil; and there is scarce any Nation more laborious and temperate than this. A *Chinese* will spend whole



whole Days in digging the Earth, often up to the Knees in Water; and in the Evening will think himself happy with a little boiled Rice, Pot-Herbs, and some Tea.

It must be observed, that the *Chinese* always boil their Rice in Water, it being the same to them as Bread is to us, without ever cloying. They are inur'd to Hardships from their Infancy, which greatly contributes to preserve the Innocence of their Manners.

The japann'd Works, the beautiful *China*-Wares, and the Variety of well-wrought Silks, imported from *China*, are a sufficient Proof of the Ingenuity of the Natives. They are not less skilful in making Commodities in Ebony, Shells, Ivory, Amber, and Coral. Their Works in Sculpture, as well as their publick Buildings, such as the Gates of great Cities, the Triumphal Arches, their Bridges, and their Towers, expresse something great and noble. In a Word, they succeed equally in all Kinds of Arts that are necessary for the common Uses of Life; doing things with a certain kind of Elegance agreeable to their Taste: and if they have not arrived at so great a Perfection as appears in several Works in *Europe*, 'tis because they are restrained by the *Chinese* Frugality; which sets Bounds to the Expences of private Persons.

It is true their Invention is not so good as that of our Mechanics, but the Tools they make Use of are more simple; and they imitate, well enough, any Pattern that is brought them, tho' they never saw it before. Thus at present they make Watches, Clocks, Glafs, Muskets, Pistols, and several other things which they had no Notion of formerly, or made but very imperfectly. There are Mechanics of all sorts in every City; some of whom work in their Shops at their Work-Houses, and others go about the Streets, offering their Service to such as want it; but the greater Part are employed in private Houses. For instance, if you want a Suit of Cloaths, the Taylor comes betimes in the Morning to your House, and returns home in the Evening: It is the same with respect to other Mechanics, who all bring their Tools along with them, even to the Smith with his Anvil and Stove, to make things of common Use.

A great Number of Barbers are seen in the Streets, with a kind of little Bell to give Notice of their Approach: They carry on their Shoulders a Stool, their Bason, their Pot and Fire, with a Towel and Clouts; and immediately in the Street, in the middle of a Square, at the Door of a House, or wherever else it is desired, they shave the Head very dexterously, leaving only a long Lock of Hair behind, according to the Custom introduced by the *Tartars*: They set the Eyebrows in order, clean the Ears with proper Instruments, stretch out the Arms, rub the Shoulders, and do all this for eighteen Deniers [or less than a Half-penny] which they receive with a great many Thanks, and then ring the Bell again in quest of another Job.

Many get their Living by hiring Vehicles for carrying one thro' the City, particularly at *Pe-king*; where you find in all Squares and at the Corners of Streets, Horses ready saddled, Mules and Chairs, fifty or a hundred of which may be had any time at a moderate Price.

They have Recourse to all manner of Contrivances, for means of Subsistence; and as there is not a Spot in all the Empire that lies untill'd, neither is there one Person, Man or Woman, tho' ever so old, deaf or blind, but what may easily gain a Livelihood. They scarce ever make use of any thing to grind their Corn in *China* but Hand-mills; which requiring nothing more than the motion of the Arms, employs an infinite number of People. This is not for want of Water-mills, which are common on most of their Rivers, being used for grinding the Bark of Trees to make Pastiles withal. The Wheel of these Mills is placed Horizontally, and has double Fellows, about a Foot, or a Foot and a half, from each other; which are united by little Boards, and disposed obliquely in such a Manner, that at the Top they leave a pretty wide Opening, and at the bottom a very narrow Cleft, while the Water, that falls like a Sheet, the height of two Foot on these little Boards, makes the Wheel turn swiftly round.

The *Chinese* will make a Profit of Things, which appear to others to be, quite useless: Their Shifts for a Livelihood. A great many Families in *Pe-king* subsist by selling Matches; others by picking up in the Streets little Rags of Silk, Wollen, Cotten, or Linnen; the Feathers of Fowls, Bones of Dogs, and Bits of Paper, which they wash and sell again. They even make sale of Ordure, for which purpose a great Number of People in every Province carry Pails; [See p. 272] In some Places they go with their Barks into the Canals, which run on the Backside of the Houses, and fill them at almost every Hour of the Day.

This Sight, in Cities so well governed as those of *China*, is very surprizing to an *European*; but in this Country it may be properly said, *Lucri bonus Odor ex re qualibet*. Gain has a good Smell let it come out of what it will. The *Chinese* are not less astonish'd to see the Water-bearers in *Europe*. The Peasants come and buy it in their Houses, endeavouring to forestal each other, and give in Exchange Wood, Oil, and Pulse. There are in every Street Conveniences for Passengers; whereof the Owners make a good Advantage by this sort of Traffic.

Yet it must be own'd, that notwithstanding the great Sobriety and Industry of the Inhabitants of *China*, the prodigious Number of them occasions a great deal of Misery. There are some so poor, that being unable to supply their Children with common Necessaries, they expose them in the Streets, especially when the Mothers fall sick, or want Milk to nourish them; so that these little Innocents are in some sense condemn'd to Death, as soon as they begin to live. In the great Cities, such as *Pe-king* and *Kan-ton*, this shocking Sight is very common, but in other places it is very rare.

The Missionaries in populous Cities have Catechists, who, dividing the Place among themselves, walk out every Morning to baptize a Multitude of dying Children. With the



same View they have sometimes prevailed on the unbelieving Midwives to permit Christian Women to follow them to the Houses where they are called; for it often happens that the *Chinese*, not being in a Condition to maintain a numerous Family, engage the Midwives to stifle the Females in a Basin of Water, as soon as they are born, on which Occasion these Christians take care to baptize them.

Mortgaging  
themselves  
and Families.

The same Misery produces a prodigious Multitude of Slaves, or rather Persons who mortgage themselves with a Condition of Redemption, a thing very common with the *Chinese*; for among the *Tartars* they are truly Slaves. A great number of Men and Maid-Servants are thus bound in a Family, tho' there are some to whom they give Wages, as in *Europe*.

Slavery in  
China very  
easy.

A Man sometimes sells his Son, and even himself and Wife, at a very moderate Price; but if he can he chooses to pawn his Family only. It often happens that a great *Tartarian* Mandarin, or *Chinese Tartarised*, (that is, listed under the *Tartar* Banner) who has a Parcel of Slaves for his Servants, is himself a Slave to some Court-Lord; to whom, from time to time, he makes a Present of considerable Sums. A poor *Chinese*, when he gives himself to a *Tartarian* Prince, if he has Merit, may hope to be a great Mandarin very soon; but this is not so common under the present *Dynasty* as formerly: if he be deprived of his Office he returns to his Master to serve in certain honourable Functions.

When rich Folks marry their Daughters, they give them several Families of Slaves, in Proportion to their Wealth. It often happens that they give them their Liberty; and some have half their Freedom, on condition that they pay Yearly a certain Sum. If any of them grow rich by their Industry, or Business, their Master does not strip them of their Goods, but is contented with large Presents; and lets them live in Credit, without consenting however to their Redemption. These Slaves are of an approved Fidelity, and inviolably attached to their Master; who on his side uses them as his own Children, and often trusts them with the most important Affairs. As to his Authority over his Slaves, it is confined to Matters relating to his Service; for should it be legally proved, that a Master had abused his Power, by taking criminal Liberties with the Wife of his Slave, he would be ruin'd beyond Remedy.

### Of the Genius and Character of the *Chinese*.

The *Chinese*  
affable, mild,  
and humane.

THE *Chinese* in general are of a mild, tractable, and humane Disposition. There is a great deal of Affability in their Air and Manner, wherein we see nothing that is either harsh, rough, or passionate: This Moderation is remarkable among the *Vulgar* themselves: I was one Day (says "*Pere de Pontaney*") in a very narrow and deep Road, "where, in a short time, there happen'd a great Stop of Carts. I expected they would have fallen into a Passion, given one another abusive Language, and perhaps come to Blow, as is common in *Europe*; but was much surpriz'd to see that they saluted each other, spoke mildly, as if they had been old Acquaintance, and lent their mutual Assistance to make way". (A)

Have great  
Respect for  
old Men.

Instance in  
the late Em-  
peror.

Above all things, they shew a great Deference and Respect for their old Men, of which the Emperor himself sets the Example. An inferior Mandarin of the Tribunal of the Mathematics, about a hundred Years old, came to Court the first Day of the *Chinese* Year, to salute the late Emperor *Kang-hi*; who, tho he had designed to see Nobody that Day, gave Orders to admit him. As the good old Man was but indifferently clad, every one was forward to lend him Garments. Being conducted into the Emperor's Apartment, his Majesty, who was sitting on an Estrade after the *Tartarian* Manner, rose up and went to meet him; receiving him with great Tokens of Affection. The Mandarin was going to fall on his Knees, but the Emperor immediately raised him, and graciously taking him by both his Hands, "Venerable Old Man, said he, I will admit you henceforth into my Presence as often as you come to salute me; but I acquaint you, once for all, that I exempt you from all Sorts of Ceremony. As for me, I will rise upon your Arrival, and go to meet you; but it is not to your Person that I do this Honour, it is to your Age: and to give you real Marks of my Affection, I from this time appoint you Chief President of the Tribunal of the Mathematics": This completed the Happiness of the old Man, who never tasted such perfect Joy before.

How Stran-  
gers should  
behave in  
conversing  
with them.

When we have to do with the *Chinese* we should take care of being too hasty or warm; the Genius of the Country requires that we should command our Passions, and act with a great deal of Calmness. The *Chinese* would not hear in a Month what a *French* Man could speak in an Hour. We must suffer with Patience this Phlegm, which seems more natural to them than any other Nation. Not that they want Fire and Vivacity; but they learn betimes to become Masters of themselves, and are vain of being more polite, and more civiliz'd than other People.

Their Cere-  
monies irk-  
some to us.

It is a difficult Matter for a Stranger to conform himself to their Notion of Politeness and Civility. Their Ceremonies are on many occasions tiresome, and full of Constraint; it being one Fatigue to learn, and another to practise them. But this Trouble regards only the

(A) See something of this kind in that Father's Travels. p. 51.



Behaviour towards some, to whom uncommon Veneration is due, on certain particular Occasions; as the first Visits, a *Mandarin's* Birth-Day, &c. for after two Persons have seen each other several Times, they lay aside all Reserve, and grow as familiar as the People of *Europe*; so that if you should begin to use Ceremonies, they are the first as will say, *Pu-yau-tso-be*, Make no Stranger of me: No Compliments, No Compliments.

Tho' the *Chinese* are mild and peaceable in Conversation, and when they are not provoked, they are exceeding violent and revengeful when they are offended. The following is an Instance: In a certain Maritime Province it was discover'd that the *Mandarin* had applied to his own Use, great Part of the Rice sent thither by the Emperor in a Time of Scarcity, to be distributed to every Family in the Country; the People accused him before a Superior Tribunal, and proved, that out of the four hundred Loads of Rice received, he had only delivered out ninety; upon which he was immediately depriv'd of his Office.

*Chinese full of  
Resentment  
when thorough-  
ly provoked.*

*Pleasant in-  
stance.*

When he had left the City to go on Board a Ship, he was greatly surpriz'd, instead of finding in his Passage Tables loaded with Perfumes, and new Boots for Change, (as is customary for those who gain the Love and Esteem of the People) to see himself incompass'd with a prodigious Multitude, not to do him Honour, but to insult and reproach him for his Avarice. Some invited him, by way of Derision, to stay in the Country till he had eaten all the Rice, the Emperor had intrusted him with, for the relief of his Subjects; some dragg'd him out of his Chair, and broke it; others fell upon him, tore his Garments, and filken Umbrella in Pieces; in short, all followed him to the Ship, loading him with Injuries and Curses.

Tho' the *Chinese*, are naturally vindictive when urged by Interest, yet they revenge themselves in a methodical Manner. They dissemble their Resentment; and as they rarely take violent Measures, especially People of any Figure, they preserve, even with their Enemies, so fair an Outside, that one would imagine they were insensible: but when an Opportunity of destroying their Enemy offers, they immediately seize on it; and their having seem'd so patient, was only with a Design to strike the surer Blow.

*Del berate in  
their Re-  
venge.*

In some Districts the People are so very litigious, that they mortgage their Lands, Houses, Goods, and all that they have, for the Pleasure of going to Law, and procuring the Bastonado to be given to their Enemy: and it sometimes happens that the Defendant, by giving a larger Sum privately to the *Mandarin*, finds Means to escape the Punishment himself, and cause the Blows to fall on the Back of the Plaintiff. Hence arise mortal Enmities amongst them, which stick in their Hearts till they find an Opportunity of satisfying their Revenge.

*Very Litigi-  
ous.*

One of their Methods, tho' rarely practis'd, is to fire their Enemy's House in the Night-time; by their Laws, those who are convicted of this Crime are punished with Death, and the *Mandarins* are very expert in discovering the Authors. However, many abhor such Villanies, and become sincerely reconciled with their Enemies.

Their Modesty is surprizing; the Literati always appear with a composed Air, without using the least Gesture, but what is strictly agreeable to the Rules of Decency. It seems to be natural to those of the Female Sex, who live in a constant Retirement, and are decently covered even to their very Hands, which never appear, being constantly hid within their long and wide Sleeves; so that in presenting any thing, even to their Brothers or Parents, they lay it on the Table with the Hand always cover'd for their Relations to take it.

*Exceeding  
modest.*

Interest is the Grand Foible of the *Chinese*, with whom you must act all sorts of Parts, even that of being disinterested. When they have any Gain in View, they employ all their Cunning, artfully to insinuate themselves into the Favour of Persons, who may forward their Business, and endeavour to gain their Friendship by frequent Services; assuming all sorts of Characters with surprizing Address, and turning to their advantage the most trifling Occasions to obtain their Ends. Interest is the Spring of all their Actions; for when the least Profit offers, they despise all Difficulties, and undertake the most painful Journeys to procure it. In a word, this puts them in a continual Motion, fills the Streets, the Rivers, and the high Roads with infinite Numbers of People, who pass and repass, and are always in Action.

*Interest their  
darling Vice.*

Tho', generally speaking, they are not so deceitful and knavish as *P. Le Comte* represents them, it is however true that Honesty is not their favourite Virtue; especially when they have to do with Strangers, whom they seldom fail to cheat if they can, and then brag of it. Some of them are so impudent as, when detected, to plead in Excuse, their want of Dexterity; "You see I am but a Bungler, say they; You are more dextrous than I; Another time I will not venture to meddle with an *European*": And in reality it is said, that some *Europeans* have taught them their Trade.

*Have learn'd  
Deceit from  
the Europeans*

Nothing can be merrier than what happen'd to a Captain of an English Ship. He had bargained with a *Chinese* Merchant of *Kan ton* for several Bales of Silk; and when they were ready, he went with his Interpreter to the Merchants House, to see if the Silk was in a good Condition. On opening the first Bale it proved to his liking, but the rest contained nothing but rotten Silks Upon which growing very angry, he reproach'd the *Chinese* in the severest Terms for his Disingenuity and Knavery; while the other heard him very unconcerned, and only made this reply; Blame, Sir, said he, your Rogue of an Interpreter, for he protested to me that you would not examine the Bales.

*Merry Story  
of an English  
Captain.*

This



Some of their  
little knavish  
Tricks.

This knavish Wit is found chiefly among the Vulgar, who have Recourse to a thousand Tricks to adulterate every thing they sell. Some have the Art to open the Breast of a Capon, take out all the Flesh, fill up the Hole, and then close it so nicely that the Cheat is not perceived till the Fowl comes to be eaten. Others counterfeit the true Hams so exactly, by covering a Peice of Wood with a sort of Earth, and then wrapping it in Hogs Skin, that the Deceit is not discovered till it is serv'd up at the Table, and going to be carv'd. However, it must be confess'd they seldom practise these Tricks on any but Strangers; and in other Places [distant from the Sea-coast] the *Chinese* themselves will hardly believe them.

Robbers use  
Craft instead  
of Violence.

Robbers scarce ever make Use of Violence, endeavouring to gain their Ends by Subtily and Craft; for some follow the Barks and hire among those who draw them along the Imperial Canal, in the Province of *Sban-tong*; where, being changed every Day, the Thieves are not easily known: In the Night they slip into the Barks, and by the Smoke, as is reported, of a certain Drug which they burn, cause those on Board to sleep so soundly, that they have Time enough to search all Places, and carry off what they will, unperceived. Some of these Thieves will dog a Merchant two or three Days together till they find a proper Opportunity to do their Business.

Most of the *Chinese* are so sway'd by Interest, that they can scarcely conceive a thing is ever undertaken with any other View: Hence it seems almost incredible to them, that the Missionaries should have no other Motive in leaving their Country, Friends, and all that is dear to them in this World, than to glorify God and save Souls. They know that it is not Necessity that makes them run the Danger of the Sea to get to *China*, since they subsist without asking any Favour, or expecting the least Assistance; nor the Desire of Riches, since they are Witnesses to the Missionaries Contempt of them: Some therefore are simple enough to imagine, that they come to bring about a Revolution, and by their Intrigues to make themselves Masters of the Empire, as happen'd in the Affair of *Yang-quang-syen* (n). However their Disinterestedness is one of the most prevailing Motives, with many, to embrace their Religion.

*Chinese* very  
anxious about  
their Coffins.

The extreme love of Life is another Foible, wherein the *Chinese* exceed almost all other Nations; tho' there are some, chiefly Females, who make away with themselves, either thro' Anger or Despair: and indeed the Generality, especially among the Poor, seem less afraid of Death, than of wanting a Coffin after it. It is astonishing to see how careful they are in this Respect: Those who have but nine or ten Pistoles in the World will lay it out on a Coffin, above twenty Years before they want it; looking upon it as the most valuable Moveable in their House. However, it must be confessed, that the *Chinese*, for the most part, when dangerously ill, are willing enough to die, and even to be told they are near their End.

Proud and  
conceited of  
themselves,

To omit nothing of the Character of the *Chinese*, I must add, that there is no Nation more proud of their pretended Grandeur, and their assumed Preheminence over all others. This Haughtiness, which is born with them, inspires even the Rabble with the greatest Contempt for all other Nations. They are so full of their own Country, Customs, Manners, and Maxims, that they cannot be persuaded there is any Thing good out of *China*, or any Truth but what their learned Men are acquainted with. However, they have seen their Mistake a little, since the *Europeans* came among them; tho' when they first saw them, they asked if they had any Cities, Towns, or Houses in *Europe*.

tho' igno-  
rant of the  
World.

Our Missionaries have often been Witnesses of their Surprize and Confusion on Sight of a Map of the World. One Day some of the *Literati* desiring P. *Chavagnac*, to shew them such a Map, they sought a long while for *China*; and at length took one of the two Hemispheres for it, which contains *Europe*, *Africa*, and *Asia*; supposing *America* appeared too large for the rest of the World. The Father let them alone for a while in their Error, till one of them desiring an Explanation of the Letters and Names in the Map: *You see EUROPE*, said the other, *AFRICA and ASIA; In ASIA here is PERSIA, the INDIES and TARTARY. Where then is CHINA*, cry'd they? *It is this little Corner of the Earth*, reply'd he, *and these are the Bounds of it*: Upon this they look'd astonish'd at one another, saying in *Chinese*, *Syau-te-kin, It is very small*.

Wedded to  
their own  
Fashions.

How far soever they fall short of the Perfection, to which Arts and Sciences are brought in *Europe*, there is no getting them to do any thing in the *European* Manner; the *Chinese* Architects could hardly be prevailed on to build the Church, which is in the Palace, according to the Model brought from *Europe*.

Their Ships are very ill built, and they admire those that come from *Europe*; but when you talk of their imitating them, they are surprized at the Proposition: *It is according to the Fashion of China*, say they. *But it is worth nothing*, say you. *It matters not*, reply they; *since it is used in the Empire it is sufficient, and it would be a Crime to vary from it*.

But this Answer, made by their Carpenters, proceeds not merely from their Fondness for their own Custom, but partly thro' Fear they should not please the *European*, who employs them, so effectually when they follow his Method as their own; for those who are Artists readily undertake and perform the Work let the Model be what it will, provided there is Money to be gotten, and you have Patience to give them Directions.

(n) Pray must not every Protestant think these Suspicions of the *Chinese* very wise and just, since they have the same Notions themselves, not without the most convincing Reasons, dear

Experience; say, they have been charged already, as well as the *Bruce's*, with fleeing their Proselytes.







# Various Habits of the Chinese and Chinese Tartars.

A Country Woman

P. 272

A Boy



A Maid Servant



A Tartarian Lady



P. 282

Chinglo



Sadiso



P. 282

Chinglo



Sadiso



P. 282

A Country Man

P. 272

A Boy



A Tartarian



MANDARIN'S OF WAR



Chinglo



Winter



Summer



Chinglo



EMPEROR OF CHINA



in his Palace

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In a Word, to finish the Character of the *Chinese*, it is sufficient to say, that tho' they are vicious they naturally love Virtue, and those who practise it: tho' they are not chaste themselves they admire those that are, especially Widows; and when they find any that have liv'd a continent Life, they preserve their Memory by Triumphal Arches, and honour their Virtue by lasting Inscriptions. It is not decent for a Woman of Credit to marry again after her Husband is dead.

Great Admirers of Virtue.

As they are subtil and crafty, they know how to carry a fair Outside, and cover their Vices with so much Cunning, that they conceal them from the Public. They have the greatest Respect for their Parents, and those who have been their Masters. They detest every Action, Word, and Gesture that seems to betray Anger, or the least Emotion; but they also know perfectly how to dissemble their Hatred. They are not permitted to carry Arms even when they travel, that being a Privilege peculiar only to the Soldiery. All their Esteem and Ardour are engrossed by the Sciences, which are the Foundation of their Nobility; because, as I said before, all their Honours and Preferments are derived from thence.

They do not glory in their Vices.

### *Of the Air and Physiognomy of the Chinese: their Fashions; their Houses, and elegant Furniture.*

WE must not judge of the Air and Physiognomy of the *Chinese* by the Pictures on their japan'd Works and *China-Ware*. Tho' they are skilful in painting Flowers, Animals and Landscips, they are very ignorant in drawing Human Figures, maiming and disfiguring themselves in such a Manner that they look more like Scaramouches than *Chinese*.

It is true however, that as Beauty depends upon Taste, and consists more in Imagination than Reality, their Notion of it differs somewhat from that of the *Europeans*; for, generally speaking, that which seems beautiful to us is agreeable to their Taste, and that which appears beautiful to them appears equally so to us. That which they chiefly admire, as making a perfect Beauty, is a large Forehead, a short Nose, small well cut Eyes, a large and square Face, great broad Ears, a middle-sized Mouth, and black Hair; for they cannot bear the Sight of yellow or red-hair'd People. However, there must be a certain Proportion among the several Features to render the whole agreeable.

A *Chinese* Beauty.

A fine easy Shape is no Charm among them, because their Garments are wide, and not fitted to the Body, as those of the *Europeans*; they think a Man well made, when he is large and fat, and fills his Chair with a good Grace.

Their Shape.

Their Complexion has been misrepresented by those who have seen only the Southern Parts of *China*; for tho' the excessive Heats which prevail there, especially in *Quang-tong*, *Po-kyen*, and *Yun-nan*, give the Mechanics and Peasants an Olive or brown Complexion, yet in the other Provinces they are naturally as white as the *Europeans*; and generally speaking, their Physiognomy has nothing disagreeable in it.

Their Complexion.

The young People, commonly to the Age of thirty, have a very fine Skin, and beautiful Complexion, as well as the *Literati* and the Doctors; these latter, especially if they are of base Extraction, never pare the Nails of their little Fingers, affecting to let them grow an Inch long, or more, with a Design to let People see that they are not driven by Necessity to work for their Living. As for the Women they are commonly middle siz'd, their Noses short, their Eyes little, their Hair black, their Ears long, and their Complexion ruddy; there is a certain Gayety in their Countenance, and their Features are regular.

The Doctors affect long Nails.

Features of the Women.

It is affirm'd that they rub their Faces every Morning with a kind of Paint, to make them look fair, and give them a Complexion; but that it soon spoils their Skin, and makes it full of Wrinkles.

They paint.

Among the Beauties of the Sex, small Feet is not the least; when a Girl comes into the World, the Nurses are careful to bind their Feet very close, to prevent their growing. The *Chinese* Ladies all their Lives after feel this Constraint imposed on them in their Infancy, their Gate being slow, unsure, and disagreeable to Foreigners: yet such is the Force of Custom, that they not only willingly undergo this Inconvenience, but they increase it, by endeavouring to make their Feet as little as possible; thinking it an extraordinary Charm, and always affecting to shew them as they walk.

Small Feet a great Beauty.

The *Chinese* themselves are not certain what gave Rise to this odd Custom. The Story current among us, which attributes the Invention to the ancient *Chinese*, who, to oblige their Wives to keep at home, are said to have brought little Feet into Fashion, is look'd upon as fabulous by some. The far greater number think it to be a politic Design, to keep the Women in continual Subjection. It is certain, that they are extremely confin'd, and seldom stir out of their Apartment, which is in the most retired Place in the House; having no Communication with any but the Women-Servants. However they have generally speaking the common Vanity of the Sex, and tho' they are not to be seen by any but their Domestic, they spend several Hours every Morning in Dressing and setting themselves out.

*Chinese* Ladies under great Restrictions.



Their Head  
Attire.

Their Head-dress usually consists in several Curls, interspers'd with little Tufts of gold and silver Flowers. Some adorn their Heads with the Figure of the *Pong-wang*, a fabulous Bird, of which the Ancients speak many mysterious things. It is made of Copper or Silver, gilt, according to the Quality of the Person; its Wings are stretch'd gently over the fore part of their Head-dress, and embrace the upper part of their Temples. Its long spreading Tail makes a sort of Plume on the Top of the Head; the Body is placed over the Forehead; the Neck and Beak hang down upon the Nose: but the Neck is join'd to the Body by a secret Hinge, that it may easily play and vibrate at the least Motion of the Head, whereon the Bird is supported by the Feet, which are fix'd in the Hair. Women of the first Quality sometimes wear an Ornament of several of these Birds, interwoven together, which forms a sort of Crown, the Workmanship whereof alone is very costly.

The young Ladies commonly wear a kind of Crown, made with Paste-Board, and cover'd with a beautiful Silk; the Fore-part whereof rises in a Point above the Fore-head, and is cover'd with Pearls, Diamonds and other Ornaments. The Top of the Head is adorn'd with natural or artificial Flowers, mix'd with little Bodkins, with Jewels on their Points. Women who are advancing in Years, especially those of the common sort, are contented with a piece of very fine Silk, wound several times about the Head, which they call *Pau-tew*, that is to say, *A Wrapper for the Head*.

Uncommon  
Modesty of  
their Looks  
and Drefs.

But what adds much to the natural Charms of the *Chinese Ladies*, is the uncommon Modesty which appears in their Looks and Drefs. Their Gowns are very long, and cover them from Head to Foot, so that nothing is seen but their Faces. Their Hands are always conceal'd within their wide long Sleeves, which would almost drag on the Ground, if they did not take care to hold them up. The Colour of their Garments is either red, blue or green, according to their Fancy; only, scarce any but Ladies advanc'd in Years wear violet or black.

The Fashions  
in China  
never alter.

What I here call the Fashion, is very different from the Idea which that Word carries in *Europe*, where the manner of Dress is subject to many Changes: but it is not so in *China*; nor is there any thing that more shews the good Order and Uniformity of the Government, even in the most trifling Matters, than the Fashion as to Dress having been always the same, from the Commencement of the Empire, to its Conquest by the *Tartars*; who have changed nothing of the ancient Usages among the *Chinese*, except in obliging them to dress after their Manner.

Habit of  
the Men.

The Garb of the Men is suited to the Gravity they affect; it consists in a long Vest, extending to the Ground, one of whose Lappets folds over the other, the upper one reaching to the right side, where it is fasten'd with four or five gold or silver Buttons, not far asunder. The Sleeves, which are wide towards the Shoulder, grow narrower gradually towards the Wrist-bands, and end in the Shape of a Horse-shoe, covering all their Hands, except the ends of their Fingers. They gird themselves with a broad silken Sash, whose ends hang down to the Knee; and fasten to it a Case, containing a Purse, a Knife, and two small Sticks, which serve for a Fork, &c. Formerly the *Chinese* did not carry a Knife, and to this Day the *Literati* very rarely do.

Their Sum-  
mer and  
Winter  
Cloaths.

In the Summer they wear under the Vest a pair of Linnen Drawers, which they sometimes cover with another pair of white Taffety; and during the Winter they put on Breeches of Sattin, quilted with Cotton or raw Silk, but if it be in the Northern parts they are made of Skins, which are very warm. Their Shirts, (being of different kinds of Cloth, according to the Season) are very wide and short; and to keep their Garments from Sweat in Summer, several wear next their Skin a silken Net, which hinders their Shirt from sticking to it. During this last Season they go with their Neck quite bare, but in Winter wear a Collar, made either of Sattin, or Sable, or the Skin of a Fox, and fasten'd to their Vests; which in Winter are lin'd with Sheep-Skin, tho' some are only quilted with Silk and Cotton. People of Quality line them quite thro' with the rich Sables brought from *Tartary*, or fine Fox-Skin with a Border of Sable; in Spring they have them lin'd with Ermin. Over the Vest they wear a Surtout with short Sleeves, that are lin'd or border'd after the same manner.

Confined to  
certain Co-  
lours.

All Colours are not suffer'd to be worn indifferently by the People; none but the Emperors and Princes of the Blood may wear yellow Garments. Sattin, with a red Ground, is affected by certain *Mandarins* on days of Ceremony; but they are commonly dress'd in black, blue, or violet: and the People are generally clad in blue or black Callico.

They shave  
the Head.

Heretofore they oyled their Hair very much, and were so exceeding fond of this Ornament, that many chose to die rather than shave their Heads after the *Tartarian* Fashion; though their new Masters did not meddle with the other Customs of the Nation. However, at present they let Hair enough grow on the hind part or Top of the Head, to braid into Tresses.

Their Hats  
or Caps.

In Summer they wear a kind of small Hat or Cap, shap'd like a Funnel; it is cover'd on the outside with Rattan, very curiously work'd, and lin'd with Sattin. At the Top is a large Lock of Hair, which spreads over it to the very Edge. This Hair, which is mighty fine and light, grows on the Legs of a certain kind of Cows, and is dy'd of a very bright red; it is very much used, and allow'd to be worn by all sorts of People.

There is another sort of Cap proper to the *Mandarins* and *Literati*, which the People dare not wear; it is of the same Fashion with the former, but made of Paste-Board, between



two pieces of Sattin; that on the inside is commonly red or blue, and the outside Sattin is white, cover'd with a large Lock of the finest red Silk. People of Distinction often make use of the first sort, especially when they ride, or in foul Weather; because it keeps out Rain, and defends the Head both before and behind from the Sun.

In Winter they wear a very warm sort of Cap, edged with Sable, Ermin, or Fox-Skin, the Top of which is cover'd with a Lock of red Silk. This edging of Fur is two or three Inches broad, and looks very handsome, especially when made of the fine black shining Sable, which is sold at forty or fifty *Taels*.

The *Chinese*, especially those of any Quality, dare not appear in Public without Boots; these Boots are generally of Silk, particularly Sattin, or of Callico, and fit exactly, but have no Tops nor Heels. When they go long Journeys on Horseback, their Boots are of Neats or Horse-Leather, so well dress'd that nothing can be more pliable. Their Boot-Stockings are of Stuff, stitch'd, and lin'd with Cotton, whereof part comes above the Boot, and has a broad Border of Plush or Velvet. But these, tho' very commodious for keeping the Legs warm in Winter, are almost intolerable in hot Weather: for which Reason they have another cooler Sort; but it is not much used among the People, who often, to save Expence, have something of this kind made of black Cloth. Persons of Quality wear such in their Houses, made of Silk, which are very neat and handsome.

They wear Boots in all Seasons.

When they go abroad, or make a Visit of any Consequence, over their under Garments, which are usually of Linnen or Sattin, they wear a long silk Gown, commonly blue, with a Girdle about them; and over all they have a short Coat of a black or violet Colour, reaching only to their Knees, but very wide, with large and short Sleeves: also a little Cap, shap'd like a short Cone, and cover'd with loose waving Silk or red Hair; lastly, Stuff Boots on their Legs, and a Fan in their Hand.

Visiting-Habit.

The *Chinese* love to be neat in their Houses, but they have nothing very magnificent. Their Architecture is not the most elegant, nor have they any regular Buildings, except the Emperor's Palace, some public Edifices, the Towers, Triumphal Arches, the Gates and Walls of the great Cities, the Dikes, Causeways, Bridges, and Temples of the *Bonzas*. The Houses of private Persons are very plain, for they have no regard to any thing but Convenience. The Rich adorn theirs with *Japan* Work, Sculpture and Gildings, which render them very pleasant and agreeable.

Their Houses and other Buildings.

They commonly begin with erecting Pillars, and placing the Roof thereon; for the greater part of their Buildings being of Wood, they seldom lay the Foundation deeper than two Feet. They make their Walls of Brick or Clay, tho' in some Places they are all of Wood. These Houses are generally nothing but a Ground-floor, excepting those of the Merchants, which have often one Story above it, call'd *Lew*, where they place their Goods.

The Walls.

In the Cities almost all the Houses are cover'd with very thick Ridge-Tiles; they lay the convex Side downwards, and cover the Chinks where the Sides meet, by laying on others in a contrary Position. The Spars and Joists are either round or square: upon the Spars they lay either very thin Bricks, in the Shape of our large square Tiles, or else small pieces of Boards, or Matts made of Reeds, which are plaister'd over with Mortar; when it is a little dry, they lay on the Tiles, which those who are able to be at the Expence, join together with Roche-Lime.

The Roof.

In most of their Houses after passing through the Porch, you enter into a Hall, facing the South, about thirty or thirty five Feet long; behind the Hall there are three or five Rooms in a Range from East to West, whereof the middlemost serves for an Inner-Hall. The Roof of the House is supported by Pillars, in such sort, that if the Hall be thirty Feet long, it will be at least fifteen broad, and then there will be twenty four Pillars forward, and as many backward, with one at each end. These Pillars, which are commonly ten Feet high, are erected on Stone Bases, and support great Beams, laid lengthwise; and between every two Pillars they place a cross Beam, and on the two Pillars at the Ends, they lay other Pieces of Wood, which support the Timber-Work of the Roof, this done they begin to build the Walls.

The Timber-Work within.

The Magnificence of the Houses, according to the *Chinese* Taste, usually consists in the Thickness of the Beams and Pillars, in the Excellency of the Wood, and in the fine Carvings on the Gates or Doors. They have no Stairs but the Steps at the Entrance of the House, which is rais'd a little above the Level of the Ground; but along the Front there is a close Gallery, about six or seven Feet wide, and lin'd with fine hewn Stone.

The Front;

There are several Houses whose middle Doors answering one another, discover on entering a long series of Apartments. The Houses of the Vulgar are made of unburnt Bricks, only in Front they are cas'd with burnt Bricks; in some Places they are made with tempered Clay, and in others of nothing but Hurdles cover'd with Lime and Earth; but in Houses of Persons of Distinction, the Walls are all of Ground-Bricks, very artificially carv'd. In the Villages, especially of some Provinces, besides being very low, the Houses are generally made of Earth, and the Roofs so obtuse, or else round, so much by Degrees, that they seem to be flat. They are compos'd of Reeds cover'd with Earth, and supported by Matts of small Reeds that lie upon the Rafters and Joists. In some Provinces instead of Wood they burn Pit-Coal, or else Reeds or Straw. As they make use of Stoves with very small Chimneys, and sometimes none at all, when Fires are made in any place, besides the Kitchen, one is almost stifled with

Houses of the common People.

the



the Smoke; especially if the Fewel be Reeds, which is unsupportable to those who are not used to it.

Houses of the Nobility and Tribunals.

The Houses of the Nobility and rich People do not deserve to be mention'd, in comparison of ours; it would be an Abuse of the Term to call them Palaces, they being nothing but a Ground-Floor, raised something higher than common Houses; the Roof is next, and has several Ornaments on the Top. The great number of Courts, and Apartments for lodging their Domestic, makes amends for their want of Beauty and Magnificence; not that the Chinese hate Pomp and Expence, but the Custom of the Country, and Danger of appearing extravagant, restrain them contrary to their Inclination. The Tribunals of Justice are not more pompous: the Courts are large, the Gates lofty, and sometimes adorn'd with elegant Carvings; but the Inner Halls and Chambers of Audience are neither magnificent nor very neat.

Palaces of the Quæ.

It must be confessed, however, that the Palaces of the chief *Mandarins*, and the Princes, as well as of those who are rich and in Power, are surprizing for their vast Extent. They have four or five Courts, with as many Ranges of Buildings in each. Every Front has three Gates, that in the middle is the largest, and both sides of it are adorn'd with Lions of Marble. Near the great Gate is a Place, inclos'd with Rails, finely japan'd with either red or black; on the sides are two small Towers, wherein are Drums and other Instruments of Music, on which they play at different Hours of the Day, especially when the *Mandarin* goes in or out, or ascends the Tribunal.

The Form of them.

On the inside there appears first a large open Place, where those wait who have any Case or Petition to present; on each Side are small Houses, serving as Offices for the Officers of the Tribunal: Then there appear three other Gates, which are never opened but when the *Mandarin* ascends the Tribunal; the middlemost is very large, and none but Persons of Distinction pass through it. Beyond this is another large Court, at the End whereof is a great Hall, wherein the *Mandarin* administers Justice; lastly, follow successively two very neat Halls, for receiving Visits in, furnished with Chairs and Variety of other Moveables. Such are generally the Tribunals of the great *Mandarins*.

The Officers just now spoken of are a kind of Notaries, Clerks, &c. there are six Sorts of them, each employed in Business of the same kind with one of the six Supreme Courts at *Pe-king*; so that a private *Mandarin* does all that in little, in his Tribunal, which some time or other he will be called to do in one of the Supreme Courts, with respect to the whole Empire. They are maintained at the public Expence, and their Places are for Life; so that Business goes on without Interruption, tho' the *Mandarins* are often changed, either by being cashier'd, or removed into other Provinces.

Out-Houses, Gardens, &c.

You afterwards pass into another Court, with a Hall much handsomer than the former, where none but particular Friends are admitted, surrounded by Out-Houses for the *Mandarin's* Domestic. Beyond this Hall is another Court, where is the Apartment of the Women and Children, with a great Gate to it, thro' which no Man dares to enter. This Part is very neat and commodious, being furnished with Gardens, Woods, and Lakes, and every thing that is delightful to the Eye. Some delight in artificial Rocks and Mountains, pierced thro', and full of Windings like a Labyrinth, to take the fresh Air in. When they have Room enough, they make little Parks to keep Deer, and Ponds for Fish and Water-Fowls.

Fine Palace at Kan-ton.

The Palace of the *Tsyang-kun*, or General of the Tartarian Troops at *Kan-ton*, is thought to be one of the finest in all *China*; it was built by that rich and powerful Prince called *Ping-nan-vang*, that is, *The Peace-maker of the South*. The Emperor *Kang-bi* had made him in some Sort King of *Kan-ton*, for his Services in reducing some of the Southern Provinces under the Dominion of the *Tartars*: but forgetting his Duty a few Years after, he and all his Family fell into Disgrace; being forced to strangle himself with a Scarf of red Silk, presented him by a Gentleman of the Emperor's Bed-Chamber, sent Express from *Pe-king*.

Chinese Notion of Building.

The Chinese Notion of Beauty and Magnificence, with regard to their Palaces, is very different from the *European*: for tho' the Largeness of the Courts and Buildings bespeaks them to be the Habitation of Persons of Distinction, yet an *European* is not at all affected with this Sort of Magnificence; which only consists in the Number and Extent of the Courts, the Largeness of the principal Halls, the Thickness of the Pillars, and a few Pieces of Marble rudely cut.

Marble seldom used by them.

Marble is very common in the Provinces of *Sban-tong* and *Kyang-nan*, but the Chinese don't know the Value of it; for they seldom make use of it but for lining Canals, or building Bridges and Triumphal Arches, in Tables for Inscriptions, in their Pavements, the Thresholds of their Gates, and the Foundations of some of their Temples.

Not curious in adorning their Houses within.

The Chinese are not curious like the *Europeans*, in adorning and beautifying the Inside of their Houses, where neither Tapestry, Looking-Glasses, nor Gildings are to be seen: for as the Emperor owns the Palaces of the *Mandarins*, whose Offices are no more than Commissions, that are taken away when they commit any Fault; and as they are not fixed in any Place, be their Conduct ever so unblameable, but when they least think of it are removed into another Province; they do not care to be at any great Expence in furnishing a House, which they are in danger of leaving every Minute. Besides, as Visits are never received in the Inner Apartments, but only in the great Hall before the House, it is not surprizing that they are sparing of Ornaments; which wou'd be, in some measure, useless, as not being seen by Strangers.



The principal Things, that set off their Halls and Apartments, being kept with a great deal of Care, appear exceeding neat and agreeable to the Eye: Such as, large silk-Lan-thorns, painted, and hanging from the Cieling; Tables, Cabinets, Screens, Chairs, Japan'd with their beautiful red and black Varnish, which is very transparent, so that the Veins of the Wood appear through it, and as bright as a Looking-Glass; Variety of Figures, in Gold and Silver, or other Colours painted upon this Japan, give it a new Lustre; moreover, the Tables, the Bouffets, and the Cabinets, are adorned with that fine *Cbina-Ware*, which is so much admired, but could never yet be imitated in *Europe*.

Their prin-  
cipal Furni-  
ture and  
Moveables.

Besides, this they hang up, in several Places, Pieces of white Sattin, on some of which are painted Flowers, Birds, Mountains, and Landships: On others are written, in large Characters, Moral Sentences taken from their Histories, and generally couched in obscure Terms, bearing a different Sense from the natural; these Sentences are commonly two and two together, and conceived in the same Number of Words. Some are contented with whitening or papering the Walls of their Rooms, wherein the *Chinese* are very skilful.

Pictures.

Tho' they never are seen in their Bedchambers, where it wou'd be unpolite to con-duct a Stranger, the Beds, especially of the Nobility, are curious and handsome: the wooden part is painted, gilt, and carved: the Curtains vary according to the Season; during Winter, in the Northern Provinces, they are of double Sattin, and in Summer, either of plain white Taffety adorned with Flowers, Birds, and Trees, or of very fine Gauze; which is both open enough to let the Air through, and close enough to keep off the Gnats, that are extremely troublesome in the Southern parts. The common People use, for the same purpose, a very thin Cloth made of a sort of Hemp; their Mattresses are very thick, and stuffed with Cotton.

Their Beds  
and Curtains.

In the Northern Provinces they make Places of hollow Bricks, in the form of Beds, which are larger or smaller according to the Number of the Family: Beside it is a small Stove, of Charcoal, whose Flames and Heat are dispersed to all parts by Pipes, terminating in a Funnel, which carries the Smoak thro' the Roof. In the Houses of Persons of Distinction the Stove comes through the Wall, and the Fire is lighted on the Outside; by which means the Bed, and even the whole House, is warmed; so that they have no occasion for the Feather-Beds of *Europe*. Those who are afraid of lying on the hot Bricks, hang a sort of a Hammock over them, made of Cords or Ratan, and not unlike the Sack-  
ing of our Beds.

Stove Beds.

In the Morning every thing of this kind is taken away, and Carpets or Matts put in their Room, on which they sit. As they have no Chimneys, nothing can be more convenient; for the whole Family work upon them, without feeling the least Cold, or being obliged to wear furred Garments. The meaner Sort dress their Victuals, warm their Wine, and prepare their Tea (for the *Chinese* drink every thing hot) over the Mouth of the Stove. The Beds belonging to the Inns are much larger, that there may be Room for several Travellers at a time.

Their Con-  
veniences.

## Of the Magnificence of the Chinese, in their Journeys; in their Public Works, such as, Bridges, Triumphal Arches, Towers, Walls of Cities; in their Feasts, &c.

THE Magnificence of the Emperor and his Court, and the Riches of the *Mandarins* surpass all that can be said of them; one is surpris'd at first to see nothing but Silks, Porcellaine, Cabinets and other Furniture, which make a more glittering Appearance, than the common Manufactures of *Europe*. But the principal Magnificence of the *Chinese* Lords is not seen in their Houses; for they commonly neglect themselves at home, from whence the Laws banish Luxury and Pomp, permitting them the Use thereof only when they are seen in publick, when they make or receive Visits, or when they go to Court, and are admitted into the Emperor's Presence.

Chinese Mag-  
nificence pub-  
lic not pri-  
vate.

I have already spoken of the pomp of the *Mandarins*, and the numerous Train of Officers attending them. Military Men, who travel commonly on Horseback, no less affect an Air of Grandeur. Indeed their Horses are not very beautiful, but their Harness is exceeding sumptuous, the Bits and the Stirrups being either Silver or gilt. The Saddle is very rich; the Reins of the Bridle are made of coarse, pinked Sattin two fingers broad. From the upper part of the Chest hang two great Locks of fine red Hair (such as their Caps are cover'd with) suspended by Iron-rings either gilt or silvered. Their Retinue consists of a great number of Horsemen, part going before, and part behind them; without reckoning their Domestic, who are clad either in black Sattin or dyed Callico, according to their Master's Quality.

State of the  
Military  
Quar when  
they travel.

But the *Chinese* Magnificence never appears with so much Splendor, as when the Emperor gives Audience to Ambassadors; or when sitting upon his Throne he beholds at his Feet the principal Lord of his Court, and all the great *Mandarins* in their Habits of Ceremony, paying him Homage. It is a Spectacle truly August, to see a prodigious Number

Magnificence  
of the Court  
on State days



of Soldiers under Arms; an inconceivable Multitude of *Mandarins*, with all the Marks of their Dignity, each placed according to his Rank, in exact Order; the Ministers of State, the Presidents of the Supreme Courts, the Regulo's and Princes of the Blood; the whole appearing with extraordinary Grandeur, and conveying a most lofty Idea of the Sovereign, to whom such profound Reverence is paid. There is no Dispute about Precedence, but every one knows his distinct Place; the Name of each Office being engraven on Copper-Plates fastned into the Marble Pavement.

In *Europe* People are not fond of making a great Figure upon the Road, instead of which they are commonly unprovided, and have nothing in Order; but the Custom is otherwise in *China*, where a great *Mandarin* always travels in State. If by Water, his own Bark is very splendid, sailing at the Head of a great Number of others, which carry his Attendants. If he goes by Land, besides the Domestics and Soldiers who precede and follow him with Spears and Ensigns, he has for his own Person a Litter, a Chair carried by Mules, or eight Men, and several led Horses; making Use of these Vehicles by turns, according to his Fancy and the different Changes of Weather.

Canals numerous in *China*.

I have already observed that *China* is full of broad Canals, which often run in a strait Line; there is commonly in every Province a great River, or broad Canal, serving for a Highway, with Causeways on each Side, cased with flat Stones or Marble.

Great Canal.

That which is called the Great Canal crosses the whole Empire from *Kan-ton* to *Pe-king*; and nothing can be more commodious than to travel the six hundred Leagues from the Capital to *Ma-kau*, as if he were all the while in his own House, without going above one Day's Journey by Land over the Mountain *Mey-lin*, that separates the Provinces of *Kyang-fi* and *Quang-tong*; tho' the whole may be performed in a Bark, especially when the Waters are high.

Imperial Barks described.

For this reason, the *Mandarins* who go to take possession of their Governments, and the Messengers sent from Court, most commonly travel by Water: Being furnished with Barks maintained by the Emperor, which are equal in Bigness to one of our third-rate Men of War. These Imperial Barks are of three different Sorts, nor can any thing be more neat; for they are painted, gilt, embellish'd with Dragons, and japan'd both within and without. Those of the middle Size, which are most in Use, are above sixteen Feet broad, fourscore long, and nine in Depth from the Deck. As to the Form, they are square and flat, excepting that the Forepart is somewhat rounded.

Rates and Sizes of them.

Appartments

Furniture and Embellishments.

Besides what the Master has for himself and his Family, (*viz.* his own Cabbin, a Kitchen, and two large Places, one before, the other behind,) there is a Hall about six or seven feet high, and eleven broad; next an Anti-Chamber, and two or three other Rooms; likewise a Bye Place without Ornaments, all upon the same Deck, which make up the *Mandarin's* Apartment. It is all japan'd with the beautiful red and white Varnish, and the Sides as well as Cieling adorn'd with plenty of carv'd Work, Painting and Gildings; the Tables and Chairs are japan'd red or black. The Hall has Windows on each Side, which may be taken away upon occasion; and instead of Glass they make use of very thin Oyster-shells or fine Stuffs, done over with shining Wax, and embellish'd with Flowers, Trees, and variety of Figures. The Deck is surrounded with Galleries, for the Sailors to go backward and forward without incommoding the Passengers.

The Hold.

Sails.

Over this Apartment is a sort of Platform, or Terrass, open on all Sides, set apart for the Music, which consists of four or five Hands, whose Harmony can ravish nothing but the Ear of a *Chinese*. Underneath is the Hold, divided into several little Chambers for stowing the Baggage. The Sails are made of Mats, and consist of several oblong Squares, which folding like a Fan, take up little or no Room. They are very convenient, because they are better than any other for sailing near the Wind; besides, if the Braces happen to break, no Inconvenience arises from thence to the Bark.

To push forward these great Barks, they make use of long thick Poles, shap'd like a Gibbet, or the Letter T, thrusting one End to the Bottom of the Water, and applying their Shoulder to the other; or else they employ Oars of several Shapes, but the common sort is a long Pole made like a Shovel at one end, with a Hole in the middle, to receive the Pegs fixed on the Side of the Bark. There are others whose Extremities, being continually moved to the right and left in the Water, like a Fish's Tail, cut it obliquely, in the same manner as your Birds of Prey do the Air, when they fly with their Wings extended, making use of their Tails for Oars. This Method is the more convenient, as the Rowers take up little or no Room in the Bark, for they are ranged on the Sides upon Planks. Their Oars, which do the Office of a Rudder, seldom break; and, tho' never taken out of the Water, constantly force the Bark forward.

Some of these Barks are hauled along with Ropes, when the Wind is contrary, or they are obliged to go against the Stream. These Ropes in some places are made of Hemp, and in other of very long and fine Splinters of Cane twisted, which are exceeding strong, and never rot with the Water.

Barks attending the *Quán* in their Travels by Water.

Among the Barks that follow the great *Mandarins*, there is always one, at least, called the *Hsue-chwen*, or *Bark of the Provisions*; on board which is the Kitchen, the Eatables, and the Cooks. Another is full of Soldiers for the Convoy; a third, much more small and light, may be called the *Harbinger*, because its Business is to hasten before to give Notice, and cause every thing to be prepared that there be no Occasion to wait. These Barks have their Rowers, and in case of Necessity, are



are also drawn with a Rope along the Bank by Men, who are furnished by the *Mandarin* of each City, and changed every Day. The Number of these Supplies is determin'd by that of the Horses appointed by the *Kang-ho*, or Patent of the Emperor, viz. three Men for every Horse: Hence if eight Horses are appointed for an Envoy, they supply him with twenty four Men to draw the Bark.

All along the Roads by Water, there is, at the End of every League, a *Tang*, or Guard, who, if there be Occasion, are to give Notice to each other by Signals. In the Day time, the Signal is a thick Smoak, made by burning Leaves and Branches of Pine, in three small Stoves, shaped like Pyramids, and open at the Top; in the Night the Signal is given by shooting off a small Cannon. The Soldiers of every *Tang*, who are sometimes ten, sometimes five, or less, according to the Place, usually stand in a Rank along the River side, out of Respect to the *Mandarin*, one of them bearing an Ensign display'd, and the rest with their Arms in their Hands.

If the Bark carries an Envoy, they put at the Head and Stern four Lanthorns; with these Words in great Characters of Gold, *King-chay-ta-jin*, that is, *The Great Envoy from the Court*: These are accompanied with Flags and Streamers of Silk, of several Colours, waving in the Wind.

Every Morning and Evening, when they heave and cast Anchor, the Guard salute the *Mandarin* with a discharge of their Fire-Arms, followed by the Sound of Trumpets. Towards Night-fall they light the Lanthorns at the Head and Stern, as well as thirteen others of a smaller Size, hung in the Form of a Chaplet, by the Side of a Mast, viz. ten in a perpendicular Line, and three above them cross-wise.

When the Lanthorns are lighted, the Captain of the Place appears with his Company opposite to the Barks, and with a loud Voice calls over the Names of the Men whom he hath brought to watch and stand Centry all Night; then the Master of the Bark pronounces a long Harangue to the Soldiers, reminding them of all the Accidents that are to be feared, as Fire, Thieves, &c. and that if any of them should happen, they must be accountable for it.

The Soldiers at the end of every Article give a great Shout; after which they withdraw to form a Guard, leaving one of their Company to stand Centry, who walks to and fro on the Quay, continually striking two Pieces of *Bambú* against each other, to signify his Vigilance, and that he is not asleep. These Centries are relieved every Hour, performing by turns the same Duty, and making the same Noise the whole Night: If he be a principal *Mandarin*, or a great Court-Lord, they pay him the same Honours.

The great Number of Canals to be seen in *China* is something very extraordinary: They are often lined on each Side to the height of ten or twelve feet, with fine square Stone, which in many Places seem to be a kind of grey Marble, of the Colour of Slate. The Banks of some of the Canals being twenty or twenty five foot high on each Side, there is need of a great number of Chaplet-Engines to raise the Water into the Fields.

Some run above ten Leagues in a strait Line; as that from *Sá-chew* to *Vú-si-hyen*. In like manner the Canal to the Northwest of the City *Hang-chew* extends very far in a Right-line, and is every where more than fifteen Toises in Breadth; it is lin'd on each Side with hewn Stone, and border'd with Houses close together, and as full of People as those in the City. Both Sides of the Canal are cover'd with Barks, and in Parts where the Bank is low and flooded, there are flat Bridges of great Stones seven or eight foot long, placed three and three in form of a Causeway.

The great Canals in every Province discharge their Waters into several small ones on each side; which afterwards forming a great number of Rivulets, are dispersed in the Plains, and reach to the Villages, and often to the great Cities. From Space to Space they are cover'd with Bridges of three, five, or seven Arches; that in the middle is sometimes thirty six, nay forty five Foot wide, and so high, that Barks may pass through, without taking down their Masts; those on each side are seldom less than thirty, and diminish in proportion to the Slopings of the Bridge.

Some of these Bridges have but one Arch, which is semicircular, and built of arched Stones, five or six Foot long, and only five or six Inches thick; some of them are Polygonal. As these Arches are not very thick at Top, they cannot be strong, but then Carts never pass over them, for the *Chinese* make use only of Porters to carry their Bales. Several Bridges instead of Arches have three or four great Stones placed on Piers, like Planks; many of them being ten, twelve, fifteen and eighteen Feet long. There are a considerable number of this sort neatly built over the Great Canal, whose Piers are so narrow that the Arches seem to hang in the Air.

It is no hard matter to learn how the *Chinese* build their Bridges, for, having finish'd the sides of the Arch next to the Land, when the Bridge is to have only one Arch, or raised the Piers when it is to have several, they then take Stones four or five Foot long, and half a Foot broad, and place them alternately upright and crosswise, in such a manner that the Key-Stones may be laid horizontally. The Top of the Arch is commonly no thicker than one of these Stones; and because the Bridges, especially when they have but one Arch, are sometimes forty or fifty Foot wide between the Piers, and consequently much higher than the Causeway, the Ascent on each end is by very flat easy Stairs, with Steps about three Inches thick; tho' it would be difficult for Horses to pass over some of them. The whole Work is generally well contrived.

Many



Beautiful  
Bridge near  
Pe-king.

Many of these Bridges are very handsome. That call'd *Lü-ko-kyau*, two Leagues and a half Westward of *Pe-king*, was one of the finest that ever was seen, before part of it was broken down by a Land-flood. The whole was of white Marble well work'd, and very curiously built. There were on each side seventy Pillars, separated by Cartridges of fine Marble, whereon were delicately carved Flowers, Foliages, Birds, and several sorts of Animals. On each side of the Entrance of the Bridge on the East-end, there were two Lions of an extraordinary Size, on Marble Pedestals, with several little Lions in Stone, some climbing on the Backs of the great ones, some getting off them, and others creeping between their Legs; at the West-end, on Marble Pedestals also, stood the Figures of two Children, carv'd with the same Skill.

Public  
Monuments

Among the public Works ought to be rank'd the Monuments which the *Chinese* have erected almost in every City to eternize the Memory of their Heroes; that is to say, the Captains, Generals, Princes, Philosophers, and *Mandarins*, who have done Service to the Public, and signalized themselves by great Actions.

erected in  
Honour of  
Women as  
well as Men.

There is for Instance, near the City of *Nan-byong*, in the Province of *Quang-tong*, an high Mountain (A), (from whence proceed two Rivers) which was formerly inaccessible, till a *Ko-lau*, born in that Country, undertook to cut a Passage through it, for the Sake of Travellers. To perpetuate the Memory of so signal a Benefit received from that great Man, they erected a Monument on the Top of the Mountain, and placed his Statue there, before which they burn Perfumes. They reckon more than eleven hundred Monuments erected in Honour of their Princes, and illustrious Men, renown'd for Knowledge or Virtue. The Women participate of this kind of Glory; History taking Notice of several, who have merited and obtain'd the like Titles of Honour, and whose Heroic Virtues are daily celebrated in the Works of their most famous Poets.

Triumphal  
Arches.

These Monuments consist principally in Triumphal Arches, call'd *Pay-fang*, and *Pay-leu*, which are very numerous in every City. Many of them are very clumsily made, and deserve little Notice; but others are worth Attention. Some are wholly of Wood, except the Pedestals, which are of Marble. Those at *Ning-po* have generally three Gates, that is, a large one in the middle, and two small ones on the sides; the Peers or Jambs are square Pillars or Posts consisting of one Stone; the Entablature is composed of three or four Faces, generally without any Projection, or Moulding, except the last or the last but one, which is in place of a Frieze, and has some Inscription engraven on it.

Their Ar-  
chitecture.

Instead of a Cornice, the Piers support a Roof, that makes the Top of the Gate, and is only to be described by the Pencil, our Gothic Architecture itself not having any thing so odd in it. Every Gate consists of the same Parts, which differ only in Size, and tho' of Stone, are join'd together by Tenons and Mortises, as if they were made of Wood. The Rails or Breast-Walls of the Bridges on the Canals, are in the same Taste, being large square Pannels of Stone, fix'd in Grooves cut in the Posts for that purpose.

Their Orna-  
ments.

These Triumphal Arches, which are seldom above twenty or twenty five Feet high, are set off with Figures of Men, Antics, Flowers, and Birds, jutting out beyond the Arch in various Attitudes, with other Ornaments indifferently well carv'd; The Relievo is so great, that many of them seem to be almost separated from the Work: among the rest are several small Cordons or Pieces of Net-work, pierc'd very artificially. In a word, these Pageants, tho' slight enough, have their Beauties; and several of them placed at certain Distances in a Street, especially if it be narrow, discover something grand, and make an agreeable Show.

City Walls,

I have already given some Account of the *Chinese* Magnificence, with respect to public Works, in speaking of the Walls and Gates of *Pe-king*; and as many Cities have the like, I shall only add, that their Walls are so high, that they hide the Buildings, and so broad that one may ride on Horseback upon them. Those of *Pe-king* are made of Brick, and forty Feet high; they are flank'd at the distance of every twenty Toises, with small square Towers set upon them.

and Gates.

As for the Gates, tho' they are not adorn'd with Figures in Basso Relievo, like other public Works, the Sight is extremely affected by the prodigious Height of the two Pavilions that form them; by their Arches, that in some places are of Marble; by their Thickness, and by the Strength of the Work.

Towers.

The Towers, call'd *Pau-ta*, erected in almost every City, are some of their greatest Ornaments; they consist of several Stories, one less than another the higher they go, with Windows on every Side. The most famous Structure of this kind, is that in the City of *Nan-king*, in the Province of *Kyang-nan*, commonly call'd, *The Great* or *Porcelain Tower*, which I have already spoken of in the Beginning of this Work; but as P. le Comte has given a more exact Description of it, it deserves to be repeated here:

Porcelain  
Tower at  
Nan-king.

"There is (says he) without the City, and not within it, as some have written, a Temple, call'd by the *Chinese*, *The Temple of Gratitude*, built by the Emperor *Yong-lo*. It is erected on a Pile of Bricks, which form a great Perron, surrounded with Rails of unpolish'd Marble, and a Stair-Case of ten or twelve Steps. The Hall, which serves for the Temple, is a hundred Feet high, and standing on a small Marble Basis, no more than a Foot in height, but jutting out two Feet beyond the rest of the Wall all round. The Front is adorn'd with a Gallery and several Pillars. The Roofs (for according to the Custom of

"China

(A) The Mountain meant here, is doubtless the famous *My-shu*, mention'd p. 286 and often before, particularly p. 115.



" *China*, there often are two, one bearing on the Wall, the other covering that again) are of japan'd Tiles, green and shining. The Joiners Work on the Inside is painted, and adorn'd with an infinite number of Pieces, engaged, in different manners one within another; which is no small Ornament among the *Chinese*. It is true that this Forest of Beams, Joists, Rafters, and Spars, that appear on all sides, has something very singular and surprising; because one is apt to imagine that there is a great deal of Labour and Expence in Works of this kind: tho' in reality the Confusion proceeds from the Ignorance of the Workmen, who have not yet discover'd that lovely Simplicity, wherein the Strength and Beauty of the *European* Buildings consist.

" The Hall has no Light but what it receives through the Doors, of which there are on the East-side three very large ones, leading into the famous Tower I am going to speak of, which makes part of the Temple. It is an Octagon, about forty Feet in Diameter, so that every Side of it is fifteen Feet in length. It is encompass'd on the Outside by a Wall of the same Figure, which is two Toises and an half distant from the Edifice, and at a moderate Height supports a Roof, cover'd with japan'd Tiles, that seems to proceed from the Body of the Tower, and makes underneath a very handsome Gallery. The Tower has nine Stories, each adorn'd with a Cornice, three Feet above the Windows; and a Roof like that of the Gallery, except that it does not jut out so far, as not being supported by a second Wall: These Stories grow smaller, as the Tower rises higher, and lessens in Circumference. The Wall on the Ground-Floor is at least twelve Feet thick, and eight and an half high, cas'd with Porcelain. It is true, the Rain and Dust have impair'd its Beauty, but yet it is still entire enough to shew that it is made of *China* Ware, tho' of a coarse sort, for it is not probable Bricks would have continued three hundred Years in so good Condition.

" The Stair-Case, which is made on the Inside, is small and inconvenient, because the Steps are extremely high. Every Story is separated by thick Beams, plac'd cross-ways, which support a Floor, and form a Room, the Ceiling of which is adorn'd with variety of Paintings, if the *Chinese* Painters be capable of embellishing an Apartment. The Walls of all the upper Stories are full of small Niches, containing Images in Basso-relievo, which make a very pretty sort of Inlaid Work. The whole is gilded, and seems to be of Marble, or polish'd Stone, tho' I believe it to be nothing but Brick made in a Mould; for the *Chinese* are surprizingly skilful in stamping all sorts of Figures on their Bricks: the Earth of which, being extremely fine and well temper'd, is much fitter than ours for taking the Impression of the Mould.

" The first Story is the highest of all; the rest are of an equal Height. As I reckon'd one hundred and ninety Steps, almost every one ten Inches thick, which I measur'd exactly, they must make one hundred and fifty eight Feet; if to this we add the Height of the Perron, the ninth Story which has no Steps, and the Roof, the Tower will be from the Ground about two hundred Feet high.

" The Top of all the Work is one of its greatest Beauties; for it is a thick Mast, reaching from the Floor of the eighth Story, whereon it stands, more than thirty Foot above the Roof. It seems to be inclos'd in a large Iron Hoop of the same Height, which winds round it [like a spiral Line or Screw] at the Distance of several Feet; so that it looks like a sort of hollow Cone, pierced through, rising in the Air, with a golden Ball on the Top of an extraordinary Magnitude. This is what the *Chinese* call the Porcelain Tower, though some *Europeans* perhaps will name it a Brick Tower; but let that be as it will, it is certainly the best contriv'd, most solid, and magnificent Work in all the East."

Among the most sumptuous Buildings of the *Chinese* we ought not to omit their Temples or Pagods, erected to fabulous Divinities by the Superstition of the Princes as well as of the People. Of these there is a prodigious number in *China*, and the most celebrated are built in barren Mountains, to which however the Industry of the Natives has given the Beauties and Conveniencies deny'd them by Nature: the Canals cut at a great Expence to conduct the Water from the Heights into Basins and Reservoirs appointed for that Purpose; The Gardens, Groves, and Grottos, made in the Rocks for Shelter, against the excessive Heat of a burning Climate, render these Solitudes charming.

The Structure consists partly of Porticos, pav'd with large square polish'd Stones, and partly of Halls, and Pavilions, which stand in the Corners of Courts, and communicate by long Galleries, adorn'd with Statues of Stone, and sometimes of Brass. The Roofs of these Buildings shine with beautiful Tiles japan'd green and yellow; and are adorn'd at the Corners with Dragons of the same Colour, projecting forward.

There are few of these Pagods but what have a great Tower, standing by itself, and terminating in a Dome, to which they ascend by a handsome Stair-Case that winds round about it. A square Temple commonly occupies the middle of the Dome, which is often adorn'd with Mosaic Work, and the Walls cover'd with stone Figures of Animals and Monsters in Relievo.

This is the Form of most of the Pagods, which are larger or smaller, according to the Devotion and Abilities of those who have contributed towards building them. These are the Habitations of the *Bonzas* and Idol-Priests, by whom all sorts of Frauds are practis'd, to impose on the Credulity of the People; who come from far in Pilgrimage to these Temples con-



secrated to the Devil (A): but as the *Chinese* are not very consistent in the Worship they pay to their Images, it often happens that they shew but little Veneration either for their Gods or his Ministers.

Generally the *Bonzas* are in great Contempt, nor will any *Chinese* of Fashion embrace their Condition; so that being almost all taken from the Dregs of the People, they are often, to encrease their number, oblig'd to buy young Children, whom they bring up in their way of Life, in order to succeed them in the Ministry.

Festivals of  
the *Chinese*.

That of  
Lanterns.

In speaking of the Magnificence of the *Chinese*, I should omit what is very essential, if I said nothing of their Festivals, whereof principally two, are celebrated with vast Expence. The one is the Beginning of their Year, and the other, which falls on the fifteenth of the first Month, is call'd *The Feast of Lanterns*. By the Beginning of the Year I mean the End of the twelfth Moon, and about twenty Days of the first Moon of the following Year, which is properly their Vacation-Time. Then all Business ceases, they make Presents, the Posts are stopp'd, and the Tribunals are shut up throughout the Empire. This is what they call *the Shutting up the Seals*; because at this Time they, with a great deal of Ceremony, shut up the little Coffer, wherein the Seals of each Tribunal are kept. This Vacation lasts a whole Month, and is a Time of great Rejoicing; especially during the last Days of the old Year, which are celebrated with great Solemnity. Their inferior *Mandarins* go to salute the Superiors, the Children their Fathers, the Servants their Masters, &c. This is what they call *taking Leave of the Year*. In the Evening all the Family meet together, and a great Feast is made.

In some Places a very odd piece of Superstition prevails, for they will not suffer a Stranger among them, nay not one of their nearest Relations; for fear that the Moment the new Year begins, he should catch the good Luck which was to light on the House, and carry it away with him, to the Prejudice of his Host. On this Day therefore every one keeps close at home, and rejoices with none but his own Family; but on the Morrow, and the following Days, they express Signs of extraordinary Joy, for all the Shops are shut, and every body is wholly taken up with Sports, Feasts and Plays. The poorer sort on this Day put on the best they have; while such as can afford it dress themselves richly, and visit their Friends, Relations, eldest Brothers, Patrons, and all those they have any Interest in. They act Plays, treat each other, and mutually wish all kinds of Prosperity; in a word, all the Empire is in Motion, and nothing is heard of but Mirth and Pleasure.

Another  
Festival of  
Lanterns.

The fifteenth of the first Month is likewise a solemn Festival, when all *China* is illuminated, and to look from some high Place seems to be on Fire. It begins on the thirteenth in the Evening, and continues to the sixteenth or seventeenth. Every Person, both in City and Country, on the Sea-Coast, or on the Rivers, lights up painted Lanterns of several Fashions; even the poorest Houses that are, have them hanging in their Courts, and at their Windows, every one being desirous to distinguish himself. Those used by the Poor do not cost much, but the Rich lay out sometimes two hundred Franks in Lanterns; and the chief *Mandarins*, the Vice-Roys, and the Emperor, three or four thousand Livres.

This being a Spectacle free for every body, the People flock thither from all Parts of the City, and the more to satisfy their Curiosity, the Gates are left open every Evening: They are even permitted to enter into the Tribunals of the *Mandarins*, who adorn them in a splendid manner, to shew their Magnificence.

The Lan-  
terns de-  
scribed.

These Lanterns are very large, the Frames of some, containing six Panes, being of japan'd Wood, adorn'd with Gildings. These Panes consist of fine transparent Silk, whereon are painted Flowers, Trees, Animals, and human Figures; which being disposed with Art, receive as it were Life from the great number of Lamps and Candles, wherewith the Lanterns are lighted up. Others are round, and made of blue transparent Horn, very beautiful to the Sight. The Top of this Machine is adorn'd with Variety of carved Works, from the Corners whereof hang several Streamers of Sattin and Silk of divers Colours.

Moving  
Figures.

Several of them represent Sight's purposely to amuse and divert the People; there you see Horses galloping, Ships sailing, Armies marching, People dancing, and several other things of the same Nature; the respective Figures being put in Motion by means of imperceptible Threads, manag'd by Persons unseen. Some by Shadows represent Princes and Princesses, Soldiers, Buffoons, and other Characters; whose Gestures are so conformable to the Words of the Operator, who moves them with extraordinary Art, that one would think they really spoke. Others carry a Dragon sixty or eighty foot long, full of Lights from the Head to the Tail, which they cause to wind and turn like a Serpent.

Sp'endid  
Fire-works.

But what gives a new Splendor to this Feast is the Fire-Works, which are plaid off in all Parts of the City; and wherein the *Chinese* are thought to excel. *P. Magalbaens* relates, that he was extremely surpris'd with one he saw, representing a Vine-Arbor, which burn'd without consuming; and the Foot of the Vine, the Branches, Leaves, and Grapes consumed exceeding slowly: The Grapes appeared red, the Leaves green, and the Colour of the Stem was imitated so artificially, that any Person might have been deceived. But the Reader will be better able to judge of these Fire-Works from the Description of one which the Emperor *Kang-hi* caused to be play'd off for the Diversion of his Court; whereat the Missionaries, who were of his Train, were present.

(A) The hard Names bestow'd by the Author will not take of the Resemblance between the two Religions. Their Practice is the very same, they only differ as the Objects of their Worship.



It began by setting Fire to half a dozen Cylinders planted in the Earth: these spouted Flames in the Air, which at the Height of twelve Foot fell down again in golden Rain or Fire. This was follow'd by a sort of Bomb-Cart supported by two Stakes or Pillars, from whence proceeded a Shower of Fire with several Lanthorns; many Sentences wrote in large Characters; the Colour of burning Sulphur; and half a dozen branched Candlesticks in the Form of Pillars, consisting of several Rings of Lights, one above another, which cast a white or silver Flame, and in a Moment turn'd Night into Day. At length the Emperor, with his own Hands, set Fire to the Body of the Machine, which presently became all in a Blaze, being eighty Feet long, and forty or fifty broad: The Flame having caught hold of several Poles, and Paper Figures placed on all Sides, a prodigious Quantity of Squibs flew up into the Air, and a great number of Lanthorns and Branches were lighted all over the Place. This Show lasted for half an Hour; and from time to time there appeared in some Places violet and bluish Flames, in the Form of Bunches of Grapes, hanging on a Vine-Arbor, which, joined to the Splendor of the Lights, that were like so many Stars, yielded a very agreeable Spectacle.

There is one very remarkable Ceremony observed at this Festival: In most Houses the Head of the Family writes in large Characters on a Sheet of red Paper, or japan'd Board, the following Words, *Tyen-ti, San-kyay, She-fan, Van-lin, Chin tsay*: the Sense of which is, *To the true Governour of the Heaven, the Earth, the three Limits*, (that is, the whole World) *and of the ten thousand Intelligences*, (that is, an innumerable Multitude.) This Paper is either put in a Frame, or pasted on a Board; at Court they place it on a Table, on which is set Corn, Bread, Meat, or some other Thing of that Nature, and then prostrating themselves on the Earth, offer Sticks of Pastil.

## Of the Ceremonies observed by the Chinese in their Compliments, Visits, Presents, Letters, Feasts, Marriages, and Funerals.

### 1. Their SALUTATIONS and COMPLIMENTS.

THERE is nothing in which the Chinese seem more scrupulous than in their Ceremonies and Compliments. They are persuaded that a due Attention in performing the Duties of Civility goes farther than any thing else to purge the Mind of a certain Roughness that is born with us; to infuse a Sweetness of Temper, and to maintain Peace, good Order, and Subordination in a State: *It is, say they, by Modesty and Politeness in civil Society, that Men are distinguished from Brutes.*

Among their Books, containing the Rules of Civility, there is one which has upwards of three thousand, every thing being set down at large. The common Salutations, the Visits, the Presents, the Feasts, and whatsoever is done in public or private, are rather so many standing Laws, than Fashions gradually introduced by Custom. Almost the whole of these public Ceremonies may be reduced to the Manner of bowing, kneeling down, and prostrating one or more times, according to the Occasion, Place, Age or Quality of the Persons; especially in visiting, making Presents, or treating Friends.

Foreigners, who are obliged to conform to these fatiguing Ceremonies, are frighten'd with them at first; whereas the Chinese, who are brought up to them from their Infancy, instead of being discouraged, are greatly pleased with them, and believe that for want of the like Education other Nations are become barbarous. And, that the Observation of these Customs may not wear out in time, there is a Tribunal at *Pe-king*, whose principal Business is to preserve the Ceremonies of the Empire; wherein it is so strict that it will not exempt even Strangers from the Obligation: for which Reason, before the Ambassadors are introduced to Court, the Custom is to instruct them privately for forty Days together, and exercise them in the Ceremonies of the Country; much after the same manner as our Comedians practise before they come to act their Parts on the Stage.

It is reported that one of the former Czars of *Russia*, having in a Letter to the Emperor of *China* besought his Majesty to pardon his Ambassador, if, for want of being well acquainted with the Customs of the Empire, he committed any Blunder; the above mentioned Tribunal, called *Li-pu*, reply'd gently in these Terms, (which the Missionaries at *Pe-king* translated faithfully by the Emperor's Order) *Legatus tuus multa fecit russice; Your Ambassador has done many things in a very unpolite Manner.*

This Affectation of Gravity and Politeness appears ridiculous at first to an European; but he must comply with it, unless he has a mind to pass for a Clown. After all, every Nation has its Genius and Manners; nor ought we to judge of them according to the Prejudice of Education. If on comparing the Customs of *China* with ours, we are tempted to look upon so wise a Nation as fantastic; the Chinese in their Turns, agreeable to their own Notions of things, look upon us as Barbarians: But both are mistaken, most Actions of Mankind being indifferent in themselves, and standing just for nothing but what People please to make of them: hence that which is look'd upon as a mark of Honour in one Country, is a sign of Contempt in another. In many Places it is an Affront to a Gentleman to take

Old Ceremony.

Chinese fine Notion of Civility.

Their Ceremonies have the Force of Laws.

All even Strangers and Ambassadors oblig'd to comply with them.

Insultance!

An Apology for the Chinese Ceremonies.



take him by the Beard; in others it is a Mark of Veneration, and signifies that the Person who does it has some Favour to ask. The *Europeans* rise up and take off their Hats to receive Visitors: the *Japanese* on the contrary neither move nor uncover, but only pull off their Shoes and Stockings; and in *China* it is a great Rudeness to talk bare-headed to any Person whatever. Plays, and Instruments of Music, are almost every where Signs of Joy, yet in *China* they are used at Funerals.

Therefore, without either praising or blaming the Customs which disgust us, it is sufficient to say, that these Ceremonies, however forbidding they may seem to us, are look'd upon by the *Chinese* as very essential to the good Order and Peace of the State. It is a Task to learn them, and a Science to be Master of them; but they are brought up to them from their Infancy, so that, however irksome they may prove at first, they at length become natural to them.

The Behaviour even to the Vulgar regulated.

All things being thus regulated as to Ceremonies, every body is sure not to fail in the smallest Duty of Civil Life. The *Grandeess* know the Respect due from them to the Emperor and the Princes, and in what manner they ought to behave to each other; even the *Mechanics*, the *Peasants*, and the very *Dregs* of the People perform all the Formalities prescribed them, and in their Meetings observe Politeness and Complaisance; as will appear from the Account I am going to give of these Ceremonies.

Ceremony of saluting the Emperor.

On certain Days the *Mandarins* go to salute the Emperor in their Robes of Ceremony; and if he does not appear himself, they do reverence to his Throne, instead of his Person. While they wait for the Signal to enter the Court of the *Chau*, facing the Hall of the Throne, they sit on their Cushions in the Court, before the South-Gate of the Palace, which is pav'd with Bricks, and as clean as a Room. The Cushions vary according to the Degree of the *Mandarin*: those who are intitled to one, for all are not, have it in Summer of Silk, the Colour making the Distinction, though the Difference of the Rank appears chiefly from the middle of the Cushion; and in the Winter they use Skins, which are distinguish'd by the Price. In this great multitude, where one would expect to meet with nothing but Confusion, every thing is admirably well regulated, and perform'd in the greatest Order; for as each knows his Place, there are no Disputes about Precedence.

Every one accountable for a Breach of the Ceremonial.

When the Body of the late Empress was carrying to be interr'd, one of the Princes of the Blood calling a *Ko-lau* to speak with him, the *Ko-lau* approach'd, and having answer'd him on his Knees, the Prince left him in that Posture without bidding him rise. Next Day a *Ko-li* accus'd the Prince and all the *Ko-lau's* before the Emperor; the Prince for suffering such a considerable Officer to appear before him in so humble a Posture; and the *Ko-lau's*, chiefly him who kneel'd down, for dishonouring the highest Post in the Empire, and the rest for not opposing, or at least giving the Emperor Notice of it. The Prince excus'd himself, in that he was ignorant of what Custom or the Law directed in the Case, and did not require that Submission; but the *Ko-li* in Answer alledged a Law of an ancient *Dynasty*: Whereupon the Emperor order'd the *Li-pu* [or Tribunal of Ceremonies] to search for such Law in the Archives, and in Case it could not be found, to make a Rule on that Head, which might take place for the future.

Formality of complimenting the Emperor on the Choice of an Empress.

The Ceremonial is likewise regulated, on all other Occasions, which the *Grandeess* may have to compliment the Emperor: Such for Instance (and it is the only one I shall mention) was that when the present Emperor [*Yong-ching*] declar'd the Choice he had made of one of his Wives for Empress. Immediately two of the most considerable Doctors, who are Members of the great Council, were deputed to make the Compliment, (for to them only it belongs to compose these pieces of Eloquence) and remit it to the Tribunal of Rites; who, as soon as they receiv'd it, prepar'd themselves for the Ceremony.

On the Day appointed, in the Morning, there was carry'd, to the first or Eastern Gate (\*) of Palace, a kind of square Table, on the Corners whereof were erected four Pillars, which supported a sort of Dome: This little portable Cabinet was set off with yellow Silk and other Ornaments. At the prefixed Hour a neat little Book (wherein was written the Compliment that was compos'd for the Emperor, with the Names of the Princes, *Grandeess*, and those of the supreme Courts, who came in a Body to perform this Ceremony) being plac'd on the Table, some *Mandarins*, clad suitably to their Office, took up the Machine, and went forward. All the Princes of the Blood with the other Princes and Noblemen had gone before, each according to his Rank, and waited near one of the inner Gates of the Palace. The rest of the great Officers, such as the Prime Ministers, the Doctors of the first Rank, the Presidents of the supreme Courts, and the other *Tartarian* and *Chinese* *Mandarins*, as well Literary as Military, all magnificently dress'd in their Habits of Ceremony, follow'd the Table on Foot, every one in his proper Place. Several musical Instruments made a very agreeable Concert, the Drums and Trumpets resounding from different Parts of the Palace. They began the Procession; and when they were near the Gate call'd *U-mwen*, the Princes join'd them, placing themselves at their Head. In this manner they walk'd together as far as the great Hall of Audience (+), which having entred, they took the Compliment off the portable

(\*) For the great Gate, facing the South, is never open'd but for the Emperor, or for the Ceremonies which relate to his Ancestors.

(†) This is the Hall where the Emperor gives Audience

to Ambassadors, where he gives public Instructions (or preaches) two or three times a Year, and where on the first Day of the Year he receives the Compliments of all the Officers who are at *Peking*.



Table, and plac'd it on another Table, prepar'd for that Purpose, in the middle of the Hall. Then all being rang'd in handsome Order, and standing in their proper Places, they made their usual Reverences before the Imperial Throne, as if his Majesty had been there himself; that is, they fell upon their Knees, struck their Foreheads three times against the Ground with great Respect, and then rose up again, performing the same Ceremony three times. After this, every one keeping in his own Place with great Silence, the Music began to play again; and the Presidents of the Tribunal of Rites acquainted the chief Eunuchs of the Presence, that all the Grandees of the Empire besought his Majesty to come and sit down on his precious Throne. These Words being carry'd to the Emperor, he appear'd and ascended the Throne; when immediately two Doctors of the first Rank, appointed for that Purpose, having advanced near the Table, made several Reverences on their Knees; and then rising up, one of them took the little Book, and read distinctly with a loud Voice the Compliment made by this August Company to his Majesty, which was not very long. As soon as the Doctors had finish'd it, and retired to their Places, the Emperor, descending from his Throne, return'd to his Apartment.

After Noon the Princesses of the Blood, the other Princesses, and Ladies of the first Quality, with the Wives of all the great *Mandarins*, above-mention'd, went every one, according to their Rank and Dignity, towards the Palace of the Empress, no Lord or *Mandarin* daring to appear; they were conducted by a Lady of Distinction, who on this Occasion perform'd the part of a Mistress of the Ceremonies, as the Presidents of the Tribunals had done that of Masters.

As soon as all the Ladies were arriv'd near the Empress's Palace, her first Eunuch presenting himself, the Mistress of the Ceremonies address'd him in this Manner: "I humbly beseech the Empress, (said she) in behalf of this Assembly, to condescend to come out of the Palace, and place herself on the Throne." The Women's Compliment is not carry'd in a small Book like the Emperor's, but they present a Leaf of a particular sort of Paper, whereon it is written, with Variety of Ornaments about it. The Empress accordingly came out; and being seated on her Throne, erected in one of the Halls of her Palace, after the Paper was presented, the Ladies standing up made two Curtesies, like those made by the Women of Europe, which is the Fashion in China. This Reverence is call'd *Van-so*; *Van* signifying *ten thousand*, and *So* *Happiness*, or *Good Luck*; *Van-so*, *All Happiness attend ye*.

In the Beginning of the Monarchy, when Simplicity reign'd, Women were permitted, in making a Curtesy to a Man, to use these two Words, *Van-so*; but afterwards, when the Purity of Manners began to corrupt, this sort of Address to Men was not thought decent in Women, whose Salute to them was confined to the mute Curtesy; and to destroy the Custom entirely, they were not permitted to say the Words even in saluting one another. The Ladies having made the two Curtesies, fell on their Knees, and knock'd their Fore-head once against the Ground, as the Tribunal of Rites had prescrib'd; they then rose and stood up in the same Order with profound Silence, while the Empress descending from the Throne withdrew.

The Women salute by a Curtesy.

It is not at all strange that there should be a Ceremonial regulated for the Court; but the Surprise is, that they should go so far as to establish particular Rules for the Behaviour of private Persons towards one another, when they have any Business, either with their Equals or Superiors. No Person whatever can dispense with these Rules, but, from the highest *Mandarin* to the meanest Mechanick, every one observes punctually the Subordination that Rank, Merit, or Age require.

The common way of Saluting, is to clap the Hands together before the Breast, moving them in an affected Manner, and to bow the Head a very little, saying *Tsin-tsin*; which is a Word of Compliment, of an unlimited Signification. When they meet a Person to whom they ought to pay greater Deference, after joining their Hands, they first lift them up, and then let them fall almost to the Earth, bowing their Body very low at the same time. When two Persons who are acquainted meet, after a long Separation, they both fall on their Knees and bow to the Earth, then rise up again, and perform the same Ceremony two or three times. They commonly make use of the Word *Fo* in their Civilities: if any Person is newly arriv'd, the first Question they ask him, is *Na-so*, that is, *If all things have happen'd well in his Journey*; when they are ask'd, *How they do*, they reply, *Kau lau-ye bung-so*, *Very well, Thanks to your abundant Felicity*; when they see a Man who is in Health, they accost him with *Yung-so*, which is as much as to say, *Prosperity is painted on your Face, or You have a happy Countenance*.

Form of Salutation used by the Men.

Complimental Expressions.

Regard is had to the Rules of Civility no less in the Villages than the Cities; and whether they are walking together, or saluting each other, they always make use of Terms full of Respect and Complaisance. When, for Example, one takes any Pains to please them, *Fey-sin*, they say, *You are lavish of your Heart*; If you have done them any Service, the Expression is, *Sye-pu-tsin*, *My Thanks can never have an end*; If they hinder a Person ever so little who is busy, *Fan-lau*, say they, *I am very troublesome*; *Te-tfwi*, *I have committed a great Fault in taking this Liberty*; When one is beforehand in doing them a Kindness, they cry, *Pu-kan, Pu-kan, Pu-kan*, *I dare not, I dare not, I dare not*, that is to say, *suffer you to take so much Trouble on my Account*; If you speak the least in their Praise, they reply, *Ki-kan*, *How dare I!* meaning, *How dare I believe the Things you say of me!* When they

even among the Peasants and common People.



take Leave of a Friend who has been at Dinner with them, they say, *Tew-man*, or *Tay-man*, *We have receiv'd you after a very ordinary manner; we have treated you after a very ordinary manner.* The Chinese have always in their Mouths such Words as these, which they utter with an affected Tone; but it does not follow from hence, that they generally proceed from the Heart.

**Precedence given to Age.** Among the common People, the chief Place is constantly given to the most aged; but if there are Strangers, it is bestow'd on him who lives farthest off, unless his Rank or Quality requires it to be otherwise. In those Provinces where the Right Hand is most honourable, (for in some the Left is so) they never fail to give it.

**Salutation among the Quae.** When two *Mandarins* meet in the Street, if their Rank be equal, they salute, without either leaving their Chair or rising, by letting fall their join'd Hands, and afterwards lifting them up to the Head, which they repeat several times till they are out of each other's Sight; but if one of them be of an inferior Rank, he must stop his Chair, or alight, if he is on Horseback, and make a profound Reverence; for which Reason the Inferiors avoid such Rencontres as much as possible.

**Of Children to Parents.** Nothing is comparable to the Respect which Children have for their Fathers, and Scholars for their Masters, speaking little, and always standing in their Presence; their Custom is, especially at the beginning of the Year, their Birth-Days, and on several other Occasions, to salute them on their Knees, knocking their Foreheads several times against the Ground.

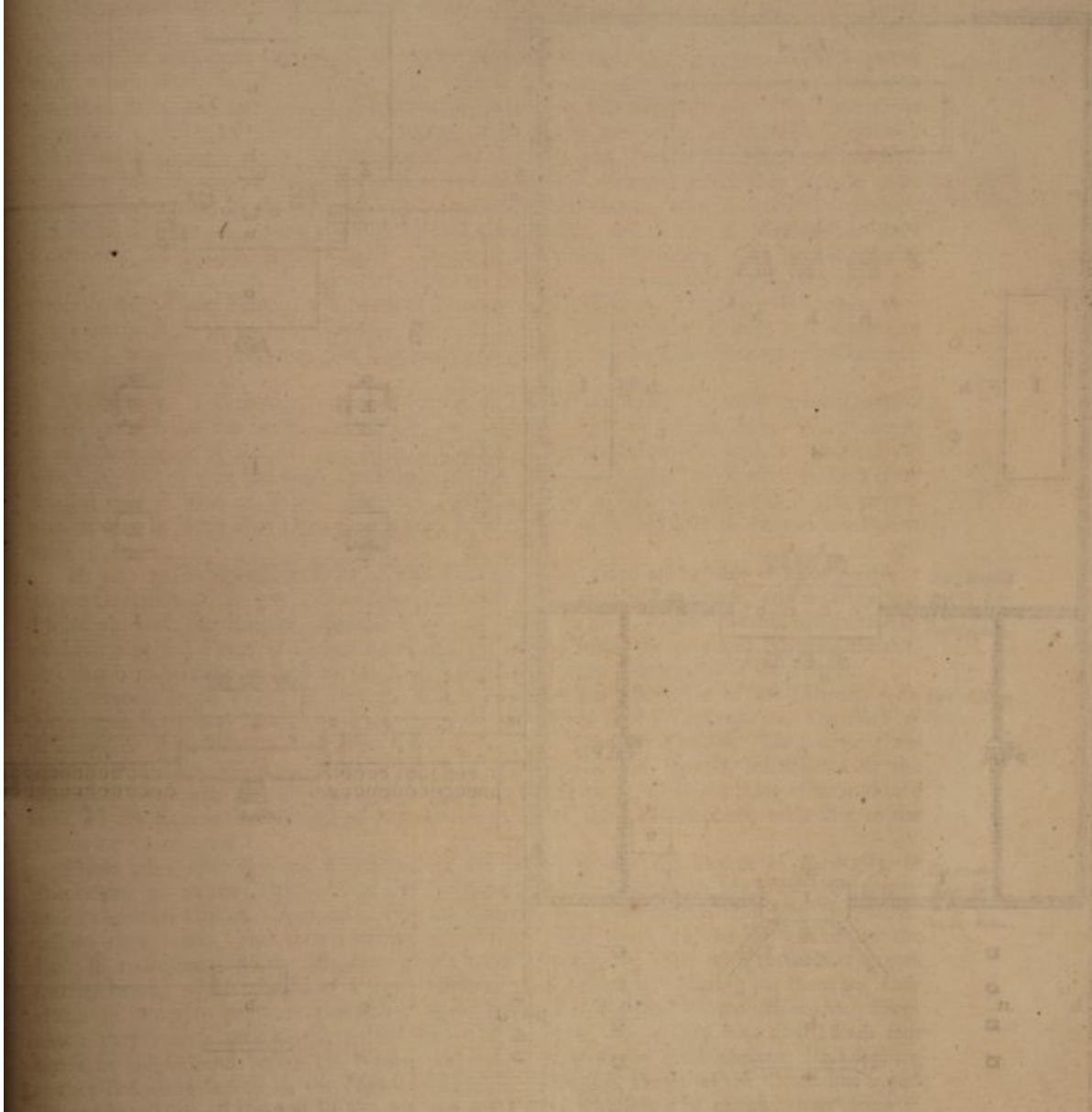
**Most humble Terms used in Conversation.** When the Chinese converse together, they express themselves in the most humble and respectful manner; and unless they are talking familiarly to intimate Friends, or Persons of an inferior Rank, they never speak in the first or second Person: for to say *I* and *You*, would be a gross Incivility; wherefore instead of *I am very sensible of the Service that you have done me*, they will say, *The Service which the Lord, or the Doctor, has done for his meanest Servant, or his Scholar, has sensibly affected me.* In the same manner a Son speaking to his Father, will call himself his Grand-Son, tho' he is the eldest of the Family, and has Children himself.

**Chinese have several Names, given on various Occasions.** They often make use of their proper Names to testify their great Respect; for it must be observ'd that the Chinese have several Names, suitable to their Age and Rank. The Parents give their Child at his Birth the Name of the Family, which is common to all who are descended from the same Grandfire. About a Month after they give him a Diminutive or Milk-Name, as they term it, being commonly that of a Flower, Animal, or such like thing. When he begins his Studies, he receives from his Master a new Name, which is join'd to the Family-Name, and this he is call'd by at School. Being arriv'd to Man's Estate, he takes among his Friends another Name; and this is it which he retains, and commonly signs at the end of his Letters or other Writings. In a Word, when he attains some considerable Office, he then assumes a Name agreeable to his Rank and Merit, which is the Name that Politeness requires to be used in speaking to him. It would be an Incivility to call him by his Family-Name, unless the Person who did so were of a much superior Rank.

**Compliment paid a good Governor at parting.** These polite and modest Manners, infused so early into the Chinese, give them the most profound Veneration for their Governors, whom they look upon as their Fathers; but their way of expressing this Veneration seems to us very extraordinary. When the Governor of a City withdraws into another Province, after having acquitted himself in his Office to the public Satisfaction, the People strive to pay him the greatest Honours. For two or three Leagues together at certain Distances they fix Tables, on some of which (set round with long Pieces of Silk, that hang down to the Ground) they burn Perfumes and place Candlesticks, Wax-lights, Meats, Pulse and Fruits; furnishing others with Wine and Tea. As soon as the *Mandarin* appears, they fall on their Knees, and bow their Heads to the Ground: some weep, or at least pretend to do so; others beseech him to alight to receive the last Testimony of their Gratitude. They then present him with the Wine and other Provisions prepar'd for him, and thus he is continually stopp'd as he advances. But the most pleasant part of all is to see People drawing off his Boots, every now and then, to give him new ones. All the Boots that have touch'd the *Mandarin*, are held in Veneration by his Friends, who preserve them as precious Relics in their Houses. The first that are drawn off are by way of Gratitude put, in a sort of Cage, over the Gate of the City through which he pass'd.

**Way of saluting a Governor on his Birth Day.** In the same manner when the Inhabitants of any City would honour their Governor on his Birth-Day, the principal Persons meet and go in a Body to salute him at his Palace. Besides the common Presents, they often take with them a long japan'd Box, adorn'd with Flowers of Gold, and divided into eight or twelve small Cells, which are filled with several sorts of Sweetmeats. When they are come to the Hall, where the Ceremony is to be perform'd, they all stand in a Rank, and make a profound Reverence; then they fall on their Knees, and bow their Heads to the Ground, unless the Governor prevents them, as he commonly does. Oftentimes the most considerable among them takes a Cup of Wine, and lifting it up on high, with both Hands offers it to the *Mandarin*, and says aloud, by way of wish; *Fo-tyü, This is the Wine that brings good Luck; Shew-tyü, This is the Wine that brings long Life.* Immediately after another advances, and holding up the Sweet-Meats, presents them very respectfully, saying, *This is the Sugar of long Life.* Then others repeat the same Ceremonies three times, still uttering the same Wishes.





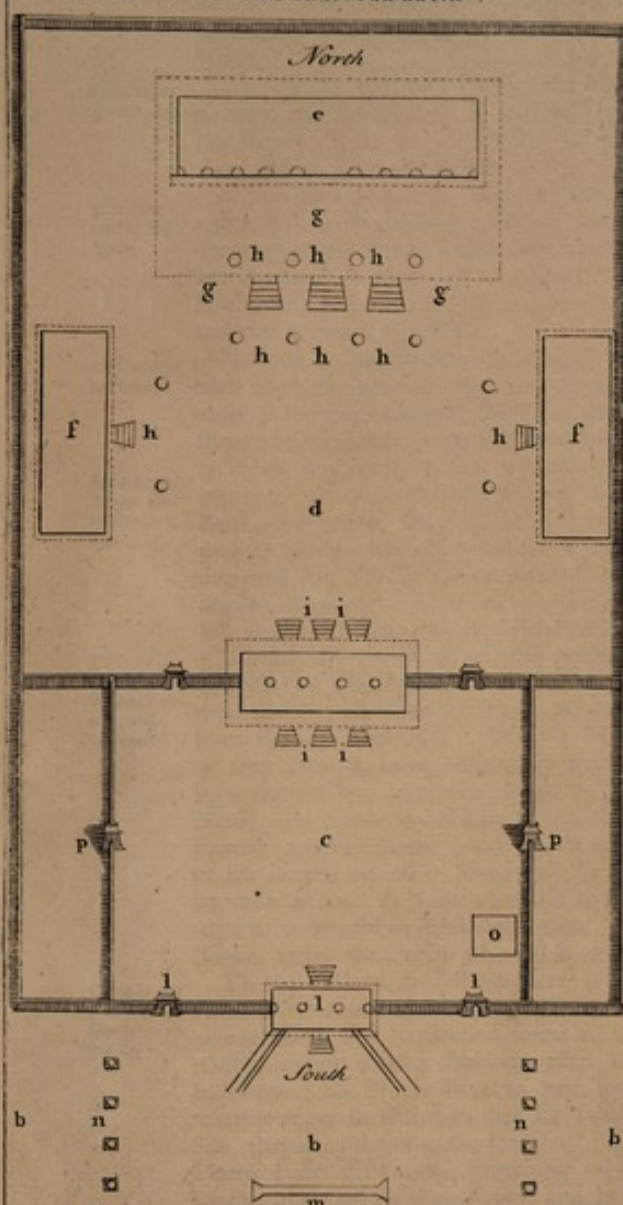
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## Plan

of the *Ti vang myau*, or Hall of Ceremony, where solemn honours are paid to the first Emperor of every family, and the great Personages who contributed most to settle them in the throne.

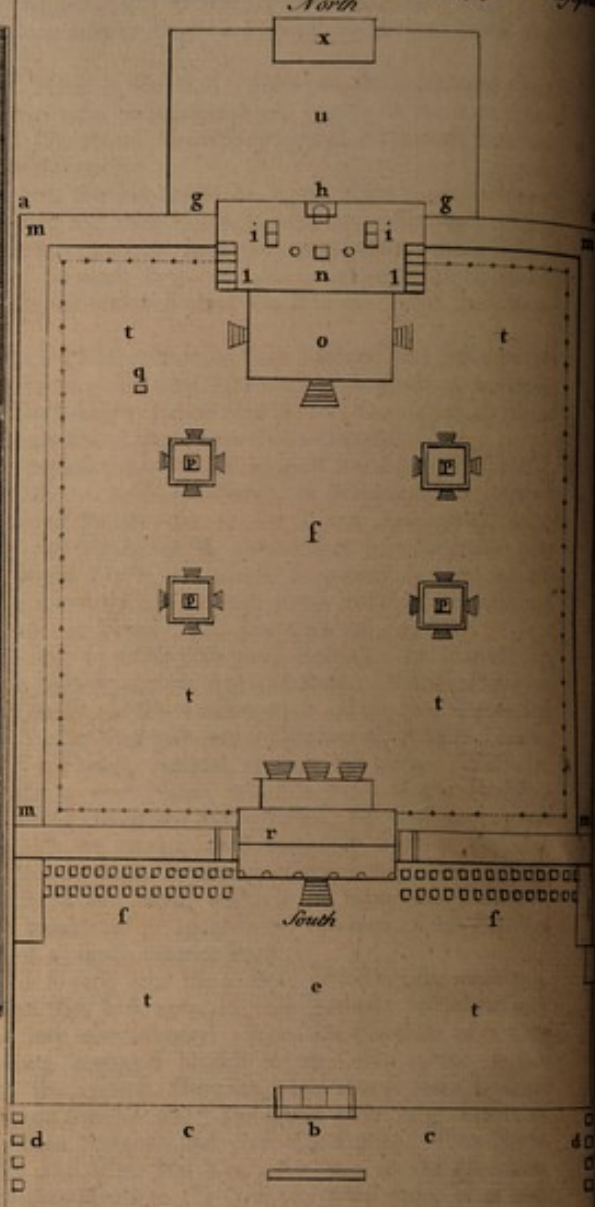


## EXPLANATION for the TI VANG MYAU

- a The Wall inclosing the whole space, divided into two Courts.  
 b Great Street lying East and West.  
 c The Fore-Court.  
 d The Inner-Court.  
 e Tyen, or the Imperial Hall, wherein are placed the Tablets inscribed with the Names of 21 Monarchs, Chiefs or Heads of all the Imperial Families, excepting the present, whose Founder's Name Shun-chi, will not be placed there so long as his Family continues to reign. f Two Side-Halls, where are kept the Tablets of 39 Men illustrious for their Virtue and Valour. g Terraces or Perrons of the Imperial Hall, with three Stair-Cases to go up. h Great Urns, or Bronze Pans for burning Perfumes in Honour of the Heroes entered in the Halls. i Gates, Terraces, and Stair-Cases at Entry of the inner Court. l Gates, Terraces, and Stair-Cases of the fore Court facing the Street. m Wall of Respect (opposite to the Gate) behind which those must pass who will not light from their Horses. n Two great Triumphal Arches of Wood, painted and gilt, on each Side the Entrance of the Place. o Tower of the Bell for regulating the Time when each Part of the Ceremony is to be performed.  
 p Side Courts; in one lives the Mandarin who keeps the Place, in the other are prepared the Victuals and other Things offered to the Heroes to Honour their Memory and Virtue.

## Plan

of the *Que tse Kyen*, or Hall of Ceremony, where solemn honours are paid to Confucius in the name of the whole Empire in reverence to his Virtue & Memory of his great Philosophy.



## EXPLANATION for the QUE TSE KYEN.

- a Wall inclosing the whole Place, divided into two Courts. b The Entrance with a Wall of Respect for those to pass behind who will not dismount. c Two Triumphal Arches Fore-Court. f Inner Court. g Great Hall of Ceremony. h Tablet of Confucius erected in the Principal Place of the Hall with the Inscription: Chi shing hien the KONG the him ghey, i.e. the Place where the most ancient and most wise Master Confucius is honoured. i Tablets of the four principal Disciples of Confucius honoured as signs of the second Rank. l Tablets of ten other Disciples of his, honoured as signs of the third Rank. m Edifices or Halls built round the Court (each a gallery) where are set up the Tablets of 97 Men of different Times, famous for their wisdom & knowledge likewise honoured in this Place. n Table whereon Perfumes are burnt in honour of Confucius. o Terrace or Perron belonging to the Hall of Ceremony. p Marble Balustrade round it, and three Stair-Cases. q Four little Square Salons, open on all Sides, with Stair-Cases to go up and in each a Marble Monument, with Inscriptions by diverse Emperors in praise of Confucius. r A little cavity, where is thrown the Blood of the Animals slain for the Offerings in this Place. s Hall and Entrance of the inner Court with its Stair-Cases & Perron within. t Double row of Marble Monuments, with each an Inscription by several Doctors in praise of Confucius. u Old Cypress-Tree which the two principal Courts are planted. v The back Court. x Particular Hall where the Father of Confucius is honoured as a sign of the third Rank.



But when the *Mandarin* has distinguish'd himself in an extraordinary manner by his Equity, Zeal, and Goodness to the People, and they are desirous of giving a remarkable Testimony of their Gratitude, they have a particular way of letting him know how highly they esteem his happy Government. The *Literati* cause a Garment to be made, consisting of small Squares of Sattin, of various Colours, as red, blue, green, black, yellow, &c. and on his Birth-Day carry it with great Ceremony, accompanied with Musick. Being arrived in the outward Hall, which serves for a Tribunal, they beseech him to come out of the inner Hall into the public one; and then present this Garment, requesting him to put it on. The *Mandarin* pretends to make a Difficulty of it, saying, that he is unworthy of such an Honour; but at length giving way to the Intreaties of the *Literati*, and People who crowd the Court, he suffers them to strip off his upper Garment and cloath him with that which they brought with them. They intend by the various Colours to represent all Nations, who wear different Habits, and to signify that all People consider him as their Father, and that he is worthy to be their Governor; for which Reason these Garments are called *Wan-jin-i*, that is, *The Habits of all Nations*. 'Tis true, the *Mandarin* never wears them except at this Time; but they are carefully kept in the Family, as a Mark of Honour and Distinction. They never fail to acquaint the Viceroy with it, and the News is often carried to the Supreme Courts. *P. Contancin* happen'd once to be present at this Ceremony, on going to pay his Compliments to a Governor on his Birth-Day.

Compliment  
of the Party  
colour'd Coat

Signification  
of that Pres-  
ent.

All Visits to a Governor, or other Person of Distinction, must be made before Dinner; or if the Person has eaten any thing, he ought at least to abstain from Wine: for it would shew want of Respect to a Man of Quality to appear before him with a Countenance which discover'd they had been drinking; and the *Mandarin* would be offended, if the Visitor smell'd ever so little of Wine. However, when you pay a Visit the same Day you receive one, it may be done after Dinner; for then it is a Sign of your Haste to honour the Person who visit'd you.

'Tis also an indispensable Duty of the *Literati*, who alone are capable of having a Share of the Government, to pay extraordinary Honours to the ancient Legislators, and most famous Philosophers of the Empire, especially *Confucius*; who in his Life-time contributed greatly to establish a perfect Form of Government, and left behind him the principal Maxims thereof. All that is to be done on such an Occasion is regulated by the Ceremonial of the Empire.

Honours paid  
ancient Le-  
gislators and  
Philosophers.

In every City a Palace is erected, which serves for the Assemblies of the *Literati*, who have given it several Names, as *Pwan-king*, or *the Royal Hall*; *Ta-shing-tyen*, *The Hall of Wisdom*, or *Perfection*; *Ta-lyo*, *The Great College*, [or School] *Qya-lyo*, *The College of the Empire*. On the Walls are hung divers small Boards, gilt and japan'd, inscribed with the Names of those who have distinguish'd themselves in the Sciences, *Confucius* being at their Head; and all the Learned are oblig'd to honour this Prince of their Philosophers, according to the following Ceremonies:

Hall of Kong.

Those who, after rigorous Examinations, are judg'd fit for the Degree of *Syew-tsay*, or Bachelors, go to the Threshold of the *Ti-lyo-tau*, or *Mandarin*, with black linen Garments, and a common Cap on. As soon as they are admitted into his Presence they bow themselves, fall on their Knees, and then prostrate themselves several times, on the Right and on the Left, in two Lines; till the *Mandarin* gives Orders for presenting them with the Habits proper for Bachelors, which consist of a Vest, a Surtout, and a silk Cap. Having put them on, they return in order to prostrate themselves again before the Tribunal of the *Mandarin*. From hence they march very gravely to the Palace of *Confucius*, where they bow their Heads four times to the Ground before his Name, and before those of the most eminent Philosophers, as they had done before in the *Mandarin's* House. This first Devoir of the Bachelors is performed in a City of the first Rank, nor can any Person whatsoever be excus'd from doing it, unless he is in Mourning, or dangerously ill. When the *Syew-tsay* are return'd to their own Country, those of the same District go in a Body to prostrate themselves before the Governor, who expects them; and having received these new Marks of Honour in his Tribunal, he rises, and offers them Wine in Cups, which he first lifts up in the Air. In several Places pieces of red Silk are distributed among them, of which they make a kind of Belt; they also receive two Wands adorned with Flowers of Silver, which they set on each of their Caps like a Caduceus; then they walk with the Governor at their Head to the Palace of *Confucius*, to finish the Ceremony with the usual Salutation before mention'd. This is as it were, the Seal [or Test] which establishes them, and puts them in Possession of their new Dignity; because then they acknowledge *Confucius* for their Master, and by that Action profess to follow his Maxims in the Government of the State.

Ceremony  
of the Bac-  
chelors sa-  
luting him.

Besides this, the Emperors have order'd that the Doctors and *Literati* should celebrate, as it were in the Name of the Empire, a Festival to that Great Man. Every thing is prepared the Evening before: a Butcher comes and kills a Hog, and the Servants of the Tribunal bring Wine, Fruits, Flowers and Herbs, which they place on a Table, set with Wax-Candles and Perfuming-Pans. On the Morrow, the Governors, Doctors and Bachelors, repair with Drums beating, and Hautboys sounding to the Feast-Hall: where the Master of the Ceremonies, appointed to regulate the whole Affair, commands them sometimes to bend forwards, sometimes to kneel down, sometimes to bow to the very Earth, and sometimes to stand up.

Festival or  
Sacrifice in  
honour of  
Kong-fu-tse.

When



When the Hour for beginning the Ceremony is come, the chief *Mandarin* takes successively Meat, Wine, Pulse, and presents them before the Tables of *Confucius*; the Music playing all the while to Verses sung in Honour of this great Philosopher. They afterwards repeat his Encomium, which is seldom more than eight or ten Lines, in praise of his Knowledge, Wisdom, and good Morals. The Formula is the same throughout all the Cities of the Empire; and these Honours, which are in Effect paid to all the Learned in the Person of *Confucius*, inspire the Doctors with great Emulation.

Honours paid  
to illustrious  
Persons and  
Citizens.

The Ceremony is concluded with repeated Bows and Reverences at the Sound of Flutes and Hautboys, and with reciprocal Compliments among the *Mandarins*. Last of all, they bury the Blood and Hair of the Animal that has been offer'd; and burn in Token of Joy a large Piece of Silk, which is fasten'd to the end of a Pike, and hangs to the Earth in manner of a Streamer. They afterwards go into the second Hall, to pay certain Honours to the ancient Governors of Cities and Provinces, who are famous for behaving well in their Employments. Then they pass into a third Hall, where are the Names of Citizens illustrious for their Virtues and Talents, and there perform some farther Ceremonies.

Emperor  
*Kya-tung's*  
Address to  
*Kong-fu-tse*.

It is reported, that the *Chinese* Emperor *Kya-tung*, before he began his Studies, went to the Palace of *Confucius* to offer him Presents, and before his Tablet spoke to him in this manner:

"I, the Emperor, come this Day to offer Praises and Presents, as Marks of my Respect for all the ancient Doctors of our Nation, especially for the Prince *Cheu-kong* and *Confucius*: I then, who do not surpass in Genius the least of their Disciples, am oblig'd to apply my self to the Works, that is, the Books left us by these great Men, and sage Masters of Antiquity; and to the Collection of their Maxims, according to which Posterity ought to regulate their Manners. For this Reason, being resolv'd to set my self to study them on the Morrow, I will seriously employ the whole Force of my Understanding to read them over and over without ceasing, as the least of the Disciples of these incomparable Doctors; in order to instruct my self thoroughly therein, and to finish happily the Course of my Studies."

## 2. Their VISITS.

Certain Vi-  
sits indispen-  
sible.

ONE Article of the *Chinese* Politeness is to pay Visits to each other, which on certain Days of the Year, and particular Occasions that happen from time to time, are Obligations; especially on Scholars with respect to their Masters, and *Mandarins* with regard to those that they depend upon. These Days are the Birth-days, the beginning of the new Year, the Festivals at the Birth of a Son; when one of the Family marries, is raised to some Office, takes a long Journey, or dies, &c. These Visits, which there is no dispensing with on all such Occasions without sufficient Cause, are commonly accompany'd with Presents; consisting often of things of no great Value, which yet may be of Use to the Person they are presented to, and contribute not a little to keep up the Ties of Friendship or Dependance. As for common Visits there is no Time fix'd for them, and tho' they are made between intimate and familiar Friends, without Formality, yet Custom and the Law oblige others to perform a great many Ceremonies, which at first are very irksome to all but the *Chinese*. When they make a Visit they must begin by delivering to the Porter a Visiting-Billet, called *Tye-tse*, which consists of a Sheet of red Paper, slightly embellish'd with Flowers of Gold, and folded up like a Screen. On one of the Folds is written their Name, with the Addition of some respectful Terms, according to the Rank of the Person who is visited: They say, for Instance, *The tender and sincere Friend of your Lordship, and the perpetual Disciple of your Doctrine, presents himself in this Quality, to pay his Duty, and make his Reverence even to the Earth*; which they express by these Words, *Tun-shew-pay*. When the Person visited is a familiar Friend, or an ordinary Body, common Paper will serve, only if he be in Mourning it ought to be white.

*Tye-tse*, or  
visiting Bil-  
lets.

They serve  
instead of a  
Visit.

Visits re-  
ceiv'd or  
paid by the  
*Qian*.

A *Mandarin* sometimes contents himself with receiving the *Tye-tse* from the Porter, (which, according to the *Chinese* manner, is the same as if he received the Visit in Person) and desiring the Visitor, by a Servant, not to be at the Trouble to alight from his Chair: Then on the same Day, or one of the three following, he goes to return the Visit, and present a *Tye-tse* like that which he receiv'd. If he receives the Visit, and the Visitor is a Person of Distinction, his Chair is permitted to pass thro' the two first Courts of the Tribunal, which are very large, as far as the Entrance of the Hall, where the *Mandarin* comes to receive him. When you enter into the second Court, you find before the Hall two Domestic, who sometimes hold the Umbrella, and great Fan, belonging to the *Mandarin*, inclining toward each other, in such a Manner, that you can neither see the *Mandarin*, who advances to receive you, nor be seen by him: When you have alighted from the Chair, your Domestic withdraws, the great Fan that likewise conceal'd your Person, and then you are at a proper Distance from the *Mandarin*, to pay your Reverence.

The Cere-  
monies on  
those occa-  
sions.

At this Instant begin the Formalities, which are set down at length in the *Chinese* Memorial: where you may find the Number of Bows that you are to make; the Expressions you are to use; the Titles that you are to give; the mutual Genuflections; the several Turns you are to make, sometimes to the right, sometimes to the left; (for the Place of Honour is different in different Places;) the silent Gestures by which the Master of the House in-  
vites



vites you to enter, saying nothing but *Tsin-tsin*; the decent Refusal to enter first, by saying *Pü-kan, I dare not*; the Salutation that the Master of the House is to make to the Chair you are to sit in, for he must bow respectfully before it, and dust it lightly with the Skirt of his Garment. As soon as you are seated, you are to declare, in a grave and serious manner, the Occasion of your Visit; and you are answered with the same Gravity, and a great many Bows. you are likewise to sit upright in your Chair without leaning 'gainst the Back; to look down a little without turning your Eyes either to one Side or the other, having your Hands stretched out upon your Knees, and your Feet placed exactly even. After a Moment's Conversation, a Servant finely dressed comes in, bringing as many Dishes of Tea as there are Persons; and here again you must be very careful to observe the Forms in taking the Dish, in putting it to your Mouth, and in returning it to the Servant. At length, the Visit being ended, you withdraw, making use of other Ceremonies. The Master of the House conducts you to your Chair, and when you are entred, advances a little, waiting till the Chairmen have taken it up; then being ready to depart, you bid him adieu, and he returns an Answer to your Civility†.

These Ceremonies are observed with the greatest Strictness. When a *King-chay*, or Envoy from the Court, pays a Visit to the chief *Mandarins* of the Cities thro' which he passes, at setting out, about thirty Persons go before his Chair, marching two in a Rank; some with Copper-Basons in their Hands, which they beat at times like a Drum. Some carry Colours, and others small japan'd Boards, whereon are written in large Characters of Gold, *King-chay-ta-jin*, that is, *The Lord, the Envoy from the Court*. Some bear Whips in their Hands, others Chains. Many carry on their Shoulders certain Instruments, painted with variety of Figures, and gilt; some in the Form of huge Crosses, with Dragons Heads at the Top, and others like Vergers Staves. Among the rest there are some with high Caps of red Felt, in Form of a Cylinder, from which hang down two large golden Feathers, who are hired only to cry in the Streets, and bid the People clear the Way. At the Head of this Cavalcade is a Porter, or inferior Officer of the Tribunal, who carries in a large Letter-Case the *Tye-tse*, or Visiting-Billets, prepared for all the *Mandarins* and other Persons of Distinction whom he designs to visit. On each Side of the Chair walk two or four of the *King-chay's* Domestics finely dress'd, and several others close the March; for all the rest are occasionally hired to attend on him, while he stays in the City: besides, there are fifteen who never stir from House; six wait at the Door with Hautboys, Fifes and Drums, as if they were hired to deafen the Neighbourhood with the Noise of their Instruments, striking up every time any Person of Distinction enters or comes out of the House; the rest are employ'd within Doors.

The Manner wherein the *Mandarins* are to receive an Envoy from the Court, is likewise accompany'd with Ceremonies, which they dare not omit. The Reader may form a just Notion of them, from the Reception given to *P. Bouvet*, at *Nan-chang-fü*. [See p. 59.] when he was sent, in this Quality by the Emperor, into *Europe*. He was accompanied by a chief *Mandarin*, named *Tong-Lau-ya*; and had made his Journey, partly on Horseback and partly in a Chair, as far as that City, where he was to embark. On their Arrival they found one of those large Barks representing a middle-rate Man of War, all painted and gilded, which was prepared for their Voyage. Before they went on Board, the Under-Secretaries of the Viceroy and great *Mandarins*, who had been sent to meet them, according to Custom, presented the *Tye-tse*, or Billets of Compliment, on Behalf of their Masters: who on their crossing the River, appeared on the Bank ready to receive them; and having invited them to Land, conducted them into a *Kong-quan*, or great Palace, on the River-Side. When they were come into the middle of the second Court, the Viceroy and all the *Mandarins* that accompany'd him fell on their Knees, over-against the Great Hall, at the bottom of the Stair-Case, and enquir'd after the Emperor's Health; of which being inform'd by *Tong-lau-ya*, he and the *Mandarins* rose up. Then the Envoy entering the Hall (where two ranks of Chairs were prepared for the Company, who sat in the same Order as they enter'd) they were presented Tea after the *Tartarian* and *Chinese* Manner, which was drank in Form; that is to say, every one holding in his right Hand a Dish of *Tartarian* Tea, made a low Bow to the Viceroy who gave the Treat, both before and after they had drank. As for the *Chinese* Tea, the Custom is to take the Dish in both Hands, and making a low Bow to touch the Ground therewith: Then they drink it at several Sips, holding the Dish in their Left-hand. After this first Regale, the Viceroy and the General, rising up with the rest of the Company, presented the Envoy with *Tye-tse*, or Billets of the Presents (A), they were obliged to make them of Provisions to put into their Barks, and then invited them to sit at Table. The Dinner was prepared at the Bottom of the Hall, where there were two Rows of Tables, over-against each other; the Feast was partly after the *Tartar* and partly after the *Chinese* Fashion, so that a great Part of the troublesome Ceremonies observed at the *Chinese* Entertainments were dispensed with. The Feast being over, the Envoys re-imbarked, and in a little time the chief *Mandarins* sent them Visiting-Billets, and came presently in Person one after another. The *Chü-fü*, or Governor of the City, accompany'd by the two *Chy-byen*, or Presidents of the two Inferior Tribunals, followed the Example of the chief *Mandarins*; and their Visits were attended with as many *Tye-tse*, or Billets of Presents, which they were to make of Provisions and Refreshments.

(†) This sort of Ceremonious Visits, relates to Persons of equal Distinction, as that of one *Mandarin* to another, nearly of the same Order.

(A) *Tye-tse* seems to be a general Term for Billets, or Letters of any kind.



Presents of  
a Vice-Roy.

In their Passage by Water, instead of Tables covered with Viſtuals, which the *Mandarins* of the Places keep in Readineſs to regale the *King-chay*, the Cuſtom is to ſend the ſame ſort of Proviſions on board the Bark that accompanies him. One may judge of the Nature of theſe Presents by that of the Viceroy, the Liſt of which follows: *viz.* two Meaſures or Buſhels of fine white Rice, two Meaſures of Meal; one Hog, two Geefe, four Fowls, four Ducks, two Bundles of Sea-Herbs, two Bundles of Stags Pizzles, which when pick'd and dry'd are deem'd in *China* exquiſite Eating; two Bundles of the Entrails of a certain Sea-Fiſh, two Bundles of dry'd *Me-yu*, or *Ink-Fiſh*, and two Jars of Wine. The Presents of the other *Mandarins* were much of the ſame ſort. As it is cuſtomary in all the Cities that you paſs thro', to receive this kind of Presents from the *Mandarins*, there is no occaſion to make any other Proviſion on board the Barks, becauſe there is enough and to ſpare for the Envoy and all his Attendants. When a Preſent is made, beſides the *Tye-tſé*, or Viſiting-Billet, they add a *Li-tán*; which is a piece of red Paper like the *Tye-tſé*, whereon is written the Name of him who offers it, and a Liſt of Particulars.

*Li-tán* or Bill  
of Parcels.

Cuſtomary to  
ſend back  
Presents or  
receive only  
Part.

When he who makes the Preſent comes in Perſon, after the common Civilities, he offers you the Billet, which you take from him, and give to one of your Servants to keep, making a low Bow by way of Acknowledgement. The Viſit being over, you read the Billet, and take what you think proper: if you accept of every thing ſet down in the Liſt, you keep the Billet, and ſending another immediately to return Thanks, acquaint him that you accept of the Whole: If you detain but Part, you mention the Particulars in the Billet of Thanks; and in caſe you keep nothing at all, you ſend back the Billet and the Preſent, with a Billet of Thanks; upon which you write *Pi-ſyé*, that is, *Theſe are precious Pearls, I dare not touch them.*

Form of  
doing it.

If the Perſon thinks fit to ſend the Preſent by his Servants only, or if he ſends the things with the Billet, then you obſerve the ſame Ceremonies as when he offers it in Perſon: but if he ſends you the Billet before the things are bought, intending to buy thoſe you pitch on, you take a Pencil, and make Circles on the things you accept of, which are immediately bought and ſent to you. Then you write a Billet of Thanks, and mention what you have received, adding *Tu-pi*, that is, *The reſt are precious Pearls.* But when there is any Wine, the Servants never fail to caſe themſelves of ſome part of the Weight, without its being perceiv'd till the Pots or Jars come to be open'd. On ſeveral Occaſions, when you accept of a Preſent, Complaiſance requires you ſhould ſend another in return; this is principally put in Practice, in the Beginning of the Year, in the fifth Moon, &c. When the Preſent comes from a Perſon conſiderable, either by Birth or Office, the Receiver makes a low Bow before it.

Formality in  
writing and  
ſending of  
Letters.

Even the Letters that are written by private Perſons are ſubject to a great number of Formalities, which often puzzle the *Literati* themſelves. If you write to a Perſon of Diſtinction you are obliged to uſe white Paper, with ten or twelve folds like a Screen; they are to be brought, with little Bags and ſlips of red Paper, which go along with the Letter. You begin to write on the ſecond Folding, and put your Name at the End. A great deal of pains muſt be taken about the Stile, which ought to be different from that uſed in common Converſation; Regard muſt alſo be had to the Character, for the ſmaller the Size the more reſpectful; there are proper Diſtances to be kept between the Lines, and Titles to be made Uſe of according to the Rank and Quality of the Perſons. The Seal, if any be uſed, is put in two Places, that is, over the Name of the Perſon who writes, and over the firſt Words of the Letter, but they are uſually contented with putting it on the little Bag which encloſes it. If the Writer is in Mourning, he puts a ſlip of blue Paper over his own Name. The Letter when written, is put in a little Paper-Bag, on the middle of which they paſte a ſlip of red Paper, the length of the Letter, and two Fingers broad, and write thereon *Nwi-ban*, that is, *The Letter is within.* They then put it in a ſecond Bag, of thicker Paper than the former, with a Band of red Paper, as before, on which they put, in large Characters, the Name and Quality of the Perſon to whom it is addreſſed; and on the ſide, in ſmaller Characters, the Province, City, and Place of his Abode. The Openings at top and bottom of this ſecond Letter are paſted together very neatly, and the Seal impreſſed on both with theſe Words, *Hu-fong*, that is, *Guarded and Sealed*; alſo between both from top to bottom, they write the Year and Day, on which the Letter is delivered. When the *Mandarins* ſend any Diſpatches to Court that require more than ordinary Expedition, they faſten a Feather to the Packet, and then the Courier is obliged to travel Night and Day without ſtopping.

### 3. Their Feaſts and Entertainments.

*Chinese Feaſts*

THE *Chinese*, as well as other Nations, often invite one another to Feaſts, wherein they make mutual profeſſions of Eſteem and Friendſhip; but it is chiefly in theſe Feaſts that Politeneſs, natural to the *Chinese*, is troubleſome to *Europeans*, for the whole is made up of Ceremonies and Compliments. Their Feaſts are of two Sorts: the ordinary, conſiſting of about twelve or ſixteen Diſhes; and the more ſolemn, which require twenty four upon each Table, as well as more Formalities. When all Ceremonies are punctually obſerved, the Feaſt is preceded by three *Tye-tſé*, or Billets, ſent to thoſe who are invited: the firſt Invitation is made the Day or two Days before, but this laſt is rare; the ſecond in the Morning



Morning of the Feast-Day, to put the Guests in mind, and intreat them not to fail coming; and the third, when every thing is ready, and the Master of the House is disposed, by a third Billet, carried by one of his Servants, to let them know he is extremely impatient to see them.

The Hall, wherein the Feast is serv'd up, is commonly adorned with Flower-Pots, Pictures, *China*-Ware, and such like Ornaments. There are as many Tables as there are Persons invited; unless the Number of Guests obliges them to sit two at a Table, for they rarely put three, at these great Feasts. These Tables are ranged in a Row on each Side the Hall, in such a manner that the Guests face each other as they sit in their Arm-Chairs. The fore-part of the Tables are set off with silk Ornaments of Needle-Work, resembling those belonging to our Altars; and tho' there are neither Table-Cloaths nor Napkins, the curious jappanning makes them look very neat. The Ends of each Table are often covered with several great Dishes, loaded with Meats ready carved, and piled up like a Pyramid, with Flowers and large Citrons on the Top; But these Pyramids are never touched, being only for Ornament, like the Figures made of Sugar at Feasts in *Italy*.

The Feast Hall how set out.

When he who gives the Entertainment introduces his Guests into the Room, he salutes them all, one after another; and then calling for Wine in a little Cup, either of Silver, precious Wood, or Porcelaine, placed on a little japan'd Salver, he takes it with both Hands, and bowing to all the Guests, turns towards the great Court of the House, and advances to the Forepart of the Hall; when lifting up his Eyes and Hands, together with the Cup, towards Heaven, he straitway pours the Wine on the Ground, by way of acknowledging that whatever he is possessed of is the Gift of Heaven. He then causes Wine to be poured into a *China* or Silver Cup, and after making a Bow to his principal Guest, places it on the Table, where he is to sit. The Guest returns this Civility by endeavouring to hinder him from taking the Trouble, and at the same time causing Wine to be brought in a Cup, advances a few Steps; as tho' he would carry it to the Place of the Master of the Feast, which is always the lowest, and who in his Turn prevents him with certain common Terms of Civility. Immediately after the Steward brings two small Ivory Sticks, adorned with Gold or Silver, which serve instead of Forks, and places them on the Table, in a parallel Position, before the Chair, if there were not any placed before, as there usually are. This done, he leads the chief Guest to his Chair, which is covered with a rich Carpet of flower'd Silk, and then making another low Bow (c), invites him to sit: But the Guest does not comply, till after a great many Compliments, excusing himself from taking so honourable a Place. The Steward next prepares to do the same to all the rest, but they will by no means suffer him to take so much Trouble. It is observable that, according to the ancient Custom of *China*, the first Place is given to Strangers, preferable to others; and amongst Strangers, either to those who come farthest off, or are most advanced in Years, unless some other Person of a considerable Distinction be in Company.

Compliments before sitting down to Table.

All these Ceremonies being over, they sit down to the Table; at which instant four or five Principal Comedians in rich Dresses enter the Hall, and making low Bows all together, knock their Foreheads four times against the Ground. This they perform in the midst of the two Rows of Tables, with their Faces towards a long Table, set out like a Buffet, full of Lights and Perfuming-Pans. Then rising up, one of them presents the principal Guest with a Book, like a long Pocket-Book, containing, in Letters of Gold, the Names of fifty or sixty Plays, which they have by heart, and are ready to act on the Spot. The chief Guest refuses to choose one, and sends it to the second with a Sign of Invitation; the second to the third, &c. but they all make Excuses, and return him the Book; at last, he consents, opens the Book, runs it over with his Eyes in an Instant, and pitches on the Play which he thinks will be most agreeable to the Company. If there be any thing in it not fit to be acted, the Player ought to apprise him of it; for instance, if one of the principal Persons in the Play had the same Name with one of the Auditors: after which the Comedian shews the Title of the Play that is chosen to all the Guests, who testify their Approbation by a Nod.

Comedians acted during the Feast.

The Representation begins with the Music peculiar to that Nation: which are, Basons of Brass or Steel, whose Sound is harsh and shrill; Drums of *Buffalo*-skins, Flutes, Fifes, and Trumpets, whose Harmony can charm none but *Chinese*. There are no Decorations for these Plays, which are acted during the Feast; they only spread a Carpet on the Floor, and the Comedians make use of some Rooms near the Balcony, from whence they enter to act their Parts. Besides the Guests, there are commonly a great number of other Spectators, who, led by Curiosity, and known to the Servants, are let into the Court, from whence they can see the Play. The Ladies, who are willing to be present, are placed out of the Hall over against the Comedians, where, through a Lattice made of *Bambú*, and a sort of Silken-Net, they see and hear all that passes without being seen themselves. The counterfeit Murders, Tears, Sighs, and sometimes Shrieks of these Players will inform an *European*, tho' ignorant of the Language, that their Plays are full of Tragical Events.

Nature of their Plays.

(c) There is no Mention here of a Steward bowing before, and indeed all thro' this Account of the Feast, the *Maitre d'Hotel*, or *Steward*, seems to be confounded with the *Maitre de Festin*, *Maitre de Maison*, or *Maitre de Logis*, the Master of the

Feast, or Master of the House, that is, the Person of Quality who gives the Entertainment; this appears also from P. *Etour's* Account of a Feast, which comes afterwards.



Order of the  
Feast.

As the Feast always begins with drinking unmixed Wine, the Steward, on one Knee, says to all the Guests with a loud Voice, *Tjing Lau-ya, men kyu poy*, that is, *You are invited, Gentlemen, to take the Cup*. On this every one takes his Cup in both Hands, and having first moved it up to his Head, and then down below the Table, they all put it to their Mouths at once, and drink slowly three or four times, the Steward all the while pressing them to drink it up, after his example; turning the Cup upside down to shew that it is quite empty, and that each of them ought to do the same. Wine is served two or three times, and while they are drinking, on the middle of each Table is set a *China-Dish* full of Meat ragou'd, so that they have no Occasion for Knives; then the Steward invites them to eat, in the same Manner as he did to drink, and immediately every one takes some of the Ragou very dexterously. Twenty, or twenty four of these Dishes, are served up [on each Table] with the same Ceremony every time one is brought in, which obliges them to drink as often; but then they may do it as sparingly as they please, besides the Cups are very small. The Dishes are never taken away as they are done with, but continue on the Table till the Repast is over. Between every six or eight Dishes they bring in Soup, made either of Flesh or Fish, with a sort of small Loaves or Pies, which they take with their Chopsticks, to dip into the Soup, and eat without any Ceremony: Hitherto nothing is eaten but Flesh. At the same time they serve up Tea, which is one of their most common Drinks, and taken hot as well as the Wine, the *Chinese* never using to drink any thing cold; for this Reason there are always Servants ready to pour hot Wine into their Cups out of Vessels for the purpose, and to put back that which is cold into others of *China*. When the Guests have quitted their Sticks, and done eating, they bring in Wine, and another Dish; and then the Master of the House invites them again to eat or drink, which is repeated every time a fresh Dish is served up. In serving up Victuals the Waiters order it so, that the twentieth or twenty fourth Dish is placed on [each] Table, just in the time, when the Comedy is to break off. Afterwards Wine, Rice, and Tea, is presented. Then rising from the Table, the Guests walk to the lower end of the Hall, to pay their Compliments to the Master of the Feast; who conducts them into the Garden, or another Hall, to chat and rest a little before the Fruit is brought in.

Ceremony of  
serving the  
Desert.

In the mean time the Comedians take their Repast; and the Domestic are employed, some in carrying warm Water for the Guests to wash their Hands and Faces, if they think fit; others to take the Things off the Tables, and prepare the Desert; which likewise consists of twenty or twenty four Dishes of Sweetmeats, Fruits, Jellies, Hams, salted Ducks dried in the Sun which are delicious eating, and small Dainties made of Things which come from the Sea. When every Thing is ready, a Servant approaches his Master, and with one Knee on the Ground in a low Voice acquaints him with it, who as soon as every one is silent, rises up, and very complaisantly invites his Guests to return to the Feast-Hall; where being come, they gather at the lower end, and after some Ceremonies about the Places, take those they had before. Now bigger Cups are brought, and they press you mightily to drink large Draughts; the Play also is continued, or else sometimes to divert themselves more agreeably, they call for the Book of Farces, and each chuses one, which he acts very neatly. There is at this Service, as well as the former, five great Dishes for State on the Sides of the Table; and while it lasts the Servants belonging to the Guests go to Dinner in one of the neighbouring Rooms, where they are very well entertain'd, but without any Ceremony.

Money gathered at the  
Desert for  
Servants.

At the Beginning of this second Service, every Guest causes one of his Servants to bring, on a Sort of Salver, several little Bags of red Paper, containing Money for the Cook, the Stewards (D), the Comedians, and those who served at the Table. They give more or less according to the Quality of the Person who made the Treat, but never any thing unless there is a Play. Every Domestic carries his Salver to their Master, who after some Difficulty consents, and makes a Sign to one of them, to take, in order to distribute, it. These Feasts, which last about four or five Hours, always begin in the Night, or when it grows duskish, and do not end till Midnight; the Guests separating with the Ceremonies used in Visits, already described. The Servants, who wait on their Masters, walk before the Chairs, carrying great Lanthorns of Oil'd Paper, whereon their Quality, and sometimes their Names, are written in large Characters. The next Morning each of them sends a *Tye-tse*, or Billet, to thank him who had entertained them so handsomely.

Account of a  
Feast by P.  
Bouvet.

Palace described.

P. Bouvet was at one of these Feasts at *Kan-ton*, when he was sent by the Emperor into *Europe*. He was invited, along with *Tong-Lau-ya*, [already mentioned, p. 297.] and two other Missionaries, by the *Tsong-tu* of the Province; and as the usual Residence of that Mandarin was at *Chau-king*, he borrowed the Palace of the *Tsyang-kyun* for the Entertainment. Now, tho' the Ceremonies are nearly the same with those already related, yet the Description Bouvet gives of that Feast, in a Letter sent just after into *Europe*, deserves the Reader's Notice, on account of the Singularities which it contains. The Place where the Feast was made is a vast Edifice at the Bottom of two great square Courts, composed of three large Halls, one behind the other, in such a manner, that the middle communicates with

(n) Orig. *Maitre d'Hotel*. This Circumstance proves what is observed in the former Note, for it is not to be supposed Money is gathered for the Master of the Feast, or House, as

well as his Servants; neither can we suppose two Masters of the House, as there may be Stewards, tho' we hear but of one before.



with the other two, by means of two long and wide Galleries, which have each their Courts on both sides. The Hall in the Middle, where the Feast was made, which is the largest and finest of the three, was remarkable for the Length, and extraordinary Thickness of the Pillars, Beams, and all the Wood-work in general. The Guests were received at their Arrival, in the first Hall, the *Tsong-tu* being at the trouble to go and meet the Principal as far as the Stair-Cafe to do them Honour: They also advanced a few Steps to meet the rest as they arrived; who, to return the Civility, having first saluted the Master of the Feast in particular, and the Company in general, afterwards went and saluted each in particular, according both to the *Tartarian* and *Chinese* Manner, and received from them a like number of Bows, with a surprizing Politeness. These Ceremonies being over, they took their Places in the Elbow-Chairs ranged in two parallel Lines, over against each other, waiting for the rest of the Guests; during which time Tea was served up, in the *Tartarian* and *Chinese* Fashions.

Manner of receiving the Guests.

Among those who were at this Feast, besides *Tong Lau-ya*, who conducted me, says *P. Bouvet*, and two other Missionaries who accompany'd me, all the General Officers of the Province were invited, viz. First, the Vice-Roy, the *Tsyang-kyun*, the two *Tu-tong* and the *Yen-yuen* (A), who were the most considerable Persons. Secondly, the Chief Mandarins of the Customs, who, as they are changed every Year, bear the title of *King-chay*, or, *Envoys of the Court*; for which reason the following Mandarins give Place to him. Thirdly, the *Pu-ching-tse*, or *Treasurer-general*, the *Ngan-cha-tse*, and the *Tau*: who tho' General-Officers and very considerable, yet being inferior in Rank to the former, sat in a different Line from them, that is, their Chairs were placed a little more behind; which Distinction was observed also at Table.

Chief Personages at the Feast.

When all the Guests were come, they went out of the first Hall into the second, where were two Rows of Tables over against each other, according to the Number of the Guests. On this Occasion, as well as on that of sitting down at the Table, many Bows were made after the *Chinese* manner; which done, the *Tsong-tu*, and the chief Mandarins following his Example, did the *King-chay* the Honour to invite them to sit at the uppermost Tables. Afterwards, agreeably to what is practised in the Feasts made after the *Chinese* Fashion, he took a full Cup of Wine, on a Salver, with both Hands, and addressing himself to me, stepp'd forward to place it on my Table, with a pair of *Quay-tse*, or little Sticks used instead of Forks (B); but I went to meet, and hinder him from taking that Trouble. Then offering to do the same Honour to the rest of the Guests, they excused themselves in the same Manner, after which every one sat down at the Table designed for him. These Tables were all of the same Make, being square and japanned, to the Number of sixteen or eighteen, there having been so many Guests. There were two Rows of them opposite to each other, disposed in such a manner that the upper Tables, where the Persons of chief Distinction sat, were placed a little more forward than the lower Tables. They were all adorned before with Violet-coloured Sattin, imbroider'd with Golden Dragons with four Claws; and the Chairs, whose Arms and Back formed a kind of Semicircle in an oblique Position, were covered with the same sort of Furniture. As this Feast was interrupted, and divided, as it were, into two, that in the Morning was conducted without much Formality, but that in the Evening was accompany'd with all the *Chinese* Ceremonies; for which Reason, to give the Reader a just notion of them, I shall describe the latter.

Ceremonies on sitting down to Table.

Manner of ranging the Tables.

When the Guests went to the Entertainment in the Evening they found all their Tables double, that is to say, there was a second Table placed before each, set with a Banquet for State-sake, consisting of sixteen Pyramids of Flesh, other sorts of Meat and Fruit, &c. each Pyramid being a Foot and a half high, all adorned with Painting and Flowers. I call it a Banquet for State, because such Tables are set merely for Show, and to entertain the Eyes of the Company; who were no sooner sat down, but they were all taken away, and at the end of the Feast distributed to the Servants belonging to the Guests, or rather to the Chairmen and Under-Servants of the Tribunal. The other Table had upon the Forepart a small Pedestal [or Stand] on which were a little Brass Perfuming-Pan, a Box of Perfumes, a Vial of odoriferous Water, a Tube or Horn made of Agate, containing small Instruments, fit to put the Incense into the Perfuming-Pan, and to stir the Ashes. At each of the two Fore-corners of the Table was placed a small japan'd Board, named *Wey*, adorned on one Side with an Emblem, and on the other with some little Pieces of Poetry: The other Corners of the Table were furnished with three small *China* Plates, full of Herbs, Pulse, and Pickles, to procure an Appetite, between which there was a little Silver Cup on a Salver.

The Evening Entertainment.

As these Feasts are usually accompany'd with a Play, the Moment it began the Comedians, ready dressed, came in to act their Parts; when the Head of the Company, advancing to the upper Part of the Hall, presented me the Book, which contained a Catalogue of all his Plays, and desired me to mark that which I had a Mind should be acted: for they have commonly fifty or sixty by heart, any of which they are able to perform off hand. As I was an entire Stranger to this kind of Ceremony, and knew but little of their Language, I was afraid there might be something in the *Chinese* Plays, not fit for a Christian to hear; for which reason I acquainted *Tong Lau-ya* our Conductor, that Plays were not a Diversion agreeable to Persons of our Profession. Whereupon the *Tsong-tu* and the other Mandarins had the Complaisance to deny themselves of this

The Play proposed but laid aside.

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(A) This seems to be the Superintendent of the Salt, called, elsewhere, *Poon-Poon*, perhaps by Mistake. (B) These are by us commonly call'd *Chop-Sticks*; which Name I have sometimes given them.



this Amusement, (tho' innocent enough, as I understood afterwards) and contented themselves, with a Concert of variety of Musical Instruments, which, playing methodically and all together by Intervals, regulated the Time of each Course. During the Feast, all the Motions and Words, as well of the Servants as the rest of the Company, were so very formal and affected, that were it not for the Gravity of the Company, an *European* at first Sight wou'd be apter to take it for a Play than a Feast, and have much ado to refrain from laughing.

Order of the  
Feast.

The Feast was, as it were, divided into several Scenes or Courses, each being open'd by a Piece of Music. The Preludes to the Feasts, were two small Cups of Wine, one after the other, containing about a Spoonful each, which two Masters of the Ceremony invited us to drink, in behalf of the *Tsong-tu*: They kneeled down in the Middle of the Hall, saying very gravely with a loud Voice, *Ta Lau-ya Tsing-tsyu*, that is, *My Lord invites you to drink*; and after every one had drank part of his Cup, he cry'd a second time *Tsing-chau-kan*, *Drink it all, nay, even to the last Drop*. This Ceremony is repeated during the time of the Feast, not only when there is an Occasion to drink, but as often as a fresh Dish is plac'd on the Table, or touch'd by the Guests. As soon as a fresh Dish is plac'd, the two Masters of the Ceremony kneeling down invite every one to take their *Quay-tse*, or Chop-sticks, and taste the Victuals newly serv'd up; the *Tsong-tu* at the same time inviting them, they obey. The principal Dishes of the Feast consist of Ragous, Meats hash'd, or boil'd, (with divers sort of Herbs or Pulse,) and serv'd up with the Broth, in fine *China* Vessels almost as deep as wide.

The princi-  
pal Meats.

Number and  
Order of the  
Dishes,

They place on each Table twenty such Dishes, all of the same Size and Shape: those who serve them up, receive them at the lower end of the Hall, where as many Servants belonging to the Kitchen as there are Tables bring them, one by one upon japan'd Salvers, and present them on their Knees. The Domesticks who received them, before they brought them to the Table, rang'd them four and four in a Row; so that at the end of the Entertainment all the Dishes which remain'd on the Table form'd a kind of Square.

and Courses.

At the end of every Act of this Comic Feast, that is, at every fourth Dish which appear'd on the Table, in order to distinguish the Courses, they serv'd up a particular kind of Broth, and a Plate of Mazarine Tarts, but of a different Taste: At length, the whole was concluded with a Dish of Tea.

Money giv-  
ther'd for the  
Servants.

It was necessary to taste every thing, and observe the same Ceremony, which seem'd to me very troublesome, for it was the first time I had been at a Feast of this kind, though I had been often invited; but I always made such Excuses as satisfy'd those who had done me that Honour. When there is a Play it is customary at the end of the Repast, as I already observ'd, for the Guests to make a small Present to the Domesticks in waiting. A Servant belonging to each of them brings in his Hand four or five small Bags of Red Paper with a little Money in every one; and by his Master's Order lays them on a Table that is sometimes plac'd at the lower end of the Hall, in the sight of all the Company; while the Master, [of the Feast] by divers Signs, seems to accept of this Gratification for his People with a great deal of Reluctance. At length the Ceremony of the Feast concludes with a great many mutual Professions of Thanks; and after a quarter of an Hour's Conversation, every one withdraws. The next Morning, according to Custom, I sent the *Tsong-tu* a Billet of Thanks for the Honours he had done me the Day before. Such are the Ceremonies which the *Chinese* Politeness requires, and are almost constantly observ'd at their solemn Feasts. However, the *Tartars*, who do not like Restraint, have retrench'd a great Part thereof; and tho' their Meat and Fish are cut in small Pieces, their Cooks have such an Art of seasoning them, that they are very palatable.

*Chinese*  
Broths com-  
mended.

Their Cooks  
prefer'd to  
the *French*.

Their Broths are exceeding good, and to make them they use the Fat of Hogs, which in *China* are very excellent, or else the Gravy of different Animals, such as Pork, Fowls, Ducks, &c. and even in dressing their Hashes or minced Meat, they boil it up in this Gravy.

In every Season of the Year they have several sorts of Herbs (as well as Pulse) not known in *Europe*, of whose Seed they make an Oil, which is much us'd in Sauces. The *French* Cooks, who have refin'd so much in every thing which concerns the Palate, would be surpris'd to find that the *Chinese* can outdo them far in this Branch of their Business, and at a great deal less Expence. They will hardly be persuaded to believe that, with nothing but the Beans that grow in their Country, particularly those of the Province of *Szun-tong*, and with Meal made of Rice and Corn, they can prepare a great many Dishes quite different from each other, both to the Sight and Taste. They vary their Ragous by putting in several sorts of Spices and strong Herbs.

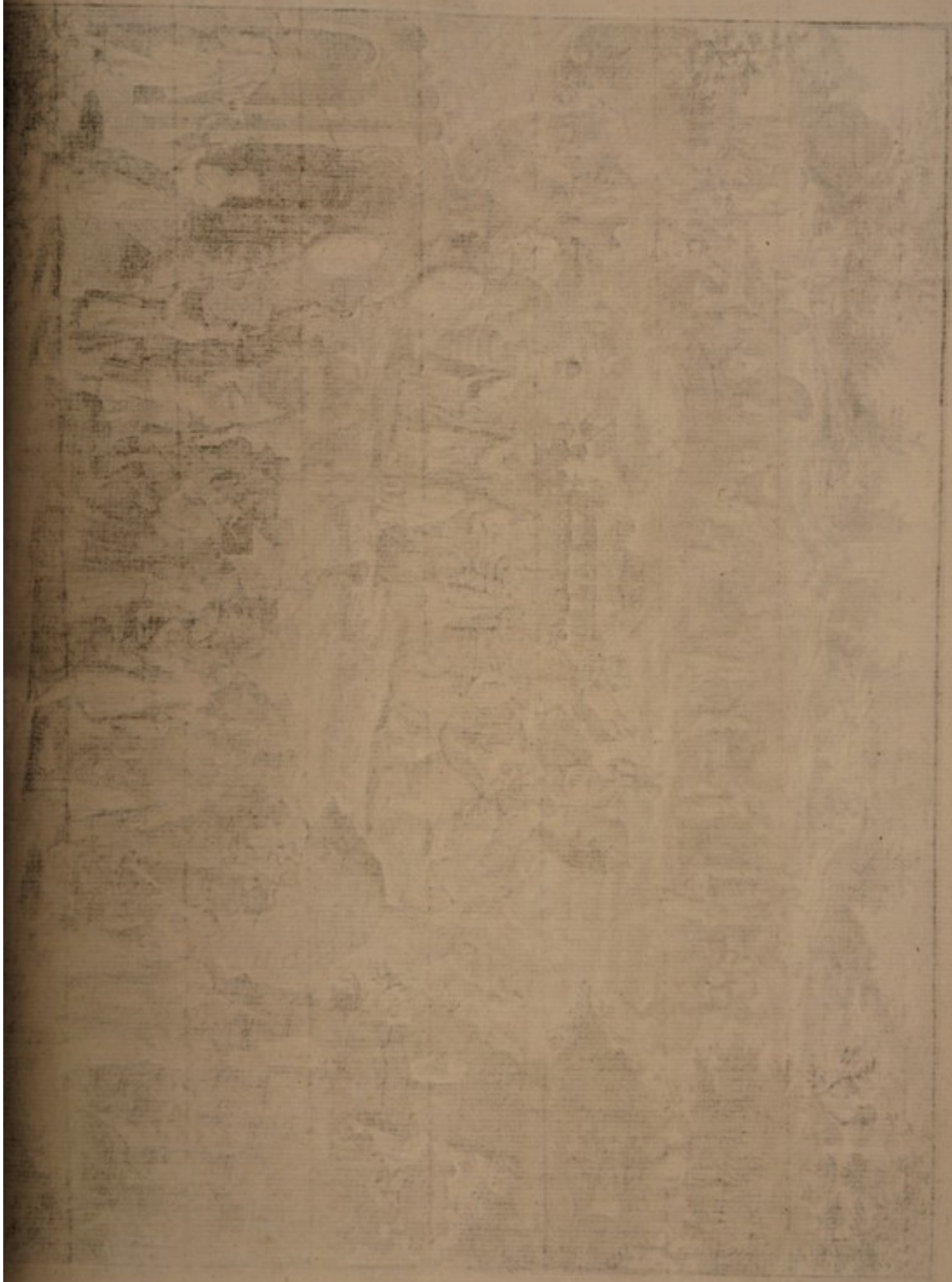
Their most  
delicious  
Dishes, Stag-  
Pizzles, and

Birds-Nests.

The most delicious Food of all, and most used at the Feasts of Great Men, are Staggs-Pizzles, and Birds-Nests, which they carefully prepare. To preserve the Pizzles, they dry them in the Sun in the Summer, and roll them in Pepper and Nutmeg. Before they are dress'd, they are soak'd in Rice-Water, to make them soft; and after being boil'd in the Gravy of a Kid, are season'd with several sorts of Spices.

As for the Nests they are found on the sides of the Rocks, all along the Coasts of *Tong-king*, *Java*, *Kochin-China*, &c. where they are built by Birds, which, as to their Plumage, resemble Swallows, and are supposed to make them with the little Fishes they catch in the Sea. However that be, this is certain, that the Birds themselves distill a viscous Juice from their Beaks, which serves them instead of Gum to fasten their Nests to the Rock. They have also been observ'd to take the Froth that floats on the Sea, wherewith they cement the Parts of











of their Nests together, in the same manner as Swallows make use of Mud. This Matter being dry'd becomes solid, transparent, and of a Colour sometimes inclining a little to green, but while fresh it is always white. As soon as the young ones have quitted their Nests, the People of the Place are very eager to get them down, and sometimes load whole Barks with them. They resemble the Rind of a large candy'd Citron, in Shape as well as Size, and mix'd with other Meats give them a good Relish.

Tho' there is Corn every where in *China*, and great Plenty in some Provinces, yet they generally live upon Rice, especially in the Southern Parts. They even make small Loaves of it, which in less than fifteen Minutes are prepar'd in *Balneo Mariae*, and eat very soft; the *Europeans* bake them a little at the Fire, and they are very light and delicious. Also in the Province of *Sban-tong*, they make a kind of a thin Wheaten Cake, which does not taste amiss, especially when mix'd with certain Herbs for creating an Appetite. To grind their Corn, they make use of a very simple kind of a Mill, consisting of a round Stone Table, plac'd horizontally like a Mill-Stone, whereon they roul circularly a Stone Cylinder, which by its Weight bruises the Corn. Rice Bread.  
Corn-Mills.

Tho' Tea, as I have said, is their most usual Drink, yet they often drink Wine, made of a particular kind of Rice, different from that which is eaten: There is a great Vent for it among the People. There are different Sorts, and various ways of making it; the following is one: They let the Rice soak in Water with some other Ingredients which they throw in, for twenty or thirty Days; afterwards boiling it till it is dissolv'd, it immediately ferments, and is cover'd with a light Froth like that of our new Wines. Under this Froth is very pure Wine; and having drawn off the Clear into earthen Vessels well glaz'd, of the Lees which remain they make a kind of Brandy, as strong as the *European*, nay, it is sometimes stronger, and will sooner take Fire. The *Mandarins* make use of Wine at their Tables that comes from certain Cities, where it is reckon'd very delicious: that of *Vu-fi-byen* [in *Kyang-nan*] is in great Esteem, owing its Excellence to the Goodness of the Water found there; but that brought from *Sbau-bing* is in greater Request, as being more wholesome. Both these Wines are sent all over *China*, and even to *Pe-king* itself. Rice-Wine.  
how made;  
Places most famous for it.

They have a kind of Spirit or distill'd Water, said to be drawn from the Flesh of Mutton, which the Emperor *Kang-bi* drank sometimes; but few make use of it besides the *Tartars*, as it has a disagreeable Taste, and gets soon into the Head, being affirm'd to be very strong. They have another very extraordinary sort of Wine, which is made in the Province of *Sben-fi*, and call'd *Kau-yang-tsyew*, or *Lambs Wine*. It is very strong, and has a disagreeable Smell; but among the *Chinese*, or rather the *Tartars*, it passes for exquisite Wine. None of it is carry'd into other Countries, but it is all consumed at home. Mutton Brandy and Lambs-Wine.

#### 4. Their MARRIAGES.

WE now come to their Marriages: The Laws regarding which, establish'd by the *Chinese* Policy, and particularly set down in the Ceremonial of the Empire, are regulated, First, By the Grand Principle, which is as it were the Basis of their Political Government; I mean the Veneration and Submission of Children which continues even after the Death of their Parents, to whom they pay the same Duties as if they were living. Secondly, By the absolute Authority that Fathers have over their Children; for it is a Maxim of their Philosophy, that *Kings ought to have in the Empire all the Tendernefs of Fathers, and Fathers in their Families ought to have all the Authority of Kings*. It is in Consequence of these Maxims, that a Father lives in some sort of Dishonour, and is not easy in his Mind, if he does not marry off all his Children; that a Son is wanting in the principal Duty of a Son, if he does not leave Posterity to perpetuate his Family; that an elder Brother, tho' he inherit nothing from his Father, must bring up the younger and marry them: because if the Family become extinct thro' their Fault, their Ancestors will be deprived of the Honours and Duties they are intitled to from their Descendants; and because in the Absence of the Father the eldest Son ought to be a Father to the rest. Marriage an indispensible Duty among the Chinese.

In like manner the Inclinations of the Children are never consulted in Matrimony, the Choice of a Wife belonging to the Father or the nearest Relation of him that is to be marry'd; who makes the Match either with the Father, or Relations of the Maiden, paying a certain Sum to them (for in *China* the Daughters have no Fortunes) which is laid out in new Cloaths and other things for the Bride, who carries them with her on the Day of her Nuptials. This is the common Practice, especially among Persons of mean Rank; for the *Grandeefs*, the *Mandarins*, the *Literati*, and all rich People in general, expend much more than the Presents they receive amount to. For the same Reason a *Chinese*, who is in mean Circumstances, often goes to the Hospital of Foundlings, and demands a Girl, in order to bring her up, that she may be a Wife for his Son: Wherein he has three Advantages; he saves the Money that he must otherwise have given to purchase one; the Maid is educated as one of the Family; and is accusom'd by that means to have greater respect for the Mother-in-Law: there is Reason also to believe, that a Wife thus taken from the Hospital will prove more submissive to her Husband. It is very rare that any thing passes contrary to Decency, before the Nuptials, for the Mother, who never is from home, has always her Daughter-in-Law under her Eye; besides, the Modesty which prevails among the Sex in this Country, would alone be sufficient Security against any such Disorder. All Marriages made by the Parents.  
The Daughters have no Portions.

It



Strong Desire of the *Chinese* to leave Posterity.

They adopt Children.

It is said that sometimes the Rich, who have no Children, pretend that their Wife is with Child, and go privately in the Night-time and fetch one from the Hospital, who passes for their own Son. These Children, being supposed legitimate, pursue their Studies, and obtain their Degrees of Batchelor and Doctor, a Privilege which is deny'd the Children taken publicly from the Hospital. It is observable that, with the same View of leaving Posterity, the *Chinese*, who have no Male-Issue, adopt a Son of their Brother, or some of their Relation. They may also adopt a Son of a Stranger, and sometimes give Money to the Relations; but, generally speaking, these Adoptions require much Solicitation, and often the Credit of their Friends is employ'd to bring them about.

Marry many Wives.

The adopted Child is intitled to all the Privileges of a real Son; he assumes the Name of the Person who adopts him, goes in Mourning for him after his Death, and becomes his Heir. And if it happen afterwards that the Father has Children of his own, the Son by Adoption shares the Inheritance equally with the rest, unless the Father does something more for his own Son. It is also with the same View of preventing the want of Posterity, that the *Chinese* are permitted by the Laws to take Concubines besides their Lawful Wives. The Name of Concubine, or rather of Second Spouse, is not at all reproachful in *China*, these sort of Wives being inferior and subordinate to the first; but that which gave Occasion to this Law, is not always the Motive that induces the *Chinese* at present to take many Wives, for the being rich, and able to maintain them, is Pretence enough. However, there is a Law, that prohibits the People from marrying a second Wife, unless the first has arriv'd to the Age of forty without having any Children.

Marriage transacted by Match-makers or Go-betweens.

As those of the Female Sex are always shut up in their Apartments, and Men not permitted to see and converse with them, Matches are brought to a Conclusion solely on the Credit of the Relations of the Maid, or the Old Women, whose Business is to transact such Affairs. These the Parents are very careful to ingage by Presents, to make advantageous Reports of the Beauty, Wit, and Talents of their Daughter; but they are not much rely'd on, and if they carry the Imposition too far, will be severely punish'd. When by means of these Go-betweens every thing is settled, the Contract sign'd, and the Sums agreed upon, deliver'd, Preparations are made for the Nuptials; during which certain Ceremonies intervene, whereof the principal consist in both Parties sending respectively to demand the Name of the intended Bridegroom and Bride, and in making Presents to their Relations of Silk, Callicoes, Meats, Wine, and Fruits. Many consult the Fortunate Days, set down in the Kalendar, as proper for marrying on; and this is the Business of the Relations of the future Bride, to whom are sent Rings, Pendants, and other Jewels of the same Nature. All this is done by Mediators, and by a sort of Letters, written on both sides; but it is what is practis'd only among the Vulgar, for the Marriages of Persons of Quality are manag'd and conducted in a more noble manner, and with a true Magnificence.

Ceremony on the Marriage-Day.

The Day of the Nuptials being come, the Bride is put into a Chair, pompously adorn'd, and follow'd by those who carry the Fortune she brings; which among the Vulgar consists of Wedding-Cloaths, laid up in Boxes, some Goods and Moveables, given by her Father. A Train of hired Men accompany her with Torches and Flambeaux, even at Noon-Day; her Chair is preceded with Fifes, Hautbois, and Drums, and follow'd by her Relations and the particular Friends of the Family. A trusty Servant keeps the Key of the Door belonging to the Chair, which he is not to deliver to any body but the Husband, who waits at his own Door, richly dress'd, to receive his Bride; as soon as she is arriv'd, he takes the Key from the Servant, and eagerly opening the Chair, is then a Judge, if he never saw her before, of his good or bad Fortune. There are some who, not content with their Lot, immediately shut the Chair again, and send back the Maid along with her Relations, choosing rather to loose the Money they gave, than be ty'd to so bad a Bargain; but this very rarely happens, by the Precautions that are taken. When the Bride is got out of the Chair, the Bridegroom placing himself at her side, they go both together into the Hall, to make four Reverences to *Tyen*; and having done the like to the Husband's Relations, she is put into the Hands of the Ladies invited to the Ceremony, with whom she passes the whole Day in Feasting and Diversions, while the new-marry'd Man treats his Friends in another Apartment.

Privileges of second Wives and their Children.

Tho, according to the Laws, the *Chinese* can have but one lawful Wife, and in the Choice they make, have regard to Equality of Age and Rank, they are nevertheless permitted, as I before said, to have several Concubines, whom they receive into the House without any Formality: all they do on these Occasions, being to sign a Writing with their Parents, whereby, on delivering the Sum agreed upon, they promise to use their Daughter well. These second Wives are intirely dependant on the legitimate Wife, whom they respect as the only Mistress of the House. The Children born of a Concubine are also deem'd to belong to the true Wife, and have equally a Right to inherit; none but she has the Name of Mother: and if the real Mother happen to die, they are not absolutely oblig'd to go in Mourning for three Years, nor to be absent from their Examinations, nor to quit their Offices and Governments, as it is customary to do at the Death of their Father, and the lawful Wife; however very few fail to express that Token of Tenderness and Respect for their own Mother.

There are some, who piquing themselves upon their Probity, and desiring to gain the Reputation of good Husbands, take no Concubines without the Permission and Consent of their Wives; persuading them that their Intention in so doing is only to provide a greater number of Women



for their Service. Others take a Concubine only with a View of getting a Son, and the Moment he is born, if she displeases their Wives, they send her away, and give her Liberty to marry whom she thinks proper; or which is most usual procure her a Husband themselves. The Cities of *Yang-chew* and *Su-chew*, are famous for furnishing great numbers of these Concubines: for which Purpose they bring up good handsome young Girls, whom they buy up elsewhere; teaching them to sing, to play on Music, and in short all sorts of Accomplishments belonging to young Gentlewomen, with a View to dispose of them at a good Price to some rich *Mandarin*.

Girls educated and sold for second Wives.

The Men as well as Women, may contract Matrimony again, when Death has broken the first Bonds; but, tho' in the first Match they are oblig'd to regard Quality in their Wives, they cease to be under the same Obligation, when they marry a second time: being at Liberty to espouse whom they think fit, and even to raise one of their Concubines to the Rank and Honours of a lawful Wife; but in these second Nuptials there are but few Ceremonies observ'd.

Second Marriages.

As for Widows when they have had Children, they become intirely their own Mistresses; so that their Parents cannot constrain them, either to continue in the State of Widowhood, or to marry anew. However, it is disreputable for a Widow, who has Children, to marry a second time, without great Necessity, especially if she is a Woman of Distinction: for tho' she was marry'd but a few Hours, or but only contracted, she thinks herself oblig'd to pass the rest of her Days in Widowhood, thereby to testify the Respect she preserves for the Memory of her deceas'd Husband, or the Person to whom she was engag'd. But it is otherwise with those of a middling Condition, whose Relations being desirous to get back part of the Sum that she cost her first Spouse, may marry her again, if she has no Male-Issue, and often force her to it; nay, sometimes the new Husband is actually procur'd, and the Money paid without her Knowledge. If there happen to be a Daughter yet unwear'd, by the Bargain, she goes along with the Mother: who has no way of avoiding this Oppression, unless her own Relations are able to maintain her, or she either reimburses those of her deceas'd Husband, or becomes a *Bonzess*; but the Condition of those Nuns is so contemptible that she cannot embrace it without dishonouring herself. This violence is not so common among the *Tartars*. As soon as a poor Widow has been sold in this Manner, they bring a Sedan, with a number of trusty Persons, and carry her to her Husband's House. The Law, which forbids the selling of a Woman before the Time of their Mourning expires, is sometimes neglected, so eager they are to get rid of them; however, when this Trepass is complain'd of, the *Mandarin* must look to himself, if he has in the least conniv'd at it.

disreputable in Women who have Children.

Some forced to it by their Husband's Relations.

The Marriages duly solemniz'd, according to the prescrib'd Ceremonies, cannot be dissolv'd. The Law inflicts severe Penalties on those, who prostitute their Wives, or sell them secretly to others. If a Woman elopes from her Husband, he may sell her, after she has undergone the Correction appointed by the Law: on the other hand, if the Husband abandons his House and Wife, after three Years Absence she may present a Petition, laying her Case before the *Mandarins*, who, after they have naturally examin'd the whole Affair, may licence her to take another Husband; but she would be severely punish'd if she marry'd without observing this Formality. However, there are particular Cases wherein a Man may divorce his Wife, such as Adultery, which is very rare, by Reason of the Precaution taken with regard to Women; Antipathy or different Tempers; Excess of Jealousy, Indiscretion, or Disobedience; Barrenness, and contagious Distempers: on these Occasions the Law permits a Divorce, yet it seldom happens among Persons of Quality; Examples of this kind being only to be found among the common People. If a Man, without lawful Authority, sell his Wife, both he and the Buyer, with all those who are any way concern'd in the Affair, are very severely punish'd. (A)

A Man may sell his eloping Wife.

A Wife may marry if the Husband absents three Years.

Cases of Divorce.

Bars against a Man's marrying.

There are other Cases, wherein a Man cannot contract a Marriage, and which, if he should, would make it null and void; viz.

A former Contract.

I. If a young Woman has been promised to a young Man, so far as that Presents have been sent and accepted by the Relations of both Families, she cannot marry any other Person.

II. If any Deceit has been made use of, for Instance, if instead of a beautiful Person, who has been shewn to the Match-makers or Go-between, they substitute a disagreeable one; or if the Daughter of a Freeman be marry'd to his Slave; or if a Man gives his Slave to a Free-Woman, and persuades her Relations that he is his Son, or his Relation; in such Cases the Marriage is declared null, and all those concern'd in the Fraud are rigorously punished.

Imposition in the Match

III. A *Literary Mandarin* is not allow'd to marry into any Family of the Province or City where he is Governour; and should he be found to transgress this Law, the Marriage would not only be null, but he would be condemn'd to be severely bastinado'd.

IV. During the time of Mourning for a Father or Mother, Marriage is prohibited their Children; nay if Promises were given before the Death, the Obligation ceases; and the young Man, who has lost his Parent, ought by a Billet to acquaint the Relations of the betrothed Damsel: However, these latter do not on this Account think themselves disingag'd, but wait till the time of Mourning is expir'd, and write in their turns to the young Man, to put him in

Time of Mourning.

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(A) This seems to clash with what has been already related, p. 278, where the Men seem to have a Liberty of selling their Wives and Children. Perhaps Necessity may give them lawful Authority.



mind of his Promise ; then indeed if he will not listen to their Proposal the Maid is at Liberty, and may be married to another. The case is the same if any extraordinary Affliction befalls a Family ; for instance, if the Father or near Relation is imprison'd, the Marriage cannot take Effect till the Prisoner gives his Consent ; and then there is no Feasting, nor any of the usual Signs of Rejoicing at the Wedding.

Relation-ship V. Lastly, those of the same Family, or even Name, cannot marry, tho' ever so distant in point of Affinity. In like manner the Laws do not permit two Brothers to espouse two Sisters, or a Widower to marry his Son to a Daughter of the Widow whom he takes to Wife.

### Their Mournings and Funerals.

Ceremonies of Mourning, and at Funerals, **S**INCE the Chinese Policy has taken such great Care in regulating the Ceremonies that are to accompany publick and private Actions, as well as all the Duties of Civil Life ; and since the Ceremonial is so very particular in these Respects, it would be strange if filial Piety should be forgotten : on which, as I have observ'd more than once, the whole Frame of the Chinese Government is built. Young Persons being Witnesses of the Veneration paid to deceas'd Relations, by the continual Honours that are done them, as if they were still alive, become acquainted betimes with the Submission and Obedience which they owe to their living Parents. The ancient Sages were convinc'd, that the profound Respect which is infused into Children for their Parents, renders them perfectly submissive ; that this Submission preserves Peace in Families ; that Peace in private Families produces Tranquility in Cities ; that this Tranquility prevents Insurrections in the Provinces, and establishes Order throughout the Empire : for this Reason they have prescribed the several Forms to be observed in the time of Mourning, and at Funerals, as well as the Honours to be paid to deceas'd Parents.

Term of Mourning for a Parent three Years. The usual time of Mourning ought to be three Years ; but they commonly reduce them to twenty seven Months ; and during this time they cannot exercise any public Office. So that a Mandarin is obliged to quit his Government, and a Minister of State the Administration of Affairs, to live retired, and give himself up to Grief for his Loss ; (unless the Emperor, for some extraordinary Reasons, dispenses therewith, which very rarely happens ; ) nor can he re-assume his Office till the three Years are expired. Their continuing so long in this melancholy Situation, is to express their Gratitude for their Parents Care of them, during the three first Years of their Infancy ; wherein they stood in continual Need of their Assistance. The Mourning for other Relations are longer or shorter, according to the Degree of Kindred.

Piety of Ven-kong on that Occasion. This Practice is so inviolably observed, that their Annals perpetuate the Piety of Ven-kong, King of Tsin : who being driven out of the Dominions of his Father Hyen-kong, by the Cunning and Violence of Li-ki, his Step-Mother, travell'd into several Countries to divert his Uneasiness, and avoid the Snares that this ambitious Woman was continually laying for him. When he was informed of his Father's Death, and invited by Mo-kong, who offer'd him Soldiers, Arms and Money, to put him in Possession of his Dominions, his Answer was : " That being as it were a dead Man, since his Retreat and Exile, he no longer esteem'd any thing but Virtue and Piety towards his Parents ; that this was his Treasure, and that he chose rather to lose his Kingdom, of which he was already dispossest, than to be wanting in those last Duties, which did not permit him to take Arms at a Time destin'd to Grief, " and the Funeral Honours which he owed to the Memory of his Father".

White the Mourning Colour. White is the Mourning Colour both among Princes and the meanest Mechanics. Those who wear it compleat, have their Cap, Vest, Gown, Stockings, and Boots all white. In the first Month after the Death of a Father or Mother, the Habit is a kind of hempen Sack of a bright red Colour, much like our packing Cloth ; their Girdle is a sort of loose Cord, and their Cap, which is of a very odd Figure, is also of hempen Cloth. By this melancholy Attire and negligent Outside, they affect to express their inward Grief for the Loss of what is most dear to them.

Their Coffins and manner of putting in the Corps. They seldom wash the dead Bodies, but dressing the Deceas'd in his best Cloaths, and laying over him the Ensigns of his Dignity, put him in the Coffin they have bought, or that he had order'd to be made in his Life time ; about which they are extremely anxious. [See p. 280.] Sometimes the Son will sell or mortgage himself, to procure Money to buy a Coffin for his Father. The Coffins for those in easy Circumstances are made of Planks above half a Foot thick, and last a long time. They are so well daubed with Pitch and Bitumen on the inside, and japan'd without, that no bad Smell can break thro' them. Some are finely carv'd and gilded all over ; in a word, many rich Persons lay out from three hundred to a thousand Crowns, to purchase a Coffin of precious Wood, adorn'd with Variety of Figures. Before the Body is placed in the Coffin, they throw a little Lime at the Bottom ; and after it is layed in, they put either a Pillow or a good deal of Cotton, in order to keep the Head steady. The Cotton and the Lime serve to soak up the Moisture that may proceed from the Corps ; they also put in Cotton, or such like things, to fill up the Vacancies, and preserve it in the same Situation. It would be, in their Opinions, an unheard-of Cruelty, to open a dead Body, and taking out the Heart and Entrails, bury them seperately ; in like manner it would be a monstrous thing to behold, as in Europe, the Bones of dead Persons heaped one upon another.

The



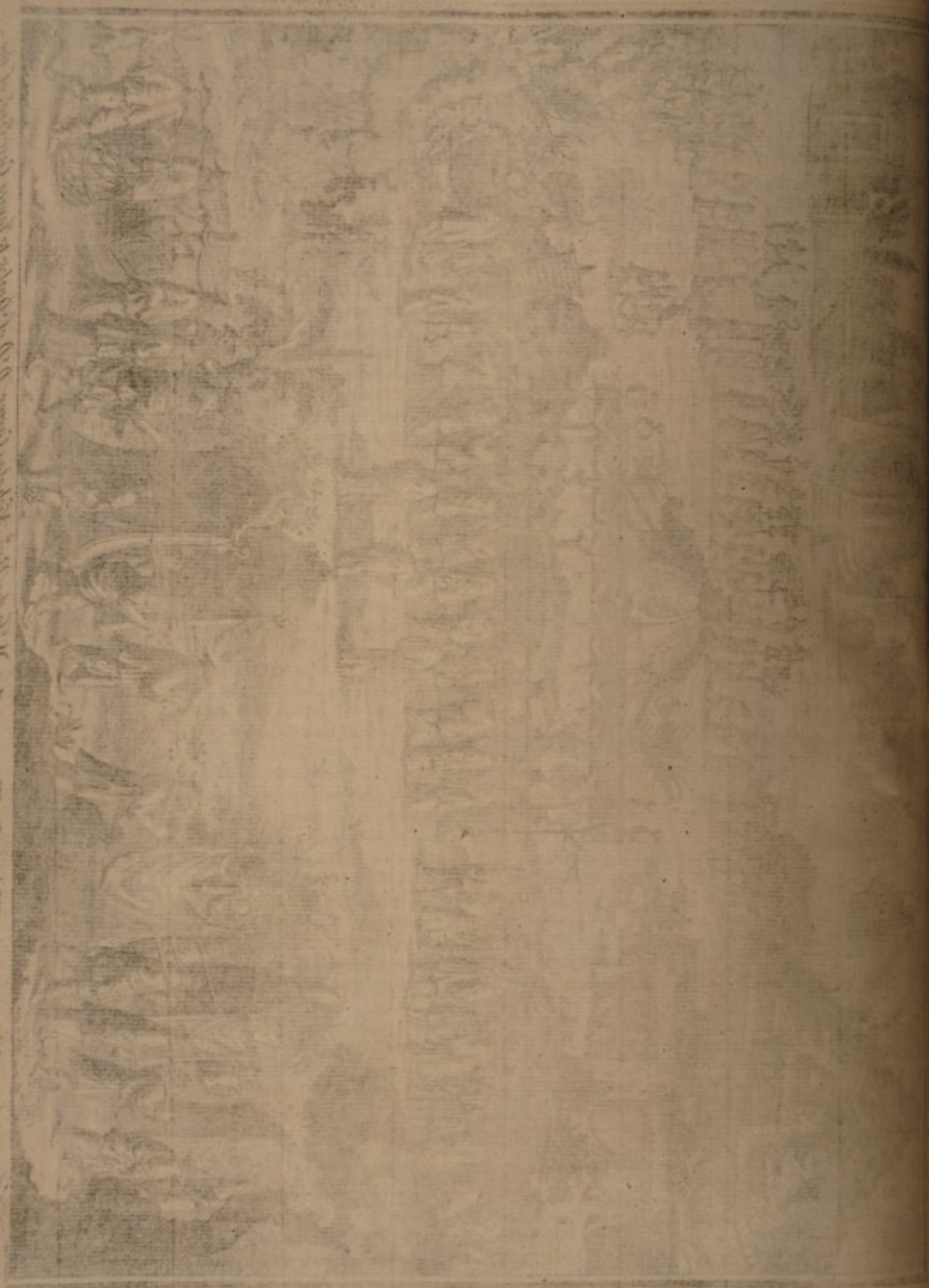


*The Procession at a Chinese Funeral*

To the Rev. Nicholas Carter D.D. of Dulwich to James Carr Esq. of the said Town. Collector of the Customs, this Plate is Inscribed.



*The Pavilion at a Chinese Fair* *Reproduction of the original in the Chinese Museum, Peking, China*





The *Chinese* are prohibited from burying their Dead within the Walls of the Cities, or any inhabited Places, but they are permitted to keep them in their Houses, inclosed in such Coffins as I have described; which they often do for several Months, and even Years, like so much Treasure, nor can the Magistrate ever oblige them to inter them. They may even transport them from one Part of the Empire to another; as is commonly practised, with regard not only to Persons of Distinction who die in Employments out of their Country; but even among the richer sort of People who die in a distant Province, which often happens to Merchants and Dealers. If a Son did not cause the Corps of his Father to be laid in the Tomb of his Ancestors, he would live without Reputation; especially in his own Family, who would refuse to place his Name in the Hall where they pay them Honours. In carrying them from one Province to another, they are not permitted to bring them into, or pass with them through, the Cities without an Order from the Emperor, but must keep on their way without the Walls.

May keep the Corps in their Houses but cannot bury in Cities.

They do not bury several Persons, tho' Relations, in the same Grave, so long as the Sepulchres keep their Form. They come sometimes a great way to visit them, and examine the Colour of the Bones, in order to discover whether a Stranger has died a natural or violent Death; but it is necessary that the *Mandarin* should be present at the opening of the Coffin, and there are under Officers in the Tribunals, whose Employment it is to make this Enquiry, in which they are very skilful. Some indeed open the Tombs to steal Jewels or rich Dresses, but it is a Crime that is punish'd very severely.

Do not bury many in the same Grave.

The Sepulchres there are built without the Cities, and as often as may be, upon Eminences; it is also usual to plant Pine and Cypress Trees round them. About a League from every City one meets with Villages, Hamlets, and Houses scatter'd up and down, diversify'd with little Groves; also a great many Hillocks cover'd with Trees, and enclos'd with Walls, which are so many different Sepulchres, affording no disagreeable Prospect.

Places of Sepulture.

The Form of their Sepulchres is different in different Provinces; they are for the most part very prettily built in Shape of a Horse-shoe, and well white wash'd, with the Names of the Family, written on the principal Stone. The Poor are content to cover the Coffin with Stubble or Earth, raised five or six foot high like a Pyramid: Many inclose the Coffin in a Place built with Brick, like a Tomb.

Form of their Tombs.

As for the *Grandees* and *Mandarins*, their Sepulchres are of a magnificent Structure: they build a Vault, in which they put the Coffin, and raise a Heap of temper'd Earth over it, not unlike a Hat in Shape, about twelve foot high and eight or ten in Diameter; covering it with Lime and Sand made into a Cement, that the Water may not penetrate, and planting it round with Trees of different kinds ranged in very nice Order. Near to it stands a large long Table of white polish'd Marble, whereon is a perfuming Pan, two Vessels and two Candlesticks, which are also of Marble, and curiously made. On each side are placed in several Rows a great many Figures of Officers, Eunuchs, Soldiers, Lions, Saddle-Horses, Camels, Tortoises, and other Animals in different Attitudes, discovering Signs of Grief and Veneration; for the *Chinese* are skilful in imitating and expressing all the Passions in their Sculptures.

Sepulchres of the Great.

Many *Chinese*, to give the greater Proof of their Respect and Tenderness for their deceased Fathers, keep their dead Bodies by them for three or four Years; and during the whole time of Mourning, their Seat in the Day is a Stool covered with white Serge; and in the Night they lie near the Coffin, on nothing but a Matt made of Reeds: they deny themselves the Use of Meat and Wine, frequenting no Feasts, nor any public Assemblies; and if they are oblig'd to go out of the City, which is not usual till a certain time be over, the Chair they are carried in is sometimes cover'd with white Cloth. The *Tyau*, or solemn Rites, which they render to the Deceas'd, commonly continue seven Days, unless some good Reason obliges them to reduce the number to three. During that time all the Relations and Friends, whom they take great care to invite, come to pay their last Duty to the Deceas'd; the nearest Relations remaining together in the House. The Coffin is expos'd in the principal Hall, which is hung with white Stuffs, sometimes intermix'd with Pieces of black, and violet Silk, and other Ornaments of Mourning. Before the Coffin they set a Table, and place on it the Image of the Deceas'd; or else, a carv'd Piece of Work, whereon his Name is written, with Flowers, Perfumes, and lighted Wax-Candles on each Side.

Time of solemn Rites.

Those who come to make their Compliments of Condolence, salute the Deceas'd after the manner of their Country, prostrating themselves, and knocking their Foreheads several Times against the Ground, before the Table; on which they afterwards place Wax-Candles and Perfumes, brought with them according to Custom. Particular Friends accompany these Ceremonies with Tears and Groans, which may be often heard at a great Distance. While they are performing these Duties, the eldest Son, attended by his Brothers, comes from behind a Curtain, which is on one Side of the Coffin, crawling on the Ground, his Face the very Picture of Grief it self, and shedding Tears, with a mournful and profound Silence. The Compliment is paid with the same Ceremony that is used before the Coffin; behind the Curtain are plac'd the Women, who send forth every now and then, very doleful Cries. The Ceremony being ended, they rise up, and a distant Relation of the Deceas'd, or some Friend in Mourning, who receiv'd them at the Door, when they came in, performs the honours of the House, and conducts them into another Apartment; where they are presented with Tea, and sometimes dry'd Fruits, or the like Refreshments, after which he conducts them to their Chairs. Those who live but a little Way from the City, come purposely to pay those Rites in Person; and if they are hindred by the

Ceremony of Condolence.



the Distance of the Place, or some Indisposition, they send a Servant with a visiting Billet, and their Presents, in order to make their Excuse. The Children of the Deceas'd, or at least the eldest Son, are afterwards obliged to return all those Visits: but then they are not under an absolute necessity, of seeing so many Persons; it being sufficient to go to the Door of every House, and send in a visiting Billet by a Domestic.

The Funeral  
Procession.

When the Day for the Funeral is fix'd, Notice is given to all the Relations and Friends of the Deceas'd, who are sure to be there at the Time. The Procession is begun by Men carrying various Pastboard-Figures representing Slaves, Tygers, Lions, Horses, &c. Several Companies follow, marching two and two; some carry Standards, Flags, and Perfuming-pans full of Perfumes; others play doleful Tunes on divers musical Instruments. In some Places the Picture of the Defunct is elevated above all the rest, with his Name and Dignity written in large Characters of Gold; then follows the Coffin under a Canopy, in form of a Dome, made intirely of violet-colour'd Silk, with Tufts of white Silk at the four Corners, which are embroider'd, and very curiously intermix'd with Twist. The Machine whereon the Coffin is plac'd, is carry'd by sixty four Men; But those who are not able to bear the Expence, make use of one that does not require so great a Number of Bearers. The eldest Son, at the Head of the other Sons and Grandchildren, follows on Foot, cover'd with a Hempen Sack, and leaning on a Staff, with his Body bent as if ready to sink under the Weight of his Grief. Afterwards appear the Relations and Friends all in Mourning; and a great Number of Chairs cover'd with white Stuff, wherein are the Daughters, Wives, and Slaves of the Deceas'd, who make the Air echo with their Cries. Nothing can be more surprizing than the Tears which the *Chinese* shed, and the Cries they make at these Funerals (b); but the Manner, in which they express their Sorrow, seems too regular and affected to excite in a *European* the same Sentiments of Grief that he is the Spectator of.

Entertain-  
ment at the  
Place of Bu-  
rial.

When you are arrived at the Burying-Place, you see, a few Paces from the Tomb, Tables set in Halls built on purpose; and while the usual Ceremonies are performing, the Servants prepare an Entertainment to regale the Company. Sometimes after the Repast, the Relations and Friends prostrate themselves again, knocking their Foreheads against the Ground; but most commonly they content themselves with expressing their Thanks: which Civilities, the eldest Son, and the other Children return by exterior Gestures, but with profound Silence. At the Burying-Places of great Lords, there are several Apartments; and after the Coffin is brought to be interred, many of the Relations stay there for a Month or two together, to renew their Grief every Day with the Sons of the Deceas'd.

At the Funerals of Christians the Cross is carry'd on a great Machine handsomely adorn'd, and supported by several Men, with the Images of the Virgin, and St. *Michael* the Archangel. The Reader will find an Account of the other Ceremonies in the Description I shall hereafter give of *P. Verbieff's* Burial (c). Those that were observ'd at the Interment of *P. Broglie* appear'd so magnificent to the *Chinese*, that they printed the Description of them. The Emperor honour'd his Tomb with an Epitaph; and, to defray the Expence, sent ten Pieces of white Cloth for Mourning, and two hundred Ounces of Silver, with a *Mandarin* and other Officers to assist on his Behalf at the Funeral.

Ceremonies  
observed on  
the Death of  
the Emperors.

If at any Time Death attacks the Throne, the whole Empire goes in Mourning. When the Emperess, Mother of the late *Kang-hi*, died, all went in deep Mourning for fifty Days; during which time, the Tribunals were shut up, and they never spoke of any Business to the Emperor. The *Mandarins* spent the whole Day at the Palace, intirely taken up with weeping, or at least the Appearance thereof; several of them pass'd the Night there, sitting in the open Air, tho' it was very cold Weather: even the Emperor's Sons slept in the Palace without putting off their Cloaths, all the *Mandarins* on Horseback, clad in white, and with few attendants, went for three Days together to perform the usual Ceremonies before her Picture; and as the red Colour was prohibited, their Caps were stripp'd of their red Silk, and all other Ornaments. When her Corps was carry'd to the Place where she was to lye in Public-State, the Emperor order'd that she should pass through the common Gates of the Palace: affecting to shew by this how much he despis'd the superstitious Notions of the *Chinese*, with whom, it is customary to make new Doors to their Houses on purpose for carrying out the Bodies of their Relations to be buried; after which they close them up again to prevent the Grief becoming excessive by too frequent a Remembrance of the Deceas'd, which would be renewed every time they pass through that Door (d). Out of the City they built a vast and stately Palace (all of new Mats, with Courts, Halls, and Apartments) for the Body to remain in, till it was carry'd to the Imperial Burying-Place.

Extravagant  
Customs of  
the Tartars  
at the Funerals  
of their  
Princes.

Four young Ladies, who had served her affectionately while she liv'd, (being desirous of bearing her Company in Death, that they might attend her likewise in the other World) had taken their Attire, according to an ancient Usage of the *Tartars*, in order to go and sacrifice themselves before their Mistress's Corps; but the Emperor, who disapprov'd of so barbarous a Practice, prevented their putting it in Execution. He likewise prohibited, for the future, another extravagant Custom among that People of burning the Riches, and even sometimes Domestics of Great Men, along with their Bodies, on the Funeral Pile.

(b) The *Irish* still put forth as many doleful Cries over the Dead as the *Chinese*, and perhaps shed as many Tears; whether as unfeignedly I will not say, because the *Irish* Mourners are for the most part hired.

(c) See Vol. 2. p. 20.

(d) According to this Account, the Custom is grounded on Filial Affection, and not Superstition.



The Ceremonies observ'd at the obsequies of the *Grande*s are very magnificent, as the Reader may judge, by those perform'd at the Death of *Ta-vang-ye*, the eldest Brother of the late Emperor *Kang-hi*, at which some of the Missionaries were oblig'd to assist. The Procession began with a Band of Trumpeters and Musicians, after which marched two and two in the following Order: Ten Mace bearers, whose Maces were of gilt Copper; four Umbrellas, and four Canopies of Cloth of Gold; six unloaded Camels, with Sable-skins hanging at their Necks; six Camels carrying Tents and Hunting-Equipages, cover'd with great red Houfings, which trail'd upon the Ground; six Hounds led in a Leash; fourteen led Horses unsaddled, with yellow Bridles, and Sable-skins hanging down; six other Horses carrying magnificent Portmanteau's full of Habits that were to be burnt; six other Horses with embroider'd Saddles, gilt Stirrups, &c. fifteen Gentlemen carrying Bows, Arrows, Quivers, &c. eight Men bearing a couple *Tartarian* Girdles, from whence hung Purfes fill'd with Pearls; ten Men carrying in their Hands, Caps proper for every Season; an open Chair, like to that in which the Emperor is carry'd in the Palace; another Chair, with yellow Cushions; the two Sons of the deceas'd Prince supported by Eunuchs; and weeping; the Coffin, with it's great yellow Canopy, carry'd by sixty or eighty Men, cloath'd in Green with red Plumes in their Caps; the *Ago* in Companies surrounded with their Servants; the *Regulos* and other Princes; two other Coffins containing the Bodies of two Concubines, who were hang'd, that they might serve the Prince in the other World, as they had done in this; the *Grande*s of the Empire; the Chairs of the deceas'd Prince's Wife, and the Princesses, his Relations; a Multitude of People, *Lama's*, and *Bonza's* clos'd the Procession.

Funeral Procession of *Ta-vang-ye*.

The eight Banners with all the *Mandarins* great and small, were gone before, and rang'd themselves in order of Battle, to receive the Body at the Entrance of the Garden, where it was to be deposited till the Tomb was built; in a word, they reckon'd above sixteen thousand Persons at this Ceremony.

The Duties and Honours that are paid by every Family to their deceas'd Ancestors, are not solely confin'd to those which regard the Mourning and Funeral; there being two other Sorts of Ceremonies that are annually observ'd with reference to them. The first are perform'd in the *Tse-tang* or Hall of Ancestors, in certain Months of the Year: for every Family whatever has such a Place, built on purpose for this Ceremony, which is frequented by all the Branches thereof, amounting sometimes to seven or eight thousand Persons; since some of these Assemblies have consisted of eighty seven Branches of the same Family. At this time there is no Distinction of Rank; the Mechanic, the Husbandman, the *Mandarin*, are all confusely mixt together, and own one another; it is Age here that gives Precedence; the oldest, tho the poorest, having the first Place.

Honours paid to the Dead in the Hall of Ancestors.

There is in the Hall a long Table standing against the Wall, with Steps to go up to it, whereon commonly is plac'd the Image of the most eminent Ancestor, or at least his Name; and on small Tablets, or little Boards about a Foot high, rang'd on both sides, are written the Names of the Men, Women, and Children of the Family, together with the Age, Quality, Employment, and Day of the Decease of each.

All the Relations assemble in this Hall in Spring, and sometimes in Autumn. The Richest among them prepare a Feast: several Tables are loaded with Variety of Dishes of Meat, Rice, Fruit, Perfumes, Wine, and Wax-Candles, and much the same Ceremonies perform'd, as their Children observ'd with Reference to them while they were living, and are practis'd, in respect of *Mandarins*, on their Birth-Days, or when they take Possession of their Governments. As for the Common People, who are not able to build proper Places for this Use, they content themselves with hanging the Names of their nearest Ancestors in those Parts of their Houses, where they may be most in view.

The other Ceremonies are practis'd at least once a Year, at the Burial-Place of their Ancestors; which being without the City, and often in the Mountains, the Descendants, both Men and Children, resort thither every Year. Some time in April they begin with plucking up the Weeds and Bushes from about the Sepulchre; after which they express Signs of Veneration, Gratitude, and Grief, according to the same Forms that were observ'd at their Death: they then place upon the Tomb, Wine and Victuals, with which they afterwards regale themselves.

and at their Burying-Places.

It cannot be deny'd but that the *Chinese* carry their Ceremonies to Extremes, especially with respect to honouring the Deceas'd; but it is a Maxim establish'd by their Laws and Customs, that they ought to render the Dead the same Honours that were paid them when living.

*Confucius* says, in the Book *Lu nyu*, that the same Duties must be paid to the dead as if they were present and alive. In explaining which Words one of his Disciples tells us, that when his Master made the accustomed Offering to the Dead, he did it with great Affection; and to raise his warmth the more, he imagin'd that he saw them and heard them speak; and because they had been long dead, he often call'd them to mind.

The Authority for this Custom.

In the Book of the *Li-ki*, the famous *Pe-bu-tung*, who liv'd under the Dynasty of the *Han*, (A) says, The Reason for making that little Representation is, because the Soul or Spirit of the Dead being invisible, a Child stands in need of a sensible Object to put him in mind of his Parents, to attract his Eyes and Heart, and give him Consolation. As after a Father is interr'd, nothing remains with the Children capable of fixing their Hearts, that Consideration first induc'd them to make a Picture, in order to do him Honour.

and Grounds for this Custom.

(A) In the French the Empire of the *Han-chou*. See my Reason for not using this last Term, P. 136. Note (c).



The ancient *Chinese* made use of a little Child, as a living Image, to represent the Deceas'd, in place of whom their Successors have substituted an Image or Tablet; because it is easier to procure a Tablet than a Child, as often as they have occasion to make their Acknowledgments to their dead Relations, for the Life, Fortune, and good Education receiv'd from them.

Superstitions  
added by the  
*Bonzas*.

It is true that Idolatry having been introduc'd in the Empire, the *Bonzas*, or *Tau ts*, engag'd by views of Interest to deceive the People, have mingl'd with these Ceremonies several superstitious Practices: such as, burning gilt Paper in the Form of Money, and even Pieces of white Silk, as if those things could be of Service to them in the other World; and teaching that the Souls of the Deceas'd hover about the Tablets inscrib'd with their Names, and feed on the Smell of the Meats, and Perfumes that are burnt. But these ridiculous Customs are very opposite to the true *Chinese* Doctrine, and prevail only among an ignorant Multitude, who follow such Sects; even the *Bonzas* themselves, notwithstanding the Corruptions they have introduc'd, always consider the ancient Ceremonies as so many Signs of Filial Respect, which Children owe to their Parents.

### Of the Prisons in China, and Punishments inflicted on Criminals.

Justice slow  
but sure in  
*China*.

**T**HOUGH Justice in *China* seems slow, by Reason the Proceedings are lengthen'd out, that Men may not be unjustly depriv'd of such considerable Benefits as Life and Honour; yet Criminals are severely punish'd, and the Penalty proportion'd to the Enormity of the Crimes.

Before the Criminal Matters come to a definitive Sentence, they commonly pass thro' five or six Tribunals, subordinate to one another; which have all a Right to review the whole Proceedings, and to receive exact Information concerning the Life and Manners of the Accusers and Witnesses, as well as of the Crimes of the Persons accused. This Dilatoriness proves favourable to the Innocent, who by that means are seldom oppress'd, altho' they lie a long while in Prison.

The Prisons  
more convenient  
and spacious than  
those of  
*Europe*.

These Prisons are neither so dreadful nor loathsome as the Prisons of *Europe*, and besides are much more convenient and spacious. They are built almost in the same Manner, throughout the Empire, and situated at a small Distance from the Tribunals. Having pass'd thro' the first Door towards the Street, you meet with a long Passage, which brings you to a second Door, leading into a Base-Court, which you cross over to a third Door, belonging to the Jailor's Apartment. After that, you enter a large square Court, on the sides whereof are Prisoners Rooms, erected on large Pillars of Wood, which form a kind of a Gallery.

Criminals  
very closely  
confined.

At the four Corners are secret Prisons, wherein the more notorious Rogues are secur'd, who are never let out in the Day-time to converse in the Court, as sometimes the other Prisoners are; and yet Money will purchase this Liberty for a few Hours: but at Night they take care to load them with heavy Chains, which are fasten'd to their Hands, Feet, and Middle, squeezing the Sides so hard that they can scarcely stir. However, a little Money rightly apply'd may even soften this Severity of the Jailors, and make their Irons sit easier. As for those whose Faults are not very heinous, they have the Liberty of the Courts of the Prison in the Day-time to walk about to take the Air; but in the Evening they are all call'd one after another, and shut up in a large dark Hall, or else in the little Rooms which they may hire for lodging more conveniently. A Centinel watches all the Night, to keep the Prisoners in profound Silence, and if the least Noise is heard, or the Lamp which is to be kept lighted happens to be put out, immediate Notice is give to the Jailors, that they may remedy the Disorder.

The Prisons  
well guarded.

Others are oblig'd to walk the Rounds continually, so that it would be in vain for any Prisoner to attempt an Escape; because he would immediately be discover'd and severely punish'd by the *Mandarin*, who visits the Prisons very often, and ought always to be able to give an account of them: for if any fall sick, he must answer for them, being oblig'd not only to provide them with Physicians and Remedies, at the Emperor's Expence, but also to take all possible Care for their Recovery. When any die, they are to inform the Emperor, who often orders the superior *Mandarin* to examine, if the inferior have done their Duty. At these Times of visiting, those who are guilty of any capital Crime, appear with a melancholy Air, the Face pale and ghastly, the Head hung down, and the Feet trembling, whereby they endeavour to excite Compassion; but it is to no purpose, for the Design of their Imprisonment is not only to secure but also to afflict them, and become part of their Punishment.

Great Care  
taken of the  
Health of  
the Prisoners.

In large Prisons, such as that of the supreme Court at *Pe-king*, Tradesmen and Mechanics, as Tailors, Butchers, Sellers of Rice and Herbs, &c. are allow'd to enter, for the Service and Convenience of those who are detain'd in them: there are even Cooks to dress their Viſuals, and every thing is done in order, thro' the Care of the Officers.

The Women's  
Prison.

The Womens Prison is separate from that of the Men, and there is no speaking to them but through a Grate, or at the Turning-Box, by which their necessities are convey'd; but very rarely any Man goes near them.



In some Places when a Prisoner dies, his Body is not carry'd out thro' the common Door of the Prison, but through a Passage made in the Wall of the first Court, which serves only for the Dead. When Prisoners above the common Rank find themselves in Danger of Death, they desire, as a Favour, that they may go out before they expire, because they look upon it as an infamous thing for their Corps to be carry'd thro' that Passage, in so much that the greatest Curse a *Chinese* can bestow on the Person to whom he wishes ill, is to say, *May you be dragg'd thro' the Prison-Hole.*

Door for carrying out the Dead.

In *China* no Offences whatever escape Punishment, that of each being fix'd. The Bastonado is commonly apply'd for slight Faults, and the number of Blows proportion'd to the Quality thereof. It is the usual Chastisement inflicted by the Officers of War on the Soldiers, plac'd as Centinels in the Night-time in Streets and public Places of great Cities, who, when found asleep, are often punish'd on the Spot. If the number of Blows does not exceed twenty, it is accounted a Fatherly Correction, and is not disgraceful; for the Emperor himself causes it to be given to Persons of great Distinction, and afterwards fees and carries it to them as usual. A very small matter will incur this Fatherly Chastisement, as having filch'd any Trifle, us'd abusive Language, given a few Blows with the Fist; for if these Things reach the Mandarin's Ears, he immediately sets the *Pan-tse* at work, for so that Instrument is call'd. After the Correction is over, they are to kneel at the Feet of the Judge, bow their Bodies three times to the Earth, and thank him for the Care he takes of their Education. The *Pan-tse* is a thick Piece of split *Bambú*, (which is a hard, massy, and heavy sort of Cane) several Foot long; the lower end is as broad as one's Hand, the upper smooth and small, that it may be more easily manag'd.

The Bastonado,

for what Faults inflicted.

The *Pan-tse* or Instrument describ'd.

When the Mandarin sits in Judgment he has before him on a Table, a Case full of small Sticks, about half a Foot long, and two Fingers broad, and is surrounded by Officers, holding *Pan-tse*, or Battoons in their Hands; who, upon a Sign given by the Magistrate taking out and throwing down these Sticks, seize the Offender, and lay him along with his Face towards the Ground, pull his Breeches over his Heels, and as many small Sticks as the Mandarin throws on the Ground, so many Officers give him five Blows each, with the *Pan-tse* on the bare Skin. They are chang'd every five Strokes, or rather two strike alternately five Blows, that so they may fall the heavier, and the Correction prove more severe. However, it is observable that four Blows are always reckon'd as five, which they call the *Grace of the Emperor*, who as a Father, out of Compassion for his People, constantly lessens the Punishment something. There is a way of mitigating it also by bribing the Officers, who have the Art of making the Blows fall so lightly as to be scarcely felt. A young *Chinese*, beholding his Father condemn'd to this Punishment, and ready to suffer, threw himself upon him to receive the Blows; which Act of Filial Piety so affected the Judge, that he pardon'd the Father for sake of the Son.

Form of applying it.

A Mandarin has Power to give the Bastonado not only in his Tribunal, but also wherever he is, even out of his own District; for which Reason when he goes abroad, he has always Officers of Justice in his Train, who carry the *Pan-tse*. If one of the People happening to be on Horseback, when the Mandarin passes by, does not alight, or crosses the Street in his Presence, it is sufficient Offence to incur five or six Blows by his Order; which is executed so nimbly, that often the honest Man has got his due, before those about him know any thing of the matter. Masters give the same Correction to their Scholars, Fathers to their Children, and Noblemen to their Domestics, with this Difference, that the *Pan-tse* is neither so long nor so large.

The *Pan-tse* always carry'd before the Judge.

Another Punishment, less painful but more infamous, is the Wooden Collar, which the *Portuguese* call *Kangbe*. This *Kangbe* is composed of two pieces of Wood, hollow'd in the Middle, to fit the Neck of the Offender; and when he is condemn'd by the Mandarin, they take the two pieces of Wood, lay them on his Shoulder, and join them together. By this means the Person can neither see his Feet, nor put his Hand to his Mouth, so that he cannot come to his Victuals without some other Person feeds him. Night and Day, he carries this disagreeable Load, which is heavier or lighter, according to the Nature of the Fault. The Weight of the common sort of *Kangbe's* is fifty or sixty Pounds, but some weigh two hundred; and are so grievous to Criminals, that sometimes through Shame, Confusion, Pain, Want of Nourishment, and Sleep, they die under them. Some are three Foot square, and five or six Inches thick.

The *Kangbe* or Wooden Collar.

The Criminals, however, find different ways to imitigate this Punishment, some walk in Company with their Relations and Friends, who support the four Corners of the *Kangbe*, that it may not press their Shoulders; some rest it on a Table or on a Bench; others have a Chair made with four Pillars of an equal Height, to bear up the Machine; some lie on their Bellies and make use of the Hole, their Head is in, as a Window, through which they impudently gaze at all that passes in the Street. When they have fix'd the two pieces of Wood about the Neck of the Criminal, in the Mandarin's presence, they paste on each side over the Place where it joins, two long Slips of Paper, about four Inches broad, on which they clap a Seal, that the *Kangbe* may not be open'd without its being perceiv'd. Then they write in large Characters the Crime for which this Punishment is inflicted, and the Time that it ought to last; for Instance: *This is a Thief; this is a disorderly and seditious Person; this is a Disturber of the Peace of Families; this is a Gamester, &c. he shall wear the Kangbe for three Months in such a Place.*

Contrivances to make it fit easy.

The Offence written on it.

The



The Place, where they are exposed, is generally at the Gate of a Temple which is much frequented, or at the Corners of crowded Streets, or at the Gate of the City, or in a public Square, or even at the principal Gate of the Mandarin's Tribunal. When the Time of Punishment is expir'd, the Officers of the Tribunal bring back the Offender to the Mandarin,

who, after exhorting him to amend his Courses, frees him from the *Kan gbe*, and to take his Leave of him for that Time, orders him twenty Strokes of the *Pan-tse*: for commonly in China all Punishments, except Pecuniary ones, begin and end with the Bastinado, in to much that it may be said, the Chinese Government subsists by the Exercise of the Battoon.

This Punishment is more common for Men than Women, nevertheless, an ancient Missionary, P. Contancin, visiting a Mandarin of a City of the first Rank, found a Woman near his Tribunal carrying the *Kan gbe*. She was a *Bonzessi*, that is, one of those Females who live in a kind of Nunnery, where Entrance is forbid to all Persons whatever; who employ themselves in worshipping of Images and in Labour; and who do not keep their Vows, yet are oblig'd to live a Life of Chastity while they continue there. This *Bonzessi* being accus'd of having had a Child, the Mandarin cited her before his Tribunal, and after giving her a severe Reprimand, told her; that since she could not live continently, it was fit she should quit the Convent, and marry. However, to punish her, he condemn'd her to carry the *Kan gbe*; and to the Note containing her Crime, it was added, That in Case any Person would marry her, the Mandarin would set her at Liberty, and give her an Ounce and an half of Silver, to defray the Expences. Of this Sum, which is equal to seven Livres and ten Sous French Money, fifty Sous were to hire a Chair, and to pay the Musicians; and the five remaining Livres were for bearing the Expence of the Wedding-Feast, to which the Neighbours were to be invited. It was not long before she met with a Husband, who demanding her of the Mandarin, she was accordingly deliver'd to him.

Besides the Punishment of the *Kan gbe*, there are still others, which are inflicted for slight Faults. The same Missionary entering into a second Court of the Tribunal, found young People upon their Knees; some bore on their Heads a Stone weighing seven or eight Pound, and others held a Book in their Hands, and read very diligently. Among these was a young marry'd Man, about thirty Years old, who lov'd Gaming to excess, and had lost part of the Money given him by his Father, to carry on some little Business. Exhortations, Reprimands, and Menaces, proving ineffectual, his Parents desirous, if possible, to cure him of so pernicious a Vice, carry'd him before the Tribunal. The Mandarin, who was a Man of Honour and Probity, having heard the Father's Complaint, caus'd the young Man to draw near; and, after giving him a severe Reprimand, as well as very good Advice, with regard to Submission, was going to order him the Bastinado; when his Mother entred of a sudden, and throwing herself at the Mandarin's Feet, with Tears in her Eyes, besought him to pardon her Son. The Mandarin being mov'd to Pity, order'd a Book to be brought, compos'd by the Emperor for the Instruction of the Empire, and opening it, chose the Article which related to Filial Obedience. *You promise me*, said he to the young Man, *to renounce Play, and to listen to your Father's Directions; I therefore pardon you this Time, but go kneel down in the Gallery on the side of the Hall of Audience, and learn by Heart this Article of Filial Obedience: you shall not leave the Tribunal till you repeat it, and promise to observe it the Remainder of your Life.* This Order was punctually executed, the young Man remain'd three Days in the Gallery, learn'd the Article, and was dismiss'd.

There are certain Enormities for which Offenders are mark'd on both Cheeks with a Chinese Character, signifying those Crimes; for others they are condemn'd to Banishment, or to draw the Royal Barks, which Servitude scarce ever lasts longer than three Years. As for Banishment it is often perpetual, especially if *Tartary* is the Place of Exile; but before their Departure they are sure to be drubb'd with a number of Blows proportionable to their Crimes.

There are three different ways of punishing with Death, the first and mildest is Strangling, which is inflicted for the smaller sort of Capital Offences; as, when a Man kills his Adversary in a Duel. The second is beheading, and this Punishment is inflicted for Crimes of a more enormous Nature, such as Assassination. This Death is look'd upon as the more shameful, because the Head, which is the principal part of a Man, is separated from the Body; and that in dying they do not preserve the Body as intire as they receiv'd it from their Parents. In some places they strangle with a kind of Bow, the String of which being put about the Criminal's Neck, they draw the Bow, and by that Means choak him. In other Places they make use of a Cord, seven or eight Foot long, with a running Knot, in which the Neck being put, two Servants belonging to the Tribunal draw it hard at each End, and loose it of a sudden a Moment after; then they draw it as before, and the second time they are sure of doing the Criminal's Business. Persons above the common Rank are always carry'd to the Place of Execution in Chairs, or cover'd Carts.

When the Criminal is to be condemn'd, the Mandarin orders him to be brought into the Tribunal, where commonly there is prepar'd a short Repast; at least before Sentence is given, they never fail to offer him Wine, which is call'd *Tsi-feng* (†). After the Sentence is read, the Criminal sometimes breaks out into abusive Language and Invectives against those who condemn'd

(†) This Word *Tsi* [written in the French *Tsi*] is the same, with that made use of when they offer any thing to their Ancestors. [Such naked Remarks, which are too frequent in this

Author, can be of no great use to the Reader, without farther Explanation. All I can conjecture from it is, that *Tsi-feng* signifies offer'd or Offering Wine.]



condemn'd him; when this happens the Mandarin hears all with Patience and Compassion, but afterwards they put a Gag in his Mouth, and lead him to Execution. Some of those who go on Foot, sing all the Way, and drink cheerfully of the Wine presented them by their Acquaintance; who wait their coming, in order to give them this last Proof of their Friendship.

There is another kind of Punishment which favours of Cruelty, and wherewith Rebels and Traytors are usually punish'd: this they call *Cutting in ten thousand Pieces*. The Executioner fastens the Criminal to a Post, and tearing the Skin off his Head pulls it over his Eyes: he mangles him afterwards in all Parts of his Body, which he cuts in many Pieces; and when he is tired with this barbarous Exercise, he abandons him to the Cruelty of the Populace and Spectators. This has been often practised under the Reigns of some Emperors, who are looked upon as barbarous; for according to the Laws, this third Punishment consists in cutting the Body of the Criminal into several Pieces, opening his Belly, and throwing the Carcase into the River, or a Ditch, as is done by great Malefactors.

Unless in some extraordinary Cases, which are mentioned in the Body of the *Chinese Laws*, or wherein the Emperor permits Execution upon the Spot, no Mandarin of superior Tribunal can pronounce definitive Sentence of Death. The Judgments passed on all Persons for Crimes worthy of Death, are to be examin'd, agreed to, and subscrib'd by the Emperor. The Mandarins send to Court an Account of the Trials with their own Decision, mentioning the particular Law on which their Sentences is grounded; for instance, *Such a one is guilty of a Crime, and the Law declares, that those who are convicted of it, shall be strangled, for which Reason I have condemned him to be strangled*. These Informations being arrived at Court, the Superior Tribunal of Criminal Affairs, examines the Facts, the Circumstances, and the Sentence. If the Fact is not clearly stated, or the Tribunal has need of fresh Informations, it presents a Memorial to the Emperor, containing the Case and the Judgment of the inferior Mandarin, with this Addition: *To form a right Judgment, it is necessary that we should be informed of such a Circumstance; therefore we are of Opinion that the Matter should be sent back to such a Mandarin, that he may give us such Light therein as we could wish to have*. The Emperor makes what Order he pleases, but his Clemency always inclines him to do what is desired; that the Sentence, which concerns a Man's Life, may not be pronounc'd rashly, and without the most convincing Proof. When the superior Tribunal has receiv'd the Informations requir'd, it presents a second time its Deliberation to the Emperor, who either confirms the same, or else diminishes the Rigor of the Punishment; nay, sometimes he remits the Memorial, writing these Words with his own Hand: *Let the Tribunal deliberate farther upon this Affair, and make their Report to me*.

In China every thing is canvass'd with the strictest Care, when they are about condemning a Man to death. The Emperor [*Yong-ching*] gave Orders in 1725, that thenceforward none should be put to Death till after his Trial was presented to him three times. Agreeable to this Order the Criminal-Tribunal observe the following Method: Some time before the appointed Day, they cause to be transcribed in a Book, all the Informations that, during the Course of the Year, have been sent them from the inferior Judges, to which they join the Sentence given by each, and that of the Tribunal of the Court. This Tribunal afterwards assemble to read, review, correct, add, or retrench whatever they think fit. When every thing is settled two fair Copies are made out, one of which is presented to the Emperor for his private Reading and Examination; the other is kept to be read in the Presence of all the principal Officers of the Supreme Courts, that it may be amended as they shall advise. Thus in China the most vile and despicable Wretch enjoys a Privilege, which in Europe is granted to none but Persons of the greatest Distinction; namely, the Right of being judg'd and condemn'd by all the Houses of Parliament assembled in a Body (A.) The second Copy having been examin'd and corrected they present it to the Emperor; then it is written over again ninety eight times in the Tartarian Language, and ninety-seven in the Chinese: All which Transcripts being put into his Majesty's Hands, he gives them to be examin'd by his most skilful Officers of both Nations who are at *Pe-king*.

When the Crime is very enormous, the Emperor, in signing the dead Warrant, adds: *As soon as this Order shall be receiv'd, let him be executed without any Delay*.

As for capital Crimes, which have nothing uncommon in them, the Emperor writes this Sentence underneath, *Let the Criminal be kept in Prison till Autumn, and then be executed*. For there is a fix'd Day in Autumn, whereon all Capital Offenders are put to Death.

The ordinary Torture in China to extort Confession, is extremely acute and painful. 'Tis inflict'd both on the Feet and Hands: for the former they make Use of an Instrument composed of three cross Pieces of Wood, of which that in the middle being fix'd, the two other move and turn about; in this Machine they put the Feet of the Criminal, and squeeze them so violently, that they make the Ankle Bone quite flat. They inflict it on the Hands by placing

4 K

(A) Nay, it is a much greater Privilege, and such as alone must convey a most noble Idea, both of the exceeding Happiness of the People and Mildness of the Government. For absolute and limited Monarchies are but Names, that is most limited and eligible, where the Constitution is best calculated for securing the Rights of the Subject, and preventing the Op-

pression of Ministers and Magistrates. Such is the Monarchy of China: where, the People are more free, from being in the most profound Subjection; and where, the most despotic Power in the Prince is reconciled, with the most perfect Liberty and Property of the Subject. A Paradox not to be solved on this Side of the Globe.

Punishment of cutting in 10,000 Pieces.

None can be put to Death without the Emperor's express Order.

Mighty Tenderness for the Life of the Subject.

Dead Warrant.

Execution-Day.

Ordinary Kind of Torture.

little



Extraordi-  
nary Tor-  
ture.

Horrid Pu-  
nishment in-  
vented by  
the Emperor  
Cbew.

little Pieces of Wood between the Fingers of the Criminal, and tying them very hard with Cords, leave him for some time in this Torment. The *Chinese* have Remedies to diminish and even stupify the Sense of Pain during the Torture; others to heal the Prisoner who indeed recovers by their Assistance, sometimes in a few Days, the former use of his Limbs (B). From the ordinary Torture I pass to the extraordinary, which is inflicted for great Crimes, especially High Treason, in order to discover the Accomplices, when the Fact has been proved; it consists in making slight Gashes on the Offender's Body, and stripping off the Skin in narrow Slips like Fillets.

These are all the kinds of corporal Punishment appointed by the *Chinese* Laws for Malefactors; tho' as I said before, some Monarchs have inflicted others of a more inhuman Nature, but they have been detested by the Nation, and look'd upon as Tyrants for it: Such was the Emperor *Cbew*, whose horrible Cruelties are mention'd in the Annals of the Empire. [p. 157.] This Prince, at the Instigation of *Ta-kye*, one of his Concubines, with whom he was desperately enamour'd, invented a new kind of Punishment call'd *Pau-lo*: It was a column of Brass twenty Cubits high, and eight in Diameter, hollow in the middle like *Pbalari's* Bull, with openings in three Places for putting in fewel. To this they fastned the Criminals, and making them embrace it with their Arms and Legs, lighted a great Fire in the Inside; and thus roasted them till they were reduc'd to Ashes, in the Presence of that Monster of a Woman who seem'd to take Delight in so dreadful a Spectacle.

### Of the Plenty which Reigns in China.

Great Plenty  
of all Things  
in China,

to what owe-  
ing.

Hogs Flesh a  
great Dainty

Dogs, Cats,  
and Rats  
eaten.

Way of  
catching  
Wild-Ducks.

Game.

IT may be said, without Exaggeration, that *China* is one of the most fruitful, as well as large and beautiful Countries in the World: A single Province of it might make a considerable Dominion, and flatter the Ambition of no mean Prince. Almost all that other Kingdoms afford may be found in *China*, but *China* produces an infinite Number of Things, which are to be found no where else.

This Plenty may be attributed as well to the Depth of the Soil, as to the painful Industry of the Inhabitants, and the great Number of Lakes, Rivers, Brooks, and Canals, wherewith the Country is water'd. There are few Cities or even Burroughs in the Southern Provinces, but what one may go to by Water, because no Part is destitute of Rivers or Canals. Rice is sown twice a Year in some Provinces, and is much better than that which grows in *Europe*. The Land produces various other Sorts of Grain, such as Wheat, Barley, Millet of several kinds, Beans, Pease that are always green, besides black and yellow Pease, which they make use of instead of Oats to feed their Horses; but in the Southern Parts all these Grains are of no esteem, in companion of Rice, which is their common Food, as Wheat is in the Northern.

Of all the Flesh of Animals, eaten in *Europe*, that of Hogs is reckon'd most delicious by the *Chinese*, especially the Rich who love their appetites; they prefer it to all the rest, and make it, as it were, the Foundation of their Feasts. Almost all People keep Hogs in their Houses, to fatten, for they eat them the year round; it must be own'd that they are far better tasted than those in *Europe*, nor is there finer Eating in the World than a *Chinese* Ham. Wild-Mare's Flesh is also in great Esteem; and besides Fowls, Hares, Rabbits, and other Animals, that we have in Plenty, Stags-pizzles, (c) Birds-nests already spoken of [p. 302.] Bears-Paws, and the feet of diverse Wild Creatures, which are brought ready salted from *Siam*, *Kamboya*, and *Tartary*, are Dainties fit for the Tables of Great Lords. The People are very well pleas'd with the Flesh of Horses and Dogs, even tho they dye of Age or Sickness; nay, they do not scruple eating Cats, Rats, and such like Animals, which are openly sold in the Streets. It is very good Diversion to see the Butchers, when they are carrying the Flesh of Dogs to any place, or dragging five or six to the Slaughter: for all the Dogs, drawn together by the cries of those going to be kill'd, or the smell of those already slain, fall in a Body upon the Butchers, who are oblig'd to go always arm'd with a long Staff or Whip to defend themselves from their Attacks; and to keep the Places close shut where they kill them, if they wou'd do it undisturb'd.

Besides the domestic Birds, they have on the Rivers and Lakes great Plenty of Water-fowl, especially Wild-ducks; the manner of taking which deserves mention. They put their heads into the Shells of large Gourds, with holes made in them to see and breathe through; then going naked into the Water, they walk or swim so low that nothing appears but the Gourds. The Ducks being accusom'd to see Gourds floating on the surface, and to play about them, approach them without Fear; when the Duck-hunter, taking them by the Feet, pulls them under Water to prevent their making a noise, wrings their Necks, and fastens them to his Girdle, pursuing his Exercise till he has gotten a great number.

Game is exceeding plenty. In several parts of *Pe-king*, during the Winter, are to be seen great Heaps of Animals, and Fowl of various kinds, harden'd by the Frost and free from Corruption. There

(B) If this be so, methinks the *Chinese* Surgeons must far excel the *European*; and their Method of curing Wounds and Contusions be well worth enquiring after.

(c) These Dainties are in great Request in several Parts of *England*, and are call'd *Inch-pies* in many Places.



There are a prodigious number of Bucks, Does, Wild-bores, Goats, Elks, Hares, Rabbits, Squirrels, Cats, Field-Rats, Geese, Ducks, Wood-cocks, Partridges, Pheasants, Quails, and several other Creatures not to be met with in *Europe*, which are sold exceeding cheap.

The Rivers, Lakes, Pools, and even Canals are full of all sorts of Fish: nay, they abound in the very Ditches, which are made in the middle of the Fields to preserve the Water, whereof the Rice stands in continual Need. These Ditches are stock'd with the Water mixt with the Spawn of Fish, which, as we have already mention'd, [p. 19.] are carry'd in Boats into all Parts of *China*. The young Fry being small, and almost imperceptible, are fed with Lentils that grow in the Marshes, or yelks of Eggs, much in the same manner as domestic Animals are nourish'd in *Europe*; they preserve the large Fish by means of Ice, and filling great Boats with them, carry them as far as *Pe-king*. There is scarce any sort of Fish in *Europe* but what is to be met with in *China*, as; Lampreys, Carps, Soals, Salmon, Trouts, Shads, Sturgeons, &c. besides a great many others of an excellent Taste, quite unknown to us; whereof I shall mention a few by way of specimen, it being impossible to give an account of all the different kinds.

One of those in greatest Esteem, and which weighs about forty Pound, is call'd *Che-kyang-yu*, that is, the *Armour-Fish*; it is so nam'd because its Back, Belly, and Sides, are cover'd with sharp Scales, plac'd in strait Rows, one over another, much like Tiles on the Roof of an House. It is an admirable Fish, exceeding white, and tastes not unlike Veal. In calm Weather they catch another sort of delicate Fish, which the People of the Country call the *Meal-Fish*, on account of its extraordinary Whiteness, and because the black Pupils of its Eyes are inclos'd with two Circles resembling very bright Silver. There are such prodigious Shoals of them in the Sea near the Province of *Kyang-nan*, that they commonly take four hundred Weight of them at one draught of the Net.

One of the best sorts of Fish *China* affords, resembles a Sea-Bream: it is caught in the fourth and fifth Moon, and commonly sold for a little more than a Farthing a Pound, whereof it weighs five or six, and for about twice as much, twenty Leagues up the Country, where it is carried. When this Fishing time is over, there comes from the Coasts of *Che-kyang* large Barks, loaded with another kind of fresh Fish resembling *New-foundland* Cod; it is incredible what a Consumption there is of them, in the proper Season, along the Coasts from *Fo-kyen* to *Sban-tong*, besides the prodigious Quantity that is salted in the Country where they are caught. The plenty of this fishery appears in that they are sold at a very low Price, notwithstanding the Merchants are at great expence to procure them: for they must first buy a Licence of the *Mandarin* to trade, then they must hire a Bark, buy the Fish as soon as it is caught, and lay them in the Hold, on Beds of Salt, in the same manner as they pack up Herrings in Tuns at *Diepe*; by which means the Fish is transported into the most distant Provinces, even in the time of the greatest Heats. There is likewise brought a surprizing Quantity of other Salt-fish from the Sea-coast, from the sixth to the ninth Moon. In the Province of *Kyang-nan*, one meets with very large Fish, which, coming out of the Sea or yellow River, throw themselves into vast Plains cover'd with Water; but matters are so ingeniously contriv'd (n), that the Water runs off as soon as the Fish are entred: so that being left on dry Land they are taken without Difficulty, salted, and sold to the Merchants, who load their Barks with them at a very cheap Rate.

In the great River *Yang tse kyang*, over against the City *Kyew-kyang fu*, where it is above half a League broad, they catch all sorts of excellent Fish; and among others, one call'd *Whang-yu*, that is, the *yellow Fish*. It is of an extraordinary Size, (some of them weighing upwards of eight hundred Pound) as well as an exquisite Taste, nor is there any Fish in the World that eats more firm; they are caught only at certain Seasons, when they come out of the Lake *Tong-ting hu* into this River. This Lake, which is also call'd the Lake of *Zbau* [or *Jau chaw*] is form'd by the Confluence of four Great Rivers, each as large as the *Loire*, which come from the Province of *Kyang-si*. It is thirty Leagues in Circumference, and is subject to Storms like the Seas of *China*, it being the greatest Lake belonging thereto: for almost every Province has Lakes of prodigious Extent, such are the *Hong-tse Hu*, the *Ta Hu*, the *Poyang Hu* &c.

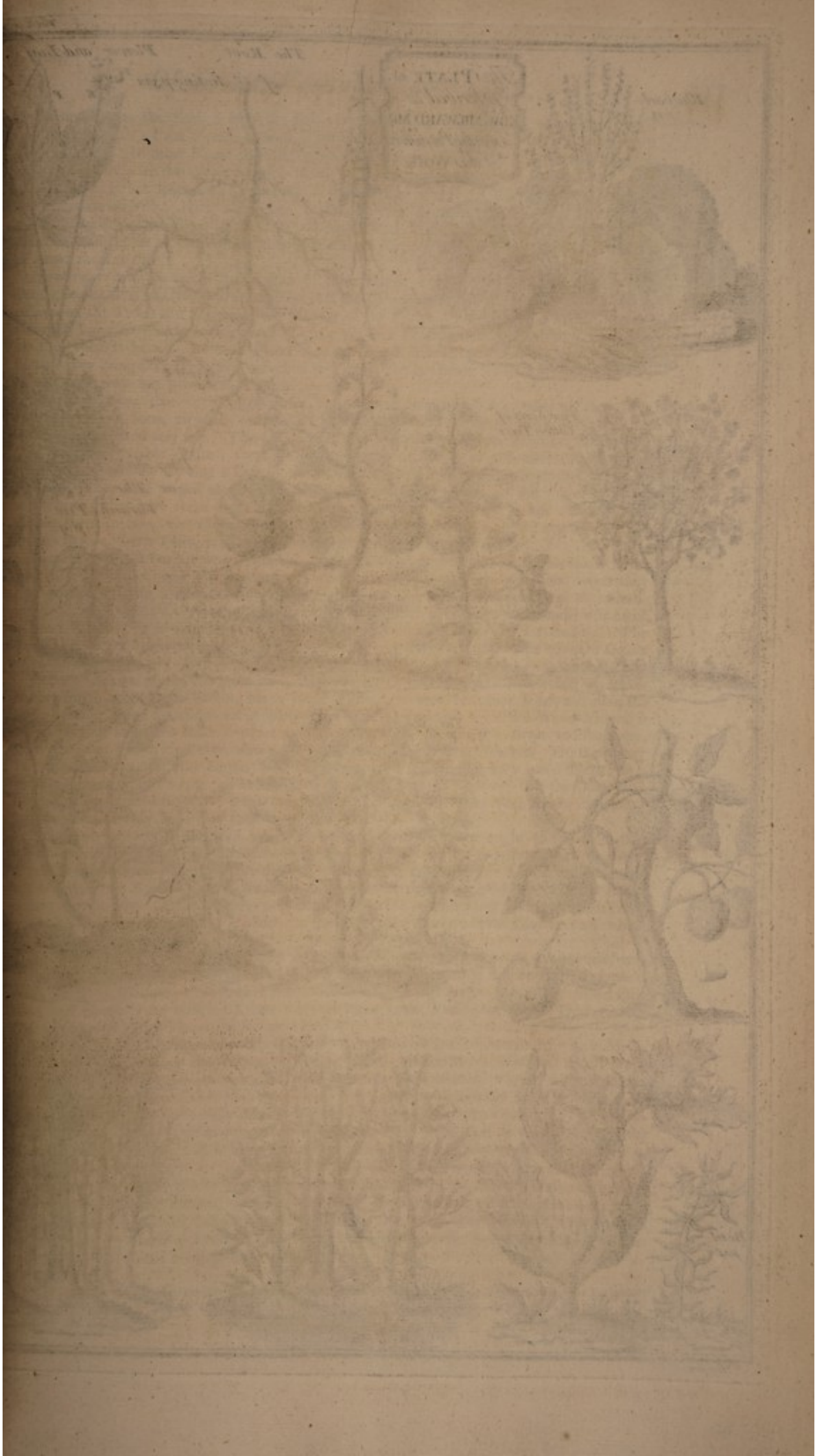
We have already spoken, in the general View of this Empire, of a very extraordinary Fish call'd the *Golden or Silver Fish*, which the Grandees keep in their Courts or Gardens as an Ornament to their Palaces; and *P. Le Comte*, from whom we gave the Account, adds some farther Particulars which ought not to be omitted. "These Fish (says he) are commonly the length of one's Finger, and proportionably thick. The Male is of a beautiful Red from the Head to more than half way down the Body, and the remaining Part, together with the Tail, is gilded; but accompany'd with such a bright and dazling Lustre, that our best Gildings fall vastly short of it. The Female is white, the Tail, and some part of the Body, having a perfect Resemblance of Silver. The Tail of neither kind is smooth and flat, like that of other Fish, but forms a sort of Tuft, thick and long, which adds a particular Beauty to this little Creature, whose Body beside is finely shap'd. Those who feed them ought to take great Care, because they are exceeding delicate, and sensible of the least Injury from the Weather. They are kept in a very large and deep Basin; at the Bottom of which there is commonly put an earthen Pan, turn'd upside down, and made with Holes in it, that in hot Weather they may retire and have a Shelter from the Sun. The Water is chang'd three or four times a Week, but

(n) This must be a very curious Contrivance; I wish the Author had given some Account of it.



- “but in such a manner, that the fresh runs in while the other runs out, that the Bason may never be dry; they likewise strew on the Surface certain Herbs, which keep the Water always green and cool. If they are oblig'd to transport the Fish from one Vessel to another, great Care must be taken not to handle them, for those which are touch'd die soon after or decay; therefore they make Use of a small Net, the Mouth of which is fasten'd round a Hoop, wherewith they take them up by degrees, the Threads being woven so close together that they have time to put them into fresh Water before the old runs out. A great Noise, like that of Guns or Thunder, a strong Smell, or a violent Motion, hurts and sometimes kills them; as I observ'd upon the Sea, where we carry'd some of them, every time the Guns were fired, or Pitch and Tar were melted. Besides, they live upon almost nothing; the imperceptible Worms that are bred in the Water, or the little earthy Particles mixt with it, are sufficient to keep them alive. Nevertheless from time to time they throw in small Bits of Paste: but there is nothing better for them than Wafers, which soak'd make a kind of Broth they are extremely fond of, being in reality, very proper Food for such delicate Creatures.
- “In hot Countries they multiply exceedingly, provided the Spawn, that swims upon the Surface of the Water, be carefully taken away; for otherwise they would devour it. Being plac'd in a particular Vessel expos'd to the Sun, it is kept there till the heat animates the young Fry. They are at first quite black, which colour some always retain; but the rest change by degrees to red or white, to Gold or Silver, according to their different kinds. The Gold and Silver begin to appear at the end of the Tail, and extend more or less towards the middle of their Bodies, according to their respective Natures.
- Some new Informations gain'd from the *Chinese*, who deal in these small Fish, and get their Livelihood by breeding and selling them, give me occasion to make some farther Remarks:
- I. Tho' they are commonly no longer than one's Finger, some grow to the length and thickness of the largest Herrings.
- II. It is not the red or white Colour that distinguishes the Male from the Female: but the latter are known by several small white Spots about their Gills, and little Fins that are near them, and the Males, by having these places bright and shining.
- III. Tho' the Tail is commonly in the shape of a Tuft, yet often it is like that of other Fish.
- IV. Besides the small Balls of Paste above mention'd, they give them the yolks of Eggs boil'd hard, or lean Pork, dry'd in the Sun, and reduc'd to very fine Powder. They sometimes put Snails into the Bason where they are kept, because their Slime, which sticks to the sides of the Vessel is excellent Food for these little Creatures, who struggle about getting to it. They are also very fond of little reddish Worms, found in the Water of some Reservoirs.
- V. They seldom multiply after they are shut up in these Vessels, because they are too much confin'd: for if you would have them breed, you must put them in Reservoirs, where the Water runs, and is deep in some Places.
- VI. After the Water is drawn out of the Well, to fill the Vessel where the Fish are put, it ought to be left to settle, five or six Hours, otherwise it would be too crude and unwholesome.
- VII. If you perceive that the Fish are spawning, which happens about the Beginning of May, you should scatter Grass upon the Surface of the Water that the Spawn may cling to it; and when you perceive the spawning is over, or that the Males cease to follow the Females, the Fish must be remov'd into another Vessel, that the Spawn may be expos'd in the Sun for three or four Days: and at the End of forty or fifty Days, the Water must be chang'd, because the small Fry begin then to appear distinctly.
- These Remarks will not be useless, in case the Golden Fish should ever be brought into *Europe*, as they have already been carry'd to *Batavia* by the *Dutch*.
- Besides the Nets and Lines that are us'd by the *Chinese*, the first in their great Fisheries, the latter in their small, they have another way of fishing, which is singular enough, and very diverting: for in several Provinces they rear a certain Bird resembling a Raven, but the Neck is a great deal longer; the Beak also is long, sharp, and crooked: It being a kind of Cormorant, which they teach to fish, much in the same manner as we bring up Dogs to catch Hares.
- In the Morning when the Sun rises, one may see on the Rivers a considerable Number of Boats, and several of these Birds sitting at the Head of them. Then the Fisher-men turning their Boats about, at the Signal given by striking the Water with an Oar, the Cormorants fly into the River, one here, another there, and diving to the Bottom, seize the Fish they light on by the middle; then rising up again, they carry it to the Bark: where the Fisherman receiving it, takes the Bird and holding its Head downwards, passes his Hand along the Neck to make it disgorge the small Fish that it had swallow'd, but is hindered from going into the Gullet by a Ring put on the lower Part of the Neck; which, after the fishing is quite over, they take off and give them something to eat. When the Fish happens to be too large for one Bird, they mutually assist each other; one takes the Tail, another the Head, and bring it to the Boat to their Master.
- There is another way of taking Fish, which is very simple, and gives but little Trouble; for this Purpose they make use of long narrow Boats, nailing on each side, from one end to the other, a Plank two Foot broad. This Plank is japan'd with very white shining Varnish, and slants gently till it almost touches the Top of the Water; in the Night-time, when it is us'd, they turn it towards the Moon, that the Reflection may increase its Splendor: so that the Fish, which are sporting, easily mistaking the Colour of the japan'd Plank for that of the Water, leap often on that Side, and fall either on the Plank or into the Boat.

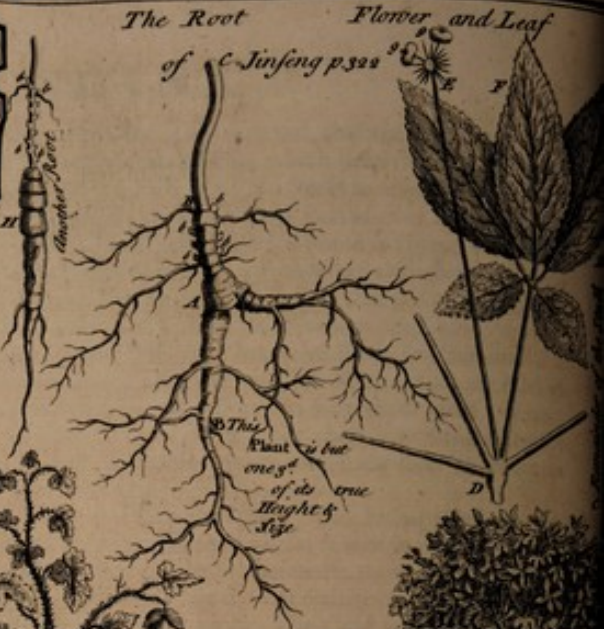








This Plate is  
Inscribed to  
EDW. MILWARD MD  
a worthy Promoter  
of this Work



Two Sorts of  
Cotton Trees



Tong shu  
or The  
Varnish Tree  
p. 9



Bambus a sort  
of Reeds  
p. 10





In some Places the Soldiers shoot the Fish very dexterously with Arrows, which are fasten'd to the Bow with a Pack-thread, as well to prevent their being lost, as to draw out the Fish when it is shot. In other Places there is such a great Quantity in the Mud, that Men standing up to the Girdle in the Water, pierce them with a three-fork'd Spear.

Shooting  
Fish with  
Arrows.

The Land is not less productive in the multitude and variety of Fruits, than the Rivers and Lakes are of Fish. Here are Pears, Apples, Peaches, Apricots, Quinces, Figs and Grapes, especially a kind of excellent Muscadine; likewise Nuts, Plumbs, Cherries, Chestnuts, Pomegranates, and almost all other Fruits to be met with in *Europe*, besides many other Sorts not to be found there at all.

Variety of  
Fruit in  
*China*.

However it must be confess'd that none of these Fruits, except the Muscadine-Grapes and Pomegranates, is to be compar'd to ours; because the *Chinese* are not so skilful as the *Europeans* in cultivating the Trees, and improving the Flavour of the Fruit: They have too much Occasion for their Land to propagate Rice and Wheat; yet their Peaches are as good as ours, nay one kind of them is better. In some Places they are unwholesome, and must be eaten sparingly, because they bring on a Dysentery, which is very dangerous in *China*. Their Apricots would not be bad, did they but give them Time to ripen.

but not so  
good as in  
*Europe*.

It is from *China* that our Oranges came, but we have only one Kind, whereas they have several excellent Sorts, especially one, which is in great Esteem: they are small, and the Rind is thin, smooth and very soft. There is another Sort that comes from the Province of *Fo-kyen*; that has an admirable Taste; they are larger, and the Rind is of a beautiful Red: The *Europeans* commonly say that a Dish of these Oranges would become the toppingest Tables in *Europe*. They have larger at *Kan-ton*, which are yellow, agreeable to the Taste, and very wholesome; they give them even to sick Persons, roasting them first in hot Embers, then cutting them in two, and filling them with Sugar; the Juice being reckon'd a great Pectoral. Others have a sharp Taste, and are us'd by the *Europeans* in Sauces.

Oranges of  
several sorts.

Lemons and Citrons are very common in some Southern Provinces, and extraordinary large; but these are scarce ever eaten, being only made use of for Ornaments in Houses, where they put seven or eight in a *China* Dish, to please the Sight and Smell; however, they are exceeding good when candy'd. Another sort of Limon, not much larger than a Walnut, is likewise in great Esteem; it is round, green, and sharp, being reckon'd excellent for Ragous. The Tree that bears them is sometimes put in Boxes, and serves to adorn the outward Courts or Halls of Houses.

Lemons and  
Citrons.

Besides Melons of the *European* kind, there are two other Sorts in *China*; one of which is very small, and yellow within, has a sweet Taste, and may be eaten Rind and all in the same manner as we sometimes eat Apples. The other kind, which is call'd a Water-Melon, is very large and long; the Inside is white, and sometimes red, containing a sweet cooling Juice, that quenches Thirst, and never does any Harm, even in the hottest Weather. To these may be added another Sort still better, which comes from a place in *Tartary* call'd *Hami*, at a great Distance from *Pe-king*. These Melons have this peculiar Quality, that they keep fresh for five or six Months together; great Provision is made of them every Year for the Emperor: but we have already spoken of them elsewhere.

Melons.

To the above-mention'd Fruits, which we are acquainted with, we ought to add those that are known to us only by the Relations of Travellers, and seem to have been imported into *China* from the neighbouring Islands, where they are found in very great Plenty: I mean the *Ananas*, the *Guavaes*, the *Bananas*, the *Cocoas*, &c. But besides all these sorts of Fruit, which it has in common with other Countries, there are several others of a peculiar kind, and very good Taste, not to be met with any where else; such are the *Tsé-tsé*, the *Li-chi*, and the *Long-yen* (A), which I have already describ'd. [See p. 8.]

Uncommon  
Fruits.

The Plains are so much taken up with Rice, that there is scarce a Tree to be seen in them; but the Mountains, especially those of *Shen-si*, *Ho-nan*, *Quang-tong*, and *Fo-kyen*, are cover'd with Forests, containing large strait Trees of all kinds, very proper to be used in public Edifices, and especially for building Ships; there are Pines, Ashes, Elms, Oaks, Palm-Trees, Cedars, and several others little known in *Europe*.

Trees.

Other Mountains are famous for their Mines, containing all sorts of Metals; for their Medicinal Fountains, Simples, and Minerals. There you meet with Mines of Gold, Silver, Iron, Copper, Tin, white Copper, Quicksilver, Lapis Armenus, Cinnabar, Vitriol, Allum, Jasper, Rubies, Rock-Crystal, Load-Stones, Porphyry, and Quarries of different kinds of Marble.

Mines.

The Mountains also, especially those in the Northern Provinces, afford vast Quantities of Pit-Coal, of which there is a very great Consumption; it is black, and is found between the Rocks in very deep Veins: then being broken into Pieces, it is burnt in the Stove belonging to the Kitchen. Some pound it, and wetting the Dust with Water, make it into Lumps, which sort of Fuel is us'd especially by the common People. This Coal is very difficult to light, but when once it has kindled, it casts a great Heat, and lasts a long time. It sometimes yields a very bad Smell, and will suffocate those who sleep near it, if they have not the Precaution to keep close by them a Vessel full of Water; which draws the Smoke in such a manner that at length it smells as disagreeably itself.

Pit-Coal.

(A) In the Original *Long yen*, but this seems to be a Mistake, it being written *Long yen*, p. 8, as well as in the Explanatory Table of Terms.



Much us'd  
for Fewel.

The Cooks belonging to the *Mandarins* and other great Men commonly make use of it, as well as Mechanics: such as Victuallers, Dyers, Black-Smiths, Lock-Smiths, &c. however these latter find that it makes the Iron hard: It is also much us'd in Wind-furnaces, for smelting Copper. These Coal-Pits are likewise found in the high Mountains near *Pe-king*, and seem to be inexhaustible, considering this great City and the whole Province have been constantly supply'd from thence; and yet there is not a Family, how poor soever, but what has a Stove heated with this sort of Fewel, which lasts a great deal longer than Charcoal.

Herbs and  
Roots.

Their Kitchen-Gardens are well furnish'd with Herbs, Roots, and Pulse of all sorts; besides the Kinds that we have, they have many others we know nothing of, which are more valuable than ours. They cultivate them very carefully, as being in conjunction with Rice, the chief Food of the People: Every Morning an infinite Number of Waggons and Beasts laden with them enter *Pe-king*.

Salt.

how got out  
of the Earth.

As it would be difficult to transport Salt from the Sea-Coasts into the Western Parts bordering on *Tartary*, Providence has wonderfully supply'd their Wants in that particular: for beside the Salt-Pits found in certain Provinces, there is in other parts a sort of grey Earth scatter'd up and down several Districts in Spots, containing between three and four Acres each, which yield a prodigious Quantity of Salt. The manner of getting this Salt out of the Earth is remarkable: they make the Surface of the Land as smooth as Glass, with a little sloping, that the Water may not lie on it; and when the Sun has dry'd it very well, so that it appears white from the Particles of Salt which are mix'd with it, they take it up, and raise it in little Heaps, beating it very well all over, that the Rain may soak into it. Afterwards spreading it upon large Tables, that are a little inclining, and have Ledges about four or five Fingers high, they pour a certain Quantity of fresh Water thereon; which soaking through dissolves all the Particles of Salt, and carries them along with it into a large Earthen Vessel, whereinto it runs, Drop by Drop, by means of a little Tube made on Purpose. The Earth, thus drain'd, does not become useless, but is laid aside, and in a few Days time becoming quite dry, they reduce it to Powder, and lay it in the same Spot from whence it was taken; where having lain seven or eight Days, it becomes impregnated as before with abundance of Saline Particles, which are again separated from it in the manner as above.

and prepar'd.

While the Men are working in this manner in the Fields, their Wives and Children are employ'd, in Huts built on the Place, in boiling the Salt Water, in very large, deep Iron Basons, over an Earthen Stove; with Holes made in it, in such manner that the Fire is communicated to all the Basons alike, the Smoak being carry'd off by a long Funnel, made in form of a Chimney, at the end of the Stove. When the Water has boiled for some time, it grows thick, and changes by degrees into a very white Salt, which they stir incessantly with a large Iron Spatula, till it is quite dry. Whole Forests would scarce suffice to maintain the Fire necessary for the Salt which is making all the Year round; but as often there are no Trees in these Places, Providence supplies that Defect with large Quantities of Reeds, which grow in their Neighbourhood.

No Spices in  
*China*.

To say the Truth, the Soil of *China* produces no sort of Spice, except a kind of Pepper, very different from that of the *East-Indies*; but the *Chinese* meeting with it in Countries very near their own, procure it with so much Ease by their Commerce, that they have as great Plenty of it as if it grew at home.

Tho' most of the Necessaries of Life are found in all parts of the Empire, yet each Province yields something different from, and in greater abundance than, another; as appears from the Geographical Description already given of them.

*Tartary*, tho' full of Forests and Sand, is not intirely barren: for it furnishes the fine Skins of Sables, Foxes, and Tygers, whereof the rich Furrs are made; plenty of Roots and Simples very useful in Physic; an infinite Quantity of Horses for the Service of the Army; and numerous Herds of Cattle, which supply the Northern parts of *China* with Food.

Great Misery  
in *China* not  
withstanding  
so great  
Plenty.

Notwithstanding this great Plenty it is however true, though a kind of a Paradox, that the most rich and flourishing Empire in the World is in effect poor enough; for the Land, though so very extensive and fruitful, hardly suffices to support its Inhabitants. One may venture to say, that to live comfortably they have need of a Country as large again: the City of *Kan-ton* only, where such numbers of *Europeans* resort every Year, contains more than a Million of Souls; and in a large Town, not above three or four Leagues distant, there are more People than at *Kan-ton* itself. Extreme Misery forces them sometimes to terrible Extremes; so that if one examines things at *Kan-ton* a little closer, he will not be so much surpriz'd at Parents exposing several of their Children in the Streets, and giving their Daughters away for Slaves, or that such an immense People should be so much sway'd by Interest. It is rather to be wonder'd at, that nothing more tragical happens; and that in a Time of Scarcity, when such multitudes are ready to perish with Hunger, they should not have recourse to violent Methods, as well as the People of *Europe*: the Histories whereof furnish us with many Examples.

*Chinese* and  
*Europeans*  
compared.

Extraordina-  
ry Trees.

Tho' I have spoken a good deal already of the Animals and Trees to be found in *China*, yet I shall here give some farther Account of the more extraordinary Kinds: If I omit the rest, it must be consider'd that it is not my Design to write a Natural History of the Empire, as has been already observ'd.



One of the most singular Trees, and which is not to be met with elsewhere, is the Tallow-Tree, call'd by the Chinese *U-kyew-mü*, being very common in the Provinces of *Che-kyang*, *Kyang-nan*, and *Kyang-si*. *P. Martini* has given a pretty exact Account of it in his Description of the City of *Kin-wu*, in the Province of *Che-kyang*. This Tree, which he compares to our Pear-trees, and is sometimes as tall as the larger sort of them; has also a great resemblance of the Aspin, and Birch-Tree, at least with respect to the Leaves, and long Stalks; but the Trunk and Branches are for the most part of the Shape of our Cherry-Trees. The Bark is of a whitish Grey, somewhat soft to the Touch. The little Branches are long, slender, flexible, and furnish'd with Leaves only from the Middle to the End; where they grow in a sort of Tuft, but more small than elsewhere, and often turning at the Edges so as to appear hollow like a *Gondola*. These Leaves are of a dark Green, sleek on the upper part, and whitish underneath; very thin, dry, moderately large, and in form of a Lozenge, only the Angles on the side are rounded off, and the End lengthen'd into a Point. They are join'd to the Branches by long Stalks, dry, and small; the Ribs of the Leaf, as well as its Fibres, are round, dry, and slender. In the latter Season, that is, towards *November* and *December*, they become red before they fall off, as happens to the Leaves of the Vine and Pear-Tree.

*U kyew mü,*  
or Tallow-  
Tree,

The Fruit grows in Bunches, at the Extremity of the Branches; to which they are join'd by a very short woody Stalk, that seems to be a Continuation of the Branch itself. This Fruit is inclos'd in a hard, woody, brown Capsula, or Husk, a little rough, and of a triangular Figure; the Angles being rounded off, much in the same manner as those of the small Fruit, or red Berries of the Privet or Prime-Print, vulgarly call'd Priest-Cap. These Husks or Cases commonly inclose three small Kernels, each about the size of a Pea, and round, excepting on the Sides where they touch, which is a little flat. Every Kernel is inclos'd with a thin Covering of white Tallow, pretty hard. The Stalk divides itself, as it were, into three other smaller, or rather Strings; which pass through the middle of the Fruit, between the three Kernels, in such manner, that the ends of the Strings enter the upper ends of the Kernels, whereat they seem to hang. When the Husk, which is composed of six small hollow oval Leaves, begins to open and fall off, as it does by degrees, the Fruit discovering itself makes a very agreeable Sight, especially in Winter-time; for then these Trees appear cover'd over with small white Bunches, which one would take at a Distance for so many Nofegays. The Tallow that envelopes the Fruit, being broken off into one's Hand, easily melts, and yields a greasy Smell, not much unlike that of common Tallow.

its Fruit.

The Tallow  
where ge-  
nerated,

its Qualities.

Before the Fruit is quite ripe, it appears round, which is probably the Reason why *P. Martini* says it is round; unless having examin'd only a few, that were not perfect in their Kind, he thought this to be their natural Figure: for in reality some are defective as to Shape, and besides contain but one or two Nuts or Berries. The Nut has a pretty hard Shell including a kind of small Kernel, about the Bigness of a large Hempseed, which is cover'd with a brown Skin, and affords a great deal of Oyl; so that the same Fruit supplies the Chinese both with Tallow for their Candles, and Oyl for their Lamps.

The Kernel  
of the Fruit  
yields Lamp  
Oyl.

These Candles are like the Segment of a Cone, which they light at the broad End; and the Wick is a little Stick, or hollow Reed, round which they wrap Cotton Thread, or else the Pith of a Rush of the same Bigness: this Rush serves also for the Wick of Lamps. One end of the Reed or small Stick serves for lighting, and the other for fixing on the Candlestick, which is made with a Point to enter into the Hollow of the Reed. This sort of Candle, besides being thick and heavy, readily melts when touch'd with the Hand. The Light it gives is pretty clear, but a little yellowish; and as the Wick is solid, and changes while burning into a hard Coal, it is not easily snufft, they using Cizars made for the Purpose.

The Candles  
made of the  
Tallow.

In order to separate the Tallow from the Fruit, they pound the Shell and Nut both together, and boil it in Water; skimming off the Fat or Oyl as it rises to the Top, which condenses like Tallow when it is cold. To ten Pound of this Grease they sometimes put three of Linseed-Oyl, and a little Wax to give it a Body; whereof they make exceeding white Candles, tho' they also make red ones, by mixing Vermillion with the Composition.

The Tallow  
how separ-  
ated from the  
Fruit.

One of the most useful Shrubs in all China is that producing the Cotton; which the Husbandmen, the same Day that they get in their Harvest, sow in the same Field, only breaking the Surface of the Ground with a Rake. After the Earth has been moisten'd with Rain or Dew, there grows up by degrees a small Shrub about two Foot high; the Flowers of which appear towards the beginning or middle of *August*, being generally yellow, but sometimes red. This Flower is succeeded by a small Button, growing in the Shape of a Pod of the Bigness of a Nut.

The Cotton  
Shrub.

The fortieth Day after the Appearance of the Flower, the Pod opens of itself; and cleaving in three Places, discovers three or four little Bags of Cotton, extremely white, and of the same Figure as the Cod of a Silk-Worm. They are fasten'd to the Bottom of the open Pod, and contain Seed for the following Year. It is then time to get in the Crop; but in fair Weather the Fruit is left expos'd to the Sun two or three Days more, that so being swell'd by the Heat the Profit may be greater.

The Cotton  
grows in a  
Pod.

As all the Fibres of the Cotton are strongly fasten'd to the Seeds which they inclose, they make use of a sort of Wheel to separate them. This Engine consists of two very smooth Rowlers,

How sepa-  
rated.

one



one of Wood and the other of Iron, about a Foot long, and an Inch thick. They are plac'd so close together that there is no Vacancy between; and while one Hand gives Motion to the first Rowler, and the Foot to the second, the other Hand applies the Cotton, which, loosening by the Motion, passes on one side of the Engine, the Seed remaining on the other. Afterwards they card and spin the Cotton, whereof they make Callico.

The Tree  
*Kü-shu*,

There is another Tree call'd *Kü-shu*, resembling our Fig-Tree, both with respect to the Wood of its Branches, and its Leaves; the Root commonly sends forth several Stalks or little Trunks like a Bush, and sometimes only one. The Trunk of some is strait, round, and nine or ten Inches thick. The Branches consist of a light pithy Wood, and are cover'd with a Bark like that of the Fig-Tree. The Leaf is deeply indented, especially in two Places, whereby it becomes as it were divided into three Leaves, curiously hollow'd on each side. In Colour on both sides, as well as the Contexture of the Fibres, it resembles the Leaf of the Fig-Tree; only it is larger, thicker, and rougher on the upper side, but the under side is very soft, being cover'd with a fine Down. Some of them are not hollow'd at all, and have the Figure of a longish Heart.

yields a sort  
of Size for  
Gilding.

This Tree yields a Milk, made use of by the *Chinese* in gilding with Leaf-Gold, which is drawn off in the following manner: They make in the Trunk one or more Horizontal and Perpendicular Incisions, and in the Slit put the Edge of a Sea-shell, or some such Receiver; into which the Milk distilling they afterwards put it all together, and in using it draw with a Pencil what Figures they please upon Wood or any other Matter whatever: this done they apply Leaf-Gold, which sticks so firmly thereon that it never comes off.

The Tree  
*Lung-ju-tsu*.

The Tree, which the *Chinese* call *Lung-ju-tsu*, has a Trunk as large as our biggest Plum-Tree. It divides betimes into two or three thick Branches, and these again into smaller. The Bark is of a reddish grey Colour, and spotted like the Filbert-Tree; but the Extremity of the Branches is knotty, crooked, rough, and full of Pith, like the Walnut-Tree. The Fruit is somewhat oval, and when green, nearly resembles Cherries, both in Colour and Shape, as well as the Stalk; which last is green and stringy; extremely long, and divided into several Branches, each whereof has one of these Berries hanging at the end. The Skin of the Fruit in some Places is full of little red Spots, is pretty tough, and incloses a greenish Substance, which when ripe becomes like Pap: they use it in Winter to rub the Hands with, and prevent Chilblains.

This Fruit has a very hard Stone, like a Cherry-Stone, but a little oblong, and indented with five, six, and sometimes seven Furrows. This Stone receives its Nourishment through a pretty large round Hole, that grows straighter, as it approaches the inclosed Kernel, which is small, and cover'd with a blackish Skin, not so hard as that of the Pippin of an Apple. Of the Trunk of this Tree they make Boards for common uses.

If the *Chinese* delighted, as we do in *Europe*, to adorn their Gardens, and make fine Alleys, they might, by cultivating their Flowers, and employing certain Trees peculiar to their own Country, have very agreeable Walks; but as nothing seems to them more ridiculous than to walk backward and forward, merely for the sake of Walking, they take no care to make use of the Advantages which Nature has bestow'd upon them.

The Tree  
*Mo-lyen*.

Among the Trees that I am speaking of, there is one call'd *Mo-lyen*, as thick as the small of one's Leg; its Branches are slender, full of Pith, and cover'd with a red Rind, speckled with whitish Spots, like a Filbert-Tree. They have not many Leaves, but to make amends for that Defect, they are very large, being broader towards the Top than in the Middle or lower part. They are thin and pretty dry; their Ribs and principal Fibres are cover'd with a fine whitish Down. They are join'd to the Tree by Stalks, which spread so much towards the Bottom, that it may be said they embrace the Branch, and that the Branch proceeds from it, as out of a little Tube, making an Elbow in this Place.

From amidst the Stalks proceed little Buds of an oval Figure, cover'd with Down; which, opening in December, or the Depth of Winter, become large Flowers, like the Mountain-Lilly, compos'd of seven or eight Leaves full of long Fibres, of an oval Figure, and pointed at the Extremities. Some of these Trees bear yellow Flowers, some red, and others white; the Leaves fall at the same time, and often even before the Flowers are open'd.

The Tree  
*La-mwe*.

Another Tree call'd *La-mwe* has some Resemblance of our Bay-Tree as to the size and figure, as well as the shape of its Branches; which yet are wider, and furnish'd with Leaves opposite each other, growing by Pairs on short Stalks. The greatest Leaves are almost as large as those of the common Laurel, but neither so thick, nor so dry; growing less and less in proportion to their Distance from the end of the Branch. In the Depth of Winter there proceed from between the Leaves small yellow Flowers, of an agreeable Smell, not much unlike that of the Rose.

The Tree  
*U-tong-shu*.

Nothing can be fitter to adorn a Garden than the Tree call'd *U-tong-shu*; which is very large, and resembles the Sycamore; its Leaves are long, broad, and join'd to a stalk of a Foot in Length. This Tree is so bushy, and croud'd with Tufts, that the Rays of the Sun cannot penetrate. The manner of bearing its Fruit is very extraordinary: towards the end of August there grow at the extremities of the Branches, instead of Flowers, small Tufts of Leaves, which are different from the rest, being more white, soft, and not so broad. On the Edge of every Leaf are generated three or four small Grains of the bigness of a Pea, containing a white Substance, of a Taste not unlike the Kernel of a Hazle-nut before it is ripe.



The Tree call'd *Cba-wba* would also be a great Ornament for Gardens. There are four kinds of it, which bear Flowers, and resemble our *Spanish-Laurel* in the Wood and Leaves: these latter do not fall off during the Winter. The Trunk is commonly as thick as one's Thigh. The Top is shap'd like the *Spanish-Laurel*. Its Wood is of a whitish Grey, and very sleek. The Leaves, which are rang'd alternately on each side of the Branches, are as large as those of the *Spanish-Laurel*, but of an oval Figure, pointed at the ends, and indented on the edges like a Saw; they are also more thick and firm, being of a dark Green on the upper side, like the Leaf of an Orange-tree, and yellow underneath, with pretty thick Stalks.

At the Place where the Stalks join to the Tree proceed Buds of the Bigness, Figure, and Colour of a Hazle-nut; they are cover'd with fine white Hair, and have a Ground like that of Sattin. In the Month of December these Buds become Flowers, which are double and of a reddish Colour like small Roses; they are supported by a Calix or Cup, and join'd immediately to the Branch without any Stalks.

The Trees of the second kind are very high: the Leaf is rounded at the end, and the Flowers, which are large and red, being intermix'd with the green Leaves, make a very agreeable show. The two other kinds bear Flowers also, but they are smaller and whitish: the middle of this Flower is full of small Filaments, which have each a yellow flat Top, much like those in common Roses, with a small round Pistil in the middle; at the bottom whereof is a small green Ball, which as it grows, forms the Film, inclosing the Seed.

There is another remarkable kind of Tree, partaking somewhat both of the Juniper and Cypress; for which reason the *Chinese* call it *Tse-fong*, that is, *Juniper*, and *Ywen-pe*, or *Cypress*. The Trunk, which is about a Foot and a half in Circumference, sends forth Branches almost from the very Ground, subdivided into a great number of others, which stretching out at some Distance from the Trunk, form a thick green Bush. The Tree is cover'd with a Multitude of Leaves, some like Cypress, and the rest like those of Juniper; that is to say, the latter are long, narrow, and sharp, having this peculiarity, that they are dispos'd along the Boughs in Rows four, five, or six in Number: so that looking on the Boughs from the end, they appear like Stars of four, five, or six Rays; the Leaves of the first Row covering those of the under Rows so exactly, that thro' the Spaces between, one may see distinctly to the bottom of the Bough. The Boughs or Twigs, which are cover'd with these long Leaves, are found principally at the lower part of the Branches, for towards the Top you behold nothing but Cypress.

Nature seems to have taken Pleasure, in mingling these two sorts of Leaves in such a manner, that some Branches are entirely Cypress, and these are the more large and numerous; others entirely Juniper; some are half one and half the other: in short, sometimes one beholds a few Cypress Leaves grafted at the end of a Juniper Bough; at other times some small Juniper Bough shooting from the bottom of a Cypress Branch. The Bark of this Tree is somewhat rugged and of a greyish brown Colour, inclining a little to the red in some Places. The Wood is of a reddish white, like that of the Juniper, with a spice of Turpentine in it. The Leaves, besides the Smell of Cypress, have an aromatic Scent, but their Taste is tartish and very bitter. The Tree bears small round green Berries little larger than those of Juniper; the Pulp is of an Olive green, and has a strong Smell. The Fruit is join'd to the Branches by long Stalks of the same Nature as the Leaves: It contains two reddish seeds in the shape of Hearts, and as hard as Grape-Stones. The Trunk of some of these Trees is tall and slender, having Branches no where but at the top, which ends in a Point almost like the Cypress: there are others of the Dwarf-kind, growing no higher than seven or eight Foot; but as their Trunk and Branches are crooked and wrinkled, there is reason to believe the *Chinese* stunt their Growth by cutting them. When the Tree is young, all the Leaves are long, like those of Juniper; but when it is old, they resemble the Cypress.

I should never have done were I to describe the rest of the uncommon Trees or Shrubs, to be met with in *China*; and yet I cannot possibly neglect to speak of the famous Plant call'd *Yin feng*, which is so much esteem'd in the Empire, where it bears a very great Price, and is consider'd as the most excellent Cordial. It grows no where but in *Tartary*, for that which comes from the Province of *Se-chwen* is not worth mentioning. As *P. Tartoux* had full Opportunity and Leisure to examine this Plant attentively on the Spot, when he assisted in making the Map of the Country by the Emperors Order, he has drawn it according to its proper Dimensions, and explain'd its Properties and Use as follows:

"The most skilful Physicians of *China*, says he, mix it in all the Medicines they prepare for the great Lords; the Price being too high for the common People; they pretend that it is a Sovereign Remedy for Decays caus'd by excessive Labour, either of Body or Mind; that it dissolves Phlegm, heals the Weakness of the Lungs, cures Pleurifies, stops Vomiting, strengthens the Stomach and creates an Appetite; cures the Vapours, and shortness of Breath by strengthening the Breast; fortifies the Vital Spirits, generates Lympha in the Blood; in short, is good for Vertigo's and Dimness of Sight, and prolongs the Life of old Persons.

"It is hardly to be imagin'd that the *Chinese* and *Tartars* would set so great a value on this Root, if it did not constantly produce good Effects; even those who are in Health frequently use it to strengthen their Constitution. As for me I am perswaded that if it was in the Hands of *Europeans*, who understand Pharmacy, it would prove an excellent Remedy, after they had examined the nature of it, and found the proper quantity to be given in different Disorders. It is very certain that it rarifies the Blood, as well as warms and puts it in motion; that it assists Digestion, and strengthens in a sensible manner. After having design'd what I shall describe



- “ in the Sequel, I felt my Pulse to know what Condition it was in: I then took one half of the root quite raw and unprepar’d, and an hour after found my Pulse more full and quick, my Appetite also return’d, I felt my self much stronger, and was more fit for travelling than before.
- Restores Loss of Strength and Spirits by Fatigue. “ However, I did not depend much upon this Proof, attributing the Change I found, to the Rest we had taken that Day: but four Days after, finding my self so fatigu’d and exhausted with Labour, that I could hardly sit upon my Horse, a Mandarin of our Company perceiving it, gave me one of these Roots, whereof I immediately took the half, and about an Hour after my strength return’d. I have often used it since, and always with equal Benefit; I likewise observ’d that the Leaf, and especially the Fibres, chew’d while it was fresh, produc’d very near the same Effect.
- Leaves prefer’d to Tea. “ We often made use of the Leaves of *Jin seng* instead of Tea, as the *Tartars* do; after which I found myself so well, that I prefer’d them to the very best Tea. The Colour is also agreeable, and when one has taken it two or three times, both the Smell and Taste prove very grateful.
- Decoction of the Root. “ As for the Root it requires a little more boiling than Tea, in order to draw it sufficiently: this Practice is observ’d by the *Chinese* when they give it to sick Persons, in which case they seldom use above the fifth Part of an Ounce of the dry Root. As for those who are in Health, and take it by the way of Prevention, or for some slight Disorder, I would not advise them to take more than a tenth Part of an Ounce at a time, nor ought they to use it every Day.
- how prepar’d. “ The manner of preparing it is this: they cut the Root in small Slices, and put them in an earthen Pan well glaz’d, on which they pour a Gallon of Water; then taking care that the Pan be cover’d very close, they put it on a slow Fire, and when the Water is boil’d all away, to about a cup-full, it must be drank immediately. They then pour in the same quantity of Water as before, and boil it after the same manner to extract all the Juice, and the spirituous Parts of the Root that remain. These two Doses are taken one in the Morning, and the other in the Evening.
- Country where the Plant grows. “ With respect to the Places where this Root grows, it may suffice to say in general: that it is found between the thirty ninth and forty seventh Degree of North Latitude, and between the tenth and twentieth Degree of Longitude, East from *Pe-king*. Within these Limits there is a long Chain of Mountains cover’d and surrounded with thick Forests, which render them almost inaccessible. On the Declivity of these Mountains, and in these thick Forests, on the Brinks of the Channels, made by the Torrents, or about the Rocks at the Foot of Trees, and amongst all sorts of Herbs is the *Jin seng* found; but it is never to be met with in Plains Valleys and Marshes, at the Bottom of these Channels, or in Places too much exposed.
- “ If the Forest be consum’d by Fire, this Plant does not appear again till three or four Years after, which shews that Heat is an Enemy to it; accordingly it hides itself from the Sun as much as possible: whence it may be presum’d, that if it is to be found in any other Country in the World, *Canada* is the most likely Place; whose Forests and Mountains, according to the Report of those who have lived there, very much resemble these I am speaking of.
- Strictly guarded. “ The Parts where the *Jin-seng* grows, are separated from *Qyang-tong*, call’d *Lyau tong* in our ancient Maps, by a Barrier of wooden Stakes, which encloses that whole Province; in the Neighbourhood of which the Guards are continually patrolling to hinder the *Chinese* from going out to seek this Root. But in spite of all their Vigilance, the *Chinese* are tempted, by the Thirst of Gain, to slip into those Deserts, sometimes to the Number of two or three thousand; at the Hazard of loosing their Liberty and the Fruits of their Labour, if they are surpriz’d, either going out of the Province, or returning into it.
- Army sent to gather it. “ The Emperor chusing that the *Tartars*, rather than the *Chinese*, should reap the Advantage made by this Root, gave Orders, in 1709, to ten thousand *Tartars* to go and gather all the *Jin-seng* they could find; on Condition that each of them should give his Majesty two Ounces of the best, and for the Remainder they were to be pay’d its Weight in fine Silver: by this means it was reckon’d that the Emperor got that Year about twenty thousand *Chinese* Pound Weight of it, which did not cost him above the fourth part of the Value. We met by chance some of these *Tartars* in the middle of those frightful Deserts; whose *Mandarins* were not far out of our Road, and came one after another to offer us Oxen for our Subsistence, according to the Command they had receiv’d from the Emperor.
- Order observ’d by the Military Botanists. “ The following, is the order observ’d by this Army of Herbalists: after they have divided the Country according to their standards, the Soldiers of each Company, being a hundred in Number, extend themselves in a Line, till they come to the Limits appointed them, leaving a certain Distance between every ten: then they carefully seek after the Plant, advancing insensibly on the same Point of the Compass; and in this manner they pass over the space of Country allotted them, in a certain number of Days. When the time is expir’d, the *Mandarins* fixing their Tents in Places, where there is good Pasture for their Horses, send their orders to every Company, and to know if their number be compleat; for in case any Person is wanting, as it often happens, either by their stragling too far, or being devour’d by Wild-beasts, they search for him a Day or two, and then fall to work again, in the same manner as before.
- Gathering *Jin seng* hard Service. “ These poor People suffer greatly in this Expedition, for they carry neither Tents nor Beds with them, every one being sufficiently loaded with his Provision of Millet bak’d in an Oven, which is to serve him the whole Time of his Journey: so that they are oblig’d to sleep under



" a Tree, covering themselves with such Branches or Pieces of Bark, as they can find. The  
 " *Mandarins* send them, from time to time, Pieces of Beef or other Meat, which they devour  
 " after they have warm'd it at the Fire. In this manner ten thousand Men spent six Months  
 " of the Year, and yet, notwithstanding their Fatigues, they seem'd robust and good Soldiers.  
 " The *Tartars* that attended us met with no better Treatment, having nothing else but the  
 " Remainder of an Ox, that was kill'd every Day, after fifty Persons had fed upon it.

" To give you some Idea of this Plant, so much esteem'd by the *Tartars* and *Chinese*, I shall  
 " explain the Figure, which I send herewith, and drew with all the Exactness possible. Description  
of the Plant.

" *A.* represents the Root of its natural size: when I wash'd it I found it white, and some- See the  
Figure.  
 " what rugged as the Roots of other Plants commonly are.

" *B. C. C. D.* represent the Stalk in its full Length and Thickness, which is smooth and almost  
 " round; its colour is a pretty deep red, except towards the beginning, *B.* where it is whiter as being  
 " near the Ground. The Point *D.* is a kind of Knot, form'd by the rise of four Branches, which The Branches  
 " proceed from it as from a Center, shooting strait forward at equal Distances from each other.

" The lower Part of the Branch is green mix'd with white; the upper part is much like the  
 " Stalk, that is, of a deep red, a little inclining to the Colour of a Mulberry, but towards the  
 " Edges the two Colours gradually unite. Each Branch has five Leaves of the size and figure as The Leaves.  
 " represented in the Plate. It is observable that these Branches are equally distant from each other  
 " as well as from the Horizon, for they fill with their Leaves a round Space very nearly parallel  
 " to the surface of the Ground.

" Tho' I have drawn but half of one of these Leaves *F* with any Accuracy, all the rest may  
 " easily be conceiv'd and finish'd from thence. I do not remember ever to have seen Leaves  
 " of this Largeness so very thin, and of so fine a Contexture. The Fibres of it are very well  
 " distinguish'd, and have on the upper part a few whitish Hairs. The fine Skin that is between  
 " the Fibres rises towards the Middle a little above them. The upper side of the Leaf is a  
 " dark, and the under a whitish Green, a little shining: all the Leaves are curiously indented  
 " at the Edges.

" From *D* the Center of the Branches of this Plant rises a second Stalk *DE*, very strait The Fruit or  
Berry.  
 " and smooth, of a whitish Cast, from the Beginning to the End, where there is a Cluster of  
 " twenty four very round Berries, whose Skin is of a bright Colour, very fine and smooth,  
 " inclosing a white softish Pulp, which is not good to eat. I have only design'd two of them,  
 " which are of their natural size, and are mark'd with the Figures 9, 9. As these Berries  
 " were double, (for some of them are single) each contain'd two rough Stones of the Bigness  
 " and Shape of common Lentils, but separated, tho' they lay on the same Level. This  
 " Stone is not sharp on the sides like Lentils, but is nearly all over of an equal Thickness.  
 " Every Berry adheres to a smooth Filament or Stalk, equal on all sides, pretty fine, and of  
 " the Colour of that of our small red Cherries; which Filaments, proceeding like Rays from  
 " the same Center, gave the Bunch of Berries its round Form. The Stone, which like the  
 " Stone of other Fruit is hard, and incloses a Kernel, always lies in the same Position with  
 " the Filament that bears the Berry, whence it comes that the Berry, instead of being round,  
 " is a little flat on each side. When it is double there is a little Dent between the two Parts,  
 " of which it is compos'd; it has also a little Beard on the Top. When the Berry is dry,  
 " there remains nothing but a wrinkled Skin, that adheres to the Stone, and becomes of  
 " a dark red, almost black.

" As this Plant dies and grows again every Year, its Age is discover'd by the number Age of the  
Plant how  
discover'd.  
 " of Stalks already put forth, whereof there always remains some Sign, as may be seen in the  
 " Figure at the small Letters *b, b, b*; by which it appears that the Root *A* was in the seventh  
 " Year, and the Root *H* in the fifteenth. As for the Flower, having never seen, I cannot Its Flower.  
 " describe it: some have told me that it is white and very small; others that the Plant  
 " bears none, no body ever having seen any. I should rather believe, that being very small  
 " and no way remarkable, it has not been minded: what confirms me the more in this  
 " Opinion is, that those who search after the *Jin feng*, wanting nothing but the Root, despise  
 " and reject all the rest as useless.

" There are Plants which, besides the Clusters of Berries already describ'd, have a Berry Other Species  
of the Plant.  
 " or two altogether like the former, standing an Inch, or an Inch and half, below the Cluster;  
 " and then they say one ought to observe the Rumb to which these Berries point, because  
 " they seldom fail to find another Root a few Paces from thence on the same Point of  
 " the Compass or thereabouts. The Colour of the Berries, when there are any, distinguishes this  
 " Plant from all others, and discovers it at once; but then it often happens that there are  
 " none, tho' the Root be very old: such was that mark'd in the Figure by the Letter *H*,  
 " which bore none, tho' it was in its fifteenth Year.

" There is no propagating this Plant by Art, since none have ever seen its Seed; which Circum- Has no Seed.  
 " stance probably gave rise to a Fable current among the *Tartars*, who say: that a Bird picks it up,  
 " as soon as it is in the Ground, and not being able to digest it, it purifies in his Stomach, and  
 " grows in the Place where the Bird dungs. I rather believe that the Stone remains a long  
 " time in the Earth before it takes Root; and this Opinion seems confirm'd from the Roots  
 " that are found no longer, but smaller, than the little Finger, tho' they have produc'd more  
 " than ten Stalks in as many different Years.

" Tho' the Plant I have describ'd, had four Branches, yet there are some that have but Variable in  
the Branches.  
 " two



- But not in Leaves. "two or three, others again have five, and even seven, which last are the finest of all. However, every Branch has always five Leaves as well as that which I have design'd, unless the number has been diminish'd by some Accident. The height of the Plant is proportionable to its Thickness and number of Branches; those who have no Berries, are commonly small and very low.
- Marks of the best Roots. "The Root that is largest, most uniform, and has the fewest Strings, is always the best, for which Reason that mark'd *H* is preferable to the other. I cannot tell why the *Chinese* have call'd it *Yin feng*, which signifies the Representation of a Man. For my part I never saw any in the least inclining to human Shape; and those whose Trade is to gather it, have assur'd me, that they as seldom find any Resemblance of a Man in the *Yin feng*, as in other Roots, which are sometimes by Chance of an odd Figure. The *Tartars* call it with great Reason *Orbota*, that is, the Chief of Plants. For the rest it is not true, that this Plant grows in the Province of *Pe-che-li*, on the Mountains of *Tung-pin-fu*, as *P. Martini* tells us on the Authority of some *Chinese* Authors. But they might easily have been deceiv'd, because that is the Place where it is brought to when it comes from *Tartary*.
- Reason of its Name. "Those who search for this Plant preserve nothing but the Root, burying in one Place all they can procure of it in the Space of ten or fifteen Days. They take great Care to wash the Root, and clean it well with a Brush; then dipping it for a Moment in scalding hot Water, they dry it in the Smoak of a kind of yellow Millet, which communicates a little of its Colour to it. The Millet is boil'd with a little Water over a slow Fire, and the Roots being plac'd upon small Sticks of Wood layed cross-wise over the Vessel, and cover'd with a Linnen-Cloth, or another Vessel, by Degrees become dry. They may be also dry'd in the Sun, or even at the Fire; but tho' they preserve their Virtue this way, they are not of the Colour that the *Chinese* admire. When they are dry'd they must be kept close in a dry place, otherwise they will corrupt or grow worm-eaten."
- The Root only in Esteem. "With Respect to Animals, besides those already spoken of, *China* produces a great number of Fallow-Beasts of all sorts, except Lions, such as wild Boars, Tigers, Buffaloes, Bears, Camels, Stags, Rhinoceroses, &c. But as these kinds of Beasts are well known, I shall only speak of two others, which are peculiar to *China*, and are seldom met with in other Countries.
- How preserv'd. "The first of these is a kind of Camel or Dromedary, no taller than an ordinary Horse; having two Bunches on his Back, cover'd with long Hair, which make a sort of Saddle. The Bunch before seems to be form'd by the Back-bone and the upper part of the Shoulder-bones, being bent backwards, not unlike the Bunch which the *Indian* Cows have on their Shoulders; the other Bunch joins to the Buttocks. Its Neck is shorter than the common Camels, and much thicker, cover'd with thick Hair, as long as that of Goats; some of them are of a yellowish Dun-Colour, others are a little upon the Red, and blackish in some Places. The Legs are not so long and slender in Proportion as those of other Camels, so that it seems more fit to carry Burdens."
- Uncommon Animals. "The other Animal is a kind of Roe-Buck, call'd by the *Chinese* *Hyang-chang-tse*, that is, *The Odoriferous Roe-Buck*, or *The Musk Roe-Buck*. *Chang-tse* signifies a *Roe-Buck*, and *Hyang* properly a *Sweet Smell*: but it also implies *Odoriferous*, when join'd to a Substantive, because then it becomes an Adjective. One of the *Jesuit* Missionaries, who describes it, relates nothing but what he was an Eye-witness of: "I bought one, (says he) when it was just kill'd, in order to sell it me; and preserv'd the Part which they usually cut to take out the Musk, which is dearer than the Animal itself. The thing happen'd as follows:
- Kind of Dromedary. "As the Musk-Deer is found in a Chain of Mountains on the West-side of *Pe-king*, while I was discharging the Duty of my Mission, in the middle of those Hills, (where there is a small Church, and Congregation of *Christians*) the poor Inhabitants of the Village went a hunting, in hopes that I would purchase the Game, to carry with me to that City; and when they had kill'd two, a Male and a Female, they brought them to me, while they were yet warm and bleeding. Before we agreed on the Price, they ask'd if I was for having the Musk as well as the Flesh (because some buy only the latter, leaving the former to the Hunters, who sell it to those that deal in this Commodity) and as it was chiefly the Musk which I wanted, I reply'd, I would buy the whole Animal, and got it for a Crown; then they immediately took the Male and cut off the Bag, lest the Musk should evaporate, and tied the Top of it close with a Pack-thread. Those who would keep it out of Curiosity dry it."
- The Musk Roe-Buck. "The Musk is generated in the inward part of the Bag, and sticks all round it like a kind of a Salt. There are two sorts: but that which is in Grains, and call'd *Tew-pan-byang* is the most precious; the other nam'd *Mi-byang* is the least esteem'd, because it is too small and fine. The Female produces no Musk; or at least the Matter which she yields having the Appearance of Musk, has no Scent."
- Description of it. "The usual Food of this Animal, as I was told, is the Flesh of Serpents, which tho' of an enormous Size, are easily kill'd by it; because when they are at a certain Distance from the Roe-Buck, they are suddenly overcome with the Scent of the Musk, and grow so feeble that they are not able to stir. This is so certain, that when the Peasants go to cut Wood, or make Char-coal in the Mountains, they have no surer way to preserve themselves from these Serpents, whose Bite is exceeding dangerous, than to carry about them a few Grain of Musk: being thus arm'd they sleep quietly after their Dinner; and if any Serpent advances towards them, it is stupify'd all of a sudden, by the Smell of the Musk, and can approach no nearer."
- Its Musk how generated. "That
- It feeds on Serpents.

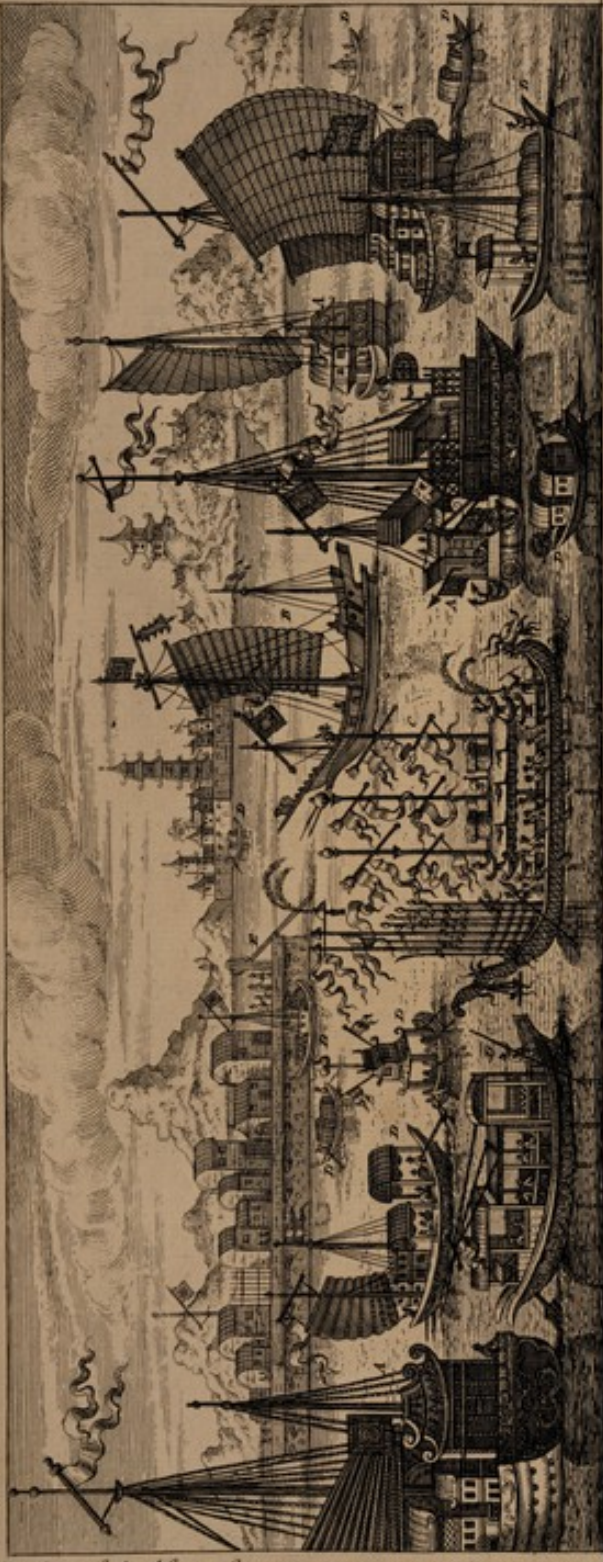






Inscribed to THOMAS PEARSE Junr. Esq. of the Navy Office

Engraving, P. 33, v. 1, L.



A. Ching's Barks & Vessels of Burden. B. A Kind of Galley. C. (Black in form of a Dragon for a Boat) D. Different sorts of Boats. E. (A Boat with a Dragon on its prow)

Inscribed to ROSES BROWN, Author of the Voyages & Discoveries.





"That which happen'd on my Return to *Pe-king*, was in some Measure a Confirmation that the Flesh of Serpents is the principal Food of the Musk-Animal. Part of the Roe-buck being dress'd for Supper, one of those who was at Table happen'd to have an exceeding Aversion for Serpents, and this to so great a Degree, that the bare mentioning of them in his Presence would make him extremely sick. As he knew nothing of what was reported of this Animal and the Serpent, I was very careful to say nothing at all about it, but I observ'd his Countenance very attentively. He took some of the Roe-Buck, as others did, with a Design to eat it, but he had no sooner put a bit in his Mouth, than he found an extraordinary loathing at his Stomach, and would not touch any more. The rest eat of it very heartily, he having been the only Person that had an Aversion for this sort of Meat."

### *Of the Lakes, Canals, and Rivers of China ; as also of the Barks, and Vessels of Burden.*

THE great Plenty which *China* so happily enjoys, is owing much to the Goodness and Depth of its Soil ; but chiefly to the great number of Rivers, Lakes and Canals, Lakes, Canals, and Rivers of China. wherewith it is water'd : there not being a City, nor even a large Country Town, especially in the Southern Provinces, but what is situated upon the Banks of some River, Lake, or Canal ; whereof as I have had Occasion to speak at large in several Places of this Work, I shall, to avoid Repetition, only just mention some few over again to refresh the Reader's Memory.

Among the Lakes, to be met with in most of the Provinces, the Chief are : (1) The *Tong-ting Hû*, in the Province of *Hû-quang*, which is eighty Leagues or more in Circumference ; Chief Lakes, (2) The *Hong-fé Hû*, one part of which is in the Province of *Kyang-nan*, and the other in that of *Che-kyang* ; and (3) the *Ho-yang Hû*, in the Province of *Kyang-si*, otherwise call'd the Lake of *Zbau-chew*, [or *Jau-chew*.] This last being thirty Leagues in Compass, is form'd by the Confluence of four Rivers, each as large as the *Loire*, which come out of the Province of *Kyang-si*. It is also subject to Hurricans like the Seas of *China* ; for in less than a quarter of an Hour the Wind will veer round all the Points of the Compass, and sometimes sink the largest Barks.

In approaching the most dangerous part of the Lake, a Temple appears built on a steep Dangerous sailing on the Lake Ho-yang. Rock ; on sight of which the *Chinese* Mariners beat a kind of Brass Drum, to inform the Idol of their Arrival, and lighting Wax Candles in Honour of it, upon the Fore-part of the Bark, burn Incense, and sacrifice a Cock. To prevent these Inconveniences Barks are station'd here on Purpose to succour those who are in Danger of being cast away ; altho' it often happens that those who are appointed to give the Assistance, are the most forward to work the Merchants Destruction, in order to enrich themselves with the Spoil, especially if they think they can do it without being discover'd. Nevertheless, the Vigilance of the Magistrates of *China* is very great : A Mandarin places his chief Glory in assisting the People, and shewing that he has a Paternal Affection for them. In tempestuous Weather you see the Mandarin of *Jau-chew*, after giving Order not to cross the Lake, go in Person to the Side of it, and there continue all Day long ; with Design to hinder, by his Presence, any one from rashly exposing himself to the Dangers of perishing, thro' Greediness of Gain.

Besides these principal Lakes there are many others in the several Provinces, which, together Canals. with a multitude of Springs, Rivulets, and Torrents, that descend from the Mountains, have given Occasion to the industrious *Chinese* of cutting numberless Canals, wherewith all their Lands are water'd. There is scarce a Province but what has a large Canal of clear and deep Water, inclos'd between two Causeways, cas'd with flat Stones, or Marble Slabs, laid on the Ground, and fasten'd in Posts of the same Materials, by means of Grooves. The Canals are cover'd with Bridges at convenient Distances, consisting of three, five, or seven Arches, in order to open a Communication between the several parts of the Country. The middle Arch is always exceeding high, that Barks may pass with their Masts up : The Tops of the Arches are well built, and the Piers so narrow, that at a Distance the Arches seem to hang in the Air.

The principal Canal discharges itself on the Right and Left into several other small ones ; which are divided again into a great number of Brooks, that run to so many different large Towns, and even considerable Cities. They also often form Ponds and small Lakes, whereby the neighbouring Plains are water'd. The *Chinese*, not contented with these Canals, which are of infinite Conveniency for Travellers and trading People, have dug many others with admirable Industry and Art, for the Reception of Rain, to water the Plains cover'd with Rice ; for Rice requires to be almost continually in Water.

But nothing of this Kind is to be compar'd to the great Canal, call'd *Yun-lyang*, or *Royal Canal*, which is three hundred Leagues in Length. The Emperor *Sbi-tsü*, who was Chief of the *Western Tartars*, and Founder of the twentieth Dynasty of the *Yuen*, undertook and executed this grand Work, which is one of the Wonders of the Empire. This Prince having



Occasion of  
its being  
made.

conquer'd all *China*, and being already Master of *Western Tartary*, (which extends from the Province of *Pe-che-li*, as far as the *Great Mogol's* Empire, *Persia*, and the *Caspian Sea*,) resolv'd to fix his Residence at *Pe-king*, to be, as it were, in the Center of his vast Dominions, that he might govern them with the greater Ease. But as the Northern Provinces were unable to furnish Provisions sufficient for such a large City, he caus'd a vast number of Vessels and long Barks to be built, in order to fetch from the Maritime Provinces Rice, Callicoes, Silks, Merchandizes, and other Commodities necessary for the Maintenance of his numerous Court and Troops.

Its Course.

But finding this Method dangerous, and that Calms detain'd the Provisions too long, and Storms occasion'd many Ship-wrecks, he employ'd, at an infinite Expence, innumerable Workmen, who with incredible Industry carry'd on through many Provinces this prodigious Canal, upon which all the Riches of the South and North are convey'd. After it has cross'd the Provinces of *Pe-che-li* and *Sban-tong*, it enters that of *Kyang-nan*, and discharges itself into the great and rapid *Whang-bo*, or *Yellow River*; whereon having sail'd for two Days you come to another River, and presently after find the Canal again, which leads to the City of *Whay-ngan*. From thence passing by many Cities and Towns, it arrives at *Yang-chew*, one of the most famous Ports of the Empire; and a little beyond it enters the great River *Yang-tse-kyang*, one Day's Journey from *Nan-king*. Continuing your Course on this River to the Lake *Po-yang* in *Kyang-si*, you cross it, and enter the River *Kan-kyang*, which divides that Province nearly into two equal Parts, and ascend the Stream as far as *Nan-ngan*. From thence you go by Land to *Nan-byong*, the chief City of *Quang-tong*, where you embark upon a River, that carries you to *Kan-ton*: so that you may travel very commodiously, by means of the Rivers and Canals, from *Pe-king* to the farthest part of *China*, being about six hundred Leagues by Water. To facilitate the Navigation of this Canal, they commonly allow a Fathom and an half Water; but when the Stream is swell'd and threatens to overflow the neighbouring Fields, they take care to make Trenches in divers Places, in order to keep it within Bounds. There are Inspectors appointed, who visit the Canal continually, accompany'd with Workmen to repair the damag'd Places.

Depth of  
Water.

Rivers.

*China* abounds also with navigable Rivers, as appears from the Description already given of the Provinces; wherefore it will be sufficient to speak here of the two great Rivers which run across this vast Empire.

The *Yang-tse-kyang*.

The first (call'd *Yang-tse-kyang*, commonly translated, *The Son of the Sea*, or *Ta-kyang*, that is, *The Great River*, or simply *Kyang*, *The River*, by way of Eminence) runs from West to East, rising in the Mountains belonging to the Country of the *Tu-fan*, about thirty three Degrees of Latitude. It receives different Names, according to the different Places it passes through; and, dividing into several Branches, forms a great many Islands full of Rushes, which serve as Fuel for the Cities round about. First crossing a Skirt of the Province of *Yun-nan*, it afterwards runs through those of *Se-chwen*, *Hu-quang*, and *Kyang-nan*. Its Stream is very rapid, but after making many Windings and Turnings in those Provinces, (where it loses and resumes its Name of *Ta-kyang*) as far as the City of *Kin-chew*, it begins to be slacken'd by the Sea Tide, (which meets it at the City of *Kyew-kyang*), and glides along more slowly; thenceforward it is so gentle at all times, but especially at the new and full Moon, as to admit being sail'd upon. It passes next by *Nan-king*, and falls into the Eastern Sea, over-against the Isle of *Tsong-ming*.

its Course.

Depth.

This River is broad, deep, and exceeding full of Fish. The *Chinese* have a common Saying, *That the Sea is without a Shore, and the Kyang without a Bottom*; *Hay vu-pin*, *Kyang vu-ti*. They pretend that in several places they find no Bottom with a Sounding-Lead, and that in others there are two or three hundred Fathom Water; but it is probable in this they exaggerate, and that their Pilots have judg'd so, only because they found no Bottom with their Lines, which do not exceed fifty or sixty Fathom.

Signification  
of its Name.

It seems they are mistaken likewise in translating *Yang-tse* by *the Son of the Sea*; for the Character us'd in writing *Yang*, is different from that which signifies *the Sea*, tho' the Sound and Accent are the same. Among its various Significations that given to it formerly strengthens this Conjecture: for in the time of the Emperor *Yu* it denoted a Province of *China*, bounded on the South, by this River, which it is thought took the name thereof, because the Emperor diverted the Waters which overflowed the Province into its Channel.

The *Whang-bo*, or *Yellow River*.

The second River is call'd *Whang-bo*, or, *the Yellow River*: A Name given to it on account of the Colour of its Waters, which are mix'd with yellowish Clay, wash'd off its Banks by the Force of its Stream. It rises about the thirty fifth Degree of Latitude, in the mountainous Country of the *Tartars* of *Koko nor*, which having pass'd thro', it runs for a while along the side of the great Wall, and then taking a sweep round the Lands of the *Ortos Tartars*, re-enters *China* between the Provinces of *Sban-si* and *Sben-si*. Next it crosses the Province of *Ho-nan*, with part of *Kyang-nan*; and after a Course of about six hundred Leagues, discharges itself into the Eastern Sea, not far from the Mouth of the River *Yang-tse-kyang*.

Its Course

very rapid.

Altho' this River is exceeding large, and traverses a great Extent of Land, yet it is not very navigable, because it is almost impossible to sail up it, without a strong, as well as fair Wind. Sometimes it makes great Havock in the Places thro' which it passes, where breaking its Banks, it suddenly overflows the Country, and lays whole Villages and Cities under Water; for which Reason they are oblig'd to make long and thick Dikes in certain Places to restrain the Waters. The Lands of the Province of *Ho-nan* being low, and the Banks liable to be broken down, as

I have



I have elsewhere observ'd they us'd to be formerly, they raise, by way of Precaution, round most of the Cities, at the Distance of more than a Quarter of a Mile from the Wall, a strong Inclosure or sort of Bank made of Earth, cover'd with Sods.

The Canals, as well as Rivers, are all cover'd with Barks, of various Sizes; which sometimes lye so close together for more than three Quarters of a Mile, that it is impossible to squeeze in one more amongst them. They reckon about ten thousand which belong to the Emperor, and are wholly employ'd in carrying Tribute and all sorts of Provision from the Provinces to the Court. These imperial Barks, call'd *Lyang-chwen*, or *Barks of the Provisions*, have all flat Bottoms, and are of equal Breadth from Head to Stern. There are others which are appointed to carry Stuffs, Brocades, Pieces of Silk, &c. which are call'd *Long-i-chwen*, that is, *Barks with Dragon-habits*; because the Emperor's Arms are Dragons with five Claws, and his Garments and Moveables are always adorn'd with the Figures of Dragons in Embroidery or Painting.

Barks on the Rivers and Canals.

The Imperial Barks.

Each Bark makes but one Voyage in a Year, and carries no more than one fourth Part of its full Burden. They pay the Master of the Bark a certain Sum out of the Royal Treasury, according as the Place from which he set out is distant from the Court: for instance, if he comes from the Province of *Kyang si*, which is above three hundred Leagues from *Pe-king*, they give him a hundred Taëls. This Sum, tis true, seems too little for defraying his Expence; but then he gets what does that and a good deal more, by the Liberty of taking in Passengers as well as Goods, which pass the Custom Houses Toll-free.

There is a third sort of Barks, higher and smaller than others call'd *Tso chwen*, which are appointed to carry the *Mandarins* to their respective Governments in the Provinces, and Persons of Distinction, who are sent from, or call'd to Court. They have two Decks, upon the first of which, there is a compleat Apartment reaching from one End to the other, about seven or eight Foot high; its Rooms are painted within and without, varnish'd, gilt, and extremely neat: but I have given a particular Description of them in another Place, [p. 286.] There a *Mandarin* may sleep, eat, study, write, receive Visits, &c. In short, has every thing as convenient and neat about him as in his own Palace: Indeed it is impossible to travel more agreeably than in these Barks.

Those for carrying the *Qans*, &c.

There are besides an infinite number of Barks belonging to private Persons, some very commodious, which are hir'd to the *Literati* or rich Folks, who have Occasion to travel; others much larger, made use of by the Merchants, for carrying on Trade: and lastly, there are a prodigious Multitude of Barks where whole Families dwell, having no other Habitation, and live more conveniently than in Houses on Land. In the smallest sort, which have no Cabins, they make a kind of Tilt or Arch of thin Mats about five Foot square, to defend them from the Rain and Heat of the Sun.

Several Sorts of private Barks.

You see likewise some that may be call'd a kind of Gallies; which are convenient for sailing upon the Rivers, along the Sea-coast, and among the Islands. These Barks are as long as Merchant-men of three hundred and fifty Tuns. But as they are shallow, and draw no more than two foot of Water; as also their Oars are long, and do not extend a cross the Sides of the Bark like those in *Europe*, but are plac'd on the Outside, in a position almost parallel to the Body of the Bark, every Oar is easily mov'd by a few Hands, and the Vessel made to go very swiftly. I shall say nothing here of certain small Barks, built in Form of a Dragon, and dress'd out every Year on a Festival-day, whereof an account has been given already [p. 101]

Kind of Gallies.

The Merchants trading in Timber and Salt, who by the way are the richest in all *China*, instead of Barks to carry their Goods, use a sort of Rafts, or Floats, made in the following manner: After the Timber, which they cut down in the Mountains, and neighbouring Forests, of the Province of *Se-chwen*, is brought to the side of the River *Kyang*, they take what is necessary to make a Raft, four or five Foot high, and ten long. Then boring Holes in both ends of the Pieces of Wood, they run thro' them twisted Oziers, with which they fasten the rest of the Timber together, and so form a Raft, floating on the River, of any length; which is proportion'd to the Wealth of the Merchants, there being some half a League long. The several Parts of the Raft thus put together, move easily any way, like the Links of a Chain. Four or five Men on the Fore-part guide it with Poles and Oars; while others, plac'd all along the side at equal Distance, help to conduct it. They build thereon, from Space to Space, Booths cover'd with Boards, or Mats, where they put their Moveables, dress their Victuals, and take their rest. In the different Cities which they touch at, they sell their Houses along with their Timber; and thus they float above six hundred Leagues, when they carry their Wood to *Pe-king*.

Rafts or Floats on the Rivers.

As the *Chinese* sail upon the Sea, as well as Rivers, they have always had pretty good Ships; and pretend to have cross'd over the *Indian* Seas long before the Birth of *Christ*. But whatever Knowledge they may have had of Navigation, they have not brought it to a greater Perfection than their other Sciences.

Their Ships, which they call *Chwen* in common, with Boats and Barks, are nam'd by the *Portuguese* *Soma*, or *Sommes*; but for what Reason is not known. These Vessels are not to be compar'd to ours, the largest of them carrying no more than from two hundred and fifty to three hundred Tuns. They are properly no other than flat Barks, with two Masts, and not above eighty or ninety Foot in length. The Fore-part is not made with a Beak, but rises up somewhat like two Wings or Horns, which make an odd Figure; the Stern is open in the middle to receive the Rudder, and shelter it from the beating of the Waves. This Rudder, which is about five or six Foot broad, may be easily rais'd or lower'd by means of a Cable, fasten'd to it from the Stern.

Their Bulk and Structure

These



- Their Mast- ing.** These Vessels have neither a Mizzen-mast, Bow-sprit, nor Scuttles; all the Mast- ing consists of a Main-mast, and Fore-mast, to which they add sometimes a very small Top-mast of no great use. The Main-mast is plac'd near the Fore-mast, which stands very forward upon the Prow; the Proportion of one to the other is commonly at two or three, and the Length of the Main-mast is usually two thirds of the Length of the Vessel.
- Sails.** Their Sails are made of Mats of *Bambú*, (a kind of Canes common in *China*) divided into Leaves like a Pocket-Book, and join'd together by Poles, which are also of *Bambú*. At the Top there is a piece of Wood, serving for a Sail-Yard; and at the Bottom, a sort of Plank, above a Foot broad, and five or six Inches thick, which keeps the Sail steady, when they have a mind to lower it, or hoist it up. These sorts of Ships are no good Sailors; tho' they hold much more Wind than ours, because of the Stiffness of their Sails, which do not yield to the Gale: yet as they are not built in so commodious a manner, they lose the Advantage they have over ours in this Point.
- Caulking.** Their Vessels are not caulk'd with Pitch and Tar, as those of *Europe*, but with a particular sort of Gum; which is so good, that a Well or two, made in the Bottom of the Hold of the Ship, is sufficient to keep it dry: for hitherto they have had no Knowledge of a Pump.
- Anchors of Wood.** Their Anchors are not made of Iron, like ours, but of a hard and heavy Wood, which for that Reason they call *Tye-mú*, that is, *Iron Wood*. They pretend that these Anchors are much better than the Iron ones; because, say they, these are apt to bend, which those of the Wood they use never do: however, they commonly tip both the Flukes with Iron.
- Chinese Sail- ing.** The *Chinese* have on Board neither Pilot nor Master, the Vessel being wholly under the Management of those who steer her. It must be confess'd, however, that they are tolerable Seamen, and very good Coasting-Pilots, but indifferent Pilots in the main Sea. They lay the Head of the Ship upon the Rumb, on which they propose to sail; and without giving themselves any Pain about the Deviation of the Vessel, thus hold on their Course as they think convenient. This Negligence proceeds, no doubt, from their making no long Voyages, yet when they have a mind they sail tolerably well.
- As the five *Jesuit* Missionaries, who went from *Siam* to *China*, in 1687, (embarking the seventeenth of *June*, on Board a *Chinese* Soma, the Captain of which belong'd to *Kan-ton*), had Leisure enough, during their Voyage, to examine the Structure of these sorts of Vessels; the particular Description which they made of them, will give the Reader a most exact Knowledge of the *Chinese* Navigation.
- Description of a Chinese Ship.** The Ship they embark'd in, according to the way of reckoning among the *Indian Portuguese*, carry'd nineteen hundred *Pics*; which at the Rate of one hundred *Catis*, or one hundred and twenty five Pound a *Pic*, comes to near one hundred and twenty Tuns: a Tun Weight is computed two thousand Pounds. The Model of it was tolerably handsome, except the Fore-part, which was flat, and without a Beak. Its Mast- ing was different from that of our Vessels, with respect to the Disposition, Number, and Strength of the Masts. Its main-Mast was plac'd within a small matter where our Fore-Mast stands, so that the two Masts were near to one another. For Stays and Shrouds it had a simple Rigging, which reach'd from Star-board to Lar-board, that it might be always fasten'd out of the Wind. It had also a Bolt-sprit and Mizzen-mast, which was plac'd to the Lar-board. As for these latter they were very small, and scarce deserv'd the Name; but to make Amends, the Main-mast was extremely large in Proportion to the Vessel; and to strengthen it still more, it was supported by two Fishes, or Side-beams, lash'd to it, reaching from the Keelson up to the second Deck. Two flat pieces of Wood strongly fasten'd by Pegs on the Top of the Main-mast, and join'd together at the upper ends, extending seven or eight Foot above the same, supply'd the Place of a Top-mast.
- Masts and Rigging.** It had two Sails, the Main and Fore-Sail both made of Mats: the first was forty-five Foot in Height, and twenty-eight or thirty Foot in Breadth; the second was proportionable to the Mast that carry'd it. They were furnish'd on both sides with several Rows of *Bambú*, laid along the Breadth of the Sail, near a Foot asunder on the Outside, and somewhat farther asunder on the Side next to the Mast; on which they were strung by means of several Chaplets, or Rings, that took up about a fourth part of the Breadth of the Sail, reckoning from the Side where there were no Braces. So that the Masts divided the Sails into two very unequal Parts, leaving more than three Quarters of them on the Side of the Braces; whereby each Sail was dispos'd to turn upon its Mast as upon a Hinge, and run without Difficulty towards the Stern, at least twenty six Points, when it was necessary to tack about, sometimes bearing upon the Mast, and sometimes only upon the Chaplets. The Yard serv'd for Rat-lines above; and a great round Pole as thick as the Yards, perform'd the same Office below: It likewise serv'd to keep the Sail straight, which, to prevent its tearing, was supported in two Places with Planks, suspended by two Ropes, hanging down from the Top of the Mast for this Purpose. Each of the Sails had but one Brace, one Bow-line, and what the *Portuguese* call a Spider; which is a long Parcel of small Tacklings on the Edge of the Sail from Top to Bottom, about two Foot asunder, whose ends are fasten'd to the Brace, where they make a strong Knot.
- Sails.** This sort of Sail folds and unfolds like a Skreen. When they would hoist the main Sail, they made use of two Wind-lasses, and three Halliards or Ropes, which pass thro' as many Pulleys fix'd at the Head of the Main-mast. When they were about furling the Sail, they laid



laid hold of it with two Iron Hooks, and after loosing the Ropes, they folded the Plates one after another, hauling them down forcibly with the Hooks.

The Rigging being ill-contriv'd, the ordering of it takes up a great deal of Time; wherefore the *Chinese*, to save Trouble, let the Sail flap to and fro during a Calm. It is easy to see that the enormous Weight of this Sail, join'd to that of the Wind, which acts upon the Mast as upon a Lever, would drive the Prow under Water, if they had not prevented this Inconvenience by their Method of stowing; for they load Vessels much more behind than before, to counter-balance the Force of the Wind: hence it happen'd, that when they were at Anchor, the Prow was all above Water, while the Stern lay very deep under it. Indeed there is this Advantage in the Largeness of their Sail, and its Situation upon the Fore-castle, that they proceed very swiftly, when steering right before the Wind; nay, can, if we believe them, keep up with our best Sailors, and even leave them behind. But then with a quarterly or Side-Wind they cannot hold it, and are driven out of their Course: not to mention the Danger they are in of being turn'd about, when they are surpriz'd with a sudden Flurry of Wind.

In fine Weather they carry'd, besides a Sprit-Sail and a Top-Sail, a Driver, (which was plac'd on the Side of the Sail that had no Braces) Bonnet-Sails, or Drabblers, and a square Sail on the Mizzen-mast; all of them made of Callicoe.

The Stern was cleft in the middle to make Room for the Rudder, to lie in a kind of The Stern Chamber, which shelter'd it from the beating of the Sea in stormy Weather. This Chamber was form'd by the two sides of the Poop, which leaving a large Opening outwards, approach'd nearer within, and form'd an acute Angle, the Point whereof was cut off, to give the Rudder sufficient Room to play.

This Rudder hung by two Cables, the two ends of which were wound about a Capstan The Rudder, plac'd on the highest part of the Stern, in order to raise or lower it, as Occasion serv'd; then two other Cables (A) passing under the Vessel, were carry'd up to the Fore-part of the Prow, where they were kept tight also by the help of a Capstan, and when slacken'd serv'd in place of the Hinges, by which ours are fasten'd to the Stern-post. To augment the Force of the Steersman, the Rudder had a Whipstaff, seven or eight Foot long, but without either a Handle or Pulley: there were also fasten'd four Tacklings, two to each Side of the Vessel, and one of each Couple was turn'd several times over the end of the Whipstaff, to enable the Steersman to keep the Rudder in its proper Position.

A Rudder made after this manner can scarcely be felt by a large Vessel; partly because the Ropes, by whose means it communicates its Motion, easily stretch, but chiefly by reason of its continual Wabbling, occasion'd by the incessant Trembling of those Ropes: from whence arises another Inconvenience, namely, that there is all the Difficulty in the World to keep the Vessel steady on the same Rumb. They have begun to make Soma, which the *Portuguese* call *Meslissas*, because they fix Rudders to them after the *European* manner, without varying in other Respects from the *Chinese* form of Building. The King of *Siam* had some of them made, carrying seven or eight hundred Tun each, which were much the largest that ever were seen of the sort.

The Pilot made no use of a Mariner's Compass, but steer'd his Course by a Card of a very simple make. The Rim of the Box was divided into twenty four equal parts, which mark'd the Points or Winds, and were plac'd upon a Bed of Sand; which did not serve so much for laying them soft and secure against the Agitation of the Vessel, which every Moment destroy'd the Equilibrium of the Needle, as to hold the Pastils, wherewith they perfum'd them incessantly. But this was not the only Regale these Compasses received from the superstitious *Chinese*, who look'd upon them as sure Guides in their Voyage; for their Blindness was so exceeding great as to offer them Victuals by way of Sacrifice.

The Pilot took great Care to furnish his Binocle well with Nails, by which it appears how unskilful this Nation is in Navigation. The *Chinese* are affirm'd to be the first Inventors of the Mariner's Compass, but if this be true, they have made little Advantage of it. They directed the Head of the Ship to the Rumb they design'd to steer upon, by the help of a Silken Thread, which divided the Surface of the Card in two equal parts, from North to South. This they perform'd in two different manners: for Instance, to sail North-East, they put this Rumb parallel to the Keel of the Ship, and then turn'd the Vessel about, till the Needle became parallel to the String; or else, which comes to the same thing, putting the Thread parallel to the Keel, they made the Needle point to the North-West. The Needle of the largest Compass was not above three Inches long; at one end there was a kind of Flower-de-Luce, and a Trident at the other. They were all made at *Nanga saki* [in *Japan*.]

The Bottom of the Hold was divided into five or six large Chambers, separated by strong The Hold. Wooden Partitions. Instead of a Pump they had only a Well at the Foot of the Main-mast, from whence they drew the Water with Buckets. Tho' the Sea ran very high, and the Vessel was deeply laden, yet thro' the Strength of its Planks, and Goodness of its caulking, it scarce let in any Water.

This Caulk is a kind of Composition of Lime, Oil, or rather Rosin, which distils from the Tree call'd *Tong shu*, [see p. 9] and Ockam of *Bambú*. The Lime is the principal Ingredient, and

(A) These two Cables, I suppose, were fasten'd to the lower end of the Rudder.



when the Stuff is dry, one would take it for Lime, and nothing else. This sort of Caulking, besides being more cleanly, is free from that loathsome Smell of Tar, which reigns on board our Ships, and is intolerable to those who are not accustom'd to it. But there is a still more considerable Advantage in this sort of Caulking, in regard their Ships are thereby secur'd against Accidents of Fire, which ours are expos'd to by the Pitch and Tar.

Anchors.

The Anchors were of Wood, except the Sheet-Anchor, whose Flukes were cover'd with Plates of Iron.

All the Tackling, as well as the Cables, are made of Ratan Cane, or of Hards of the Cocoa-Tree, call'd by the *Portuguese*, *Cairo*.

Ship's Crew, and Officers.

The Ship's Crew consisted of forty seven Persons, including the Officers. The Pilot had nothing to do but to set the Compass, and appoint the Course; the Steersman directed the working of the Ship; and the Captain provided Necessaries for the Men without giving himself any farther Trouble: and yet every thing was done with surprizing Readiness. This Harmony proceeds from the Interest that the Crew has to preserve the Ship; every one having a Share in the loading (B). The Officers and Sailors, instead of receiving any Pay, have the Liberty of putting a certain Quantity of Merchandizes on Board the Vessel, where each has his particular Apartment; the Space between the Decks being divided into different Cabbins. In short, it may be said in general, that the *Chinese* are diligent, attentive, and laborious, wanting nothing but a little Experience to make them very good Sea Men.

### Of the Money which, at different Times, has been current in China.

Gold a Commodity in China.

ONLY two sorts of Metals, viz. Silver and Copper, are current in *China*, to purchase Necessaries, and to carry on Trade. Gold is on the same Footing as precious Stones in *Europe*, for it is bought like other Merchandize, and the *Europeans*, who traffic there, make considerable Profit by dealing in it.

Silver not coin'd but cut into Bits.

Money-Scales.

As for Silver, it is not coin'd as in *Europe*, but is cut into bits, great or small as Occasion requires; and its Value is rated by the Weight, not the Prince's Image. They generally carry about them, in a neat japann'd Case, a pair of small Scales, not unlike the *Roman* Balance. It is compos'd of a little Plate, an Ivory or Ebony Beam, and a Weight. The Beam, which is divided into minute Parts on three sides, is suspended by Silken Strings at one of the ends, in three different Points, that they may more easily weigh things. This sort of Ballance is exceeding exact, for any Money from fifteen or twenty *Taels* down to a *Sous*, and less, may be weigh'd therein, with so great Nicety, that the thousandth Part of a Crown will sensibly turn the Scale.

Standard of Silver and its different Alloys.

Their Silver is not equally fine: but as we fix the greatest Degree of finest for Gold at twenty four Carats, they divide their Alloy into one hundred parts, which is the Degree of the finest Silver. However one meets with Silver, from ninety to an hundred Parts; also some of eighty Parts: but this is reckon'd the basest Alloy, and will not pass unless the Weight be augmented, till it amounts to the Value of that which is current in Trade.

Cutting their Silver very inconvenient in retail Trade.

The Ingots, which are the finest Silver, are us'd only in paying large Sums. The *Chinese* are very skilful in judging at Sight of the finest of Silver, and are scarcely ever mistaken. The Difficulty is to make use of the Ingots, in the Retail way: for sometimes they are forc'd to put it in the Fire, and beat it thin with a Hammer, in order to cut it more easily into little Bits, and give the Price agreed upon; whence it happens that they are always longer in making the Payment than the Purchase. They own it would be more convenient to have, as in *Europe*, Money of a fix'd Value, and determinate Weight: but then they say the Provinces would swarm with Clippers and Coiners, whereas that Inconvenience is not to be fear'd, while they cut the Silver, in order to pay for what they buy. As in cutting it so often, it is hard to avoid losing some small Particles, so you will see poor People very busy in gathering and washing the Dirt, that is thrown out of the Shops into the Streets, the Trifle they find being sufficient to subsist them.

Copper Money.

Copper Money is the only Sort that has any Characters stamp't thereon, and is of Use in Retail Business: these are small round pieces or Deniers, with a hole in the Middle, which they put on Strings by hundreds, to the number of a thousand. The Metal is neither pure nor hammer'd. Ten of these pieces go to a *Sous*, ten *Sous* make the tenth part of a *Chinese* Crown, call'd *Lyang*, and, by the *Portuguese*, *Taels*, which are in Value about a hundred *Sous* of *French* Money. These small pieces have been the current Money of *China* in all times; and the Curious preserve some that were coined in the Reigns of the most ancient Emperors, and have either pass'd from Family to Family, or have been found in the Ruins of Cities and Palaces.

(B) I am rather of Opinion this Harmony is owing to that great Law of Submission, Industry, and Good Nature, ingrafted

in the Minds of the *Chinese*, above all other People. See p. 51, 278, and elsewhere.

What



大 明 寶 曆

|   |   |   |   |
|---|---|---|---|
| 大 | 明 | 寶 | 曆 |
| 一 | 一 | 一 | 一 |
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大 明 寶 曆 一 年 一 月 一 日

|   |   |   |   |
|---|---|---|---|
| 大 | 明 | 寶 | 曆 |
| 一 | 一 | 一 | 一 |
| 一 | 一 | 一 | 一 |
| 一 | 一 | 一 | 一 |



Chau Pau hing Tong ming Ta  
 鈔寶行通明大

{ This is to be read from the right hand to the left }

COINS.

Uncertain, or foreign Coin, formerly Current in China; but at what time is unknown.

Tien

hyu

Tong

hing

The Remainder

He who shall inform against & seize them, shall receive a reward of 200 Taels; over and above of effect of Criminal, both movable & immovable. Dated in such a year, month & day of the reign of Hong

[ These lines are read from top to bottom, beginning at the first line on the right hand ]

洪武年 月 日  
 仍給犯人財產  
 者賞銀貳佰伍拾兩  
 使用偽造者斬告捕  
 大明寶鈔與銅錢通行  
 奏准印造  
 戶部

The Translation

The Court of Treasury having presented this Petition, it is ordained that Paper Money thus marked with the Imperial Seal of the Ming shall pass current, & be in use as well as of Copper Coin. Those who counterfeit it shall be beheaded.

[ These four ends at the word than in middle line ]

The Reverse The Imperial Seal.

The Face.

Silver Coin of Tibet.



This Plate is Humbly Inscribed to The R<sup>h</sup> Hon<sup>ble</sup> the Lady Elizabeth Germaine.





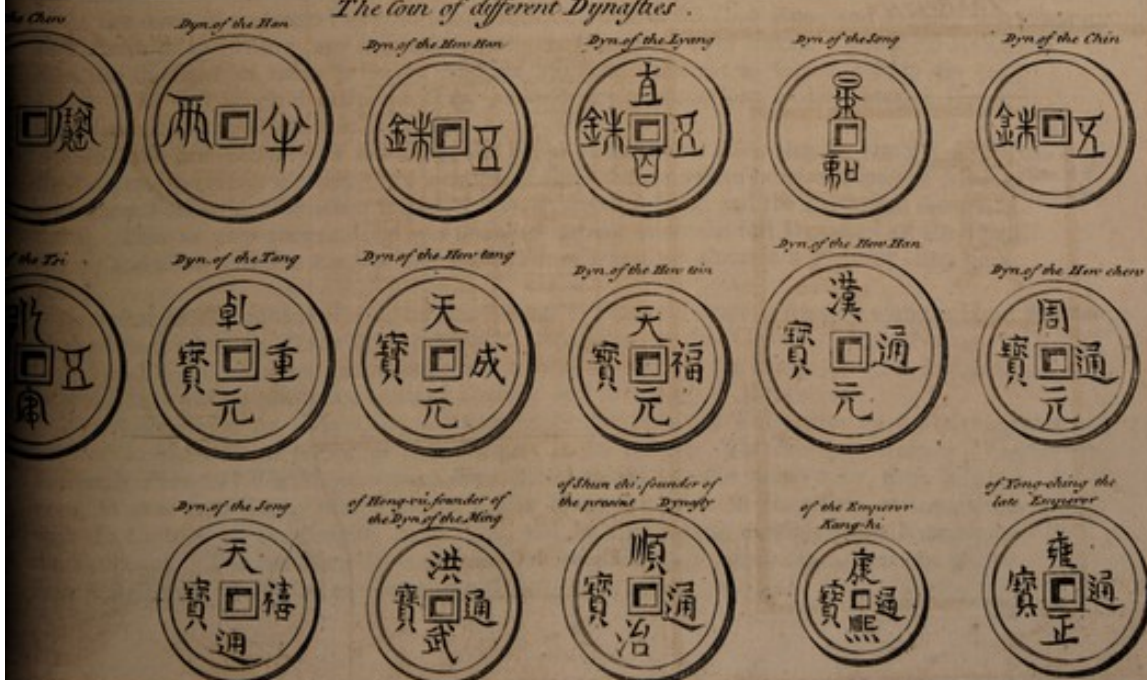
*Ancient Coin called Pi and Tau.*



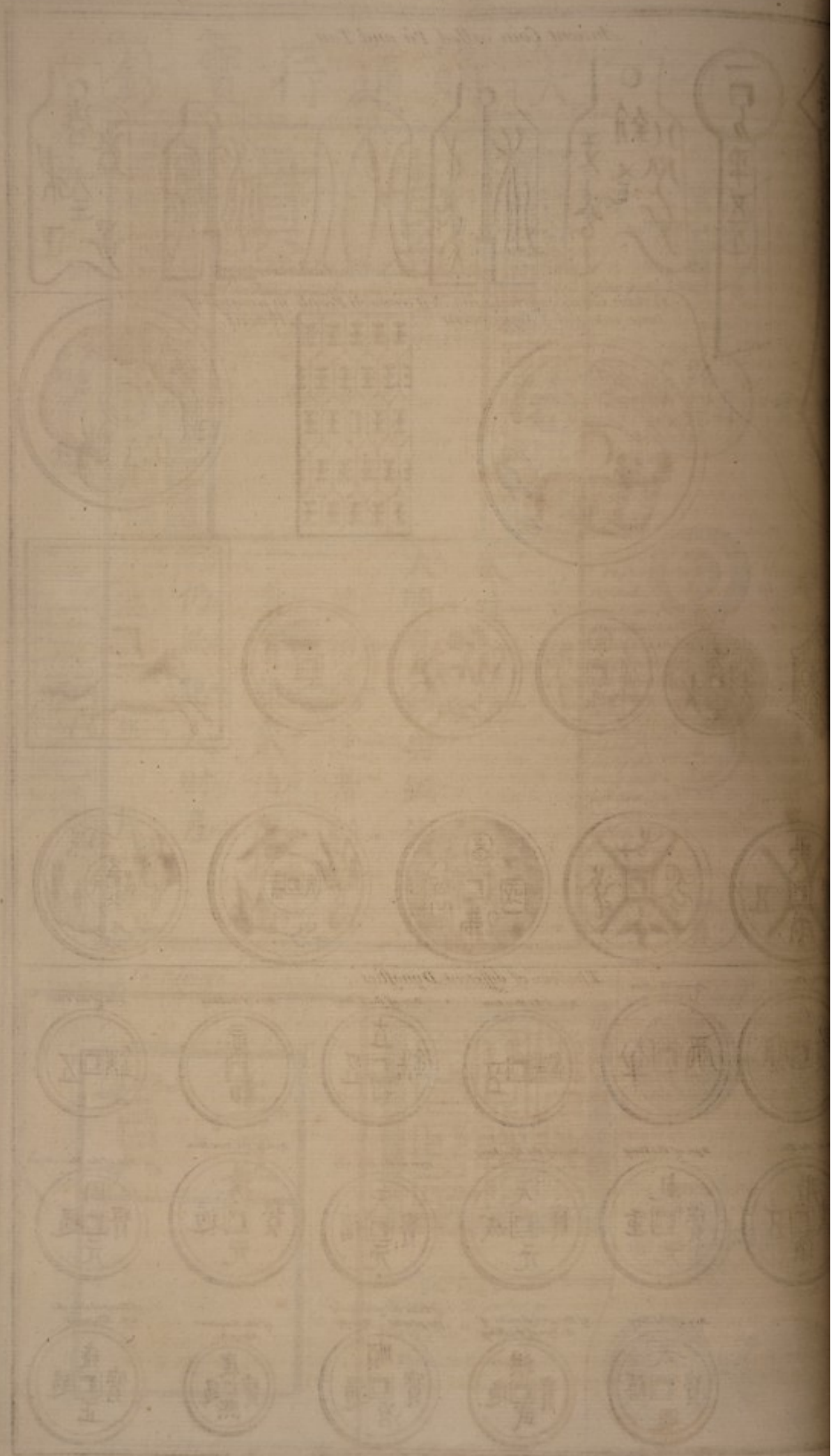
*Certain Coins, concerning which the common People in progress of time entertained Superstitious notions.*



*The coin of different Dynasties.*









What I am going to relate, is taken from an ancient Book, concerning Coins, the Author Extraft from an Author, concerning Coin. of which lived under the Dynasty of the *Song*: it was sent to me by P. *Dentrecolles*. He treats of the Matter and Form of Coins, their Inscriptions, Value, and the Dynasties in which they were current: he then speaks of uncertain Money, that is, Money, the Time of whose Currency is unknown; foreign Coin introduc'd by Trade; and lastly, the superstitious Coins, or those, concerning which, in Process of Time, the People thro' Folly have entertain'd certain superstitious Notions.

The Word *Tsyen*, which was formerly us'd to express what we call Money, properly Chinese Name for Money. signifies *The Water of a Fountain that runs without ceasing*, and figuratively, that sort of Metal which continually passes from Hand to Hand: but for a long time past, they have given it the Name of *Tsyen*; thus they say, *Tong-tsyen*, Copper Money; *In-tsyen*, Silver Money; for so they term at *Kan-tou* the *Piafters* and *French Crowns*.

The Copper us'd for this small Coin being not pure, as I said before, but always mix'd, Copper Coin not pure. the pieces of a good Alloy have four parts of Lead to six parts of Copper; which Mixture is the Cause that the red Copper loses its Colour, as well as Sound, and the Money made of it, tho' thick, may be easily broken with one's Fingers. These pieces serve for trifling Expences; but if the Sum laid out be any thing considerable, they give them Strung, in form of a Chaplet or Beads, each containing a thousand.

The Time was when Gold and Silver Coin were current in *China*, as well as Copper. The Gold and Silver Coin formerly. *Chinese* Author cites an ancient Book, which asserts that under the Reign of *Yu*, Founder of the first Dynasty, call'd *Hya*, Gold, and Silver, and Copper were in use; and that under other Dynasties there were Emperors, who permitted the Use of foreign Pieces of Gold and Silver, throughout their Dominions.

There was also Money made of Tin, Lead, Iron, and even bak'd Earth, on which Figures Money of other Metals, and of Earth. and Characters were stamp'd. It is reported, that after the Reign of the *Han*, a certain Prince caus'd Money to be made of seal'd Earth, compacted with a strong Glew; and taking a Fancy to put down Copper Money, he gather'd as much as he possibly could, amounting to a prodigious Quantity, and burying it very deep in the Earth, caus'd the Workmen employ'd therein to be slain, that none might know where it was hidden.

Certain little Shells, call'd *Pwey* in *China*, and *Koris* in the Kingdom of *Bengal*, have like- Koris Shells. wise serv'd for small Money, [or Change] several of them going for one of the Copper Pieces: but they did not continue long in use.

With respect to the Form of Money, it has been of different Figures, under different Present Chinese Money round. Reigns. Since the time of the preceeding Dynasty, the Copper Pieces have always been round, and with a square Hole in the Middle: which Hole is edg'd with a Border, rising a little, and was made, that they might be strung, and carry'd about, ready told by thousands; every hundred being separated by a String twisted about the last Piece. It appears from the History of the Dynasty of the *Han*, which is very ancient, that in those Ages the Money was pierc'd in the same manner.

According to ancient Authors, besides the round Money, there were current, in the Beginning of the first Dynasty, some call'd *Tau*, which signifies a *Cutlasi*, as having been of that Shape: Ancient Money of various Forms. Another sort resembl'd the Back of a Tortoise, and for this Reason was nam'd *Quey*; Lastly, others term'd *Pu*, were of an extraordinary Form, as represented in the Plate. The round Money was commonly an Inch or an Inch and an half Diameter, and some was twice as large. That call'd *Pu* and *Tau*, was five Inches long, and seem to have resembl'd the Cupans of *Japan*: But, tho' pierc'd on the Top, it was very inconvenient for Use, and on that account was put down.

At one time there were Pieces so small, that they were call'd *Geese Eyes*; and so thin, that Coin of the Song. they swam on the Water, and in handling were in Danger of been broken. It requir'd no less than ten thousand of them to buy a Measure of Rice, sufficient to subsist a Man for ten Days. The first appear'd under the *Song*, and did not continue long in Use, because People refus'd to take them in the way of Trade.

Under the first Dynasty of the *Tang*, the Banks of the *Yellow River* having tumbld down, Coin of the three first Dynasties. the Emperor was inform'd that there were found three thousand three hundred Pieces of Money with three Feet; the Characters impress'd thereon were defac'd, and the Earth had eaten into them. This so very ancient Coin was doubtless current under the first Dynasties of the *Hya*, *Shang*, and *Chow*: for the Emperors of those Times kept their Court not far from that great River.

But what Mark or Inscription is on this Money? That of *Europe* is stamp'd with the Head None stamp'd with the Emperor's Image. of the Prince; but in *China* it is otherwise. According to the Genius of that Nation, it would be deem'd indecent and disrespectful to the Majesty of the Prince, for his Image to be perpetually passing thro' the Hands of Dealers, and the Dreggs of the People.

The Inscriptions on their Coin are commonly the pompous Titles given by the reigning Usual Inscriptions. Princes, to the different Years of their Reign: as for Instance, *The Eternally Shining*; *The Supremely Peaceful*; *The Magnanimous*, &c. The Learned are not deceiv'd by these Inscriptions, so as to take every new Title for a new Emperor; as some *Europeans*, unacquainted with the Customs of the Empire, have done, and by that means multiply'd the Number of the Emperors. The late *Kang-bi* is perhaps the only Monarch, who, throughout one of the longest Reigns, never affected to assume such Titles.



Other Marks  
on Coins.

On other Money may be seen the Names of the reigning Family, of the Tribunal that presides over the Mint, or of the City where it was coin'd. Some are mark'd with the Value set upon them by the Prince: such, for Instance, as *Pwan lyang*, which signifies half a *Taël*. There is another sort, whose Inscription is singular enough, consisting of these four Characters: *Quey yu ching ti*, that is, *Money has its Run, and at length returns to the Emperor*. With Regard to the Characters on the ancient Money, such as the *Pá* and *Tau*, they are difficult to explain; The most skilful *Chinese* ingeniously confessing that they can neither understand nor read them.

Some with  
Figures.

Some of the ancient Coin being cover'd with Figures, are suppos'd to have been current in the earliest Ages; and that, to avoid the Labour and Expence, they afterwards were content with more simple Devices, such as Characters are. There are three sorts of them engraven, consisting of a Mixture of Silver and Tin. One of them, which is round, and weighs eight *Taëls*, represents a Dragon in the midst of Clouds; on another, which is of a square Form, and weighs six *Taëls*, there is a Horse galloping; the third is oblong and shap'd like the Back of a Tortoise, with the Word *Vang*, that is, *King*, in every Compartment of it: this last weigh'd but four *Taëls*.

A certain Author attributes the Invention of this Money to *Cbing-tang*, Founder of the Dynasty of the *Sbang*; the Characters on the Reverse were defac'd. The *Chinese* give a mysterious Sense to these Figures: The Tortoise, say they, signifies those who are attach'd to the Earth; the Horse, such as are less wedded to it, and rise above it from Time to Time; and the flying Dragon represents those who are intirely disingag'd from earthly Things. There are other ancient Coins to be found, stamp'd with Dragons; doubtless, because the *Dragon* is the Symbol of the *Chinese* Nation, as the *Eagle* was of the *Roman*.

It is hard to assign what was the just Value of this ancient Money: tho' in my Opinion it ought to be determin'd by the Nature and Weight of the Metal. It is true that Regard has not always been had to that Rule; The Princes, who fix the Value, having often rais'd or lower'd it, as their own Occasions requir'd, or the particular Species grew scarcer.

Chinese  
Weights.

But for the better understanding the Value of Money, whether ancient or modern, it must be observ'd, that the *Chinese* Pound, call'd *Lyang*, is sixteen Ounces; the *Lyang* nam'd by the *Portuguese* *Taels*, is divided into ten Parts, call'd by the *Chinese* *Tsyen*, and by the *Portuguese* *Maz*; the *Tsyen* or *Maz* are divided into ten *Ficen*, which are equivalent to ten *French Sous*; and the *Fwen* or *Sous* is divided into ten *Li* of Silver. The Beam of the *Chinese* Scales carries these Divisions no farther; and yet with respect to Gold or Silver of a considerable Weight, the Division is more minute, and almost extends to imperceptible Parts: for which Reason it is scarce possible to convey a just Idea of them in our Language. They divide the *Li* into ten *Wha*, the *Wha* into ten *Se*, the *Se* into ten *Fú*, the *Fú* into ten *Chin*, the *Chin*, which signifies a Grain of Dust, into ten *Yay*, the *Yay* into ten *Myau*, the *Myau* into ten *Mo*, the *Mo* into ten *Tsyun*, and the *Tsyun* into ten *Sun*.

Value of the  
ancient Coin  
uncertain.

This being known, it will be yet impossible to ascertain the just Value of the ancient Coin: for tho' the Weight is mark'd thereon, some of them pass'd for much more than their intrinsic Value came to. There was a Time when the Scarcity of Species oblig'd the Emperor to raise the Value of the very small Copper Pieces so excessively, that one of them was worth ten of the same sort, current in former Times. This has often occasion'd popular Tumults, because the Merchants rais'd the Price of Commodities in Proportion.

This Scarcity of Species happen'd either thro' the sudden Irruption of Foreigners, who loaded whole Barks with this Coin, and carry'd it away; or else thro' the Cautiousness of People, who bury'd it in time of War, and dy'd without discovering where it was hid. Copper was once so scarce, that the Emperor caus'd near fourteen hundred Temples of *Fa*, to be demolish'd, and all the Copper Images to be melted down in order to coin them into Money: at other times the People have been strictly prohibited the Use of any Vessels or other Utensils of Copper, and oblig'd to deliver them in at the Mint.

Paper Money  
under the  
Ming.

Matters were carry'd still farther in the Beginning of the Reign of *Hong-wú*, Founder of the twenty second Dynasty, call'd *Ming*, when Money was become so very scarce, that they paid the *Mandarins* and Soldiers partly in Silver and partly in Paper; giving them a Sheet of Paper seal'd with an Imperial Seal, which pass'd for a thousand little Copper Pieces, or a *Taël* of Silver. These Sheets are yet much sought after, by such as build, who hang them up as a Rarity to the chief Beam of the House; the People and even some of the Quality being so simple as to imagine, that it preserves it from all Misfortunes.

and the *Fwen*.

Such Money as this could not have any great Run; Shop Keepers could never consent to give their Commodities for a Scrap of Paper: So that the Quarrels, Law Suits, and other Inconveniences, which happen'd every Day, oblig'd the Emperor to put it down.

It had been introduc'd before with as little Success under the Dynasty of the *Yuen*: but *Marco Polo* is mistaken in affirming, in the eighteenth Chapter of his second Book, that the Bark of the Mulberry-Tree was employ'd to make the Paper which compos'd this Money; for such Trees are too precious to be destroy'd by the *Chinese*. In effect it was made of the Bark of the *Ká-chú*, a Tree of little Value, and full of Pith like the Elder, whereof they make a stronger Paper than that of *Bambú*.

Money,  
where coin'd.

The Copper Money is not hammer'd as in *Europe*, but cast, and is coin'd no where at present but at Court. Formerly indeed Money was coin'd at twenty two several Places, but then there



there was an express Order for it from the Emperor; and even at a Time when there were Princes so powerful that, not contented with the Quality of Duke, they assumed the Title of Kings, yet none of them ever durst claim the Right of coining: the Money current in their Dominions, having always born the Emperor's Mark, however weak his Authority might have been.

It is easy to judge that there would be many Debasers of Money in *China*; if the Silver was coin'd as well as Copper, since their small Pieces of Copper are so often counterfeited. The *Chinese*, who follow this Trade, stamp the false Coin with the same Characters that are upon the true, but neither the Metal nor the Weight is so good. If they happen to be detected they ought to be put to Death by the Law: and yet some Princes have been contented with ordering the Hand to be cut off, others, with banishing the Offender; nay, in the Time of extraordinary Scarcity of this small Money, some have wink'd at the counterfeit Coin, till it has been dispersed all over the Empire, and then confiscating it, have put it upon the same Foot with the Imperial Money. As the very small Pieces are no longer current, such as have any of them beat them out with a Hammer, till they are as broad as the Pieces now in Use; and being put upon a String among the rest, are not perceiv'd by the Merchants. Nay, some have gone so far as to cut Pasteboard in the same Form, and mixt them with the rest upon the String; and the Deceit is not perceiv'd till they come to lay out the Pieces separately.

Clipping and  
Coining how  
punish'd.

Of the Coins anciently current in *China*, I have caus'd several to be engrav'd, of which no certain Account can be given: some belong to foreign Countries; but it is hard to determine what Countries, because the *Chinese* alter the Names so much that there is no Possibility of knowing them: for instance, they call *Holland*, *Hung mau qua*, *The Kingdom of red-hair'd Men*, because they have seen some of the *Dutch* with fair Hair and red Beards. Now, How is it possible to find out any Country by such a Mark? (A)

Ancient un-  
certain Coins.

There is other Money whose Original is very uncertain: only it is conjectured that they belong'd either to the *Tartars* of *Lyau-tong*, who for a time were Masters of the Province of *Pe-che-li*; or else to some great Lords, or petty Kings, who had revolted, and taken the Title of Emperor.

In a word, there are certain Coins, with respect to which the People at present entertain superstitious Ideas, never thought of in the Ages when they were current. The Characters or Figures impress'd thereon, relate to Epochs of Time, or Historical Facts, the Remembrance of which is lost: such is, for instance, the Coin stamped with the *Long-whang* and *Ki-lin*, two fabulous Animals, whereof the *Chinese* relate a thousand Stories. The first is a Bird frequently mention'd by us already; and the latter is, according to them, compos'd of different Parts of several Creatures: it has the Hight and Chest of an Ox; the Body is cover'd with broad hard Scales; it has a Horn in the middle of the Forehead, with Eyes and Whiskers, like those of the *Chinese* Dragon. This Animal is the Symbol of the Military Mandarins of the first Order.

Superstitious  
Coins.

The late Emperor *Kang-hi* had a Cabinet wherein he had gather'd all Sorts of Coin, both ancient and modern; plac'd according to the Order of the Dynasties, by the Care of a *Mandarin* call'd *Tsyang*, President of the Academy of the chief Doctors of the Empire. The most ancient Coins in this curious Collection, are those current in the Time of *Yau*. There are those also of *Ching-tang*, the Founder of the Second Dynasty; and a great Number belonging to the three celebrated Dynasties (mention'd in the Canonical Book *Sbu-king*) of *Hya*, *Shang* and *Chew*, especially this last.

*Kang-hi's* Ca-  
binet of Coins.

If these Pieces of Money are not genuine, but were counterfeited in latter Times, they might as well have forged Money for all the Emperors of the first Dynasties; but we find the Coin belonging to these latter Ages wanting, as well as those of the most distant Times. It is true they have supply'd the Deficiency with Pasteboard Money, made according to the Idea the ancient Books give of those old Coin; which indeed are so nicely imitated, as well with regard to Proportion of Parts as the Colour of the Metal, that this counterfeit Coin seems to be real. This Series of Coins is a concurrent Testimony of the Truth of the *Chinese* History; for who can doubt there was such a Dynasty, and such an Emperor, since the Money coin'd in their Times has been preserv'd for so many Ages by the *Chinese*?

The ancient  
Coins not  
counterfeit.

## Of the Chinese Trade.

THE Riches peculiar to each Province, and the Facility of conveying Merchandise, by Means of the Rivers and Canals, have render'd the domestic Trade of the Empire always very flourishing. As to its foreign Trade it is scarcely worth mentioning; for the *Chinese*, finding among themselves all Things necessary for the Support and Pleasures of Life, seldom go far from home. So long as *China* was govern'd by Emperors of its own, the Ports were always

Domestic  
Trade of  
*China* always  
flourishing.

4 P

shut

(A) The *Chinese* know *Holland* by that Name well enough, tho' we don't. So we know their Country by the Name of *China*: but what *Chinese*, as we wrongly call them, could find it out by that Name? It is the same with regard to *Prester*

*John's* Country, the *Mogul's* Empire, *Tartary*, the Island of *St. Lawrence*, *Newfoundland*, and innumerable other Places to which *Europeans* have given fantastic Names utterly unknown to the Natives.



that up to Foreigners; but the *Tartars*, since they became Masters thereof, have open'd them to all Nations: therefore, to give a full Account of the *Chinese* Trade, it is necessary to speak, as well of that which they carry on among themselves, and with their Neighbours, as of that carried on by the *Europeans* with them.

Exceeds the Trade of all Europe together.

The inland Trade of *China* is so great, that the Commerce of all *Europe* is not to be compar'd therewith; the Provinces being like so many Kingdoms, which communicate to each other their respective Productions. This tends to unite the several Inhabitants among themselves, and makes Plenty reign in all the Cities. The Provinces of *Hu-quang* and *Kyang-si* supply those with Rice that are not well provided; that of *Che-kyang* furnishes the finest Silk; *Kyang-nan* Varnish, Ink, and all Sorts of curious Works; *Yun-nan*, *Sben-si*, and *Sban-si*, yield Iron, Copper, and several other Metals, Horses, Mules, Furs, &c. *Po-kyen* produces Sugar, and the best Tea; *Se-chuen*, Plants, Medicinal Herbs, Rhubarb, &c. and so of the rest; for it is not possible to give a particular Account of the Commodities peculiar to each Province.

Is exceeding brisk,

All these Riches, which are readily convey'd from Place to Place along the Rivers, are sold in a very short Time; you may see, for instance, Dealers who, in three or four Days after their Arrival in a City, sell six thousand Caps proper for the Season. Trade is never interrupted except on the two first Days of the first Moon, which they spend in Diversions, and the usual Visits of the New Year: At all other Times every Thing is in Motion, as well in the Cities as in the Country. The *Mandarins* themselves have their Share in Business; there being some among them who put their Money into the Hands of trusty Merchants, in order to improve it in the way of Trade.

even in the lowest Branches.

In short, there is not any Family to the very poorest of all, but what with a little good Management can find Means to subsist very easily by Traffic. There are many of them, whose whole Stock does not amount to above a Crown, and yet the Father and Mother, with two or three Children, are maintain'd out of the Profits of it, procure silk Garments for Days of Ceremony and in a few Years Time, enlarge their little Commerce to something considerable. Although this may seem not very easy to comprehend, yet it is no more than what happens every Day: for instance, one of these small Merchants, who has about fifty Sous, will buy Sugar, Meal, and Rice, and make small Cakes, which he has bak'd an Hour or two before Day, to *kindle*, as they express it, the *Heart of Travellers*; which done, his Shop is hardly open before all his Ware is carried off by Country People, who come in Crowds in a Morning to every City, by the Workmen, the Porters, the Children of the Ward, and those who are in Law. This little Trade in a few Hours produces a Profit of twenty Sous, the half of which is sufficient to maintain his small Family.

*Chinese* addicted to over-reaching.

In a word, the most frequented Fair affords but a faint Resemblance of the incredible Crowds of People to be seen in the Generality of Cities, who are busy in buying or selling all sorts of Commodities. It were only to be wish'd the *Chinese* Merchants were a little more honest in their Dealings, especially when they trade with Foreigners; they always endeavour to sell as dear as they can, and often make no Scruple of adulterating their Goods. Their Maxim is, that he who buys is for getting Things as cheap as possibly he can, and would even give nothing at all did the Seller consent to it; and upon this Principle they think they have a Right on their Side to ask the greatest Price, and to take it if the Buyer is so simple or ignorant as to give it: *It is not the Dealer who deceives, say they, It is the Buyer who deceives himself. The Buyer is under no Compulsion, and the Profit which the Merchant gets is the Fruit of his Industry.* However, those who act according to these detestable Principles, are the first in praising Honesty and Disinterestedness in others; so that they stand self-condemned.

Their Foreign Trade inconsiderable.

Trade flourishing at such a Rate, as I have observ'd, in all the Provinces of *China*, it is not at all surprizing that the Inhabitants should be so negligent of foreign Trade, especially considering their Contempt for all other Nations: Thus by Sea they never pass the Streights of *Sonda*, their farthest Voyages that Way reaching only to *Batavia*, which belongs to the *Dutch*; in like Manner on the Side of *Malacca*, they do not go beyond *Achen*, and the Limits of their Navigation Northwards is *Japan*; I shall therefore, as briefly as possible, mention the Places they trade in those Seas, as well as the Sorts of Merchandizes which they import and export.

That to Japan.

I. *Japan* is the Kingdom which they most frequent, and commonly set Sail for it in the Month of *June* or *July* at farthest. They first go to *Kamboya* or *Siam*, where they carry Goods proper for those Countries, freighting themselves there with such as are in Request at *Japan*; and at their Return home, find that they have made 200 per Cent. by their Voyage. If they go directly to *Japan* from the Ports of *China*, that is, *Kan-ton*, *A-moi*, or *Ning-po*, then they export the following Merchandises: (1) Druggs, such as *Jin-seng*, Birthwort, Rhubarb, Mirabolans, and such like. (2) *Areka* Bark, White Sugar, Buffalo, and Cow-hides; as for Sugar they gain greatly by it, even sometimes a thousand per Cent. (3) All sorts of Silks, but chiefly Sattins, Taffeties, and Damasks of different Colours, especially black: some of these Pieces, which cost but six *Taels* in *China*, sell at *Japan* for fifteen. (4) Silken Strings for Instruments, Eagle and Sandal Wood; there being a great Demand for it, on account of its Perfume, among the *Japanese*, who are continually censuring their Images. (5) Lastly, *European* Cloth and Camlets, which have a quick Sale: and tho' the *Chinese* never export any unless they can sell them there at the same Price as the *Dutch* do, yet they affirm they gain fifty per Cent. thereby; which shews how considerable the Profit of the *Dutch* must be.

Commodities carry'd thither.



The Commodities which the *Chinese* Traders load with their Vessels in Return, are

(1) Fine Pearls, which cost more or less in Proportion to their Beauty and Bigness, gaining sometimes a thousand *per Cent.* by them. (2) Red Copper in Bars, which they buy from three *Tael* to four and an half, selling them in *China* for ten or twelve; also wrought Copper, such as Scales, Chafing-Dishes, Perfuming Pans, Balons, &c. these go off at a great Price in their own Country, the Copper being fine and agreeable to the Sight. (3) Sabre-Blades, they cost but a *Piafter* in *Japan*, and sell sometimes for ten *Piasters* in *China*, where they are much esteem'd. (4) Smooth flower'd Paper, of which the *Chinese* make Fans. (5) Porcelain, which is very beautiful, but not so useful as that of *China*, because it will not bear boiling Water; it is sold in *Japan* much at the same Price as *China* Ware is sold at *Kan-ton*. (6) *Japann'd* Works, which are not to be parallel'd in any part of the World. There is no settled Price for them: and the *Chinese* seldom meddle with them, for fear they should not get them off, but when they do import any, they sell them extremely dear. A Cabinet not above two Foot high, and but a little more in Breadth, has been sold in *China* for a hundred *Piasters*. Those who venture most to deal in them, are the Merchants of *A-moi* and *Ning-po*; because they carry them to *Minilla* and *Batavia*, gaining considerably by the *Europeans*, who are fond of these sorts of Works. (7) Gold, which is very fine, and a certain Metal call'd *Tombak*, by which they gain fifty or sixty *per Cent.* at *Batavia*.

Could the *Europeans* depend on the Honesty of the *Chinese*, they might easily carry on a Trade with *Japan* by their means: but they could not possibly do any good that way, unless they bore them Company, were Masters of the Cargo, and had a sufficient Force to prevent their Insults.

II. The *Chinese* also trade to *Manilla*: but scarce any go thither besides the Merchants of *A-moi*, who carry a great deal of Silk, strip'd and flower'd Sattin of different Colours, Embroidery, Carpets, Cushions, Night-Gowns, Silk Stockings, Tea, *China* Ware, *Japann'd* Works, Druggs, &c. by which they are generally Gainers fifty *per Cent.* and bring back nothing but *Piasters*.

III. The Trade which the *Chinese* carry on the most regularly, as finding it most easy and gainful, is that to *Batavia*: whither Vessels sail every Year from *Kan-ton*, *A-moi*, and *Ning-po*; putting to Sea towards the eleventh Moon, that is, in *December*. The Merchandises they are loaded with are:

(1) A kind of Green Tea, which is very fine, and of a good Smell, but *Song-lo* and *Bohea* Tea are not so much sought after by the *Dutch*. (2) *China* Ware, which is sold as cheap there as at *Kan-ton*. (3) Leaf-Gold and Gold Thread, which is nothing but gilt Paper; some of this is sold not by Weight, but in small Skains, and is dear, because it is cover'd with the finest Gold: But that which the *Chinese* bring to *Batavia* is sold only by Weight. It is made up in Parcels, with large Hanks of red Silk, put in on Purpose to set off the Colour of the Gold, and to make the Parcels weigh heavier: The *Dutch* make no use of it, but they carry it to the Country of the *Malayans*, where they make considerable Profit of it. (4) *Tutenak* [or *Tuttenague*] a Metal, which partakes of the Nature both of Tin and Iron, yielding a hundred and sometimes a hundred and fifty *per Cent.* (5) Druggs, especially *Rhubarb*. (6) A great Quantity of Utensils of yellow Copper, such as Balons, Chafing-Dishes, great Kettles, &c.

They import from *Batavia*; (1) Silver in *Piasters*. (2) Spices, particularly Pepper, Cloves, Nutmegs, &c. (3) Tortoise-Shells, of which the *Chinese* make very neat Toys, and among other Combs, Boxes, Cups, Knife-Handles, Pipes, and Snuff-Boxes, after the *European* Fashion, which they sell for ten *Sous*. (4) Sandal-Wood; also red and black Wood, proper for Cabinet-Work, with another red Wood, commonly call'd *Brasil-Wood*, which serves for dying. (5) Agat-Stones, ready cut, whereof the *Chinese* make Ornaments for their Girdles; Buttons for their Caps, and a kind of Neck-lace. (6) Yellow Amber in Lumps, which they buy very cheap. (7) Lastly, *European* Cloth, which they have also at a moderate Price, and sell again at *Japan*.

This is the greatest Trade the *Chinese* drive abroad. They likewise go, but very seldom, to *Acben*, *Malacca*, *Ibor*, *Patana*, *Ligor*, which belongs to the Kingdom of *Siam*, to *Cochinchina*, &c. The Trade they carry on at *Ibor*, is the most easy and profitable. They would not get even as much as would pay the Expence of their Voyage by going to *Acben*, if they fail'd of being there in *November* and *December*; at which time the Ships of *Surat* and *Bengal* are upon the Coast.

They seldom import any thing else from these Countries but Spices, such as Pepper, Cinnamon, &c. Birds-Nests, which are counted Delicacies at the *Chinese* Tables, Rice, Camphire, Ratan, (a kind of very long Canes, which they twist together like small Cords,) Torches made of the Leaves of certain Trees, that burn like Pitch, and serve for Flambeaux when they walk in the Night; also, Gold, Tin, &c.

It remains only to speak of the Trade carry'd on in *China* by the *Europeans*; who have the Liberty of scarce any Port, except that of *Kan-ton*, which is open to them at certain times of the Year. Not that they go up as far as the City itself, but cast Anchor at *Whang-pu*, a Place about four Leagues short of it, in the River; which there is so crowded with a Multitude of Vessels, that it looks like a large Wood. Formerly Cloths, Chrystals, Swords, Clocks, Striking-Watches, Repeating-Clocks, Telescopes, Looking-Glasses, Drinking-Glasses, &c. were carry'd thither. But since the *English* come regularly every Year, all these are as cheap as



in *Europe*; and Coral itself can hardly be sold there any longer without Loss: so that at present there is no trading to Advantage with any thing but Silver in *China*, where considerable Profit may be made, by purchasing Gold, which is a Commodity there.

Gold of *China* profitable.

The Gold to be met with at *Kan-ton*, comes partly out of the Provinces of *China*, and partly from foreign Countries, as *Acben*, *Cochin-china*, *Japan*, &c. and is all melted over-again in that City, except what comes from *Cochin-china*; which is commonly the most fine and pure that can be, when it is bought of the King of that Country: for that sold clandestinely by the People is not so pure, and therefore they take Care to refine it at *Kan-ton*. The *Chinese* divide their Gold by Alloys as they do in *Europe*. That which is commonly sold, is from ninety Carats to a hundred, and is more or less dear, according to the time when it was bought. It is much cheaper in *March*, *April*, and *May*, than it is from *July* to *January*; because this last is the Season when there is the greatest number of Vessels in the Port or Road of *Kan-ton*.

Other Commodities imported by *Europeans*.

There are also excellent Drugs to be bought in *China*, several sorts of Tea, Gold-Thread, Musk, precious Stones, Pearls, Quicksilver, &c. but the Trade carry'd on there by the *Europeans*, consists chiefly in japann'd Works, *China* Ware, and Silks, with respect to which I shall treat more at large in the following Articles.

## Of the Chinese Varnish.

Places most famous for varnish'd Works.

THOUGH the varnish'd Works, made at *Kan-ton*, are neither so beautiful nor serviceable by a great deal, as those that come from *Japan*, *Tong-king*, and *Nan-king*, Capital of the Province of *Kyang-nan*: it is not that the Workmen do not employ the same sort of Varnish and Gilding, but because they fit them up too hastily; and then if they do but please the Eye of the *Europeans*, they are well enough content. To *Japan* a Piece of Work well, it ought to be done at Leisure, a whole Summer being scarcely sufficient to bring it to Perfection; but the *Chinese* have rarely any by them that were made a considerable time beforehand; for they almost always wait till the Arrival of Ships, before they begin, that they may do them according as the *Europeans* shall direct.

This Varnish which gives so fine a Lustre to their Works, and makes them so much esteem'd in *Europe*, is neither a Composition, nor so great a Secret as some have imagin'd; to undeceive whom, it will be sufficient to give an Account where the *Chinese* get it, and afterwards how they use it.

The Varnish-Trees.

The Varnish, call'd *Tsi*, is a reddish Gum, distilling from certain Trees, by means of Incisions made in the Bark. These Trees are found in the Provinces of *Kyang-si* and *Si-chwen*, but those of the District of *Kan-chew*, one of the most Southern Cities of *Kyang-si*, yield that which is most esteem'd.

When in their Prime.

The Varnish ought not to be drawn till the Trees are of seven or eight Years Growth, for that which is procur'd before, is not so fit for Use. The Trunk of the youngest Tree, from whence they begin to draw it, is a *Chinese* Foot in Circumference, and the *Chinese* Foot is much larger than the King's Foot in *France*. It is said that the Varnish of such Trees is better than that which distills from those older, but that they yield much less: yet, whether there be any Foundation for this Report, is uncertain, because the Merchants make no Scruple to mix them both together. These Trees, whose Leaf and Bark are very like those of the *Ash*, are scarce ever more than fifteen Feet high; and when they are of that Growth, the Trunk is about two Foot and an half in Compass. It is affirm'd that they bear neither Flowers nor Fruit, and that they multiply in the manner following:

How propagated.

In the Spring, when the Tree begins to sprout, they choose the most promising Sprig that proceeds from the Trunk, not from the Branches; and when it is about a Foot long, they coat it with yellow Clay. This Coat begins about two Inches above the Place where it rises, and reaches four or five Inches lower: It is at least three Inches thick, is laid on very close, and cover'd with a Mat carefully ty'd about it, to secure it from Rain, and the Injuries of the Air. It is left in this manner from the Vernal to the Autumnal Equinox, and then they open the Earth a very little way, to examine the Condition of the Roots, which the Sprig usually shoots forth, and are divided into several Strings. If these Strings are of a yellowish or reddish Colour, they judge that it is time to separate the Sprig from the Tree, and then they cut it dexterously without doing it the least Damage, and afterwards plant it. But if the Strings are still white, it is a Sign they are too tender, and so they close up the Coat again, and defer cutting the Shoot till the next Spring. But whether it is planted in the Spring, or Autumn, a good deal of *Ashes* must be put into the Hole, prepar'd for that Purpose; otherwise the *Pismires*, as they affirm, would devour the tender Roots, or at least get out all the Sap, and so cause them to wither.

The Varnish when and how drawn off.

The Varnish is to be procur'd from these Trees only in the Summer Season; for in the Winter they yield none, and that which distills in the Spring or Autumn, is always mix'd with Water: besides, they yield it only in the Night-time, and never in the Day. In order to draw out the Varnish, they make several horizontal Incisions in the Bark, round the Trunk, which are either deeper or shallower, according to its Thickness. The first Row

of



of Incisions is but seven Inches from the Ground, the second is at the same Distance above the first; and thus at the end of every seven Inches there is a Row of Incisions; not only to the Top of the Trunk, but even along such of the Branches as are of a sufficient Thickness to bear it.

They use a little Knife with a semicircular Blade to make these Incisions, which must not be done directly downward, but slanting, nor deeper than the Bark is thick. While the Operator makes them with one Hand, he thrusts the Edge of a Shell, which he has in the other, as far in as he can, that is, about half a *Chinese* Inch; and this is sufficient to support the Shell without any thing else. These Shells are very common in *China*, and much larger than our biggest Oyster-Shells. The Incisions being made in the Evening, next Morning they gather what is run into the Shells; in the Evening they fix them again in the same Incisions, and continue so doing till the end of the Summer. The Proprietors of these Trees do not usually draw off the Varnish themselves, but let them for the Season at the Rate of two pence half-penny a Foot to Merchants; who hire Labourers to attend, giving them an Ounce of Silver a Month, if they find their own Victuals, which is most common, if not, then they have but three half-pence a Day. One of these Labourers is sufficient to take care of fifty Feet of Tree.

It is necessary to use some Precautions, to secure the Labourers from the bad Effects of the Varnish; so that whether the Merchants maintain them or not, they are oblig'd to have a large Vessel of Oil, wherein has been boil'd a certain Quantity of the Flethy Filaments which are found intermix'd with the Fat of Hogs, and remain after the Fat has been melted: The Proportion is one Ounce to a Pound of Oil. When the Workmen go to place the Shells in the Trees, they carry with them a little of this Oil, wherewith they rub the Face and Hands; and in the Morning, when they have gather'd the Varnish, and return to the Merchants, they rub themselves more carefully with it. After Dinner they wash their Bodies with hot Water, prepar'd by the Merchant, wherein has been boil'd a certain Quantity of the following Drugs, viz. the outward rough Shell of Chestnuts, the Bark of the Fir-Tree, Salt-Petre in Crystals, and a Sort of Blits, an Herb eaten in *China* and the *Indies*; all which are suppos'd to be of a cold Nature. With this Water every Labourer washes himself very carefully, in a little Tin Basin; for they will not use the common Copper Basins, wherein the *Chinese* usually wash their Faces in the Morning, having some Objection to that Metal.

Cautions to be taken by those who draw off the Varnish.

During the time they are at work at the Trees, their Heads are cover'd with a Linen Bag, ty'd about their Necks, wherein are only two Holes for their Eyes; before them they wear a sort of Apron, made of Doe-Skin, which is hung about their Necks with Strings, and ty'd round their Middles; they have also Buskins of the same, and long Gloves on their Arms. When they gather this Varnish, they have a Vessel made of Neat's Leather, fasten'd to their Girdle; then with one Hand they take out the Shells, and scrape them with a small Iron Instrument, which they hold in the other, till they have got out all the Varnish: at the Bottom of the Tree is a Basket, wherein they leave the Shells till the Evening. To facilitate coming at the Varnish, the Proprietors take care to plant the Trees not far asunder; and when the Time of gathering it is come, they lay a great number of Poles from one to another, which fasten'd with Cords serve instead of Ladders to get up by.

The Merchant has always ready at his House, a great earthen Vessel, plac'd under a square wooden Frame, like that of a Table, supported by four Feet. On the Frame is a thin Cloth, (whose four Corners are fasten'd to Rings,) lay'd very slack, whereon they pour the Varnish; and when the fluid part has run through, they wring out the rest, all but a little that remains behind, which is sold to the Druggists, as being sometimes us'd in Physic. They are well enough satisfy'd with their Bargain, when a thousand Trees in one Night yield twenty Pound of Varnish. After the Gathering is over, the Merchant puts the Varnish in wooden Buckets, well caulk'd on the Outside, fastening on the Covers with strong Nails. A Pound of Varnish while it is fresh, is valu'd at about forty Sous; and the Merchant gains double or more, according to the Distance of the Place to which it is carry'd.

Quantity of Varnish at one gathering.

The Labourers pay very dear for gathering the Varnish, if they do not take the above-mention'd Precautions. The Disease begins with a kind of Ringworm, which in the Space of a Day covers the whole Body, Face and all, for it spreads in a few Hours, and grows very red. Soon after the Person's Face becomes bloated, and his Body, which swells to an extraordinary Degree, seems quite cover'd with a Leprosy. To heal a Man attack'd with this Disorder, they give him immediately a considerable Quantity of the aforesaid medicinal Water for washing with to prevent these Accidents, which purges him violently: they afterwards make for him a strong Fumigation with the same Water, wrapping him up very close. By this means the Swelling is remov'd, but the Skin is not so soon heal'd; for it cracks in several places, from whence proceeds a great deal of Water. To remedy this, they take of the Herb that I call'd above a kind of Blits, dry and burn it; then upon the part most affected they put the Ashes, which imbibing the sharp Humour, the chopp'd Skin dries and falls off, a new Skin succeeding in place of it.

Disease caus'd by the effluvia of the Varnish.

The *Chinese* Varnish, besides the Beauty it gives to the smallest Piece of Work it is apply'd to, has likewise the Property of preserving the Wood, and hindering the least Moisture from entering it: Pour whatever Liquor you please upon it, and only wipe it with a wet Cloth, and there will remain neither Mark nor Smell behind. But then there is a great Art in using it: for let it be ever so good in its Kind, yet there is still need of a dextrous and careful Hand

Excellencies of the Varnish.



to apply it. The Workman ought to be Master of a great deal of Patience as well as Skill, to find the just Temper that the Varnish requires; for if it be either too thick or too thin, he will make but very indifferent Work of it.

How used in  
Japaning.

The Varnish is apply'd in two different Manners; the one, which is most simple, is immediately upon the Wood: After it has been well polish'd, they do it over two or three times with *Tong-yew*, a kind of Oil; and when it is well dry'd, lay on their Varnish as often. It is so transparent that the Grain of the Wood appears clearly through it; and therefore if they would conceal the Materials they work upon, they lay on the Varnish a great number of times, and then it becomes so glossy that it resembles a Looking-Glass. When the Work is dry, they paint several sorts of Figures with Gold or Silver, such as Flowers, Men, Birds, Trees, Mountains, Palaces, &c. over which they lay Varnish once more, but lightly, both to preserve and give it a Gloss.

The other Manner, which is not so plain, requires more preparation, for it is laid upon a kind of Mastic, or Paste-board, compos'd of Paper, Flax, Lime, and some other Materials, which being well beaten together, and glu'd upon the Wood, makes a Ground very smooth and firm: on this they pass the Oil before mention'd two or three times, and then apply several Lays of Varnish, letting each dry one after another. Every Workman has his own way of doing things, which are more or less perfect according to his Skill. (A)

To restore its  
lost Colour  
and Lustre.

It often happens that by spilling Tea and other hot Liquors upon these Japan'd Works, they lose their Lustre, because the Varnish grows dull, and turns yellow. "The Means, (says a Chinese Author) to give it the shining Black that it had before, is to expose it for a Night to a white Frost, or else, which is better, to hold it for some time in the Sun."

## Of the Porcelain or China-Ware.

Porcelain or  
China-Ware,

**P**ORCELAIN, which is the most common Furniture us'd by the *Chinese*, and the chief Ornament of their Houses, has been so much sought after in *Europe*, and still makes so great a Branch of its Trade, that it will not be amiss to acquaint the Reader with the Manner of making it. Some Authors pretend that it is compos'd of Egg-Shells, or of Shells of a certain Fish, bury'd in the Earth for twenty or thirty, or even a hundred Years. But this is mere Invention of such Writers, who have boldly palm'd their own silly Conjectures on the World, in many other Particulars also, concerning *China*; of which they have given the most false, and often the most ridiculous Accounts.

made only at  
King-te-ching  
in Kyang-si.

*China-Ware* is made no where but in one Town of the Province of *Kyang-si*, nam'd *King-te-ching*, which is a League in Length, containing upwards of a Million of Souls. It is not above three Miles distant from *Tew-lyang*, a City of the third Rank, whereon it depends, lying in the District of *Jau-chew*, one of the Cities of the first Rank in the Province. As *P. Dentrecolles* had a Church in *King-te-ching*, and among his Converts there were several, who both made *China-Ware*, and drove a considerable Trade in it, he obtain'd from them an exact Knowledge relating to every Branch of this curious Art. Besides this, he has seen every thing himself, and consulted the *Chinese* Books that treat on this Subject, especially the History or Annals of *Tew-lyang*: for it is a Custom in *China* for every City to print a History of its District, comprehending its Situation, Extent, and the Nature of the Country; an Account of the Manners of the Inhabitants, and the Persons distinguish'd for Arms, Learning, or Integrity of Life; the extraordinary Events, and especially the Merchandizes and Provisions which are exported or sold there.

Curious Ac-  
count of it  
by *P. Dentre-  
colles*.

This Missionary has search'd in vain to find out the Inventor of *China-Ware*, for the Annals say nothing of him, nor whether the Discovery was owing to Chance or Experience. They only say, that it was exquisitely white, without any Defect; and that whatever was transported into other Kingdoms, had no other Name but *The precious Jewels of Jau-chew*. And lower it is added, *The fine China-Ware, which is of a lively shining White, and a clear Sky-Blue, comes all from King-te-ching*. It is made in other Places, but it is of a quite different Colour and Fineness.

Its Inventor  
unknown.

In short (not to speak of the other sort of Earthen-Ware made all over *China*, but to which they never give the Name of Porcelain) there are some Provinces, as those of *Kan-ton* and *Fo-kyen*, where they make Porcelain, but Strangers cannot be deceiv'd therein; for that of *Fo-kyen* is as white as Snow, but has no Gloss, and is not painted with various Colours. The Workmen of *King-te-ching* formerly carry'd thither all their Materials, in hopes of being considerable Gainers, by reason of the great Trade then driven by the *Europeans* at *A-moi*; but they lost their Labour, for they could never make it there with Success.

Attempts to  
make it else-  
where fruitless.

The Emperor *Kang-hi*, who desir'd to know every thing, caus'd some Workmen in Porcelain to be brought to *Pe-king*, and every thing proper for that Manufacture. They did their utmost to succeed, being under the Prince's Eye, and yet we are assur'd that their Work fail'd. It is

(A) For a more particular Account of laying on the Varnish, see before, p. 9.



is possible the Reasons of Interest and Policy had a Hand in the Miscarriage; but however that be, *King-te-ching* alone has the Honour of supplying all parts of the World with Porcelain; even the *Japanese* come to *China* for it.

Every thing that relates to *China-Ware*, says P. *Dentrecolles* (B), (for it is he who speaks in the rest of this Article) may be reduc'd to the following Heads: *viz.* The Materials whereof it is compos'd, and how they are prepar'd; the different Kinds of Porcelain, and the Manner of making it; the Oil which gives it the Gloss, and its Qualities; the Colours which embellish it, and the Art of laying them on; the Baking, and Measures taken to give it a proper Degree of Heat; lastly, I shall make some Reflections on the ancient and modern Porcelain, as also on certain things, which render it impracticable for the *Chinese* to imitate those Patterns that have been or may be sent them.

But before I begin, it may be proper to undeceive those who imagine that the Name of Porcelain comes from a *Chinese* Word. Indeed there are some Words, tho' but very few in number, which are both *French* and *Chinese*: *Té* [or Tea] for Instance, as we call it, is likewise call'd *Té* in the Province of *Fo-kyen*, tho' the Name in the *Mandarin* Language is *Cha*. *Papa* and *Mama*, are likewise Words, which in some Provinces, and particularly at *King-te-ching*, are in the Mouths of Children, and signify *Father* and *Mother*. But as for the Name of Porcelain, it is so far from being *Chinese*, that none of the Syllables whereof it is compos'd, can be either pronounc'd or written by the *Chinese*; the Sounds not being to be found in their Language. It is likely that the Word came from the *Portuguese*, notwithstanding that with them *Porcellana* signifies properly a *Cup* or *Porrenger*; and that *Leça* is the Name they generally give to the Ware, which we call Porcelain, and the *Chinese* commonly *Tsé-ki*.

## I. The Materials of China-Ware, and how prepar'd.

THE Matter of Porcelain consists of two sorts of Earth, one call'd *Pe-tun-tse*, and the other *Kau-lin*: This latter is mix'd with shining Particles, the other is simply white, and very fine to the Touch. At the same time that a great number of Barks ascend the River from *Jau-chew* to *King-te-ching*, in order to load with *China-Ware*, nearly as many small ones descend from *Ki-mwen*, laden with *Pe-tun-tse* and *Kau-lin*, in form of Bricks; for *King-te-ching* produces no Materials fit for Porcelain.

The *Pe-tun-tse*, whose Grain is so very fine, is nothing else but pieces of Rock, dug out of Quarries, and made into that Form. All sorts of Stones are not proper for *Pe-tun-tse*, otherwise there would be no Occasion to go twenty or thirty Leagues distant in the next Province to look for it. The *Chinese* say the right Stones ought to have a greenish Cast.

The first Preparation is in the following manner: They break the Stone with great Iron Mallets, and putting the Pieces into Mortars, reduce them to very fine Powder, by help of certain Pestles, the Head whereof is made of Stone, and capp'd with Iron. These Pestles work without ceasing, being put in Motion, either by the Labour of Men, or else by means of Water, in the same manner as the Hammers of Paper-Mills. They afterwards cast the Powder into a great Jar full of Water, and stir it up strongly with an Iron Shovel; then having rested a few Minutes, there rises on the Surface a sort of Cream four or five Fingers thick, which they take off, and pour into another Vessel full of Water. In this manner they agitate the Water in the first Jar several times, still gathering what swims on the Top, till there remains nothing but the gross part, which they take out and pound afresh.

With respect to the second Jar, wherein that is cast which was gather'd from the first, they wait till there is form'd at the Bottom a kind of Paste, and when the Water appears clear at Top, they pour it gently off, that the Sediment may not be disturb'd, and throw the Paste into large Moulds to dry: But before it is quite hard, they divide it into small Bricks, which they sell by hundreds; and to this Shape, and its Colour, it owes the Name of *Pe-tun-tse*. The Moulds wherein this Paste is thrown, are a kind of large Boxes, whose Bottoms are cover'd with Bricks, plac'd upright, so as to make an even Surface, over which they lay a thick Cloth; then they pour in the Matter, which they cover soon after with another Cloth, and place thereon a second Bed of Bricks, laid close together flatwise: All this is done to get out the Water more readily, without losing any thing of the Substance, which as it grows hard, easily takes the Figure of the Bricks.

There would be nothing to add to this Article, if the *Chinese* were not addicted to adulterate their Goods; but People who roll small Grains of Paste in Pepper Powder, in order to mix them with the true Pepper, are not willing to sell *Pe-tun-tse* unmix'd with grosser Matter; for which reason they are oblig'd to purify it again at *King-te-ching*, before they use it.

The *Kau-lin*, which is another component part of Porcelain, requires somewhat less Labour in the Preparation than the *Pe-tun-tse*: They find Mines of it in the Heart of certain Mountains, whose Surface is cover'd with a reddish Earth. These Mines are pretty deep, and the Matter we are speaking of is found in Lumps, which they make into Bricks, in the same manner as the *Pe-tun-tse*. I do not at all doubt that the white Earth of *Malta*, call'd *St. Paul's Earth*, is of much the same Nature with the *Kau-lin*, tho' the small shining Particles have not been ob-

(B) This Account is taken from the *Lettres Edifiantes*, where there are two Pieces written by this *Jesuit* on the Subject.



**Its Quality.** observ'd in it. The fine Porcelain receives its Firmness from the *Kau-lin*, which is as it were the Sinews thereof; and thus the Mixture of a soft Earth gives Strength to the *Pe-tun-tse*, which is got from the hardest Rocks. A rich Merchant inform'd me that some Years ago the *English* or *Dutch* (for the *Chinese* Name is common to both (c) Nations) bought a Quantity of the *Pe-tun-tse*, and carry'd it into their Country, to make *China-Ware*; but that having forgot the *Kau-lin*, their Design miscarry'd, as they afterwards own'd: On which Occasion the *Chinese* Merchant said with a Laugh, that *They would have a Body, whose Flesh should be supported without Bones.*

**A third ingredient or kind of Chalk.** They have lately found out another proper Ingredient in the Composition of *China-Ware*, which is a Stone, or kind of Crayon, call'd *Wba-she*, whereof a sort of Ptifan is made by the *Chinese* Physicians, who reckon it detensive, opening and cooling. They take six parts of this Stone, and one of Liquorice, which they pulverise; and putting half a Spoonful of the Powder into a Cup of fresh Water, give it the Patient to drink, pretending that this Ptifan cools the Blood, and allays the internal Heat. The Persons concern'd in this Manufactory have thought fit to use this Stone in the room of *Kau-lin*; and perhaps those parts of *Europe* that yield no *Kau-lin* may furnish *Wba-she*. It is call'd *Wba*, because it is glutinous, and partakes something of the Nature of Sope. The *China-Ware* that is made with it, is scarce, and much dearer than the other. The Grain of it is exceeding fine, and as for the Painting, if compar'd with ordinary *China-Ware*, it as far exceeds it as Vellum does Paper; besides this *China-Ware* is so light, that it surprises one who is accusom'd to handle the other Sorts: It is likewise much more brittle than the common, and it is difficult to hit upon the true Degree of baking it. Some do not make use of the *Wba-she* for the Body of the Work; contenting themselves with making a fine Glue of it, wherein they dip the Porcelain when it is dry, that it may take one Lay before it receives the Colour and Varnish, by which means it acquires a good deal of Beauty.

**How prepar'd.** I shall now explain the Manner of working the *Wba-she*. (1) When they have taken it out of the Mine, they wash it in River or Rain-Water, to separate the remainder of yellow Earth that sticks to it. (2) They then break it, and put it into a Tub of Water to dissolve, preparing it in the same manner as the *Kau-lin*. It is affirm'd that Porcelain may be made with *Wba-she* alone, prepar'd in this manner, without any Mixture. However, one of my Converts, who had made some of this Kind, told me, that to eight parts of *Wba-she* he puts two parts of *Pe-tun-tse*; and that for the rest he proceeded in the same manner as when he made the common *China-Ware*, with the *Pe-tun-tse* and *Kau-lin*. In this new kind of Porcelain the *Wba-she* supplies the Place of the *Kau-lin*: but one is much dearer than the other, for a Load of *Kau-lin* cost but twenty Sous, whereas that of the *Wba-she* stands in a Crown; so that no wonder this sort of *China-Ware* should be dearer than the common.

**Also for painting Figures.** I shall add one Observation more concerning *Wba-she*: When it is prepar'd and made into little Bricks like the *Pe-tun-tse*, they dissolve a certain Quantity of them in Water; and making a very clear Paste of it, with a Pencil dipp'd therein trace several Fancies upon the Porcelain, to which, after it is dry, they give the Varnish. When it is bak'd these Designs appear, being of a different White from that of the Body of the Ware, and not unlike a thin Vapour, spread over the Surface. The White of the *Wba-she* is call'd *White of Ivory*, *Syang ya pe*.

**Another Mineral for painting white.** They paint Figures on the Porcelain, also with *Sbe-kau*, a kind of Stone or Mineral like Allum, which gives another kind of white Colour, and is particular in this, that before it is prepar'd it must be burnt in the Fire; afterwards they break it, and manage it like the *Wba-she*: they throw it into a Vessel full of Water, stir it about, and gather the Cream that swims on the Top from time to time; and when this is done they find a pure Mass, which they use in the same manner as the purify'd *Wba-she*.

The *Sbe-kau* does not enter into the Composition of Porcelain; for nothing yet has been found proper to supply the Place of the *Kau-lin*, and give Consistence to the Ware, but the *Wba-she*. If, as they tell me, more than two parts of *Pe-tun-tse* be put to eight of *Wba-she*, the Porcelain will sink down in the Oven, for want of a Body, or rather, because there is not a proper Cohesion of the Parts.

## 2. The Oil which gives the Gloss to the Porcelain.

**The Oil of Stone or Varnish, for glazing the Porcelain.** BESIDES the Barks loaded with *Pe-tun-tse* and *Kau-lin*, which lye along the Bankside at *King-te-ching*, there are others full of a whitish liquid Substance. I knew a great while ago, that this was an Oil which gives the Ware its Whiteness and Gloss, but was ignorant what it was made of; a thing I have since learn'd. The *Chinese* Name *Tse*, given to different Sorts of Oil, seems not so suitable to this Liquid, as the *Tsi*, which signifies *Varnish*, as I believe it would be call'd in *Europe*. This Oil or Varnish is procur'd from a very hard Stone; but this is no strange thing, since it is pretended that Stones are form'd of the Salts and Oils of the Earth, which mix and unite intimately together.

Tho'

(c) That is, I suppose, *The Red-hair'd Men*. See before p. 333.



Tho' Oil may be gotten from the Stone, whereof the *Pe-tun-tse* are made, yet they choose this sort, because it is whiter, and the Spots are of a deeper Green. The History of *Few-lyang*, tho' it does not enter into particulars, says, the Stone proper for the Oil has Spots of the Colour of *Cypress* Leaves, *Pe-shu ye pan*; or red Marks on a brownish ground, much like the Plant call'd *Toad-flax*, *Ju-chi ma tang*.

After this Stone has been very well wash'd, it must be prepar'd in the same manner as the *Pe-tun-tse*: And when the Cream, or purest part of the Matter in the first Jar, or Vessel, has been put into the second, to about a hundred Pounds thereof, they add a Pound of *She-kau*, made red-hot in the fire, and beaten small. This is, as it were, the Runnet which gives it a Consistence, tho' they take care to keep it always liquid.

This Oil of Stone is never used alone, but is mixed with another, which is, as it were, the Soul of it, and compos'd as follows: They take large pieces of Quick-Lime, whereon they throw a little Water with their Hands to reduce it to a Powder; over this they spread a Lay of dry Fern, and over that again another of Lime. Having thus put on several Lays, alternately one upon another, they set Fire to the Fern; and when the whole is consum'd, divide the Ashes between five or six new Lays of dry Fern: or if there be more of them the Oil will be so much the better.

Heretofore, says the History of *Few-lyang*, besides Fern, they made use of the Wood of a Tree, the Fruit of which is call'd *Se-tse*. To judge from the roughness of the Fruit before it is ripe, and by its little Crown, it seems to be a kind of Medlar. They now make no use of it, perhaps because it is become exceeding scarce; and probably it is for want of this Wood that the *China*-Ware made at present is not so beautiful as it was formerly. The nature of the Lime and Fern contributes to the goodness of the Oil; and I have observ'd that what comes from some Places is much more valuable than that which is brought from others.

When they have gotten a sufficient quantity of the Ashes of Lime and Fern, they throw them into a Vessel full of Water. In a hundred Pounds of it they dissolve a Pound of *She-kau*, then stirring the Mixture very well, let it rest till there appears upon the Surface a Skin or Crust, which they gather and put into a second Vessel, repeating the whole several times. When there is form'd a kind of liquid Paste at the bottom of the second Jar, they prepare it, pouring off the Water very gently; and this is the second Oil, which is to be mixt with the preceding. In order to have a proper Mixture, the two kinds of Oil ought to be equally thick; for which reason they from time to time dip small Bricks of *Pe-tun-tse* into both, in order to discover by their Surface, when drawn out, whether the Oil be of an equal Consistence. So much for the Quality of these two sorts of Oils: As to the Quantity, the best way is to mix ten Measures of Oil of Stone, with one Measure of that made of the Ashes of Fern and Lime; those who are most sparing, never put in less than three Measures. If the Merchants who sell this Oil are inclin'd to tricking, they may easily increase the Quantity, only putting Water into it; and to conceal the Fraud, adding *She-kau* in proportion, which hinders the Matter from being too liquid.

There is another kind of Varnish call'd *Tsi-kin yew*, that is, *Varnish of burn'd Gold*: but I should rather call it Varnish of the Colour of Cast Brass, or Coffee, or of a dead Leaf. To make this Varnish, which is a new Invention, they take common yellow Earth, and manage it in the same manner as the *Pe-tun-tse*; and when this Earth is prepar'd, they use none but the finest Matter, which they cast into Water, and make a kind of Glue of, about the thickness of the common Varnish call'd *Pe-yew*, made of pieces of Rock-stone. These two Varnishes *Tsi-kin* and *Pe-yew* are mix'd together; and as for this purpose they ought to be of an equal Consistence, trial is made thereof by dipping a *Pe-tun-tse* into each sort, and if the Varnishes enter the Bricks, they are deem'd fit for incorporating. They likewise put into the *Tsi-kin*, Varnish, or the Oil of Lime and Fern-Ashes prepar'd as above, and of the same Consistence as the *Pe-yew*; mixing more or less of these two Varnishes with the *Tsi-kin*, according as they would have it deeper or clearer; to know which several Trials must be made: For instance, they put two Cups full of the *Tsi-kin* to eight of the *Pe-yew*, and to four Cups full of this Mixture they put one Cup of Varnish made of Lime and Fern.

A few Years ago they found the Art to paint with the *Tsai*, that is, with the Violet-Colour, and to gild the *China*-Ware. They have also try'd to make a mixture of Leaf-Gold with Varnish and Powder of Flint, which might be apply'd in the same manner as they do the red Oil: but this Attempt did not succeed, and they found that the Varnish *Tsi-kin* look'd more beautiful and glossy. At one time they made Cups, applying the gilt Varnish on the Outside, and the pure white within: But they have varied their Method since. Thus upon a Cup or Vessel, which they designed to varnish with the *Tsi-kin*, they stuck on a round or square piece of wet Paper in one or two Places; then having laid on the *Tsi-kin*, they took off the Papers, and painted the Places with red or blue, varnishing those Parts also when the Ware was dry. Some fill'd up these empty Spaces with a blue or black Ground, in order to gild them after the first Baking.

### 3. Manner of making China-Ware.

BEFORE I shew the Method of using this Oil, or rather Varnish, it will be proper to give an Account how *China*-Ware is made: in doing which I shall begin with the Work that goes forward in the least frequented Part of *King-te-ching*. There, in a Place encompass'd



pass'd with Walls, they have built vast Pent-Houses, wherein appears abundance of Earthen Vessels in rows one above another. Within this inclosure an infinite number of Workmen live and work, each having his particular Task. One Piece of *China-Ware*, before it is fit for the Furnace, passes through the Hands of above twenty Persons without the least Confusion, they having doubtless found that by such means the Work goes on the faster.

*Pe-tun-tse and Kau-lin how purify'd.*

The first Labour consists in purifying the *Pe-tun-tse* and *Kau-lin*, from the gross Parts it abounds with when it comes to them. To this end they break the *Pe-tun-tse* in Pieces, and throw it into a Vessel full of Water, stirring it about with a large Spatula till it is dissolv'd: then they let it settle a few Minutes; after which they gather what swims on the Surface, repeating the same in the Manner before mentioned. As for the Pieces of *Kau-lin* there is no occasion to break them; for being put into a very clean Basket, and so let down into a Vessel full of Water, they dissolve of themselves, commonly leaving Impurities behind that are thrown away. In a Year's time this Refuse gathers to a vast quantity, making great heaps of white spongy Sand, of which it is necessary to clear the Place where they work.

And mixed.

These two Materials being thus prepar'd, they must be mix'd in a just Proportion: For making fine *China-Ware*, there goes the same quantity of *Kau-lin* as *Pe-tun-tse*; for the middle Sort, they put four Parts of *Kau-lin* to six of *Pe-tun-tse*; and for the worst, they allow one Part of *Kau-lin* to three of *Pe-tun-tse*. When so far is done, they throw the Mass into a large hollow Place, well pav'd, and cemented every where: Then they tread and knead it till it grows hard. This Work is very laborious; for the Christians who were employ'd at it seldom came to Church, not being able to obtain that Liberty, without getting others to supply their Places; because when this Labour ceases to go on, all the rest of the Workmen stop of course. The Matter being thus wrought, they take Pieces of it and spread them on large Slates, where they knead and roll it every way, taking great care that there be no hollow Places in it, or any foreign Matter mixt with it: For a Hair or a Grain of Sand would spoil the Ware: and if the Mass is not well kneaded the *China* will crack, split, run, and warp. From these first Elements arise so many curious Works in *Porcelain*; which are made, some with the Wheel, others in Moulds only, and afterwards finish'd with the Chisel.

Smooth *China* made with the Wheel.

All the smooth Ware are made the first way: A Tea-Cup, for instance, when it comes from the Wheel is very imperfect; not unlike the Crown of a Hat before it is form'd on the Block. The Workman gives it the Wideness and Height requir'd, and parts with it almost as soon as he has taken it in hand: For he gets but three Deniers [or the value of half a Farthing] for a Board, and every Board contains twenty six Pieces. The Foot of the Cup is nothing then but a shapeless piece of Earth; which is hollowed with a Chisel, when the Cup is dry, and has receiv'd all the Ornaments intended for it. From the Wheel the Cup passes immediately to a second Workman, who places it on its Foot; and soon after to a third, who puts it in a Mould, (which is fixt on a sort of turning Wheel) and gives it the Figures: A fourth polishes the Cup with a Chisel, especially towards the Edges; and to make it of a proper Thinness to render it transparent, scrapes it several times, moistening it a very little if it be dry, lest it should break. When the Cup is taken out of the Mould, it must be roll'd gently thereon, without pressing it more on one side than the other; for else it would not be exactly round, or would warp.

to finish

It is surprizing to see with what Swiftnes these Vessels run thro' so many Hands. Some affirm that a Piece of *China*, by the time it is bak'd, passes the Hands of seventy Workmen; which I can easily believe after what I have seen my self.

Ware made in Moulds.

The great Pieces of *Porcelain* are made at twice: One half is lifted upon the Wheel by three or four Men, each of whom supports a Side of it, in order to give it the proper Shape; and the other half being almost dry is join'd to it, by means of some of the same Matter moisten'd in Water, which serves instead of Mortar or Glue. When the whole is quite dry, they polish the Place where the Pieces were join'd with a Knife, both on the Inside and the Outside, which afterwards by means of the Varnish looks as smooth as the rest. In the same manner they apply Handles, Ears, and other parts to the Vessels.

How the Moulds are used.

What has been said, chiefly regards the *Porcelain* made in Moulds, or by the Hands only: Such are those Pieces that are fluted, or representing several Fancies, as Animals, Grottesque Figures, Idols, Busts, bespoken by the *Europeans*, and the like. Mould-Works of this sort consist of three or four Pieces, which are join'd to each other, and afterwards finish'd with Instruments, proper to hollow and polish them, as well as to add several Strokes, which they do not receive from the Mould. As for Flowers and other Ornaments that are not in Relief, but as it were engrav'd, they are impress'd on the *China* with Seals and Moulds: They also apply Relief's ready prepar'd, much in the same manner as Gold-Lace is put on a Suit of Clothes.

What follows, relating to Moulds, I have lately been an Eye-witness of myself. When a Model is given them, which they cannot imitate by the Wheel, they take the Impression of it with a sort of Earth fit for that purpose, and then separating the Mould from the Model in several Pieces, let it dry gently.

How the Moulds are used.

When they are about to make use of this Mould, they set it near the Fire for some time: after which putting in a quantity of the Stuff, according to the Thickness the *China* is to be of, they press it in every where with the Hand; and then placing it for a Minute or so before the Fire, the Figure loosens from the Mould, by the drying up of the Moisture that held them together. The different Pieces thus work'd seperately, are united again with the Stuff made somewhat liquid. I have seen Figures of Animals thus made that were quite solid. They first let



the Mass harden, then giving it the Figure propos'd, afterwards finish'd it with a Chisel, or added Parts that were made separately. These sorts of Works are very troublesome to make, and in great request. When the Work is finish'd, it is varnish'd and bak'd; after which they paint it, if it be desir'd, with several Colours, and gild it, baking it a second time. Pieces of *Porcelain* thus made are sold extremely dear. All these Works ought to be shelter'd from the Cold, for when they do not dry equally, the Parts that are moist crack: To avoid which Inconveniency, they sometimes make Fires in these Laboratories.

The Moulds, abovemention'd, are made of a yellow fat Earth, which is as it were in Lumps, and as I imagine is common enough, being gotten in a Place not far from *King te ching*. They knead this Earth, and when it is become very firm, and somewhat hard, they take the proper quantity for the Mould that is to be made, and beat it very much: After they have given it the Figure that is desir'd they let it dry, and in the last place finish it upon the Wheel. The Potter here is well paid for his Labour. To hasten a Work that is bespoke, a great number of Moulds are made, for employing several Companies of Workmen at the same time. If care be taken of these Moulds, they will last a long while; and a Merchant, who has them ready by him for those sorts of Works which *Europeans* require, can deliver his Goods much sooner and cheaper, and yet gain considerably more by them, than another who has them to make. But if they should happen to crack, or have the least Flaw in them, they are of no farther Service, unless for *China* of the same Fashion, but smaller Size: For in such a Case they put it upon the Wheel, and repair it, that it may serve a second time.

How and of what made.

#### 4. Of the Colours for embellishing the China, and the Art of laying them on.

IT is now time to embellish the *Porcelain*, by letting it pass into the Hands of the Painters. These *Wha-pei*, or Painters of *China*, are as poor as the other Workmen; and indeed it is no wonder, for, excepting some few, a Prentice in *Europe*, who had serv'd at the Trade but a few Months, cou'd perform as well. What they do that way is the effect of Practice, assisted by none of the most extensive Imagination, being quite ignorant of all the excellent Rules of this Art; and yet it must be confess'd, they have a knack of painting *Porcelain*, as well as Fans and Lanthorns, of a very fine Gauze, with Flowers, Animals, and Landscips, which are justly admir'd.

The Painters of China-Ware no Artists.

The Painting part is divided, in the same Work-house, among a great number of Operators. It is the sole Business of one to strike the first colour'd Circle, near the Edges of the Ware; another traces the Flowers, which are painted by a third; it belongs to one to draw Rivers and Mountains, to another Birds and other Animals: As for the Figures of Men, they are commonly the worst done of all. But we have no right to rally the *Chinese*, for their manner of painting certain Landscips, and Plans of Cities, brought illuminated from *Europe*.

The *China* is made of all Colours, tho' one seldom meets in *Europe* with any sort, but that with a bright Blue upon a white Ground: However, I believe our Merchants have imported others. The Ground of some is like our Burning-Glasses; that of others is quite red, done either with Oil-red or Blown-red, and frosted with little Points, like our Paintings in Water-colours. When both sorts of Work are done to perfection, which yet is no easy matter, they are vastly priz'd, and extremely dear. In short, there is other *China*-Ware painted with Landscips, in almost all sorts of Colours, and set off with the Lustre of Gilding: These are very beautiful when one will go to the expence of them; but as for the ordinary *China* of this kind, it is not comparable to that which is painted simply with Blue.

China made of all Colours at present.

The Annals of *King te ching* say, that formerly People made use only of white *Porcelain*: Perhaps because they had not as yet found Blue in the Neighbourhood of *Jau-chew*, inferior to that used for the finest Ware; which last comes from far, and is sold very dear. They relate that a *China*-Ware Merchant, having been ship-wreck'd on a desert Coast, found by accident abundantly more Riches than he had lost; for wandering upon the Shore, while the Sailors were building a small Vessel out of the Wreck, he perceiv'd that the Stones for making the finest Azure or Blue were very common there: Wherefore he carry'd back with him a considerable quantity of them, and tis said, that so charming a Blue was never seen at *King te ching*. But it seems the *Chinese* Merchant could never afterwards light upon the Coast, which Chance had before conducted him to.

None used formerly but white.

The Azure is prepar'd after the following manner: First they bury it in the Gravel, which is about the Depth of half a Foot in the Furnace, where they calcine it for twenty four Hours; then they reduce it into an insipable Powder, in the same manner as they do other Colours, not upon Marble, but in great *Porcelain*-Mortars, the Bottoms of which are unglaz'd, as well as the Head of the Pestles which serve to beat it. With regard to this Affair, there are some few Remarks to be made: (1.) Before it is buried in the Gravel, of the Furnace, which is done before the Furnace is heated, it must be well wash'd from the Earth that sticks to it. (2.) It ought to be enclos'd in a Box made of *Porcelain* very well luted. (3.) When it is calcin'd they break it, and passing it through a Searse, put it into a glaz'd Vessel, pouring thereon boiling Water: then stirring it about, they take off the Scum which swims on the Top, and decant the

Lapis Azurinus how prepared.



the Water very gently. This way of purifying the Blue with boiling Water must be repeated twice; after which they throw the Blue, while it is yet moist, and in the condition of a very fine Paste, into a Mortar, where they grind it for a considerable time.

Where found I have been assur'd that this Azure [or Lapis Armenus] is found in Coal-Pits, or among the red Earth that lies near them: It is usual for some of it to appear on the Surface, which is an infallible Sign that if you dig a little in the same Place you will find more. It exists in the Mine in small Pieces, about the Bigness of the middle Finger, but flat and not round. The coarse Azure is common enough, but the fine is very scarce, and besides is not easily distinguish'd by the Eye; wherefore to prevent being deceiv'd, it is necessary to try it. This Proof consists in painting a *China* Cup, and then baking it. Could *Europe* furnish this fine *Liau* or Azure, and the beautiful *Tsyu*, which is a kind of Violet, as a great deal of it would go in a little room, it would be a charming Commodity for *King te ching*, from whence the most lovely *Porcelain* might be brought back in exchange. I have already (p) said that the *Tsyu* is sold for a *Lyang* and eight *Tyen* the Pound, that is, for nine Francs; and a Box of fine *Liau*, containing only ten Ounces, is sold for two *Taëls*, which is twenty Soûs an Ounce.

China-Ink  
not fit for  
Paint.

They have attempted to paint some Vessels black, with the finest *China-Ink*, but without Success; for when the Ware was bak'd it became very white. Whence it may be presum'd that the parts of the Ink, not being substantial enough, were dissipated by the action of the Fire; or rather that they had not sufficient strength to penetrate the Lay of Varnish, nor to produce a Colour different from that of the Varnish.

Red Colour.

The red is made of *Tsau-fan*, or Copperas; and as the *Chinese* may have something particular in their Method of doing it, I shall give an Account thereof. They put a Pound of Copperas into a Crucible, which they lute well to another, on the Top of which last is a small Opening, cover'd in such a manner that it may be easily uncover'd when there is occasion: Then they put kindled Charcoal all about it, and to make the Reverberation the stronger, enclose it with Bricks. The Matter is not brought to perfection till the very black Smoak ceases, and a kind of a small, fine, thin Cloud succeeds. Then they take a little of this Matter, moisten it with Water, and trying it upon Fir-wood, if it produces a bright Red, they take away the Fire which surrounds, and almost covers the Crucible. When it is quite cold, they find a small Cake of Red at the Bottom of the Crucible: But the finest red adheres to the Crucible that is above. A pound of Copperas yields four Ounces of Red, wherewith they paint the *China*.

Tho' the *Porcelain* is naturally white, and becomes still more so by means of the Oil that is lay'd on it, yet there are certain Figures, that require the laying a particular sort of white on the *China*, which is painted with different Colours.

White, Violet, Green, and Yellow.

This White is made with a Powder of transparent Flint, calcin'd in the Furnace after the same manner as the Lapis Armenus. To half an Ounce of this Powder they add an Ounce of powder'd Ceruse, or White-lead, which also enters into the Composition of the Colours. For instance, to make a Green, to one Ounce of Ceruse, and half an Ounce of powder'd Flint, they add three Ounces of what they call *Tong-wa pyen*; which, according to the Information I could get, must be the finest Scales of hammer'd Copper. The Green thus prepar'd becomes the Mother of the Violet, which is made by adding a quantity of the White, and is the deeper the more there is of the preparation of Green. The Yellow is made by mixing seven Drams of prepar'd white, mention'd before, with three Drams of the Copperas Red.

The Colours  
do not appear  
till after the  
second bak-  
king.

The Colours apply'd to *Porcelain* after it has been varnish'd and bak'd do not appear green, violet, yellow, or red, till it has receiv'd the second Baking. The *Chinese* Book says, these several Colours are laid on with Ceruse, Salt-petre, and Copperas; but the Christian Potters mentioned nothing to me but White-lead, which is mix'd with the Colour, when it is dissolv'd in Gum-water.

Red Oil Co-  
lours.

The red Oil-colour, call'd *Yew-li-bong*, is made with the Powder of red Copper, and that of a Stone or Flint which has a reddish Cast. A Christian Physician told me that this Stone was a kind of Allum, used in Physic. They beat the whole in a Mortar, mixing with it young Men's Urines and the Oil of *Pe-yew*; but I could never discover the Quantities of these Ingredients, those who have the Secret being very careful not to divulge it. They lay this Composition on the *China* before it is bak'd, without employing any other Varnish; but they must take heed while it is baking that it does not run to the bottom of the Cup. They have assur'd me that the Ware whereon they lay this Red is not made of *Pe-tun-tse* but *Kau-lin*, of the yellow Earth, prepar'd in the same manner as the *Pe-tun-tse*. It is very likely that such kind of Earth is most proper to take this Colour.

Copper Pow-  
der.

Perhaps you will be glad to be inform'd how this Copper Powder is prepar'd. It is well known, as I have elsewhere observ'd, that they have no coin'd Money in *China*, but instead of it make use of Silver in Ingots, many Pieces of which are of a base Alloy: however, on certain Occasions, there is a necessity of reducing it to fine Silver; as when, for instance, the Taxes, or such like Contributions are to be paid: At which times they have recourse to Workmen, whose sole Business is to refine it, by separating from it the Copper and the Lead in Furnaces made for the purpose. And of this Copper, which probably retains some imperceptible Particles of the Silver and Lead, they make the Dust.

Before the melted Copper hardens and congeals, they dip a Brush slightly in Water, and, striking the Handle of it, sprinkle the Water on the melted Copper. This causes a Skin to rise upon the Surface, which they take up with small Iron Tongs, and plunge into cold Water: whence

(x) Before, p. 335. the Violet Colour is call'd *Ts'wi*, and no Price mention'd.



whence the Copper Powder is made, which increases as often as they repeat the Operation. 'Tis my Opinion, that if the Copperas was dissolv'd in Aqua-fortis, this Powder of Copper wou'd be fitter for the Red I am speaking of: But the *Chinese* have not the Art of making Aqua-fortis and Aqua-regia, all their Inventions being exceeding simple.

The other Kind with *Che-wi-bong* or *Blown-red* is done in the following Manner: They take a Pipe, and covering one end with a fine Gauze, apply it gently to the red Powder ready prepar'd, which the Gauze takes up; then blowing thro' the other end upon the *China*, it appears cover'd over with small red Specks. This sort of Ware is still dearer and scarcer than the former; because the making it is more difficult, if all the necessary Rules are observ'd.

They blow on the Blue in the same manner as the Red, but it is much easier to succeed therein. The Workmen agree, that if any wou'd be at the Expence, they could likewise blow Gold and Silver upon the *China*, the Ground of which should be black or blue; that is, they cou'd spread equally over the Ware a kind of Golden and Silver Shower. This sort of Porcelain being of a new Taste, would not fail to please. They sometimes blow the Varnish on. Thus, several Years ago they made some *China*-Ware, for the Emperor, so very fine and slender, that they were oblig'd to lay them upon Cotton for fear of breaking them by handling; and as they could not dip them in the Varnish, without taking them in their Hands, they cover'd them therewith by blowing it on.

I have observ'd that in blowing on the Blue, the Workmen, in order to lose as little as possible of the Colour, that does not stick upon the *China*, place the Ware upon a Pedestal, with a large Sheet of Paper underneath, which will serve for some time; and when the Azure is dry, they clear it off the Paper with a small Brush.

But for the better understanding the Method us'd by the Painters in mixing their Colours, and thence making new ones, it will be proper to set down the Proportion of the *Chinese* Weights. The *Kin*, or *Chinese* Pound, is sixteen Ounces, call'd *Lyang*, or *Tael*. (A) The *Lyang*, or *Tael* is, a *Chinese* Ounce; the *Tsien*, or *Mas*, is the tenth Part of a *Lyang* or *Tael*; the *Fwen* is the tenth Part of the *Tsien* or *Mas*; the *Li* is the tenth Part of the *Fwen*; the *Hau* is the tenth Part of the *Li*.

This being premis'd, I shall shew how they compound the Red which is made with Copperas, call'd *Tsau-fan*, and us'd upon the Porcelain that is bak'd a second time. To a *Lyang* or *Tael* of Ceruse they put two *Tsien* of this Red, and, passing both together through a Searce, mix them dry. Then they incorporate them with Water mix'd with common Glue, such as is sold, reduc'd to the Consistence of Fish Glue: This causes the Red to stick when apply'd to the *China*, and prevents its running. As the Colours, if laid on too thick, would produce Inequalities in the Ware, they from time to time dip the Pencil lightly in Water, and then in the Colour they are about to paint with.

To make a White, they add to one *Lyang* of Ceruse, three *Tsien* and three *Fwen* of the impalpable Powder of the most transparent Flints, calcin'd in the Gravel of a Furnace, as before mention'd; making use of Water only, without Glue, to incorporate it with the Ceruse.

They make a deep Green by adding to a *Lyang* of Ceruse, three *Tsien* and three *Fwen* of the Powder of Flints, with eight *Fwen*, or near a *Tsien* of *Tong wa pyen*. This last is nothing else but the Drofs of Copper when it is melted; and I have learnt that in using it to make the Green, it must be wash'd, and separated carefully from the Grains of Copper mix'd with it, which are not proper for a Green; nor must any part of that Metal be us'd, excepting the Scales which fly off in hammering it.

As for the yellow Colour, it is made by adding to a *Lyang* of Ceruse, three *Tsien*, and three *Fwen* of the Powder of Flints, and one *Fwen* eight *Li* of pure Red, that has not been mix'd with Ceruse: Another Workman has told me, that to make a fine Yellow, he put two *Fwen* and a half of the said Red.

A *Lyang* of Ceruse, three *Tsien* and three *Fwen* of the Powder of Flints, and two *Li* of Azure, make a deep Blue inclining to a Violet. One of the Workmen, whom I consulted, thought that there should be eight *Li* of the Azure — The Mixture of Green and White, for instance, one part green to two parts white, makes a very bright Sea-Green. — The Mixture of Yellow and Green, for instance, two Cups-full of a deep Green to one of a Yellow, make the *Ku-lü* Green, which resembles a Leaf somewhat faded.

To make a Black they moisten the Azure in Water, so as it may be a little thickish, mixing therewith common Glue macerated in Lime, and boil'd to the consistence of Mouth-Glue. When they have painted with this Black the Porcelain that is to be bak'd over again, they cover the black Places with White; and, in the baking, the White incorporates with the Black, just as common Varnish incorporates with the Blue of common *China*-Ware.

There is another Colour, call'd *Tsju*, which is a Stone or Mineral resembling Roman-Vitriol. According to the Answers made to my Questions, I am perswaded that it is gotten out of Lead-Mines; and that carrying with it the Spirits, or rather imperceptible Particles of Lead, it insinuates itself into the *China* without the Assistance of Ceruse, which is the Vehicle of other Colours that are laid on the double-bak'd Ware. Of this *Tsju* they make the deep Violet. It is found at *Kan-ton*, and comes also from *Pe-king*: But the last sort is best, being sold for a *Lyang* and eight *Tsien* a Pound, that is, for nine Livres. The *Tsju* will melt, and when it is melted,



Used to ena-  
mel with.

melted, or soften'd, the Goldsmiths use it like Enamel upon Works made of Silver: They will put, for instance, a small Circle of *Tsyu* within the Hoop of a Ring, or else filling the Eye of a Bodkin, enchase it like Jewel Work. This kind of Enamel will at length wear off; but they endeavour to prevent it, by putting it upon a slight Lay of either common or Fish-Glue.

The *Tsyu* is  
how prepar'd

The *Tsyu*, as well as the other Colours I have spoke of, is us'd only upon *China* bak'd a second time. As to the Preparation of *Tsyu*, they do not calcine it like the *Lapis Armenus*, but break it, and reduce it into a fine Powder, then throw into a Vessel full of Water; which having stirred about a little, they cast away when it becomes foul, preserving the Crystal that is fallen to the Bottom. The Mass thus moisten'd loses its fine Colour, and seems outwardly inclinable to an Ash, but recovers its Violet Hue again, as soon as the Porcelain is bak'd. The *Tsyu* will keep as long as they desire it, and when they go to paint, it is sufficient to moisten it with Water; mixing therewith, if they think proper, a little common Glue: A thing which some think unnecessary, but in this Experience must teach.

and used in  
Gilding.

To gild or silver *China*-Ware, they add two *Fuen* of Ceruse, to two *Tsyen* of Gold or Silver Leaves carefully dissolv'd; the Silver has a great Lustre upon the Varnish *Tsi-kin*. But the Vessel that is Silver'd ought not to remain so long in the little Furnace [or Oven] as those that are gilt; because the Silver would disappear before the Gold would be bak'd long enough to attain a proper Lustre.

A sort of Co-  
lour'd *China*.

There is a kind of colour'd *China*, which is cheaper than that painted with the Colours I have been speaking of; and, perhaps, the Account I am going to give of it may be useful in Europe with respect to Earthen-Ware, though we should never attain to the Perfection of *Chinese* Porcelain. To make Ware of this Sort, there is no necessity that the Materials should be very fine. They take Dishes that have been already bak'd in the great Furnace, but not varnish'd, and consequently are quite white, without any Gloss, and colour them by dipping each in the Vessel wherein the Colour is prepar'd, if they would have them all of the same Colour; but if they would give them different Colours, like the Ware call'd *Wbang-lu-suan*, which are divided into Squares, whereof one is green, another yellow, &c. they lay on these Colours with a large Pencil. This is all they do to this sort of *China*, unless that after it is bak'd they put a little Vermillion in certain Places; as for instance, on the Mouths of some Animals: But this Colour is never bak'd, because it disappears in the Fire, neither is it very lasting. When they apply other Colours, they bake the *China* over again in the great Furnace, [or Oven,] with other Ware not baked before. But care must be taken to place them at the Bottom of the Furnace, and under the Vent-Hole where the Fire is not so fierce; because a strong Fire would discharge the Colours.

The Colours  
proper for it.

Colours proper for this sort of Porcelain are prepar'd in the following Manner: To make a Green they take *Tong-wa-pyen*, Salt-Petre, and Powder of Flints; but in what proportion I cou'd not learn. When they are reduc'd separately into an impalpable Powder, they are to be moisten'd and incorporated together with Water. — The most common Blue, mix'd with Salt-Petre and Powder of Flints, makes a Violet; — the Yellow is made by adding, for instance, three *Tsyen* of Copperas-Red to three Ounces of Powder of Flints, and three Ounces of White-lead. — To make the White, they put four *Tsyen* of the Powder of Flints to a *Lyang* of Ceruse; all these Ingredients are to be moisten'd with Water. This is all that I could learn concerning the Colours of this sort of *China*, not having among my Converts any who were employ'd in making it.

Black *China*-  
Ware.

Black Porcelain has also its Value and Beauty, and is call'd *U-myen*. This Black is of a Lead kind, resembling that of our Burning-Glasses; and the Gold they add makes it yet more agreeable. The black Colour is laid on the *China* when it is dry, and for this purpose they mix three Ounces of Azure with seven of common Oil of Stone. By the Tryal one may know exactly the Proportion, according as the Colour is to be more or less deep; when it is dry, they bake the Ware; after which they apply the Gold, and bake it over again in a particular Furnace.

The shining  
Sort.

The Shining or Looking-Glass Black, call'd *U-king*, is given to the *China* by dipping it in a liquid Mixture compos'd of prepar'd Azure. It is not necessary to use the finest Azure, but it must be a little thickish, and mix'd with the Varnishes *Pe-yew* and *Tsi-kin*, adding thereto a little Oil of Lime and Fern-Ashes: For instance, to ten Ounces of powder'd Azure they put one Cup of *Tsi-kin*, seven of *Pe-yew*, and two of Oil of Ashes of Fern burnt with Lime. This Mixture carries its Varnish along with it, and does not stand in need of a new one. When this sort of Black *China* is bak'd, it ought to be plac'd towards the Middle of the Furnace, and not near the Arch where the Fire is most fierce.

Pierc'd *China*

They make another kind of Porcelain in *China*, which I have not yet seen; it is almost pierc'd thro' like pink'd Work. In the Middle is a Cup fit to hold Liquor, which makes but one Piece with the Part that is pink'd. I have seen other *China*-Ware, whereon the *Chinese* and *Tartarian* Ladies were painted to the Life; the Drapery, the Complexion, and Features being curiously express'd, and at a distance appear'd to be enamel'd.

Another sort  
of it.

It is observable, that when the Oil of white Flints only is used on the Ware, it becomes a particular Sort call'd *Tsui-ki*, being marbled, and full of an infinite number of Veins; so that at a distance it seems as if it had been broken to Pieces, and put together again, exhibiting a sort of Mosaic Work. The Colour that this Oil gives is a White, a little upon the Ash-Colour; and if the *China* be Blue, on applying this Oil, it will appear marbl'd, and as if it were crack'd, when the Colour becomes dry.



I have been shewn a kind of Porcelain inclining to an Olive Colour, which is at present the Fashion, tho' I never saw it but once. It is call'd *Long-tsiuen*, and I have seen some of it nam'd *Tsing-ko*, which is the Name of a Fruit much like an Olive. They give the *China* this Colour by mixing seven Cups of the *Tsi-kin* Varnish with four Cups of the *Pe-yew*, two Cups or thereabouts of Oil of Lime and Fern-Ashes, and one Cup of *Tsui-yew*, or the Oil made of Flints. The *Tsui-yew* causes a number of small Veins to appear on the Porcelain, but if apply'd alone, the Ware is brittle, and if struck has no Sound; when mix'd with other Varnish, the *China* is full of Veins, will ring, and is no brittler than the common Ware.

They brought me another Piece of Porcelain, call'd *Yau-pyen*, or *Transmutation*: This *Transmutation* is made in the Furnace, [or Oven] and is owing either to the defect or excess of Heat, or else to other Causes not easily guess'd at. This Piece was not the less beautiful or less esteem'd for being merely the effect of Chance: The Workmen intended to make Vessels of Blown-Red, but a hundred Pieces were intirely lost, and this which I am speaking of came out of the Furnace like a kind of Agate. If they would run the risk and Expence of various Experiments, they might at length discover the Art of making constantly what Chance has once produc'd, in the same manner as they have learnt to make the shining black *China*, call'd *U-king*; to which they were excited by such another Caprice of the Furnace.

When they wou'd gild with Gold, they grind it small, and dissolve it in a *China* Cup, till they perceive it settle into a kind of a Golden Hemisphere. They let it dry, and when they want it for use, dissolve it by bits in a sufficient quantity of Gum-water. With thirty Parts of Gold they incorporate three Parts of Ceruse, and lay it on the *China* as they do Colours.

As the Gold thus apply'd, grows dull after a while, and loses much of its Lustre, they restore it by moistening the *China*-Ware with fair Water, and rubbing the Gilding afterwards with an Agate-Stone. But they must be careful to rub the Vessel always the same way, for instance, from the right to the left.

As the Edges of the *China* are aptest to flaw, to remedy the Inconvenience, they strengthen them with a certain Quantity of powder'd Charcoal made of *Bambú*, mixing it with the Varnish, which it renders of an Ash-Colour grey. Afterwards with a Pencil they lay this Mixture on the Edges of the *China* already dry, and going to be put on the Wheel. When it is time, they lay the Varnish on the Edges, in the same manner as they do it on the rest of the Vessel; and after baking, they appear nevertheless extraordinary white. As there is no *Bambú* in Europe, I believe it may be supply'd by Charcoal made of the Willow-Tree, or, what is better, that of Elder, which partakes something of the nature of *Bambú*. But it must be observ'd, (1.) That before the *Bambú* is made use of, the green Rind ought to be stripp'd off; because 'tis affirm'd that the Ashes of this Rind will make *China* crack in the Furnace. (2.) The Workmen must take heed not to touch the Ware with Hands smeared with Grease or Oil; for the Place so touch'd will infallibly crack in baking.

I shall add another Particular, which I have lately taken notice of, and that is, Before the Varnish is laid on the *China*, they smooth it carefully, taking off the smallest Inequalities. This is done by means of a Pencil made of very small Feathers, which they just moisten in Water, and so pass it all over the Vessel with a light Hand: But this Method is taken principally with the fine Porcelain.

When they would apply a Varnish which gives the Ware an uncommon Whiteness, they put thirteen Cups of *Pe-yew* to one Cup of Fern-Pot-Ashes, made equally fluid with the *Pe-yew*. This Varnish is strong, and ought not to be laid on Porcelain that is to be painted blue, because, after baking, the Colour will not appear thro' it: But the *China* on which this strong Varnish is laid, may be expos'd to the intensest Heat of the Furnace. They bake this intirely white, either for the sake of that Colour, or else to gild and paint it of various Colours, and then bake it again. But when they intend to paint it blue, and wou'd have the Colour appear after it is bak'd, they should put only seven Cups of *Pe-yew* to one Cup of Varnish, or the mixture of Lime and Fern-Ashes.

It is proper to observe once more in general, that the Porcelain done over with the Varnish, which contains much Fern-Ashes, ought to be bak'd in a temperate Part of the Furnace, [or Oven] that is, next the three first Rows, about a Foot or a Foot and a half from the Bottom; for if bak'd on the Top, the Ashes would quickly melt, and run to the Bottom of the Ware. The same happens to the Oil-red, the Blown-red, and the *Long-tsiuen*, because of the Copper Powder, which is an Ingredient of this Varnish; on the contrary, they ought to bake at the Top of the Furnace, the *China* done over with the *Tsui-yew* Varnish, which, as I said before, produces a multitude of Veins, making it look as if it was piec'd.

When they would have the Vessel intirely blue, they dip it into *Lyau*, or Azure, prepar'd and moisten'd in Water to a proper Consistence. As for the Blown-blue, call'd *Tsui-tsing*, they use the finest Azure prepar'd in the manner already explain'd; they blow it on the Vessel, and when it is dry give it the ordinary Varnish, either alone, or mix'd with *Tsui-yew* if they would have it vein'd.

There are Workmen who trace upon this Azure, whether it is blown or otherwise, certain Figures with a long Needle, which raises up so many small Points of the dry Azure as is necessary to represent the Figure. Then they varnish it, and when the *China* is bak'd, the Figures appear painted in Miniature. There is not so much Labour bestow'd, as one would imagine, on

Olive China.

Transmutati-  
on China.

How they  
gild China.

And strength-  
en the Edges  
of Cups.

How they  
smooth China

An extraor-  
inary white  
Varnish.

Caution in  
baking var-  
nish'd Ware.

Blue China.

Figures En-  
grav'd.



And embossed.

on *China-Ware* emboss'd with Flowers, Dragons, and such like Figures; for after tracing them with an Engraver on the Body of the Vessel, they only make slight Notches about them to give a Relievo, and then lay on the Varnish.

A peculiar sort of *China-Ware*.

There is a kind of *China-Ware* which is made in the manner following: They first lay on the ordinary Varnish, and bake it, then painting it with various Colours, they bake it again. The Painting is sometimes reserv'd till after the first Baking with design; at other times, recourse is had to the second Baking purely to hide Defects, by applying Colours to the faulty Places. The Load of Colours on this sort of *China* recommends it to a great many People, but one usually perceives certain Inequalities on it: Whether it be owing to the Unskillfulness of the Workmen, or done in order to give the Painting a Shade, or else to conceal the Faults in the Body of the Ware. When the Painting and Gilding are dry, they pile the Vessels one upon another, putting the smaller into the larger, and then place them in the Furnace.

### 5. Of the Furnaces, [or Ovens] for baking the China.

Furnace or Oven for baking the *China-Ware*.

THE Furnaces of this kind, when small, may be made of Iron, but they are generally of Earth: That which I saw was about the height of a Man, and almost as big as one of our largest Wine-casks. It consisted of several Pieces of the same Matter as the Cases of the *China-Ware* are made of, being a sort of large square Tiles, about half an Inch thick, a Foot and half long, and a Foot broad. They were plac'd one upon another [edgewise] and very well cemented; having been so order'd before they were bak'd, as when laid together, to suit the Roundness of the Furnace, [or Oven.] It stood about half a Foot from the Ground, upon two or three Ranges of thick but narrow Bricks, with a firm Inclosure of Brick-Work round it, which had at the Bottom three or four Vent-holes. Between this Inclosure and the Furnace was a Space left of about half a Foot, except in two or three Places, which being fill'd up were a kind of Buttresses to the Furnace. I believe they raise both at the same time, otherwise the Furnace would have no Support.

The manner of ranging the Vessels in the Oven.

They fill it with the Porcelain that are to be bak'd a second time, pil'd in the Manner just now mention'd: In doing which, Care ought to be taken to keep the Parts that are painted from touching one another, for that would certainly spoil them. But they may set one Cup standing within another, tho' it be painted, because the Edge of the Foot of the Cup that is put in has no Painting; but the Side of one Cup ought never to touch the Side of another: So that when the *China* cannot easily be put one within another, the Workmen dispose them in the following Manner. A Range of Vessels being plac'd at the Bottom of the Furnace, they cover it with Plates made of the same Earth the Furnace is of, or even with Pieces of the Cases belonging to the Porcelain; for in *China* every thing is of use; on this Covering they put another Range of Ware, and continue piling them in this manner to the Top of the Furnace, [or Oven.]

Of covering and heating it.

When all this is done, they cover the Top with Bricks properly formed, and of the same Matter with those the Sides are made of, which jamming one within another, are cemented with Mortar or tempered Earth; only a Hole is left in the Middle, that they may see when the *China* is bak'd. They afterwards kindle a good quantity of Charcoal under the Furnace, and likewise upon the Covering, from whence they throw it into the Space between the Inclosure and the Furnace. When the Fire is fierce they look from time to time through the Opening, which is only cover'd with a piece of a broken Pot; and when the Vessels appear with a Gloss, and the Colours bright and lively, they first withdraw the Fire, and then the *China-Ware*.

Hint for recovering the Art of painting on Glass.

There comes a Thought into my Head, on occasion of those Colours which are incorporated with the bak'd and Varnish'd *China-Ware* by means of the Ceruse, to which formerly, according to the Annals of *Few-lyang*, they added Salt-Petre and Copperas. If Ceruse were likewise used in the Colours painted on Glass, and the Glass afterwards bak'd a second time, might not the Art be recovered that we formerly had of painting thereon, without diminishing its Transparency? But this Experience must determine. Our Loss of this Secret among us put me in mind of another, which the *Chinese* also lament the Loss of; they had the Art of painting Fish, or other Animals, on the Sides of a Porcelain Vessel, which did not shew themselves till the Vessel was full of Liquor. They call this kind of *China-Ware* *Kya-tsing*, that is, *Azure put in a Press*, on account of the manner of placing it. I shall communicate what they have preserv'd of the Art. Who knows but the *Europeans* may supply that Part which the *Chinese* have forgot?

A curious Sort of *China*.

The *China-Ware* to be painted in this manner must be very thin. When it is dry they lay on the Colour pretty strongly, not outwardly according to Custom, but on the Inside; they generally paint Fish thereon, as most proper to appear when the Vessel is fill'd with Water. The Colour being dry, they spread on it a thin Lay of a kind of very fine Paste, made of the same Earth as the *China*; so that the Azure is close-press'd between these two kinds of Earthen Plates. When the Lay is dry, they oil [or varnish] the Inside of the Vessel, and some time after put it on the Mould and the Wheel. As it has receiv'd a Body on the Inside, they make it as thin as possible on the Outside without penetrating to the Colour. Then they dip the Outside in the Oil, and when it is dry, bake it in the common Furnace.



This Work is extremely nice, and requires a Dexterity which the *Chinese*, it seems, are no longer Masters of; and yet from time to time they make Attempts to recover this Art of Magic painting, but in vain: one of them assur'd me not long ago, that he had made a new Trial, and was very near succeeding. But however this be, it may be said that, even at present, the finest Azure revives upon the *China* after having disappear'd; when they lay it on the Ware it is of a palish Black, but when dry, and varnish'd, it is intirely hid, and the Ware becomes white, but the Fire discloses all the Beauty of the Colours, much in the same manner as the natural Heat brings from the Cods the finest variegated Butterflies.

After all, there is a great deal of Art, in laying the Oil [or Varnish] on Porcelain, with respect both to the just Quantity, and the equal Distribution of it: *China* that is thin and slender, is done over with it twice very slightly, for if the Lay should be too thick, the Ware not being able to support it, would warp immediately; these two Lays are equivalent to one, commonly given to the fine Porcelain of a stronger make, and are apply'd the first by Sprinkling, and the other by Dipping; they take the Cup by the Outside in one Hand, and holding it sloping over the Pot of Varnish with the other, throw into it as much as will sprinkle it all over; this is repeated to a great number of Cups, and as soon as the first become dry, they oil them without in the manner following: They put one Hand within the Cup, and applying a small Stick to the Middle of the Foot [with the other] to support it, dip it in a Vessel of Varnish, and take it out again immediately.

I have said before that the Foot of the Vessel is left unfashion'd, and in reality it is not put on the Wheel to be hollow'd, till after it has been varnish'd and dry'd; within the Hollow they paint a small Circle, and often a *Chinese* Character, and when that is dry they varnish the Hollow, which is the finishing Stroke; for immediately after it is carried from the Laboratory to the Oven in order to be bak'd.

I have been surpriz'd to see a Porter carry steadily on his Shoulders two long narrow Boards rang'd with *China*-Ware, and pass in that manner thro' several Streets full of People, without breaking any of his Cargo: 'Tis true he carefully avoids jostling ever so little against any thing, because he would be oblig'd to make good the Damage; but still it is very astonishing, that the Porter should himself so well order his Steps, and every motion of his Body, as to preserve such a nice Equilibrium.

The Place where the Furnaces [or Ovens] are presents another Scene: In a kind of Porch before the Furnaces, stands a Heap of Boxes and Cases, made of Earth, for enclosing the *China*-Ware. Every Piece how inconsiderable soever having its Case, as well those with Lids as those without: These Lids, which stick but weakly to the lower part during the Baking, are easily sever'd by a little Stroke given them: As for the smaller Pieces, such as Tea, and Chocolate-Dishes, one Case serves several. The Workman herein imitates Nature, which to ripen Fruits, and to bring them to Perfection, incloses them in a Covering, that the Heat of the Sun may only penetrate by Degrees, and that the inward Action may not be too much interrupted by the outward Air, during the Cold of the Night.

Within these Cases is a Bed of very fine Sand, spread over where the Cup stands with the Dust of *Kau-lin*, that the Sand may not stick to the Foot of the Cup, which does not touch the Sides of the Case. The Top of this Case has no Lid; but another Case of the same Figure, furnish'd likewise with *China*-Ware, is put within it so as to cover it intirely without touching the *China*-Ware below; thus they fill up the Oven with large Piles of Earthen Cases, or Boxes: by the Assistance of whose thick Veils the Beauty, and, if I may so express it, the Complexion of the *China*-Ware within them is not tann'd by the Heat of the Fire.

As for the small Ware, inclos'd in large round Cases, each Piece is set on an Earthen Saucer, two Crowns thick, and sufficiently broad; whose Base also is sprinkled with the Dust of *Kau-lin*. When these Cases are somewhat large, they put no *China*-Ware in the Middle, because it would be too far from the Sides, and so for want of Strength, might open and give way, which would endamage the whole Pile. These Cases are one third of a Foot in height, and part of them are unbak'd as well as the *China*-Ware; however, they quite fill those which have been baked and serve again.

I must not forget to shew how the *China*-Ware is put into the Cases; the Workman does not handle it, because that would either break it (for nothing is more brittle) or at least soil or dent it; but he takes it off the Board, by means of a little String, fasten'd to the two Prongs, somewhat crooked, of a wooden Fork, which he holds in one Hand, while with the other he disposes the two ends of the String cross-wise, and opened, according to the Breadth of the *China*-Ware; thus incircling it, he lifts it up gently, then puts it in the Case upon a little Saucer: All this incredibly quick.

I have said that the Floor of the Oven has half a Foot depth of Gravel, to hold with greater Safety the Piles of *China*-Ware, which, in the Middle of the Furnace, are at least seven Foot high. The two Bottom-Cases of each Pile are empty, because there the Heat is not strong enough, and besides Part of them is covered with the Gravel for the same Reason, the Top Case of the Pile is empty likewise. The Oven is fill'd in every Part, except immediately under the Vent-hole: In the Middle stand Piles of the finest *China*, at the Bottom the coarser Sort, and at the Mouth that which is strongly coloured. This last Sort is compos'd of a Matter wherein there is put as much *Pe-tun-tse* as *Kau-lin*, and varnish'd with the Oil of a Stone spotted red or black, because this Varnish has a better Body than ordinary. All the Piles are plac'd very near each other, and join together

All the Ware  
bak'd in  
Cases.

Manner of  
Casing it.



ther at Top, at Bottom, and in the Middle by Pieces of Earth, placed so skillfully as to admit a free Passage for the Flame on all Sides.

All Earth is not proper to make Cafes for the *China*-Ware; there are three Sorts used; one is yellow, and common enough, of which they make the Bottoms; another is call'd *Lau-ti*, and is a strong Earth; the third, which is oily, is call'd *Tu-tu*. These two last are got in Winter from certain deep Mines, impossible to be work'd in Summer: If they are mix'd in equal Parts, the Cafes cost somewhat more, but will last a long while; they bring such Cafes ready made from a large Village a League from *King-te-ching*, down the River. They are yellowish before Baking, but afterwards of an obscure Red: When for Cheapness they use most of the yellow Earth for the Cafes, they seldom last above two or three Bakings ere they break to Pieces. If a Cafe is but slightly crack'd, or even split, they bind it with an Ozier Band, which tho' it takes Fire, preserves the Cafe for this once, so that the *China*-Ware does not suffer.

They take Care not to fill the Oven with new Cafes; one half at least must have been bak'd before; these are plac'd at the Top and Bottom of the Piles, and the unbak'd ones in the Middle. The History of *Fou-lang* says, that in former times all the Cafes were bak'd in a Furnace by themselves, before they were used to bake the *China*; doubtless because then, there being fewer Workmen, they had less regard to the Expence than the Perfection of the Work.

Structure of  
the Oven.

Let us now come to the Structure of the Ovens or Furnaces; they are plac'd at the further End of a long Porch, which serves instead of Bellows, and is withal a Warehouse; it is of the same use as the Arch in Glass-Houses: The Ovens are larger now than formerly, for then, according to a *Chinese* Author, they were only six Foot high and six broad, but are now two Fathom high, and almost four wide: The Arch as well as Body of the Oven is sufficiently thick, so that one may walk upon it without being incommoded by the Fire: This Arch or Vault is not flat on the Inside, nor does it rise in point, but grows narrower and narrower as it approaches the great Vent-hole, at the Extremity, through which the Flame and Smoak arise.

Besides this Mouth, the Oven has five or six Openings about its Head, like so many Eyes, which are cover'd with broken Pots, so as to allay the Air and Fire of the Oven. By means of these Eyes they judge when the *China* is bak'd; they uncover the Eye, which is nearest the great Vent-hole, and with Iron Tongs open one of the Cafes. If the Ware is done enough they discontinue the Fire, and keep the Door of the Oven remaining shut for some time: This Oven has a deep Hearth of equal Extent with itself, and a Foot or two wide, they ascend by a Plank to enter the Range of *China* in the Oven: When the Fire is lighted, they immediately shut the Door, leaving only a proper Opening to throw in thick streight pieces of Wood, a Foot long. At first the Oven is heated for a Day and a Night, and then two Men relieving each other, continually throw in Wood. One Baking generally consumes a hundred and eighty Load. Nay, a *Chinese* Book holds this Quantity not sufficient, affirming that formerly they burn'd two hundred and forty Load, and twenty more, if the Weather was rainy, altho' the Ovens were less by one half than they are now. They kept but a small Fire during seven Days and Nights, and on the eighth Day made a very brisk one. It must be observed, that the Cafes containing the smaller Ware had been baked before by themselves.

The old Way  
of managing  
that Matter.

It must be own'd, the Porcelain of the ancient *Chinese* is more substantial than that made in latter Times; they observ'd also another Thing, now neglected, that is, they did not open the Oven-Door of the large Ware till ten Days after the Fire was out, and of the small, not till five. At present indeed they delay taking the large Vessels out of the Oven a few Days; for if they did not they would crack; but as for the small, if the Fire ceases in the Evening, they'll take them out next Morning, it should seem, that they may save Wood in the next Baking. As the *China*-Ware is then burning-hot, the Operator, who takes it out of the Oven, makes use of long Slings hung about his Neck.

The baking  
the Ware.

They discover that the Porcelain bak'd in the small Oven is fit to be taken out, if when looking thro' the Opening above, they see that all the Ware is Fire-red to the Bottom, that they are distinguishable one from another as plac'd in the Pile, that those that are painted look smooth, and that the Colours are incorporated with the Ware, in the same manner as Varnish is with the fine Blue, by the Heat of the great Oven. As for the Ware bak'd a second time in the great Oven, this they judge sufficiently bak'd, (1) when the Flame comes forth no longer red, but whitish; (2) when looking in at one of the Openings they see thro' the Fire the Cafes red-hot. (3) When after opening one of the top Cafes, taking out a Vessel, and letting it cool, they find the Varnish and Colour to their Liking. And lastly, when they can see the Gravel shine at the Bottom of the Oven.

The Quantity  
of Wood.

I have been surpriz'd that, after the burning at the entrance of the Oven 180 Load of Wood in one Day, on the next no Ashes should be found on the Hearth. They should be well season'd to the Fire that feed these Ovens. 'Tis said they put Salt in their Tea, that they may drink as much as they will without being incommoded; but I can't conceive how this salt Liquor should quench their Thirst.

Difficulty of  
the Work.

Considering what I have related, it can be no wonder that *China*-Ware is so dear in *Europe*, especially when you know yet further, that, besides the large Gains of the *European* Merchants and their Factors, few Bakings succeed quite well, and, that often the whole is lost, and they find, when the Oven is opened, both the Ware and Cafes reduced to a Mass as solid as a Rock. Too fierce a Fire, or insufficient Cafes may ruin all. It is no easy matter to regulate the proper Degree of Heat: for the Alteration of the Weather has an immediate Effect, not only upon

the



the Fire, but on the Quality of the Subject on which it acts, and of the Wood that feeds it. Thus a hundred Workmen are ruin'd for one that grows rich; a hundred ruin themselves by still trying their Fortunes, in hopes to get enough to set up a Merchant's Shop. Besides, the *China* sent into *Europe* is almost always made from new Models, often so whimsical, that it is difficult to succeed; and the *Europeans* refuse it for the least Defect, in which case it must stick on the Master's Hands, because it is not to the *Chinese* Taste; consequently that which is sold must bear a good Price.

According to the History of *King-te-ching*, their Gain formerly was much more considerable; but this is to be question'd, because they had not then such Demands for their *China* from *Europe*. For my part I believe the present Dearth of the Merchandise, and Poverty of the Merchants, arises from the Dearth of Provisions, and the Scarcity of Wood in the Neighbouring Mountains; add to this, the Workmen are now not so skilful as formerly, and the *Mandarins*, who employ a great many to make Presents for their Patrons at Court, pay them ill.

The Workmen do not undertake all the Models that come from Foreign Countries, they have some impracticable given them in *China*, tho' at the same time they perform such surprising Works as Strangers would think impossible. For Instance, I have seen a large Lanthorn, like that of a Ship, all of one Piece of *China*, thro' which one Candle sufficiently enlighten'd a whole Room. This was made seven Years ago at the command of the Hereditary Prince, who also order'd to be made divers Instruments of Music, particularly a Sort of small Organ, call'd *Tseng*, about a Foot high, consisting of fourteen Pipes, whose Harmony is agreeable enough; but they attempted it in vain. They succeeded better in making Flutes, Flagellets, and an Instrument nam'd *Tun-lo*, which is compos'd of divers small round Plates, a little concave, each of a particular Note. They hang nine in a Frame, at different Heights, which they strike like a Dulcimer, and it returns a little Tinkling, which agrees in Concert with other Instruments, and the Singers Tone. I concluded they had the Secret of incorporating a little Metal with these Pieces, to diversify the Sound; but I was mistaken, Metal being so incapable of uniting with the *China*, that if a Copper Farthing be put on the Top of one of the Piles in the Furnaces, it would, when it melts, pierce all the Cases and Vessels, so that all the Vessels in the Pile would have a Hole in the Middle. Nothing can give a better Idea, than this, of the Effect of the Fire on all things in the Oven, which are affirm'd to be in a State of Fluidity.

I have, notwithstanding, seen Designs of Work perform'd, which were said to be impracticable: These were Urns above three Feet high without the Lid, which rose like a Pyramid a Foot high. They consisted of three Pieces, so artfully put together that the Joining could not be perceived. But I was told, that only eight out of twenty four succeeded well, the rest being spoilt. These Urns were bespoke by the Merchants at *Kan-ton* for the *European* Trade; Wares of so high Price not taking in *China*.

To come to the Works of the *Chinese* which are more curious than ordinary; they succeed best in Grotesque Work, and representing Animals: They make Ducks and Tortoises, that will float on the Water. I have seen a Cat painted to the Life; in her Head they had plac'd a Lamp, the Flame of which made the two Eyes, and they assur'd me that the Rats were frighted with it in the Night. They also make abundance of Statues of *Kuan-in*, a Goddess famous in *China*. She is represented holding a Child in her Arms, and is invoc'd by barren Women desirous of Children. We may compare her to the antique Statues of *Venus* and *Diana*, with this Difference, that the Statues of *Kuan-in* are extremely modest.

There is another kind of Porcelain, difficult to make, and therefore very scarce. Its Substance is extraordinary thin, and the Surface exceeding smooth within and without, and yet you see Mouldings on it engraven, as a Round of Flowers, for instance, or such like Ornaments. The Manner they do it is thus: As soon as it is off the Wheel, they clap it on an engraved Mould, whence the Inside takes off the engraven Figures; the Outside of it they work with a Chisel, and make it as fine and thin as possible. Then they varnish and bake it in the ordinary Oven.

The *European* Merchants require sometimes *China* Slabs in one Piece, big enough to make the Top of a Table, or Seat, or Picture-frame; but this is impossible; for the largest they can make are but a Foot or thereabouts; if they exceed that, tho' ever so thick, they'll warp. The Thickness also renders these Works somewhat difficult, and therefore instead of moulding them solid, they make two hollow Outsides, which they join, leaving a Vacancy within. They put but one Piece across, making on both Sides two Holes to frame them by, as in Cabinet-Work.

The History of *King-te-ching* mentions several Works commanded by Emperors, which were attempted in vain. The present Emperor's Father order'd some almost in the Fashion of our Orange-Tree Tubs, therein to breed the Red, Golden, or Silver Fish. These Vessels were to be three Foot and a half over, two Foot and a half high, the Bottom half a Foot, and the Sides a third of a Foot thick. They labour'd three Years together on these Works, and made two hundred Urns, but not one succeeded. The same Emperor order'd Slabs for the Front of a Gallery, each to be three Feet high, two and a half broad, and half a Foot thick; but they could not be made, and the *Mandarins* of the Province address'd the Emperor to put a Stop to the Work. Yet these *Mandarins*, knowing the Genius of the *Europeans*, have sometimes requested me to send for new and elegant Designs, that they might present them as Curiosities to the Emperor. On the other hand, the Christians entreated me not to procure

The Gain.

Remarkable  
Pieces of  
Workman-  
ship.Lanthorns.  
Musical  
Instruments.Metal in-  
capable of  
incorporating  
with *China*.Porcelain  
Urns.Statues of  
*Kuan-in*.



procure them such Models, because the *Mandarins* were not so easy to be put off as our Merchants, when the Workmen tell them the Thing is impracticable; but often cause them to be well bastinadoed, before such a promising Project must be given up.

The Idol  
that presides  
over Porcel-  
lain.

Its Original.

As every Profession has its particular Idol, and as the Divinity is as easily communicated here as the Quality of an Earl or Marquis in some Countries of *Europe*, it is no wonder there should be a God of *China*-Ware: The *Pú-sa* (an Idol so call'd) owes its Origin to these Models, which the Workman cannot succeed in. The Story is thus related: One of the Emperors absolutely commanded them to make him some Pieces, after a Model he gave them. They represented several times to him, that it was an impossible thing, but their Remonstrances made him only the more positive. For the Emperors are, whilst alive, the Divinities most fear'd in *China*; and they often believe that nothing ought to oppose their Desires. The Officers doubled their Diligence, and treated the Workmen with all sorts of Rigour, while, poor Wretches! they were at great Labour and Expence, and received nothing but Blows. At last one of them, quite in Despair, threw himself into the burning Oven, and was consum'd in an Instant. The *China*-Ware then baking, 'tis said, prov'd perfectly fine, and entirely to the Emperor's liking; this Desperado pass'd ever after for a Hero, and became the Idol presiding over the Porcelain Works. But I don't find his Example was follow'd.

Antient and  
modern Por-  
celain com-  
par'd.

Porcelain having been in great Esteem for so many Ages, some may desire to know in what respects that of former Times differs from that of the present, and what the *Chinese* think on this head. They have doubtless their Virtuoso's, who are prejudic'd in favour of Antiquity: Nay, they are all generally inclin'd that way; and yet we find some who give the Preference to the modern Works. But it is not with Porcelain as it is with old Medals, which give a light into Antiquity. Old Porcelain perhaps is adorn'd with some *Chinese* Characters, but not such as settle any point of History: The Curious therefore can find nothing but Fancy and Colours to give it the Preference.

A vulgar  
Error.

Porcelain  
bury'd.

I was told in *Europe* that the best Porcelain requires to be a long Time buried in the Earth; but this is a false Notion, and is laugh'd at by the *Chinese*. The History of *King-te-ching*, speaking of the finest Porcelain of old Times, says it was so catch'd up, that the Oven was scarce open, but the Merchants were disputing for the first Lot: so far were they from burying it in the Earth. 'Tis true, that in digging on old Ruins, and on cleansing Wells long out of Use, sometimes fine Pieces are found, which have been hid in troublesome Times, when People seek to secure their choicest Effects. It is not therefore the being brought to Perfection by burying in the Earth, but its antient Beauty being preserv'd, that acquires it such Esteem; for that alone bears such Price in *China*, that they will give great Sums for the least Utensil of the commonest Sort, that has been used by the Emperors *Yau* and *Shun*, who reign'd many Ages before the Dynasty of the *Tangs*. All that the Porcelain gets by lying long in the Ground, is a Change of its Colour, or, if you will, its Complexion, which shews it to be old. The same thing happens to Ivory or Marble, but much sooner; the *China*-Ware being guarded by its Varnish against Effects of the Moisture. I have my self found, in old Ruins, Porcelain probably very ancient, and I could not observe any thing singular in it. If it really had acquir'd Perfection by growing old, it was not, when new-made, equal to the present Works. 'Tis my Opinion, there was then, as now, Porcelain of all Prices.

Old Porce-  
lain counter-  
feited.

The Fashion  
of it.

According to the Annals of *King-te-ching*, there were formerly Urns of the Price of 58 or 59 *Taëls* each, which is more than 80 Crowns. How much greater the Price in *Europe*! These Annals add, that for every Urn of this Value an Oven was made on purpose, and no Expence was spar'd. The Mandarin of *King-te-ching*, who is my Friend, made Presents to his Patrons at Court, of old Porcelain, which he had the Art to make himself, or rather to imitate that of the nearer times of Antiquity and to do it employ'd a great many Workmen. The Matter of those false *Kü-tong*, or Counterfeits of Antiquity, is a yellowish Earth got near *King-te-ching*, at a Place call'd *Ma-ngan-shan*. They are very thick; the Mandarin gave me a Plate of his making, and it was as heavy as ten common ones.

A Plate with  
a Crucifix  
pointed on it.

There is nothing particular in the working on this Sort of *China* Ware, excepting the Varnish, which is made of a yellow Stone, and being mixt with a larger Quantity of common Oil dyes the Vessels a Sea Green; when bak'd they throw them into very fat Broth made of a Capon and other Meats, then bake them again, and lay them in the nastiest Puddle they can find, for the Space of a Month or more; after they are taken out they pass for 3 or 400 Years old, or at least of the preceding Dynasty of the *Mings*, when Porcelain of this Thickness was the Court Taste. These false Antiques so far resemble the true, that they don't ring when struck, nor yield the least Noise if held to the Ear.

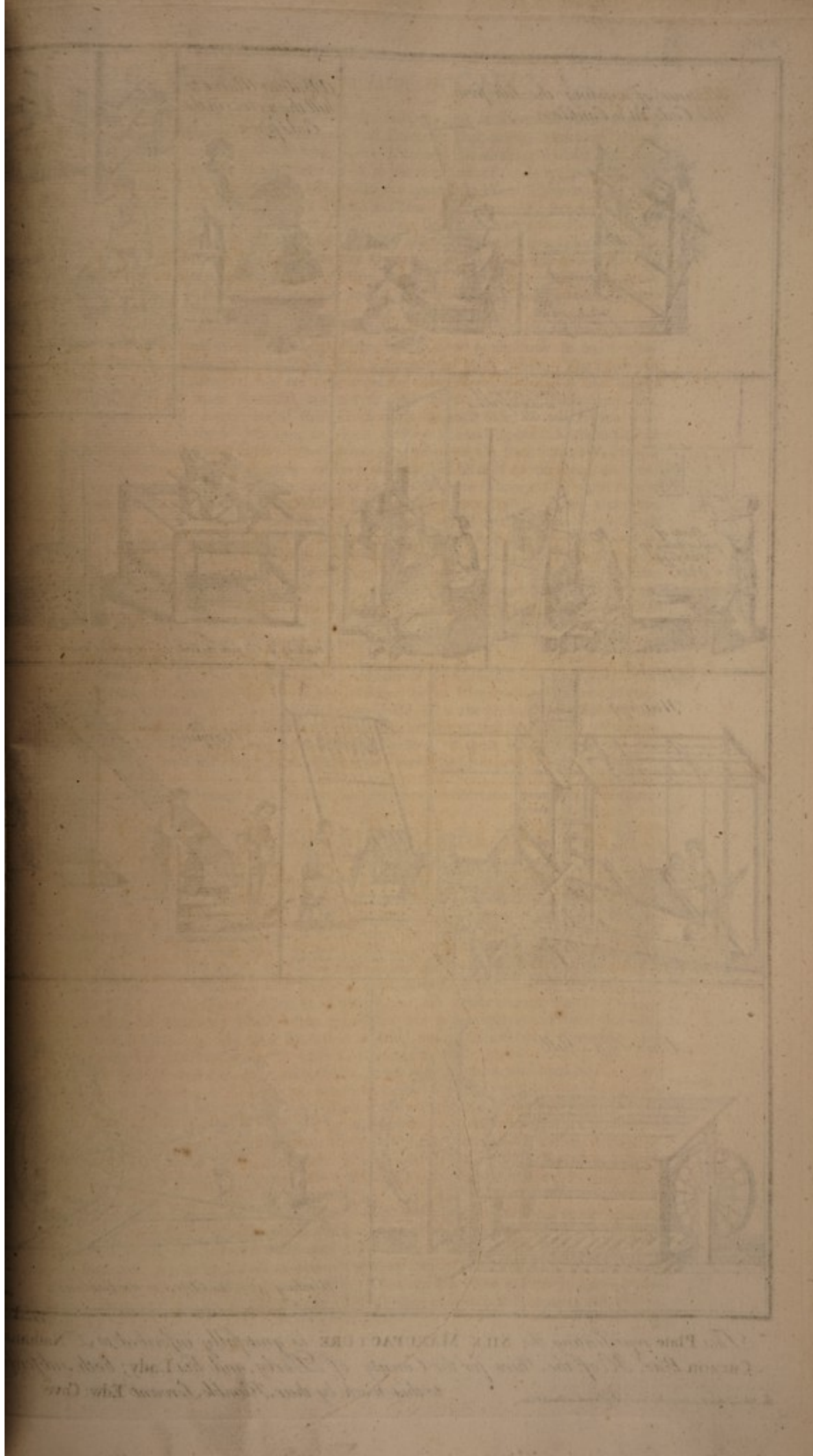
Porcelain  
compar'd  
with Glass.

They brought me from the Rubbish of a large Shop a little Plate, which I value beyond the finest Porcelain Piece, tho' a thousand Years old. On the Bottom is painted a Crucifix between the Virgin *Mary* and *St. John*. Formerly, they exported (as 'tis said) a great deal of this Sort to *Japan*, but the Enemies of Religion have hinder'd any of it being made these 16 Years.

They are in *China* almost as curious in *European* Glasses and Crystals, as the *Europeans* are in *China* Ware; but yet this Curiosity has not made them cross the Sea to seek Glass in *Europe*. They find their own Manufacture of more Use; for their Porcelain will bear hot Liquor, and you may hold a Dish of boiling Tea without burning your Hand, if you take it after their Way; which you can't do by a Silver Dish of the same Thickness and Figure.

The Porcelain has its Lustre as well as Glass; and, tho' it be not so Transparent, it is less brittle;







*Manner of winding the Silk from the Cods on a Cauldron*



*A Balneo Mariae to kill the worms in the Cods p. 362.*



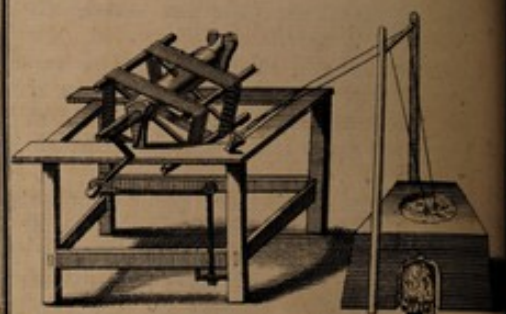
*Taking the Cods from the Mats after smother'd in the Earthen pots p. 362*



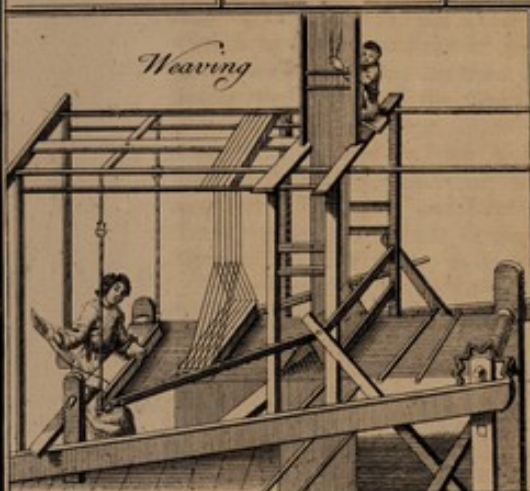
*Sheets of paper hung up with Eggs p. 359*



*Other ways of winding the Silk*



*Winding of Silk from the Cods in a Copper of warm Water*



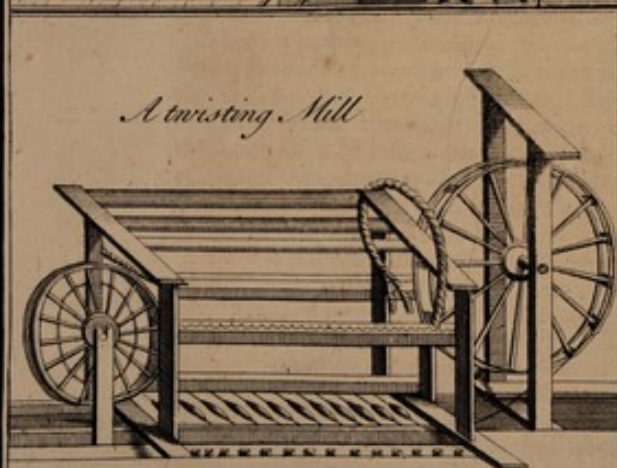
*Weaving*



*Reeling & Doubling*



*Warping*



*A twisting Mill*



*Winding from the Cods to the Bobbins*

*This Plate representing the SILK MANUFACTURE is gratefully inscribed to S<sup>r</sup> Nathanael Curzon Bar. K<sup>t</sup> of the Shire for the County of Derby, and his Lady; both subscribers to this work, by their Humble Servant Edw: Cave*



brittle. What happens to Glass, when just made, happens also to Porcelain; and nothing better shows the Conformity of their Nature: Good Porcelain hath a clear Sound, as well as Glass. A Diamond cuts Glass; so also they use a Diamond in reuniting broken Porcelain. They make therewith, as with a Needle, little Holes in the Substance of the Ware, in which they twist a very fine Brass Wire, and so render it fit for Service again, the Place where it was broken being scarce perceptible. This Business is a Trade in China.

I have said that there continually arrive at *King-te-ching* Barks laden with the *Pe-tun-tse* and *Kau-lin*, and that after these have been cleansed, they lay the Dross that remains along in great Heaps; that there were three thousand Kilns and Ovens in *King-te-ching*, and all full of Cases and Ware; that the Cases could serve no more than three or four Batches, and that a whole Batch is often spoil'd. It is natural, after this, to ask, into what Abyss do they cast all that 1300 Years Rubbish of Ware and Kilns?

The very Situation of *King-te-ching*, and the Manner in which it is built, will answer this Difficulty. This City was at first no large Place, but is now prodigiously increas'd; they build every Day, and there is not an House but is surrounded with Walls. The Bricks in these Walls are not laid flatways, nor are they cemented like Works of Masonry in Europe: The Walls in China are more beautiful, but not so solid. Long and wide Bricks incrustate, as I may say, the Wall: Every one of these has another on each Side, of which you only see the End even with the Middle one, to which they are the two Spurs. A slight Lay of Mortar round the middle one, binds all these Bricks together; and the Back of the Wall is laid in the same manner. These Walls grow narrower as they rise, till at Top they are no more than a Brick's Length or Breadth. The Spurs, or cross Bricks, no where answer those on the opposite Side, so that the Bulk of the Wall is like a sort of empty Coffin. When they have laid two or three Rows of Bricks on a shallow Foundation, they fill up the middle of the Work with Potheards, over which they throw Earth temper'd like thinnish Mortar; this binds the whole, and makes of it one Mass, which incloses the crossway Bricks on all Sides, and these lock up the middle ones, which only bear upon the Thickness of the Bricks that are under them. At a distance these Walls appear'd to me, at first, as tho' they were made of fine grey Stone, squar'd, and polish'd with the Chisel; and what is surprizing, if they take care to cover them at top with good Tiles, they will stand 100 Years. But in truth they don't bear any Timber-work, which is always sustained by massy wooden Pillars; they only serve for Enclosures to Edifices and Gardens.

We see already in part what becomes of the Rubbish of the Porcelain and the Kilns. The rest they commonly throw on the Banks of the River, below *King-te-ching*. Hence in time they gain upon the River; and the Rubbish being soak'd with the Rain, and trodden by the Passengers, the Ground soon becomes fit to hold a Market, or to build Streets on. Moreover in great Floods the River drags along with it large Quantities of those broken Pieces; so that its Bed is as it were pav'd with them, and affords a very agreeable Sight.

## Of the Silk Manufacture.

GREECE made Italy the rich Present of Silk, which in the Time of the Roman Emperors was valu'd at its Weight in Gold. The Grecians were beholden for it to the Persians; and these, according to Authors of most Credit, as M. d'Herbelot observes, confess that they had the Knowledge of Silk-worms, and the Art of breeding them, originally from China. The most Ancient Chinese Writers ascribe their Discovery to one of the Wives of the Emperor *Wang-ti*, her Name *Si-ling*, and surnamed, for Honour's Sake, *Twen-sey*: But it is difficult to meet with any Memoirs of an early Date that mention the Silk-worm. Before the Time of this Queen, when the Country was but newly cleared, the People were cloth'd in Skins of Animals; which being insufficient for so multiplying a People, Necessity render'd them industrious, and they bent their Wits to make Cloth to cover themselves; but they were oblig'd to this Princess for the useful Invention of Silk.

Since her Time, several Empreses, recorded in Chinese Authors, have been agreeably employ'd in hatching and breeding of Silk-worms, in feeding them, taking the Silk, and manufacturing it; and an Orchard of the Palace was allotted for a Plantation of Mulberry-Trees. The Empreses, attended by the Queens and the Prime Ladies of the Court, went in Ceremony to this Orchard, and gather'd with her own Hands the Leaves of three Branches, which her Handmaids bended down within her Reach. The finest Pieces of Silk, made by her self, or by her Order, and under her Eye, were devoted to the Ceremony of the grand Sacrifice offer'd to *Shang-ti*.

There is reason to believe that the Trouble the Empreses gave themselves, was chiefly with a politic View to engage, by such great Examples, the Princesses, the Ladies of Quality, and all the People in general, to breed Silk-worms; on the same Account, the Emperors, to enoble, in some sort, Agriculture, and to excite the People to so painful a Labour, never omit, at the beginning of the Spring, the Ceremony of holding the Plow in Person; opening with it some Ridges, and sowing Grain therein. The present Emperor still observes this Custom.

Waste of  
Porcelain, of  
what Use.

First Use.

Second Use.

Of the Silk  
Manufacture.

Silk, by  
whom dis-  
cover'd.

Empresses of  
China rear  
Silk-worms.



As for the Empresses, they have, for some time past, not troubled themselves about Silk: though there is yet to be seen, within the Verge of the Palace, a large Square of Houses, where stands the Church of the French Jesuits, the Avenue to which is still call'd *the Way to the Nursery of Silk-worms for the Diversion of the Empresses and Queens*. In the Books of the ancient Philosopher *Mencius*, we meet with a wise Regulation of the Magistracy, which limited the Space appointed for the Mulberry Plantation, according to the Extent of every private Man's Possessions.

We may well call *China* the *Silk-Country*, for it seems to be inexhaustible. Besides furnishing the Nations of *Asia* and *Europe* with large Quantities, the Emperor, the Princes, and their Domestic, the *Mandarins*, the Literati, the Women, and in short, the Generality of the *Chinese* wear Silk, and are cloth'd in Satin or Damask. There is scarce any excepted, but the meanest of the People and the Peasants, who wear blue Cotton.

Whence  
come the  
finest Silks.

Tho' several Provinces of this Empire furnish very fine Silks, those of *Che-kyang* are, without Comparison, the finest and best. The *Chinese* judge of the Goodness of Silk by its Whiteness, Softness, and Fineness. If it feels rough, it is a bad Sign. Oftentimes, to give it a Gloss, they dress it with a Sort of Rice-Water, mix'd with Lime, which burns it, so that, when brought to *Europe*, it won't bear Milling: Tho' nothing takes the Mill better than sound Silk. A *Chinese* Workman will mill this Silk above an Hour together without stopping, that is, without breaking a Thread; and 'tis certain, nothing can look finer or neater.

Silk Mills.

Their Mills are very different from those in *Europe*, and far less cumbersome. Two or three wretched Blades of Bamboo with a Cog-Wheel are enough: 'Tis surprizing to see with what simple Instruments they work the finest Stuffs.

Where the  
finest Silks  
are made.

There is at *Kanton* another Kind of Silk, that comes from *Tong-king*, but not comparable to that of *Che-kyang*, provided this latter be not too damp; of this Silk are made the finest Stuffs in the Province of *Kyang-nan*, where are the greater number of good Workmen, and whence the Emperor is supply'd with Silk for his own Use, and for Presents to the Grandees and Lords of the Court. The great Trade they drive at *Kanton*, which is the Port for all Strangers, does not fail to draw thither a great Number of the best Workmen: They could make as rich Stuffs as any in *Europe*, were they sure of Vent; but they usually confine themselves to the plainest Sorts, because the *Chinese* chuse the Useful before the Agreeable. They make Gold-Tissue indeed, but they don't draw their Gold into Wire, to twist with the Thread, as is done in *Europe*, but gild a long Sheet of Paper, which they cut into very small Slips, and very artfully wrap them about the Silk.

These Stuffs look very fine, coming out of the Workman's Hand, but are not lasting, nor fit for Garments, because the Air and Moisture soon tarnish the Lustre of the Gold; they are hardly of any Use but for Church-Moveables and Ornaments; none but *Mandarins* and their Ladies wear them, and that but very seldom.

The Silks  
most in use.

The Silks most in use among the *Chinese* are plain and flower'd Gauzes, which are their Summer Wear; Damasks of all Sorts and Colours; striped Sattins, black *Nan-king* Sattins, coarse Taffeties, or small Mohairs, which are very serviceable; and several other Sorts; some like flower'd Grogan; others with open Flowers like Gauze; some striped, in a very good Taste, or masqueraded, or embroidered with Roses, &c. Crapes, Brocades, Plush, and several Sorts of Velvet. That of the crimson Dye is the dearest, but one may be easily deceiv'd in it. The Way to discover the Cheat is, to take Juice of Lemon mix'd with Lime, and sprinkle a few Drops here and there; if it changes Colour, 'tis counterfeit.

Other Sorts  
unknown in  
*Europe*.

In short, the *Chinese* make an infinite number of Stuffs that we have no Name for, but there are two Sorts most commonly worn among them. (1.) A sort of Sattin, stronger and less glossy than what is made in *Europe*; they call it *Twan-tse*. Some are plain, others varied with Flowers, Trees, Birds, Butterflies, &c. (2.) A particular Taffety, call'd *Chew-tse*, [*Su fa*] of which they make Drawers and Linings; it is close, and yet so supple, that tho' it be folded and squeezed with the Hand, it will not take the Mark of the Fold; it will wash like Linen, without losing much of its Gloss.

Of the Gloss  
of Silks.

The *Chinese* Workmen give their *Chew-tse*, or Taffety, a Gloss with the Fat of a River-Porpus, which Creature they call *Kyang-chu*, that is to say, the Hog of the River Yang-tse-kyang; for in that great River, above 60 Leagues from the Sea, are seen Porpuses, less in Bulk indeed than those of the Ocean, but which scud along in Shoals, by Ranks, thro' the fresh Water, with the same Leaps and Evolutions as in the open Sea.

This Fat is purified by washing and boiling; then with a fine Brush they spread it over the Taffety from Top to Bottom, the same Way, and on that Side they would give a Gloss to. The Workmen burn the same in their Lamps at their Work by Night instead of Oil. The Smell of it is very useful in driving away the Flies, which otherwise would damage the Silk.

*Shang-tong*  
Silk.

The Province of *Shang-tong* yields a particular Silk, found in abundance on Trees and in Fields: It makes the Stuff call'd *Kyen-chew*. This Silk is produced by small Insects very like Caterpillars; they don't shape it into Cods like the Silk-worms, but in very long Threads, which stick to small Trees, or Shrubs; these Threads are gather'd, and make a coarser Silk than the House-Worms spin: But the Worms are wild, and eat the Leaves of other Trees as well as that of the Mulberry. Such as are not acquainted with this Silk, wou'd take it for a Rusty Stuff, or a Coarse Drugget.

Particular  
Worms for it.

There are two sorts of Worms which spin this Silk: One larger and blacker than ours, call'd *Tjwen-kyen*;



*Tsuen-kyen*; the other, which is smaller, is call'd *Tyau-kyen*: The Cods of the first are of a russet grey, those of the latter more black, and the Silk has a mixture of these two Colours. This Silk is very thick, never cuts, lasts long, washes like Linnen, and when good, will not stain, even with Oil. This Silk is in great Vogue among the *Chinese*, and is sometimes as dear as Sattin, or their best wrought Silks. As they are very dexterous in counterfeiting, they make a false *Kyen-chew* of the Waste of the *Che-kyang* Silk; by which, without Care, one may be easily deceiv'd.

A Silk Manufactory has been set up at *Kanton*, within these few Years, for making Ribbands, Stockings and Buttons, which has had very good Success: The Stockings are sold for a *Tael* a Pair, and a dozen of the largest Buttons, for no more than Six-pence.

As the Quantity and Goodness of the Silk depend very much on the way of breeding and feeding the Worms, from the time they are hatch'd till they spin, the Method observ'd in *China* may become as useful as it is curious. An Author of Reputation, who lived in a Province abounding with Silk Manufactories, under the Dynaſty of the *Ming*, has wrote a pretty large Treatise on this Subject. Father *Dentrecolles* sent me an Extract of it, from which I have taken all the Directions I thought necessary for the managing, with Success, to fine a Manufacture; concluding, that the new Lights given by the *Chinese* on so profitable a Work, that employs so many Ships, will not be altogether useless.

Cause of the  
Plenty and  
Goodness of  
Silk.

### Extract of an old Chinese Book, which teaches how to rear and feed Silk-Worms, so as to have Plenty of the best Silk.

THE Author begins immediately to direct how the Mulberry-Trees, whose Leaves the Silk-Worm feeds on, ought to be cultivated; because those Insects, says he, like other Animals, are fit for no profitable Labour, but in proportion as their Food is suitable to their Organs and Functions. He distinguishes two Sorts of Mulberry-Trees; the true one, called *Sang*, or *Ti sang*, which does not produce Fruit so large as in *Europe*; it being cultivated with no other View than to have Plenty of Leaves, which only are useful.

Silk-worms.  
Their Food.  
Two Sorts of  
Mulberry-  
Trees.

The other Sort are small and wild, called *Che*, or *Ye sang*; these have neither the Leaf nor Fruit of the Mulberry Tree. Their Leaves are small, rough, roundish, terminating in a Point, and their Edges scollop'd; their Fruit is like Pepper, one of which grows by the Stalk of each Leaf; their Branches thorny and clustering, like a Bush. These Trees thrive best on Hills, where they form a kind of Forest.

There are some Silk Worms, no sooner hatch'd in the House, but they are laid on these Trees, where they feed themselves, and make their Cods. These Field Silk-Worms being more hardy, grow thicker and longer than the domestic ones; and tho' their Work is not so good, it is valuable and useful, as may be judg'd by what I have said of the Stuff call'd *Kyen-chew*. Strings for Musical Instruments are made of their Silk, because it is strong and resounding.

Field Silk-  
worms.

'Tis not to be imagin'd that these *Che*, or Wild Mulberry-Trees, require no further Care than to place the Silk-Worms upon them. Several Paths must be made in these little Forests, for the Convenience of plucking up the Weeds growing under the Trees, and so far pernicious, as they harbour Insects, and especially Serpents that are greedy Devourers of these large Worms.

Wild Mul-  
berry Trees.

The Paths are also necessary for the Keepers, who constantly traverse the Woods, in the Day, with a Pole or Gun in their Hands, and at Night beating a Copper Bason, to keep off the Birds that would prey on these Worms.

'Tis to be observ'd, that the Leaves not touch'd by the Silk-worms, in the Spring, ought to be pull'd off in the Summer. If they are left on the Trees, the Leaves of the following Spring have venomous and unwholesome Qualities. A *Chinese* Treatise on Plants shews the Circulation of their Sap in a very clear Light; hence they conclude, that the Sap which circulates from the old Leaves corrupts, by its Rankness, the whole Mass.

How to be  
cultivated.

To render the *Che* Trees fitter to nourish House-worms, 'tis best to cultivate them in the same Manner, almost, as the true Mulberry-Trees, and especially to plant them but thinly, and sow the Ground with Millet, to correct the Harshness of the small Leaves, which grow too rank and too chafening. The Worms that feed on them spin the earliest and strongest Silk.

Perhaps such Silk-worms might be discover'd in *Europe*, as 'tis probable they were in *China*, if their Cods were observ'd on the Trees where they fix: They should be gather'd before they change into Moth-flies, for when they come out of their Cods they don't leave their Eggs, many of which are lost by several Accidents. To have the Male and Female Moth-flies, several of the pregnated Cods shou'd be also gather'd, and the Eggs being hatch'd the ensuing Year, should be laid on the same Trees again, where their Issue would easily nourish themselves.

One Observation has been made, which, tho' it may be of Use, the *Chinese* Author has not mention'd: And that is to use Oak-Leaves instead of *Che*-Leaves, whereon are fed the Worms that spin the Silk of which they make the *Kyen-chew*. The Emperor *Kang-bi* made the Ex-

Oak Leaves  
used for Mul-  
berry.

periment



periment at *Gebo* in *Tartary*, where he had Silk-worms fed on Oak-Leaves; doubtless, the young and tender ones.

If any one would hazard the placing of House Silk-Worms on young Oak-Trees, some of them would probably use themselves to that sort of Rural Living, in the same manner as we see young Gentlemen of nice Education accustom'd to the Fatigues and hard Living of a private Soldier. Their Eggs would produce, without doubt, a wild Sort, such as those that spin the Silk made use of for the *Kyen-chew*. At least, Tryal might be made, whether the House-worms would relish young Oak-Leaves; if so, they might be used when the Mulberry-Trees are backward.

Of the true  
Mulberry-  
Trees.

All the *Chinese* Authors say of the true Mulberry-Tree, may be reduced to the following Articles, viz. to know the good and bad Sort; the manner of improving them by chusing the Trees, manuring the Soil, stripping the Leaves, grafting, and above all pruning them; and lastly, how to multiply the good Sort.

How to chuse  
them.

The Mulberry-Trees which shoot their Fruit before their Leaves, ought to be rejected, their Leaves being commonly very small and unwholesome; besides this Sort perishes in a few Years.

As to chusing young Plants, such as have the Rind shrivell'd, produce but very small Leaves, and are not to be made use of; but those that have the Bark white, few Knots, and large Buds, are always to be chosen. Their Leaves grow large and thick, and the Silk-Worms that feed on them produce firm Cods full of Silk.

The best Sort.

The best Mulberry-Trees are those that give the least Fruit, because the Sap is less divided. There is a Method to render them barren as to Fruit, but rich in Leaves, and it is, by feeding Poultry with Mulberries, either fresh pick'd off the Tree, or dried in the Sun; and then taking their Dung, and dissolving it in Water, the Mulberry Seed is steep'd therein, after which they sow it.

Of the King-  
sang Ma ber-  
ry-Trees.

There are in general two Sorts of good Mulberry-Trees, and these are nam'd from the Provinces whence they were first brought: The one is from *King*, a Country in the Province of *Hu-quang*, and therefore named *King-sang*; the Leaves of it are thin, somewhat pointed, and in Shape a little like the Leaf of a Gourd. The Root is durable, and the Heart of the Trunk solid. The Worms fed on its Leaves spin a strong Silk, very fit to make the *Sba* and the *Lo-Sba*, (which is a kind of Gauze or thick Crape.) The Leaves of *King* are far the best for the Silk-Worms newly hatch'd; for every Age has a suitable Food most agreeable to it.

Mulberry-  
Trees of *Lü*.

The Mulberry-Trees of *Lü* (the ancient Name of the Province of *Shang tang*) do not bear much Fruit; their Trunk is tall, their Leaves large, strong, firm, round, and full of Juice: the Branches are fund and vigorous; but the Root and Heart are neither solid nor lasting: tho' their Leaves be good for all Ages, they are more proper to feed Silk-Worms a little grown. Of these Mulberry-Trees, some shoot out their Leaves very early; this is the Sort that should be kept near home, the more conveniently to clear the noxious Grass from their Root, and to dung and water them in dry Seasons, in order to have near at Hand the first Provision for those precious Insects.

The young Trees that have been too much stripp'd of their Leaves in their first three Years, suffer for it afterwards, becoming weak and backward. The same happens to those Trees whose Leaves and Leafless Branches are not clean prun'd. They are in their prime Vigour in the third Year, but begin to decline towards the fifth, when their Roots gall. The Remedy is, in the Spring, to un-earth the Roots, and cut off the most entangled, and then cover them with a proper Mould, sprinkling it with Water.

Art of mak-  
ing Mulber-  
ry-Trees  
young.

When the Mulberry-Trees grow old, there is an Art to recover them, by cutting off the exhausted Branches, and grafting sound Shoots in their Stead; by which means a Sap glides thro' the whole Body of the Tree, and enlivens it: This Operation should be always made in the Beginning of the second Month, which answers to our *March*.

To prevent these Trees from languishing, you must frequently examine, if certain Worms have not entred and lodg'd their Seed in them. These Worms are kill'd by pouring a little of the Oyl of the *Tong* Tree Fruit in upon them. Any other strong Oyl would certainly produce the same Effect.

The Soil pro-  
per for Mul-  
berry-Trees.

The Soil proper for Mulberry-Trees ought not to be strong, nor too hard. Ground newly broke up is very good for this Purpose. In the Provinces of *Che kyang* and *Kyang nan*, whence the best Silk comes, Care is taken to mend the Soil with the Mud of the Canals cut thro' the Country, which are clean'd every Year. The Dung of Animals, and even of the Silk-Worms, with Ashes, is also proper Manure. Small Garden Seeds sown between these Trees, are of no Damage to them, provided the Plough does not touch the Roots. But the main and most profitable Point is to be very watchful in having the Mulberry-Trees prun'd in a right Season, and by a skilful Hand: This makes them earlier, and more abounding with Leaves: which are thereby better fill'd, and more relish'd by the Silk-Worms. The Branches about the Middle of the Tree ought particularly to be lopp'd away, that the Leaves may be pick'd the more commodiously. A Leaf-Gatherer, who places himself always in the Center of the Tree, will, with this Precaution, gather more in one Day, than another without it could in several Days, which is no small saving; besides being a readier way to supply the hungry Worms.

To gather the Leaves of the extreme Branches they use a fork'd Ladder, supported by its own Prop, that it may not hurt the Tree. Our Author asserts, that a Mulberry-Tree well prun'd is as good, and yields as much, as two others.

The



The Month of *January* is the Season for pruning the Mulberry-Trees, which is done in the same manner as Vines, particularly Arbour-Vines: It's sufficient that the Branches which are left have four Buds, the Over-plus ought to be thrown away. Four Sorts of Branches must be entirely cut off; 1st. Those that hang down towards the Root. 2dly. Those that shoot inwards towards the Trunk. 3dly. Of those that are forky, and shoot two and two out of the Trunks, one ought to be retrenched. 4thly. Those which grow well otherwise, but are too clustering, and too much garnish'd. None but the Branches that shoot outward from the Tree are to be spared. The following Spring they will be vigorous and flourishing, and their forward Leaves will advance the Maturity of the Worms, and the Profit of the Silk.

The Season  
for pruning.

Of the  
Manner of  
pruning.

Our Author, who lays great Stress on the Art of Pruning as practised in *Nan king*, near *Che kyang*, his own Country, insists that the People of the Province of *Shang tong*, who prune in a different Manner, ought to try this, and not obstinately practise their old Method.

About the Close of Autumn, before the Mulberry Leaves grow yellow, they ought to be gather'd, and dry'd in the Sun, then to be pounded small, and put into large Earthen Pots stop'd with Clay, and so kept in a Place free from Smoak. In the Spring those beaten Leaves will be like Meal, and proper to be given to the Worms after Moulting.

Of the ga-  
thering of the  
Leaves.

In the Provinces of *Che kyang* and *Kyang nan*, where the best Silk is produced, they are very careful to hinder the Growth of the Mulberry-Trees, and lopp them to prevent their exceeding a certain Height. The Loppings are diligently heap'd together, for more than one Use; the *Chinese* knowing how to turn every thing to Advantage. 1st. Where Wood is scarce, they burn them to warm the Water, into which the best Silk Cods are put for the more easy Winding. 2dly. Their Ashes make a Wash for the Cods pierced by the Moth-flies, and such others as are faulty; with the help of this Wash wherein they stew, they open extraordinarily, and become fit to be spun to make Ferret-Silk, or be prepar'd for Wad us'd instead of Cotton. 3dly. Of the Bark of these Loppings they sometimes make Paper, strong enough to cover an ordinary Umbrella, especially when varnish'd and colour'd. When the Mulberry-Trees grow old, and their Leaves rank, Care should be taken to renew them: For which end, besides the Method by grafting, before explain'd, they procure new Plants, either by twisting together quick and sound Branches, in small Casks made of two Pieces of large Bamboo, and fill'd with good Mould; or by bending, at Spring, the long Branches left unprun'd, and sticking their Ends in manured Soil: In *December* following, when these Branches will have taken Root, they are dexterously cut from the Body of the Tree, and transplanted in the proper Season. They also sow the Mulberry Seed, which must be chosen from the best Trees, and from the Fruit that grows about the Middle of the Branches. This Seed ought to be mix'd with the Ashes of the burnt Branches: Next Day the whole is to be stir'd in Water; when the Water is settled, the uselefs Seed floats; that which sinks to the Bottom, ought to be dry'd in the Sun, and afterwards sowed, mix'd with an equal Quantity of Millet, which assists the Mulberry-Trees that then love the Shade, and defends them in growing from the scorching Heat of the Sun.

The Use of  
their Wood.

Manner of  
renewing  
Mulberry-  
Trees.

By the Seed.

When the Millet is ripe, they wait for windy Weather, and then set Fire to it. The ensuing Spring, the Mulberry-Trees shoot with a great deal more Strength. The Branches must be prun'd away till the Plants are grown to a proper Height, and then the Tops must be cut, to make the Branches shoot out on the Sides; at length the young Mulberry-Trees are transplanted, at the distance of eight or ten Paces, in Lines four Paces asunder; but the Trees of one Line must not be placed directly opposite to those of the next: 'Tis likely they neglect Symmetry in this, because otherwise the Trees might over-shade one another.

By Trans-  
planting.

'Tis not enough to have cultivated the Mulberry-Trees for the Nourishment of Silk-Worms; Apartments must also be prepar'd for those precious Insects, suitable to the different Conditions, to the Places where, and Times when they spin. Those excellent Workers, which of their own Substance contribute to the Luxury and Delicacy of our Dress and Furniture, deserve to be treated with Distinction; since the Riches they yield are in proportion to the Care taken of them, and if they suffer or languish, their Work will do the same.

Of the Apart-  
ments for  
Silk-Worms.

Several *Chinese* Writers have treated of the Apartments proper for Silk-Worms, such as in some Provinces almost every Family has, and in which only a small quantity of Silk, proportion'd to their Leisure and narrow Habitation, is gathered: But this Extract is taken from an Author, who became one of the first Ministers of the Empire, and who fully discuss'd this Matter, having wrote only with regard to large and expensive, but in the Event very profitable, Manufactories: He says, an agreeable Place ought to be chosen for the Apartment of the Silk-Worms; it must be on a dry rising Ground, and near a Rivulet; because it is necessary to wash the Eggs often, and running Water agrees best with them. Their Lodgings ought to be retir'd from all Dunghills, Sinks, Cattle, and all Noise. Disagreeable Smells, and the least Fright, make strange Impressions on so nice a Brood. Even the barking of a Dog, and the crowing of a Cock, put them into Disorder, when newly hatched.

A particular  
Detail on this  
Occasion.

The Room must be built square, and may serve for other Uses when the Silk-Worm Season is over. Its Walls should be very close for the sake of Warmth; the Door South, at least South East, but never in the North; with a Window on every Side, to receive and have a free Passage for the Air, as occasion requires. These Windows, which are almost always kept shut, are of white transparent Paper, behind which are moveable Matts placed so as to admit or shut out the Light, as occasion requires.

The Figure  
of the Cham-  
ber.



These Matts are also useful to keep out pernicious Winds, such as the South and South West, which should never enter the Apartments. As a refreshing Breeze is sometimes required, and in such Case, one of the Windows must be open'd, should the Air be full of Gnats and Flies, it would prove very destructive. For as they settle on the Silk-Cases, they make Blemishes, which render the Winding extremely difficult, so that it is best to hasten the Work before the Fly-Season. One ought not to be less careful to prevent the Entrance of small Lizards and Rats, which are very greedy after Silk-Worms; this is done by having active and vigilant Cats.

The Heat  
necessary, for  
the Chamber.

'Tis very material that the Eggs be hatch'd at once, and that the Worms sleep, waken, feed, and cast their Skins together; for this purpose, a constant and equal Warmth should be kept in their Apartment, by having Fire cover'd in Stoves at the four Corners of the Room, or else by carrying a Warming-Pan up and down the Room, while necessary; the Pan ought to be out of the Room, when they put in the Fire, which should be cover'd with Ashes, for a red or bluish Flame very much annoys the Worms.

The Fire  
proper for  
Silk-Worms.

Our Author would, if possible, have the Fuel, which warms the Chamber, to be of Cow-Dung; he advises to lay in a Stock of it during Winter, to moisten it, and to make it into Clods to be dry'd in the Sun: These Clods are laid upon Planks of hard Wood, which must be put into hollow Brick-work; when they set Fire to it, it produces a gentle Heat, which is very proper for the Worms, and they are pleas'd with the Smell of that Dung; but great Care must be taken to keep the Smoak out of the Chamber, for the Worms cannot bear it; this Fire keeps in a long time under the Ashes, which is no small Advantage. Lastly, to preserve the Place dry, for in case of Dampness, little Profit there can be expected, it is necessary that the Outside of the Door be cover'd with a double Matt, to keep out the chill Air.

Furniture for  
the Silk-  
Worms Nur-  
tery.

He next treats of furnishing the Chamber with the necessary Utensils for keeping and maintaining the Silk-Worms: Nine or ten Rows of Shelves must be made by Stories, nine Inches more or less distant from each other; upon these they place Hurdles of Rushes, with wide Meshes, the Holes big enough to receive the little Finger, that the Warmth of the Place may the more easily penetrate them, and that the cool Air may succeed it: These several Stories must be ranged in such a manner, as to form an open Space in the midst of the Chamber, and a free Passage quite round: Upon these Hurdles they hatch the Worms, and here they feed them till they are ready to spin; but then the Scene changes.

Moreover these Hurdles being like a Cradle for these very tender Insects, they lay on a kind of Mattress, call'd the *Shnois*, that is to say, they spread over it a Bed of dry Straw, chopt small, upon which they put a long Sheet of Paper, softened by gentle handling; when the Sheet is fouled by their Ordure, or by the Remnants of their Meals, that is to say, by the Fibres of the Leaves, which they never touch, they cover it with a Net, having Meshes that afford a free Passage: Upon this Net they cast Mulberry Leaves, the Smell of which immediately draws up the hungry Swarm; then they take the Net off gently, and place it upon a new Hurdle, whilst they clean the old one, that it may serve another time.

You see there are many Precautions to be taken about the Habitation of the Silk-Worms: Our Author adds further, that there should be a Wall, or close Palisade round about the Chamber, and at a little distance from it, especially on the West Side, in case they should be obliged to let in the Air that Way, that the setting Sun might not strike upon the Worms.

The Gather-  
ing of the  
Leaves.

When he treats of stocking yourself with Mulberry Leaves, he advises you to use a wide Bag-Net, which opens and shuts much like a Purse, that the Leaves may not be stuff'd, but may dry in carrying, and not wither.

As the Worms new-hatch'd require a more nice and prepared Food, he says the Leaves must be cut into very small fine Threads; and that for this purpose a very sharp Knife must be used, that it may not squeeze the Leaves in cutting, but leave all the Delicateness of their Taste.

It is often seen that Plants degenerate, and that the Seed is not so good as its Original; it is the same with the Moth-flies, there are some weak and languishing; a good Brood must not be expected from these; and therefore you must make Choice of those that are proper: This Choice is made at two Seasons,

The Manner  
of distinguish-  
ing good  
Moth-flies  
from bad  
ones.

1<sup>st</sup>. Before they go out of their Cods, and it is then they distinguish the Male Cods from the Female. This is the way to know them; the Cods which are a little pointed, close and fine, and less than the others, contain the Male Moth-flies; the Cods rounder, bigger and thicker, and more clumsy, inclose the Females: In general, the Cods which are clear, somewhat transparent, clean and weighty are the best.

2<sup>dly</sup>. This Choice is more safely made when the Moth-flies are come out, which happens a little after the fourteenth Day of their Retirement: Those which come out a Day before the others, must by no means be used to multiply the Species; lay hold of those that come out the next Day in Crouds; the latest must be rejected. Another Mark to chuse them by is this, The Moth-flies which have bending Wings, bald Eye-brows, a dry Tail, and a reddish Belly, without Hair, must not be chosen to multiply the Breed.

Of their Mul-  
tiplication.

When the Choice is made, they bring the Males and Females together; and lay them upon several Sheets of Paper that they may couple: This Paper must not be made of hempen Cloth, but of the Bark of the Mulberry-Tree, and must be strengthened with Silk or Cotton Thread, glu'd on the Backside, because when its Sheets are cover'd with Eggs, they must be dip'd three times in a Water which is proper for them: These Sheets of Paper must be spread on Matts well



well cover'd with Straw. After the Moth-flies have been together about twelve Hours, the Males must be taken away; if they were to be any longer together, the Eggs which they would produce, being later, would not be hatch'd with the others, which Inconveniency should be avoided: The Male Moth-flies must be put in a separate Place, with those which are rejected in the beginning.

That the Females may lay their Eggs more advantageously, it is necessary to give them Room, and cover them; for Darkness hinders them from too much scattering their Eggs. When they have done laying, they must be kept covered for four or five Days; after which, all these Moth-flies, with those which were set aside, or which were taken dead out of the Cods, must be buried deep in the Earth; for it would infect any Animal to touch them. Some assert, that if they were buried in several Places of the Field, it would neither produce Brambles, nor any prickly Shrub for several Years; others throw them into Fish-Ponds, and pretend there is nothing better to fatten the Fish.

As to the valuable Seed that remains sticking upon the Sheets of Paper, some of it must still be thrown away; for Instance, those Eggs which sticking together make a sort of Clots: We must hope for Silk from the others; and of these great Care must be taken. Here my Author expresses his Surprise, that the Worms being so sensible of the least Chilness, or Moisture of the Air, their Eggs on the contrary should be found to agree very well with the Water and Snow: Would not one think (*says he*) that they were of two different Natures? He compares the Changes undergone by the Worms, which successively become Ants, Caterpillars, and then Moth-flies, to the Changes which in order happen to Plants, by the unfolding of their Parts, which are compact in one Situation, and dilate themselves in another; some of which wither in a Moment, and fall off at the same time, that others appear in their full Vigour.

The first Care to be taken, is to hang up the Sheets cover'd with Eggs to the Beam of the Room, which must be opened in the Front, so that the Wind may come in, without the Rays of the Sun striking upon them; that Side of the Sheet, on which the Eggs are laid, must not be turn'd outwards; the Fire which heats the Room, must neither blaze nor smoak; Care must be taken likewise, that no hempen Ropes come near either the Worms or Eggs: These Precautions are not repeated without Reason. When they have let the Sheets hang so for some Days, they take them down and roll them up loosely, so that the Eggs be within the Sheet, and then they are hang'd up again in the same Manner, during the Summer and Autumn.

The 8th of the 12th Moon, that is, the end of December, or in January, when there is an intercalary Month, they put the Eggs into cold River-Water, if it is to be got, or in Water with a little Salt dissolv'd in it, taking care that this Water does not freeze; the Sheets are left therein two Days, and lest they should swim, they keep them down to the Bottom of the Vessel, by clapping a China-Dish over them. After having taken them out of the Water, they hang them up again, and when they are dry, they roll them up a little tighter, and inclose them separately, standing on one end in an Earthen Vessel; after that, once in about ten Days, when the Sun after a Shower shines very bright, they expose the Sheet to its Rays in a shelter'd Place where there is no Dew; they leave them there about half an Hour, and then close them up in the same Manner as before.

There are some who practise a different Method: They put the Sheets into a Lye made of Ashes of the Wood of Mulberry-Trees, and after their having been there a whole Day, they take them out, and lay them some Moments in Snow-Water, or else hang them up three Nights on a Mulberry-Tree, to receive the Snow or Rain, provided it be not too violent.

These Baths, whether made of a sort of Lye and Snow-Water, or of River-Water, or Water impregnated with Salt, produce a Silk easy to wind; and contribute to render it closer, stronger, and in its Substance less porous; their chief Use is to cherish the internal Heat in the Eggs, in which their prolific Virtue consists.

When the Mulberry-Trees begin to have Leaves, it is time to think of hatching the Eggs; for they are hasten'd or hinder'd according to the different Degrees of Heat or Cold imparted to them: They forward them, if they often spread the Sheets abroad, if also, in laying them by, they roll them up very loosely; by doing the contrary, they hinder them.

Here follows the Business of the three Days preceding the hatching of the Worms. It is of great importance that they should all hatch together: When they are ready to come out, one sees the Eggs swell, and their Roundness become a little pointed: The first of the three Days, about ten or eleven o'Clock, in a clear Sky, a little Wind stirring, (as is common at that Season) these precious Rolls of Paper are taken out of the Vessel, stretch'd at length, and hung up with the Backsides towards the Sun; they keep them there till they acquire a kindly Warmth, then they are roll'd up close, and set upright in the Vessel, in a warm Place, till the next Day; then they are taken out again, and the same Operation repeated.

This Day, the Eggs are observed to change Colour, and turn of an Ash-grey: Then they clap two Sheets together, and roll them tighter, tying the Ends. The third Day towards Night, they unroll the Sheets, and stretch them on a fine Matt; the Eggs then appear blackish: If there are any Worms hatch'd, they must be cast away, because they would never be Worms of the same Community; for Experience teaches, that those Worms which are not hatched with the others, never agree with them in the time of casting their Slough, of waking, of eating, nor, which is the principal, of making Cods: These odd Worms would much increase the Care and Trouble, and occasion Loss by putting things out of course; wherefore they

The Care to be taken of the Females in the Time of their laying Eggs.

The Care to be taken of the Eggs.

The Bath for the Eggs.

First Method.

Second Method.

The Effects of the Baths.

Care of the Eggs at the time of hatching.

After the hatching.



are seasonably banish'd: This Separation being made, they roll three Sheets together very loose, and carry them into a pretty warm Place, shelter'd from the South Wind.

The next Day, about ten or eleven o' Clock, they take out the Rolls, open them, and find them full of Worms, like little black Ants, which is what is meant by the Name they give them, *He-y*; the Eggs not hatch'd in about an Hour afterwards, must be thrown away: If amongst any of these new-hatch'd Worms you perceive any with a flat Head, that are shrivell'd, and as it were scorch'd, of a Sky-Blue, Yellow, or Flesh-Colour, none of these are worth keeping; the good Sort are of the Colour of a Mountain seen at a distance.

It is advisable first to weigh the Sheet containing the new-hatch'd Worms; then hold it sloping, and turn'd almost upside down, upon a long Sheet of Paper strew'd with Mulberry Leaves, and prepar'd in the Manner before mention'd: The Smell of these Leaves will attract the little hungry Worms; but the most sluggish may be help'd down with a Feather, or by gently flapping the Back of the Sheet, which being weighed by itself, will give exactly the Weight of the Worms; whence they compute, very nearly, how many Pounds of Leaves will be necessary to feed them, also the Weight of the Cods they ought to produce, barring Accidents.

Way of Management.

The Matron, or House-keeper.

We come now to treat of the right Management of these Worms, and how properly to qualify the Heat of their Nursery: For this Purpose they provide for the Worms a kind Mother, who is careful of their Wants; she is therefore call'd by our Author *Tsan-má*, *Mother of the Worms*. She takes possession of the Room, but not till she has wash'd her self, and put on proper Attire, that hath no ill Smell; she must not have eaten for some time before, nor handled Wild Succory, the Smell of which is very prejudicial to this tender Brood: She must be clothed in a single Habit, without lining, that she may judge the better, by Feeling, the degree of the Warmth of the Place, and accordingly augment or diminish the Fire; but she must carefully avoid making a Smoak, or raising a Dust, as it would be very contrary to the Delicacy of these little Insects, which must be very nicely managed before the first Moulting. Every Day, says an Author, is a Year to them, and has in it, as one may say, the four Seasons; the Morning is Spring; the middle of the Day, Summer; the Evening, Autumn; and the Night Winter.

Particular Rules concerning the Silk-Worms.

Here follow general Rules of Practice, founded on Experience, and proper to be observ'd. (1.) As long as the Eggs are kept before they are hatch'd, they require much Cold. (2.) When hatch'd, and like Ants, they want as much Heat. (3.) When become Caterpillars, and near Mewing-time, they need a moderate Heat. (4.) After the great Mewing, they must be kept cool. 5. When upon the Decline, and growing old, they ought to be warm'd by little and little. (6.) A great Heat is necessary when they are working their Cods.

Disgusts and Antipathies of Silk-Worms.

The Delicacy of these little Insects, requires great care to be taken to remove every thing that might incommode them; for they have their Distastes and Antipathies: They have a particular Aversion to Hemp, wet Leaves, or those heated by the Sun, and, when newly hatch'd, to Dust raised by sweeping; to the Moisture of the Earth, Flies and Gnats, the Smell of broil'd Fish, burnt Hair, Musk, Smoak, Breath smelling of Wine, Ginger, Lettice, Wild Succory; all great Noises, Nastiness, the Rays of the Sun, the Light of a Lamp, the quivering Flame of which must not strike upon their Eyes in the Night; the Wind that draws through Holes or Chinks, a high Wind, Cold, Heat, and especially a sudden Change from great Cold to great Heat. With respect to their Food; Leaves cover'd with Dew, those dry'd in the Sun or a high Wind, or tainted with an ill Savour, are the most common Causes of their Distempers: It is proper to gather the Leaves two or three Days before-hand, to keep them in a clean airy Place, where there is Room enough; not forgetting during the first three Days to give them the tenderest Leaves cut into little Threads.

Their Distastes.

Their Mewing.

At the end of three or four Days, when they begin to turn white, augment their Food in Quantity, but cut it not so small: Afterwards when they become blackish, they must have a greater quantity of Leaves, and as gather'd from the Tree: As they turn white again, and eat with less Appetite, lessen their Meals a little: As they grow yellow, they must have less Meat still; when they become quite yellow, and are, according to the *Chinese* Language, at the *End of one of the three Sleeps*; that is to say, when they are ready to mew, then give them nothing: Every Mewing-time they must be treated in the same Manner, in proportion to their Bigness.

The Silk-Worms eat Day and Night.

Their Meals, how often.

We now come to a more exact Account: These Worms eat equally Day and Night. After they are hatch'd, they must have 48 Meals the first Day, two every Hour, the next 30, but the Leaves not cut so small; the third Day, they must have less still: These little Insects then resemble new-born Infants, who pine, unless always at the Nipple: If their Food be not proportion'd to their Appetite, they will be over-heated, which would ruin the finest Hopes. Some advise to give them at first Leaves, which healthy Persons have kept a certain time in their Bosom, because the Perspiration of a Human Body is very agreeable to these little Worms. At the times of their Repasts, the Meals must be equally strew'd all over: Cloudy and rainy Weather takes away their Stomach: The Remedy is, immediately before their Repast to light a Wisp of very dry Straw, the Flame of which must be all alike, and held over the Worms, to free them from the Cold and Moisture that benums them, or else, to remove the Blinds from the Windows, and let in the full Day-light. These small Helps give them an Appetite, and prevent Diseases.

The Maturity of the Silk-Worms advantageous to the Breeder.

But why should they take so much Pains to make this little Swarm eat so often? It is to hasten their Growth, and to make them sooner work their Cods, the chief Profit of the Silk-Worms depending thereon. If they come to Maturity in 23, or 25 Days, a Hurdle cover'd



cover'd with them, the Weight of which, directly weigh'd, amounted to a *Mas*, that is, a little more than a Drachm, will produce 25 Ounces of Silk; but if, for want of Care and Food, they come not to Perfection till 28 Days, they'll yield no more than 20 Ounces; and but 10, if they are a Month or forty Days in growing.

When they come to full Growth, give them an easy Food, a little at a time, and often, almost the same as when young: If they digest not their Food, at the time they begin to spin, the Cods have a saltish Moisture, that will render the Silk very difficult to wind: In a word, when they have been hatch'd 24 or 25 Days, the more their Work is deferred, and the more Leaves they consume, the less Silk they produce.

After they have cast their Slough, you must give them Leaves cut small, a few at a time, but often: This is like a second Birth, or, according to other Authors, a sort of Recovery: When the Worms are on the Point of mewing, they are like a Man sick almost to Death by the Change in his Constitution; but if he can sleep a Night, he becomes quite another Thing, and there is no more to be done but to recover his former Strength by a prudent Regimen.

There are other Diseases occasion'd either by Cold, or too much Heat: To prevent the former, a just Heat must be kept in their Room. Notwithstanding, if the Cold has seiz'd these little Labourers, either for want of the Windows being close shut, or because the Mulberry-Leaves were not well dried; it destroys their Appetite, and causes a sort of Flux, for instead of Clots they void a watery Slime; in that case you must burn Cow-Dung near them, the Smell of which will revive them to Admiration. The Disorders proceeding from Heat are occasion'd, either by letting the Worms be too long hungry, by the Quality and Quantity of their Food, by an inconvenient Situation, or by the Air without becoming all of a sudden sultry hot: In this last Case they open one or more of the Windows, but never on that Side the Wind blows; for it must not come directly into the Room, but round about, that it may be qualified: For instance, if it is a South-Wind, they open the North Window, and if the Wind be too hot, they set a Vessel full of Water before the Window: The Room may also be sprinkled with cold Water, taking great care that not a Drop fall on the Worms.

For an Excess of internal Heat, they give them the Meal made of Mulberry Leaves, gathered in the Autumn, and reduced to a very fine Powder, as I have before shewn: They moisten a little the Leaves design'd for their Repast, then strew over this Meal, which sticks to them; but they abate an Ounce of Leaves for every Ounce of the Meal. Some give the Meal of certain little green Pulse for a cooling Food, instead of the Leaf-Powder; it certainly refreshes and invigorates those Worms that eat it freely. As to an inconvenient or freight Situation, it often causes Over-heatings, and thence proceeds the most common and the most dangerous Sickness among these Worms. Tho' while shut up in the Egg they may be crowded, as soon as they are hatch'd they require a great deal of Room, especially when they are grown Caterpillars, and abound in Moisture. These Insects, tho' not cleanly themselves, suffer much by Nastiness: Their Clots, which they cast in abundance, quickly ferment, and heat them considerably, if they are not seasonably freed from them, either by sweeping them off with a Feather, or, which is better, by often removing the Worms from one Hurdle to another.

Change of Hurdles is chiefly necessary when they are grown big, and near mewing: But several Persons must be employ'd, that the Worms may all be removed at the same time: They must be touched with a light Hand, and not let fall, nor rudely set down. This would enfeeble them, and make them sluggish in their Work. Tho' changing the Hurdle is alone sufficient to cure their Disorders, for a speedy Relief, some throw upon them dry Rushes, or Straw, cut small, upon which they strew Mulberry Leaves: They crawl up to eat, and by that means come out of the Clots that over-heat them. The great Benefit of these Removals consists in the Frequency and equal Distribution of them; doing it gently, and allowing the Worms more Room every time. When they become pretty well grown, the Worms belonging to one Hurdle must be divided, and put on three new ones, like so many Colonies; afterward into six, and so on to the number of twenty, or more: For these Insects being full of Humours, must be kept at a due Distance one from another. But it is of the greatest Importance to remove them at the critical Moment, when they are of a bright Yellow, and ready to spin: An Apartment should be prepared beforehand proper for their Work.

Our Author proposes a sort of rough Piece of Timber-Work, or long Roof, very little sloping, and the Inside clear; which must be divided all round into many Partitions, each with a Shelf, where they place the Silk-Worms, and where they will afterwards range themselves, each in his District. This Machine ought to have convenient Room for a Man to go in, without displacing any thing, that he may keep a small Fire in the middle, to defend the Worms from Moisture and Cold, which are much to be feared at this time. I said a small Fire, because there must be but just enough to yield a gentle Heat, which makes the Worms more eager at Work, and the Silk more transparent. This numerous Army of Worms, being thus ranged in their Apartment, must be surrounded with Mats at a little distance, which must also cover the Top of the Machine, to keep off the outside Air; and because the Worms love to work privately, and in the dark. Nevertheless, after the third Day's Work, they take away the Mats from one o'Clock to three, and give the Sun a free entrance into the Room, but so that the Rays may not strike upon these little Labourers; after which they cover them as before. If it should thunder, they are preserv'd from the Terror of the Noise, and the Lightning, by being cover'd with the Sheets of Paper that were used when they were on the Hurdles.



In seven Days the Work of the Cods is finished, and in seven more, or thereabouts, the Worms quit their silken Apartments, and appear upon their coming out in the shape of Moth-flies. When they gather the Cods, it is usual to put them on Heaps, for it is impossible to wind off all the Silk immediately, because they are hindered by other Business. Nevertheless this hath its Inconveniences: For if out of the Heaps of Cods they defer chusing those to be left for Moth-flies to multiply the Species, the Moth-flies of those stified Cods by being squeezed and overheated will not succeed so well; the Females especially that had been hurt, would lay none but sickly Eggs: They set therefore the Cods designed for multiplication of the Species apart, and lay them upon a Hurdle big enough, and in a cool airy Place.

How to lessen the Number of Worms without hurting the Brood.

The first Way.

The second Way.

The third Way.

As to those numerous Cods, which you would not have bored, you must contrive how to kill the Moth-flies, without damaging the Work. They must not be put into the Kettle, but as they can be wound off; for if they were to soak too long, it would hurt the Silk. It would be best to wind them off all together, if a sufficient number of Hands could be employ'd. My Author affirms, that five Men can wind off thirty Pound of Cods in a Day, and supply two others with as much Silk as they can make into Skains, that is, about ten Pounds; but as that cannot always be done, he directs three Ways to preserve the Cods from being bored. The first is, to let them lie a whole Day in the Sun, the Heat of which, tho' prejudicial to the Silk, certainly kills the Moth-flies. The second Way is, to put them in *Balneo Mariae*: It is reckon'd of use to throw an Ounce of Salt, and half an Ounce of Rape-Oil, into the Copper; for the Exhalations, impregnated with the acid Spirits of the Salt, and the sulphureous Particles of the Oil, are supposed to make the Cods better, and the Silkeasier to wind; therefore the Machine with the Cods must go very strait into the Copper, the Top of which must be cover'd and luted, so that no Steam may get out; But if this Bath is not rightly order'd, in which many are mistaken, a great number of the Flies will bore their Cods: Upon which it is to be observ'd, (1.) That the firm and hard Cods have generally the Ball of Silk coarser, and of consequence easier to wind, which for the same Reason may be left longer in *Balneo Mariae*; the contrary is observ'd of the fine and slender Cods. (2.) That when the Flies are kill'd in *Balneo Mariae*, the Cods must be spread abroad upon Mats, and cover'd, when a little cool, with small Willow or Mulberry Branches. The third Way of killing the Moth-flies is preferable to the two former, and as follows: Put the Cods into great Earthen Vessels, and into every Vessel throw four Ounces of Salt for each ten Pound of Cods, and cover them with large dry Leaves, like those of *Water-Lily*; upon these Leaves lay ten Pounds more of Cods, sprinkled with four Ounces of Salt as before, filling the Vessels with several Lays; then closing the Mouth of it, so that the Air may be entirely excluded, the Flies will be stified in seven Days; but if the least Air be admitted by any Chink, they'll live long enough to pierce their Cods; for as they are of a spongy Substance, and readily imbibe the Air, the least Quantity getting in would keep them alive.

In laying the Cods in the Vessels, the choicest must be set apart; the long, white, and glittering ones yield a very fine Silk; the thick, dark, and of a Blue, like the Skin of an Onion, produce a coarse Silk.

Season proper for the Worms.

Autumn better than the Spring.

Reasons why.

So much for the Method of raising Worms in the Spring; and indeed 'tis in this Season that the Generality of the *Chinese* are employ'd in this Work. 'Tis true, some hatch Eggs in Summer and Autumn; and almost every Month after the first Spring-Crop: But then they must provide Workmen for the purpose, who are able to hold out, and Mulberry-Trees to supply Food enough for all the Seasons, which the Trees would hardly furnish; besides, if they are exhausted in one Year, they decay, and fail entirely the Spring following.

Therefore, according to my Author, it is best to hatch but few Worms in Summer, and only to provide Eggs for Autumn: He cites indeed an Author who advises to raise Worms in that Season, which begins towards the 15th of *August*; but he allots for their Food the Leaves of those Branches only, that may be spared without hurting the Tree. He prefers Autumn to the Spring, for raising Worms; (1.) Because the Spring being the Season for Rain and Winds in the Southern Parts, the Profit expected from the Labour of these Worms is more uncertain; but in Autumn, the Weather being generally serene, there is less Hazard of Success. (2.) Tho' the Worms cannot have such tender Leaves for their Food as in the Spring, yet this is fully compensated by their having nothing to fear from the poisonous and mortal Stings of Gnats and Musketoos.

The Silk-Worms bred in Summer must be kept cool, and the Windows cover'd with Gauze to keep out the Gnats: Those raised in Autumn are to be kept cool at first, but after their Mews, and when they spin, they must be kept warmer than in the Spring, because of the cold Air of the Nights. When these autumnal Worms turn Moth-flies, they might lay Eggs for the next Year; but the surest Way is to make Provision in the Spring, because those of Autumn do not always answer.

Eggs how to preserve.

If you keep the Summer Eggs to be hatch'd in Autumn, first inclose them in an earthen Pipkin, which must afterwards be set in a large Pan of cold Spring Water, as high as the included Eggs; if the Water be higher, the Eggs will perish; if lower, many of them will miscarry for want of Strength. If they are slow in Hatching, they either die, or make a very bad sort of Cods. If all these Directions are well observ'd, the Eggs will hatch in twenty one Days. Instead of cold Water, some advise to set them in the Shade of some very bushy Tree, inclosed in an earthen Pipkin never bak'd.

When



When the Silk-worms are ready to spin, they may be plac'd in such a Manner, that instead of making Cods, as they naturally do when left to themselves, they will make a Piece of Silk flat, thin, and round, like a large Wafer: This is done by laying the Worms when they spin on the Top of a Cup exactly cover'd with Paper. And several Advantages would arise from a Work thus order'd; (1.) These round and flat Pieces are as easy to wind as the Cods. (2.) They are all pure Silk, having none of that viscous Matter the Worm emits in the Shell, upon being long enclos'd in it, which the *Chinese* call the Urine; and which, soon as the Worm has done spinning, is taken away to prevent its damaging the Silk. (3.) You need not hurry in winding the Silk, as you must when it is in the Cods; for in this way, that Work may be deferr'd as long as you please, without Danger.

When the Silk is wound off, they immediately set upon manufacturing it. The *Chinese* have very simple Instruments for this Work: But 'tis hardly possible from Words to form a just Idea of Things, which the Eye is the proper Judge of. The Figures on the opposite Plate represent the various Utensils that serve in managing the Worms, with the several Tools and Instruments by which they work, to such Perfection, those fine and beautiful Pieces they send us.

Care of the  
Worms when  
they spin.

## Of the Chinese Language.

IN order to give a true Idea of the *Chinese* Language, I shall here explain the Nature of it; afterwards I shall shew how the *Chinese* Words must be pronounc'd, and how written in European Characters; Lastly, I shall finish with a compendious *Chinese* Grammar.

The *Chinese* has no resemblance with any dead or living Language, that we are acquainted with: All other Languages have an Alphabet of a certain Number of Letters, which by their various Combinations form Syllables and Words: This has no Alphabet, but as many Characters and different Figures as there are Words.

The only Conformity it has with the Languages of *Europe* is, that as our Alphabet is made up of twentyfour Letters, which are form'd of these seven Strokes,

Agrees with  
those of *Europe*  
in one  
Point only.

㇏ ㇏ ㇏ ㇏ ㇏ ㇏ ㇏

viz. The A of the three first; the B of the sixth and fourth repeated; the C of the fifth alone; the D of the sixth and fourth; the E of the sixth and the third tripled; the O of the fourth and fifth join'd; the Q of the O and the seventh Stroke, &c. so all the *Chinese* Characters are formed, properly speaking, only of the six following Strokes,

㇏ ㇏ ㇏ ㇏ ㇏ ㇏

The *Chinese* have two different Languages: First the *Vulgar*, proper to the common People, which varies according to the different Provinces: The other is call'd the *Mandarin* Language, and is nearly what the Latin is to us, amongst Ecclesiasticks and the Learned.

Two Lan-  
guages in  
*China*.

But the Analogy between the *Chinese* Language and others is so small, that this Comparison is not exact: The *Mandarin* Language is properly what was formerly spoken at Court, in the Province of *Kyang nan*, and propagated among the Polite of the neighbouring Provinces. Hence this Language is best spoken in the Provinces adjoining to *Kyang nan*, but by slow degrees was introduc'd into all Parts of the Empire, to the great Conveniency of the Government. It seems barren, for it has not above three hundred and thirty Words, all Monosyllables, indeclinable, and almost all end with a Vowel, or the Consonant N, or Ng.

*Vulgar*.  
*Mandarin*.

These few Syllables are, notwithstanding, sufficient to discuss all manner of Subjects; because, without multiplying Words, the Sense is varied, almost to Infinity, by the Difference of Accents, Inflections, Tones, Aspirations, and other Changes of the Voice: And this Variety of Pronunciation, to those that are not well vers'd in the Tongue, is a frequent Occasion of mistaking one Word for another: For example, the Word *Cbu* founded drawling out the *u*, and raising the Voice, signifies *Lord*, or *Master*; but pronounced in an even Tone, with *u* long, means a *Hog*. When expressed quick and light, it signifies a *Kitchen*; but founded in a strong and masculine Tone, remitted towards the end, it intends a *Column*. In like manner, the Syllable *Po*, according to its different Accents, and ways of Pronunciation, has eleven different Meanings. It signifies, *Glass*, to *boil*, to *winnow Rice*, *prudent*, *liberal*, to *prepare*, an *old Woman*, to *break* or *cleave*, inclin'd, as little as may be, to *water*, a *Slave* or *Captive*. Whence we may conclude that this Language, which appears so barren, and confined by the small Number of Monosyllables that compose it, is nevertheless very copious and significant. Again, the same Word, variously compounded, signifies an Infinity of different Things; *Mu*, for Instance, by itself signifies a *Tree*, *Wood*; but when compounded has many other Significations; *Mu-leau*, signifies *Wood prepared for Building*; *Mu-lan*, signifies *Bars* or *wooden Grates*; *Mu-hya*, a *Chest*; *Mu-syang*, a *Press*; *Mu-tsyang*, a *Carpenter*; *Mu-ewl*, a *Mushroom*; *Mu-nu*, a kind of *small Orange*; *Mu-sing*, the *Planet Jupiter*; *Mu-myen*, *Cotton*, &c. This Word may be joyned to several others, and has as many different Significations as Combinations.

One Word of  
divers Signi-  
fications.

Thus



Method of  
joyning Mo-  
nosyllables.

Thus the *Chinese*, by differently ranging their Monosyllables, make set Discourses, and express themselves very clearly, and gracefully, almost in the same manner as we form all our Words out of the different Combinations of the twenty four Letters of our Alphabet. In short, they so naturally distinguish the different Tones of the same Monosyllable, that they comprehend its Sense, without the least reflecting on the various Accents that determine it.

We must not imagine, as some Authors have related, that they sing in speaking, and make a sort of Music; this would be shocking, and very disagreeable to the Ear: These different Tones are so nicely sounded, that Strangers find it difficult to perceive their Difference, especially in the Province of *Kyang nan*, where the Accent is most perfect. We may form a judgment of it from the guttural Pronunciation in the *Spanish* Tongue, and by the different Tones in the *French* and *Italian*: These Tones are hardly distinguishable, nevertheless they have different Meanings, which gave rise to that Proverb, *The Tone is all*.

The *Chinese*  
use Figures to  
express their  
Thoughts.

The Art of joyning these Monosyllables is very difficult, especially in Writing, and requires a great deal of Study: As the *Chinese* have only Figures to express their Thoughts, and have no written Accents to vary the Sound, they are oblig'd to have as many different Figures or Characters, as there are Tones giving so many various Meanings to the same Word.

Besides there are Characters which signify two or three Words, and sometimes entire Sentences: For instance, to write these Words, *Good morrow, Sir*, instead of joyning the Characters for *good*, and *morrow*, with that of *Sir*, a different one must be used, which by it self expresses these three Words; and this is what so greatly multiplies the *Chinese* Characters: It is not therein as in our *European* Languages, in which the Context, or the different Placing, or Accenting, shew the various Significations of the same Word.

Difference  
between  
Words us'd  
in Speech and  
Writing.

This Method of joyning the Monosyllables is indeed sufficient to write so as to be understood, but it is mean, and used only by the Vulgar. In Composition, the polite and masterly Style is quite different from what is spoken, tho' the Words are the same; and a Man of Letters would make himself ridiculous, if he was to express himself in writing, in the same manner that he usually talks. In writing you must chuse purer Words, more lofty Expressions, and certain Metaphors, not commonly used, but adapted to the Subject treated of, and the Books you compose. The Characters of *Cochinchina*, *Tong king*, and *Japan*, are the same as the *Chinese*, and signify the same Things, tho' these Nations in speaking do not always express themselves alike; so that notwithstanding the Languages are very different, yet they very well understand each other's Writing, tho' not their Speech, and their Books are in common. Their Characters are in this respect like the Numeral Figures, which are used by several Nations under different Names, but their Meaning is every where the same.

The Learned therefore must not only be acquainted with the Characters used in the common Affairs of Life, but they must also know their various Combinations, and the various Dispositions, which of several simple Strokes make the compound Characters; and as the Number of Characters amounts to 80,000, he who knows the greatest Number, is also the most Learned, and can read and understand the greatest Number of Books. By this one may judge how many Years must be taken-up to learn such a vast Number of Characters, to distinguish them when they are compounded, and to remember their Shape and Meaning. It must nevertheless be acknowledged, that provided a Person knows 10,000 Characters, he may express himself in this Language, and read a great Number of Books. The generality of the Learned understand but 15,000, or 20,000; and few Doctors above 40,000.

Their Voca-  
bulary.

This prodigious number of Characters is collected in their Vocabulary, called *Hay-pyen*; and as in *Hebrew* there are radical Letters which shew the Origin of Words, and serve to find those derived from them, when look'd for in their Dictionary, according to the Order of these radical Letters; so likewise the *Chinese* have their radical Characters: For instance, the Characters of *Mountains, Trees, Man, the Earth, a Horse*, &c. under which may be sought all that belongs to *Mountains, Trees, Man, the Earth, and a Horse*. And farther, you must learn to distinguish, in every Word, those Strokes or Figures which are above, beneath, on the Sides, or in the Body of the radical Figure.

Besides this great Vocabulary, there is a shorter, containing only 8,000 or 10,000 Characters, which is used to read, write, understand or compose Books: If they want any Words, not in this smaller, they have recourse to their great Dictionary. Our Missionaries, in like manner, have collected all the Terms, that may serve to instruct the People in the Mysteries of the Faith, and that are used in Conversation, and in common as well as difficult Books.

Manner of  
the ancient  
*Chinese* Wri-  
ting.

*Clement of Alexandria* attributes three Sorts of Characters to the *Egyptians*; the first Epistolary, or fit for writing Letters, like those of our Alphabet; the second Sacerdotal, proper only for the Sacred Writings, in the same manner as the Notes for Music; and the third Hieroglyphical, used only for public Inscriptions on their Monuments: This was done two Ways; one by proper Images, or something that came near the Things they would represent; as when they expressed the Moon by a Crescent; the other by Aenigmatical Figures and Symbols; as a Serpent bent round with the Tail in its Mouth, to signify the Year, or Eternity. The *Chinese* have always had a like variety of Characters. In the beginning of their Monarchy, they communicated their Ideas by drawing on Paper the natural Images of the Things they would express; for instance, a Bird, Mountains, Trees, wavy Lines, to express Birds, Mountains, a Forest, and Water.

This



This Method of explaining their Thoughts was very imperfect, and required Volumes to express a few Things. Besides, an infinite number of Objects could not be represented by Drawing; such as the Soul, the Thoughts, the Passions, Beauty, Virtues, Vices, the Actions of Men and Animals, and many others which have neither Body nor Shape; for this Reason, they changed by degrees their old Manner of Writing; they compos'd more simple Figures, and invented many others to express those things that do not come within the Verge of the Senses.

Nevertheless these more modern Characters are truly Hieroglyphical; first, because they consist of simple Letters, which retain the Signification of the primitive Characters: Formerly, for instance, they represented the Sun by a Circle  $\odot$ , and called it *Ge*; now they represent it by this Figure,  $\square$  which is also named *Ge*. Secondly, because Human Institution has affix'd to these Figures the same Ideas, that the first Symbols naturally represented; and every Chinese Letter has its proper Signification, which it always preserves, tho' join'd with others. *Tjay*, for instance, which signifies *Misfortune, Calamity*, is compos'd of the Letter *Myen*, a *House*, and the Letter *Ho*, *Fire*; because it is the greatest Misfortune to see one's House on Fire: By this single Example it may be perceiv'd, that the Chinese Characters are not simple Letters like ours, which signify nothing by themselves; but so many Hieroglyphicks, which form Images, and express the Thoughts.

The Style of the Chinese in their Compositions is abstruse, concise, allegorical, and sometimes obscure to those who are not well vers'd in the Characters. It requires Skill to make no Mistakes in reading an Author; they say many Things in a few Words; their Expressions are lively, animated, and intermix'd with bold Comparisons, and noble Metaphors. To express, for instance, "Let none dare think of destroying the Christian Religion, which the Emperor has approv'd by an Edict", they would write, "The Ink that wrote the Edict of the Emperor in favour of the Christian Religion, is not yet dry, and you go about to destroy it." They affect, especially, to insert in their Writings, Sentences and Passages taken from the five Canonical Books; and as they compare their Compositions to a Picture, they also compare those Sentences to the five principal Colours us'd in Painting; in this their Eloquence chiefly consists: Lastly, they value themselves extremely in writing neatly, and drawing their Characters truly; and there is great regard had to this, in examining the Compositions of Candidates for Degrees.

They even prefer a beautiful Character to the most finish'd Picture; and it is common to see a Page of old Characters, if well drawn, sold very dear. They honour their Characters in the most common Books, and if by chance they find any printed Leaves, they gather them up with Respect; they think it would favour of ill breeding to make a prophane Use of them, to trample them under their Feet, or even to throw them away in a careless manner. Joyners and Masons, for the generality, will not venture to tear a printed Sheet that they find pasted against the Wall, or Wainscot, for fear of committing a Fault.

We may distinguish then three Sorts of Languages in China; that of the common People; that of the polite People; and that of Books: Altho' the first, indeed, is not so elegant as the two others; yet we should not imagine it altogether inferior to our European Languages, since it has certainly none of those Defects, that are sometimes ascrib'd to it in Europe. The Europeans who come to China, and who are not yet Masters of the Language, find equivocal Meanings, where there is not the least shadow of them: For want of taking sufficient Pains, at first, to pronounce the Chinese Words with their Aspirations and Accents, they are able to understand but imperfectly what the Chinese say, and find it difficult to make themselves understood: But the Fault is apparently in themselves, and not in the Language. We are told in some Relations, that the Learned in conversing often trace Characters with the Finger, or their Fan, upon their Knees, or in the Air; if they do, this must be out of Vanity or Custom, rather than Necessity; or because the Word they would express, may be seldom used, like our Terms in Navigation, Music, and Surgery.

Next above this vulgar and rude Language, which is pronounc'd a hundred Ways, and used in Compositions of the lowest Class, there is a more polish'd and refin'd Dialect, in which they have an infinite number of Histories and Novels, written with the utmost Elegance: Here they have Wit, Manners, lively Descriptions, Characters, and Contrasts. These little Works may be easily read and understood; and thro' them all is observ'd a Purity and Politeness, equal to the best Writings of Europe.

After these two manners of Expression, the first for the common People, who are less careful in ranging their Words; and the second, which should be the Language of the Mandarins and the Learned; comes a third Language, that of Books which are not written in a familiar Style; and in this there are many Degrees of Superiority, before they can arrive to the Majestick and Sublime Brevity of the Books called *King*. This Language is no longer used in common Discourse, but is only written; it could not be easily understood without the Help of the Letters, but it is read with Pleasure, and runs in a neat and flowing Style: Each Thought is generally expressed in four, or in six Characters: One finds nothing to shock the nicest Ear; and the variety of the Accents, artfully managed, affords a Sound altogether soft and harmonious.

The Difference between these Books and those call'd *King*, consists in the Matter they treat of; which is neither so solemn nor so elevated; and in the Style, which is neither so concise nor so grand. In sublime Subjects no Pointing is used: The Learned, for whom only these Compositions are design'd, are left to judge where the Sense concludes; and the Skillful among them are never mistaken in this Particular.



The Copiousness of the Chinese Language.

*Vossius* was in the right to say, that the Copiousness of the *Chinese* Tongue proceeds from the multitude of Characters: We may add, that it proceeds also from the various Meanings that are given them; and from the Ligatures that are made by joining them together, most commonly two and two, frequently three and three, and sometimes four and four. There was a Dictionary made by Order of the late Emperor, that at the first Compiling contained ninety five Volumes, most of them very thick, and in a small Character: Yet this Work did not comprehend all the Language, since it was found necessary to add a Supplement to it in twenty four Volumes. There is no other Language in the World, that would not be exhausted in many fewer Volumes: There is therefore no Language more abundant than the *Chinese*, or that can boast of having reigned three or four hundred Years in the same State in which it continues at present.

A Parallel between the Chinese and European Languages.

Doubtless, all that we have said upon this Subject will appear strange to *Europeans*, accustomed to the twenty four Letters of our Alphabet; but perhaps the Surprise will be lessened on Reflection, that our Language, and all others, have an infinite number of Marks, which stand for Words, that may be written with the twenty four Letters; every Art and Profession having its own proper Characters. And besides our twenty four Letters, which we diversify, many Ways, into Capitals, differing from the common Letters; into *Roman*, *Italic*, &c. we have also Variations for Writing, as Round-Hand, Secretary, Court, Text, and Italian; we have the Cyphers, or Figures of Arithmetick; we have several sorts of Punctuations, as the Period, the Comma, the Apostrophe, the Accents, the Parenthesis, the Points of Interrogation and Admiration, with many others, which are so many Characters we use to mark the Pauses of the Discourse, the Pronunciation, the Continuation, &c. Our Astronomers have Characters for the twelve Signs; for the various Aspects of the Moon and Stars: Geometricians have their Figures; Musicians their Minims, Crotchets, Quavers, and Semi-quavers, &c. In a word, there are few Arts or Sciences which have not some Characteristical Figures proper to them, that serve to express certain Ideas.

The *Chinese* have moreover an ancient Sort of Language and Character, which is used at present only for Titles, Inscriptions, Seals, and Devices; and in which there are some Books, that the Learned must understand: They have also a common Running-Hand which they use for Deeds, Contracts, Obligations, and Acts of Justice, as we have a particular Character for Law-Business. Lastly, they have a Letter which requires a particular Study, on account of the Variety of Strokes, and Abbreviations, or Interweavings, which render it difficult. The chief Use of this Character, is to write any Thing for Dispatch.

What relates to the Manner of pronouncing the *Chinese* Words, and writing them justly in *European* Characters, will farther illustrate what has been said concerning the Genius of this Language; [Of which in another Place.]

## Of the Paper, Ink, Pencils, and of the Printing and Binding of Books in China.

Boards used instead of Paper.

The Invention of Paper.

Its Matter.

How to preserve it from Worms.

Extract of a Chinese Book on the Subject of Paper.

IN the most remote Ages of their Empire, the *Chinese* had no Paper, but wrote upon Boards, and broad pieces of *Bambú*. Instead of a Pen or Pencil, they made use of a Style, or Bodkin of Iron: They wrote also on Metal; and the Curious of that Nation still preserve some Plates, on which there are Characters very neatly traced: It is a great while however since the Use of Paper was found out. Their Paper is so fine, that many *Europeans* have thought it was made of Silk; not considering that Silk cannot be beaten into such a Paste, as is necessary to make Paper.

The *Chinese* make their Paper of the Bark of the *Bambú*, and other Trees. The *Bambú* is a Tree pretty much like a long Reed, being hollow, and divided by Knots into Joints: But very different in other respects; it being much larger, smoother, harder, and stronger. They only use the second Skin of the Bark, which is soft and white; this they beat in clear Water: The Frames they make use of to take up this Matter, are long and broad; so that they have Sheets ten or twelve Foot long, and sometimes more; they dip every Sheet into Allum-Water, which serves instead of Size; and hence they call it *Fan*-Paper, because *Fan* in *China* signifies Allum; this Allum hinders the Paper from soaking in the Ink, and gives it such a Lustre, that one would think it was silvered over, or varnished. This Paper is white, soft, and compact, without having the least Roughness that can stop the Pencil, or separate the Hairs. As it is made of the Bark of a Tree, it cracks more easily than that of *Europe*: It is apt to take Moisture, the Dust sticks to it, and the Worms insensibly get into it, if proper care be not taken to preserve it: To prevent these Inconveniences, they are obliged to beat their Books often, and as often expose them to the Sun.

Besides the Paper made of the Bark of Trees, they have some made of Cotton; and this is the whitest, finest, and most used. It is not subject to the Inconveniences just now mentioned; for it keeps as well, and is as durable as the *European* Paper.

The little I have said of the *Chinese* Paper in general, will be confirm'd by the exact Account I am entering upon; in which I shall insert nothing but what is extracted from a *Chinese* Work, that



that appeared under the present Dynasty: It is a curious Collection, and esteemed amongst the Learned: It treats of the Invention of the *Cbi*, that is, of Paper; of what Materials it is made; of its Qualities; of its Form; and of the different Sorts of it.

This *Chinese* Author takes notice first, that the Invention is very ancient; but confesses, that it is not known, precisely, in what Century they should place its Original. The Characters *Kyen*, and *Tse*, which they made use of in former Ages instead of *Cbi*, to signify the Matter on which they wrote, confirm, by their Figure, what this Author advances; namely, that in ancient Times, after having, as it were, polished the little pieces of *Bambú*, and rendered them more limber, by the help of the Fire, but without taking the Rind off; they then delineated Letters thereon with a fine Graver; and of these little Plates, threaded one after another, they made a Volume: These Books were lasting, and capable, by their Solidity, of withstanding the Injuries of the Weather; but were cumbersome however, and unfit for Use.

They had afterwards recourse to another Method: It is certain that ever since the Dynasty of the *Tsin*, before *Christ*, and by consequence under the following Dynasty of the *Han*, they wrote upon pieces of Silk or Linen. For this Reason it is that the Letter *Cbi* is composed sometimes of the Character *Se*, which signifies Silk, and sometimes of the Character *Kin*, which signifies Linen. They used to cut the Piece of Silk or Linen bigger or less, according to the Form they had a mind to give their Volume.

At length, in the Year 95 of the Christian *Æra*, under the *Tong han*, that is, under the *Han*, who had removed their Court into a more Easterly Province than the *Han* their Predecessors, in the Reign of *Ho-ti*, a great Mandarin in the Palace, whose Name was *Tsay-lun*, invented a better Sort of Paper, which was called *Tsay-bew-chi*, Paper of the Lord *Tsay*. This Mandarin by boiling the Bark of different Trees, and of worn-out Pieces of Silk, and old Hempen Cloth, made a liquid Consistence, and reduced it to a sort of thin Paste, of which he made different sorts of Paper. He made some also of the Knots of Silk, which they called Flaxen Paper: Soon after, the industrious *Chinese* brought these Discoveries to Perfection, and found out the Secret of polishing their Paper, and giving it a Lustre.

Another Book, intitled, *Sú y kyen chi pú*, which treats of the same Subject, says, that in the Province of *Se-chuen* the Paper is made of Hemp; that *Kau-tsong*, the third Emperor of the great Dynasty of the *Tang*, caused an excellent Paper to be made of Hemp, on which all his secret Orders were written: That in the Province of *Fo kyen*, it is made of soft *Bambú*: That in the Northern Provinces they make it of the Bark of the Mulberry-Trees: That in the Province of *Che kyang*, it is made of Wheat or Rice-Straw: That in the Province of *Kyang nan*, they make a Parchment of the Skin that is found in the Cods the Silk-Worms spin; which they call *Lo wen chi*; and which is fine, smooth, and fit for Inscriptions, and Cartridges: In fine, that in the Province of *Hú-quang*, the Tree *Cbu*, or *Ko-chu*, furnishes the principal Material for Paper.

Speaking of the different Sorts of Paper, our Author mentions one Kind, of which the Sheets are three, and sometimes five *Chinese* † *Chang* in Length; he mentions those who have found the Secret of dying it of different Colours; and particularly he treats of the Manner of silvering it, without using any Silver; an Invention the Honour of which is given to the Emperor *Kau-ti*, of the Dynasty of *Tsi*, and which I will treat of presently. He has not omitted the Paper of *Korea*, which he says is made of the Cods the Silk-Worms spin; and he reports that the *Koreans* paid their Tribute to the Emperor in their Paper, even from the seventh Century, under the Government of the *Tang*.

What I have mentioned here, sufficiently proves that the Invention of Paper is of great Antiquity in *China*. *Che-we-uen*, a *Chinese* Author, who writ in the Time of the *Han*, assures us, that in the earliest Ages they had a Secret of uniting the Knots of Silk and Cotton, which they could not wind off, nor spin, and making a Consistence of it, on which they writ with Ease. This Secret was partly lost during the Revolutions of the State, and seems not to have been recovered till under the Dynasty of the *Tsin*.

It is certain that the *Chinese* Paper has one Advantage over that of *Europe*, in that the Sheets are made of an extraordinary Length, and being moreover full as white, is much softer and smoother. The Pencils, which the *Chinese* write with, would not bear the least Roughness of the Paper, because that would render it very difficult to make some of their fine Strokes.

When we say of the *Chinese* Paper, that it is not lasting, and that it is apt to crack; the Meaning is, that the Paper made of *Bambú* has these Defects. This is certainly true in one Sense; for it is apt to crack when it is ting'd with Allum, as it always is to make it fit for our Use; because without this Preparation, it would not bear our Ink: But when that is omitted, be it ever so thin, it may be handled and folded all manner of Ways, without any danger of cracking it.

The Consumption of Paper in *China* is so great, that it is not surprizing they make it of all sorts of Materials: For besides the prodigious Quantity that is used by the Learned, and Students, who are almost innumerable, and to furnish the Shops of Tradesmen, it is inconceivable how much is consumed in private Houses. One side of their Room is nothing but Sashes, cover'd with Paper; on the rest of the Walls, which are plaister'd over, they paste white Paper, by which means they preserve them white and smooth. The Ceiling is made of Frames cover'd

with

\* The *Si han* held their Court at *Si yan fu*, the Capital of the Province of *Shen si*: The *Tong han* removed their Court to

*Lo yang*, or *Ho nan fu*, a City in the Province of *Ho nan*.  
† A *Chang* is ten Foot.

its Origin uncertain.

The ancient *Chinese* Manner of Writing.

Upon Wood.

Upon Pieces of Silk or Linen.

Æra of Paper in *China*.

The Matter of which it is made.

Form of the *Chinese* Paper.

*Che-we-uen's* Opinion of this Affair.

Advantage of the *Chinese* Paper over that of *Europe*.

The great Consumption of it in *China*.



with Paper, on which they draw divers Ornaments. It has indeed been justly said, that the Chinese Apartments glitter with that beautiful Varnish which we admire in Europe, but then it is also true, that in the greatest part of the Houses there is nothing to be seen but Paper. The Workmen of this Country have the Art of pasting it very neatly, and the Chinese take care to renew it every Year.

Preparation  
of the Mat-  
ter to make  
Paper.

It is only the inward Bark of different Trees that is used to make Paper: But the *Bambú* has this Particularity, as well as the Shrub that bears Cotton, that not the Bark only, but the whole Substance of the Plant is used, by help of the following Preparations.

Woods em-  
ploy'd for  
this Purpose.

Out of a Wood of the largest *Bambús*, they select Shoots of a Year's Growth, which are about the Bigness of the Calf of a large Man's Leg: They strip them of their first green Rind, and split them into strait Pieces of 6 or 7 Foot long: It is remarkable, that the Trunk of the *Bambú* being compos'd of long and strait Fibres, it is very easy to cleave it length-ways, but very difficult to cut it across: They bury the Pieces thus cleft in a Pond of muddy Water, that they may grow as it were rotten, and be soften'd by this Maceration. In about a Fortnight, they take these pieces of *Bambú* out of the Mud; and then wash them in clean Water, spread them in a large dry Ditch, and cover them with a great quantity of Lime. In a few Days they take them out again, and having wash'd them a second time, they reduce them to a sort of Threads, which they expose in the Sun to dry and whiten; then they throw them into large Coppers, where they are thoroughly boil'd: And lastly, they are reduced by Pestles to a fluid Paste.

Of the *Hau-  
teng*, or *Ko-  
teng*.

The Chinese Author adds, that upon Mountains, and in uncultivated Places, they find a Plant that shoots in long and slender Tendrils like a Vine, the Rind of which is very smooth, and slippery to the Touch. This is expressed in the Name of it, *Hau-teng*. It is also call'd *Ko-teng*; because it produces little sourish Pears, of a whitish Green, that are good to eat. Its Branches, which are about as big as the Shoots of a Vine, run upon the Ground, or twine about Trees: According to our Author, they make use of this Plant in the following Manner.

Its Prepara-  
tion.

They take several Shoots of it, which they soak four or five Days in Water, when there comes out of it an unctuous fizy Juice, resembling a sort of Glue or Gum. They mix this gummy Water with the Paste of which the Paper is made, somewhat in the same manner as Painters temper their Colours; Care being taken not to put in too much, nor too little of it: The just Medium in this Case is taught by Experience. Perhaps for want of *Ko-teng*, the Berries of Mistleto might be used, which are naturally viscons; or the inner Bark of Holly, which being rotted, and pounded in a Mortar, is reduced to Bird-Lime.

Its Use.

When they have mixed the Juice of *Ko-teng* with the cleft *Bambú*; beaten in such a manner, that it is like a thick clammy Water; they pour this Liquor into large deep Reservoirs, which must be made with four Walls breast-high, and the Sides and Bottom so well cemented, that the Liquor cannot run out, nor soak in. Then the Workmen being placed at the sides of the Reservoir, take up with their Moulds the Surface of the Liquor, which almost instantly becomes Paper. Doubtless, the mucilaginous and glewy Juice of the *Ko-teng* binds the Parts, and very much contributes to make this Paper so compact, soft, and glossy; which Qualities the European has not, when first made.

The Mould  
different  
from those  
of Europe.

The Mould used to take up the Sheets of Paper, the Frame of which is easily taken to Pieces, or rais'd, or lower'd, is not made with Wire, as those of Europe, but with Threads of *Bambú*. They are little thin Slips, which they draw several times through Holes made in a Plate of Steel, whereby they render them as fine as Wire: Then they boil them in Oil till they are thoroughly soaked, that the Moulds may enter lightly into the Water, and not sink deeper than is requisite to take up the Sheets of Paper.

How to  
make Sheets  
of an extra-  
ordinary  
Length.

When they would make Sheets of an extraordinary Size, they take care that the Reservoir and Mould be large in Proportion. They fix up a Pulley, and run through it several Strings, the Motion of which should be extremely free: These Strings sustain the Frame, and at the Moment that they pull it up, the Workmen plac'd on the Side of the Reservoir assist to take the Sheet off, working together in a regular Manner.

Manner of  
drying the  
Sheets.

The Chinese Author gives us a Way of drying the Sheets just taken off. There must, says he, be a hollow Wall built, the Sides of which should be well whiten'd. At one End of this Wall they contrive an Opening, and, by means of a Pipe convey thither the Heat of a neighbouring Furnace: At the opposite End, there must be a small Vent to let out the Smoke. By help of this Sort of Stove, they dry the Sheets of Paper almost as fast as they take them off.

Of the differ-  
ent Sorts of  
Paper.

The Paper which is made of *Bambú* is neither the only, nor the best, nor the most common Sort made of Trees in China; they use in this Art many other Trees, especially those which have the most Sap; as Mulberry-Trees, Elms, the Body of the Shrub which produces Cotton, Hemp, and divers other Plants, the Names of which are unknown in Europe. First of all they scrape off lightly the thin outside Bark of the Tree, which is greenish; then they take off the inner Rind in very long thin Slips, which they blanch in Water, and in the Sun, and afterwards prepare them in the same Manner as the *Bambú*.

Of the Paper  
most in Use.

But the Paper most in Use, is that made of the inner Rind of the Tree called *Cu-kú*, otherwise *Kú-chu*; which Paper is therefore called *Kú-chi*. When its Branches are broken, the Bark peels off in long Slips, like Ribbands. To judge of this Tree by its Leaves, one would take it for a wild Mulberry-Tree, but its Fruit is more like that of the Fig-Tree.

This



This Fruit grows to the Branches without any Stalk; if it is pluck'd before it is perfectly ripe, it yields a sort of milky Juice from the Place where it grew to the Branches, just like the Fig: There are, indeed, so many Particulars, in which it agrees with the Fig and the Mulberry-Tree, that it might be thought a sort of Sycamore; nevertheless, it is more like a kind of Strawberry-Tree, called *Adrachne*, which is of a moderate Height, and the Bark of which is smooth, white, and glittering; apt to crack in the Summer, for want of Moisture. The Tree *Chu kú*, as well as the Strawberry-Tree, grows upon Mountains, and in stony Places.

The *Chinese* Herbal teaches the Manner of raising the Tree *Chu kú*, that it may afford a great quantity of this useful Bark, and in the Perfection requisite for making Paper. At the Vernal Equinox, says it, you must take the Kernel of this Tree, and having wash'd it, mix it with the Seed of *Sesamum*, which the *Portuguese* call *Gergelin*, and scatter them together at random about the Ground. The *Gergelin* will sprout out with the first Shoots of the *Chu kú*; but you must take care not to cut it in the Autumn nor in the Winter; you must stay till the next Spring, and then set Fire to the Field; that very Year you will see the Plants of *Chu kú* increase considerably, and at the end of three Years it will be fit to cut, and make Paper of.

To harden the Paper, and make it bear Ink, the *Chinese* dip it in Allum-Water: To express this Operation, the *Europeans* have invented the Word *Panning*, because the *Chinese* Word *Fan* signifies Allum. Their Method of doing it is this: They take six Ounces of Fish-Glue, very white and clean, this they cut very small, and throw it into twelve Porringers of clean Water, which they afterwards boil. It must be stir'd all the while, that there may be no Lumps: When the whole is reduced to a liquid Substance, they throw into it three quarters of a Pound of Allum, white and calcin'd, which they melt and incorporate with it. This Mixture is poured into a great wide Basin, across which they lay a small Stick smooth and round; then they shut the Edge of every Sheet in another Stick, which is cleft from one End to the other, and the Parts made to stick well together. In this Manner they dip the Sheet, gently, drawing it out as soon as it is wetted, by sliding it over the round Stick. When the whole Sheet has pass'd swiftly through this Liquor, which makes it white and more compact, the long Stick that holds the Sheet by the Edge, is stuck in a Hole in the Wall, where the Sheet hangs to dry. This is all the Art which the *Chinese* have to give their Paper its Body, Whiteness, and even Lustre: A *Chinese* Author pretends, that this Secret came from *Japan*.

This is a proper Place to mention another Secret, which the *Chinese* have, of silvering Paper, with a very little Charge, and without using Leaf-Silver: Take seven *Fuen*, or two Scruples, of Glue, made of Neats Leather, three *Fuen* of white Allum, and half a Pint of clean Water; simmer these over a slow Fire, till the Water is consumed, that is, till there arises no more Steam; Care being taken to keep this Mixture very clean. Then they spread, upon a very smooth Table, some Sheets of the Paper made of the Cotton-Tree, which is called *Se lyen chi*, daubing over it with a Pencil, in an equal Manner, two or three Lays of the Glue. It is easy to perceive when this Glue is apply'd in a proper Consistence, and does not run; if it does not lie even, do it over again: Then take Powder of Talc, prepared in the manner I shall immediately explain, which sift through a fine Sieve, or a piece of threaded Gauze, spreading it uniformly upon the Sheets prepar'd as above. After this they hang the Sheets in the Shade to dry; which effected, they lay them again upon the Table, and rub them gently with clean Cotton, to take off the superfluous Talc, which serves again for the same purpose. With this Powder diluted in Water mixt with Glue and Allum, you may draw any Figures at Fancy upon the Paper. Though I have mention'd only that Paper which is made of the Cotton-Tree, it must not be understood as if the others were excluded: All Sorts of Paper may be silver'd, if they are smooth, and if Talc is made Use of, prepar'd in the following Manner.

Take fine Talc that is transparent, and as white as Snow. Talc comes from the Province of *Se-chuen*, but that which is brought by the *Muscovites* is the best. The *Chinese* call this Mineral *Tun moa che*, which signifies the Stone pregnant with Clouds, because every Flake which they break off, is a kind of transparent Cloud. When you have made choice of the best Talc, it must be boil'd in Water about four Hours; after it is taken off the Fire, you must leave it in the Water a Day or two; then take it out, wash it well, put it into a Linen-Bag, and break it to Pieces with a Mallet: To ten Pound of Talc, thus broken, add three Pound of white Allum. All this must be ground in a little Hand-Mill, then sifted through a Silk Sieve, and the Powder put into Water just boiled up. When the Powder is sunk to the Bottom, and the Water become clear again, you must pour off all that you can. The Matter which remains at the Bottom, being expos'd to the Sun, makes a hard Consistence, which must be pounded in a Mortar, till reduced to an impalpable Powder. This Powder must be sifted again, and then used as before explained.

In finishing this Article, I must not omit a pretty remarkable Manufacture, which is carried on in the Out-parts of one of the Suburbs of *Peking*, where they renew old Paper, to answer the great Demand for that Commodity. These Workmen get together all the old Paper they can find, which they have the Art of restoring to its original Beauty and Usefulness. It matters not whether the Paper has been wrote upon, or whether it has been pasted upon Frames, or against the Walls, or has serv'd for other Purposes; all answers their End; and they purchase it out of the Provinces at a very moderate Rate. These Workmen occupy a pretty long Village, the Backside of their Houses being built against the Burying-Places, and every House having an Inclosure of Walls that are well whitened. Here in each House may be seen great Heaps



of old Paper; and if there happens to be a pretty deal of fine Paper amongst these Heaps, they sort it. They put these Pieces of old Paper into great Baskets that are made flat and close; and in these carry them near a Well, upon a little paved Place, which has a small Descent. Here they wash the old Paper with all their Strength, rubbing it with their Hands, and stamping on it with their Feet, to get the Filth out of it, and so reduce it to a shapeless Mass: Then they boil this Consistence, and after having beaten it till it is fit to make Paper, they pour it into a Reservoir. The Sheets of this Paper are but of a middling Size. When they have taken up a pretty large Pile, they carry it into the neighbouring Inclosure, where, separating each Sheet with the point of a Needle, they stick them up wet against the Wall, which is very smooth and white. As soon as the Heat of the Sun has dry'd all the Sheets, which it does in a very little time, they take them off, and collect them together.

Of the Chinese Ink.

Of its Composition.

Figures which they print in their Ink.

How to make the best Ink.

The Invention of Paper had been of little Service to the Chinese, if they had not at the same time invented a sort of Ink, wherewith to draw their Characters upon it. The Ink they use is made of Lampblack, which they get by burning several sorts of Matter, but chiefly Pine-wood or Oil. They mix Perfumes with it, to correct the strong and disagreeable Smell of the Oil. They incorporate together these Ingredients, till they come to the Consistence of a Paste, which they put into divers wooden Moulds. These Moulds are well and variously wrought, in order to print upon the Paste what Figures they please. The usual Impressions are of Men, Dragons, Birds, Trees, Flowers, and the like. The Form of the Lump is commonly that of a Truncheon, or of their Writing-Tables; and one of the Sides is almost always covered with Chinese Characters. The best Ink is made at *Whey chow*, a Town in the Province of *Kyang nan*: There are many things to be observ'd in the making of it, and it has several Degrees of Goodness; according to which it is dearer or cheaper. The Europeans have endeavour'd to counterfeit this Ink, but without Success. Painters, and those who delight in Drawing, know how useful it is for tracing their Sketches, because they can give it what Degree of Shade they please. They make use of a red Ink also in China; but this is of little Request, except for the Titles and Inscriptions of Books. As to other Particulars, every thing which relates to Writing, is so reputable among the Chinese, that even the Workmen employ'd in making the Ink, are not look'd upon as following a servile and mechanical Employment.

Era of the Invention of Ink in China.

Its first Age.

The same Author, whom I have just now quoted in the Article of Chinese Paper, and who furnishes me with what I am further to say concerning their Ink, affirms, that this latter has been invented Time out of Mind, but that it was many Years before it attained its present Perfection.

At first they used to write with a sort of a black Earth; and indeed the Character *Me*, which signifies Ink, has in its Composition, at the Bottom, the Character *Ti*, which signifies Earth, and at the Top, that of *He*, which signifies Black. According to some, they drew a black Juice out of this Earth, or Stone: Others say, that after having wetted it, they rubb'd it upon Marble, and they got from it a black Liquor: Others again, that it was calcin'd, and after being reduc'd to a very fine Powder, was made into Ink. In fine, according to our Author, the Use of this Ink is so ancient, that the famous Emperor *Vu vang*, who is well known to have flourished 1120 Years before the Christian Era, took from hence this Moral Reflection. "As the Stone *Me*, which they make use of to blacken the engraved Letters, can never become white; so a Heart defiled with Iniquity, will always retain its Blackness.

Pieces of Ink sent in Tribute.

Era of modern Ink.

Of the Imperial Ink.

Under the first Emperors of the Dynasty of the *Tong*, that is about the Year 620 of the Christian Era, the King of *Korea*, sending his annual Tribute to the Emperor of *China*, presented him with some pieces of Ink, which were made of Lampblack, gathered by burning old Pine-Trees, and incorporated with Size made of Hartshorn, to give it a Consistence. This Ink had such a Lustre, that it look'd as if it had been varnish'd over; which tended to raise the Emulation of the Chinese. They endeavour'd to imitate the Art of the Koreans, and succeeded after several Essays: But they did not attain the Perfection desired, till near the end of the same Dynasty, about the Year of Christ 900, for it was not till about that Time they first made the excellent Ink, which is used at present.

In the Year 1070 of the Christian Era, under the Reign of *Shin tsong*, they made an Ink with further Improvement, which was called Imperial, *Yu me*, because it was used in the Palace. The Lampblack in this Ink was more expensive, and much finer than before: It was not made by burning Pine-Trees only, as formerly; but by burning Oil in Lamps with many Funnel, the Smoke whereof was gathered by a brazen Concave, which condensing it, made the Lampblack desired. In making it up, they added a little Musk, to give it a pleasant Odour. Our Author does not say what Oil was used, nor how they contriv'd to get the most Lampblack, and of the best Qualities, from the Oil; for all which there are certain Rules to be observ'd: Perhaps they made use of the Oil of *Gergelin*. Olive-Oil, or the Oil of Walnuts, which are not us'd in *China*, would certainly do better.

Drugs used in the Chinese Ink.

The first Receipt.

Another Chinese Book, intitled *The Method of making Ink*, gives a Receipt to make a good Sort, in which there are some Ingredients that cannot easily be known in Europe. 1st. says he, Take ten Ounces of Lampblack made from Pines. 2d. Of the Plants *Ho byang*, and *Kan fung*. 3. Add Juice of *Ginger*. 4. Of the Pods or Shells called *Chu bya tsau ko*. Boil these four Ingredients in Water: When the Virtues of the Vegetables are thus extracted, the Liquor must be strain'd off: This Liquor, already thickened, being settled and clarified, must be set again on the Fire to give it the Consistence of a Paste; and in every ten Ounces of this Mixture,



Mixture, there must be dissolved four Ounces of the Glue, call'd *O kyau*, in which there have been incorporated three Leaves of Gold, and two of Silver: When all these Ingredients are thus prepared, they then mix with them the ten Ounces of Lampblack, to give a Body to the whole. This Composition must be beat a long while with a Spatula: And then, lastly, they put it into Moulds, to make it into Cakes; soon after which they bury the Ink in cold Ashes, where it remains five Days, if in the Spring; three, if Summer; seven, if Autumn; and ten, if Winter: And this is the last Operation it goes through.

These Intelligences are very imperfect, because it is difficult to find out, by the *Chinese* Names, what the Plants are. One of our Missionaries has sent me his Conjectures concerning them, which may help to discover them, if there were any such in *Europe*; or at least, to substitute others in their Room, capable of giving the Ink a Body, a good Scent, and a Lustre.

1. According to the *Chinese* Dictionaries, *Ho byang* is an aromatic medicinal Plant. It has the intrinsic Qualities of the *Sá bo*, another Plant from which they extract a Sort of Oil, <sup>Of the Ho byang.</sup> that is sold at *Peking*; and which the Dealers often mix with the Balsam of *Peru*, to augment its Quantity. This Oil, extracted from the *Sá bo*, seems to be the liquid Storax, which is a viscous Matter, of a greyish Colour, of a strong aromatick Odour, and which has the Consistence of a thick Balsam.

2. The *Kan sung* is a Plant which enters in divers Compositions of Perfumes. It is of a temperate Nature, and sweet to the Taste; for so the Name *Kan* denotes. Its Leaves are very <sup>Of the Kan sung.</sup> fine, and of a close Contexture. They add, that this Plant is an excellent Remedy for the Cholick, and other Distempers in the Bowels.

3. *Tsu ya* receiv'd its Name because the Fruit of this Shrub very much resembles a Boar's Tusk, in Shape, Length, and Thickness. To this they add the two Characters, *Tsau ho*, <sup>Of the Tsu ya.</sup> which signify a sort of black Horn, and would induce one to take it for the Fruit of the *Carob*, or Locust-Tree, the Shape of which resembles a Horn, and is of a dark red Colour. We may observe, however, that the *Chinese* Fruit is not so long as that of the *Carob-Tree*, and that, instead of being flat, it is almost round, full of little Cells, containing a marrowy Substance, of a sharp and unpleasant Taste.

4. Instead of the Glue of *O kyau*, which is made of the Skin of a black Ass, and a particular Water found only in one Place of the Province of *Sban tong*, another sort of strong Glue might be used, as for instance that which we call *Taurina*.

5. The Bed of cold Ashes, in which they bury their Ink newly made, serves to extract from it all that the Glue might leave in it too hard or binding.

I add to this first Receipt another, both easier and shorter, taken from the *Chinese*, and which perhaps may suffice to make the Ink of a good Black, which is looked upon as an essential Property. Burn, say they, Lampblack in a Crucible, and hold it over the Fire till it has done smoaking: In the same Manner burn some \* Horse-Chestnuts, till there does not arise the least vapour of Smoak: Dissolve some Gum Tragacanth; and when the Water in which the Gum is dissolv'd becomes of a proper Consistence, add to it the Lampblack and Horse-Chestnuts, and stir all together with a Spatula: Then put this Paste into Moulds; and take care not to put too much of the Horse-Chestnut, which would give it a violet Black. <sup>Second Receipt.</sup>

A third Receipt, much more simple, and easier to be put in Practice, has been communicated to me by *P. Contamin*, who had it from a *Chinese*, as skilful in this Matter as any one can be expected to be; for we ought not to suppose that the ingenious Workmen discover their Secret; on the contrary, they take the greatest care to conceal it, and make a Mystery of it, even to those of their own Nation. <sup>Third Receipt.</sup>

They put five or six lighted Wicks into a Vessel full of Oil, and lay upon this Vessel an Iron Cover, made in the shape of a Funnel, which must be set at a certain Distance, so as to receive all the Smoak. When it has received enough, they take it off, and with a Goose's Feather gently brush the Bottom, letting the Soot fall upon a dry Sheet of strong Paper: It is this that makes their fine and shining Ink. The best Oil also gives a Lustre to the Black, and by consequence makes the Ink more esteemed and dearer. The Lampblack which is not fetch'd off with the Feather, and which sticks very fast to the Cover, is coarser, and they use it to make an ordinary sort of Ink, after they have scraped it off into a Dish. <sup>What makes it fine and shining.</sup>

When they have, in this Manner, taken off the Lampblack, they beat it in a Mortar, mixing with it Musk, or some odoriferous Water, with a thin Size to unite the Particles. The *Chinese* commonly make use of a Size, which they call *Nyew kyau*, Size of Neats Leather. When this Lampblack is come to the Consistence of a sort of Paste, they put it into Moulds, which are made in the shape they design the Sticks of Ink to be. They stamp upon the Ink, with a Seal made for that Purpose, the Characters or Figures they desire, in blue, red, or gold Colour, drying them in the Sun, or in the Wind.

We are assured, that in the City of *Wey chow*, where the Ink is made which is most esteemed, the Merchants have great Numbers of little Rooms, where they keep lighted Lamps all Day; and that every Room is distinguished by the Oil which is burnt in it, and consequently by the Ink which is made therein. Nevertheless many of the *Chinese* believed, that the Lampblack, which is gathered from the Lamps in which they burn Oil of *Gergelin*, is only used in making <sup>Where the best Ink is to be had.</sup>

\* Without doubt, they mean the Horse Chestnut-Tree, or the true Chestnut made into Cakes, which comes from *Lau tong*.



a particular Sort of Ink, which bears a great Price; but considering the surprising Quantities vended at a cheap Rate, they must use combustible Materials that are more common, and cheaper.

Opinion of  
the Chinese  
concerning  
Lampblack.

They say that Lampblack is extracted immediately from old Pines, and that in the District of *Whey chew*, where the best Ink is made, they have Furnaces of a particular Structure to burn these Pines, and to convey the Smoak thro' long Funnel into little Cells shut up close, the Insides of which are hung with Paper: The Smoak being conveyed into these Cells, sticks to every Part of the Wall and Cieling, and there condenses itself. After a certain Time they open the Door, and take off a great quantity of Lampblack. At the same time that the Smoak of these Pines spreads itself in the Cells, the Rosin which comes out of them runs through other Pipes, which are laid even with the Floor.

It is certain that the good Ink, for which there is a great Demand at *Nan king*, comes from the District of *Whey chew*, and that none, made elsewhere, is to be compared with it: Perhaps the Inhabitants of this District are Masters of a Secret, which it is hard to get out of them. Perhaps also the Soil and Mountains of *Whey chew* furnish Materials more proper for making good Lampblack, than any other Place: There is a great number of Pine-Trees; and in some parts of *China*, these Trees afford a Rosin much more pure, and in greater Plenty, than our Pines in *Europe*. At *Pe-king* may be seen some pieces of Pine-wood which came from *Tartary*, and which have been used for above these sixty Years: Nevertheless, in hot Weather, they shed a great quantity of big Drops of Rosin, resembling yellow Amber. The Nature of the Wood which is burnt, contributes very much to the Goodness of the Ink. The Lampblack which is got from the Furnaces of Glass-Houses, and which the Painters use, may perhaps be the properest for imitating *Chinese* Ink.

As the Smell of the Lampblack would be very disagreeable, if they were to save the Expence of Musk, which they most commonly mix with it; so by burning such Druggs, they perfume the little Cells, and the Odours mixing with the Soot, which hangs on the Walls like Moss, and in little Flakes, the Ink they make thereof has no ill Scent.

How to  
know the  
Goodness of  
Ink.

We have several Observations from the same *Chinese* Author, whom I have quoted, that should not be omitted. 1. To distinguish the different Degrees of goodness of Ink newly made, take a Vessel varnish'd with the finest Varnish, called *Twan quang tsi*: Having wetted the ends of the several pieces of Ink, rub them upon the varnish'd Vessel: The Proofs being dry, hold the Vessel to the Sun; and if you see that the Colour of the Ink is entirely like that of the Varnish, that Ink is of the finest Sort. It is much inferior if the Black be of a bluish Hue; but if it be Ash-colour'd, it is the least valuable of all.

How to pre-  
serve *Chinese*  
Ink.

2. The Way to preserve the Ink from any Damage, is to shut it up in a close Box, in which must be put some perfectly ripe Mugwort: But, above all, it must never be exposed to the Rays of the Sun, which would make it crack and fall in Pieces.

Ink kept for  
Ornament in  
the Closets of  
the Curious.

3. They sometimes keep in Cabinets, for a Curiosity, Sticks of Ink finely adorned and gilded; and if any one of these Sticks happens to break, the manner of joining the two Pieces together, so that there shall be no Marks of its having been broke, is, by making use of the same Ink, first reducing it into a Paste upon the Marble, and then rubbing the broken Pieces with it, and squeezing them together. When you have done, leave the Stick of Ink a whole Day without touching it, and you will find it as whole and firm as ever.

How to use  
their Ink.

4. When they design to write, and would finish delicately the Strokes of the Pencil, before they temper the Ink upon the Marble, Care must be taken that the Marble be well wash'd, so that nothing of the Ink used the Day before may remain upon it; for if ever so little of it be left, it fouls the Marble they make Use of, and spoils the fresh Ink: Further, the Marble must not be washed either with hot Water, or Water raw out of the Well, but with Water that has been boil'd, and is grown cold again: The best and most proper Stones for preparing the Ink are called *Twan she*.

*Chinese* Ink  
in Physick.

5. When the Ink has been preserved a long Time, it is then never used for Writing, but becomes, according to the *Chinese*, an excellent and refreshing Remedy, good in the Bloody Flux, and in the Convulsions of Children. They pretend, that by its Alkali, which naturally absorbs acid Humours, it sweetens the Acrimony of the Blood. The Dose, for grown Persons, is two Drachms, in a Draught of Water or Wine.

The Chinese  
use no Pens  
in Writing,  
but a Pencil.

The *Chinese*, in Writing, make no Use of Pens, like the *Europeans*, nor of Canes or Reeds, like the *Arabians*, nor of Crayons, like the *Siamese*; but of a Pencil made with the Hair of some Animal, and particularly of the Rabbet, which is the softest. When they would write, they have upon the Table a little polish'd Marble, with a Hollow at one End to contain Water; they dip their Stick of Ink in it, and then rub it upon that Part of the Marble which is smooth; and according as they lean, more or less, upon the Ink when they rub it, it becomes more or less black. When they write, they do not hold the Pencil obliquely, as Painters do; but perpendicularly, as if they would prick the Paper. They write from the Right to the Left. In like Manner they end their Books where we begin ours, and our last Page is with them the first.

People of Learning and Study delight in keeping their Marble, Pencils, and Ink very neat, and placed in good Order; just as our Warriors pique themselves in preserving their Arms well polished and ranged. The Pencil, Paper, Ink, and the little Marble, the *Chinese* call *Sse pau*, which signifies, *The four precious Things*.

There



There are in *China* a prodigious Number of Books, because they have had the Art of Printing from Time immemorial, tho' in *Europe* that Art is still almost in its Infancy. But the *Chinese* Printing is very different from that of *Europe*. As our Alphabet consists of a very small Number of Letters which, by their different Combinations, can form the largest Volumes, we have no need of a great Number of Characters, since those used for the first, may be taken afunder, and used for the second Sheet: On the contrary, the Number of *Chinese* Characters being almost infinite, it is impossible to cast in Metal such a prodigious Multitude; and if they were cast, the greatest part would be but seldom used.

Here follows an Account of their manner of Printing. They get their Work transcrib'd by some excellent Writer, upon a fine, thin, and transparent Paper. The Engraver pastes every Leaf upon a Plate or Block of the Apple or Pear-Tree, or of any other Wood that is but hard and smooth, and with a Graver follows the Traces, and carves out the Characters by cutting down the rest of the Wood. Thus he makes as many different Blocks as there are Pages to print, working off as many Copies as are required, the Blocks being always in a readiness to work off more, without the Trouble of composing. There is not much Time lost in correcting the Proofs, since as the Graver works on the Strokes of the Copy itself, or the Original of the Author, he cannot possibly make any Error, if the Writing be exact.

This manner of Printing is convenient, because they print the Sheets only as they sell them, and do not run the Risque, as in *Europe*, of selling but half the Copies, and ruining themselves by useless Expences. Moreover, after having taken 30,000 or 40,000 Copies, they can easily retouch the Plates, and make them serve for many more Impressions.

They can print Books in all sorts of Languages, as well as in *Chinese*. The Beauty of the Character depends upon the Hand of the Copyist; the Skill of the Engraver being so great, that it is not easy to distinguish that which is printed from the written Copy; so that the Impression is good or bad, according to the Ability of the Writer employ'd. This must be understood principally of our *European* Characters, which are engraved and printed by the *Chinese*; for as to the *Chinese* Characters which are engraved, the Skill of the Engraver often corrects the Defects of the Writer.

The *Chinese* nevertheless are not ignorant of the manner of Printing in *Europe*; they have moveable Characters as well as we, with only this Difference, that whereas ours is of Metal, theirs are only of Wood: By the Help of these they correct *The present State of China*, which is printed at *Pe king* every three Months. It is reported, that at *Nan king*, and *Siu chea*, they print in this manner some little Books, and that as neatly and correctly as those which are engraved by the best Hands. There is no Difficulty in believing this, because it only requires a little extraordinary Labour and Care.

In Affairs that require Dispatch, as when an Order comes from Court, which contains many Articles, and which must be printed in one Night, they have another Method of Engraving. They cover the Block with yellow Wax, and trace out the Characters with a surprizing Quickness.

They use no Press as in *Europe*; their wooden Plates, and unallum'd Paper would not bear it. But when once the Blocks are engraved, the Paper cut, and the Ink in readiness, a single Man, with his Brush, and without fatiguing himself, may print every Day near ten thousand Sheets.

The Block which is in Use, must be set level and firm. They have two Brushes; one harder than the other, which is to be held in the Hand, and may be used at both ends. They dip this Brush in the Ink, and rub the Plate with it, but so that it may not be too much, nor too little moisten'd: If it be too much, the Letters will be obscured; if too little, the Characters will not print: When the Plate is once in order, they can print three or four Sheets successively, without dipping the Brush in the Ink. The second Brush must pass gently over the Paper, pressing it down a little, that it may take up the Ink: This is easily done, because not being dipt in Allum-Water, it imbibes it instantly. You must only press more or less, and pass the Brush over the Sheet oftner, or fewer times, according as there is more or less Ink upon the Plate: This Brush must be oblong and soft.

The Ink which they use for Printing is a Liquid, and therefore much more convenient than that which is sold in Sticks: To make it, you must take Lampblack, pound it well, expose it to the Sun, and then sift it through a Sieve: The finer it is, the better. It must be tempered with *Aqua-vitæ* till it comes to the consistence of Size, or of a thick Paste, Care being taken that the Lampblack may not clot. After this it must be mixt with a proper Quantity of Water, so that it may be neither too thick, nor too thin. Lastly, to hinder it from sticking to the Fingers, they add a little Neats-Leather Glue, probably of that Sort which the Joiners use. This they dissolve over the Fire, and then pour on every ten Ounces of Ink almost an Ounce of Glue, which they mix well with the Lampblack and *Aqua-vitæ*, before the Water is added to them.

They print but on one Side, because their Paper is thin and transparent, and cannot bear a double Impression without confounding the Characters with one another. Hence it is that every Leaf of the Book is folded, the Fold being at the edge of the Book, and the Opening at the Back, where they are sown together; so that their Books are cut at the Back, whereas ours are cut at the Edges. And to put the Sheets together, there is a black Line drawn upon the Folds of the Sheets, which teaches to place them right; as the Holes made by the Points in



our printed Sheets direct the Binder how to fold them truly, that the Pages may answer each other.

They cover their Books with a neat sort of Pasteboard of a grey Colour, or else with fine Sattin, or flower'd Silk, which does not cost much. There are some Books which the Binders cover with red Brocade, interspersed with Gold and Silver Flowers. Tho' this Manner of Binding is inferior to ours, it is nevertheless neat and convenient.

### Of the Manner in which the young Chinese pursue their Studies; of the several Degrees they take; and the various Examinations they undergo before they attain the Doctor's Degree.

Of the Education of the Chinese.

FROM about five or six Years of Age, according to the Capacities of the Children, and the Care that Parents take of their Education, the young Chinese begin to study the Letters; but as the Number of the Letters is so very great, and without any such Order as they have in Europe, this Study would be very ungrateful, if they had not found out Means to make it a sort of Sport and Amusement.

Of teaching the Elements of their Language.

They have chosen for this purpose about 100 Characters, which express the most common things, and which present themselves most frequently to the Senses; as the Sky, the Sun, the Moon, Man, certain Plants and Animals, a House, and the most common Utensils; they get all these Things engraved in a coarse Manner, and put the Chinese Characters for them underneath: And these Figures, tho' very awkwardly represented, do yet quicken the Capacities of Children, fix their Imagination, and help their Memories. This Collection may be called, *The Alphabet of the Chinese*.

Which may be call'd their Alphabet.

One Inconvenience, however, occurs in the Method, which is, That Children imbibe an infinite number of chimerical Notions in their tender Years; for to represent the Sun, they make a Cock within a Circle; the Moon they signify by a Rabbet pounding Rice in a Mortar: A sort of Demon with fiery Bolts in his Hand, somewhat like the ancient Representation of Jupiter, stands for Thunder. The Brutes, and their Myau, or Pagods, have their Place amongst these Figures; so that the poor Children, in a manner, suck in with their Milk all these extravagant Whimsies: I have lately been informed, however, that this Method is now grown out of Use.

The Book which they put next into the Hands of Children, is called *San tsé king*; 'tis a concise Work, containing what is necessary for a Child to learn, and the Method of teaching it. It consists of several short Sentences, of three Characters, ranged in Rhymes, to help the Memories of Children. There is also another Book, the Sentences of which are of four Characters: As likewise a Catechism made for the Christian Children, the Phrases of which are but of four Letters, and which for this reason is called *Sse tsé king ven*.

Characters of the Alphabet very numerous in China.

In a word, the Children must learn all these Characters by degrees, as the European Children do our Alphabet; with this Difference: That as we have but four and twenty Letters, they have many thousands. They oblige a young Chinese to learn at first four, five, or six of them in a Day, which he must repeat to himself from Morning till Night, in order to rehearse them regularly to the Master twice a Day. If he is often deficient in his Lesson, he is chastised. The Punishment is usually in this Manner: They make him get upon a little narrow Bench, on which he lies down flat on his Belly, and there he receives eight or ten Blows upon his Drawers, with a flat Stick somewhat like a Lath. During the time of their Studies, they oblige them to such a close Assiduity, that they have very seldom any Holidays, except a Month at the beginning of the Year, and five or six Days about the middle of it.

Of the Correction of Children.

When once they can read the *Sse chu*, \* they are not suffered to read any other Books till they have got these by heart, without missing a Letter; and, what is most difficult and ungrateful, they must learn these Books without understanding scarce any thing of them; it being the Custom not to explain to them the Sense of the Characters, till they know them perfectly.

How they teach them to form their Letters.

At the same time that they learn these Letters, they are taught how to form them with a Pencil. At first they give them great Sheets, written, or printed in large red Characters; and the Children do nothing with their Pencils, but cover the red Strokes with Black, which accustoms them to trace the Strokes. When they have learnt to make them in this manner, they give them others, which are black, and not so large; and laying upon these Sheets another Sheet which is blank and transparent, they draw the Letters upon this Paper, in the Form of those underneath: But they oftener use a Board covered with White, varnished, and divided into little Squares, which make different Lines, whereon they write their Characters, and efface them with Water when they have done, to save Paper.

\* These are the four Books that contain the Doctrine of *Kong fú tse*, or *Confucius*, and *Ming tse*, or *Mencius*.



In fine, they take great Care to improve their Hands; for it is a great Advantage to the Learned to make their Characters well: They pay much regard to this Qualification, and in the Examination, which is made every three Years for the Degrees, they commonly reject those who write ill, especially if their Writing be not exact; unless they give great Proofs of their Ability in other Respects, either in the Language, or in composing good Discourses.

Care of the Chinese in forming their Letters.

It is reported that a certain Candidate for the Degrees, having used, contrary to order, an Abbreviation in writing the Character *Ma*, which signifies a Horse, had the Mortification of seeing his Work, tho' excellent, rejected; and was obliged to bear this Piece of Railery from the Mandarin, That a Horse could not walk well without four Legs.

When they know Characters enough for composing, they must learn the Rules of the *Ven chang*. This is a Composition resembling that sort of Theses which the European Scholars make before they enter upon Rhetorick; with this difference, that the *Ven chang* must be more difficult, because its Sense is more confin'd, and its Style peculiar. They give for a Subject but one Sentence, taken out of the Classic Authors, which they call *Ti mu*, The Thesis; and this Thesis is sometimes but one single Character.

To find out whether the Children improve, the following Method is practised in many Places: Twenty or thirty Families, who are all of the same Name, and who consequently have one common Hall of their Ancestors, unite together, and agree to send their Children, twice a Month, into this Hall to compose: Every Head of a Family, by Turns, gives the Thesis, and provides, at his own Expence, the Dinner for that Day, which he takes care to have brought into the Hall: He likewise judges of the Compositions, and determines who has succeeded the best. If on the Day of Composing any one of this little Society absent himself without a sufficient Cause, his Parents are obliged to pay about twenty Pence; which is a sure means to prevent any one's being absent.

Domestic Compositions

Besides this Diligence, which is private and voluntary, all the young Scholars are obliged to compose together, before the inferior Mandarin of Letters, called *Hyo-kwan*. This is done at least twice a Year, once in the Spring, and once in the Winter, throughout the whole Empire: Twice, I say, at least; for besides these two general Examinations, the Mandarins of Letters examine them pretty frequently, to find what Progress they have made in their Studies, and to keep them in Exercise. There are some Governors of Cities who take the like trouble on themselves, with regard to Men of Learning that live near them, whom they summon every Month to their Tribunal, and there make them compose, giving Rewards to those who succeed the best, and bearing the Expence of their Entertainment for that Day.

Public Compositions.

It is not surprizing, that in a State where they have professed Learning for so many Ages, and where they prefer it to all natural Advantages, they should take so much pains to educate their Youth. There is not a City, Town, nor almost any little Village, in which there are not School-Masters to instruct Youth in the Sciences; People of Fortune have Tutors for their Children, who teach them Letters, accompany them, and form their Manners; who instruct them in the Ceremonies, the manner of Saluting, the Compliments and common Civilities, the manner of Visiting, and, when of a proper Age, the History and Laws of their Country: Infinite is the Number of these Preceptors, because amongst those who put up for the Degrees, there are very few that obtain them.

Of the Persons who preside over the Education of Children.

In the Houses of Persons of Quality, those that are entrusted with this Province are generally Doctors, or at least Licentiates. In Families of a lower Rank, they are Bachelors, who continue the course of their Studies, and go to the Examinations in order to arrive at the Doctor's Degree. The Employment of a School-Master is accounted honourable, the Children's Parents maintain them, make them Presents, treat them with a great deal of Respect, and every where give them the upper hand. *Syew feng*, Our Master, Our Doctor, is the Name they give them; and their Pupils have the highest Respect for them as long as they live.

Tho' there are no Universities in China, as in Europe, there is no City of the first Order, which has not a great Palace set apart for the Examinations of the Graduates: And in the Capitals, this Palace is yet bigger. A Missionary gives this Description of the Edifice, in the City in which he was; and, as far as the Place will permit, they are all built after the same Manner: It is inclosed, *says he*, with high Walls, the Entrance is magnificent, and before it is a large Square, 150 Paces broad, and planted with Trees, having Benches and Seats for the Captains and Soldiers, who keep Centry in the Times of Examination. One enters at first into a great Court, where the Mandarins place themselves with a *Corps de Garde*, at the end of which there is another Wall, with Folding-Gates. As soon as you enter, there is a Ditch full of Water, which you must pass over upon a Stone-Bridge, to come at a third Gate, at which Guards are planted, who let no body enter without an express Order from the Officers. When you have passed this Gate, you discover a great Square, the Entrance to which is by a very narrow Passage. On both Sides of this Square, are a vast number of little Chambers, close together, four Foot and an half long, and about three and an half broad, to lodge the Students; in these Chambers are sometimes to the Number of six thousand.

Their Walls of Universities, how supply'd.

Before they enter the Palace to compose, they are stopped at the Gate, and searched with the greatest Exactness, that they may not carry in any Books, or Writings; nothing being allow'd there but Pencils and Ink. If any Fraud were to be discovered, the Offenders would not only be turn'd back, but very severely punished, and excluded from the Degrees of Literature. When every body is entred, they shut up the Gates, and the publick Seal is set upon them.

There



There are Officers of the Tribunal to over-look every thing that passes, and to prevent them from going out of their Chambers, or speaking to one another.

At the end of the narrow Passage which I mentioned, a Tower is erected upon four Arches, and flank'd with four Turrets, or a Sort of round Domes; from which, if any Disturbance be perceived, the Drum is immediately beat to give notice, that the Disorder may be remedied. Near this Tower there are divers Apartments, and a great Hall well furnished, in which those assemble who preside at the first Examination. At the going out of this Hall you enter another Court, in which there is another Hall resembling the first, but more magnificently furnished; with divers Apartments for the President, and principal Officers. There are also Galleries, a Garden, and many little Apartments for the *Mandarins*, Secretaries, and inferior Officers; and lastly, every thing which is requisite for lodging commodiously the whole Retinue of the Examiners.

Examinations of the Students.

When they think the young Students are fit to appear at the Examination of the inferior *Mandarins*, they send them thither on the appointed Day. For the better understanding of what follows, we must recollect what has been said already; namely, that *China* contains fifteen great Provinces, every Province including many great Cities, which have the Title of *Fû*; and that these Cities have many others of the second and third Order, that depend on them, some of which are called *Cbew*, and others *Hyen*: There are no Cities of the first Order, that have not in their District a *Hyen*, and sometimes two, for the Word *Hyen* signifies much the same as what we call a *Bailiwick*. It is by the *Hyen* that they gather the Taxes, and even distinguish the Learned; for Example, they say, *Bachelor of such a Hyen*. Nevertheless, it must not be thought that Learning flourishes alike in all the Provinces, there being many more Students in some than in others. The *Mandarin*, who is at the Head of a whole Province, is called *Fû ywen*. He that governs a *Fû*, is called *Cbi fû*: They likewise call him *Fû tsun*; that is, the illustrious Person of the *Fû*, or City of the first Order. He who has only the Government of a *Hyen*, has the Title of *Cbi byen*, or *Hyen tsun*. Agreeable to this Subordination, there are in *Kyen chang fû*, one *Cbi fû*, and two *Cbi byen*, and in the Capital *Fû*, there is a *Fû ywen*, that is a Viceroy. So that the Monarchical Government is established not only over the whole Empire, but in every Province, in every *Fû*, and in every little *Hyen*.

Examinations of the Candidates for Degrees.

To return to the Examinations: As soon as the young Students are thought capable of passing those of the *Mandarins*, they must begin with that of the *Cbi byen*, in whose Jurisdiction they were born; for Example, in the District of *Nan ching byen*, which is in the Jurisdiction of *Kyen chang fû*, there are more than eight Hundred, who go to compose before the *Cbi byen* of this City. It is this *Mandarin* that gives the Thesis, and examines these Compositions himself, or orders them to be examined in his Tribunal, and who determines which is the best: Of the eight hundred Students, there are about six hundred named; they say then, that they have *Hyen ming*, that is, that they are inscrib'd to the *Hyen*: There are some *Hyen* in which the Number of Students amounts to six thousand.

These six hundred must afterwards appear at the Examination of the *Cbi fû* of *Kyen chang*, who makes a new Choice; and of these six hundred, there are not above four hundred who have *Fû ming*, that is, who are named for the second Examination. Hitherto they have no Degree in Literature, and therefore are called *Tong feng*.

In every Province there is a *Mandarin* who comes from *Pe king*, who is but three Years in his Office; he is called *Hyo tau*, or in the finest Provinces, *Hyo ywen*; and is generally a Person who hath Intelligence with the great Tribunals of the Empire: Formerly, he gave Presents underhand, and those very considerable, to be chosen; but the present Emperor has remedied this Abuse by very severe Orders. He must make two Examinations during his three Years: The first Examination is called *Swo kau*, the second *Ko kau*; for this purpose he is obliged to make a Circuit thro' all the *Fû* of the Province.

Honours which they render to Confucius.

As soon as the *Hyo tau* arrives in a *Fû*, he goes to pay his respects to *Confucius*, whom all the Learned look upon as the Doctor of the Empire: Then he himself explains some Passages in the *Classick Authors*, and the succeeding Days examines. When the four hundred *Tong feng* of *Nan ching byen*,\* who have *Fû ming*, go to compose in the Tribunal of the *Hyo tau* with the other Students, that come from all the *Hyen* which are subordinate to that *Fû*, if the Number of them is very great, they are divided into two Companies.

The greatest Precautions are now used, to prevent the *Mandarin's* knowing the Authors of the Compositions; but these Precautions are sometimes rendered vain by the Intrigues of the Parties. The *Hyo tau* nominates but fifteen Persons, out of the four hundred, for example, that are in a *Hyen*; those who are thus nominated, take the first Degree, and are therefore said to enter into Study *Tsin leau byo*, and are called *Syew tsay*: They then wear the Formalities, which consist of a blue Gown, with a black Border all round it, and a Silver, or Pewter Bird, upon the Top of their Caps: They are no more liable to be bastonadoed by the Order of the common *Mandarins*, but have a particular Governour, who punishes them if they do amiss. Of the fifteen who are nominated, most of them are deservedly chosen. Sometimes indeed, there is Favour shewn; but they who are thus elected, what Protection soever they may have, must not be without some Merit: For if it should ever appear that Favour was the Motive of their Choice, the Envoy of the Court would be ruined both in his Reputation and Fortune.

One

\* What I say of this *Hyen* must be understood proportionably of all the others.



One may say much the same Things concerning the *Tong feng* of War: The same *Mandarins* who examine for Learning, examine for the Army: Those who are Candidates here, must shew their Ability in shooting with the Bow, and Riding; and if they have before applied themselves to bodily Exercises, which require a great deal of Strength and Vigour, they must sometimes give Proofs of it; for example, by lifting a large Stone, or some heavy Burden. But tho' this may be serviceable to them, yet it is not altogether essential; and to those who have made any progress in Learning, they give certain Problems to be solved, respecting Incampments, and Stratagems of War; which contribute to their Preferment. It is proper to know, that the Warriours as well as the Learned, have their Classic Authors, which they also call by the Name of *Keng*, They were composed purposely for their use, and treat of the Military Discipline.

The *Hyo tau* is obliged by his Office to make the Tour of his Province, and to assemble in every City of the first Order, all the *Siew tsay* who are dependant upon it; when, after being informed of their Conduct, he examines their Compositions; recompenses those who have made great Proficiency in their Studies, and punishes those whom he convicts of Negligence and Carelessness. Sometimes he enters into a Detail, and divides them into six Classes: The first contains a very few, of those who have remarkably distinguished themselves; to whom he gives, as a Reward, a *Tael*, and a Silk Scarf: Those of the second Class receive also a Silk Scarf, and a small matter of Money: The third Class hath neither Reward nor Punishment: Those of the fourth receive the Bastonado, by command of the *Mandarins*: The fifth lose the Bird with which the Cap is adorned, and become but half *Siew tsay*: Those that have the Misfortune, to be in the sixth, are entirely degraded; but there are few to whom this happens: In this Examination, one shall sometimes see a Man of fifty or sixty Years of Age bastonado'd, whilst his Son, who composes with him, receives Applause and Rewards: But as to the *Siew tsay*, or Batchelors, they do not receive the Bastonado for their Compositions alone, unless there be also some Complaint made of their Morals and Behaviour.

Every Graduate who does not come to this Triennial Examination, runs the Risk of being deprived of his Title, and ranked with the common People. There are but two Cases, in which he may lawfully be absent; either Sickness, or Mourning for the Death of a Parent. The old Graduates, who upon their last Examination appeared to be superannuated, are forever after excused from attending these Examinations; preserving nevertheless, the Habit, Cap, and all the Prerogatives and Honours of their Degree.

To attain the second Degree, that of *Kyu gin*, they must pass a new Examination called *Chu kau*, which is but once in three Years, in the Capital of every Province of the Empire. All the *Siew tsay* are obliged to attend at it. Two *Mandarins* come Express from the Court, to preside at this Examination, which is made by the great Officers of the Province, and by some other *Mandarins*, as their Assistants. The first of the two *Mandarins* sent from the Court, is call'd *Ching chu kau*, and must be *Han lin*, that is, of the College of the chief Doctors of the Empire: The other is called *Fu chu*. In the Province of *Kyang si*, for instance, there are at least ten thousand *Siew tsay*, who are obliged to be at this Examination, and who fail not to attend. Amongst these ten thousand, the Number of those who are nominated, that is, who obtain the Degree of *Kyu gin*, is no more than sixty: Their Gown is of a brownish Colour, with a blue Border four Fingers broad: The Bird upon the Cap is of Gold, or Copper gilt; and the Chief of them has the Title of *Kay yuen*. It is not easy to obtain this Degree by corrupting the Judges; and if any Intrigues are carried on for that Design, they must be managed with great Secrecy, and have their beginning at *Pe king*.

When they arrive at this Degree, they have but one Step more to take, to be Doctors: They must go the next Year to *Pe king*, to be examined for the Degree of Doctor; and the Emperor is at the Charge of this first Journey: Those who after having passed this Examination once, are contented with being *Kyu gin*, either because they are too far advanced in Years, or because they have a moderate Fortune, are excused from coming any more to this Examination, which is made at *Pe king* every three Years. Every *Kyu gin* is qualified to bear any Office: Sometimes they obtain Employments merely by Seniority in this Degree; and some of them have become Viceroy of Provinces: And as all Offices are bestow'd in consideration of the Person's Merit, a Student, who is the Son of a Peasant, has as much Hope of arriving to the Dignity of Viceroy, and even of Minister of State, as the Children of Persons of the first Quality.

Finally these *Kyu gin*, as soon as they have obtained any publick Employment, renounce the Degree of Doctor. But all the *Kyu gin*, that is, Licentiates, who are not in any Office, go every three Years to *Pe king*, as I have said before, to be present at the Examination there; which is called the *Imperial Examination*: For the Emperor himself gives the subject of the Compositions, and by the Attention he gives, and the exact Account that is rendered him, is supposed to be himself the Judge of them. The Number of Licentiates who come to this Examination, amounts very often to five or six thousand; and of this Number about three hundred, whose Compositions are judged the best, are advanced to the Degree of Doctor. Sometimes this Degree hath been given but to 150. The three principal ones are called *Tyen tse men feng*, that is, *The Disciples of the Son of Heaven*: The Chief of these is called *Chwang yuen*, the next *Pang yuen*, and the last *Tan wa*. From the other Doctors, the Emperor chuses a certain Number, to whom they give the Title of *Han lin*, that is, Doctors of the first Order: The others are called *Tsin se*.



Who ever can obtain this glorious Title of *Jin fē*, either in Literature, or the Army, may look upon himself as a Man firmly settled, and needs not fear Want: For, besides that he receives an infinite Number of Presents from his Relations and Friends, he is in a fair Way to be employed in the most important Posts of the Empire, and every body courts his Protection: His Friends and Relations never fail to erect, in their City, magnificent triumphal Arches to his Honour, on which they inscribe his Name, the Place where, and the Time when he received his Degree.

The Number and Goodness of Books under the Emperor *Kang hi*.

He remedies this Negligence.

The late Emperor *Kang bi*, towards the latter end of his Reign, observed that there were not so many new Books printed as usual; and those which were published, had not that degree of Perfection he could have wish'd, for the Glory of his Reign, and which might make them worthy to be transmitted to Posterity: He perceived that these chief Doctors of the Empire, enjoying quietly the Rank to which they were raised, and the Reputation for Learning which they had obtained, neglected their Studies, in expectation of gainful Employments. To remedy this Negligence, as soon as the Examination for Doctors was ended, he took upon himself, contrary to custom, to examine these chief Doctors, who so piqued themselves upon being Judges and Examiners of others. This Examination gave great Alarm, and was followed by a Judgment still more surprising: For several of these chief Doctors were shamefully degraded, and sent back to their own Provinces. The Dread of such another Examination, keeps those Chief of the Learned, close to their Studies. The Emperor prided himself upon this extraordinary Examination, because one of the most learned Men of the Court, who was employed in looking over the Compositions, agreed exactly with him in his Judgment, condemning all the same that his Majesty had rejected, excepting one Piece, which the *Mandarin* judged of a doubtful Merit.

Comparison of the Degrees taken by the Learned in *China*, with those taken by the Learned in *Europe*.

It appears from what I have mentioned, that the Comparison that has been made between these three Degrees, which distinguish the Learned in *China*, and the Bachelors, Licentiates, and Doctors of *Europe*, is not altogether just. 1st. Because these Names in *Europe*, are known scarcely any where but in Universities and Colleges; and the Licentiates have no greater Access than others to People of Fashion; whereas here, these three Degrees comprehend all the Nobility and polite People of *China*; and furnish almost all the *Mandarins*, except some few *Tartars*. 2d. Because in *Europe*, a considerable Progress in the speculative Sciences, and an exact Knowledge of Philosophy and Theology, is requisite in order to be made a Doctor; whereas in *China*, nothing more is required than Eloquence, and the Knowledge of their History and Laws.

Father *Dentrecolles*'s Researches on this Subject.

To give a yet more perfect Idea, of the great Care taken by the *Chinese* to form their Youth, and to make the Sciences flourish in their Empire, I shall insert here several Extracts of *Chinese* Books, which treat of their Establishment of the publick Schools. It was Father *Dentrecolles* who made this curious Enquiry, and communicated it to me. There can be no better Means of informing Ourselves concerning *China*, than by *China* itself: For we are sure to come at a true Knowledge of the Genius and Customs of that Nation, if we pursue this Method.

### Extract of a Chinese Book, entitled, *The Art of making a People Happy, by establishing public Schools.*

I H T O,

Seminaries of Education in *China*.

ATTENTLY. in *China* a Place called *Sbu*, was allotted for a certain Number of Families; and another called *Tsyang*, for a larger District. These two Places were Seminaries for educating the Youth of the Empire, and forming them to the Sciences. The Literati of the most conspicuous Merit, were compleated in the Academy of *Tsyang*. The Country Schools produced those Geniuses that are qualified for Perfection in the Sciences. And to this Day, they whose Knowledge has gain'd them Admittance into the Hall of *Confucius*, have begun by the lowest Exercises of the young Students.

By whom and when instituted.

The Emperor *Hong wū* Founder of the preceding Dynasty of *Ming*, being persuaded of how much Importance to his State it was, to aid and encourage Youth to Literature; in the second Year of his Reign ordained, that publick Schools should be built in all the Cities of the 1st. 2d. and 3d. Rank. And six Years after, that he might make the Benefit more general, he founded Schools for the Country. His Order address'd to the *Mandarins* of the respective Provinces was in these Terms:

"At present we see at Court, and thro' all the Cities, Schools erected for teaching the Sciences. Our Intention is, that the People in the Country should likewise share in these great Advantages, and in that wonderful Change which Study, no doubt, will produce among our Subjects. For this effect, you the *Mandarins* are to cause Schools to be built in the Country, and to take care to furnish them with able Masters. These Masters being cloathed with Authority, and Men of Merit, every one in the Empire will be willing that Literature should become the first and chiefest Employment of our Youth, and that they endeavour to excel in it."

Thus



Thus after the Reign of the Oriental *Tartars*, Learning began to revive under the last Dynasty. I shall first speak of the Schools in the Country. If 25 Families require one of them, we shall find that the District of a City of the third Order, will require a hundred, yet the Royal Appointments for the Professors, are sufficient only for those of two Villages. How shall we remedy this? My Thoughts are as follows.

Our Schools at present, I mean the Country Schools, are a good deal different from what those named *Sbu* or *Tsyang* were formerly. Our Ancestors had the Subjects of their Studies regulated, and the manner of teaching in all Schools was uniform. Children began to study at eight Years of Age, at which time they read the [\*] *Kin tse* to instruct them in Chronology. And the Book of the five Parts of the Empire, for Geography.

They then were taught Arithmetic, and to instruct them in their private Deportment, made to read, the Manner in which they ought to behave to a Father, a Mother, their Relations and Domestics; and in their Public; their Behaviour to Magistrates, to Seniors, and to their Equals. Such were the Books that were put into the Hands of the Youth, in the lower Form or the *Syau byo*. Method of studying in them.

At the Age of 15, they pass thro' the higher Sciences, or *Ta byo*; they learned all the Passages, by which the Books of our ancient Sages are become so valuable; the Rites and Ceremonies of the Empire, with what ever relates to Princes and Magistrates; whatever forms a Man of Honour, and a Politician; in short, what ever relates to good Government in general.

At first they applied themselves to the easiest Studies, and when they were Masters of the Rudiments, they advanced, by insensible Degrees, to higher Attainments; till at the end of a certain Number of Years, they became very able Men. It was in the Schools of the respective Districts, that they were thus form'd by little and little. At last the Students of different Places or *Sbu*, were transplanted into the *Tsyang* or common School of the District; and they there completed themselves by Conferences, by the Lectures of the first Masters, and by a mutual Emulation.

These excellent Methods new modell'd the Wit, the Understanding, and in short, the whole of the Man. Virtue, thus as it were becoming a Science, renders Multitudes happy; and hence it was, before they were aware, that the so much desired Change was of a sudden wrought among all the Members of the State, so as to render the whole Empire perfect. Virtue, a Science.

At present, the Children of Men of Fortune and Quality, have the means of Studying, without using them; and the Poor are destitute of them who most wish for them. When the Parents are Great and Rich, and design to bestow a liberal Education upon their Children, they take a Tutor into their Houses, where they assign him an Apartment; nor will their Pride suffer them to allow the Children of their poor Neighbours, to reap any Benefit by his Lessons. And from hence it is, that the wise Regulations for public Schools, either for City or Country, are much neglected. Its great Effects. Disadvantages and Abuses in Study.

The *Mandarins* know well enough, how much the Manners of the Age require to be reformed; but one would think, that they did not look upon this as a very pressing Affair. The true Obstacle is, that they want the necessary Assistances, to build and endow these Schools in the Country. Thus, that proper and useful Design is laid aside; and hence the Doctrines of our Classic Books are not practised; so that the good Customs of our Ancestors daily decay, and in time will be entirely ruined. Let us prevent this Misfortune.

What I am going now to propose, appears to me of Consequence, for the effectual Re-establishment of these Schools. Let the Literati of Fortunes, and the rich People who are in Posts, make it their Pleasure to unite; and each in his own Country promote this noble Undertaking. Let the *Mandarin* of the Place, put himself at their Head; after which, where will be the Difficulty of erecting public Buildings for Learning? It ought likewise to be considered, that these Schools are principally opened for the Children of poor People, who, without such Helps, can make no Progress in Letters. Means of removing them.

By these Methods young People, however poor, if their Genius leads them to Learning, may give themselves up intirely to it. Misery commonly prevails most in the Country. Cities consist chiefly of Merchants, Tradesmen, Graduates, and People who either have been in Employments, or live nobly. In the Country, most of the Inhabitants either labour or cultivate the Ground, keep Flocks, or are employed in rustick Labours.

A Computation must be made how many poor People there are in the District of a City, for instance, of the third Order, and how many rich; upon this Computation the Plan of a School must be formed. When it is known how many large Burroughs, and Places frequented either by the Commerce, or by the Fairs held in them, are without the City, and how many Habitations and Houses are joining to each other; one may judge from thence how many Schools there ought to be. As for single Houses dispersed up and down, if the Inhabitants of them have a mind that their Children should study, they must even draw nearer the School, and provide their Children Places in it. Method of making a Provision for a School.

The Form and Order in which I would have such a School built, is as follows; The Building should have first a spacious Entry; and over the Gate should be written in large Characters this Inscription, *I HYO*, that is, *The College of Piety*. Lastly, the whole Ground necessary, must be surrounded with a good Wall; that the Students, may not have the Liberty of going out, or other People of coming in. Plan of it.

\* A Cycle of Time by a Calendar of 60 Years.



After the Gate and first Court, there must be a Hall for the *Teng*, Assemblies or Lessons, adorned with three Ranges of Pillars; and at a just Distance a second Hall, where shall be placed the Picture of our most Wise and Ancient Master, that the Student may come every Morning and Evening and honour him in that Quality. Two Lodgings are to be built at the Side of this Hall. The Professor is to live in the one, and the other is to serve for receiving Visitors; besides a Wardrobe is to be built where the Moveables of the House are to be kept. The Kitchen may be on the East, and an open Space may be reserved in form of a Garden. The Building being once finished, it may be furnished with Stools, Tables, Arm-chairs, Porcelain and Hangings; in short, with every thing that is necessary. All this will require a good deal of Expence, but the People of Quality are to supply it by voluntary Contributions. He who is the principal Superintendant of the School, is to chuse for the Stewart of the House, an aged, wise, and virtuous Man.

Qualifications  
of Masters.

As for the Professor, the choice must fall upon a Man of an unblemish'd Reputation, full of Probity, and with Talents both to instruct and improve Youth; provided he is posselt of such Qualities, no matter for his Riches. He must be presented to the *Mandarin* of the Place, who is to examine him and to judge of his Abilities. The School is then to be opened with Solemnity, and the Youth must have Notice to be present, and be exhorted to be submissive to him.

Duties,

The Scholars are to acknowledge their Master by the Reverence due to his Quality, and they may make a Present to him, tho' he cannot exact one from them: However that is an ancient Custom. *Wen beng*, famous in the Province of *Se Chwen*, when he assembled the Youth of the Country every Day to be instructed, introduced the Custom of offering something to the Master.

It appears to me that this Practice ought to be kept up: And that none should grudge a small Expence, especially when it is well placed. It helps a poor Professor, such as most of these Masters are, to pass his life easily, and to assist his Family, from which he is sometimes at a good Distance.

Indeed, he ought rather to have a regular Appointment to trust to; for which reason in founding a School, a certain Extent of Land should be purchased, whose Revenue should be apply'd to the Payment of the Master and Officers of the House.

and Exercises  
of the Students.

He is regularly to give out the common Exercises of their Studies. In the Morning he is to make them recite by heart the Passage of the Book which had been prescribed as a Lesson the Night before; he is then to give out a new one, and to proportion it to the Capacity of the Scholar. It is of Importance that he pronounces the Letters in a distinct clear Voice, giving each its full Emphasis. Besides, in Reading he is to mark the different Pauses, where the Sense of the Period is more or less compleat.

After the Scholars have breakfasted they are to apply to Writing. The Master in setting their Copies ought to form every Letter according to the Number of Strokes, and the Model in the last amended *Chyang Yun*. He is to guide the Pencil, so that the Letter may have its exact Figure and Beauty; and by these Copies the Scholar is to write.

Moreover, tho' the Business here is to know how to manage the Pencil, it must not be imagin'd that this Art is learn'd in Haste, or at Random, or that it is an easy Matter to form a well proportion'd Letter. It is necessary in the Beginning to accustom the Scholar to be exact, and to labour to attain to Perfection on that Head.

When the Copy is finish'd, every Scholar ought to bring his Writing to the Master, who is to run it over, and to mark the fairest Letters with a little Circle, and to mark with a Dash those that are faulty, that they may learn to correct them another Time.

When Books are to be explain'd, the Master is to begin by briefly summing up the Subject of the Chapter to be explain'd. Then taking it by Parts he is to give; 1. The proper Signification of each Character. 2. The Sense of the whole Period. Above all Things it is necessary that the Masters convey clear and precise Ideas, and such as may continue distinctly upon the Memories of the Children.

When the Explication is over, he is to call each of the Students, and to make them pass by his Table in Silence, that the Awe of him may be better imprinted on their Minds. Next Day, before he proceeds to a new Explication, he must take an Account of the foregoing. The paraphrases of the learned *Chang ko laü*, is the Work that can best instruct the Scholar in the true sense of classic Books, which are there explained very clearly even to the least Letter.

The Scholars  
Exercises in the  
Afternoon.

When the Hour of Explication is over it is commonly Mid-day, and then they go to Dinner; after Dinner, as in the Morning, the Exercises begin by a recital of the prescribed Lesson, after which a new one is given out. Then they are to fall to the Exercise of *Tso twi* (十) the subject of *Twi se* is proposed, which ought to be more or less lengthened, according to the Progress the Scholar has made.

But before this Work they receive a Book to read, which contains many Models of these Sort of Compositions, and instructing them to know in what Sense the Words and Characters must to be taken, and how they ought to be placed according to the different Accents, that they may receive the necessary Cadence. By exercising themselves in these Works, their Style may

(4) These *Twi* consist of some Words and Phrases, that have a kind of Relation to one another, making an imperfect Versification, or Blank Verse.



may be formed to Petitions, Ordinances, Letters and other Compositions, where the familiar Style cannot have Place.

Every Morning and Evening, when the Scholars enter and leave the School, they ought to present themselves before the Picture of the Ancient Master (†) *Syen tse*, and to do him Reverence. When they come home, they ought to make the same Reverence to their Parents and to the Aged. (\*) These are the Duties of Civility to which young Persons ought to be formed, in order, that both at home and abroad, they may acquire that Air of Politeness so suitable to the Literati.

Duties of  
Civility in  
the Students.

The Lessons they have got by heart in five Days, they ought to repeat upon the sixth; on which Day they are to be prescribed no new Task, but are to consider all these Lessons and reduce them to writing, without the help of a Book. Such as do it faultily, ought to be punished. These Days of Repetition are the same thing to the Students, as the great Examinations are to the Literati.

But the principal Study of Youth ought to be the Esteem, Love and Practice of Virtue; to know, to combat, and to vanquish their own Failings; to reform, and to work a thorough Change upon their Natures: These are the grand Studies. And, that none may be deceived in the Meaning of these general Terms, it is as follows. A young Man, at home, must be perfectly submissive, and abroad, perfectly compos'd. Does he meet one of greater Age or Quality? Let him shew a great deal of Respect: Is he among his Companions and Equals? Let him win them by his Modesty, and a genteel Complaisance; let no haughty Air, or any Negligence of Manners be seen in his Deportment, and no Expressions of Ill-nature be heard in his Talk. Let Anger never make any alteration in his Countenance; and Sincerity, Honesty, and Uprightness always prevail, in his dealings among Men, and in his Commerce in the World. This is actually to reform and to perfect one's self.

Virtue, a necessary Study for Youth.

Our ‡ *I King* informs us, that to endeavour to correct those who know not the Ways of Justice, and have gone astray, is the business of a wise Man. This Text acquaints us that as Youth is a Time of Ignorance; so the great Science in which Youth should be educated, is the Science of an upright Heart and a disinterested Mind, which are directly opposite to and distant from false Sects and dangerous Maxims. What excellent Subjects would not such an Education form! and how worthy of our Sages, would such an Exercise be! What then can one think of a Master, who neglecting to reform his Pupils from the Errors and Corruptions of the Age, applies all his cares to burthen their Memory with a Load of useless Lessons? Unaccountable Abuse!

as is the Uprightness of Heart and Mind.

This Disorder might be reform'd, if the *Mandarins*, who are the || Pastors as well as the Governors of the People committed to their Charge, would rightly consider it. As for instance, when Business calls them, as it frequently does, into the Country, where they are oblig'd to visit several different Places of their District, if they would take the Trouble to visit the Schools, to observe the Progress of the Scholars and the Method of the Teachers; and bestow some Mark of Distinction upon the finest Capacities among the former, and of Liberality upon the most painful and diligent among the latter; What good Consequences would not attend this? The Fathers, the Mothers, and the elder Brothers, when they knew of a *Mandarin's* coming, would spur their Children or younger Brothers up to study. And the Master, after such an Honour, would have a great deal more Zeal and Authority to make himself heard and obey'd; and thereby form Pupils distinguish'd both by Learning and Virtue.

How attainable.

#### REMARKS on the same SUBJECT.

THE *I hyo*, or Schools founded and endowed by the Liberality of the Prince, *Mandarins*, or other wealthy People zealous for the public Good, as far as I can learn, are pretty rare in China; but the common *Hyo* or Schools are so frequent, that there is scarce a Village without at least one. And a young Man who has not studied, is a living Monument of the extremest Poverty of his Parents.

Public Schools rare in China.

It is a Proverb in China; There are more Masters than Scholars, and more Physicians than Patients.

Teaching is the Employment of all the numerous Crowds of poor Literati; for as the greatest Honours and the highest Mandarinship is attainable by Letters, there is not a Family that does not make one of the Children study, in hopes that he may succeed as well as others; but as they are frequently disappointed, they at last find themselves reduc'd to the Necessity of Teaching.

Teaching, the business of Poor Literati.

Schoolmasters often to enlarge their Income, make up a small Collection of Nostrums, and thus act in the double Capacity of Schoolmaster and Physician. Or else, they betake themselves to the latter, when Age has incapacitated them for the former; so that all of a sudden they become old Physicians.

The Literati who teach, if they have Genius, learn at the same time; that they may attain a higher Degree. For, as soon as in the Examinations they become *Syew tlay* or Doctors, however poor they were before, they instantly emerge from their Misery. All their Kindred contributes to their Subsistence; they have a Right to demand Favours from the *Mandarins*; and are in hopes to become

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one

(†) Confucius.

(\*) This is what the Chinese call *Tse tse*.

(‡) Their oldest Canonical Book.

(||) The Chinese Word is *Mu tlay*: *Mu* signifying Pastor, and *tlay* signifying Governor.



one themselves within a certain Number of Years. If they repair to Court, and there get to be Preceptor to some Mandarin's or great Man's Son, their Advancement is yet more quick and more sure: This is a Course that many of them take.

Respect of  
the Chinese  
for their Pre-  
ceptors.

The Quality of Master, or Syen seng, is never effaced with respect to the Scholar. He, (says the Proverb) who has been once look'd upon as Master, ought all the rest of his Life to be look'd upon as Father. It undoubtedly was upon this Maxim that the famous Minister of State, Paul Syu, the great Protector of our Holy Religion, put himself his and whole Family into deep Mourning, as if it had been for his own Father, when he heard of the Death of the Missionary who had instructed and baptised him.

Upon these Principles too, whenever the Scholars become Mandarins, their Master, or, in his room, his Sons, have a Right to visit them, and to demand a mark of Acknowledgment, which is never denied. Even a Viceroy, in Presence of the great Mandarins of his Province, will yield, without any Scruple, the first Place to the Syen seng, who had given him his earliest Instructions; tho' perhaps he lives poor, and in some Village, while his Pupil mounts to the highest Distinction. This is the Foundation of the great Honours that even Emperors pay to Confucius, who is the first Syen seng of the Empire.

The Chinese Authors very much extoll the Office of a Schoolmaster to Youth. It is, (says one of their Sages) the most compleat and the most important Employment; for the good or bad Fortune of a Family depends upon the Education of the Children, and the Faults of the Scholars affect the Character of the Master.

The following Passage is contained in a pretty Modern Author, approved of by two of the first Doctors about Court. "To apply to the Education of Youth is a very high Point of the Virtue Te kyi ta: Will the Creator of the Universe fail one Day to reward it? T'au we ngan te pu me yew?" The same Author has several Observations which I shall take notice of, viz.

### First OBSERVATION.

IT is wrong to shew Contempt, as People sometimes do, for those who have taught us the first Elements. The Pains they take are very great, and incomparably more discouraging, than those required in directing the Studies of such as are more advanced.

Difficulties in-  
cident to  
School-mas-  
ters.

REMARK.] In reality, we see a great many Schoolmasters who become asthmatic and consumptive, by being obliged both to study and to teach; tho' their Entertainment is better than they can have at their own Houses; the Parents of their Scholars providing them with all Necessaries. Besides, the continual Bawling either of the Master or the Scholars is uneasy; for the Chinese learn their Books by reciting them aloud, and are surpris'd to see us study without opening our Lips, or using any Motion; they accompanying always the Sound of their Voice with a slight Motion of the Body, or at least of the Head.

### Second OBSERVATION.

Bad Choice  
of Masters  
to what  
owing.

A few People dwell together, that they may be near the Master who teaches their Children; and because they are not in a Condition to be at Expences, any of the Literati serves their turn; thus the Generality of Masters are very ignorant.

REMARK.] They are, however, good for somewhat; for they have a Method of teaching certain Books. Besides, they shew the Scholars how, and when to make a handsome Reverence; to give and take a Dish of Tea genteely; to contract a certain Air in his walking, the Manner of his Bonnet, and the handling of his Fan, which distinguishes the Chinese Students.

### Third OBSERVATION.

Particular  
Duty of a  
Master.

He commends the Practice of a certain Professor, who always enquired of the Parents of his Scholars, whether they designed to compleat the Education of their Children as Scholars, or if they intended them only for Merchants or Tradefmen, such as themselves, that he might adapt his Lessons to their several Views, and his Scholars neither lose their Time nor he his Pains.

Method of  
Educating  
Poor Chil-  
dren.

REMARK.] The Children of poor People are commonly assisted in quickly procuring a small Stock of Characters, for writing their Accounts, by means of a Book, where the most ordinary Occurrences of Life are coarsely drawn, and below each Figure is the Character or Name of the Thing represented.

The Chinese  
curious in  
founding the  
Inclinations.

The Chinese, for their Diversion, commonly found the Inclinations of their Children. Whenever they can use their Hands, they lay before them a Book, a Ballance, and Arms; and according to the Choice of the Child, they judge (A) him born with a Genius for Learning, Trade, or War.

### Fourth OBSERVATION.

The Capacity of the Scholar is to be consulted, and it is not to be over-loaded with Study. Tho'

(A) This Custom has very little Foundation in Reason. The Choice of the Children probably will fix upon what most attracts their Eyes. Perhaps it may only prevail among the

lower Rank of People, who we find by Du Hall's Accounts in other Places of this Work are as much addicted to Superstitions as any in the World.



Tho' they could learn 200 Characters in a Day, teach them but 100; otherwise you will discourage them. Do not push them on to too hard Tasks, for that is to make them do amiss.

Capacities of Children to be consulted.

REMARK.] *As to the Memory of the Chinese, says Father Detricolles, I have been more than once surprized, to hear the little Christians about seven or eight Years of Age, repeat pretty long Books from one End to the other. Science in China, consists principally in the Exercise of the Memory; and in committing to it many Books. A Mandarin, one Day seeing my small European Library, whispered to another Mandarin, Do you think that he can repeat some of these Books to us? These Gentlemen frequently enquired of us, by what Secrets they might attain a happy Memory. I believe a great many ruin theirs by their Excess at first setting out upon their Studies.*

Prodigious Memory of the Chinese.

### Fifth OBSERVATION.

Above all things young People must be prohibited from reading Romances, Comedies, Verses, or obscene Songs; these sort of Books soften and corrupt the Heart insensibly, and contribute to the Loss of good Manners. It is a shameful Thing ever to have read them with Pleasure; a bad Discourse, if it enters into the Ear of a young Scholar, remains, all his Life after, in his Heart.

Books prohibited to Young Children.

REMARK.] *The Emperor Kang hi prohibited the Sale of Books that are contrary to good Manners, such as certain Romances capable to corrupt Youth. The Mandarins inspect the Shops of the Booksellers, who, for all that, do not stick to sell them privately.*

*Extract of a Treatise upon the same Subject, made by Chu hi, one of the most celebrated Doctors in China, who lived under the Nineteenth Dynasty called Seng.*

CHU HI begins with pointing out the true End of Study, which is Virtue: To this it is, says he, that a Scholar ought to apply all his Forces; in the same Manner as he who draws a Bow, aims straight at the Mark, and fears nothing so much as to shoot wide. To learn Children Characters, to make them repeat whole Books, and to give them an outward Air of Politeness, without ever troubling them with any Endeavours to reform their Manners, is generally what is called Affection for Children; but at the bottom it is hating them: Parents may perhaps be very well satisfied with such a Master, but do not superior Beings, without our perceiving it, keep an Account of so criminal a Negligence, to punish it in due Time?

Consequence of the Education of Youth.

The famous Hyu, when he was a little Scholar, asked one Day of his Master, *What was the End of his Studies?* The latter answer'd, *That he might rise to the honourable Degree of Syew tsay, or Doctor.* What, reply'd the young Hyu, *is there nothing more proposed?* The Master immediately perceived the elevated Views of the Child, and went to his Parents: *Your Son, said he, has a Soul greater than ordinary; so promising a Scholar requires a more able Master than I am; take care to provide one for him.*

The End of Study.

At present, when we say that a Man can, if he will, become as virtuous as our first Emperors Tau and Shun, it is look'd upon as a Paradox; the Difficulty discourages to succeed. But does any renounce the Goods of Fortune, because of the Pain that attends the acquiring of them? If young Men are commonly entertain'd with the Example of our antient Sages, and if they are accustomed frequently to think of them, they will become what they were. It is in virtue of such an Education that a Master is called a second Father; but a Master ought to remember, that as a Workman is employ'd because of his Skill, so when he is charged with the Education of a Youth, it requires all his Cares and Application.

Another of Government.

The Advice given by an Emperor upon his Death-bed to his Successor, should be inculcated among Youth: "Never say this or that Fault is a slight one, therefore I will indulge my self in it; or, this Act of Virtue is inconsiderable, therefore let me omit it."

Youth is averse to Constraint; they therefore ought to be instructed in such a Manner as not to discourage them. If the Bundle of Thorns which is wrapp'd round the young Tree, to defend it from Cattle, is too thick, and binds it too hard, it crushes it. Instructions and Reprimands should come like the vernal Winds and Rains, whose Influence promotes the gentle Growth of the Plants.

A Maxim in Education illustrated.

Lessons and Precepts formerly were in Verse, and in Form of Songs, that they might enter more easily into the Minds of Children, and serve for Diversions adapted to their Age, thereby making them insensible of the Toil of Studying. Our antient Kings had introduced that Method of Teaching: We think that there is little in it; but it is of very great Importance. This Method is alter'd; do Things go better?

Account of Antient Lessons and Precepts.

Chu hi descends into several other little Details: "When Children, says he, repeat their Lessons, cause them to do it in such a Manner, that they may have printed on their Minds

"Minds



"Minds, what they pronounce with their Lips: say nothing to them that can be construed to favour (\*) false Sects: Take Care to give them an Antidote against that Poison." He then advises to give them Rewards, which ought to be done the first and fifteenth of every Month: These Rewards should consist of Pencils and Paper for Writing.

And of the  
Chinese Holi-  
days for  
Schools.

*Chu bi* speaks next of the long Vacation which begins at the twentieth of the last Month of the Chinese Year, and continues to the twentieth or thereabouts of the (†) first Month. This long Vacation is preceded by a general Examination of the Scholars; now excepting this there are but few in the Course of the Year; the few that are fall on the Feasts, and other Chinese Holidays in different Months. The Birth-Day of the *Syen feng*, or the Professor, is another Feast for the Scholars, who that Day make him their Presents of Congratulation. The Evening Class ends every Day by a short History. This Practice is very commendable. At last, before the Scholars are dismiss'd, a small varnish'd Board is expos'd, which contains an useful Instruction in the Commerce of Life in four Verses; these every one transcribes, and reads three Times with a loud Voice: Then the School breaks up for that Day.

Faults to be  
shunn'd.

*Chu bi* has an entire Chapter upon the Care with which young Students ought to shun, 1. Too many Engagements, 2. Play, 3. Wine, 4. Gallantry, 5. A soft and effeminate Life. He then passes to many *Ko sh*, that is to say, Things to be lamented, with respect to the Neglect of Studying: viz.

and to be  
lamented.

1. History informs us, that formerly the Passion for Study was so great, that a poor Man reduced to dig the Earth for his Livelihood, carried his Book to the Field with him, that he might snatch a leisure Moment for Study, amidst his hard Toils. What matter of Shame is this to those who live at their ease, and have all the Conveniences of Studying, yet feel no Ardour for it?

2. Our Ancestors went cheerfully a great Way to search out a Master: Now-a-days we have Masters at hand, and yet neglect to profit by them.

3. Formerly, Men were oblig'd to be at the prodigious Pains of transcribing whole Books; yet they willingly underwent the Labour; but at present, tho' by means of the fine Art of Printing, the Bookfellers Shops and Libraries are overstock'd with Books, Persons neglect to use them.

4. For want of Explanation, People were formerly oblig'd to spend three Years upon the Study of one Book; and were thirty Years in understanding the Canonical Books. At Present, the Labours of the Learned have rendered all these Studies attainable in the Flower of a Man's Age; yet we see Persons spending the Bloom of their Life in Idleness and Indolence.

5. How many unhappy Persons are born deaf and blind? We bewail their Misfortune, and justly. Yet, when young Men in the free Exercise of their Senses, and with a lively, penetrating Understanding, abuse these precious Gifts; what worse could befall them, tho' they were depriv'd of both Eyes and Ears?

6. What Age or Condition of Life is exempted from Pain? Yet a young Fellow free from all Trouble or Hardship, shuns a slight Pain, such as that of reading, while his Father, perhaps, is earning a Livelihood for him with the Sweat of his Brows.

7. How many People born to humble and mean Employments are so unhappy as to be ignorant even of the Names of our Canonical Books, *Shi* and *Li*? Ye also, Young Gentlemen, Sons of the Literati, and of the Doctors, ye place not the Glory of a Man of Learning, as your Fathers did, in the Knowledge of Books, but in clothing yourselves in Silk, and in assuming great Airs; without minding that by your Ignorance you will sink your Family into Obscurity.

8. Those who lived in the first times wanted Places, where they might, apart from Hurry and Noise, read and compose; but now there are Edifices built on purpose, in Cities, in the Country, where Masters invite and wait upon Scholars; yet these Advantages are slighted, Men are amus'd with Trifles, and are as vain as Women in their Ornaments and Dresses, both for the Body and Head; and yet they affect the Name of Literati, and without blushing allow People to give them the Title of Doctor.

9. All the Duties of civil Life are circumstantially set down in Books; yet young Men neglect to learn them; having no Taste, and shewing no Ardour for any thing, but vain Amusements: And thus the fine Lessons of Morality perish and are useless. In short, an ignorant Man, insensible of his own, is not a Degree above the most stupid Beasts.

REMARK.] We have seen above, that Children, when they first begin to Study, have a Story proper to encourage them to read, to open their Genius, and to animate them to Virtue, explained to them every Day; I shall give some of the little Histories, which will let the reader into a Taste of the Chinese Learning, and their Industry in the Education of Youth. These different Passages of History are collected into one Volume. Some of them reach as far back as the first times of the Empire: Most of them are of the antient Dynasties: And only three of them are of the latter Ages. At the Top of every Page of the Book is a kind of Print, wherein the Story is represented, doubtless, to fix it in the Imaginations of the Children and to assist their Memories. They take care to write the Name and Surname of the Person mention'd, the Place of his Birth, and under what Reign he lived.

(\*) *Chu bi*, under the Reign of the *Song*, was a profess'd Enemy to the modern idolatrous Sects, who oppos'd the primitive Literary Sects.

† The Beginning of the Chinese Year is the Time of their

great Rejoicings, which continue till some Days after the Feast of Lanterns; this always happens upon the fifteenth of the first Moon.



Extract of a Chinese Book, containing a Collection of  
Stories that they read to Children.

**R**EMOTE as the *Chinese* Antiquities are, the Author cannot go much farther back than he does in the beginning of this Work, where he speaks of the Piety of *Shun*. This *Shun* recommended himself by an absolute Submission to very rigorous Parents. The Emperor *Tau*, informed of his Piety, excluded his own Children from the Throne, because he thought they wanted Virtues to deserve it, in favour of *Shun* who was a poor Labourer. Examples of Stories read to Children.

2. A good Old Man, under the Dynasty of the *Chew*, had a Son about 70 Years of Age, who, that he might divert his Father, and banish from him the Ideas of his Infirmities, counterfeited the Part of a young Child before him, by putting on a Dress of different Colours, and imitating Children in their Plays and Cries, jumping about him, stumbling designedly, and rolling about on the Ground; being satisfied if he could make the old Man laugh, for whom he likewise provided all the Necessaries of Life. Example 2.

3. Under the second Reign of the *Han*, a young Child called *Whang byang*, having lost his Mother when he was but 9 Years of Age, had almost died of Grief. He however redoubled his Affection for his Father. In the Summer time he, a long time every Day, fann'd the Bolster and Mattress upon which his Father was to lie: And during the Winter he always lay down in the Bed before his Father, that he might warm the Place of the Bed in which his Father was to sleep. The Mandarin of the Country hearing of the tender Concern of the young Child, was so charm'd with it, that he caused a public and a lasting Monument of this filial Piety to be erected, to excite Youth to excel therein. Example 3.

4. In the Times of the Emperors *Tsin*, another Child about 8 Years of Age, whose Name was *U mwen*, gave a yet greater Proof of filial Tendernefs. His Parents were so poor, that they could not even command a Coverlet to defend them in the Summer from the Flies, which at that time are so troublesome in Houses. The young *U mwen* stript himself naked to the Waist, and stood by the Side of the Bed, exposing his delicate Skin to the Flies without driving them away: When they are fill'd with my Blood, said he, they will let my Parents be at rest. To such a Degree did his Affection reach. Example 4.

5. *Min sun* lost his Mother when he was very young. His Father took another Wife, by whom he had 2 Children; *Min sun* was every Moment very severely treated by this Step-Mother, but never complained. He one Day fell in a Swoon at the Feet of his Father, who then knew the Cause of it, and was going to dismiss the unnatural Step-Mother, but *Min sun* hindered him. My Father, said he, there are 3 Children of us in the House, I am the only one who suffers, but if you send your Wife away, we must all three suffer. The Father was touch'd with these Words; and the Step-Mother being inform'd of them, became an affectionate Parent to *Min sun*. Example 5.

6. We have another Passage, by which (to speak in the *Chinese* Phrase) we see that Virtue forces the most savage Hearts to admire and to love it. It has some Resemblance to the Story of *Pylades* and *Orestes*. Example 6.

Two Brothers, of which one was called *Chang hyau*, and the other *Chang li*, omitted nothing that could contribute to their Mother's Subsistence. A Famine of Bread happened to afflict the Land. The elder *Hyau* returning one Day from the Fields, where he had been gathering some Roots, unhappily fell into the Hands of certain famish'd Robbers, who were so inhuman as to kill and eat all they met with. As they were just about to give the fatal Blow to *Hyau*, Gentlemen, said he, weeping, I have left a very aged Mother at home, who is dying of Hunger; allow me to carry to her these Roots I have gathered, and I swear to you that I will instantly return to you, for then I shall feel no Unwillingness to part with Life. The Barbarians were touched, and permitted him to go upon the Terms he propos'd. When *Hyau* came home he told what had befallen him. His Brother immediately went secretly and delivered himself up to the Robbers. He whom you allowed, said he, to go to his Mother's Assistance is my Brother, and is far above me in Merit, tho', as you see, I am plumper than him; therefore kill me instead of him. The elder *Hyau* finding his Brother gone, immediately suspected his Design, and ran to the Place of Rendezvous: 'Twas I who past my Promise, said he, and I am come now to fulfil it: Pay no Regard I beg of you to what my Brother says. These Men, tho' thirsting for Blood, yet struck with the filial Piety and fraternal Affection of the two young Men, sent them back without doing any Harm to either the one or the other.

7. The Matron *Ly*, understanding that her Son, sitting upon his Tribunal, had been so far transported with Passion, as to cause a Soldier to be beaten to Death, and that a Mutiny was spreading among the Troops for so violent an Action: She immediately left her inner Apartment, and repaired to the Place of Audience, where the Sentence had been pronounced and executed. The Mandarin instantly rising in Respect, she advanced and placed herself in his Seat, commanding him to throw himself upon his Knees, and reproaching him for his Cruelty in these Terms: What, my Son, said she, has the Emperor entrusted you with Authority Example 7.



only to abuse it, as you do? Then turning towards the Executioners of Justice, Let my Son be stript, and let his Shoulders be beaten; in right of a Mother I command this Punishment to be inflicted. The Subaltern Officers immediately threw themselves at her Feet, and begged for his Pardon. Thus the Authority of a Mother appeased the Mutiny of an Army, corrected the haughty and passionate Temper of her Son, and preserved in her Family the distinguished Post, which he was upon the point of forfeiting by his Imprudence.

Example 8. 8. The Mother of one *Wey pe yu* was not satisfied with barely threatening. For when her Son was grown up to a Man, if he committed any Fault, she applied the Rod with her own Hand to his Shoulders, which the obedient Son always exposed to her humbly, and without repining received the Chastisement. One Day, as she was whipping him, he wept, and roared out. Ha, my Son, says the Mother, do you begin to complain, and impatiently to suffer my Correction? No, my Mother, answered he, it is not on that Account I cry: But because, the last time you gave me the Chastisement I deserved, your Blows made me smart; but now I scarce feel them, and thereby see that your Strength is diminished, and that makes me cry out. This submissive Answer being made public, did a great deal of Honour to *Wey pe yu*.

REMARK.] *It is not the Hopes of succeeding to a great Estate, that renders the Chinese so submissive to their Parents, especially to their Mothers who can make no Testament. Besides, we have a good Proof that this filial Respect is rooted in the Heart: Because in China it subsists even after the Death of their Parents; but in Europe they are soon forgot.*

Example 9. 9. Under the Reign of the Song, One called *Kew bay kang*, whose Father had been a great Mandarin, in his Youth loved Pleasures and Diversion: He spent a great deal of his Time in taking the Air on Horseback, or in hunting with his Hawks and Falcons. His Mother frequently reproved him upon this Score. One Day losing all Patience, she threw at him the first Thing that came into her Hands, and thereby happened to wound him in the Foot: He immediately understood how displeasing his Conduct had been to his Mother, and altered his Course of Life, applying himself to Learning, which afterwards raised him to great Employments. After the Death of his Mother, he never either saw or touched the Scar of his wound but he was melted, and broke out into Sighs and Sobs, regretting so good a Mother, who had the Reformation of his Life, and the Amendment of his Manners, so much at Heart.

Example 10. 10. The Reply of *Sye chang*, who was but 8 Years of Age, was much applauded in a Company of learned Men. His Father led him by the Hand into an Assembly of the Literati, where himself assisted. The young Child had a grave, serious, modest Air, far beyond what is common at these Years. One Day in a Circle of learned Men where he was, one thought fit to say to his Father, Indeed your Son will be another *Yen wuey*. This *Yen wuey* was one of the Disciples of *Confucius*, and so much esteemed for his Virtue, that he was look'd upon to be a Disciple worthy of such a Master. *Sye chang* immediately replied; We do not now-a-days see another *Confucius*, and how can we hope to find another *Yen wuey*?

Example 11. 11. The famous *Yang syew* was of a very mean Extraction: He is represented in the Prints of the Books we are talking off, as being so poor, that having no Money to pay for Schooling, nor for either Pencils or Paper, by which he could learn to write, his Mother traced the Characters upon the Sand with a Rod, and thereby made him read and copy them.

Example 12. 12. *Fan Shun Gin* pass'd whole Nights in Studying, and became by his Application great Mandarin. His Widow, in order to animate her Children to Study, used to show them the Tester of the Bed, on which their Father lay before he became Doctor: Observe the Roof of this Bed said she, how it is all black with the Smoak of the Lamp; your Father even abridg'd himself of Sleep that he might study; and thereby raised himself to be Minister of State.

REMARK.] *It frequently happens that the Children or the Grand Children of the Mandarins, fall into the primitive Obscurity and Meanness of their Fathers, while others by an obstinate Application make great Fortunes.*

Example 13. 13. *Se ma yung*, so famous in Learning, applied so closely to his Studies, that when he was 7 Years of Age, he would forget either to eat or drink, and seem'd to be insensible of Cold and Heat. At fifteen Years of Age he was Master of most Books. That he might hinder himself from sleeping, he made use of a wooden Cylinder for a Pillow: Whenever he was overpower'd with Sleep, the Book dropt out of his Hand, and his Head repos'd upon the Pillow, which being hard and smooth was apt to slip, and thereby awak'd him with the least Motion it made.

Example 14. 14. Another named *Sun kin*, who was called the Doctor of the Shut Door, or *Pi ku*, because he rarely went out, that he might not be surpris'd by Sleep on his Studies, hung from the top of the Ceiling a Cord, to which he tied his Hair; and thus he resisted the Attacks of Sleep. Another, who was very poor, in the midst of Winter used to read by Moon-light. Another, called *Che yng*, wrapt some Glow-Worms up in a piece of very thin Gauze, and applying the Gauze to the Lines of his Book, he studied part of the Night.

REMARK.] *In short, it is not by spending a few Years in Books, that a poor Scholar can better his Fortune: His Application must be indefatigable. This is well enough express'd by the following Story.*

Example 15. 15. *Li pe*, who, under the Reign of the Han, became one of the first Doctors of the Court, addicted himself to his Studies from a Child: He came one Year to a general Examination of the Province, in which meeting with bad Success, he despair'd of ever obtaining the Degree of *Syew tsay*. He



He therefore resolv'd to give up Learning, and to turn his Views to another Object. While he ruminated on this, he met with an old Woman, who was rubbing an Iron Pestle to and fro upon a Whetstone. What do you pretend to do with that Pestle? said he to her. I want, answered she, to grind it down till it becomes so sharp as to be fit for embroidering. *Li pe* began then to reflect, and to conceive this Mystery: And instead of holding on his Way to his House, he returned to his ancient Place of Study; to which applying himself with new Ardour, he at last arrived to great Employments.

REMARK.] *The Author, from whom the above Examples of filial Piety and Application to Study are extracted, ends this Book by relating Passages of History upon the different Virtues proper to a Man of Honour. Some are as follow:*

16. Under the Reign of the Song, a Philosopher called *Fan chun shwen* said to his Disciples: Example 16.  
All my Science is comprehended in understanding and practising these two Words, *Uprightness*, *Sweetness*; and yet I see that a great deal still remains for me to learn and practise. There are few, added he, however dull they naturally are, who don't shew abundance of Wit whenever they blame others. In the same manner, the most understanding, when they would excuse their own Faults, betray a great deal of Ignorance. We must, in order to act well, reproach ourselves for our Faults with the same Dispositions of Heart we show when we reproach others, and to pardon the Failings of others in the same manner as we pardon our own. By constantly observing this Conduct, we shall arrive at a high Degree of Wisdom and Virtue.

17. In the Times of the Song, there was another Sage Mandarin whose Name was *Fan*, Example 17.  
but his Surname *Chung yen*. He had no Attachment to Riches: His Pleasure was to share them with the Poor, especially those of his own Kindred, which was very numerous. That he might render his Favours to them more lasting, he purchased large Estates, whose Revenues were to be for ever employed in the Subsistence of the Poor, but those of his own Family preferably to others. Besides, he would not allow his Steward to enquire whether the Relations were remotely or nearly allied to him. All we *Fan*, said he, who are in the Provinces of *Kyang nan* and *Kyang si*, are descended from the first *Fan* who settled in these Parts; we are all one Family. For an hundred Years past I am the only one who have made a Fortune, that is to say, our Fathers for an hundred Years past have heap'd up nothing but Virtues. The Fruits of the Virtues of so many particular Persons begin to discover themselves in one, and I have been rais'd to Employments. If I and my Children shall pretend to ingross my Riches, without sharing them with our poor Relations, with what Face after my Death can I appear before my Ancestors? And at present should I not blush to enter into the *Tse tang* of my Family? that is, the Hall or the Place where the Pictures of Ancestors are preserved.

18. Under the Dynasty of the Tang, who reign'd about the Commencement of the Christian Era, *Kung y* was famous in one Respect; he saw his Descendants even to the ninth Generation, composing as it were but one Family, all in perfect Harmony and Union. The Emperor *Kau tsong* wanted to see this Miracle, and as he was going to *Tay chang* honoured the House of *Kung y* with his Presence. He called for the good old Man, and asked him by what means he preserv'd Peace and Union among so many Children and Grand-Children. *Cung y* ordered Paper, Pencil and Ink to be brought him, and he wrote down above a hundred times the Letter *Giu*, which signifies, *Patience*. He then presented his Paper to the Emperor; thereby signifying that the Divisions of Families proceeded from the Uneasiness entertained, when one saw another better provided for, better cloath'd, treated, carels'd, attended, honoured, or more happy and easy than himself. But *Patience*, if you know how to inspire and to use it, prevents these Disorders, and establishes Peace and Harmony.

19. The same Thing was seen in the Family of *Li wen ching*, under the Song. This Family had more than 300 Persons, Sons, Grandsons, and Great-Grandsons, living at once in the same House, and eating at the same Table, and subsisting in common upon the Estate and Fortune of the Family. Those of it that were Mandarins, sent all the Superfluity of their Estates to be deposited in the common Stock, which supplied the Necessities of the whole Family. Example 19.

20. *Whang wen*, when he was old, was advanced to the highest Employments. Every time that he receiv'd his Salary he threw his Eyes to the Ground with a Sigh; then turning to his Domestic, This Money, said he, that I receive, is the Substance and Blood of poor People, and I regret that I am to live on it. Example 20.

21. *Chang chi pe*, after he was a great Mandarin, alter'd nothing, neither in his Table nor his Dress, nor the Furniture of his Palace; and kept his Domestic to a very modest Behaviour. You are mistaken, would his Friends say to him, if, by shunning Expences, you think to acquire the Reputation of an honest Minister; for your Frugality will pass for sordid Meanness. Believe me, my Friends, reply'd he, Fortune is inconstant; I am in Poss to-day; to-morrow I may be turn'd out of it. The Transition from Want to Plenty is easy; but if a Man in this Condition accustoms himself to Luxury and Merry-making; how shocking must it be for him to return to his primitive Obscurity! Our Life is but as it were one Day; let us do our best to make it uniform and regular. Example 21.

22. *Syu mwey* and *Yang yu* lived in great Friendship together, even before they were rais'd to Employments. *Syu* owed the Beginning of his Fortune to *Yang*, who lost his own Post: He was



was reduced a Degree lower, and appointed to go a great way off to a Mandarinate of an inferior Order, which was a wretched Post; it was found, that he was but ill look'd on at Court; so that he saw himself abandon'd by all his Friends, and every one dreaded to have any Conversation with him. *Syu mwey* never abated his Friendship for him. When *Tang* departed, no Body appear'd to bid him Farewel but *Syu mwey*, who attended him without the City to the first Resting-Place, which was about a League from the Walls; there they parted with great Demonstrations of Friendship. This faithful and intrepid Friendship, which, one would think, might have been *Syu mwey's* Ruin, came to the Ears of the Minister, who soon after gave him a considerable Promotion, without the other's knowing to what he owed his sudden Rise. When he thank'd the Minister, Sir, said he, I never had the Honour to appear in your Presence, and yet you load me with Favours. The Minister answer'd in a few Words: I have given you a Post, being perswaded that one who so well answers the Services and Friendship of *Tang*, will never fail to answer the Favours of his Prince.

Example 23. 23. *Ly wen pe*, by his Merit and Learning, rais'd himself to the first Dignities of the Court, to which he introduc'd his Mother. One Day returning from the Palace to his own House, he enter'd the Apartment of his Mother, in his Habit of Ceremony, to enquire about her Health; and finding her placed upon a Stool spinning, as she is represented in the Prints of the Book; Ha! what, Madam, said he, do you spin now that you are become Mistress of the Family of a Grandee in the Court? At these Words sending forth a deep Sigh, she said, Is the Empire then upon its Decline? I see that the Government is intrusted to Mandarins, that talk like young and unexperienc'd People, who would inspire a soft and an idle Life. Stay a Moment and hear me: While the Body labours, the Mind is employ'd and collected; and the Understanding being intent upon its Duty, the Heart is form'd to Virtue: But without Virtue, it gives itself up to the greatest Irregularities. Do we not see that the Inhabitants of a rich Country are never industrious; but those who live in a barren poor Country are active, dexterous, and laborious? Did you forget, when you talk'd to me in so inadvertent a Manner, that our ancient Empresses wrought with their own Hands upon Diadems and upon Sashes for the Use of the Princes and Emperors, and that it was the Custom to set the Wives of the Mandarins a Task to be wrought by their own Hands? I thought you would have been the first to put me in mind of these ancient Examples, and yet you say to me, Why do you work? Rather quietly enjoy the Pleasures of Life, since I am now a Grandee of the Court. My Son, this Language makes me tremble for our Family, and dread lest the Memory of your Father be extinguish'd in you. Think of this.

Example 24. 24. It is told, by way of Jest on Casters of Nativities, that *Hong shi*, who from a mean Extraction was rais'd to the Throne, caus'd his Empire to be carefully search'd for a Man born in the precise Moment, and under the very same Aspect of the Stars, with himself; both these Circumstances met in a poor Country-man, who was brought to Court. The Emperor surpriz'd to see him so very poor, understood that this honest Man subsisted by means of 15 Bee-hives he had. After all, said the Emperor, there is some Resemblance betwixt his Fate and mine: I am Emperor of the 15 Provinces, and have just as many Kings depending upon me as he has upon him; for every Bee-hive has its King, and that King furnishes this Man, his Emperor, with an annual Tribute, upon which he subsists. The Conclusion however is, That all Casters of Nativities are Impostors.

Example 24.  
Casting of  
Nativities  
banter'd.

REMARK.] *The moderate Literati, by such Raillery as the foregoing, turn the false Sects to Ridicule: The common Literati treat them with Contempt, and even with Abuse. Let us return to the Author from whom I have extract'd what relates to the Method of Study among the Chinese.*

### Extract of a Chapter upon the particular Examination of the young Students, who are Syew tlay, or Candidates for that Degree.

THE Governor of the City shall from time to time assemble the Literati in his Jurisdiction, in order to pass an Examination, in which he himself shall prescribe the Subjects of their Compositions. These Assemblies and Examinations answer two Ends: The first is the promoting of Learning by the Regard shewn to it; the second is, the conducting the Literati in that Point of Rectitude and Perfection, which ought to be the principal Fruit of their Studies. For in fine, by means of these repeated Examinations, they take a Pleasure in their Duty, especially when they perceive the Mandarins of the Place, whom they look upon as their Fathers, are pleas'd with their Compositions, at the same time honouring those with their Friendship who excel in Genius, and yet more in their good Manners.

As for the Literati only in Name, who for a fordid and frequently unjust Gain, spend whole Days in running over the Audiences, instead of Studying; such will have reason to be ashamed at the little Progress they have made, and this Shame will make them quit these unworthy Avocations.



cations. These are the Advantages of Monthly Examinations. But at present this antient Practice is almost lost among the Learned. It is of Consequence to revive it vigorously.

For this Effect, the Governor of the City must order the *Mandarins* of the Literati, to name a Day in every Month, when these Assemblies shall be held in the Hall of Lessons, or the *Min lun tang* (an Apartment in the Building of *Confucius*) where the Subjects of the Composition are to be prescribed, and the Examinants are to labour all that Day under the Eye of the *Mandarin*; if the College of the City is in possession of a Land Estate, a Collation to be bestowed upon the Literati on the Day of Examination, must be furnished out of the Revenues. At every Table there must be two Dishes of Meat and two of Pulse. Four are to eat at one Table. At the Collation in the Evening, they are to be allowed two little Pots of Wine for every Table. I reflect that the Students at one of these City Examinations, cannot be fewer than some dozens: Thus the Expence of an Assembly will mount to very near two *Taels*, and as in the 6th Month, by reason of the great Heat, and in the 12th, by reason of the great Cold, there is no Academy, all the Expences of a Year for these Entertainments, cannot be less than twenty *Taels*. This Sum is not so considerable, but that the Governor of a City may save it out of his Expences. It belongs to him to make public Intimation beforehand, of the Day of the Assembly and Examination, and to give Advice of it to the *Mandarin* of the Literati; and at the same time invite him to be present. All young Students, capable to compose a piece of Eloquence, are to be admitted to this Examination.

The Composition being ended, and the Pieces read and examined, the different Degrees of their Merit must be fixed: Those who are judged perfect are to be placed out of the common Rank; and to keep up the Emulation, the finest first-rate Pieces are to be pick'd out and engraved upon a Plate and printed, to the end that this commendable Exercise even but of one Day, may not remain without Advantages and Rewards.

Moreover, the *Mandarin* must not fail to bestow particular Praises upon such as join to a fine Genius, a polite and regular Life. If these are already rich, he is to give them some honourable Testimony under his own Hand. If they are poor, he shall join to his Praises a pecuniary Gratuity, whereby they may entertain themselves. This Conduct will cause those who are most negligent to reproach themselves, and be ashamed of their Backwardness. They will animate themselves, and by endeavouring to attain the Perfection of others, they may come to make a great Figure in Learning. I see no way more effectual than this, for promoting Literature; of which the Governors of the Cities will have the Glory; for thus they can plan out and smoothe a Way, to conduct, as it were by the Hand, the Students of their District.

#### REMARK upon the Preceding CHAPTER.

THESE Examinations are call'd particular, to distinguish them from the general ones, which a *Mandarin* of a City of the second or third Order, holds once a Year; and are succeeded by another, held by a *Mandarin* of the first Order, upon whom these Cities depend. This double annual Examination is held in one District, that the young Students may be chosen who are admitted to compose that Year before the *Mandarin* of Letters, who is sent expressly from Court, with power to confer the degree of *Syew tlay*, or Bachelor, upon a certain Number in every City according to the Extent of its District, or rather the Number of its Students.

The *Tau* of the City *Zhou* is Governor, or rather Intendant of two other Cities of the first Order; and all his Office, being to judge in important Affairs, when he is most at Leisure he also regularly holds these particular Examinations; and by this he piques himself in imitating the Wisdom of past Ages. Besides, these *Tau*, or Superintendents of three Cities, as populous as a large Province in France, commonly have no Opportunity of amassing Riches: And if they are not powerfully supported at Court, they have no Chance to better their Fortune but by a strict Virtue. This is a vast motive for a Chinese to make a Shew of Virtue and Public Spirit.

A Complaint is made in the former Chapter, and with good reason too, that the *Syew tlay* are only employed in attending Audiences and soliciting Causes at the Tribunals. This is all the way of living that most of them have, unless when they receive Favours from the *Mandarin*, to whose Person they have free Access by reason of their Degree. They afterwards drive a kind of Trade with these Favours among the meaner kind of People. Many of them do not value the Degree of Literati, any farther than it enables them to carry on this Commerce. *Mandarins*, either of very great Authority, or very great Integrity, are above these Solicitations, and refuse the Visits and Requests of the Graduates. The other *Mandarins*, either from Weakness or Fear, keep in with them, lest they should discover their secret Injustices to their Superior *Mandarins*. Thus both their Pens and Tongues are dreaded.

The present Emperor, well aware of the bad Consequences of this Irregularity, applied the most effectual Remedy to binder these Graduates from intermeddling in any Affair, or from appearing before the Tribunals but in very important Causes. 1st. They were obliged to have four Persons to appear to their Character and their Conduct. 2d. They could not present any Request even relating to their own Affairs, to the Governor of a Place, unless it was revised and approved of by the *Mandarin* of the Literati, who, if he conniv'd with them, was sure to lose his Employment.



*Translation of the Chapter Kyang hyo, wherein the Author gives a Model, of such a Discourse as may be made in the Hyo, or Hall of the Assembly of the Literati.*

Foundation  
of Govern-  
ment; and

**P**ERFECT Government is founded upon the wholesome Customs introduced in a State. To attain this end, we must endeavour to correct the Heart of Man. But by what means? By giving him a true notion of the Doctrines of the Sages. It is not to be imagined, that he is to go very far in search of this Knowledge, or that it is impossible, or even difficult, to acquire it. No out of the Way or extraordinary Paths are proposed, or such, as a Man has Difficulty to enter into, or to tread. All this Doctrine is reduced to the Duties of Prince and Subject; Father and Child; elder and younger Brother; Husband and Wife, and the reciprocal Tyes betwixt Friend and Friend. Let these Obligations be perfectly fulfilled there shall be neither Defect nor Excess. What more is required? But without Study, one cannot conceive the Reason by which these Maxims are regulated, and if the Rules are not understood, the Virtues can never be practised. Besides, what is understood by the Word *Reason*, is properly the Attribute of *Tyen* [or Heaven]; who as it were shares and communicates this Light to Man. In *Tyen* this is called *Reason*; in Man *Virtue* or *Talents*; and the Practice of it is what we call *Justice*.

The Lights of this Reason in a great many are obscured by their Wills, and the Corruption of their Hearts. *Reason* when once 'tis clouded by Self-love, immediately confounds the Virtue of a Man's Heart, which thenceforth loses its Purity: And the inward Virtue being thus tainted must infallibly affect the Practice of all Duties. Thus do we wander from Justice; and on that Account the *I King*, one of our canonical Books, says very well, "The Study of a wise Man is to grow in Wisdom, and to add Acquirements to Acquirements, he must pant for Instruction, and apply himself to examine whatever he learns: He loves to impart his Lights to another: But he keeps himself as it were within an Apartment from which he never stirs: His Science is not barren, and Piety regulates his Conduct."

the Necessity  
of Instructi-  
ons.

In effect, the want of Instruction, prevents our growth in Virtue: And if we are not pious we never can be perfect. There is therefore reason in what the Text says; That we must begin with learning, and go to the Bottom of our Lessons, and thence proceed, as from their Source, the Actions of a Life regulated by Piety. The Order necessary to be held is, first, to excel, and to be perfectly accurate in the Theory of Wisdom; then to enter into the Bottom of the Heart, and to take care that all the Virtues there are pure and unmixed: In fine, to regulate all our Behaviour, so as no Action nor any Function of our Senses may be out of order. But in short, it is impossible for a Man, tho' possessor of the Inclinations of the Sages, to attain to that state of Perfection and that Wisdom, I speak of, without a vast Application and Labour.

Moral Max-  
ims.

The same *I King* mentions. "Fidelity in the ordinary Virtues, Accuracy in our common Discourse; and a perfect Integrity free from Vanity and Corruption." What do we understand by ordinary Virtues: if they are not those which regard Sovereign and Subject; Parents and Children; elder and younger Brothers; Husbands and Wives; and lastly Friend and Friend? What common Discourse does our *I King* speak of, but what regards the same Relations? Set aside these Obligations and this Doctrine and there is an end of civil Life, the Practice of Virtue, and the Name of Science. As for the Words of the Text *Vanity* and *Corruption*, the true Sense is as follows: Would you have that Reason or *Tyen li*, which is imparted from *Tyen* [or Heaven] always to enlighten you with its purest Beams? Take Care that no Self-love obscures it. In the same manner to persevere in perfect Integrity, is the same thing as to have pure Virtue: But in order to have it such, it must be preserved from all Adulteration, with which our Wills, when mastered by our Passions, would insensibly dash it. This and no other is the true Sense of this passage of the Text.

Let us survey the Maxims and Doctrine of our great Men, such as *Yau*, *Shun*, *Yu*, *Tang*, *Ven vang*, *Cheu kong*, *Kong tse*, [or *Confucius*], and we shall see that they are all of my opinion in this Point.

The Emp.  
Yau's Charge  
to his Son.

*Yau*, devolving the Empire upon *Shun*, *Above all things*, said he, *keep in the just Mean*: This just Mean consists in running into no Excess of any kind. *Shun*, when he left the Government to *Yu*, gave him this excellent Lesson: The ground of Man's Heart is subject to a thousand Dangers and Errors. The center of Truth is a point almost imperceptible; apply in good earnest to the Practice of this Maxim; *preserve a just Mean in all things*. By the Heart of Man is understood his Inclination and Affection for sensible Objects; and by the center of Truth, the Integrity of Mind. The attention that *Shun* requires is a rigorous Examination of the most secret Thoughts. When we make ourselves Masters of this Point, we attain to Integrity; and when once we possess that, we never allow it to be affected with any interested Views, which regard the sensible Objects that awake the Passions.



On this Account the Text says, "the Center of Reason, which ought to guide us by its Rays, is delicate and subtle." If a Man has once learned to surmount the Dangers of his Heart and Self-love, he is then in a condition to keep a just Mean in his Actions; without leaning either to the one Hand or the other: And thus he will be Faultless and Perfect: *Shun* in reporting this great Lesson which he had received from *Tau*; *Keep a Mean*; teaches likewise how this high point of Perfection may be attained.

*The just Mean, a Point of Perfection.*

REMARK.] *The Author then explains the Maxims of other great Men: He shows especially that in the main they are all the same, and reduceable to what he had advanced in the beginning of his Discourse, which is too long to give entire: What is already Translated, may afford the Reader an Idea of the Relation betwixt the Philosophy of the Chinese, and that of the Greeks and Romans. That we may more clearly comprehend this, it were to be wish'd that we could do Justice in our Language to the Beauties of the Chinese Style, which is lively, concise, and sublime in all its Compositions. All we have Translated here is contained in 23 Lines, each Line consisting only of 22 Characters, which, taken severally, presents to a Chinese Eye, a Metaphor very animated, but too bold for our Expression.*

*Surprising Conciseness of the Chinese Language.*

### A Translation of a Chapter containing a Plan and Regulations for an Academy, or a Society of learned Men.

WHAT is proposed in the Design of an Academy is to instruct Men in the Knowledge of their own Nature, and thus to become the followers of our antient Sages. To attain to this, a Man must apply entirely, methodically, and constantly, to come to a settled and a thorough Knowledge of things, and not take up with empty Appearances, or be satisfied with the Reputation and the Honours of a learned Man. I have thoroughly examin'd antient Regulations of Academies of this kind; and observe there are three that have been eminent; to which, we may add one of a modern Date. I shall here collect all the Regulations that appear to me of greatest Consequence. This Labour of mine will save the trouble of turning over a great many Books, through which these Regulations are dispersed. The *Mandarins*, my Colleagues, profiting by my Collection, may have the Glory of establishing in their several Districts these admirable Regulations, and of engaging wise and knowing Persons in so excellent a Project. These Academies may one Day furnish Persons of the greatest Merit, and notwithstanding my own Insufficiency, I flatter myself that I have not a little contributed to this already; and I reflect with Pleasure, that the Professors, educated in these Societies, may insensibly introduce a Reformation of Manners into all degrees of Men. How ravishing is this Thought to me! And it is with the most profound Veneration that I here communicate these different Regulations, I have extracted from the Writings of our wise Masters; every one may pick out of the Collection which I here give, what he judges most agreeable to the Plan I propose. I shall reduce these Regulations to the Number of twelve.

*The End.*

*and Plan of an Academy, with the*

1. The Qualifications necessary to an Admission unto this Academy, are an Esteem and Zeal for the true Doctrine\*. In order to attain to Knowledge and Virtue, a Man must have a high Idea of the Doctrine of our Sages, and apply all his Studies to tread in their Footsteps, their Works tending all to influence a right Practice. The Virtue of the Academics ought to ennoble the Place where they meet. Thus the Heads of the Academy must admit none into their Body, but such as have a Zeal and Ardor to be accomplished Literati, and to become the faithful Transcripts of the Masters who have gone before, and shining Examples to the Students who shall follow after them. Whoever shall be convicted of speaking favourably of the Sects of *Fo* or *Lau*, or shall be so rash as to advance that their Doctrine is at the Bottom, the same with the *Zhu kyau* or the Literary Sect; tho' such may make a public Profession of the Doctrine of the Empire, they are always to be looked upon as secret Abettors of these Heresies, and consequently as infected Members, which are to be excluded from this Body.

*1st Rule and Qualifications of the Members.*

REMARK.] *The two Sects of Fo and Lau, advance that all things have begun by and are resolved into Nothing, or a Vacuum. The Idolatry they likewise practise towards Fo and Lau, leads the Person, who searches to the Bottom of their Mysteries, to Atheism. Those in China who assert, that the Literary Sect, and those of Fo and Lau are the same, San kyau y kyau, make an Idol of Confucius, whom they rank with those of Fo and Lau; but these Persons are very rare and in great Detestation with the Literati; whenever the Mandarin has notice of any such, he is sure to punish them.*

*The Principles of the Sects Fo and Lau.*

2. The second Qualification required in the Members, is a fair Character, and a sincere Application to all their Duties. The Men of Learning, who in their private Life are perfectly obedient to their Parents, respectful to their elder Brothers, reserved in their Speech, sincere in their Manners, uniform and regular in their Conduct, scrupulously attached to the ancient Doctrine, and in short, generally praised by their Relations, Friends and Neighbours, are worthy Candidates for Admission into this Body.

*Second Qualification.*

\* In Opposition to the Heresies *I rovan*; especially the idolatrous Sects of the *Bonzei*, and the *Tau sui*, which for a long Time have over-run China.



Titled Qualification of the Candidates.

3. These Literati must be retired and disinterested: All bustling, intriguing and tumultuous Spirits, such as disregard the Character of a Man of Honour, such as are always running before the Tribunals, dipping themselves in a hundred things which are frequently unjust; employing or suggesting a thousand Falshoods, without knowing how to speak a word of Truth; great Speakers, Blabs, and those whose conduct so much hurt the Literary Sect, such as want to enter into the Academy only to gain themselves a Name, and being puffed up with a vain Eloquence, think to domineer over every body else: All these sort of People shall be excluded from taking Places in the Academy.

The Examination they are to undergo.

4. Those, who are admitted, ought to undergo a strict Examination. When one is a Candidate for that Society, he must be presented by one of the Seniors, who shall make him known to the Syndic; and this last is to mention him to the President of the Academy, who shall make the necessary Enquiries about the Truth of the Informations given by the Introducer: If he finds them well supported and favourable, he shall consent to his Inrollment. The new Member is then to give in his Name and Surname to the President, who is to appoint the Day of his coming to take Place in the Assembly.

How rotten Members are to be cut off.

5. It may happen that the Virtue of some may be but short-liv'd, and that they may dishonour themselves by failing in the most essential Duties, and by their Behaviour taint the Body of which they are Members: Whoever then in the Assemblies shall set the Statutes at nought; whoever, without Doors are Vain, Proud, Dissolute, Railers, Cheats, in one word, all who make the false Maxims of the Age the Rules of their Conduct: The Members of the Academy are to hold a Council upon such Brethren, to expunge their Names, and for ever to exclude them from their Body. Besides, such of the Academy as were their Introducers and their Sureties must be examined; that the Members may by these means see what Weight their Testimonies ought to have in time to come.

Of the Building for the Academy.

6. The Mandarin is to chuse a large spot of Ground of a wholesome and agreeable Situation, on which the House of the Academy is to stand. Then the Materials for the Building are to be got together, and according to the Funds they have, the Plan of the Building to be more or less magnificent. The Picture of Confucius shall be placed in the *Cheong Tang*, or Middle Hall, which is next to that of the Assemblies: After which shall follow a Court, and the *Hew tang*, or third Hall, which shall serve as a refreshing Place, and the common Eating-Room of the Members. As to the Expences of their Entertainment, it shall either be generously defray'd by the Rich and the distinguished Members, or every one shall defray them in his turn; or rather they shall all join together to raise a small stock of Money, wherewith they may purchase some Lands adjoining to the Academy: By this means, nothing will be wanting to the Establishment, and it may subsist for a long time.

Of its Government.

7. As to the Government of the Academy, what occurs to me as most proper to give it a Lustre is this: When all the Members of the Assembly are met together for the first time, the Mandarin of the City shall repair in Person, and in State, to the Place appointed for their Meeting, with a Billet of Visit, and his Presents of Silks. When he is upon the Threshold, he must invite the Members to enter in a very civil manner; then the Person most distinguished by his Merit shall be elected, and established *Whey tsun*, that is, President or Head of this Learned Society: The *Whey chang*, or Syndic, who ought to be an elderly and a polite Man, shall be next in Authority to the President. This last shall have under him, as Assessors in his Employment, two Persons equally active and able, but not so old as the Syndic: These shall be called *Whey ching*. The Syndic shall likewise have two Assistants who must be healthy middle aged Men; and above all things their Capacities must be proportioned to their Employments: Their Title shall be *Whey tsan*; and their Office, to receive with Civility, such Strangers as shall come to the Academy. The Assessors of the President and the Syndic ought to act in Concert, as to what relates to the Affairs of the Society: Lastly, two young, intelligent, active, wise, and industrious Persons shall be chosen: Their Title shall be \* *Whey tang*; and their Office, to carry Messages and Orders, and to execute abroad the several Commissions of the Assembly.

Days of Assembly.

8. Two Assemblies must be held every Month, and the Day of Meeting appointed beforehand. The Members are all to meet at the ordinary Place, where they are to hear a Discourse delivered. This Exercise is to begin about ten o'Clock in the Forenoon, and to last till four in the Afternoon, when they shall break up.

Ranks of the Members determined by Seniority.

9. The Members who assist at the Assemblies, are to take their Places in the Hall according to their Seniority. But the first Seats must be assigned to the Strangers, who honour the Academy with their Presence. As to the Members themselves, their Seniority must determine their Ranks, and no Regard is to be paid either to their Nobility, Riches, or their other Prerogatives as Members. A considerable Advantage will accrue from this Regulation, which is, that it will prevent any from being presented as Candidates, who are haughty, proud, intoxicated with their own Merit, full of themselves, and consequently, far from being willing to apply themselves earnestly and with a docile Heart to the Search of Truth.

10. The Subject to be treated of in the following, must be settled in every preceding Assembly. The President is to propose three several Subjects upon which they are to compose. The first, is to concern the Classic Books: The second, upon the Nature and Heart of Man and upon History: The last Subject shall be upon Ceremonies, Eloquence, and good Government. These Subjects being fixed by the President, he shall confer with the Syndic and other Officers, in order to establish the Fundamental Point of Doctrine upon every Subject. Five Days immediately before

\* Almost the same with our Bachelors of our Colleges.



before the Day of general Meeting of the Assembly, he shall communicate the Result of their Conferences to all their Members. This Precaution will put them in a condition to go to the bottom of the Subject, and to handle it knowingly and distinctly: When they arrive at the Hall they shall confer together, and propose their Difficulties to one another; and this is the Way to advance and profit in Science.

11. Great openness of Heart must be used in carefully remarking, and faithfully communicating their different Views. Wisdom must be sought for only in the Heart of Man, it is there she resides, discovering and proving herself by her Actions. It would be right for the Members candidly to communicate to each other, what they have been employed in during every Day betwixt one Assembly and another, and even their Vices, and most secret Sentiments. For this end, they must set every thing down on Paper; and these Memorandums may be called the Journal of what they have learned or done during such and such Days. As to their Actions, they are faithfully to write down the Bad, or *Whey qua*, in their Journal, as well as the Good, or *Whe sheu*. Afterwards, on the Day of Assembly, when the exercise is over, every one is to pull out his Memoirs and impart them to another, that by this means they may furnish matter for an useful Dissertation. This Examination being continued for some time, their Abilities and Inclinations for good, will encrease, and the Defects both of the Head and Heart will dwindle to almost nothing. This is a Point of the utmost consequence to you, the other Literati, both with respect to your Perfection in the Sciences, or your Acquisition of Virtue, which demands all our Cares and Application. But if ye use any Sophistry to exaggerate the Good, or even to conceal the Bad of your Lives, what will these Exercises avail you? One can only learn from such a Practice to become an habitual Rogue. Such People will never improve, and we may conclude from their proceeding, that they will for ever remain in their Ignorance and Imperfections.

12. The different rules for the Morals of the Members are as follows. 1. As to what relates to those who are of a lower Class, either by their Station or by their Merit; they ought, because of their Meanness, to apply themselves in rooting up all the Pride of their Heart. 2. That they esteem the true (\*) Apathy: And that thus they endeavour to disengage and cleanse their Heart from all bad Affections. 3. It is perseverance in Virtue that gives it its true Merit. Let us then banish from our Hearts all Indolence. 4. Free-will is peculiar to Man; consequently, let us banish all Transports, all Impetuosity, and over Eagerness. 5. Peace and Tranquillity of Mind is a great Jewel; let us not then suffer our Minds to waver and to rove. 6. Uprightness is the Soul of Conversation, and Commerce: That we may attain to this, we must be upon our Guard against Trick and Artifice. 7. The Soul must be elevated and consequently impartial. 8. The desires of the Heart must be moderated; then let us combat our Concupiscence. 9. Our Expences ought to be regulated, therefore we should use no Ostentation. 10. As a peaceable Temper is the Beauty of our natural Dispositions: The opposite Vice, which we ought to cut off, is Anger. 11. Man is chiefly made for Society: He therefore ought totally to exclude all Envy. 12. It is the Property of Science always to endeavour after Improvement; therefore let us look upon a Heart, which is easily bounded and limited, as an Evil.

These are the twelve moral Rules which include Perfection. I add, that when the Subjects, of which they are to treat in the Assembly, are proposed five Days before; they ought to be exhibited upon a varnished Tablet, hung up in the Hall of Conferences. In the mean time, Advice must be given to the Literati, and to the Graduates without Doors, even tho' they are at some Distance: In order that being instructed in the Subjects, they may prepare themselves, if they design to assist at the Assembly; and thereby be ripper to judge of what is said, and readier to propose their own Opinions upon the Subjects in question.

## Of the Chinese Literature.

AS Letters are more esteemed all over the Empire than Arms, and as the first Dignities in the Body Politic are only bestowed upon learned Persons; Science has been always cultivated in China, but we dare not affirm, with Success; at least, if we may judge by their Books, and the Qualifications of their learned Men; which may proceed from the small regard had to reward such as excel in abstracted Sciences, and perhaps from the length of Time requir'd, to attain to a competent Knowledge of the Language, whose Figures and Characters are almost infinite; they being as different, as the Terms and Names of the Things to be express'd.

Their Sciences may be reduced to six principal ones, namely, the Knowledge of their Language which we have already taken notice of; Moral and natural Philosophy; the Mathematics; especially Astronomy; Medicine; History; and Poetry.

The profound and almost uninterrupted Peace which they have enjoyed, and the little commerce which they have with other Nations, from whom they are precluded by express Prohibitions from going out of the Empire, and from admitting any Stranger into it, have attached them so much to these Studies and Arts, that contribute to the Conveniencies of Life.

\* The Apathy of the *Bowzar*, which extends to every Thing, is condemn'd.



The Sciences  
most valued  
in China.

The Sciences most sought after among the *Chinese*, are, the perfect Knowledge of their Language, Laws, History, and moral Philosophy, because these are the means of attaining to the highest Posts: None can be received as a Doctor without understanding the Language; and being able to form their Characters perfectly well, and to compose an elegant Discourse upon the principal Maxims of their Morality and Government, which are always extracted from the Books they call Canonical.

The Mathe-  
matics their  
most ancient  
Study.

These Books have given occasion to an infinite Number of Commentaries, which employ them for many Years, in order to improve them in the knowledge of Politics and Morality: This last is indeed the Science most proper for Man, as it directly regards his Conduct, and the means of rendering him perfect, according to his State and Condition in Life.

It appears that, since the foundation of their Empire, the *Chinese* have applied to the Study of Mathematics, and particularly of Astronomy; and that skilful Persons have at all times been maintained by their Emperors, for making Observations and calculating Eclipses, and have always been punished and rewarded according to their different Success. In after times, Superstition increased their Application to this Study; most of them being persuaded that Events depended upon the Aspect of the heavenly Bodies, and that there are happy and unhappy Times, and that it is of Importance to every one to observe the Variation and the Difference of these Times, to determine the Junctures proper for undertaking Voyages, Treaties, Negotiations and Marriages, for waiting upon Governors and Emperors, in order to obtain Favours; and for many other Things. Every Year a Calendar is published at the Emperor's Expence, in which, the subaltern Officers of the Tribunal of the Mathematics, that they may raise its Price, never fail to insert the lucky and unlucky Days distinguished according to the Principles of their judicial Astrology.

The State of  
Medicine among them

Necessity having introduced Medicine into *China* as into other Nations, they have a great Number of Treatises upon that Subject; but what they are most remarkable for, is, their Knowledge of the Pulse, by which they can distinguish Diseases and their proper Cures.

of History.

As to what concerns their History and Poetry, the one serving only for Curiosity, and the other for Diversion; few Persons apply themselves to either of these, because it is not by them that a Man can rise, and make his fortune. However, their History and their Annals are almost as ancient as the Times immediately succeeding the Deluge, and they have been continued to the present Time, by different, but mostly contemporary, Authors.

and Poetry.

With respect to their Poetry, besides their ancient Books, some of which are in Verse, the Poems of *Kiu i wen* are extremely delicate and sweet. Under the Dynasty of the *Tang*, *Li t'au pe* and *Tu te mwey*, did not yield to *Anacreon* and *Horace*: In short, in *China*, as formerly in *Europe*, the Philosophers are Poets, and among all their celebrated Writers, *T'feng nan fong* is the only one who has not written in Verse; for which reason he is compared to the Flower *Hay tang*, which would be perfect, were it not insipid.

The Chinese  
Love for  
Learning.

As the *Chinese* have a Spirit and Turn for the Sciences, and as moral Philosophy is that by which a Man can most readily raise himself, they apply more to it than to any other. There are a great Number of Licentiates and Bachelors all over the Empire, sometimes upwards of 10,000 in one Province. And the Number of Candidates for Degrees at a moderate Computation, amounts to two Millions: In the Southern Provinces there is scarce a *Chinese* but can read and write.

Characters of  
their Authors.

Besides this, they have a good many Books that treat of natural Philosophy, where there are very refin'd Reasonings upon the Nature, Properties and Effects of different Things. The Errors which are found in these Works, proceed rather from the small Commerce they have with other Nations, than from any Defect of Penetration in the Authors. This want of Commerce has rendered them very ignorant in Cosmography, for they scarce know of any Country besides their own. Thence proceeded the extravagant Notions that obtained amongst them, before the *Europeans* had instructed them in the State of the World. It is true that, in their Maps, they exhibited the fifteen Provinces in their due Extent. But as for other Kingdoms, they place them at random round their Empire in very small Spaces without distinguishing them either by Longitude or by Latitude.

Their Au-  
thors nume-  
rous.

In short, if we except the *Europeans*, I don't believe there is any People that have published so many Books, as the *Chinese*, upon all sorts of Subjects, upon Agriculture and Botany, upon the liberal, military and mechanical Arts, particular Histories, Philosophy and Astronomy, &c. They have likewise Romances, Comedies, Tragedies, Books of Knight-errantry, eloquent Discourses, and a great many other Treatises upon miscellaneous Subjects. Their learned Men having a great deal of Facility and Inclination for composing Books; we see vast Numbers published by them. The Bonzas have likewise their Treatises upon the Worship of their false Divinities, which they take care to spread as they see occasion, in order to abuse the Credulity of the People, and to increase their own Revenues.

The five  
Books sacred

But nothing is more respected by the *Chinese* than the five Books which they call *U king*, or so much revered by them both for their Antiquity, and the Excellence of the Doctrine which, they say, they contain: These are to them, their sacred Writings, for which they entertain the most profound Veneration. The other Books, which are of the greatest Authority in the Empire, are only Interpretations.

Esteem they  
have for *Con-  
fucius*.

Amongst the Authors who have wrote best upon these ancient Originals, *Confucius* is the most Celebrated: And the *Chinese* accordingly regard him as the first of their Sages; as their Doctor; as their Legislature; as their Oracle; and as the Teacher of Emperors and Kings. They give



give a constant Application to the Principles and Maxims that this Philosopher has delivered, The Damage it sustains: and are collected into four Books upon Ancient Laws, which they look upon as the Rules and Source of perfect Government.

As we must give a slight Idea of these Books, I shall begin with the five Ancient Books, which the *Chinese* by way of excellence call the five Volumes. I shall afterwards give an Abridgement of the Work of *Confucius* and his Disciple *Mencius*. How repaired? The present State of their Canonical Books,

## Of the Books King, or the Chinese Canonical Books of the first Order.

THE Letter King signifies a Doctrine, sublime solid, and invariable, because founded upon immovable Principles. The Books containing this Doctrine are of a superior Order, and have been admired by the *Chinese* of all Ages, Sects, and Opinions. As these Books are of the first Class, and of the greatest Authority; they are the Source of all Science and Morality among the *Chinese*. The Canonical Books of the first Order.

But these precious Monuments of their Antiquities were almost all destroyed at one Blow, by order of an Emperor named *Tsin shi wong*; about 200 Years after the Death of *Confucius*, and 200 before the Birth of Christ. This Prince, much celebrated by his Valour, and more by the vast Wall which he built in order to guard his Dominions from the Irruption of the *Tartars*, formed a Resolution of extinguishing Science, and of permitting no Books in his Empire, except what he judged absolutely necessary, such as those upon Agriculture, Medicine, &c. He ordered all the rest to be burnt on pain of Death, and carried his Cruelty so far, as to punish several Doctors capitally. almost all destroy'd.

Some pretend, that this Prince, notwithstanding this Order, was no Enemy to the Sciences, or even to the Books he ordered to be destroyed. They found their Opinion upon his having for his Preceptor *Lyu pu wey*, of whom they have an excellent Work remaining, who loved Antiquity too well to inspire his Pupil with a Contempt of it. And besides that, *Ly sie* his Minister of State, an understanding and polite Person, would have been far from giving him any Advice that tended to ruin the Government, and to introduce Ignorance and Barbarity into the Empire.

They think that this Prince was induced to issue out this barbarous Decree, from the political View of securing to himself the peaceful Possession of his Throne. The Students of these Days impatient under a Prince, who had a design to render himself arbitrary, abused the Facts, delivered in the *Shu king*, and were always crying up a *Ching tang* who expell'd the infamous *Kye*, and a *Vu wang* who dethron'd the Tyrant *Chew*. Thus they blew up the Fire of a Revolt on all Sides. The new Monarch resolving to chastise their Insolence, and judging that nothing was more valuable in an Empire than Peace, deprived these Literati of Books, which in such Hands as theirs, create only Disturbance in a State. The *I king* as it was less intelligible was judged more harmless, and therefore escaped the common Fate. upon what Pretences. The I king excepted.

Science had then been absolutely extinct in *China*, had not many Literati, at the hazard of their own Lives, preserved these dear Monuments from the general Conflagration. Some digged Holes, in the Walls of their Houses where they buried them, until the Storm should blow over. Others concealed them in the Tombs, thinking them more safe there. Zeal of the Chinese Literati for the Preservation of Literature,

Immediately after the Death of this Prince, Literature revived among the *Chinese*, who sought to repair the great Loss it had sustained. The Books hid in Tombs and in the holes of Walls were brought to Light, tho' much damaged by the Damps and Worms. But the old Literati having Learned them by Heart in their Youth they found means of supplying what was difficult in one Copy by what was legible in another; and applied with the greatest Care to restore them to their genuine State. preserves it in China.

The Success in some measure was answerable; but they could never entirely make up all the Gaps. Thus there were always some Deficiencies which they endeavoured to supply, by inserting Pieces foreign to the Subjects of the Originals. The Literati are agreed as to some of these Chasms, but divided as to others; their Criticism consisting, in thoroughly examining the Doctrine of the Antients, and comparing it with what they believed to be Interpolations.

## The I king; the first Canonical Book of the first Order.

THE Work here treated of is purely Symbolical, being a series of Images of this visible World, expressive of the Properties of Creatures, and the Matter of which all Beings are formed. *Fo bi*, who was the Inventor of this, is looked upon as the Founder of their Monarchy, but the time in which he began to reign is very unsettled among the *Chinese*. He formed to himself a particular Method of Hieroglyphicks, which have no relation to Words, but The I king a Symbolical Work. By whom invented.



but are immediate Images of Things and Thoughts, or at least Symbols arbitrary, and of Human Institution, substituted for these Images; and this was the beginning and original Institution of the *Chinese* Characters. In short, his Design was to point out by sensible Signs, the Principles of all Beings, in the same Manner as the Lines and Notes of Music do the Tone and alteration of the Voice.

This Work is a mere Riddle, it consisting only of some Lines; that according to the variety of their Situations and Dispositions, form Figures which, by their different Combinations, signifies different Things. *Fo hi* seems to have intended to teach his Descendents whatever relates to Heaven, to Earth, and to Man. From a Consideration of the Affinity and admirable Connection among these three Beings, he has described them by eight Figures, each composed of three Lines, part intire, and part broken, but in all, producing eight different Combinations. This Number multiplied by it self produces 64 different Figures, which are disposed into different Methods, in order to express in a rude Manner, by these different Combinations, the Nature and Properties of every Being, their Motion, their Rest, their reciprocal Opposition, and even the Order and Union which reigns among them. This will be better comprehended by the Delineation which I here give of this symbolical System.

### The Two FIRST PRINCIPLES.

*The Perfect.*  
or,  
YANG.

*The Imperfect.*  
or,  
YN.

### Four IMAGES arising from these TWO PRINCIPLES.

*More Perfect.*  
or,  
TAY YANG.

*Less Imperfect.*  
or,  
SHAU IN.

*Less Perfect.*  
or,  
SHAU YANG.

*More Imperfect.*  
or,  
TAY IN.

### Eight FIGURES resulting from these Four IMAGES.

| Heaven. | Waters of the  | Fire. | Thunder. | Winds. | Waters. | Mountains. | Earth. |
|---------|----------------|-------|----------|--------|---------|------------|--------|
| or,     | Mountains. or, | or,   | or,      | or,    | or,     | or,        | or,    |
| KYEN.   | TWY.           | LY.   | SHIN.    | SWEN.  | KAN.    | KEN.       | QUEN.  |
| _____   | _____          | _____ | _____    | _____  | _____   | _____      | _____  |
| _____   | _____          | _____ | _____    | _____  | _____   | _____      | _____  |
| _____   | _____          | _____ | _____    | _____  | _____   | _____      | _____  |

These eight Figures, of which four belong to the *Perfect*, and four to the *Imperfect*, are disposed thus in Form of a Circle; so as to have a mutual Relation among themselves, and likewise to the four Cardinal Points of the Compass.





*The Table of the Sixty four Figures : Or, The Book of Transmutations, entitled, I king.*

|                           |                  |                  |                  |                  |                  |                  |                 |
|---------------------------|------------------|------------------|------------------|------------------|------------------|------------------|-----------------|
| 1.<br>Heaven.             | 2.<br>Earth.     | 3.<br>Water.     | 4.<br>mountains  | 5.<br>Water.     | 6.<br>Heaven.    | 7.<br>Earth.     | 8.<br>Water.    |
| Heaven.                   | Earth.           | Thunder.         | Water.           | Heaven.          | Water.           | Water.           | Earth.          |
| 9.<br>Winds.              | 10.<br>Heaven.   | 11.<br>Earth.    | 12.<br>Heaven.   | 13.<br>Heaven.   | 14.<br>Fire.     | 15.<br>Earth.    | 16.<br>Thunders |
| Heaven.                   | Wat.of m.        | Heaven.          | Earth.           | Fire.            | Heaven.          | mountains        | Earth.          |
| 17.<br>Water of mountains | 18.<br>mountains | 19.<br>Earth.    | 20.<br>Winds.    | 21.<br>Fire.     | 22.<br>mountains | 23.<br>mountains | 24.<br>Earth.   |
| Thunder.                  | Winds.           | Wat.of m.        | Earth.           | Thunder.         | Fire.            | Earth.           | Thunders        |
| 25.<br>Heaven.            | 26.<br>mountains | 27.<br>mountains | 28.<br>Wat.of m. | 29.<br>Water.    | 30.<br>Fire.     | 31.<br>Wat.of m. | 32.<br>Thunders |
| Thunder.                  | Heaven.          | Thunder.         | Winds.           | Water.           | Fire.            | mountains        | Winds.          |
| 33.<br>Heaven.            | 34.<br>Thunder.  | 35.<br>Fire.     | 36.<br>Earth.    | 37.<br>Winds.    | 38.<br>Fire.     | 39.<br>Water.    | 40.<br>Thunders |
| mountains                 | Heaven.          | Earth.           | Fire.            | Fire.            | Wat.of m.        | mountains        | Water.          |
| 41.<br>mountains          | 42.<br>Winds.    | 43.<br>Wat.of m. | 44.<br>Heaven.   | 45.<br>Wat.of m. | 46.<br>Earth.    | 47.<br>Wat.of m. | 48.<br>Water.   |
| Wat.of m.                 | Thunder          | Heaven.          | Winds.           | Earth.           | Winds.           | Water.           | Winds.          |
| 49.<br>Wat.of m.          | 50.<br>Fire.     | 51.<br>Thunder.  | 52.<br>mountains | 53.<br>Winds.    | 54.<br>Thunders  | 55.<br>Thunders  | 56.<br>Fire.    |
| Fire.                     | Winds.           | Thunders         | mountains        | mountains        | Wat.of m.        | Fire.            | mountains       |
| 57.<br>Winds.             | 58.<br>Wat.of m. | 59.<br>Winds.    | 60.<br>Water.    | 61.<br>Winds.    | 62.<br>Thunder.  | 63.<br>Water.    | 64.<br>Fire.    |
| Winds.                    | Wat.of m.        | Water.           | Wat.of m.        | Wat.of m.        | mountains        | Fire.            | Water.          |



Unriddled by  
Confucius.

In what  
Manner.

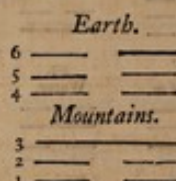
His Method  
of Interpre-  
tation.

The Expla-  
nation of the  
15th of the  
64 Figures  
of Fo-hi.

Fo-hi the Au-  
thor of the  
Figures.

Such is the Table of Figures invented by *Fo-hi*. It is a Labyrinth which exercised the ablest Men in *China* till the times of *Confucius*, who decyphered it. The 64 Figures are composed each of six Lines; the Sum of these Lines answers to the Days of the *Chinese* intercalary Year, which are 384. The Emperor *Ven wang*, who attempted this Riddle, lived not till 1800 Years after *Fo-hi*; by the different Changes, which he wrought among these Lines, he pretended to give an Account of the reciprocal Transmutations of the eight first Principles. His Son *Che-w kong* went upon the same Design, and extended his Scheme much beyond his Father's. He considered these Lines with respect to the Connection and Relation which the first have with the Middle ones and the last. And, according as they were more or less perfect, he drew Consequences, and found out Allusions; but they give no greater Light into the Subject. Thus, both the one and the other only more perplexed this *Ænigma* by new *Ænigmas* equally obscure. *Confucius* appeared four hundred Years after, and unriddled not only the mysterious Lines of *Fo-hi*, but the equally dark Interpretations of these two Princes; he referred all their Doctrine, partly to the Nature of Beings, especially of the Elements, and their Properties; and partly to Morals, and to the Manner of right Governing Mankind; he therefore applied these Figures not only to Natural but to Moral Philosophy; being persuaded, that these symbolical Lines contained Mysteries of great Importance to the Government of States. As soon as the Heaven and the Earth were produced, said *Confucius*, all other material Beings existed; after other Beings existed, Male and Female were produced; when Male and Female came into the World, Man and Wife followed; then Father and Son. The Relation of Father and Son produced that of Prince and Subject; and these, "Subordination and reciprocal Duties. Heaven is the Emblem of the Person and Virtues of a King: And the Earth is the Symbol and Image of Subjects." It may suffice to give here an Explication of one of the sixty four Figures, to shew in what manner the *Chinese* Interpreters have extracted the Principles of Morality from them.

The more elevated, say they, one is above others, the more he ought to be upon his Guard against Haughtiness, Arrogance and Pride; and the more he ought to study Moderation and Modesty. This is taught us in the fifteenth Figure, which is as follows:



It contains two Figures, the lower is composed of one uninterrupted Line, and two interrupted Lines, which denote and signify the Mountains. A Mountain is a Symbol of Elevation, but its Root is in the Earth, that is to say, Humility. In the same manner the Earth designed by the three upper Lines which are broken, is the Image and Symbol of a high Virtue joined with Humility, which includes within it immense Riches, and only manifests its Power, by admirable Fruits and Effects, both salutary and useful to the Welfare of Mankind.

Thus we see, *Fo-hi* was Author of the Figures; *Ven wang*, and his Son *Che-w kong*, were Authors of the Texts; and *Confucius*, of the Commentaries upon them: These Commentaries are called *Twen* and *Syang*, and are the only ones which Critics and able Interpreters attribute to *Confucius*. The Disciples of that Philosopher affirm, that when their Master had finished these Commentaries, he was but indifferently satisfied with them: And that when he came to be old, he wished to live some Years longer, that he might put the last Hand to, and new model his Work.

Tho' this Monument be the most ancient of all the Canonical Books, if we consider only its Source and Original, I mean the Figures of *Fo-hi*, yet the Explications of it were made a long time after, and the Interpreters rather deserv'd the Name of Authors, than of Interpreters; for this Book is full of Obscurities, and contains a great many Things hard to be understood.

In process of Time, this Obscurity occasioned a Multitude of Errors and Superstitions, and the more unintelligible the *I king* was, the more Mysteries it was thought to contain. Hence the true Doctrine of the Text, which includes excellent Principles of Morality and Politics, was altered, falsified, and interpolated, with absurd, contradictory, and impious Interpretations: These Monuments of *Chinese* Antiquity falling into the Hands of blind Doctors, whose Understandings were clouded with the Infidelity and Idolatry at that time reigning in the Empire, they wrested the Sense to vain Prognostics, Divinations, and Magic: And this is the Reason why they have been called *The Book of Lots*.

These Alterations are attributed to a Doctor called *King fang*, and another of the celebrated Literati, called *Chin wen*. We may add to them another Doctor of an equally distinguished Merit, whose Name is *Tsyau shin*, who, as an excellent Critic observes, taught his Disciples a Doctrine which he imposed upon them as one extracted from the *I king*. The School of *Confucius* always detested these empty Explications, by which the Texts are abused, in order to form frivolous Predictions, and to establish Magic and Divinations.



One Thing is certain, that all the *Chinese*, and especially the Literati, have the utmost Respect and Esteem for this Book. And many ancient and very able Authors, in their Writings, express their Regret for having lost the substantial and real Meaning of it, while they retain, to speak properly, but a superficial one. — *The Man*, say they, *who knows the I king, knows every thing*.

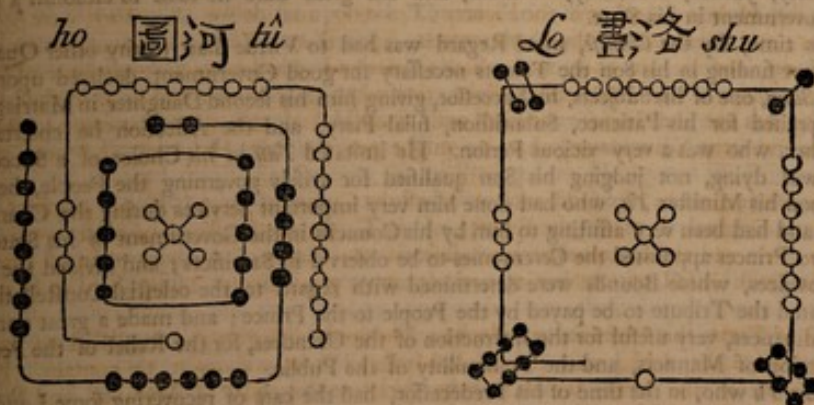
Before the Empire was founded by *Fo hi*, according to what is related in their great Chronicle, there were no Characters, of which that Prince could compose an *I king*; as *Ven vang*, *Chew kong* and *Confucius* did, a long time after: Thus when one would study the *I king* of *Fo hi*, it is sufficient to meditate upon his Tables alone, abstracted from, and strip of all Sorts of Characters, and all physical and moral Glosses, contenting himself with mathematical Axioms, naturally resulting from the regular Combinations of the Author's Lines: If one would know the Doctrine of the Classical Book composed by *Ven vang*, *Chew kong* and *Confucius*, he must then have less regard to the natural Doctrine of the Tables, than to the enigmatical Allusions, that each of them have annexed to each of these Symbols; and so judge of the Doctrine of these four Philosophers, by what each has himself put down, and not by what others have inserted in After-ages.

As then, before *Fo hi*, Characters were not known, little Cords with sliding Knots, each of which had a particular Idea and Signification, were used in Commerce and Business. These are represented in two Tables, by the *Chinese* call'd *Ho tu* and *Lo shu*. The Invention of Characters was owing first to *Fo hi*, and afterwards to the Emperors *Schin nong* and *Whang ti*: When they had invented, one after another, a good Number, they then attempted to make Books.

The first Colonies who inhabited *Se chuen*, had no other Literature besides some arithmetical Sets of Counters made with little knotted Cords, in imitation of a String of round Beads, with which they calculated and made up all their Accounts in Commerce: These they carried about with them, and sometimes used them as Belts for girding in their Cloaths. In short, having no other Characters, they neither knew how to read or write. As for what pass'd, therefore, in that Time, we have no Accounts of it, either from Annals or any written Tradition.

King *Fo hi* then was the first, according to this Opinion, who by means of his Lines occasioned the Invention and the Idea of that kind of hieroglyphical Characters, peculiar to the *Chinese*. The two ancient Tables of *Ho tu* and *Lo shu* taught him the Art of Combinations, the first Essay of which was the drawing up his linear Tables, limiting himself to the Rules prescribed by the Art of arithmetical Combinations, and letting the Tables remain straight, and according to their natural Order. *Ven vang* first put them out of this Order, that he might enigmatically express the terrible Disorders of the World, turn'd upside down under the Tyrant *Chew*.

It is an ancient, constant, and universally received Tradition, that *Fo hi* by this Work rendered himself the Father of Science and good Government in *China*; and that it was from the Idea of the *Ho tu* and the *Lo shu* that he drew up his linear Table. I here give a Description of them, that I may, if possible, render so ancient and obscure a Monument easy to be understood.



Tradition informs us, that these ancient Figures called *Ho tu* and *Lo shu*, from whence we are assured that the *I king* took its rise, are the Words of the Spirit of Heaven addressed to Kings; that the first Kings received them from Heaven, and spread them all over the Universe, that thereby the *Mandarins* might learn to govern the People well, and the People to reflect upon their Duties. The white Notes signify the odd Number, which, among the *Chinese*, is the Symbol of what is perfect, as well as this Line ———. The black Notes signify the even Number, which is the Symbol of what is imperfect, as is the Line broken and interrupted in this Manner — —. The *Ho tu* ends at ten, and the *Lo shu* at nine. The *Chinese* attribute that which is perfect to Day, Heat, the Sun, Fire, the Heaven, &c. What is imperfect, they attribute to Night, Cold, the Moon, Water, Earth, &c.

Altho'



Original of  
the celebra-  
ted Chinese  
Dragon.

Tho' it is a constant Tradition in China, that *Fo bi* drew up these linear Tables from the Idea of the *Ho tá* and the *Lo shu*; yet to give the greater credit to his Figures, he affirmed, that he saw them upon the Back of a Dragon which arose from a Lake. This is the so much celebrated Dragon that is since become the Device of China, and the Ornament for the Habits of the Emperor and the principal Chinese, with this Difference, that there is none besides the Emperor who can wear it with five Claws, excepting such as are judged to have a right from the Emperor to wear it; as for instance, when he makes any one a Prefect of a Piece of Imperial Silk. If others wear a Dragon with five Claws, they are guilty of acting contrary to the Laws of the Empire, and will certainly be punished.

Reasons why  
the *I king*  
is in so great  
Veneration  
with the  
Chinese.

But what chiefly contributes to the great Authority of the *I king* is, in the first Place, the universally received Opinion, that this Monument escaped the general Conflagration of ancient Books under the Emperor *Tsin chi wang*, whose only View was to extinguish the Memory of the three first Imperial Families, because their great Actions condemned his Conduct. This Remark is made by *Kong in ta* in his Prolegomena to the *I king*; is reported by *Li shi* in his Lives of illustrious Persons; observed by the Commentators upon ancient History, and supported by constant Tradition.

In the second Place, what gives the Chinese a vast Veneration for this Book, is, the great Encomiums that have been made upon it in all Ages, by the ablest and best Writers of the Empire; who praise it as the most Ancient of their Books, because invented by *Fo bi*, to whom, however, they attribute only the Figures.

The *I king*  
the Source of  
the other  
Kings.

Others pretend, that it is filled with most excellent Precepts and the wisest Maxims of Government, as may be understood by the Explications which *Ven wang* and *Cheu kong* have given upon every Figure; but because *Fo bi*, by the Combination of his Lines, was the first who taught the method of composing Chinese Characters, they say, that his Book is as it were the Root from whence these Characters sprung, and that it is the Principle and Source of all the Sciences: And as his Figures, according to their first Institution, denote the Heaven, Earth, Water, Mountains, &c. they affirm that the *I king* contains the Heaven and the Earth: And that it is not only the Source of the other King, but that it gives a Knowledge of all Things both visible and invisible: In short, that to apply to the Study of other Books and neglect that of the King, is to seek after the Stream and neglect the Fountain.

## Of the Shu king, or the second Canonical Book of the first Order.

Meaning of  
the Word  
*Shang shu*.

THIS Monument is likewise called *Shang shu*, that is to say, *The Book speaking of ancient Times*. It is divided into six Parts, whereof the two first contain the most memorable Events of the Reigns of *Yau*, *Shun*, and *Yu*. These first Princes are looked upon as the Legislators of the Chinese Nation. *Yau*, who reigned near a hundred Years, is celebrated for his great Piety, Justice, Clemency, Wisdom, and the great Care he took to establish a right Form of Government in his State.

The Con-  
tents of its  
two first  
Parts.

The Charac-  
ter of *Shun*.

As in his time, say the Chinese, more Regard was had to Virtue than to any other Quality; this Prince not finding in his Son the Talents necessary for good Government, declared upon his Death-bed *Shun*, one of his Subjects, his Successor, giving him his second Daughter in Marriage.

*Shun* is praised for his Patience, Submission, filial Piety, and the Affection he entertained for his Brother, who was a very vicious Person. He imitated *Yau* in his Choice of a Successor. When he was dying, not judging his Son qualified for wisely governing the People, he cast his Eyes upon his Minister *Yu*, who had done him very important Services during the Course of his Reign, and had been very assisting to him by his Councils in the Government of his State.

The Institu-  
tions of these  
two Princes.

These two Princes appointed the Ceremonies to be observ'd in Sacrifices; and divided the Empire into Provinces, whose Bounds were determined with regard to the celestial Constellations: They regulated the Tribute to be paid by the People to the Prince; and made a great number of other Ordinances, very useful for the Instruction of the Grandees, for the Relief of the People, the Reformation of Manners, and the Tranquillity of the Public.

It was this *Yu* who, in the time of his Predecessor, had the care of recovering some Lands of the Empire, which had been overflowed by the Waters of the Sea. In short, these three Princes are the Heroes of the Chinese Nation. The Doctrines taught and practised by them raised them to the Throne: And the Examples and Precepts left by them, are so many Oracles: which the Chinese hear with Respect, and regard as indispensable Laws.

Remarkable  
Justice of the  
People.

The Family  
of *Yu* extin-  
guish'd by  
the Tyrant  
*Kye*.

This Emperor, willing to imitate the Examples of his Predecessors, designed to leave his Crown to one of his Subjects called *Ye*, who had assisted him to support the Weight of Government; but the People opposed this, as being an Injury done to his Son, who was worthy of Empire. His Son accordingly succeeded him, and the Crown continued in his Family till the Reign of the Emperor *Kye*. This Prince's Vices and Cruelties rendering him detested by his Subjects, he was the last Emperor of this first Family, which gave to China seventeen Monarchs, who reign'd successively for 458 Years.

The third Part of the *Shu king* contains the Transactions under the second Imperial Family, of



of which *Ching tang* is the Head. This Prince took possession of the Empire 1776 Years before the Birth of Christ. The Emperor *Kyè* being extremely odious both to the People and to the Grandees, by his Vices and Cruelty, and the Empire being threatened with approaching Ruin, the Princes and Ministers intreated *Ching tang* to deliver them from his tyrannical Yoke. *Ching tang* much against his Inclination, yielded to the continual Remonstrances and Prayers of the People. He declared War against the Tyrant *Kyè*, to whom he gave a total Defeat, and obliged him to go into voluntary Exile to *Nan shau*, where he died three Years after his Defeat.

This new Emperor distinguished himself by his Piety, and his Love for his Subjects. It was he who after seven successive Years of general Barrenness, which dried up even Rivers and Fountains, and was followed by a Pestilence and Famine, offered himself as a Sacrifice for his People, and begged of Heaven to remove its Anger, and put a stop to the public Calamity.

After having fasted for three Days, and shaved his Beard as a mark of his Grief, he went into a Chaise drawn by white Horses, which in *China* is the colour of Mourning: And being followed by all his Court, he repaired to a little Hill called *Sang lin*. There divesting himself of his royal Robes, and putting on a Lamb's Skin, with his Feet and his Head bare, he looked upon himself as the only Cause of his People's Calamities, and making a humble Confession of his Faults, he extended his Hands to Heaven, conjuring it to accept of him as a Victim, and willingly offering himself to Death for the deliverance of his People. He had scarce ended his Prayer when the Skies were over-cast with Clouds, and all the Fields of the Empire were watered by a general Shower, which was followed by a plentiful Crop. In memory of this Action a kind of Music was instituted called *Ta we*, which signifies a signal Mercy obtained from Heaven.

When the Idolaters shew any difficulty to believe the Mysteries of the Incarnation and Passion of our Saviour, we desire them to look into this Passage of their History. "You admire, (we say to them) and you propose as a Model to all Princes, the Example of one of your Emperors, who divesting himself of his Dignity, became the public Victim, and offered himself a Sacrifice for his Subjects; but how much more ought you to admire the Wisdom and infinite Love of *J. C.* who being clothed with our Flesh, made himself a real Propitiation to satisfy the Divine Justice, and to obtain the Salvation of all Mankind by shedding his own Blood." This Argument drawn from their own History, is more convincing to them than the most solid Reasonings.

This third part of the *Shu king* contains the wise Ordinances of this Emperor, the fine Instructions which the *Ko lau Tsong wuey* gave to him and to his Son *Tay kya*, and the other wholesome Regulations of a *Ko lau* named *Fu yue*, whom the Emperor *Kau tsong*, having seen his Figure in a Dream, caused to be searched for every where, and who was at last found among a company of Masons. This Prince made him his prime Minister, and appointed great progress in Virtue by following the wise Counsels of so singular a Person, whom he regarded as a Present sent from Heaven.

The Empire continued in the Family of *Ching tang* for 600 Years, till the Reign of *Chew*, who revived all the Tyranny and barbarous Cruelty of the infamous *Kyè*. So that it is now become proverbial for the *Chinese* to call a bad Man, a *Kyè*, or a *Chew*, in the same manner as we in *Europe*, when we speak of an infamous and tyrannical Prince, call him a *Nero*, or a *Dioclesian*.

The three last Parts contain the History of the Transactions under the third Race, whose Founder was *Vu vang*; together with the wise Maxims and glorious Actions of the first five Princes of that Family, which sat upon the Throne during 873 Years, and the Reigns of thirty five Emperors, in as flourishing a Condition as any other Family ever did.

*Vu vang* its Founder, was King of a part of the Province of *Shen si*; he took up Arms against the Tyrant *Chew*, conquered him, and was proclaimed Emperor by the unanimous Voices of both the Grandees and the People. His first Care was to pay his Homage to the supream Being, to re-establish Peace and Tranquillity in the Empire, and to procure Plenty to his Subjects, who had so long groaned under the Tyranny of his Predecessor: He opened the Prisons, and set at liberty all the Prisoners; he carefully enquired after Men of Merit, who had renounced their Employments and Dignities in the late Troubles, to gain repose in Obscurity and a private Station. These he loaded with Honours, and intrusted with his Confidence.

His Royal Liberality extended chiefly to those who had always been distinguished by their Wisdom, their Honour and their Probity, and under him these happy Times revived, when Virtue was the step to Dignity and Riches; he took the Virtuous into his Councils and made them his Ministers. He re-established the Weights and Measures, and brought the Laws and Constitutions of the Empire to Perfection: He restored the Lustre of the noble Families who descended of *Whang ti*, one of the Founders of the *Chinese* Monarchy, and of *Shun*, and *Tau*, and *Yu*, the first Legislators of the Empire; all these Families *Chew* endeavoured to extinguish by keeping them in Obscurity.

These illustrious Persons saw themselves, all of a sudden, under the Protection of this new Emperor, re-invested in their former Dignities, and adorned with additional Titles of Honour. In short, he was very careful to increase filial Piety, and to perpetuate the Memory of deceased Parents, by enjoining their Children to pay to them after Death the same Honours and Duties which they paid them when alive.

Next follow the wise Precepts of *Chew kong* the Brother of the Emperor *Vu vang*, whom Honour, Wisdom and other Virtues have rendered for ever famous. The Emperor, when he died, intrusted him with the Tutelage of his eldest Son, and the Government of the Empire during



Who is reckoned the Inventor of the Mariner's Compass.

during his Minority. The Invention of the Needle, or the Mariner's Compass, is attributed to him. The Ambassadors of *Tong king* and *Kochinchina*, when they came to pay their Tribute to the new Emperor, had suffered a great many Fatigues in their Passage, by their not being acquainted with the Course they ought to have held, upon which *Cheu kong* gave them a Mariner's Compass, which guided them on their Return, and procured them a happy Voyage.

In short, in the *Shu king*, which among the *Chinese* is of very great Authority, we find Vice punished, and Virtue rewarded, together with a great many fine Instructions for the good Government of a State, and wise Regulations for the public Weal: Also the Principles, the Rules and the Models of the Morals of the first Heroes, who have governed their Empire, and for whose Memory that Nation has always preserved an extraordinary Regard. We shall give some Extracts of this Book, which *P. Premare*, an ancient Missionary in *Cbina*, has collected, who assures us, that they are translated with all the Exactness and Faithfulness imaginable.

### Some Extracts from the Shu king, in a Dialogue upon the Maxims of the antient Kings.

Maxims of Government and Obedience.

WHEN a King, says *Yu*, knows how difficult it is to be a good King, and when a Subject knows how much it costs to fulfil all his Duties faithfully; the Government is perfect, and the People make a swift Progress in the ways of Virtue.

That is certain, replied the Emperor, and I love to be discoursed with in this manner. Truths, so well grounded, ought never to be concealed. Let all wise Men be distinguished, and not one of them suffered to remain in Oblivion; then all the Kingdoms of the World will enjoy a profound Peace. But to rest entirely upon the Sentiments of wise Men, to prefer them to his own; to treat Orphans with Kindness; and never to reject the Suit of the Poor, are Perfections only to be found in a very wise King. (\*)

In effect, says *Pei*, the Virtues of a wise King are of a boundless Extent, and of an indefatigable Activity; he acts, he concert, he penetrates all; in Peace he adorns, and in War subdues, all: The august Heaven tenderly loves him, and makes him the Executor of its Decrees; it gives him all that is contain'd within the four Seas, and confirms him Master of this lower World.

You may add, says *Yu*, that those who obey him are happy; and that it is a great Unhappiness to displease him: For as the Shadow follows the Body, and the Echo, the Voice, so Rewards attend Virtue, and Punishments the Crimes.

You reason well, replied *Pei*, he must then watch incessantly, and dread Vices that are more secret and refined; he must carefully avoid sensual Pleasures, and be cautious in using even those that are less criminal. He must constantly advance the truly wise, and directly expel the worthless; doing nothing without Caution, and forming no Design but what he can avow to the World; never abandoning Justice in Complaisance to the People, nor the People, to follow his own Views; in one Word, he must carefully examine his most minute Inclinations, and maturely weigh his slightest Actions. This is the way to attract the Love and Homage of all the People in the Universe.

Ah Prince! answer'd *Yu*, addressing himself to the Emperor, ah Prince! all this well deserves our Consideration. Perfect Government springs like a Tree from its Root, and its first Principle consists in furnishing the People plentifully with the Means of Subsistence, viz. Water, Fire, Metals, Wood, Land and Grain. These we may call the six Magazines from which Plenty proceeds. To regulate the Desires of the Heart, to promote Commerce, to put a great Value upon every thing that contributes to Life; these are the three Points necessary to the Union of the People, and to keep them at Ease. The Sum of these Nine very important Articles have an admirable Connection among themselves: Order them to be put in Verse, that the People may sing nothing else. Reform your Subjects, by rewarding Virtue: But prevent them by punishing Crimes from relapsing to Vice: Excite them by fine Songs upon these nine principal Articles, and nothing shall be able to shake the foundations of your Empire.

Draw near, *Yu*, said the Emperor, you are the Man whom I want, and I design to appoint you my Successor in the Empire.

Alas! replied *Yu*, the little Virtue which I have, will bend and sink beneath that burden: And the People who know me well, will never approve of your Choice. But you have *Kau yau*: He is truly wise, and possess'd of all necessary Qualifications. He has inspired the Love of Wisdom into all the People, who feeling its effects, carry him in their inmost Heart. Reflect a little; think how much he deserves, and how little, I, raise him, since he appears so worthy, and drop me as a useless Person: Virtue alone ought to be your Guide in an Affair of so much Consequence.

I know, says the Emperor, that *Kau yau* is very proper to maintain my Laws, I make him the Trustee of my Justice. Learn then, perfectly the five kinds of Punishments, in order worthily to maintain the chief Articles of my Laws. Begin always by Instruction that you may not be obliged

Economy of the wise *Kau yau*.

Character of a good Magistrate.

(\*) Interpreters conjecture that the antient Emperor *Yau*, is meant here, but there is nothing to authorize this opinion in the Text, which mentions only *Ti*, that is to say *Heaven*, or *Sovereign Lord*.



obliged to punish; propose, as your chief Aim, strongly to engage my People to tread in that true Mean where Virtue resides, and by so doing you will fulfil all my Views.

Then, says *Kau yau*, I must be as perfect as you are, I must never run into Excess of any kind; I must be civil to the Grandees, and kind to the People: I must not always treat my Children with Favours, and never with Punishments. I must excuse Faults committed thro' Inadvertence, however great they are; but severely punish the Faults proceeding from Malice, however trifling. I must chastise slightly Crimes that are not well proved; and reward Services of doubtful Importance, rather above, than below, their Value. I must hazard the not executing the Law in all its Rigour, rather than to put one innocent Person to Death. These, great Emperor, are part of the Virtues we admire in you; all your Cares tend only to preserve the Lives of your Subjects: And in this you perfectly answer their Vows: This is sufficient, there is no occasion for a criminal Judge, in order to execute the Laws of so good a King.

Make me, replies the Emperor, like the Person you speak of; learn me to follow your Lessons so well, that my Example may be as an impetuous, yet kindly, Wind, which carries along with it all Hearts; so that real Happiness may be diffused through all the Parts of my Empire.

When a King is solidly Virtuous, says *Kau yau*; he thus enters into all the good Counsels that are given him, and always acts in Concert with the wise Ministers he has chosen.

Nothing is so true, says the Emperor; but explain yourself a little more circumstantially.

A good King, replies *Kau yau*, has no Passion so predominant as to advance more and more in the Study and Practice of Wisdom, so that he puts no Bounds to so useful an Exercise. By this fine Example, he first instructs all his royal Family; this is afterwards communicated to all his Subjects, and in the End, spreads among the most distant People. Of so great Importance it is for a King to be Virtuous!

*Tu* applauds, and respectfully receives, these Words, which are so full of Wisdom.

All may be reduced to two Points, says *Kau yau*, To know the Characters of Men, and to render the People happy.

Is that all? (interrupts *Tu*) Our good King, how perfect soever he is, will find a great deal of Difficulty in this. To know the Characters of People thoroughly, is never to err in the Choice of those we employ. To render a People happy is to load them with Favours, and entirely to gain their Love. When a Prince has so great Qualities as these, what Dread needs he have of such a Wretch as *When tew*? What difficulty will he find to subdue such a Rebel as *Myau*? And what harm can a Sycophant and a Hypocrite like *Kong kong* do him?

Nevertheless, says *Kau yau*, you may add, that there are Nine Virtues which a Prince ought well to know, in order to make them familiar to him: It is not enough that he has a general Notion, that such a Man has such and such a Virtue: He must moreover know what Proofs that Man has given of his really possessing it. You ask what these Nine Virtues are?

\* I require, continued *Kau yau*, a Greatness of Soul, neither haughty nor insensible; an able Indifference, but without Inactivity; a charming Goodness, but without Indolence or Coarseness; a Genius delicate, but industrious and laborious; a Humanity and Politeness attended with Resolution and Courage; an Uprightness of Mind, which knows how to temper Severity with Mercy; a Understanding that comprehends the greatest, yet neglects not the smallest Matters; a Mind firm, but neither stubborn nor fierce. In short, a Magnanimity and which yields only to Justice: These are the Nine Virtues upon which a Prince ought to regulate himself, that he may distinguish the different Characters of Men: For this is the greatest good Fortune a King can wish for, that he may reward the Virtuous.

Three at least of these Virtues are required in a Grandee of the Court, to enable him to govern his Family rightly; and a Tributary King must have six, in order to render the State, entrusted to him, happy. But an Emperor ought to possess all the Nine, that he may adapt the Employment of every Man under him to his Capacity and Merit; that the Great and Small may meddle only in their own Affairs, and no Workmen be unreasonably employed. If he is intent upon the five most necessary Things; it will be easy for him to succeed.

A King ought well to understand how to teach his Subjects to imitate him in his Pleasures: Therefore, he is obliged to keep a Watch over himself, lest he should fail in any Point of those numerous Affairs that daily occur to him. The subaltern Officers ought likewise to watch without any Relaxation, reflecting that Heaven devolves its Power upon the King, and that the King intrusts his with them, and that consequently they are in its Place, that whatever they do may be considered as the Work of Heaven.

It is Heaven that puts the immutable Laws of Society in order. Draw me up the five Laws and let them be inviolably regarded. It is Heaven who determined the different Duties that are to be observed by Men. Regulate the Five Duties, and let every one conform himself to them, according to his Rank and State: But let them always add a sincere and a cordial Respect, by equally

(†) What regards the raising *Tu* to the Throne is omitted here. But it is agreed, that the *Sin king* has suffered many Alterations; that the half of it is lost; and that what escaped the Flames and the Worms has been patch'd up in the best manner they could. It was therefore thought most natural to place the Advancement of *Tu*, after he himself had told how he drain'd off the Waters.

(\*) It is in such Passages as these, where we see the sublime Brevity of Style in these ancient Books. Eighteen Letters convey a clear Idea of these nine Virtues, with the Quality each

Virtue ought to have to prevent its degenerating into Vice; and all this in a Manner so lively and so fine, that it must suffer by a Translation into any European Language.

(†) The ancient Commentaries, *Ching i*, say upon this Place: The Laws, Rites, Rewards and Punishments come all from Heaven. Its Will is to reward the Good, and to chastise the Bad; for nothing but Good or Ill is rewarded or punish'd by Heaven. When it chastises or rewards, neither Great nor Small can escape its Justice.

Character of a good Prince

Good Government to what reducible.

Nine Virtues necessary to a Sovereign.

Evil Consequences of a bad Example in a King.

The Justice and Impartiality of Heaven.



equally shunning Hypocrisy and Pride. It is Heaven which advances the Virtuous; so there are different Posts in the five different Districts of the Empire. Heaven rewards the Guilty; so there are five Punishments for five different Degrees of Guilt. Oh, how numberless are the Cares that good Government requires! Heaven hears and sees all, but it is by the Voice of the People that it judges of Kings. Heaven is always terrible, but an oppressed People rouses it to Vengeance. It chastises great and small without Distinction, but Kings have a thousand times more to dread than other Men. What I have told you, Sir, is the purest Truth, but the main Point is to reduce it to Practice.

The Emperor declar'd with a loud Voice, that he could not wish for any thing more true or more just than all he had heard. For which reason *Kau yau* resumed the Discourse, and said with great Modesty: I know well that my Understanding is very limited, but I am conscious that I have no other View or Desire but to employ it all in assisting you rightly to govern your Subjects.

The Emperor then turning to *Yu*; Draw near, said he, and in your turn give me some wise Counsels.

The good  
Offices done  
by *Yu* to  
China.

What can I say, replies *Yu*, or what can I add to the Discourse of *Kau yau*? For my Share, I have only one thing at Heart, which is, to employ myself constantly without a moment of Relaxation. How can that be, asks *Kau yau*? The Waters, replies *Yu*, if I may so speak, rose to the Heavens, and overflowed the highest Mountains, so that the People miserably perished. In the midst of this frightful Deluge mounted upon four different Vehicles (\*) I began, with cutting down the Woods, following the Chain of Mountains: After which, *Pei* and I taught Men to eat Flesh. I likewise made the great Rivers to run into the four Seas, and the Brooks to discharge themselves into the Rivers. *Hew tsu* and I next taught Men the use of Corn, and the Art of tilling the Ground: I afterwards let them into the Advantages of Commerce; by means of which, all the People had whereon to subsist, and the Universe enjoyed Peace.

You have great Reason, interrupts *Kau yau*, to say that you give yourself no Respite; but proceed to discourse upon this fine Subject.

The Happi-  
ness of Man  
consists in  
Virtue.

All depends, continued *Yu*, upon the Care with which a Sovereign watches over his own Person. I allow it, says the Emperor. Then, answers *Yu*, place your Happiness in Virtue alone. Beware of the least thing that can discompose this valuable Happiness; and above all, suffer no Ministers about you, but such as are of consummate Integrity and unshaken Sincerity. Thus when you command, you will be instantly and joyfully obeyed; because you will command nothing, but what the People will ardently wish for. Thus, you will find yourself loaded with the most illustrious Blessings of (†) *Shang ti*, and you will have the Glory to execute his Will in the new Order which he shall establish.

Behold, says the Emperor, a Minister who loves me; and I, in return, love a Minister who is so worthy of Esteem. Draw near then, *Yu*, and hear me attentively. (‡)

The Praise  
of *Yu*.

Your Labours to remove the Deluge have touched me. You are faithful, and your Merits are great; you are wise in my Eyes, and indefatigable in whatever concerns the public Good; in your private Character, you are modest; and notwithstanding what you have done, you entertain a very humble Opinion of yourself: I say it again, you are wise, and do not boast of your Talents; no Person can dispute your Abilities, yet you don't vaunt of your fine Actions; and all must yield to you the first Rank: I seek only after Virtue, and I praise only good Works. I entrust into your Hands the Government of the World: Ascend my Throne and Reign. Remember there is nothing to fear but one (§) Passion, and (||) right Reason is of infinite Delicacy. It must be pure, it must be simple, and always preserve a just Mean. Do not amuse yourself with groundless Stories, and never undertake a Design without thoroughly weighing it.

Necessity of  
reciprocal  
Love betwixt  
the Prince  
and Subjects.

What is more amiable than a good King? What has he to fear except the People? Whom will the People honour if not their King? But how can he maintain himself without the Assistance of the People? Apply yourself then with all your Ability, watch Night and Day in the Duties of your Charge: Surpass, if it be possible, the Desires and Expectations of your Subjects: Take particular Care of the Poor and the Miserable, and by that means your Reign will be eternal. The Order which I have laid before you will give peace to the World: And through you, I will subdue all mine Enemies. Obey it then, and you need ordain no other.

(\*) The Chinese endeavoured to guess what these Vehicles were. The Text says *Tsi tsay*; it is true, the Letter *Tsi* signifies fear; but it is very difficult to explain what the other Letter presents to the Eyes, it is *Kin*, a Chariot, *Tsay*, of Afflictions, and Sufferings. The Reader is left to judge how such a Machine could assist *Yu* in carrying off the Waters.

(†) It is not, says the ancient Commentary *Ching i*, the People alone that reward this Good King, for *Shang ti* loads him likewise with Favours to reward his Virtue.

(‡) This is the Passage omitted, of which we have taken notice, and which is supplied in this Place. This Discourse of the

Emperor is in blank and miscellaneous Verses: most of them being without Rhymes, and some of them of unequal Measure. If all the *Shu king* is not in Verse, a great many Passages, like the present, are imbrodered with it.

(§) The Text says, *Yin sin*, that is to say, the Heart of Man. This is not properly Passion, but it is the Inclination by which we are biased; and is as it were the inward part of the Mind.

(||) The Text says, *Tan sin* that is to say, the Heart of Reason, tho' it is not properly Reason; but the Superior part of the Soul, which inclines to the purest and rightest Reason.



*The Speech which Chong whey is said to have made to the  
Emperor Ching tang. (\*)*

O Prince! what do you say? It is the (†) *Tyen* which gives life to Men: As they are (‡) subject to a thousand different Passions; if they had not a Master to keep them in their Duty, they could not live in Peace: But Heaven sends them a very wise King, and by means of him, renders them good and happy.

The infamous *Kye*, extinguished all the lights of Reason; and the poor People fell as it were into a flood of Fire. But Heaven has given you all the Prudence and necessary Force to deliver the Universe from its Evils. Finish what the great *Yu* so well began; follow his Footsteps, and respectfully obey the Orders of Heaven. The King of *Hyu* is blameable, because he employed the Name of the most High to authorize his unjust Commands. Heaven has chastised him and committed the Empire to you, that you may restore the World to its primitive Happiness.

You know that the cruel *Kye* had likewise some wise Men about his Person, but most of his Counsellors were as worthless as himself. In that fatal time, we found ourselves mingled with all these wicked Wretches, like a little good Grain sow'd in a Field full of Tares. How could we shun the dangers that encompassed us? there was no Man but trembled for himself, and Innocence was a good handle to be suspected. How much then have you, Sir, to dread, who are adorned with so many Virtues? Fame proclaims them aloud every where: You are look'd upon as a very wise Prince, and far remov'd from all base Pleasures, as being entirely disinterested, bestowing Posts only upon the most Virtuous; and always proportioning the Reward to the Merit. It is well known, that you, with pleasure, prefer the Opinion of another to your own; and that you attribute to others, all the good you yourself do: That you never excuse, but are always ready to correct, yourself. In short, there is seen in you a greatness of Soul, worthy of the Empire of the World, join'd to a paternal goodness and tenderness for your People. So many Virtues have gain'd you the Hearts of all. For this Reason, the petty King *Ko* having rejected brutally your Presents, you was oblig'd to march against him; and, by that means, begin your just Conquests. Was you in the East? The People of the West impatiently expected you. Was you settling peace in the North? The Barbarians of the South sigh'd for you; and every one cry'd out in a mournful Voice, Why did he not first come to our Assistance. Nothing was heard but People saying one to another, Let us wait for our good King; whenever he shall appear we shall receive new Life. Thus, Sir, you see how great the People's Affection was for you.

One must have no scruple to be a King, but he must labour to render himself a good King. With this View distinguish the Wife, and assist the Worthy: Load those, whose fidelity is approved, with Glory; and assist those who have only upright Intentions; Set Tutors over such of the petty Kings as are weak: Abridge those of Power who make a bad Use of it: Deprive such as break into good order, of their Crown; and those, whose Crimes render them unworthy to reign, of their Lives. Thus you will curb the Bad, and guard the Good. And all these Kings doing their Duty, you will cause Virtue and Peace to reign all over the World.

As soon as a Sovereign endeavours to make a daily Progress in Virtue, all the People will have Hearts only to love him: But if he imagines that he has done enough, he is despis'd and abandon'd even by his nearest Relations. Apply yourself with all your Heart to the exercises of the greatest Virtues, that your Subjects may find in you a finished Model. Let Justice regulate all your Actions, and the purest Reason serve as a curb upon your Appetites. A good (||) King leaves Riches enough to his Children, when he leaves them the example of his Virtues: I have always heard it said that it is the part of a King, to look upon others, as being able to teach him somewhat; for he who loves to be taught, enriches himself. On the contrary, a sure Method for a Prince to destroy himself, is to believe that others can do him no Service: For it is a narrow way of thinking, for a Man to believe himself self-sufficient. Endeavour to end as happily as you have begun: Remember that Heaven is just; that it elevates the Good, and chastises the Bad. Follow the Laws exactly, that you may be sure of eternal Happiness.

(\*) This *Ching tang* dethron'd the Tyrant *Kye*, in whom the Family of the *Hyu* was extinct.

(†) Heaven.

(‡) The ancient Commentary *Ching i* speaks thus. The *Tyen* produced Man, and gave him a Body and a Soul. Every Man then has a visible and material Body: and a spiritual intelligent Soul. Man being formed in this Manner, *Tyen* assists him. I don't mean simply, that *Tyen* after it had given him a Body and a Soul, gave him several Laws: but that it likewise assists him in a more particular manner. For Man speaks, thinks, acts, distinguishes the Good from the Bad, and the Bad from

the Good: He stands in need of Food and Raiment: Sometimes he is in Picay, sometimes in Want, and by Turns in Motion and in Rest. But to keep himself strictly just amidst all these, he must have the Assistance of *Tyen*: For there is within a straight Road, which if he follows he is happy; if he forsakes it unhappy. For which Reason Heaven unites itself to Man, and constantly assists him to tread in this Path that conducts him to Immortality.

(||) This Thought is not formally in the Text; but it is the Sense of all this Harangue, and the Interpreters make use of it to connect what goes before with what follows.

Maxims of  
Government

Advantages  
of good Con-  
duct in a  
Prince.



*Instructions which (\*) I yun gave to the young Tay kya.*

Encomium  
of Virtue.

**H** EIR of *Ching tang* ! Do not presume too much upon the present Protection of Heaven, for the continuance of its Favours depends, in some measure, upon yourself. You ought not to reckon that Happiness is to continue for ever. The constant Practice of Virtue can alone secure your Crown: But if you abandon Wisdom, you will infallibly forfeit whatever Heaven has bestowed upon you.

You have an illustrious Example of this in the King *Ky*: He deviated from the Path of Virtue to Impiety and Cruelty. The supreme *Tyen* rejected him, and afterwards look'd all over the Earth in search of some one, who was worthy to reign instead of this unhappy Prince: As soon as such a one was found, it determin'd to enlighten and conduct him. But that which *Tyen* loves and looks for, is a pure and constant Virtue. This is what it requires in a new King, whom it designs to give to the World.

*Ching tang* and I only were of that Character. As we were both equally devoted to Virtue, Heaven lov'd us, and carried us in its Heart. For this reason, it gave us the Government of the whole World. Having, thus, both Heaven and the People on our Side, we easily overthrew the Empire of the *Hya*; not that Heaven entertain'd an irregular Affection for us, but such as it entertains for pure and solid Virtue. It was not because we caballed for the suffrages of the People, but because the People could not resist so much Virtue. When one is entirely devoted to Wisdom, he is always successful, always satisfied, and always happy: But when one is Virtuous by halves and by starts, he instantly proves the Reverse of this. Happiness or misery then depends upon Man himself; because the rewards or punishments of Heaven depend upon his good or bad Actions.

Heir of *Ching tang* ! The Empire you possess is but new; let your Virtue be new likewise. Endeavour by incessantly reforming yourself, that there may be no difference between the first and the last Day of your Reign. Raise none to Posts, but such as have Wisdom and Talents. But as for your first Minister, he ought to be a Person accomplished in all Respects; because, it is he who is to render you solidly Virtuous, and he is to be the Channel through which your Virtues are to be communicated to all your People. It is hard to find a Man so perfect; you therefore are to use the utmost Pains to enquire after him; to the end that the Minister and the King, having the same Desires and the same Zeal, they may form, by a strict and intimate union, *(†) one undivided whole.*

True Virtue never pins itself down to the Opinions of a strange Master; she hears no Dictates but those of solid Good, which does not always enjoin the same thing; in following its Lessons, you directly act according to the different Circumstances; but still with a strict attachment to Uniformity, without which, there can be nothing good. Then all the People shall cry; "How pure and how perfectly uniform is his Heart? He is worthy of the Empire he has received; and will render his Subjects eternally happy."

*The History and Conversation of the Emperor Kau tlong and his Minister Fu ywe.*

**T** HE Emperor answers the Grandees by a short Note under his own Hand, in which he tells them. "Ever since I succeeded to the Empire of the World, I have still feared that I had not all the Virtues requisite for right Government; for which reason, hitherto I have never ventured to give any Order. But my Thoughts being employed during the silence of the Night, only upon the Means of worthily discharging my Duties; It seem'd to me the Lord delivered to me, from his own Hand, a faithful Minister: This is the extraordinary Man that is to speak to you in my Stead."

History of a  
Minister  
given by  
Heaven.

The Emperor then causes the Picture of the promised Minister to be drawn, according as he appeared to him, and omitted nothing to make a Discovery of him, tho' conceal'd in the most remote Corner of the Empire. A Man employed in building a little Grotto at the foot of the Mountain *Ten*, was found by the Messengers, who thought he perfectly resembled the Picture which they had in their Hands. As soon as the Emperor saw him he immediately knew

(\*) It is pretended that *I yun* assisted *Ching tang* to dethrone *Ky*. *Tay kya* is supposed to be the Son of *Ching tang*, and it is said that *I yun* shut him up in his Father's Tomb for three Years. But it is certain that in the Body of the Text no mention is made of *Tay kya*, but of *Tse wang*, which only signifies, a young Prince in his Minority. Nor can we answer for the bold Action imputed to *I yun*. The Text perhaps only intimates, that *I yun* sent the young Prince to be instructed at the Burying Place, and upon the Tomb of *Ching tang*. Whatever Truth is in all this, it is

added that this Piece contains the last Councils which *I yun* gave him, when he retired from the Court, to lead a private Life in repose and solitude.

(†) This Idea of a good King and a perfect Minister forming *one undivided Whole*, was strongly imprinted upon the Heart of him or them who wrote these Books. They allude as Instances of it, *Yau and Shan, Shan and Yu, Pá wang and Chien lang*. But this does not extend farther.



knew him, and in presence of all his Court, made him his first Minister; speaking to him in these Terms.

Fail not to advise me every Day, and very frequently to reprove me, that thus, you may help me to acquire true Wisdom. Consider me as a piece of unhammered Iron, and that you are to shape and to polish me. Consider that I am to pass a broad and a dangerous Torrent; and that you are to serve me both for Bark and Oars. Consider me as a dry parcht piece of Ground; and that you are to be the kindly Shower that is to refresh, and render it fertile. Open therefore your Heart, and pour into mine all the Riches your's contains. But be sure not to spare me: For if the Medicine is too weak, the Disease can never be removed. Unite all ye who approach my Person, and unanimously endeavour to correct me. So that as the worthy Heir of the Virtues of *Ching tang*, and the Imitator of our ancient Kings, I may be able to make my Subjects happy. Acquit then yourself faithfully of the Task I impose upon you, and never relax in your Endeavours, till I am such a Prince as I ought to be.

The Emperor Koa Tang's great Desire to be reprov'd for his Faults.

*Fu yue* answers the Emperor thus: As a Piece of Wood becomes straight by following the Line, so Kings become Virtuous by following the wise Councils that are given them. When a king is Virtuous, his first Minister is, of himself, induced to do his Duty: But if, besides this, a Prince earnestly desires to be advised, who will venture to disobey his glorious Commands?

His Minister's Answer.

A good King is in place of Heaven, and treads the Path that is mark'd out to him. In obedience to its Supreme Will he divides the Empire into different Kingdoms. He establishes their Kings in whom he can confide; placing about them able Persons to assist them in the Government of their States: Far from minding his own Pleasures, he thinks himself born only to make the World happy: We can say of Heaven alone, that it (+) sees and hears all Things by itself, and of good Kings alone, that they endeavour as much as they can in this to imitate Heaven. For which reason, their great Officers are always full of Submission and Respect: And the People securely taste the Sweets of Peace.

Shame can only come to Kings by their issuing forth unjust Orders: And the Rebellions of the People only proceed from their Princes making War upon too slight Grounds: Bestow no Reward but upon Merit. Cloaths had better be locked up in a Chest, than given away without any reason: Before you punish any one, examine yourself well. A King who perfectly fulfils these four Points, is truly enlightened; and every thing conspires to render him happy: The Repose or the Distractions of your Empire, depends upon those whom you place in Posts. Give not therefore the smallest Employments away in Complaisance to a Subject, whom you know is incapable to bear it: And never trust any thing of Importance to a bad Man, however great his Qualifications may be. Examine seriously before you act, whether or not the Action you go about, is good in itself; and tho' it is good in itself, examine if it be proper at such and such a time, and in such and such Circumstances. The Man who imagines that he has Virtue, possesses but a very small Degree of it; and he who boasts of his Ability, loses all his Merit.

A great Foresight is requisite in all things, as being the means of averting Misfortunes. Favours lavishly disposed beget Contempt, and the Man who does not blush to be told of his small Faults, can never be guilty of great ones. All consists in the due Regulation of your Heart, for if that is right your Government will be perfect. As to what concerns the Ceremonies, you are not to neglect outward Pomp, but you must not entirely take up with that, because all exterior Appearances must proceed from the bottom of the Heart. In this case, too much Meanness occasions Contempt, and too much Show, Perplexity: So that both these Excesses are to be equally avoided.

I am charmed, cries the Emperor, with all that I have heard, and henceforth my only care shall be to conform my Life to it. If I had not you to give me wholesome Advice, I should not know how to demean myself so as to require Virtue.

Instance of Docility in an Emperor.

*Fu yue* respectfully knocked the Earth with his Forehead, and resum'd the Discourse. The Difficulty, says he, does not lye in knowing, but in practising good. Love Virtue, Sir, you will find nothing more sweet, and then you will resemble the ancient Kings your Ancestors. If I don't continue to speak to you as I have already done, I will be culpable, and unworthy of the Rank to which you have raised me.

and of Honesty in a Minister.

It is only you, says the Emperor, that can furnish me with such Literati as I would wish to have. You know that when Wine (+) is to be made, they throw Druggs into it, in order to ferment and give

give

(+) There are two Commentaries upon this Passage, and their Words are remarkable. The first is called *Ye li*, and explains it thus.

Heaven never speaks, yet it commands our Belief: The foreign Spirit is always unconcerned, and yet it is to be dreaded. As being supremely true it inspires us with Belief, and as being without Passion, it strikes us with Dread. Heaven, because of its Incomprehensibility, is called Spirit, and the Spirit, because of its Immutability and eternal Duration, is called Heaven. When we say, that it enforces our Belief because it is perfectly true, the meaning is, that it possesses most necessary and infallible Reason. And when it is said that Heaven makes itself to be dreaded, because it is impartial; the Meaning is, that it is Justice itself and none can insult it, unpunished. In short, it is here said to know every thing, because it is Eternal, Immutible, and Incomprehensible.

The second Commentary is called *Ye liang*, and is that of the late Emperor Kung si, who explains it in this Manner.

Heaven is above all, and nothing is more beautiful, nothing more just. It is most spiritual and most intelligent, and hears all things, tho' it has no Ears: Not only the public Acts of Government, but whatsoever is transacted in the most retired and the remote Corners of the World lies open to its Eye. It sees thro' all, it penetrates all, it examines all. This is the Model which a good King should propose; neither his love nor his hatred is influenced by Caprice. In his Rewards he only has regard to right Reason. And thus it may, in some sense be said of him, that, like Heaven, he hears and sees every thing.

(+) The Chinese Wine or rather Beer, is made of a particular Kind of Rice. When it is almost boild, they must put certain Druggs into it to make it ferment.



give it Strength; your Councils have the like Effect upon me, they raise me, they give me a Courage, which I should not have, were it not for you. When a Soup (+) is prepar'd, you know they take care to put Ingredients into it, to hinder it from becoming insipid. Your Lessons have the same effect upon me, they season my Virtue. Labour then with me in teaching me to know myself, and be assured, that I have nothing in the World more at Heart, than to do whatever you desire me.

To be willing to be instructed, replies *Fü yue*, is a very good Symptom, and shews that you have a real desire to do Good; tho' you never can attain to what you so earnestly wish for, but by following the Maxims of our ancient Kings. If a Prince can immortalise himself by any other way, it is a way to which I am yet a Stranger.

In what the  
Study of  
Wisdom con-  
sists.

The Study of Wisdom consists, in a Man's being humble, (+) as if he were incapable of any thing, but at the same time as (A) active, as if he had done nothing, and yet could do every thing. By these means, one will shun the two great Failings of Indolence and Pride. When a Man is free from these, his advancement in the Ways of true Wisdom is easy and quick. Believe me, Sir, if you put this in Practice you will soon prove its Effects. When a Man instructs the Ignorant, he at the same time improves himself; and when he is constantly employed in both the one and the other, that is, both as Master and Scholar, he at the same time grows in Wisdom, almost imperceptibly. But that you, Sir, may not be mislead in this, you must always take the ancient Kings for your Model.

### The Shi king; or, Third Canonical Book of the first Order.

THE Character *Shi*, signifies *Verse*, because in effect, all this Book contains only Odes, Songs, and Verses, compos'd under the reign of the third Race, where we see the Manners, the Customs, and the Maxims of the petty Kings, who were subordinate to the Emperor, described. Some have only three Strophes, or Stanzas, which present the same Thought, in three Lights very little different, except, that each Stanza seems to improve upon the preceding: The others appear to be in a more noble and sublime Style. The number of Stanzas is not confin'd, but every Stanza consists commonly of ten Lines.

The Chinese Interpreters are not very happy in decyphering these Verses; for they have made a System of them which is contradictory to itself, and besides, does not a great deal of Honour to these precious Remains of so remote Antiquity: Great Praises are there bestowed upon Virtue, and many wise Maxims are found amongst them; so that *Confucius* gives them great Encomiums, and assures us, that their Doctrine is very pure and very holy: From whence some Interpreters suspect, that this Work has suffered by being interpolated with many bad Pieces; for there are some of them extravagant and impious, and looked upon as Apocryphal; however, these Verses are of great Authority in the Empire. Their Style is very obscure; this doubtless proceeds from the Laconism, the Metaphors, and the great Numbers of ancient Proverbs, with which the Work is stuffed. But this very Obscurity procures them the Esteem and Veneration of their wise Men.

Division of  
this Work.

These Pieces of Poetry may be divided into five different kinds.

The first contains the Encomiums of Men, illustrious by their Capacities and Virtues; with many Instructions which were used to be sung in the Solemnities, Sacrifices, Obsequies, and Ceremonies, instituted in honour of Ancestors.

The second contains the Customs established in the Empire, and are, as it were, Romances, compos'd by private Persons, not sung, but recited, before the Emperor and his Ministers. We find there a natural Picture of their Customs, and the Defects, both of the People and the Princes their Governors, are censured.

The third is called Comparison, because all its Meaning is explained by Similes and Comparisons.

The Manner of the fourth rises to the Sublime, because the Odes commonly begin with certain bold Strokes of the Marvellous, which prepare the Mind of the Reader to be attentive to what follows.

The fifth contains the Verses that are suspected, and were reckoned by *Confucius* to be Apocryphal. That I may give the Reader some Idea of this Work, I present him with some Odes which P. Premare has faithfully translated.

(+) The Text says *Yen meoy*, *Yen* signifies Salt, and *Muey* a Sort of Fruit which gives it a relish.

(†) This is not the only passage wherein Humility is recommended, for this fundamental Virtue is extolled in many Places of these ancient Books; and it is ordinary enough to meet with

Lessons of Humility among the Chinese Philosophers, but pretty rare among those of Greece and Rome.

(A) The Character of *Cesar* is drawn by *Lucan* almost in the same Words:

*Nil altum putat dum quid superaret agendum.*



# Select ODES from the Shi king.

## O D E I.

### *A young King desires Instruction from his Ministers.*

I Know that a Man ought always to watch over himself; and that Heaven has an Intelligence which nothing can escape, and whose Decrees are irreversible: Let us not therefore say, "He is so far above and so distant from us, that he never minds what passes below." I know that he considers all, that he pervades all, and that he is ever present with all. But alas! I am yet too young, too ignorant, and too careless of my Duties. However, I apply myself with all my Strength, and I endeavour not to lose time; desiring nothing more ardently than to arrive at Perfection. I hope that you will assist me to carry so heavy a Burden, and that your Councils will help to render me solidly Virtuous, which is all I desire.

## O D E II.

### *(\*) In Praise of Ven vang.*

HEAVEN made this high Mountain, and Tay wang rendered it a Desert: This Loss intirely proceeds from his Fault; but Ven vang has restored it to its first Lustre. The Path which the former trod was full of Dangers: But the way of Ven vang is straight and easy. Ye, the Race of so wise a King, carefully preserve the Happiness which he hath procur'd for you.

## O D E III.

### *In Praise of the same.*

HE who is sole Monarch, and supream Lord, descends so far from his Majesty, as to take care of things here below; always attentive to the real Happiness of the World, he casts his Eyes about the face of the Earth. He sees two Nations who have abandoned his Laws, yet the most High does not abandon them, he tries them, he waits for them; he searches every where for a Man according to his own Heart; and he himself would extend his Empire. With this View he affectionately fixes his Eyes upon the West. It is there he ought to dwell, and to reign with this new King.

He begins then, by rooting up all noxious (+) Herbs, and carefully nourishing the good: He lops off the luxuriant Branches of the Trees, and ranges them in a just order: He plucks the Roses, and he cultivates the Mulberry-Trees. The Lord is about to restore to Men their primitive Virtue: All their Enemies will flee before them: Heaven would give itself an (†) Equal; never was Will more absolute.

The Lord looks upon this holy Mountain: It is the Habitation of Peace, and here grows none of the Wood of which Weapons are made: His Reign is eternal; therefore no Trees we see here, whose Leaves fall to the Ground. It is the Work of the most High, who has exalted the younger Brother in place of the elder.

Ven vang alone has a Heart, which knows how to love his Brethren; he forms all their Happiness and all their Glory: The Lord fills him with all his good things, and has given him the Universe as a Reward.

The Lord penetrates into the Heart of (||) Ven vang, and there he finds a secret and an inexplicable Virtue which diffuses its Fragrance all round. It is a wonderful Assemblage of his most precious Gifts; the Intelligence for regulating all, the Wisdom for enlightning all, Science for teaching, Council for guiding, Piety and Sweetness for endearing, Strength and Majesty for awing, and in fine, Grace and Charms for winning, all Hearts; Virtues invariably the same. This is, as it were, an Inheritance which he has received from the most High, and a Happiness which he has communicated to his Posterity.

The Lord has said to Ven vang: When the Heart is not upright its Desires are disorderly, and it is not proper for saving the Universe: You are perfectly incapable of these failings. Ascend then, first, the Mountain, that you may draw all the World after you. There are Rebels

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that

(\*) *Feng wang*, according to Interpreters and Historians was Father to *Vu wang*, who was the founder of the 3d Race.

(†) All this here must be understood Allegorically, according to the Style of the ancient Poetry. The *Shi king*, is full of such Passages.

(||) The Letter *Peng* signifies Companion, Equal, it is sometimes taken for *Man* and *Wife*. Some Interpreters have thought

that the Spouse, which Heaven appointed for *Ven wang*, is spoken of here; the *Shi king*, else where calls her *Tsun Peng*, that is to say, the Sister of Heaven.

(‡) The Text says *Pang ti*, but the best Interpreters agree, it is a wrong Reading, and that it should be *Ven wang*, because all that is said in this Passage can be applied to none but him.



that disobey their Sovereign: believing themselves above Men; they tyrannize over them: Arm yourself with my Vengeance, display your Standards, put your Troops in Array, re-establish Peace over all, fix the Happiness of your Empire, and answer what the World expects of you.

Immediately, *Ven vang*, without quitting his Court, ascends to the Top of the Mountain. Re-enter into your Caverns ye rebellious Spirits! this is the Mountain of the Lord; ye can have no admittance here. These living Springs are of pure Water, where the Subjects of *Ven vang* quench their Thirst; these Pleasures are not for you. *Ven vang* has chosen this Mountain; he has opened to himself these pure Fountains: Thither the loyal Subjects ought to come: Thither Kings should repair.

The Lord has said to (\*) *Ven vang*; I love Virtue pure and simple such as yours: It makes no great Noise, nor any pompous Appearances: It is not forward; it is not haughty; it may be said, that you have Spirit and Understanding, that you may conform yourself to my Orders: You know your Enemy; make head against him with all your Forces, prepare your warlike Machines, make ready your Chariots, march to the Destruction of the Tyrant; chase him from the Throne which he usurps. Ye armed Chariots, hasten not: Ye lofty Walls tremble not: *Ven vang* is not precipitant in his March: He breathes nothing in his Anger but Peace: He takes Heaven to Witness for the Goodness of his Heart: He is willing that they should submit without fighting, and is ready to pardon the most criminal. Far from incurring any contempt by this Lenity, He never appear'd more amiable; but if they will not submit to so many Charms, his Chariots will arrive with a mighty Noise: In vain does the Tyrant trust to the Height and Strength of his Walls: *Ven vang* attacks, fights, and subdues him: He destroys his cruel Empire; and this Justice is so far from rendering the Conqueror odious, that the Universe was never more disposed to obey his Laws.

#### O D E IV.

##### *Councils given to a King.*

A Grave and a majestic Outside, is, as it were, the Palace where Virtue resides. But it is a true Saying: "At present, the most Ignorant have Knowledge enough to discern the Faults of others; and the most Clear-sighted are blind to their own."

He who exacts nothing of any Man which is above his Strength, is fit to teach the Universe; and the truly Wise does what he pleases with the Heart of Man. Form no Design where Interest has the least share: Issue Orders so just that you need never to change them: And to answer these two Points, Preserve even the appearance of Probity and Virtue, that you may serve as a Pattern to all your People?

But alas! these wise Lessons are of no farther Use: All is overturned; and, as it were, buried in a shameful Debauch; and because this Debauch pleases, Regularity and the Maxims of our ancient Kings are no longer studied, in order to revive their wise Laws.

Auspicious Heaven, you say, does no longer protect you: But Heaven only loves those who are on the Side of Virtue: You are in the Middle of the Stream, and ought to dread, least it carry you along. Be incessantly upon your Guard in the smallest Matters, exactly observe the Hour of rising from, and going to, Bed. Take care that your House be always well regulated: You will render your People diligent by your Example; if you keep your Chariots, your Horses, your Soldiers, and your Arms, in good Condition; you will escape War, and keep the Barbarians at a Distance.

Perfect your People, and be the first to observe the Laws which you yourself prescribe: By this means, you will save yourself a great deal of Uneasiness. Above all things, maturely weigh your Orders; and take great care of your outward Appearance: Then all will be peaceful, and all will be well. A Blemish may be taken out of a Diamond by strongly polishing it: But if your Words have the least Blemish, there is no way to efface that.

Never speak therefore but with great Caution; and do not say, "It is only a single Word." Remember that no other Person has the keeping of your Tongue; and unless you keep it yourself, you will commit a thousand Faults. Words full of Wisdom are like Virtue, which never passes unrewarded: By her, you assist your Friends; and your Subjects, who are your Children, will become Virtuous by following your Maxims from Age to Age.

While you are among wise Friends, compose yourself in such a Manner, as that nothing may be seen about your Person but what is sweet and amiable: When you are in your own Family, let nothing that is irregular escape you; in short, when you are alone in the most retired Corner of your House, indulge your self in nothing that is shameful: nor say, Nobody sees me: (†) For there is an intelligent Spirit that sees all: He comes when least expected, and it is he who ought to keep us continually watchful over ourselves.

(\*) The following are the excellent words of a Disciple of and a Commentator upon *Chu hi*.

This admirable Person, says he, is complaisant and gentle: humble and pliable: To hear him, one would say, that he neither knows nor is capable of any thing. When a Heart is thus disposed, with what Riches may it not be fill'd! For which reason the most conspicuous and the highest Virtue is founded upon the solid and unmoveable Foundation of Humility: The understanding of no Man, is greater than his who really thinks

his own talents very confid'd.

(†) *Chu hi* speaks in the following Terms: A Man must be well persuaded, says he, that the Lord of Spirits, and of all Invisible Beings, is intimately diffused thro' all. When he comes, none can perceive that he is present; however attentive a Man is, he ought always to fear: what then ought not they to dread, who never have a thought of him! The meaning of all this is: That it is not enough to regulate the Outside, but we ought likewise to watch upon what passes within our Breast.



Your Virtue then ought not to be common, it ought to rise to the highest Degree of Perfection. Regulate all your Motions so well, that you may never leave the straight Path: Do not pass the Bounds prescribed you by Virtue, and shun whatever can offend her. Propose yourself to the World, as a Pattern, which it may imitate without Fear. The Proverb says, "A Pear is given for a Peach. You will not reap what you have sowed." They, who tell you the contrary, deceive you; it is as the Saying goes, "Look for Horns in the Head of a Lamb newly brought forth."

A Branch of a Tree, which is easy and pliant, takes whatever bent is given it: A wise Man possesses Humility, the solid Foundation of all the Virtues. Inform him of the fine Maxims of Antiquity; he immediately complies, and endeavours to put them in Practice. On the contrary, he who is stupid, thinks you impose upon him, and will believe nothing. Thus every one follows his own Propensity.

O my Son! you say, you are ignorant of good and evil: It is not by forceably dragging you along, that I would conduct you to true Virtue, but, by giving you sensible Proofs of all I say: It is not by barely hearing my Lessons that you become wise, but, by putting them in Practice with all your Heart. To acknowledge, as you do, your Incapacity, is an excellent Disposition to be soon qualified to instruct others: For, from the Moment that a Man is no longer full of himself, nor puffed up with an empty Pride, whatever good he learns in the Morning, he practises before the Evening.

Supreme T'ien (\*) clearly distinguishes Good and Evil: He hates the Proud and cherishes the Humble: There is not a Period of my Life in which I am not liable to offend T'ien: Then how can we have a moment of Joy in so miserable a Life? It passes away as a Dream, and Death comes upon us before we are aware. This it is that gives me Grief. I forget nothing that may serve to instruct you, yet you hear me with Reluctance. Far from approving my Lessons, they appear to you, perhaps, very rude. You say that you have not yet attained the Period of Life when Wisdom is acquired; but if at present, you neglect to embrace Virtue, how can you arrive at her in a feeble old Age?

O my Son! I dictate to you only the great Maxims of our ancient Kings. If you hear my Councils, you will never have Reason to repent. Heaven is in Wrath; dread lest it discharges itself upon you and your Subjects. You have remarkable Examples of its Conduct in past Ages. The Lord never deviates from his own Ways. Rest assured, that your not entering immediately into the Paths of Virtue which I have laid open to you, is the means of drawing down upon yourself and your Empire the greatest Miseries.

# O D E V.

## Upon the Ruin [or Fall] of Mankind.

**I** Lift my Eyes to Heaven, which appears as if it were Brass. Our Miseries have endured for a long time: The World is lost: Wickedness spreads itself like a fatal Poison: The Snares of Sin are extended on all Sides, and there is no appearance of Remedy.

We once had blissful Fields; but Woman has deprived us of them: We once were Lords of all; but Woman has made us Slaves. The thing she hates is Innocence; the thing she loves is Impiety.

The wise Husband rears the Walls; but the Wife, who grasps at all Knowledge, demolishes them. O how enlightened is she! She is a Bird whose Note is fatal; and the Excess of her Tongue is the Ladder, by which all our Miseries descend. Our Ruin does not proceed from Heaven, but from Woman. All, who will not hear the Instruction of Wisdom, are like to that unhappy One. She has ruined Mankind. This was first an Error, afterwards, a Crime, which she is so far from acknowledging that she cries, *What have I done.* (†) A wise Man ought not to expose himself to the Dangers of Commerce, or a Woman to meddle with any thing but sewing and spinning.

Why does Heaven afflict you? Why do the heavenly Spirits withdraw their Assistance from you? Because you have abandoned yourself to what you ought to have shunned, and left me, whom alone you ought to have loved; you are oppress'd with all Kinds of Calamities: There is not the least footstep of Modesty and Decency. Man is lost, and the Universe is upon the Point of its ruin.

Heaven has thrown out its Nets; they are spread over all: Man is lost, O how this afflicts me. Heaven spreads its Nets, they are not far off: It is done; Man is lost: This occasions all my Sadness.

This deep Brook has a Source from whence it proceeds: My Grief resembles it: It is deep, and it comes from afar. Man no longer has what he possess'd before his Fall, and has involved his Children in his Misery. (‡) O Heaven! You only can apply the Remedy: Wipe away the Stains of the Father, and save his Posterity.

(\*) Or Heaven.

(†) All Interpreters own that the Text in this Passage is almost unintelligible so that we cannot answer for the Translation. Perhaps the Text is corrupted, perhaps it conceals some Meaning, which we cannot come at.

(‡) Tho' Heaven (says *Chu hi*) is so far above us, that it would

seem as if this World were unworthy of its Cares, yet its Ways and Designs are impenetrable, it can strengthen Weakness it self, and re-establish Order, when all seems to be ruin'd. If *T'ien* ever would have chang'd, and have become a new Man, Heaven would have suspended its Decree; and the Posterity of that unhappy Man would not have entirely been lost.



## O D E VI.

*The Poet laments the Miseries of Mankind.*

(K) **PRODIGIOUS!** That Hail should fall so much at this Season! Grief wounds my Soul, when I see the Disorders of Sinners. Can they go any further? Behold the miserable Condition to which I am reduced; my Sorrows increase every Moment. Have some regard to the Perplexity which I bring on my self. My Sorrows consume me, and yet I am obliged to conceal them.

I have received Life from my Parents: For what end have I received it, but to be overwhelmed with so many Ills? I can neither advance, nor retire. Men employ their Tongues either in flattering or destroying themselves: And, when I appear afflicted, I am the Object of their Ridicule.

My Heart is full of Bitterness, when I see so much Misery: The most Innocent are the most to be bewailed: From whence can they expect relief? Who will stop these Ravens? Or who are to be their Prey?

Behold, this vast Forest full of Wood! only proper to be thrown into the Fire. The People overwhelmed with so many Misfortunes, look up to Heaven, (+) and seem to doubt of Providence. But when the Hour to execute its Decrees is come, no one dares oppose it. It is the supreme Being; it is the sole Sovereign: When he punishes, he is just; and none dares accuse him of being influenced by Hatred.

But the Wicked look upon what is high, as if it were low, and upon what is low, as if it were high. When will their Extravagancies be at an end? They call upon the old wife Men, and scoffingly say to them; *Explain to us your Dreams.* They are covered with Sin, and they believe themselves to be blameless: Among Ravens, how can we distinguish the Male from the Female?

When I reflect upon the Master of the Universe, upon his Majesty, and his Justice; I humble myself before him and tremble, lest he should reprimand me: Yet all my Words come from the bottom of my Heart, and are conformable to Reason. The wicked have the Tongues of Serpents, and revile the Righteous, who are peaceful.

Behold that vast Field: It is full of noxious Grass which springs from its Bosom. Heaven seems to play with me, as if I were a Thing of nought; and requires an exact Account, as if I had yet any thing exposed to the rage of my Enemies. Am I able to deliver myself?

My Heart is plunged in Sadness; it is sorely pressed with Grief. Whence proceed all these Disorders that are now produced? The Flame is always increasing, and it is impossible to extinguish it. (†) Ah *Pau tse!* unhappy Woman! Thou hast lighted up the Fire which consumes us.

Think incessantly upon your last Hour. The Path you tread is dark, it is slippery, it is dangerous. You drive a Chariot richly adorned: What are you doing? Alas! You crush the Sides of this Chariot, you let all your Riches perish, and when all is lost, you cry for Help.

Crush not the Sides of the Chariot: Take great Care of its Wheels: Watch over your Attendants: Do not suffer so precious a Treasure to perish: Venture not into dangerous Places. But alas! my Words are in vain, no Regard is paid to them.

The Wicked think they are well concealed: But they are like Fish, kept within a Pond; they may dive under the Water; but he, who stands upon the Brink, can easily discern them: My grief to see their misery, is very great.

They pass their Days in Joy: They are served with exquisite Wines and delicate Meats: Their Feasts are endless: They assemble the Companions of their Debauches: They speak of nothing but Nuptials and Pleasures. Reflect, that I am left alone, and that I must conceal even my Tears.

(\*) There are a thousand Passages in antient Poetry that resemble the Introduction of this Ode; and the beginning of the fourth and the seven Stanzas, in which places the Style is more Sublime and Poetical. All the *Shu king* was written in this Style which continues even to this Day.

(†) *Chu fang ching*, one of the Descendants of *Chu bi*, speaks in a very clear Manner, upon this Passage.

To render the Good happy, says he, and to punish the Wicked, is the constant Rule, which Heaven observes. If in this world we don't see the Good rewarded, and the Wicked punished, it is, because the Hour that is to decide their Fate is not yet come. Before this decisive Hour, a Man can, if we may use such an Expression, baffle Heaven. But when the Sentence is past, Heaven certainly gets the better of all. A Man who to day is chastis'd, to morrow may be rewarded; and he who meets with Rewards to day, may to morrow meet with Punishment. When Heaven Chastises, we say it is Angry, but Chastisement proceeds from Justice, and Justice never can be wrought up to Anger, or Hatred: If it does not punish Crimes, as soon as they are committed, it is not from a weak Compassion

to the Criminal; but because the last Sentence has not yet pass'd. And Heaven keeps us in Ignorance of the Moment, when that Sentence is to be executed, that we may always be upon our Guard.

(‡) The *Chinese*, who have long regarded these Books as so many Monuments of what pass'd at the Commencement of their Monarchy, are of opinion that this unhappy *Pau tse*, was the Wife of *Yew wang*, which signifies, the King plung'd in darkness. The Words of *Chu fang ching* are these: It was not, says he, *Ching tang*, who destroy'd the Tyrant *Kie*, it was the Tyrant's unworthy Wife, who was the real Cause of his Ruin. It was not *Fu wang*, who destroy'd the cruel *Chow*: It was his Wife *Ta ho*. It was not the petty King of *Shin*, nor the Barbarians of the West, who were the Cause of the Destruction of the Blind *Fou wang*: It was *Pau tse*, who precipitated him into his great Misery, but alas! Altho' he had a *Pau tse* to ruin him, he had not a *Shing tang*, nor a *Fu wang* to succeed him. These few Words contain the Substance of all that we know of these three illustrious Families.



The smallest Worms have their Holes; the vilest Insects find their Food; yet at present, the People die of Famine and Misery. O Heaven! Thou who justly hast sent all these Misfortunes upon us, behold, how the Wicked live in Plenty, and take Compassion upon the Just who are in the utmost Necessity.

O D E VII.

*An Exhortation on the same Subject.*

THE most High seems to have changed his Clemency into Fury. The People is reduc'd to the Brink of Misery. Truth is no longer observed in Words. That which never fades is no longer thought of. Even those who are least criminal, because their Views are more confined, are wanting in Sincerity and Uprightness: This draws down the wrath of the Lord, and obliges me to warn you.

Heaven appears deaf to our Prayers; we must then be seized with Fear and Grief. Heaven is in Wrath, we must then examine ourselves, and amend without delay. Let your Words be sweet to gain the Hearts of the People: But let them be animated with Strength to stop the Progress of these Woes.

Tho' my Employment is different from yours, I am, however, a Man like yourselves, and I aim at nothing but to satisfy your justest Desires. Hear me then attentively and without contempt, because all I speak is valuable. You know the ancient Proverb, which imports, That the vilest Herbs should be gathered with care, and the Wood, which seems fit only for burning, should be piled up.

Heaven is in Anger: It would be the height of Folly to disregard its Wrath. I speak to you in all the Sincerity of my Heart, and yet you mock me. You say that I am a too timorous old Man; and you remain calm in the midst of Perils: But in the end, the Evil will admit of no Remedy.

Heaven is enraged, yet your Palace is full of Flatterers. There is no longer any Decency in Manners, and good Men are obliged to be silent. The People are inclined to the basest Actions, and we dare not discover the cause of so many Evils. Alas, all is lost! and wise Men are not heard.

Heaven penetrates into the Bottom of Hearts, as Light into a dark Chamber. We must endeavour to conform to its Lights; like two Instruments of Music tuned to the same Pitch. We must join ourselves with it; like two Tablets which appear but one. We must receive its Gifts the very Moment that its Hand is open to bestow. Do not say that I speak to you in vain: Nothing is easier to Heaven than to enlighten us: But our irregular Passions block up the entrance of our Souls.

The Sages of the first Order are like the Trenches that surround us; those of the second Order, are like the Walls that defend us. Your Neighbours are like a Guard before your Door; your Friends like a Prop that supports you; and your Relations like a Fortress that secures you. But, if you would preserve all these Advantages, your Heart must entertain Virtue without reprove: for, if you neglect Wisdom, all these foreign Supports will abandon you and leave you defenceless. Can one be in more terrible Circumstances?

Be seiz'd then with Dread, when you see the anger of Heaven ready to burst over your Head. Do not suffer yourself to be vanquished by Luxury and Pleasure: Tremble lest Heaven should abandon you, and call you to a strict Account. It is a true saying, that Heaven is intelligent: Whether you go out or in, it considers all your Steps. Its Sight is compared to the brightness of the Morning: Because it observes your least Motions.

O D E VIII.

*Advice to a Sovereign.*

O Mighty and supream Lord, thou art the sovereign Master of the World: But how severe is your Majesty, and how rigorous are your Commands? Heaven, it is true, gives Life and Being to all the Inhabitants of the World: But we must not depend too much upon its Liberality and Clemency. I know that it always begins as a Father, but I do not know if it will not end as a Judge.

*Yen wang* cries out; Alas, ye Kings of this World! Ye are cruel, but your Ministers are Tygers and Wolves. Ye are covetous, but your Ministers are Blood-suckers; yet ye suffer such People to be about your Persons; ye raise them to the highest Posts: And because you have constrained Heaven to send a spirit of Giddiness upon you; you place these Wretches at the head of your Subjects.

*Yen wang* cries out; Alas, ye Kings of this World! As soon as ever you desire to have a wife Man near your Persons, immediately the Wicked vow his Destruction, and spread a thousand false Surmises that they may cover their Hatred with specious Pretexts. Ye hear them, ye love them; and thus harbour within your Palace a Troop of Robbers: For this Reason, the Imprecations of the People are boundless.

*Yen wang* cries out; Alas, ye Kings of this World! Ye are with respect to your poor People like fierce and hungry Beasts: And all your skill is employ'd in finding out Counsellors more wicked



## The Canonical Books of the first Order.

than yourselves: By not giving the least application to Virtue, you are destitute of the most solid Support: And your Life being but a Dream, all your Counsellors favour the Illusion.

*Ven vang* cries out; Alas, ye Kings of this World! The murmurs of your People are to you like the Cries of Grasshoppers; but Anger boils in their Hearts. You are upon the Brink of Ruin, and yet you are not reclaimed. The Plague is in the Bosom of the Empire, and spreads even to the most distant Barbarians.

*Ven vang* cries out; Alas, ye Kings of this World! It is not the Lord ye ought to accuse for so many Calamities: Impute them all to your selves. Ye would not hear the wise old Men; you have set them at a distance from you: But tho' you have these venerable Persons no longer, the Laws still remain with you: Follow them, that you may avert the Scourges that are ready to chastise you.

*Ven vang* cries out; Alas, ye Kings of this World! It is a too true Saying, "That fair Tree was not destroyed, because its Branches were broken, or its Leaves beaten down, but because its Root was spoil'd and corrupted." As you ought to see yourselves in the Kings your Predecessors, whom you represent, so you shall, one Day, serve as Examples to those who succeed you. The older the World grows, there are more illustrious Examples for Instruction; yet it never grows better.

I am now come to an end of what I had to say with respect to the first three classical Books, and have enlarged more upon them than I shall upon the two others; because these last are not near so much respected, tho' they are look'd upon as very valuable Monuments.

### The Chun tsyu, the fourth Canonical Book of the first Order.

Opinions about the Author of this Book.

THE *Chun tsyu* was not admitted into the Rank of the King, till the times of the Dynasty of the Han. The Book itself was written in the Days of *Confucius*; and consequently, much inferior to the other three, which have always, and unanimously, been acknowledged the true King: But there have been great Disputes about the *Chun tsyu*. One Party, which is the most numerous, attribute this Work to *Confucius*, but others maintain that this Philosopher was not its Author. Many are of opinion that it contains the History of the Kingdom of *Lü*, which was the Native Country of *Confucius*, and is at present the Province of *Shan tong*. Others maintain that it is an Abridgment of what passed in the different Kingdoms, into which *China* was divided, before they were all united into one Monarchy by *Tsin shi wang*: For which reason, *Vang ngan she*, a learned Man, and able Politician and a Minister of State, would degrade the *Chun tsyu*, by reducing it to the King of the second Class. Nevertheless, the Chinese have a particular Fondness and an extraordinary Value for this Work.

The Actions of many Princes are there described; and their Vices and Virtues, together with the respective Rewards and Punishments attending them, are there exhibited, as in a Mirror. It commences at the 49th Year of the Emperor *Ping wang*, who was the thirteenth of the Race of the *Chew*, and comprehends all that passed during 241 Years under ten Kings. This Piece of History begins with *In kong*, who possessed the Kingdom of *Lü*; and ends with *Ngay kang* the twelfth King.

This Book is entitled the *Spring* and the *Autumn*: thereby giving us to understand, that an Empire revives and becomes flourishing, when governed by a wise and virtuous Prince; in the same manner as in the Spring, Nature is in some measure regenerated, and reanimated by the agreeable Verdure, with which the Ground and the Trees begin to be clothed. On the other hand, under a vicious and a cruel Prince, the Empire languishes and appears upon its Decline; in the same manner as in Autumn, the Trees divest themselves of their Ornaments, the Leaves and the Flowers fade away, and Nature seems to be dying. A Disciple of *Confucius*, whose Name was *Ko shi*, has composed a learned Commentary upon this Work, intitled *Que yu*, that is to say, *The Maxims of Government*.

The *Ko shi* Author of a Commentary upon it.

### The Li ki, or the fifth Canonical Book of the first Order.

THE fifth Book entitled the *Li ki*, which is, as who should say, a Memorial of the Laws, Duties, and Ceremonies of a civil Life, contains twelve Books which *Confucius* had composed from the different Works of the Ancients. It is believed that its principal Author was the Brother of the Emperor *Vu wang*, whose Name was *Chew kang*, a Prince whom Virtue, Prudence, and Capacity equally recommended.

This Book likewise comprehends the Works of several of the Disciples of *Confucius* as well as of other Authors more modern and less to be depended on. The Customs and Ceremonies, both sacred and profane, are there treated of, together with the Usages of all Kinds which were practised



tified, especially in the Times of the three principal Dynasties of the *Hya*, *Chang*, and *Shew*. It treats likewise of the Duties of Children to their Fathers, and of Wives to their Husbands; of the Rules of true Friendship, of Civilities in Feasts, of Hospitality, Funeral Honours, War, Music, and many other Things proper to cement and to keep up Society.

But as 300 Years after this Compilation was made by *Confucius*, all the Copies were burnt by that barbarous Order of *Tsin shi wahang*; and as no more of this Book could be recovered than a few Leaves, saved from the general Conflagration, and what the old Men had been able to retain by Heart; there is no doubt, and it is the Opinion of the Interpreters and Commentators, that it is not only imperfect on account of the unfaithfulness of the Memory of old People, and the bad Designs of some, by whose means there have crept in a great deal of foreign and apocriphal Things, but that there are found in it many Usages which are now a days laid aside: Besides it is a Book which the *Chinese* themselves own, ought to be read with a great deal of Caution.

## Of the Classics, or Canonical Books of the second Order called Tse shu; with the Life of Confucius.

THE five Books just now described, are of the remotest Antiquity, and all others composed since by the wisest Men in *China*, are no other than Copies of, or Comments upon them. Among the numerous Authors, who have bestowed their labour upon these ancient Monuments, none has been more illustrious than *Confucius*: For during so many Ages, he has been looked upon throughout the Empire, by way of Excellence, as the great Master and Ornament of his Nation, as well as a compleat Model for all wise Men.

Tho' he never acquired the Title of King, yet by his excellent Maxims and great Examples, he governed a part of *China* during his Life; and since his Death, the Doctrine which he collected in his Books, drawn from the ancient Laws, has been, and still is, look'd upon, as a perfect Rule of Government. As he never had any other View in his Undertakings, Travels, or Discourses, than to revive the Morality of the first Ages, to procure the Happiness of Subjects, by instructing their Princes, and thereby to promote the Love of Wisdom, Justice and Virtue throughout the Empire; So his Memory is in the highest Veneration, and hath transmitted such a Lustre to Posterity, that it still shines, notwithstanding the distance of Time that has intervened. There is, properly speaking, no Family in *China* whose Nobility is hereditary, except that of *Confucius*, which still subsists; and is there in the highest Esteem. Many Authors having written the Life of this Philosopher, I shall deliver what is most generally said on that Subject.

Encomiums of Kong fu tse.

His Life and Writings the Rule of Government.

Nobility in China only hereditary in the Family of Kong fu tse.

### The Life of Kong fu tse, or Confucius.

**C**ONFUCIUS was born in a Town of the Kingdom of *Lü*, now the Province of *Shan tong*, in the 21<sup>st</sup> Year of the Reign of *Ling wang*, the 23<sup>d</sup> Emperor of the Race of the *Chew*, 551 Years before Christ, and two before the Death of *Thales*, one of the seven Sages of *Greece*. He was contemporary with the famous *Pythagoras*; and somewhat earlier than *Socrates*.(\*) But *Confucius* has had this advantage above the other three, that his Glory has increased with the succession of Years, and has arrived at the highest pitch that human Wisdom can pretend to. This exalted Reputation he still Maintains in the midst of the greatest Empire in the World, which thinks itself indebted to this Philosopher for its Duration and Splendor.

Time of his Birth.

His Advantages above some Grecian Philosophers.

Had *Thales* and *Pythagoras*, like *Confucius*, been contented with giving Precepts of Morality; had neither the first dived into Questions purely Physical, concerning the Origin of the World; nor the second dogmatized on the nature of the Rewards annexed to Virtue, and the Punishments appointed for Vice, after this Life; these two Sages of Antiquity might have enjoyed a Reputation for Learning, less liable to Censure.

*Confucius*, without being solicitous to search into the impenetrable Secrets of Nature, or to refine too much on Points of common Belief, a Rock dangerous to Curiosity, solely confined himself to speak concerning the Principle of all Beings; to inspire a Reverence, Fear and Gratitude for him; to inculcate, that nothing, not even the most secret Thought, escapes his Notice; that he never leaves Virtue without Reward, nor Vice without Punishment, whatever the present Condition of both may be. These are the Maxims scattered throughout his Works; upon these Principles he governed himself, and endeavoured a Reformation of Manners.

The Doctrines inculcated in his Works.

*Confucius* was but three Years old when he lost his Father *Sho lyang be*, who died about the Age of 73. This old Man enjoyed the highest Offices of the Kingdom of *Song*, yet left no other Inheritance to his Son, but the honour of descending from *Ti ye*, the 27<sup>th</sup> Emperor of the 2<sup>d</sup> Race of the *Shang*: His Mother, whose Name was *Shing*, and who drew her Pedigree from the illustrious Family of the *Yen*, lived 21 Years after the Death of her Husband.

Account of his Parents.

\* The Author might have added, that he was Contemporary with *Sohs*, the Celebrated Philosopher, and Legislator of *Athen*.



**His Studies in his Youth,** In his most tender Age he was observed to have the Wisdom of a discreet Man; Play and childish Amusements were not at all to his liking. A grave, modest and serious Air gained him the Respect of those who knew him, and was a Prefage of what he would one Day become. He had scarce attained his 15<sup>th</sup> Year, when he applied himself seriously to the Study of the ancient Books, and furnished his Mind with Maxims the most proper to regulate the Heart, and inspire the People with the Love of Virtue. At the Age of nineteen he married, and had but one Wife, and by her a Son called *Pe yu*, who died at the Age of fifty; this latter left one Heir, called *Tsu tsü*, who treading in the Steps of *Confucius* his Grand-Father, devoted himself to the study of Wisdom, and by his Merit obtained the chief Employments in the Empire.

**His Marriage.** When *Confucius* was more advanced in Years, and thought he had made considerable Progress in the Knowledge of Antiquity, he proposed to re-establish the form of a wise Government in the several little Kingdoms, of which the Empire was composed, and to procure by this means the Reformation of Manners. For then, each Province of the Empire was a distant Kingdom, had its particular Laws, and was governed by its own Prince.

**He proposes a general Reformation of Manners.** To say the Truth, all the little Kingdoms were dependant on the Emperor; but it often happened that the imperial Authority was too weak to keep them within the bounds of their Duty. These Kings were Sovereigns in their respective Dominions; they levied Taxes, imposed Tribute, conferred Dignities and Employments; declared War, when they thought proper, against their Neighbours, and sometimes became formidable to the Emperor himself. As Interest, Avarice, Ambition, Dissimulation, false Policy, with the love of Pleasure and Luxury, prevailed in all these little Courts, *Confucius* undertook to banish these Vices, and to introduce the opposite Virtues in their Stead, he preached up every where, as well by his own Example, as by his Instructions, Modesty, Disinterestedness, Sincerity, Equity, and Temperance, together with the contempt of Riches and Pleasures.

**Accepts of Offices into the Magistracy with a View.** His Integrity, extensive Knowledge, and the Splendor of his Virtues, soon causing him to be known, several Places in the Magistracy were offered him; which he accepted solely with a View of propagating his Doctrine, and reforming Mankind. Tho' his Success was not answerable to his Pains, yet being less influenced with the Honours that were paid him, than the Love of the public Welfare, he presently threw up all his Employments, how considerable soever, to go in quest elsewhere of a People more tractable, as well as more capable of profiting by his Precepts.

**Reformation wrought in the Kingdom of Lu.** Of this he gave several Proofs on various Occasions, but especially in the 55<sup>th</sup> Year of his Age, when he was promoted to one of the chief Posts in the Kingdom of *Lu*, his native Country. In less than three Months the Face of the Kingdom was changed; the Prince who placed his whole Confidence in him, the Grandees of the Kingdom, and the People, were quite different from what they were before. This Change was so sudden and prosperous, that it infused Jealousy in the neighbouring Princes. They judged that, as nothing was more capable of making a Kingdom flourish than good Order and the exact Observation of the Laws, the King of *Lu* would infallibly become too powerful, if he continued to follow the Councils of so wise and knowing a Man.

**Defeated by a Stratagem.** Of these Princes the King of *Tsi*, being most alarmed, held several Councils with his principal Ministers; and after frequent Deliberations it was concluded, that under the pretence of an Embassy, a Present should be made, to the King of *Lu* and to the great Lords of his Court, of a great Number of beautiful young Girls, who had been instructed from their Infancy in Singing and Dancing, and had all the Charms, requisite to please and captivate the Heart.

This Stratagem succeeded: For the King of *Lu* and all his Grandees, received this Present with a great deal of Gratitude and Joy; and not being able to resist the Charms of these Strangers, thought of nothing else but making Feasts to divert them. The Prince wholly taken up with his Pleasures, abandoned the Business of the State, and became inaccessible to his most zealous Ministers.

*Confucius* endeavoured by Remonstrances, to bring him back to his Reason and Duty; but when he saw that the Prince was deaf to all his Councils, he resolved to divest himself of an Office which could be of no use to the People, under so voluptuous a Prince. Whereupon, laying down his Employment, he left the Court; and became an Exile from his native Country, in order to seek in other Kingdoms for Minds, more fit to relish and follow his Maxims.

**He returns to a private Life, and falls into great Indigence.** He passed through the Kingdoms of *Tsi*, *Gbey*, and *Tsu*, to no Effect. The Austerity of his Morals, made his Politics dreaded; nor were the Ministers of the Princes willing to countenance a skilful Rival, who was able quickly to ruin their Credit and Authority. Thus wandering from Province to Province, he came into the Kingdom of *Shing*, where he was reduced to the greatest Indigence, without laying aside his Greatness of Soul and usual Constancy.

It was a Sort of Novelty to behold a Philosopher, after he had gained the public Admiration in the most honourable Employments of the State, returning of his own accord to the private Functions of a Sage, entirely devoted to the Instruction of the People, and on this Account, undertaking continual and painful Journeys. His Zeal extended to Persons of all Ranks, to the Learned and Ignorant, to Courtiers and Princes; in short, his Lessons were adapted to all Conditions in general, and proper for each in particular.

**Number of his Disciples.** He had so often in his Mouth, the Maxims and Examples of the Heroes of Antiquity, *Yau*, *Shun*, *Yu*, *Ching tang*, and *Ven vang*, that those great Men seemed to be revived in him. For this Reason it is not at all surprizing that he had such a great Number of Disciples, who were inviolably attached to his Person: For they reckon 3000, amongst whom there were 500, who



who possessed, with Honour, the highest Trusts in various Kingdoms; and amongst these were 72, still more distinguished than the rest by the Practice of Virtue. His Zeal inspired him even with a Desire of crossing the Sea, in order to propagate his Doctrine in the most distant Climates.

He divided his Disciples in four different Classes: The first was of those who were to cultivate their Minds by Meditation, and to purify their Hearts by the care of acquiring Virtues. The most famous of this Class were *Men tsü kien*, *Jen pe myew*, *Shung kong*, and *Yen ywen*: This last was snatched away by an untimely Death, at the Age of 31; and as he was greatly beloved by his Master, he was a long time the subject of his Grief and Tears. The second Class consisted of those whose Business was to reason justly, and to compose persuasive and elegant Discourses: The most admired amongst these were *Tsay ngo*, and *Tsü kong*. The Employment of the third Class was to study the Rules of good Government; to give the Mandarins an Idea of it, and to teach them how to acquit themselves worthily in the public Offices. The most eminent in their respect were *Ien yen*, and *Ki li*. In short, to write in a concise and elegant Style, the Principles of Morality, was the Business of the Disciples of the last Class; among whom *Tsü yen*, and *Tsü bya*, deserved very great Commendations. These ten choice Disciples were the Flower and Chief of *Confucius's* School.

The whole Doctrine of this Philosopher, tended to restore human Nature to its primitive Lustre and Beauty, received from Heaven; which had been obscured by the Darkness of Ignorance, and the Contagion of Vice. The means he proposed to attain it, was to obey, honour and fear the Lord of Heaven; to love our Neighbours as ourselves; to conquer irregular Inclinations; never to take our Passions for the Rule of our Conduct; but to submit to Reason, and listen to it in all Things; so as neither to act, speak, or think in any wise contrary to it.

As his Actions never contradicted his Maxims; and as by his Gravity, Modesty, Mildness, and Frugality, his Contempt of Earthly Enjoyments, and a continual watchfulness over his Conduct, he was himself an Example of the Precepts he taught in his Writings, and Discourses, each of the Kings strove to draw him into his Dominions: The good Effects wrought by him in one Country, being a Motive for another earnestly to wish for his Presence.

But a Zeal continually successful, and without Opposition, would have wanted something of its full Lustre. *Confucius* appeared always equal to himself in the greatest Disgraces and Troubles; which yet were the more likely to ruffle him, as they were excited by the Jealousy of ill designing Persons, and in a Place where he had been generally applauded. This Philosopher, after the Death of the Prince of *Chew* his Admirer, became of a sudden, through the Envy of his Courtiers, the common Talk of the senseless Populace, and the Subject of their Songs and Satyrs; in the midst of which unworthy Treatment, he lost nothing of his usual Tranquility.

But what was most to be admired, was the Constancy and Steadiness he discovered, when his Life was in imminent Danger, through the Brutality of a great Officer of the Army, named *Whan ti*; who hated this Philosopher, tho' he had never given him any Offence. But bad Men have always a natural Antipathy to those, whose regular Life is a secret Reproach to their disorderly Conduct. *Confucius* beheld the Sword lifted up, ready to give him a mortal Blow; yet tho' the Danger was so near, he did not discover the least Concern or Emotion: But his Disciples were terrified and dispersed.

As some of those who had most Affection for him, pressed him to make Haste away, to avoid the Mandarins Fury: *If Tjen*, replied he, *protects us, of which he has just given a very sensible Proof, what Harm can the Rage of Whan ti do us, notwithstanding he is President of the Tribunal of the Army?*

*Confucius* seemed on this Occasion to support the Character of a Sage, more worthily than the Stoic did, when his Master gave him the Blow which lamed him. His natural Insensibility, founded on a notion, that the Pains of the Body do not affect the Soul which resides there, has nothing in it equal to the Sentiment of *Confucius*, who relies on the Protection that Heaven extends to those who serve it. This is not to place Happiness in a Man's own Virtue, that being an insupportable Pride, but is founded on a long Habit of referring every thing to *Tjen*; inasmuch that it occurred to his Mind, on the very first motion of Surprise and Dread.

The Virtues of this Chinese Philosopher, were still more heightened by his charming Modesty, and Aversion to Praise. He was never heard to praise himself, and could hardly bear the Encomiums others bestowed on him: To which he answered only by reproaching himself, for taking so little care in watching over his own Actions, and neglecting to practise Virtue. When any one admired his Doctrine, and the sublime Principles of Morality which he taught, far from assuming the Honour to himself, he ingenuously confessed that it was not invented by him, but was much more ancient, being derived from those wise Legislators, *Tau* and *Shun*, who lived 1500 Years before him.

According to a Tradition universally received amongst the Chinese, he was frequently heard to repeat these Words; *Si fang yew shing jin*, importing, *that, in the West, the true Saint was to be found*. It is not known who the Person was concerning whom he spoke: But it is certain, that 65 Years after the Birth of *Christ*, *Ming ti*, the 15th Emperor of the Family of the *Han*, equally affected with the Words of this Philosopher, and the Image of a Man who appeared to him in a Dream as coming from the West, sent *Tsay tsing* and *Tsin king*, two Grandees of the Empire, into those Parts, with Orders not to return till they had found the holy Person, whom Heaven had revealed to him, and had learned the Law which he taught. But the Messengers terrified with the Dangers and Fatigues of the Journey, stopped somewhere in the



*Indies*, for the Place is uncertain, where they found the Image of a Man named *Fo*, who had infected those Parts with his monstrous Doctrine, about 500 Years before the Birth of *Confucius*; and having informed themselves in the Superstitions of this Country, on their return to *China*, they propagated that Idolatry.

**His Death.** *Confucius* having finished his philosophical Labours, and in particular the historical Work of *Cbun tsyú*, died in the Kingdom of *Lú*, his native Country, aged 73, in the 41st Year of the Reign of *King vang*, the 25th Emperor of the Race of the *Cheu*.

**and last Sayings.** A few Days before his last Sickness, he told his Disciples, with Tears in his Eyes, that he was pierced with Grief, to see the Disorders which reigned in the Empire; adding, "The Mountain is fallen, the high Machine is destroyed, and the Sages are no more to be seen." His Meaning was, that the Edifice of Perfection, which he had endeavoured to raise, was almost overthrown. He began from that time to languish, and the seventh Day before his Death, turning himself towards his Disciples; "The Kings, said he, refuse to follow my Maxims; and since I am no longer useful on the Earth, it is necessary that I should leave it."

**Lamented by the King of Lú.** Having spoken these Words he fell into a Lethargy, which continued seven Days, at the end whereof he expired, in the Arms of his Disciples. When *Ngay kong*, who then reigned in the Kingdom of *Lú*, first heard of the Death of the Philosopher, he could not refrain from Tears. *Heaven is not satisfied with me*, cried he, *since it has taken Confucius from me*. In effect, the Sages are precious Gifts which Heaven bestows on the Earth, and their Worth is most known by the loss of them.

**His Sepulchre.** They built his Sepulchre near the City *Kyo seu*, on the Side of the River *Su*, in the same Spot where he used to assemble his disciples. It has since then been enclosed with Walls, and at present looks like a small City. He was lamented by the whole Empire, but especially by his Disciples, who went into Mourning, and bewailed him as if he had been their Father. These Sentiments, full of Veneration which they had for him, encreasing with time, he is at present considered as the great Master and chief Doctor of the Empire.

**His Person.** He was tall and well proportioned. His Breast and Shoulders were broad, his Air grave and majestic, his Complexion olive, his Eyes large, his Beard long and black, his Nose a little flat, and his Voice strong and piercing. On the Middle of his Forehead there was a Swelling, or Kind of Wen, which disfigured him a little, and caused his Father to call him *Kyew*, that is, *little Hill*: A Name he sometimes gave himself out of Modesty and Humility.

**His Works.** But it is by his Works that he is chiefly known; whereof four are in greatest Esteem, because they contain all that he had collected relating to the ancient Laws, which are looked on as a perfect Rule of Government: Altho' the last of them is more properly the Work of his Disciple *Mengius*. The first of these Books is called *Ta hyo*, which signifies *the grand Science*, or *the School of Adults*. The second is named the *Cbong yong*, or the *immutable Medium*, being that just Middle which is found between two Extreams, and wherein Virtue consists. The third is called *Lun yu*, that is, *moral and pitby Discourses*. And the fourth is intitled *Meng tsé*, or the Book of *Mengius*: In which the Author gives an Idea of a perfect Government.

To these four Books, are added two others, which are almost in equal Reputation. The first named *Hiau king*, that is, *of filial Respect*, contains the Answers which *Confucius* made to his Disciple *Tseng*, concerning the Reverence due to Parents. The second is called *Syau hyo*, that is, *the Science or School of Children*; and is a Collection of Sentences and Examples, taken from ancient and modern Authors. In order to give the Reader a slight Notion of the *Chinese Science*, I shall make a short Extract of each of these Books, from the Latin Translation of *P. Noël* (one of the most ancient Missionaries of *China*) printed at *Prague* in 1711. To which I refer those who would be more thoroughly acquainted with them.

### The Ta hyo, or, School of Adults. The first Classical or Canonical Book of the second Order.

Abstract of the Ta hyo.

**C**ONFUCIUS is the Author of this Work, and his Disciple *Tseng tsé* the Commentator. This is what Beginners ought to study first, because it is as it were the first entrance into the Temple of Wisdom and Virtue. It treats first of the Care we ought to take in governing ourselves, that we may be able afterwards to govern others; and of Perseverance in the Sovereign good, which according to him, is nothing else but the Conformity of our Actions with right Reason. The Author calls his Book *Ta hyo*, or, *The grand Science*, because it was chiefly designed for Princes and great Men, who ought to learn to govern their People well.

The great Science consists in restoring our corrupted Nature.

All the Science requisite for the Princes and Grandees of a Kingdom, says *Confucius*, consists in cultivating and improving the *reasonable Nature* they have received from *Tyen*; and in restoring to it that primitive Light and Discernment, which has been either weakened or obscured by various Passions, that they may be in a condition afterwards to forward the Perfection of others. To succeed then herein it is necessary to begin with ourselves; and for that end it is requisite to examine well into the nature of Things, and to endeavour to acquire a true Knowledge of

Good



Good and Evil; to fix the Will towards the love of this Good, and the hatred of this Evil; to preserve Integrity of Heart, and regulate his Manners. When a Man has thus renewed himself, he will have no Difficulty to renew others: And by this means Concord and Union is quickly seen to reign in Families; the Kingdoms are governed according to the Laws; and the whole Empire enjoy perfect Peace and Tanquillity.

The Doctor *Tseng*, to give his Masters Doctrine its full Extent, explains it in ten Chapters. In Chap. 1. the first he shews from the Text of the canonical Books, and the Examples of some ancient Emperors, wherein renewing ourselves consists; and what must be done to restore reasonable Nature, to that primitive Light which it received from Heaven. Wherein renewing consists.

In the second he teaches, in what manner the Minds and Hearts of People are to be renewed. Chap. 2.

In the third he shews, what course must be taken to attain Perfection. He proposes as a Patern Chap. 3. the Application of a skilful Workman, who desires to do his Work in Perfection; and quotes Instances of several Princes, who were continually attentive to the Regulation of their Actions and Conduct. How to attain Perfection.

In the fourth he demonstrates, that before all things, a Man ought to Study his own Perfection, and that then it will be easy to render others perfect. Chap. 4.

In the fifth he explains, what it is to penetrate the Nature of Things to the bottom, in order to come to a perfect Knowledge of Good and Evil. Chap. 5.

In the sixth he teaches, that we ought not to deceive ourselves, but apply with a sincere Heart to the Study and Practice of Virtue; to fix the Will in the love of Good and the hatred of Evil; and to put ourselves with regard to both, in the same Disposition as we are with regard to Beauty, which we are prone to love, and Ugliness which we are naturally inclin'd to hate. That our Endeavours be sincere.

In the seventh he shews, that in order to regulate our Manners, we must know how to govern the Heart; and above all, to master the four principal Passions, capable of introducing Trouble and Confusion, viz. Joy, Sadness, Anger and Fear. That in reality these Passions are inseparable from human Nature, but can never hurt the Person who knows how to bridle them; and that the Heart is like a polished Mirror, which is not sullied by the Objects it reflects. How to govern the Passions.

In the eighth he shews, that to establish Union and Peace in a Family, the Father must know how to govern his Affections, that he may not be sway'd by a blind Love, but in all things, follow the Light of sound Reason: For otherwise he will never be able to see either the Faults of those he loves, or the good Qualities of those to whom he has taken an Aversion. Of paternal Affection.

In the ninth he proves, that the wise and prudent Manner, by which Families are regulated, is the Basis of good Government in a Kingdom; that it is the same Principle which actuates and gives motion to both of them; that if we reverence and obey our Parents, we will also reverence and obey the King; that if in the Orders which are given, his Children and Domestic-tics, are treated with Mildness, the same Lenity will be extended towards his Subjects; that this was the wise Council which the Emperor *Vu wang* gave to the King his Brother, saying, *Love your People as a tender Mother loves her young Child*; that this Love is infused by Nature, and requires no Study; that a Maid before her marriage, was never known to study how to manage in suckling her Child; that a wise Prince receives the same Inclination from Nature; that his Example is the Rule by which his Family is governed, and the government of his Family, the Model for the government of his Dominions. Chap. 9. The Regulation of Families is the Basis of Government.

In the tenth Book he shews, that to govern a State well, a Prince ought to judge of others by himself; that he ought to avoid imposing on his Subjects any Commands, which he would not be pleased to find in the Orders of one who had a right to command him; that he ought to gain the Hearts of his Subjects by his Virtue, and inspire them with the Love of it by his Example; that the Happiness of a State does not consist in Gold and Silver, but in its abounding with virtuous Men; that a wise Prince ought, above all things, to be very careful in chusing his Ministers; that he should cast his Eye upon none but just, wise, honest and disinterested Persons; that the Hearts of his Subjects is an inexhaustible Treasure to him; that he will lose his Riches if he seeks to heap them up, and that if he distributes them liberally among his People, he will never fail to be Rich; that in short, he will never taste Happiness, but in proportion as he renders his People happy, and prefers the public Good to his own private Interest. Chap. 10. How Princes should act.

## Chong yong, or, The immutable Medium. The second Classical, or Canonical Book of the second Order.

**T**HIS Work, of which *Confucius* is the Author, was published by his Grandson *Tse tse*: Abstract of the Chong yong. And treats of the Medium which ought to be observed in all Things. *Chong* signifies Middle or Mean, and by *Yong* is understood that which is constant, eternal and immutable. He undertakes to prove that every wise Man, and especially those who are entrusted with the Government of Nations, ought to follow this Middle, in which Virtue consists. He begins with a Definition of human Nature and its Passions: Then he introduces divers Examples of Virtues, The Doctrine of the Medium.



Virtues, and among the rest, of Piety, Fortitude, Prudence, and filial Respect; as so many Patterns of the Medium that ought to be observed. He shews afterwards that this Medium, and the Practice of it, is the right and true Path for a wise Man to take, in order to arrive at the highest Pitch of Virtue.

The first Article. Reason the Rule of human Actions.

This Book is divided into 33 Articles. In the first he says, that the Law of Heaven is engraven even in the Nature of Man; that the Conduct of this Nature, or rather the secret Light that directs his Reason, is the right Path which he ought to follow in his Actions, and becomes the Rule of a wise and virtuous Life; that he must never stray from this Path, for which Cause a wise Man ought incessantly to watch over the Motions of his Heart and his Passions; that these Passions keep the Middle, and incline neither to the right nor left when they are calm; that if we know how to curb and moderate them when they rise, they are then agreeable to right Reason; and, by this Conformity, Man keeps in that right Way, that Medium, which is the Source and Principle of virtuous Actions.

The 2d. 3d. &c. The Medium of several Virtues.

In the second Article, and so to the twelfth, he deplores the unhappy State of the Generality of Mankind, whereof so very few follow this Middle wherein Virtue consists. He enters next into a Detail of certain Virtues, and explains what is the Middle of Prudence, Piety and Fortitude; confirming his Doctrine by Examples of the ancient Emperors, and some Disciples of Confucius.

The 12th & 13th. The Science easy as to Practice.

In the twelfth and thirteenth Articles, he makes it appear, that this Science of the Medium is sublime, difficult and subtle in Speculation, but in Practice easy and common; that it extends to the most ordinary Actions of Life, as the Respect a Child owes to its Parent, the Deference due from a younger Brother to an Elder, and the Sincerity usual between Friends.

The 14th. Effects of keeping the Medium.

In the fourteenth he shews, that in keeping the Medium, a wise Man confines himself to the Duties of his Employment, and does not meddle with other Affairs; that whatever Circumstances, State or Place he is in, he is always the same, always Master of himself, being equally steady amidst the hurry of Business, and in the repose of a private Life; that as he is never proud nor haughty in great Prosperity, so he discovers nothing mean or grovelling in a low and abject Condition.

The 15th &c. Examples of Princes.

From the fifteenth Article to the twenty first, he brings Examples of Princes, who both possessed and practised the Science of the Medium; amongst the rest he cites the Emperor *Shun*, *Ven vang* and *Vu vang*; affirming that Heaven rewarded the Reverence they payed their Parents, by advancing them to the Empire, and loading them with Riches and Honours. Afterwards he gives an Account of the Ceremonies, which these Princes instituted as well to honour the Lord of Heaven, as to give public Marks of their Mindfulness of, and Respect for the Memory of their deceased Parents.

The 20th. Virtues requisite for regulating the Manners.

In the twentieth he shews, that to govern others well, we must know how to govern ourselves; that the Regulation of Manners consists principally in three Virtues, *viz.* Prudence, Integrity of Heart, and Fortitude; that Prudence is necessary for discovering the just Medium in question; Integrity of Heart for pursuing it, and Fortitude for persevering therein. Next he enumerates nine Virtues which an Emperor ought to be possessed of, in order to govern

Those required in Princes.

wisely. (1.) He must regulate his whole Life and Conduct. (2.) He must honour wise Men in a particular Manner. (3.) He must love his Parents tenderly. (4.) He must treat the prime Ministers of the Empire with Distinction. (5.) He must treat the *Mandarins*, and those who aspire to Offices, as he is treated himself. (6.) He must take Care of his Subjects as his own Children. (7.) He must draw into his Dominions such as excell in any useful Art or Profession. (8.) He must give a kind Reception to Strangers, and the Ambassadors of other Princes. (9.) He must keep all the Kings of the Empire, and the tributary Princes within the Bounds of their Duty — After this he explains the Advantages which will accrue to a Prince, by the Practice of these nine Virtues. If his Life be well regulated, it will serve as a Pattern to his Subjects, who will form their Manners by his Example. If he honours wise Men, their Advice and Instructions will be of great service to him, in governing himself and others prudently. If he loves his Parents and Relations, they will not look on his Grandeur and Advancement with an evil Eye; but will join in their Endeavours to maintain his Dignity and Power. If he treats the prime Ministers of the Empire with Honour, they will assist him both with their Councils and Interest in any difficult and perplexing Affair; and he will know what Resolutions he had best to take. If he has the same regard for the other *Mandarins* as himself, their Gratitude to so good a Prince, will make them more zealous and punctual in the Execution of their Trusts. If he takes care of his Subjects as if they were his Children, they will love him as if he was their Father. If he draws all sorts of skilful Artists into his Empire, they will bring with them Riches and Plenty. If he receives Strangers kindly, the four Quarters of the World will resound with his Fame, and the number of his Subjects will be encreased, by the People who will come from all Countries to taste the Sweets of so wise a Government. Lastly, if he keeps the tributary Princes within their Duty, his Authority will be respected, and Peace will reign in the Empire.

and their Effects.

The 21st &c. Truth the Essence of Virtue.

In the twelve following Articles, he makes it appear that these Virtues do not deserve that Name, if they be not real and free from all Disguise; that Truth is the essence of all Virtue; that the prudent Man who would follow the Medium in which Virtue consists, ought to apply himself to the Study of Truth; that it resides in the Heart by the Affection, and appears outwardly by the Practice; that when a Man has once acquired it, he extends his Views and Attention to every thing, foreseeing what is to come, as if it was present; that in short, if

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he who has attained to the Perfection of true Virtue, be possessed of the Sovereign power, he can establish no Laws but what are wise, and for the good of the People.

Lastly, in the 33d Article, he proves, that to acquire this Perfection in which the Medium of Virtue consists, it is not necessary to perform difficult, painful and extraordinary Things; it suffices to apply himself particularly to this Virtue, which tho' hidden within us and not visible to the Eyes of Men, will yet shew itself outwardly, become known and admired: Just as a Fish, which hides itself at the bottom of clear Water, always appears above. He supports this Doctrine by some instances of the ancient Emperors *Ven vang* and *Vu vang*, who are spoken of in the canonical Books, intitled *I king*, *Sbu king* and *Sbi king*.

## Lun yu, or, The Book of Sentences. *The third Classifical, or Canonical Book of the second Order.*

**T**HIS Book is a Collection of Sentences and moral Discourses, and divided into twenty Articles; which consist only of Questions, Answers and Sayings, either of *Confucius* or his Disciples, on the Virtues, good Works, and the art of governing well: Excepting the ten Articles, wherein the Disciples of *Confucius* give a particular account of the outward Behaviour of their Master. We find in this Collection, as five Maxims and Sentences of Morality, as any ascribed to the seven wise Men of *Greece*, so much cry'd up. As it is not possible to give the Substance of so many scattered Maxims, I shall only offer a brief Account of the principal Matters treated of in each Article.

In the first he gives the Character of a wise Man, and shews what are his Virtues and Duties in every condition of Life, whether he be in a private Station, or at the Helm of Affairs. He says, among other things, that it is impossible a Flatterer should be Virtuous: to which the Disciple of *Confucius* adds, that he examined himself every Day, with respect to three Things. (1.) If when he undertakes to do any one a Piece of Service, he applies himself wholly to it, and without Reserve; (2.) If in conversing with his Friends, he behaves with Candour and Frankness; (3.) If after he has heard his Master's Doctrine, he takes care to benefit by it and put it in Practice. He says likewise, that he who studies Wisdom, does not grieve for being little known to Men, but because they are not sufficiently known to him.

In the second he speaks of the Duties of a Prince, who would govern his Subjects well; and of the Reverence due from Children to their Parents. He informs us by what Signs to distinguish a wise Man; with what Care we ought to avoid the evil Sects &c. Would you know, says he, whether a Man be wise or not? Examine well his Actions: If they are bad, he is but too well known: If they are good, try to find out the Motive that influenced him. Carry your Curiosity yet farther: Examine what his Inclinations are, and what he takes most Delight in; After this it will be in vain for him to counterfeit, since you have discovered what he really is at the Bottom. He who approves of the evil Sects, says he again, such as those of the *Ho shang* and *Tau tsé* Bonzas, does great Hurt to himself, and Injury to the Empire. There is no true Doctrine but that which we have received from the ancient Sages; which teaches us to follow right Reason, to preserve Integrity of Heart, to retain a decent Behaviour, to correct our Faults and reform our Manners.

In the third he gives a particular Account of the Ceremonies prescribed for honouring deceased Parents; and rebukes those who neglect or transgress them. He speaks of the Worship due to Spirits; of the imperial Laws, Music, and the Method of shooting with the Bow (&c.).

In the fourth he speaks of the Duties of Children towards their Parents. He shews the Difference between an honest Man and a Knave, a wise Man and a Fool. These following are some of his Maxims; we may judge even by Men's Faults, whether they are virtuous or not. A virtuous Man scarce ever offends, but thro' excess of Affection and Gratitude; a malicious Man commonly sins thro' excess of Hatred and Ingratitude. The wise Man has nothing in View, but the Beauty of Virtue; and the Fool thinks of nothing but the Conveniences and Pleasures of Life. The wise Man does not grieve for want of being advanced to great Employments, but because he wants the necessary Qualifications for rendering him worthy of them. In beholding the Virtues of wise Men we are wise if we imitate them: In beholding the Vices of wicked Men, we are virtuous if we shun ourselves, and examine if we be not subject to the same Vices.

In the fifth, *Confucius* gives his judgment with respect to the Qualifications, Dispositions, Virtues and Failings of some of his Disciples. He praises for instance, one named *Tsu ven*, who having been advanced thrice to the Office of prime Minister, in the Kingdom of *Lü* (now the Province of *Hü quang*) discovered no sign of Joy; and having been as often deprived of his Dignity, shewed no sign of Concern. To which he adds: I judge from thence that he

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(1) In this exercise, which was to teach them Archery, the Skin of a Beast was set up for a Mark. For the Emperor it was a Bear's skin; for a King, the Skin of a Stag; for a Mandarin, that of a Tiger's Skin; and for one of the Literati, that of a

Boar. The Emperor, in shooting, stood 120 Paces from the But; the King 80, the Mandarin 70, and the Man of Letters 50. Which different Distances, denoted the different Degrees of Power and Authority.



is an excellent Minister, but dare not affirm he was Virtuous; for to be sure of that, I should have been able to dive into his Thoughts, and know if he possessed Integrity of Heart. He teaches afterwards, that we should not judge of a Man's Virtue by some outward Actions, which often have only the appearance of Virtue; for that true Virtue dwells in the Heart, and in its natural Rectitude.

6. Their Characters Continued.

In the sixth *Confucius* makes known some of his Disciples, whom he judges fit for Government; and praises their extraordinary Zeal to learn and improve. Then he treats of the Manner to be observed in giving and receiving [Presents.] Next he explains the Qualities of true Virtue. My Disciple Yen whey, says he, was reduced to extremest Poverty, having nothing to subsist on but Rice and Water; yet in this State of Indigence he never lost his usual Tranquility and Joy: Such a Man I call a true Sage — I call him a virtuous Man, who first bears with Constancy all the Difficulties that occur in acquiring Virtue; and afterwards thinks of tasting the Sweetness which are found in the Possession of it. — A virtuous Man may suffer himself to be deceived so far as to believe Falshoods, but never so far as to do what is evil.

7. *Kong fū* speaks, humble thoughts of himself.

In the seventh, he relates the mean Opinion *Confucius* had of himself, and the Encomiums bestowed on him by his Disciples. It was not I said the Philosopher, who invented the Doctrine which I teach you: I take it from the Ancients, from whom I learned it. — He said another time, that he was continually uneasy on four Accounts. First, because he had made too little Progress in Virtue; Secondly, because he was not eager enough in pursuit of his Studies; Thirdly, because he did not give himself up to the Duties which Justice prescribes; Fourthly, because he was not sufficiently watchful over himself, and the Reformation of his Manners. — He said also, I see myself in extremest Indigence, a little Rice and Water being all I have to live upon; yet therewith I am chearful and content, because I consider the Dignities and Riches which are acquired by unjust Means, as Clouds driven about in the Sky by the Winds. — How happy am I! said he another time, for if I commit a Fault, it is immediately known to every body. — Being informed one Day that they gave him the Name of King, that is, most Wise: That Encomium does not suit me, said he, nor can I suffer it. All the good that can be said of me, is that I endeavour to acquire Wisdom and Virtue; and am not discouraged by the trouble there is in teaching them to others. — His Disciples say of him, that he joined three Things together, which seemed almost incompatible: viz. All the Charms of Politeness with a great deal of Gravity; a severe Look with abundance of good Nature and Mildness; and an extraordinary greatness of with a great deal of Modesty.

8. Encomium of the ancient Emperors.

In the eighth, he makes the Encomium of the ancient Emperors *Vu wang*, *Tu*, *Shun* and *Yau*. He recites some Maxims of the Doctor *Tjeng*, and shews what are the Duties of a wife Man. Where is there to be found, says *Confucius*, a greatness of Soul equal to that of the Emperors *Shun* and *Yu*? They were taken out of a very abject Condition to be raised to the Empire; and on the Throne they were so free from Ambition and vain Glory, that they possessed the Empire as if they possessed it not. — When shall we find a Man of Abilities, who patiently listens to the Instructions given him by an ignorant Person? Where shall we find that Man, who being treated with Contempt and Outrage, does not think of Revenge? For my Part, I never knew any one of this Character, except my fellow Disciple Yen wien. — A wise Man should for ever be learning as if he knew nothing, and should always be afraid of forgetting what he has learned.

9. Encomiums on *Kong fū tse*.

In the ninth, we meet with several Encomiums on *Confucius*, his Doctrine and his Modesty when he spoke of himself; with divers Precepts for acquiring Wisdom. We should not only respect old Men, said *Confucius*, but should even respect young People: For how do I know, but this young Man may one Day become more wise and virtuous than myself? — I never yet met with any body so fond of Virtue, as I have found others fond of Pleasure.

10. His Deportment.

In the tenth, the Disciples of *Confucius* describe the Air and outward Behaviour of their Master; his Manner of Deportment either at home or abroad, with Persons of all Ages and Conditions; his Way of living, speaking, walking, dressing, drinking, eating, sleeping, &c.

11. His Conversation.

In the eleventh, *Confucius* converses with his Disciples: He praises some and reproves others. One of them desiring that he would teach him how to die well: You have not yet learned how to live well, said *Confucius*, and yet you will know how to die well.

12. Rules for Government and living well.

In the twelfth, *Confucius* teaches how to make our Actions conformable to right Reason: Then he prescribes Rules for governing the People well; gathering the Tribute and acquiring Virtue. Somebody asking him what he ought to do in order to live well: When you appear abroad, said he, be as grave and modest, as if you were visiting some great Lord: Treat others in the same Manner you would be treated yourself: Neither do, nor say any thing that may give Provocation or Uneasiness. — He said to another of his Disciples: Life and Death depend on the Law of Tyen, which we cannot alter: Poverty and Riches come from the free Dispensation of Tyen, which cannot be compelled: The wise Man reveres this Law and Dispensation of Tyen; and therein is the Source of the Peace and Tranquility he enjoys.

13. Qualities of a wise Man.

In the thirteenth, he points out the Qualifications and Virtues, which constitute a wise and prudent Man. I believe a Man to be wise, says he, when I find that he gains the Love of all good Men, and is hated by none but bad Men. — I think that a Man would be virtuous, when I see that he is modest in his own House, active in Business, and candid in his Conversation with others.

14. And of a Minister of State.

In the fourteenth, he speaks of the Duty of a wise Man; the Care which Heaven takes of Kingdoms; the Qualifications belonging to a Minister of State, and the Zeal he ought to have for good Government. He who is very ready at making Promises, says *Confucius*, finds it difficult



to keep them. — The Ancients, says he again, studied Wisdom for its own sake, that is, to know the Truth and acquire Virtue: The Moderns apply themselves to study Virtue, for sake of others, that is, to get a Name and acquire Honour and Riches. — Does not the Father who loves his Son, take care to correct him when he commits a Fault? In like Manner should not a faithful Minister, acquaint his Prince, when he is wanting in any of his Duties?

The fifteenth contains divers Maxims, touching the Virtues of a wise Man, and the great Art of reigning. These are some of them: When a Man is hated by every body, before you hate him, examine what it is that is hateful in him. When a Man is generally beloved, before you love him, examine what it is that renders him amiable. Not to mend our Faults, is to commit new ones. — Be severe to yourself and gentle to others, and you will never have Enemies. — The wise Man loves to be by himself; the Fool seeks Company.

In the sixteenth, he exclaims against a prime Minister, who did not dissuade his Prince from making an unjust War, and shews the ill Consequences of bad Government. He speaks afterwards of such Persons and Things as we ought to love; of what a wise Man ought to shun, and in what Manner Confucius instructed his Son. The following are some of his Maxims. If a Leopard or Tyger breaks out of the royal Park, who is to answer for it? If Troubles and Dissension overturn a State, who is to be blamed for it? — I have seen a great Prince afflict himself, not because his Subjects were few in Number, but because they were ambitious: Not on account of the Poverty of his Kingdom, but for the Discord that reigned in it. In effect, if Ambition be banished from a State, it will quickly grow rich: If Tranquility and Subordination prevail, it will quickly swarm with People. — Three Sorts of Friends are useful: Those which are virtuous; those which are frank and sincere; and those who are learned. — A young Man, when in presence of a Person venerable either for Age or Dignity, may commit three Faults: The first, if he speaks without being spoken to, he will pass for a forward Rattle. Secondly, if when he is spoken to he makes no Answer, he will be taken for a tricking deceitful Man. The third, if he speaks without considering well what he says, he will be looked on as a Fool.

The seventeenth contains the Opinion of Confucius, with respect to the Mandarins who desert their Princes Interest; the Virtues requisite in a Prince; those whom a wise Man ought to hate, and the Obligation of mourning three Years for the Death of a Father or Mother. I would have a Prince, says Confucius, to be Grave and Good, a Speaker of Truth, diligent in Affairs, and Liberal. If he has Gravity, he will be respected by his Subjects; if he has Goodness, he will gain all their Hearts; if he loves Truth, he will obtain their Confidence, and give no occasion of Jealousy; if he is diligent, his People will labour to improve themselves; if he is liberal, they will obey him with pleasure. — There are four sorts of Persons, says Confucius again, who ought to be odious to a wise Man. (1.) Those malignant Spirits, who love to publish the Faults of others. (2.) Those vile Wretches, who speak ill of their Princes. (3.) Those Men in power, who have no Sentiments of Humanity. (4.) Those bold and rash Men, who act without the least Reflection. Tsi kung, one of his Disciples taking up the Discourse. There are three others I sayed he, whom I cannot endure. (1.) Those gross and ignorant People, who would fain appear Judicious and Knowing. (2.) Those haughty and presumptuous Mortals, who affect Courage and Valour. (3.) Those satirical carping Spirits, who would be thought Just and Sincere. — There is one thing which appears to me very difficult, says Confucius again, that is, to govern Women and Servants: If you treat them with Gentleness and Familiarity, they lose all respect: If you make use of rigour, there will be continual Disturbances and Complaints.

In the eighteenth he speaks in Praise of some ancient Princes, or Emperors and their Ministers: He shews how hurtful the love of Women in a Prince is to good Government: He relates the Actions of certain Sages, who led a reclusive and obscure Life: He speaks afterwards of divers Musicians, which were formerly employed at Entertainments: Lastly, he sets down the Rules of good Government, in reciting the Instructions given by a Prince to his Son.

In the nineteenth, he shews what are the Duties of one who would acquire Wisdom; and after setting forth the Method of teaching his Disciples, he vindicates his Master Confucius from certain ill-grounded Reflections, and makes his Encomium. The following are some of his Maxims. He who is negligent in the Study of Wisdom, and of a light and wavering Temper, will never, during his Life, increase the Number of Sages, or diminish it when he dies. — When we are going to converse with a true Sage, we find him in three different Situations: When we perceive him at a Distance, his Countenance is grave and severe; when we draw near and discourse him, his Air and Behaviour is full of Sweetness and Affability; when we hear him speak, we are charmed with his Steadiness and Integrity. — A wise Minister ought in the first place to persuade the People that he loves them, and has their Interest at Heart; when he has gained this Point, he may without fear exact the Tribute of the People, who will not think themselves aggrieved: Next he should convince the Prince thoroughly of his fidelity and attachment to his Person, without which all his Counsels will be looked upon as Injuries. — Tho' the Emperor Chew was not so wicked as he is represented; yet as he has left a bad Character behind him, we commonly attribute all sorts of Crimes to him: For this reason, a wise Man avoids the very appearance of Vice, for fear he should be charged with many Vices, which in reality he was not guilty of.

The twentieth contains the Beginnings and Success of the wise Government of the Emperors Yau, Shun, Yu, Ching tang and Pü wang; with the Properties of a good Government, and the Defects of a bad one. All that they recommended to their Ministers and Subjects, was to follow that just Medium or Mean, in which Right reason and Virtue consists.

Meng tse,



Meng tse, or the Book of Mencius; being the fourth  
Classical, or Canonical Book of the second Order.

Abstract of  
the Book of  
Meng-tse.

**M**ENG is the Name of the Author, and *Tse* denotes his Quality, as Doctor: Which implies that this Book was composed by the Doctor Meng. He was related to the Kings or Princes of the Kingdom of *Lü*, now the Province of *Shan-tong*, and the Disciple of *Tse tse* the Grand-son of *Confucius*. *Su ma* Author of the Annals of the Empire, who has collected the Precepts and Actions of the great Men, from the Emperor *Tau*, to the reign of the Dynasty of the *Han*, makes great Encomiums upon the Work of *Mencius*. None of the Disciples of *Confucius*, says he, has expressed that Philosopher's Sense and Energy so well; And whoever would be instructed in his Doctrine aright, ought to begin his Studies with the Work of *Mencius*.

Treats of  
good Go-  
vernment.

His Book is divided into two Parts; the first containing six Chapters, and the second eight. He treats of good Government, almost throughout this Work: And as at that time, the whole Empire was filled with Commotions and civil Wars, above all things, he recommends Uprightness of Heart and Equity. For this reason, he proves, that the Re-establishment of Peace and Tranquility in the Empire, was not to be attain'd by the force of Arms, but by the Examples of Virtue. These Discourses are connected in form of Dialogues or Conversations, which he had either with his Disciples or with Princes. And the better to illustrate what he advances, he frequently makes use of Similitudes, and familiar Comparisons agreeable to the ancient Custom.

His design in this Work is reducible to four Heads. First, he much esteems and praises the Manner in which the Empire was governed, under the three first imperial Families, namely those of *Hya*, *Shang* and *Chew*. Secondly, he despises and disapproves of the Conduct of some Sovereigns, who imagined that they were able to re-establish Peace, by means of their Arms. Thirdly, he shews in what, the Goodness and Rectitude of human Nature consists. Fourthly, he refutes the dangerous Errors of some Sectaries.

Having premised this general Idea, I shall now enter into the Detail, and give an Abridgment of each Chapter.

PART I. CHAPTER I.

Dialogue be-  
tween Meng  
tse and Prince  
of Gbey.

**T**HE first Chapter contains a Dialogue, betwixt *Mencius* and the Prince of the Kingdom of *Gbey*, who after his Death was called *Wbey wang*. *Wbey* signifies *beneficent*, and *Vang* Prince; for which reason he is called likewise *Lyang Wbey wang*, that is to say, *the beneficent King of Lyang* or *Gbey*, which is now the Province of *Ho nan*, and its Capital *Ta hyang* is now called *Kay song*.

Princes  
should have  
no view but  
Piety and  
Equity.

The Prince of *Lyang* having invited the Philosophers into his Kingdom, *Mencius* repaired thither. The first Instruction he gives the Prince, is to have no other view in Government, but Piety and Equity. A Prince, he tells him, is a Pattern to his Subjects: If he seeks only to advance his particular Interests, his Ministers, the *Mandarins*, the Literati, and even the People, will regard nothing but theirs; and by this means the common Wealth must be neglected, and the Kingdom reduced to the Brink of ruin.

In the second Visit which *Mencius* made the Prince, he found him walking in his Park, and diverting himself with seeing the Swans swimming in the Pond, and the Deer running through the Forrest. Can a King, said that Prince, who is only intent upon the Government of his People, stoop to these Sorts of Amusements?

May recreate  
themselves as  
well as other  
People.

Princes, answers *Mencius*, may take reasonable Diversions like other Men: We read in the *Sbi king*, that the wise Emperor *Ven wang* having drawn up the Plan of a Tower for astronomical Observations, a Park, and a Pond, the People ran with so much zeal to assist the Building, and were so eager in their Services to promote these Works, that they were finished in a very few Days.

That good Prince amused himself from time to time, with walking in his Avenues, in seeing his tame Deer running about, in observing his Fishes swimming, and his Storks flying. Whence proceeded the Zeal of that People, for contributing to the Pleasures of their Prince? Because he governed them with Piety and Justice, and because that wise Emperor took great care that his Subjects should be destitute of none of the Necessaries of Life.

On the contrary, the Emperor *Kye*, who used to say, that he was in the Empire, the same that the Sun is in the Firmament, and that he would perish only with that Luminary, felt no Joy amidst his Pleasures, and lived in continual Disquiet; because his People looked on him as an execrable and detestable Object.

Essential Du-  
ties of a good  
Government.

He then shews the Prince, that Inhabitants are never wanting in a Kingdom well governed: That it is an essential Part of good Government, to take Care that the Kingdom may abound with the Necessaries of Life; to see that the Lands are cultivated, that there be Plenty of Fish, and that Trees may be planted and pruned at proper Seasons; to be attentive in settling the



the Divisions of Grounds, and in bringing up domestic Animals, and Silk-Worms, to be moderate in afflicting Punishments, or imposing Taxes, and to take care that the Morals of Youth be rightly formed: By these Means, a Prince gains the Affection of his People, and when he is Master of that, he will find no Difficulty in establishing Laws, in giving useful Instructions, and in erecting Schools.

But a Prince ought chiefly to assist his People in a Time of Famine. Very blameable and unworthy of a Throne, is that Prince, who, in such a Time, for his own Pleasure, maintains a Parcel of useless Beasts, that devour the Provisions necessary for the Subsistence of Mankind, while his Subjects are starving. Will you say, adds *Mencius*, that the Famine, and not you, is the Cause, why these People die. You may as well tell me, when you have run a Man through with a Sword; *It was not I, but the Sword, which killed that Man*; Where is the difference to a Person, whether he dies by the edge of the Sword, or under the Tyranny of his Prince? We naturally hate those wild Beasts, which kill and devour one another; but these are only Emblems of the Prince, who prefers the Lives of Brutes, to the Lives of his People, whom he ought to look upon as his Children.

*Mencius* seeing that no great advantage was reaped from his Instructions, in the Kingdom of *Ghey*, directed his course to the Kingdom of *Tsi*, at that time governed by *Suen wang*. This Prince being greedy of Glory won by Valour, said to the Philosopher, We have five Princes, whose heroick Atchievements make a great noise in the Empire: Two who have render'd their Names illustrious by their Conquests, are more particularly talk'd of. Inform me of their glorious Actions.

*Confucius* and his Disciples, answered *Mencius*, would have blushed to have praised these five Princes; or to have transmitted their warlike Virtues to Posterity; they, and I who am their Disciple, apply only to the Study of Virtue, and the Rules of good Government, as we have them in the Writings and Examples of our antient Emperors. Ha! what are these Rules? said the Prince. *Equity and Piety*, answered *Mencius*. If you possess the two Virtues, you will establish Peace and Tranquillity in your State: And you will love your People as your own Children.

But is that a Thing in my Power, replied the Prince. Do you doubt of that? said *Mencius*. *Hu be* your first Minister told me, that one Day as you were walking out of your Palace, you saw an Ox, whom they had bound, and were leading out of the Walls to be slaughtered; and that being melted with the Sight, you ordered the Ox to be carried back to his Stall. If the Death of a worthless Animal, could excite your Compassion, can your Heart be insensible, when you see the Miseries of your People? But you love the clashing of Arms, you delight in raising Troops, and are pleas'd to see your Subjects face Death and Danger.

By no means, says the Prince, that is none of my Pleasures: It is a violent Remedy which I use against my own Inclination, in order to gain what I want. Ha! replies *Mencius*, what can you want? Is not your Table furnished with exquisite Meats? Can your Habits be more Magnificent? or is there any thing wanting to sooth your Senses? Have you not a vast Croud of Domesticities, that watch your slightest Motions to serve you, and to execute your Orders? What can you wish for more?

These are Trifles, answered the Prince, my Views are more exalted. To what do you then aspire? replied *Mencius*. To extend your Kingdom? To subdue the neighbouring Nations? To invade the Empire? That is as idle as if you should mount to the Top of that Tree, expecting there to find Fishes.

Nay, replies the Prince, you now carry you Reflections too far. By no means, said *Mencius*, I have not said enough: For he who climbs to the Top of that Tree to find Fishes; it is true, gives himself a very needless Trouble, but then no Body suffers besides Himself: His Undertaking, vain as it is, never harms the Common-wealth, and is never attended with any publick Calamity. But by the Wars which you carry on, you torment your self with a thousand Troubles and Disquiets, you drain your Kingdom and plunge it into the most frightful Misery. Believe me, Sir; Direct all your Views only to the Government of your State: Endeavour all you can to render your People happy; take Care they are reasonably provided with all Necessaries: See that the Grounds are cultivated, and that Plenty reigns; Watch over the Reformation of Manners, and the Education of Youth: Where Tyranny obtains, the People will abandon that Land, and crowd to taste the Sweets of your Government; and in short, they will count it a Happiness, that their Days should gently glide on, and their Lives terminate under the peaceable Sway of so moderate and so virtuous a Prince.

## CHAPTER II.

**K**ING *Suen wang* owned to *Mencius*, that he was much delighted with Music: The Philosopher, far from condemning this Taste, told him, That it might be very useful to good Government, because of the Relation betwixt the Harmony of Sounds and that of Hearts; and because Harmony, or the well regulated Concert of many Sounds, is a sensible Image of the Union, which ought to subsist betwixt the Head and Members of the Body Politic. But, that this Harmony and good Understanding cannot subsist, if the Prince studies only his own Diversions; and is so far from sharing them with the People, that he suffers them to be plunged into Sadness and Misery. This is the Source of Disaffection and Murmurings.



The Prince shifted the Subject. I have heard, said he, that *Ven wang's* Park was seventy *Chinese* Furlongs in Circumference, and yet that the People thought it too little. Mine is but forty, and my Subjects think it too large. How can we account for these different Judgments of the People?

I will inform you, answered *Mencius*: Every body was allowed to enter the Park of *Ven wang*, to carry off what Wood or Pulse he had a mind; and to hunt the Pheasants and Hares. The Entry of the Park was shut to none, for which reason, the People thought it too little. When I came into your Territories, I informed my self of the Usages in your Kingdom, that I might observe them, and likewise of the Restrictions and Prohibitions, that I might not infringe them. I was told that you had a Park forty Furlongs in Circumference: That all your Subjects were debarred from it; and that if any one was so bold as to venture to kill or to wound any of your Deer in it, he was punished as severely as if he had killed or wounded a Man: Are you astonished after this, that your People should think your Park too large?

The Prince, who by no means relish'd this Advice, ask'd another Question; Teach me, said he, What I shall do to preserve Peace in my State, and to gain the Friendship of the Princes my Neighbours? Two Things, replies the Philosopher: 1. Be obliging, friendly, and always ready to serve those who are weaker; 2. Be respectful and submissive to those who are stronger than yourself. He then exhorts him not to abandon himself to the Transports of a fiery and impetuous Temper; shewing him, That real Strength consists in curbing his Anger and subduing his Passions, and that true Wisdom has no Aim but pure Equity.

The Prince, having at another time admitted *Mencius* into his Pleasure-house, Has so delicious a Mansion, said he, nothing inconsistent with the Wisdom that a King ought to profess? No, answered *Mencius*, if that King shares in the Joy, and sympathises in the Grief of his Subjects: If he tastes the Pleasures, and feels the Pains of his People; they, in Return, will partake of his Grievs, and share in his Joys: It is by these means, that a Kingdom is rightly governed.

The ancient Emperors, added *Mencius*, paid every twelfth Year a Visit to their tributary Kings and Kingdoms: And this Visit was called *Inspection*. Every sixth Year these Kings repaired to the Court of the Emperor, there to give an Account of their Conduct, and after what Method they govern'd their States.

In the same Manner, the Emperors within their Territories, and the Kings in their Kingdoms, made two yearly Progresses: The first in the Spring, to examine if the Lands had been carefully sowed and tilled: And if in any Place Seed was wanting, wherewith to sow them; they furnish'd it out of the public Granaries. The second Progress was in Autumn, at the time when the Crop is gathered in: And if it was not sufficient to subsist the People, they opened the public Granaries for their Relief.

Very different from this, is the Conduct of modern Princes. It is true, they visit their Kingdoms. But in what Manner? They march attended with near three Thousand Soldiers, who devour the greatest Part of the Provisions necessary to subsist the poor People, who are faint and languishing with Hunger. Shall we wonder, in the Bitterness of Soul and the Oppression under which they groan, if they seek some Relief from their Murmurings, and the perpetual Invectives with which they tear in Pieces the Reputations of their Princes. Thus, I have laid before you the Conduct of our ancient and modern Princes, and leave it to yourself; which of them you will chuse to imitate.

He afterwards proposes the Emperor *Ven wang* as a Pattern. This Prince exacted no other Tax from Husbandmen than the ninth Part of their Crop: He assigned Pensions to the Sons and the Grand-sons of the deceased *Mandarins*. No Custom-houses were known in his Dominions. Merchandizes were there exported and imported without being taxed: None were then debarred from fishing in Lakes and public Rivers: If a Criminal was to be punished, as he transgressed in Person, so he was chastised in Person; nor did his Punishment reach, as at present, to his Wife and Children. In short, this Prince, tho' he distinguished every Moment of his Reign by Goodness and Clemency, yet he extended their Effects principally to four Sorts of Persons: To old Men who had no Wives: To Widows: To old Men who were childless; and to young Orphans who were fatherless. These four Species of Unhappiness, appear'd to him most worthy of Compassion; because being destitute of all human Aid, they had no other Recourse but to the Goodness of their Prince; who, tho' he is the Father of all his Subjects, is more particularly so of those, who are most helpless.

What would you say, Sir, continued *Mencius*; if he, who is at the Head of the supreme Tribunal of Justice, did not watch over the Conduct of his inferior Officers, and was at no Pains to be informed of the Manner in which the Magistrates administer Justice, if he suffer'd the Innocent to be punish'd, and the Guilty to escape? I would displace him, answer'd the Prince. But, adds the Philosopher, if a King neglects the Care of his Kingdom, and if he never minds the Instruction of his People, nor compassionates their Miseries; if he protects not the unhappy and the forlorn, what is your Opinion of him? At these Words, the Prince blush'd, and appeared disconcerted: He threw his Eyes from the one Side to the other, as if he had been distracted, and dismiss'd the Philosopher without any Answer.

*Mencius* in another Conference, instructs the Prince in the right Choice of his Ministers. He advises him not to give too much Credit to the Recommendations of private Men, who might surprize him; nor even to the Voice of the People, upon whom it was easy to impose: But to have a personal Knowledge of their Probity, their Disinterestedness, their Zeal and their Understandig:



derstanding: He then recommends to his Choice, such as have incessantly applied to the Study of Wisdom from their Childhood, and, by their Labour and Application, have acquired at their riper Age the Qualifications necessary for right Government.

CHAPTER III.

THIS Chapter contains a Dialogue betwixt *Mencius* and his Disciple *Kung sung chew*, upon the Art of Governing. He proves from a View of the Troubles which then harassed the Empire, and the Miseries which afflicted the People in several Kingdoms; that it was easy for a Prince who reigned with Justice and Moderation, to gain the Affection of all, and to make himself universal Monarch. But where, continued he, can we find a Prince with these Qualifications? Those happy Days, when Kingdoms were governed by wise Princes, are no more, and scarce the Memory of them remains.

There is farther required in a Governor a stable and an unshaken Soul, both when he determines in a puzzling Case, and when he is exposed to Danger. He then cites many Examples of those great Men whom nothing could shake; and who might be deprived of their Lives, but not of their Intrepidity and Courage.

He distinguishes Resolution into two Kinds, one, peculiar to narrow Minds, the other, to great Souls. The former is directed by the first Torrent of an impetuous Ardour; the last by the Dictates of right Reason. I remember, says *Mencius*, that our Master *Confucius* formerly gave me two Rules, in which I can easily discern true Fortitude, and a genuine Greatness of Soul. If an Opportunity shall offer to fight, said he, and if, after mature Deliberation, I perceive that it would be unjust in me to attack mine Enemy, even tho' he is a great deal weaker than me, and unable to make Head against me, or to keep the Victory one Moment in Suspence, yet I would forbear to attack him. You may easily perceive from this, that it is not Cowardise that damps me. But if after due Reflection, I am convinced that it is just in me to make the Onset, tho' I had Millions to encounter, nothing should be able to stop me from plunging undaunted amongst the thickest Battalions.

*Mencius* next proceeds to the Manner of right Government. There is a great deal of difference, said he, betwixt the Conduct of our ancient Emperors, and our modern Princes: The first loved Peace, and the latter, War: The first by their Piety and exemplary Virtue, commanded not only the Hands, but the Hearts of Men; the latter command the Hands but not the Hearts.

Where is the Prince, whose ruling Passion is not for Glory? Or who has an Aversion to whatever can sully his Reputation? Glory is only won by Virtue, and Disgrace can be occasioned only by Vice. Whence then can it proceed, that Princes who so much dread Infamy among Men, should abandon themselves to their Passions and Vices? In this, they are like Men who cannot bear with Dampness, yet want to lodge in a low and moist Apartment. If they are so jealous of their Reputation, why do they not take the only method both for establishing and preserving it? This Method is to subdue their corrupt Inclinations, to esteem Virtue, to wage no War but with Vices, to honour the Learned, to raise the Wise and Virtuous to the first Dignities, and to take advantage of the public Tranquillity for establishing wise and useful Laws; a Prince of this Character renders himself always formidable to his Enemies, and attracts the Esteem and Veneration of his Equals.

But what is the present Practice? While the Empire is peaceable, and the People begin to taste the Sweets of Tranquillity, the Princes study only to abandon themselves to Pleasure, and to effeminate themselves more and more by Luxury and Idleness. Is it to be wondered at, if under a Prince of this Character, a Kingdom appears to totter, if the People murmur, and if they are upon the Point of being attacked by new Enemies?

There is none, continued *Mencius*, but receives from Nature a certain Tendernefs of Heart, which gives them a sensibility of their Neighbours misery. A Prince whose Passions have not stifled this natural Propensity, and who pities the Afflictions of his People, has no more difficulty in governing his Kingdom, than if he could hold it in his Hand.

But how can this secret Propensity of Nature, this Sensibility with which we are born be discerned? An Example will instruct you. You see a Child all of a sudden ready to fall into a Well; your Heart is immediately touched, and you fly to save it. You are not then determined by Reflection, nor influenced by the thoughts of deserving the Acknowledgments of the Father and the Mother, or of procuring to yourself an empty Honour; you act by an Impulse purely natural. In unforeseen Events, and when there is no Time either for Reflection or Deliberation, it is genuine Nature that acts. It is not so at other Junctures, which admit of Deliberation before Action; for there Disguise and Dissimulation may enter.

What I have said of Compassion, adds *Mencius*, I apply to the other Virtues: To Piety, to Equity, to Humanity, and to Prudence: We have the Seeds and Principles of them all in our Heart, and if we took care to follow the Hints they give us, we should be in a continual Guard against the Passions that are alone able to destroy them, and every Day perfect ourselves more and more.

One of the Disciples of *Confucius*, whose Name was *Tse lu*, had so great a desire for Perfection, that it gave him an exquisite Pleasure when he was told of any Fault. The Emperor *Tu* immediately bestowed marks of his Respect and Acknowledgment upon the Man who gave



gave him good Advice. The great *Szun*, regarding Virtue not as the property of a particular Person, but as a common Good belonging to all Mankind; he made an Advantage of, and studied to acquire, all the Perfections and Virtues which he saw in others. This he put in Practice, through all the Degrees of his Life, not only while he was Husbandman in the Plains of *Lye shan*, a Potter in the City of *Ho pin*, or a Fisherman upon the Lake *Lú i tse*, but even when he was Emperor.

When a Man endeavours thus to appropriate to himself the Virtues which he remarks in others, he renders Virtue common to all. For in profiting by another's Example, he sets the same Example to others, that they may profit in their Turn.

#### C A A P T E R IV.

**M**ENCIUS continues the Conversation, which he had begun in the preceeding Chapter, with his Disciple. He treats first of three Things which are necessary to Success in War; namely, the Choice of Time, the Advantage of Ground, and the Concord and Union of such as either attack or defend a Place. But he judges the last Circumstance more absolutely, and more especially, necessary.

I shall suppose, says he, that a City is in the best State of Defence, both by the height of its Walls, the deepness of its Ditches, the number and bravery of its Garrison; and in short by the plenty of its Provisions. With all these Advantages, if there is Discord among Troops, or if a Misunderstanding divides the Officers and the Soldiers, the City will be carried soon, and without much Resistance.

One of the Disciples of *Mengius*, a little after, puts a Question to him which he thought would puzzle him: I perceive, said he to his Master, in the different Kingdoms where you have resided, you sometimes accepted, and sometimes refused the Presents proffered you by their Kings. You have refused 2400 *Taels* of fine Silver from the King of *Tsi*, yet made no scruple to accept of 1680 from the King of *Song*, and of 1200 from the King of *Sye*. I find no uniformity in this Conduct: The same Reason that made you refuse the Presents of the one, ought to have induced you to have refused those of the others.

You are mistaken, answered *Mengius*: I did nothing but what was agreeable to the Lights of Reason and Equity. While I was in the Kingdom of *Song*, and ready to make a long Voyage, it was both polite and equitable in the Prince, to supply me with Money for defraying my necessary Expences, consequently, I had a good Reason for accepting his Present. The Kingdom of *Sye*, while I was there, re-founded with the noise of Arms, and was threatened by an immediate Irruption of the Enemy: Amidst these Tumults I run the risque of being starved, and it was but reasonable that the Prince, who had invited me into his Dominions, should provide for my Subsistence. But as to what concerns the King of *Tsi*, as he had no Reason to give me a Present, so I had none to accept of it, which if I had done, it had been a shameful Avarice in me, and unworthy of a Man, who had spent his Life in the Study of Wisdom.

*Mengius* having gone to the City of *Ping lo*, which was in the Kingdom of *Tsi*, he found the Country lying waste through a general Barrenness: One half of the numerous Inhabitants perished of Hunger, and the other half left the ungrateful Soil to seek for Food in more distant Kingdoms. *Mengius* addressing himself to *Kiw sin*, who was Governor of the City; If any of your Soldiers, said he, while upon Duty, should five times successively desert his Rank, would you not punish him? I would not wait for his doing it three times, replies the Governor, for I would punish him the first time. You are in the right, replies *Mengius*; but you condemn yourself for neglecting what is more important in your Charge. During these melancholy Years of Barrenness; the People perish of Hunger and Misery: I see many stooping under the weight of Years, who fall with meer Weakness into the Ditches, and there finish their unhappy Lives; I see others, and these are the greater Number, who being young, and full of Vigour, rove from one End of the Empire to the other, to seek whereupon to live. Alas! replies *Kiw sin*, *sin*, I lament these Calamities, and I wish I were able to apply a Remedy. But I have no Authority to cause the Granaries to be opened, or to exempt the People from their Tributes. If a rich Man, replies *Mengius*, should commit to you the Care of his Flocks, and would not assign them proper Pasturage, what would you do? You are the Pastor of this great People: And you ought to address yourself to the King, to relieve their Miseries and to supply their Necessities: If the King will not hear you, can you calmly see them die of Hunger, and will not you rather throw up your Government?

*Mengius* finding that the wise Councils which he gave to the King of *Tsi* and his Ministers were all lost, resolved to retire to his native Country. One of his Disciples called *Tu* who attended him in his Voyage, observing a certain Cloud of Sadness and Melancholy hanging on his Countenance, said to him; I have often heard you say, that a wise Man is never uneasy, if Heaven no longer favours his Undertakings; and that he never complains when Men refuse to conform themselves to his Maxims; yet you have a melancholy Air which is far from being natural to you, and doubtless is a mark of some secret Discontent.

No, replies *Mengius*, I complain neither of Heaven nor of Men: I am only gay or sad, according to my different Situation. When I led a private and a solitary Life, I was employed only in the Study of Wisdom. But at present, while I teach my Doctrine to Princes and People, and while I have the public Good in View, I am melancholy.



## CHAPTER V.

THIS Chapter contains a Dialogue betwixt *Mençius* and Prince *Ven kung*, Heir of the Principality of *Teng*. The Philosopher shews him, that every Man is capable of practising Virtue, and imitating the Sages; because the Goodness of Nature which we receive from *Tyen* [Heaven,] is the same in all Men, and this Goodness is no other than a natural Inclination to Justice and Piety.

When Passions grow up with Years, said he, if Reason moderates them, Nature then perfects herself, and the Man becomes virtuous. He next proposes the Emperors *Tau* and *Shun* for Patterns. Think not, continues the Philosopher, that the Virtues of these Heroes can't be attained. They were Men like you, and according to the Endeavours you use, and the Application which you give, you may become wise like them. All I fear is, lest you should be discouraged with the Difficulties you must encounter in your Endeavours to subdue your Passions, to practise Virtue, and to learn the right Art of Government. The *Sbu king* informs us, that the Medicine, which does not work the Patient, is ineffectual: In the same manner, a Prince reaps no Advantage from the Instructions of wise Men, if he does not struggle to vanquish himself. Prince *Ven kung's* Father dying at this Juncture, he consulted *Mençius* in what manner he should pay the last Duties to him, the better to shew his Affection. You must, answer'd *Mençius*, observe the Rules prescribed by the Rites to those who are really respectful to their Fathers. The Mourning should continue for three Years; and during that time, they ought to lay down all public Posts, to be employed only in their just Grievs, to cloath themselves in coarse Stuffs, and to subsist only upon the most ordinary Rice.

I have learned from *Confucius*, added he, that formerly, when the Emperor dyed, his Son who succeeded him, caused a mean Hut to be built without the second Gate of the Palace, where he passed three Years in mourning for his Father, in prostrating himself both Morning and Evening before his \* Coffin, and living on the coarsest Rice. During that time, the Prime Minister governed the Empire. The *Mandarins* and the *Grandeess*, after the Example of their Princes, strove who should give the greatest Marks of their Grief, and the Mourning became general throughout all the Empire.

Prince *Ven kung* resolv'd to follow this Advice: But as the Rites in the Province of *Teng* prescribe only five Months of Mourning for a King, he past that Time in bewailing his Father. When the Day for carrying the Corps to the Burying-Place was fixt, Curiosity drew from all Parts of the Empire a prodigious multitude of Spectators, who beheld the Prince following the funeral Pomp with a pale emaciated Countenance, sending up Sighs, which came from the Bottom of his Heart, and melted them into Tears.

These Strangers, returning home after the funeral Solemnity was over, were so many Tongues which proclaimed every where the Piety of *Ven kung*, and revived the Practice of the ancient Ceremonies instituted in Honour of the Dead, which till that Time had been much neglected.

*Ven kung* intending himself to govern his Kingdom, desired *Mençius* to give him some Rules which might direct him to govern wisely. The first Object, says the Philosopher, a King ought to regard, is his People; what principally touches the People, is their *Subsistence*: The means of their *Subsistence* are the *Lands*, when diligently cultivated, and abundantly producing the Necessaries of Life. Agriculture then ought to be looked into, and the greatest Care taken that the Lands do not lie idle: The People will then have whereupon to live, and being under no Apprehensions of Want, they will endeavour to reform their Manners, and to acquire Virtue.

On the contrary, if they find themselves in Want, all their Passions will soon break loose; for there is no Crime but what Necessity and Indigence will drive them to commit: When their Wants are excessive, the Rigour of their Laws, and the Severity of Punishments will be Curbs too weak to restrain them. For this reason, wise Princes formerly lived with a great deal of Modesty and Frugality; the former Virtue inducing them to treat their People with Moderation, and the latter preventing their imposing too severe Taxes: This made an able *Mandarin* say, "That a Prince who aimed at Riches, could never arrive at Virtue; and the Prince who desired to be virtuous, could never be rich."

*Mençius* next exhorts *Ven kung* to establish public Schools, for teaching the Practice of Virtue. He then points out the Manner in which the Partition and Division of Lands ought to be made, so that neither the Husbandman, nor the Officers of the King might wrong one another. In short, said he, if you practise exactly all I have told you, I dare not say that you will one Day attain to Imperial Dignity; but I can boldly pronounce, that Emperors will form themselves upon you, and take you for their Pattern.

The Prince profited by the Instructions of the Philosopher; and by the wise Distribution which he made of the Lands, and his Care to have them well cultivated, he soon saw Plenty flourish in his Dominions. The Reputation he gained, engaged a great many Strangers to settle in his Kingdom, and to petition for Lands which they might cultivate.

Among these Strangers there were some Sectaries, who propagated a very dangerous Opinion, and very contrary to good Government. They pretended, that a wise Prince ought to live upon his own Labour, in the same manner as the People; that he ought to till the Land, and to eat nothing

\* The Chinese frequently preserve in their Houses the Coffins of their Fathers for several Months, nay Years, before they are

carried to the Burying Place.

Chinese Levellers in the Time of *Mençius*.



nothing but what was the Fruit of the Ground cultivated by his Royal Hands. *Mengius* refuted these Sectaries in the following Manner: Addressing himself to *Shin syang*, who was become their Disciple, Why, says he, do those of your Sect confine themselves to labouring the Land? Why don't they make their own Cloaths? Why don't they forge their own Spades, and their other Instruments of Agriculture, together with the Kettles wherein they boil their Rice, and in short, every Thing else they make use of in their way of Life? Would not this be better than to run about to Merchants and Tradesmen's Shops to buy these different Utensils?

This, replied *Shin syang*, is impossible; Agriculture employs a Man entirely. If Husbandmen shall attempt to make all the Instruments you have named, they must neglect the Care of the Lands, which will then become barren.

Wisely spoken, replied *Mengius*, Is it then a small Affair to govern a Kingdom? Is not that Employment enough for all the Moments of a Prince? He, doubtless, will have a great deal of Leisure to work with his Subjects in cultivating the Ground.

This Comparison stopped the Mouth of *Shin syang*. *Mengius* then shews him, that it was necessary there should be different Employments and Professions in a Kingdom; that one Man could not have Time to look after every thing; that the Emperor *Yau* divided the Toils of Government with his Ministers, for the greater Ease and Instruction of his People; and that this, in a Prince, is called *universal Piety*, and extends indifferently to all his Subjects.

He then opposes the same Sectaries, who wanted to establish an Equality in the Prices of all Goods, so that a coarse Stuff should be sold as dear as the finest.

In short, he concludes this Chapter by refuting the Doctrine of another Sect, which pretended that all Men ought to be loved alike, without making any Difference betwixt Relations and Strangers. He points out the ridiculous Absurdity of this Opinion, and then shews that the Custom established in all Ages, of bestowing a more honourable Burial upon Parents than on others, arose from the greater Degree of Love with which Nature inspires Children.

## CHAPTER VI.

**M**ENCIUS in this Chapter instructs *Shin tay* his Disciple, and shews him the Manner in which a wise Man, who professes to teach the Art of living and of reigning well, ought to behave. Amongst other things, he tells him, that such a Man should beware not to introduce himself in an undecent Manner into the Palaces of Princes, and that he ought to take care to be invited, and even prest before he goes thither: That as the meanest Artist would blush to deviate from the Rules of his Art, so a wise Man ought to discover in all his Conduct the Uprightness of his Heart, the Decency of his Manners, and the Equity of his Actions: That if he seeks to raise himself to Dignities, in order more successfully to propagate his Doctrine, he ought to use no Methods but those which Justice prescribes: If he remains in a private Condition, he ought to be easy, since, even then, he deserves equally to be honoured on account of the Excellence of his Doctrine.

The first Minister of the Kingdom of *Song* having made a visit to *Mengius*, communicated to him a Design he had to abolish the disagreeable Custom that had been introduced, of burthening the People with Imposts; declaring that he wish'd to revive the ancient Laws, which exact only the Tithe of the Crop to be paid in Tribute, and prohibit the taxing any foreign Merchandize imported into the Kingdom: But, adds he, as these wise Laws have been long disused, and seem now to be entirely forgotten, I think they ought not to be re-establish'd all at once: In my Opinion, it will be better to gain that End by slow and imperceptible Degrees: What is your Opinion? I shall answer your Question, said *Mengius*, only by a familiar Comparison. A certain Person had gotten into a Habit of stealing some Hens every Day from his Neighbours; One of his Friends, who discovered him, had the Courage to tell him, that it was a shameful Action, and unworthy of a Man either of Honour or Honesty. I own it, answered the Doctor: But as it is a Vice now too deeply rooted in my Nature for me to correct it all of a sudden, I will take this Course: I'll steal only one Fowl in a Month, and in time I may come entirely to give over this Habit. What is your Opinion? replies *Mengius*, Don't you think that this Man, who acknowledged and detested his Vice, should immediately have corrected it?

About that Time, two Sects infected the Empire with their wicked Doctrines; *Yang* was the Author of the one, and *Me* of the other. *Mengius* being a zealous Defender of the ancient Doctrine, was continually refuting their Errors. This, at first, made him pass for a factious ill-natured Man, and one who loved to be disputing. One of his Disciples, zealous for his Master's Glory, told him that the Strangers, whose Opinion he opposed, run him down on all sides, and made him pass for an eternal Caviller.

I wish, replies *Mengius*, that I could condemn myself to Silence all the rest of my Days: But that is not allowed me; my Duty obliges me to put a Violence upon my Inclination, and to oppose this Torrent of dangerous Opinions, with which they would overthrow the Empire. Ever since the wise Reigns of the Emperors *Yau* and *Shun*, under the Shadow of whose Authority the People lived easy, we have seen a continual Vicissitude of good and bad Government. The Emperors who succeeded these wise Princes, applied only to their Pleasures, and abusing their Power, oppressed the poor People by their Exactions and Violence: Some of them beat down the Houses of vast Numbers of their Subjects, there to make Ponds, Lakes and Reservoirs: Others drove the People out of their Villages and Fields, which they turned into Parks, Gardens, and Places of Pleasure: Whole Districts were soon changed into Forests, which served as



the Retreat of Tygers, wild Boars, and Leopards. Such were the Amusements of these Princes, who reduced their People to the most terrible Want. *Cheu*, who succeeded them in the Throne, by his Cruelties, compleated their Tyranny. At last, the Cries and Groans of the People touched the Heart of *Vu vang*, who declared War against, and dethroned, the Tyrant.

This Prince, when Master of the Empire, applied himself to restore its primitive Lustre, and to procure the Happiness of his Subjects: He demolished those Gardens, Parks, Forests, and Houses of Pleasure, and restored to the People the Lands that were their Property. The Face of the Empire was soon changed, and after so many Miseries and Calamities the People began to take Breath. But these happy Times were of no long Continuance: The Princes who succeeded him, insensibly lost a Disposition to Virtue: The Laws were weakened, and the wise Maxims that taught the Art of Reigning were no longer inculcated; the Empire saw itself plunged again into its former Barbarity: So that the Virtues peculiar to a reasonable Soul, I mean, Love for a Parent, and Respect for a Prince, were almost quite annihilated.

Then appeared *Confucius*, who, touched at this general Blindness, endeavoured to prevent the Ruin of the Empire, by reforming the Manners, by reviving the ancient Laws, and by setting before the Eyes, both of the Princes and People, those great Actions of the Emperors and Kings, who reigned gloriously for about 200 Years. This is the Subject of his Book intitled *Spring and Autumn*. His Instructions and Maxims were attended to, and applauded; nay there was no resisting him, so that every one endeavour'd to conform himself to his Morals. But is there now any Footstep of the Reformation he wrought? Where are the Emperors whose Virtue and Wisdom rendered them respected by the People? In what are Kings now employed? Do not we see them tread upon the Laws of Justice, that they may destroy and tear one another to Pieces by the most cruel Wars? How many ignorant and impious Professors take the Advantage of these Disorders to propagate their pernicious Maxims, and to establish their dangerous Sects? Such is that of *Yang shu*, who, without regarding the public Good, teaches that every one ought to mind only Himself and his own Interest, and is a professed Enemy of all Governors! Such is that of *Me tyé*, who, ignorant of the strict Ties of Blood, and laying it down as a Principle, That all Men ought to be loved alike, destroys the filial Affections, and makes no difference betwixt a Father and a Stranger.

These Sectaries have already gained Profelites among the Literati, who reject the ancient Doctrine as handed down to them by our Sages, that they may follow the pernicious Maxims of these blind Professors. What shall become of good Order, Peace, and the public Tranquility, if these Sectaries are not soon checked? We have Instances in all Ages of great Men, who have supported the Empire when she was upon the very Brink of her Ruin. The celebrated *Tu* stopp'd the Inundation of Waters, and restored Plenty. Prince *Cheu-kong* subdued and put to flight the Barbarous Nations that poured in from the South and North, and re-established Tranquillity. *Confucius* revived the Vigour of the ancient Laws, and opposed the pernicious Designs of some Rebels. At present, when a general Infection gains ground on all Sides, by corrupting the Understanding, and destroying the good Morals of Mankind; ought not I, after the Example of these great Men, to do my best to stop its Progress, and thereby to preserve the Empire.

*Mengius* ends this Discourse by laying down the Rules of true Temperance, and by shewing how ridiculous those Encomiums are, which are bestowed upon a Man who affects a vain Appearance of Sobriety.

## PART II. CHAPTER I.

FROM a View of the Conduct of some Princes, who in the Government of their States follow only their own Caprices, and neglect the ancient Laws, *Mengius* makes the following Reflections:

A Workman however skilful he is, can never succeed in what he works, if he does not make use of Compasses and a Rule. He who precedes in a Concert, will make a wretched Discord of the finest Music, if he does not employ twelve Flutes, some short, some long, that there may be a Harmony betwixt the Voices and the Instruments. It is the same with a Prince; his State will be in Disorder and Confusion, if he does not regulate his Conduct by the Laws of good Government which the Ancients have left us.

The Ancients invented the different Utensils; Compasses, the Rule, the Manner of Leveling, Weights, Measures, and all the other Instruments which we at this Day use with so much Success, in finishing Buildings, and the other Works that are useful to the public Weal. They likewise, by a constant Application, endeavoured to transmit to their Posterity the Art of good Government among them, by establishing the wisest Laws, from which we have learned those of Equity, Civility and Politeness: These have taught us how to divide the Ground, to plant Trees, to breed Animals which are useful to the Support of Life, and to establish Schools for instructing the People in good Morals. A Prince, who is at no Pains to observe these Laws, can never wisely govern his Kingdom.

The Ministry of a Prince, continued *Mengius*, who does not reign according to the Rules of Equity, can be composed only of grovelling Souls, who will flatter his Inclinations, and take no care to enforce the Observation of the Laws. Under him, the Crowd of *Mandarins*, who commonly follow the Air of a Court, will seek only after the Honours and Profits of their Posts, and neglect their Duties. The People, seeing this general Disregard both of Law and Justice, will no lon-



ger have any Thing to restrain them. They will no longer fear to infringe the Laws of the Empire, they will live without any Curb, and give a loose to all their Passions. I ask, if a Kingdom can long subsist in such a Condition?

A Prince then must be a Lover of Wisdom and Equity: A Minister ought to be faithful to his Prince, and ready to execute his Orders. But how can he be faithful, if he studies only to please him, and to sooth his Passions; if he does not set before his Eyes the heroick Virtues of our ancient Emperors, these noblest Patterns to every wise Prince.

*Mencius* then shews that nothing contributes more to the Destruction of a Kingdom, than the unjust Exercise of the Royal Prerogative.

There is an Art, continued he, in maintaining Authority; which is, by keeping the People within the Bounds of the Fidelity they owe to their Prince. The Means of rendering them faithful are, by gaining their Hearts; and their Hearts are easily gain'd, when Authority is directed by the Love of Justice, and a hearty Zeal for the public Weal. An Otter, who is constantly spreading Snares for Fish, obliges them to conceal themselves in the Bottom of the Water; and a Kite, who is always soaring in the Air over the little Birds, makes them to tremble, and forces them to retire into the Hollows of the Trees; in the same manner, these barbarous Princes *Kye* and *Cheu*, by scattering Fear and Terror among the People, forced them to seek an Asylum under the wise Princes *Ching tang* and *Vu vang*, whose Clemency, Justice, and Moderation are universally celebrated.

The Effects of *Cheu's* Tyranny over his People are well known. The Prince *Pei* on the one Side, and the wise *Tay kong* on the other, escaped his Cruelties by privately retiring to the Seashores. The Fame of Prince *Ven vang's* great Virtues, his Piety, his Clemency, his Justice, the Goodness of his tender and compassionate Heart, together with the Care he took of the Aged, the Minors, Widows, and Orphans resounded on all Sides. What are we doing here? said these two Sages. Let us repair to that wise King, and for ever devote ourselves to his Service. Accordingly they did so; but with what an Impression were the People struck, when they saw the Conduct of these two Men, so illustrious by their Birth and Employments, and so venerable by their Age and Virtues, and who were looked upon as the Fathers of their Country? Their Examples brought over the whole Empire; *Cheu* was abandoned by his Subjects, and forced to descend from his Throne, which he resigned to *Ven vang*.

Some Princes, adds *Mencius*, affect to appear gentle, affable, sober and moderate. But these are only the dissembled Virtues of an Outside; they are Virtues which are Strangers to their Hearts, and belied by their Actions. Are they in reality affable, while they have a Contempt for their Subjects? Are they sober and temperate, while their Avarice is insatiable, and their oppressive Exactions upon their People are endless? True Clemency consists in the right Affections of the Heart, and not in exterior Grimace, an affected Tone, an obliging Smile, or the tinsel Appearance of an unnatural Gentleness.

The Eyes of a Man are frequently the Interpreters of his Heart. The candid, upright, generous Soul, is often read by a Brightness, which gently beams in the Look. On the contrary, Vice, Falshood, and Dissimulation, are discovered by a certain Gloom that overcasts it. In short, the good or bad Affections of the Heart are displayed to public View, by a corresponding Series of virtuous or vicious Actions.

A Disciple of *Mencius* asked him, Whence it happened that so many wise Persons, who tenderly loved their Children, intrusted their Education into other Hands? That, answered our Philosopher, is the Effect of their Wisdom. Is it not true, that when a Son does not improve by the Instructions of a Father, and if he hears his Precepts with an Air of Discontent, the Father won't fail to be dissatisfied with the intractable Boy? What is then the Consequence? The natural Temper of the Son is fower'd; he proceeds even to reproach his Father in the following Terms: "You lay down for me a Plan of Life, which is contrary to your own Practice. Your Maxims and your Actions appear to me contradictory." The Minds of both will thenceforward be disunited; the Love of the Father will cool, and the Submission and Tendernefs of the Son insensibly decay: Discord will ensue in the Family, than which nothing can be more destructive to good Order.

Faults that sometimes insinuate into Filial Duties.

Advice to Children to endeavour to reclaim vicious Parents.

He concludes this Chapter with observing three Faults, which frequently steal into filial Respect. The first is, When a Son perceives some Weaknesses in his Father, and yet, without losing any of the Respect he owes him, has not recourse to an ingenious Artifice, which may reclaim him to Virtue, after the Example of Prince *Shun*, who having a very vicious Father, redoubled every Day his Application and Endearments, still contriving Ways to divert him; that he might insinuate himself so far into his Affections, as to win him over to the Love and the Practice of Virtue. The second Fault is, When a Son has poor Parents, yet takes no care to relieve them, or to provide for their Subsistence. The third and last is, When a Son neglects to marry, and to perpetuate the filial Duties in his Posterity, by practising, several times every Year, the Ceremonies prescribed in Honour of deceased Parents.

## CHAPTER II.

**M**ENCIOUS shews in this Chapter, that the wise Emperors, who have reigned successively, have always observed the same Conduct in Government, and the same manner of Living, and that their Favours were not confined to particular Persons, but more universal, and extended in



in general to all their Subjects. Upon this the Philosopher related a generous Action of *Tse Shan*, the first Minister of the Kingdom of *Schin*, which was universally applauded. Being to pass a River where it was fordable, he perceived a poor Man who was on foot, and durst not venture to take the Ford. The Minister, touched with Compassion, took him into his Chariot and carried him to the other Side.

That *Mandarin*, replied *Mengcius*, undeniably had a beneficent Inclination: Yet I can never allow that he had Abilities for governing a State. Wise Princes have always taken care to cause Bridges to be built for the public Convenience; and it was never heard of, that during their Reign the Commerce of the People was ever interrupted by the difficulty of passing a River.

*Mengcius* then lays down a good many Rules of Prudence. He tells us, that we ought to be very reserved with respect to our Neighbours Failings, lest we indiscreetly publish them to the World. He tells us, that all Extreams are Vice, and even Virtue itself, when carried to excess, is no longer Virtue: That every thing about *Confucius* was natural, and that in his Discourse and Actions, he always discovered a modest Character, removed from all Vanity or Ostentation: That the Loss would not be great, if Calumny only hurted herself: But that the great Misfortune is, the Loss which the Public sustains from her Malignity, by keeping back from Dignities and Posts Men of Virtue who were most capable to fill them.

*Syn*, one of his Disciples, asked him why *Confucius* stopt so often at the Bank of a Rivulet: It is true, said he, that Philosopher made every thing tend to the Instruction of the People: But I cannot see what he could find in the gliding of the Water, and the softness of its Murmur, that could be of use to the Reformation of Manners.

Then I must tell you, answered *Mengcius*. By attentively considering that Rivulet, which issued Night and Day from its Source, and which calmly continued its Course to the Sea, without being stopped by the Inequality of the Ground, or the Gulfs it met with in its Channel, he found an inexhaustible Fund of Reflection. Behold, said he, a natural Image of the Man who draws the Rules of his Conduct from Truth, as from a Fountain-head, and whom no Obstacle can hinder from arriving at Perfection in Virtue.

After this, he passes to the Use that a Man ought to make of Reason, which is the only Thing that distinguishes Men from Beasts; and he proposes some of the ancient Emperors, who followed right Reason in every thing, as Patterns. Prince *Szun*, said he, fell into so agreeable a Habit of acting according to the Light of Reason, that even, tho' he did not reflect, he never deviated from her Paths.

Prince *Yu* was continually upon his Guard, not to do any thing contrary to the Rules of right Reason. His Cup-bearer one Day serving him with an excellent Wine at Table, he perceived that he was too much pleased with its Flavour; *I am afraid*, said he, *that the Princes my Successors will suffer their Hearts to be effeminated by so delicious a Liquor*; and immediately dismissed his Cup-bearer, and renounced the use of Wine.

Prince *Cbing tang* continually watched over himself, that he might not fall into either of the two Extreams so inconsistent with Virtue. In his Choice of Ministers he regarded nothing but Virtue. He preferred the Clown to the Courtier, and the Stranger to his own Relations, when he found in them a superior Merit.

Ever since the Emperor *Ping wang* transported the Imperial Seat to the West, there has been seen a perceptible Decay of Vigour in all the Parts of the State: The wise Maxims, and the glorious Actions of the ancient Emperors, have insensibly fallen into Oblivion. This induced *Confucius* to write the Annals of the illustrious Princes of his native Country, *Lii*. He found Materials in the Annals of the *Mandarins*, who were preferred to write the History of their Nation: But he put them in a quite new Light, by the Reflections which he interspersed, and by the Ornaments of a chaste, polite Style: And as this Philosopher always spoke and thought modestly of himself, he used to say, that whatever was good in this Book was borrowed from others, and that all his Merit was his having ranged that Series of Facts into better Order, and put them in a better Style.

*Mengcius* then lays down the Rules of Temperance, Liberality, and Fortitude, as he said they had been taught him by the Disciples of *Confucius*. He principally inculcates, that in the Exercise of these Virtues a Man ought not to be engaged by the first View that offers, but that he ought maturely to reflect, before he determines to execute any Action that comes under the Head of these Virtues. He then treats of the Means of attracting the Friendship and Esteem of Men, which is by practising of Piety and Humanity; and this, says he, consists in having a sincere, obliging and civil Manner of acting.

If, continues he, in fulfilling the two Duties, I meet Contempt or Invectives from one of a blundering heavy Understanding, I will begin by sounding my own Breast, and examining if I have done any thing contrary to these Virtues: I then redouble the Testimonies of Friendship, Politeness and Complaisance, and thereby endeavour to soften him; but if I see that these Advances meet with nothing but rude shocking Answers; I then say to my self; There is the Character of a very intractable Fellow, I see not one Sentiment of Humanity in him, nor seems there to be any Difference betwixt his Character and that of the wildest Beasts. Let me leave him as he is; I should torment myself uselessly did I pretend to tame him. By this way of reasoning it is, that nothing can disquiet the wise Man, and the most shocking Injuries are not capable to ruffle his Tranquillity.



Before he ends this Chapter he shews, 1<sup>st</sup>. That tho' wise Men act differently according to the different Situations they are in, yet their Actions are determined by the same Understanding, the same Equity, and the same Uprightness of Heart. 2. He inveighs against such as make use of the most unworthy Meannesses, and the most servile Flatteries, that they may arrive at Dignities and Posts; but become intoxicated by Fortune, and insolent with Power, after their Promotion.

## CHAPTER III.

**M**ENCIUS shews to what a Degree Prince *Shun* carried his Love and Respect for, and Submission to, his Father and Mother. The Emperor *Tau* finding himself stooping beneath a Weight of Years and Infirmities, the ordinary Attendants of old Age, committed to him the Government of the Empire. While he was in the Height of Grandeur, and surrounded with Honours, Riches, Plenty, and the Applauses of a mighty People, he could take no Pleasure, because he saw his Parents abandon themselves to shameful Passions: And all his Application was directed to find out the Means of reclaiming them to the Ways of Virtue. This made him often send up Sighs to Heaven: And tho' he was fifty Years of Age, and Master of the Empire, he persevered, even to his Death, in the Practice of all the Duties which are prescribed by filial Piety.

He then shews the extraordinary Regard the same Emperor had for his Brother *Syang*, an unnatural Prince, who had several times attempted the Life of the Emperor his Brother, but he was so far from punishing him, when it was in his Power, that he loaded him with Honours, Favours and Riches.

When the Emperor *Tau* was dying, he left his Empire to his Minister *Shun*, preferring him to his own Son, in whom he did not find the Qualifications necessary for governing aright. Upon which, one of his Disciples asks him, If it be in an Emperor's Power, thus to deprive his Son of his Birth-right. No! answered the Philosopher, It is not. Crowns are at the Disposal of Heaven, and Heaven gave the Empire to Prince *Shun*. The Emperor *Tau* only proposed him to Heaven, and Heaven agreed: The People, struck with the Lustre of his Virtues, voluntarily submitted to the Decree of Heaven, and flocked to recognize their new Emperor. This Concurrence of Suffrages, this unanimous Motion of all the Parts of the Empire, is entirely supernatural, and can only be the Effect of a Will that controuls and directs Events. It is certain, adds he, that Events, whose Causes are unknown, can be attributed only to Heaven, which never dispossesses Children of their Father's Throne, except they are unworthy to fill it: As were the Emperors *Kye* and *Cheu*, whose Tyranny rendered them Objects of Horror.

He then praises the Modesty and Disinterestedness of a Sage whose Name was *I in*: He was a common Husbandman, but his Reputation for Wisdom and Virtue was very great in the Empire. The Emperor *Ching tang*, who had heard him frequently mention'd with great Encomiums, was willing to profit by the Counsels of so understanding a Person, and engage him to come to his Court. Upon which he sent Ambassadors to him with magnificent Presents, and invited him to fix his Abode in his Palace. *I in* appeared to be no ways touched, either with the Magnificence of the Embassy, or with the Richness of his Presents, which he refused. There is, said he, something in your Offers, and in the Proposals you make me, that might flatter a Man who has ambitious Views; but as for me, who desire nothing in this World, can I renounce my dear Solitude, and the Pleasure of singing the Verses of our ancient Sages, of reading their Books, and of forming myself upon their Examples, to engage in the Hurry of a Court, and to expose myself to those Troubles and Disquiets, that are inseparable to the Management of public Affairs?

The Prince was very much surprized when he was told of the Husbandman's Answer. Such a Contempt of Honours and Riches made him still more desirous of having a Man of that Character about his Person; so he sent three Times other Ambassadors, who renewed his Invitations. The wise *I in* then perceived that a Prince who sought him so earnestly, must have Views that were very just, and conducive to the Good of his People. Doubtless, said he, Heaven has bestowed more Understanding upon me than upon the generality of Mankind, that I may propagate my Doctrine, that I may assist the Prince by my Counsels, in causing the almost extinguished Virtues of our ancient Emperors to be revived by the Justice of his Conduct.

This Motive made greater Impression upon him than the Honours and Presents, which he disdain'd; so he repaired to the Court of *Ching tang*; and it was by his Advice, that this Prince declared War against the Tyrant *Kye*, and thereby delivered the People from the cruel Oppressions under which they had long groaned.

*Mencius* then makes the following Reflection: Wise Men, says he, tread in different Paths: Some insinuate themselves into, and others keep at a Distance from Courts: Some don't scruple to accept of, others refuse and despise, Honours and Dignities. But amidst all this Difference of Conduct, they all propose the same End, which is to practise Virtue, and to lead a blameless Life.

He ends this Chapter by undeceiving one of his Disciples, who believing the popular Reports about some Sages, who debased themselves so far as to accept of the most mean and despicable Employments, in order to make themselves known, and to pave the way to Dignities: He shews his Scholar, that these are so many Fables, invented by such as sought Examples to justify their Abjection and Meanness, by which they courted the Protection of the Great.



## CHAPTER IV.

HE begins this Chapter with observing, that tho' the ancient Sages had no other View in their Conduct but Equity and Politeness, yet each of them had a different Manner of Acting, Thinking, and Living. The wise *Pei*, for instance, would not turn his Eyes upon any Object that was in the least indecent; nor hear any unbecoming Word: If a Prince had the least Failure in point of Virtue, he refused to serve him: If the People were indocile, he left them: When a State was in Peace and Tranquillity he willingly discharged the Functions to which he was raised; but where there was the least Agitation or Trouble, he immediately threw up his Employment.

The Sage *Iin* was of another Opinion: Where is there a Prince so vicious, said he, whom we may not serve? Is there any People so indocile that they cannot be governed? We ought not to refuse Posts in the Magistracy, neither when a State is calm, nor when it is toss'd with Storms. A wise Man, adds he, in the Time of Peace, has Leisure to teach Virtue; and during the Troubles of a State, he endeavours to appease them.

After having said that a Minister ought to form himself upon the ancient Sages, who have given us Examples of Integrity, Generosity, Courage, and Prudence; he gives a Detail of the Posts and Dignities, which were in the Empire and in every Principality, and of the Revenues appropriated to these Dignities.

He then teaches his Disciples the Manner in which they ought to behave to their Friends: Whatever Superiority you may have over them, says he, either in point of Age, Birth, Dignities, or Alliances, never treat them in a haughty, imperious Manner, but always, as if they were your Equals. Upon this he cites Examples of great Mandarins, Kings, and Emperors themselves, who courted the Friendship of wise Men, and who descending from the high Rank to which they were raised, treated them with Honour and Distinction: As for instance, the King of *Tsin*, who paying a Visit to the Doctor *Hay tang*, did not presume to enter into his House, nor to sit down to eat, before he obtain'd his Permission. The Emperor *Yau*, likewise, lived so familiarly with his Minister *Shun*, that he frequently caused him to eat at Table with himself.

The same Disciple asked our Philosopher, what ought to be the View of a wise Man that aspired to Dignities? To assist, answer'd *Mencius*, in the good Government of a State: If he is poor, and wants only to supply his own Necessities, he ought to be contented with the less important Employments, without aspiring to more exalted Dignities: He has whereon to live, and that ought to be sufficient. Upon this Head, he cites the Example of *Confucius*, who being in extream Want, did not blush to accept of the Post of Overseer of the Royal Park. The meaner and more contemptible my Employment is, said he, it will be the more easy for me to discharge it. Provided the Flocks of the King be in good Condition, I fulfil all my Duty, and no more can be required of me.

He lays it down as a Principle, that a wise Man, who has no Employment at Court, ought not to go thither, even tho' the King himself should send to desire him. Upon which a Disciple objects to him, that if a King should order one of his Subjects to go to War, the Subject would be obliged to obey him: And that for the same Reason, a wise Man, whom his Prince wanted to discourse with, ought to repair to him whenever his Majesty did him the Honour to call him.

That is a different Case, answered *Mencius*, for on what Account, think you, does the King wish to see and discourse with a wise Man? Is it not to profit by his Understanding, to consult him in perplexing Cases, to hear and follow his Advice? He looks upon the wise Man then as the Master, and himself as the Scholar, and will the Laws of Civility and good Breeding suffer the Scholar to send for his Master? And for the same Reason, will not the Master offend against these Laws, if he obeys such an Order? A Prince does not disparage himself when he visits a Master of Wisdom, because he observes the Ceremonies prescribed, which appoint the Scholar to behave in such a Manner to the Master. If a Prince, who would profit by the Discourses of a wise Man, shall fail of observing this Law of Politeness and Respect, he acts, as if he invited him to enter into his House, and yet shut the Door against him.

But, replies the Disciple, I have read, that *Confucius* being sent for by the King of *Lu*, flew immediately to his Court without waiting till the Chariot was got ready. Did that Pattern of wise Men commit hereby an indecent Action?

At that time, replies our Philosopher, *Confucius* was the first Minister of the Kingdom: The King had a right to cause his Minister to come to him, and it was the Minister's Duty to obey him as readily as he could; but a wise Man, who is clothed with no Dignity, is not subject to any such Law.

*Mencius* ends this Chapter, by saying, that when a Prince falls into any Errors, either with regard to the bad Choice he makes of Mandarins, or the Orders he gives in the Government of his State, his Minister ought to tell him of it with all the Address that is suitable to his Dignity: But if his first Advice is unsuccessful, he ought to repeat it again and again; and if the Prince obstinately persists to disregard it, he ought then to throw up his Employments, and retire from Court.



## CHAPTER V.

**M**ENCIOUS having advanced, that Nature of herself was upright, and inclinable to Virtue, his Disciple *Kau tse* proposes to him some Difficulties. I have always been of opinion, says he, that Nature is not vicious; but it appears to me, that she is indifferently and equally inclined to Good or Ill. I compare her, adds he, to Water which falls from the Heaven into a large Ditch; if it finds no Passage by which it can run off, it stagnates and has no Motion; but if it finds such a Passage, whether it is to the East or West, its Course is directed by it. In like manner, the Nature of Man appears to me, neither good nor bad, but in a State of Indifference, and is determined to Good or Ill by virtuous or vicious Morals.

I shall grant, answers *Mencius*, that the Water has an equal Tendency towards the East or West; but it does not follow that it has an equal Tendency to mount into the Air, as to sink to the Ground. Will not its specific Weight press it downwards? The Nature of Man has an equal Tendency to Virtue. But as we see that Water no longer follows its natural Course when obstructed by a Mound, but flows back to its Source; in like manner, when a Person knows not how to controul the Passions which arise in, and continually agitate, the Heart of Man, they entirely pervert that Tendency which is in his Nature towards Good.

He then refutes the Opinion of his Disciple, who makes the Nature of Man to consist in Life, and the Faculties of knowing, feeling, and moving. If it were so, said he, in what would the Nature of Man differ from that of a Beast? He then shews that his Nature consists in Reason: That Reason is the Principle of Piety and Equity; and that these two Virtues are as it were two Properties inseparable from human Nature. He proves this by the Respect due to aged Persons; this is a kind of Equity, not at all consisting in their great Age, which has a Right to be respected; for this Right is *extrinsic* of the Person who pays Respect: But it consists in the Knowledge which he has of this Right, and in the Affection of the Heart, both which are *intrinsic* to human Nature.

I own, continued he, that it is not easy to know the Nature of Man in itself; but in order to judge what is good and right, we need only to examine what is its innate Propensity and Inclination. Every Man naturally has a Compassion for the Unhappy, a Modesty that restrains him from shameful Actions, Respect for his Superiors, with an Understanding that can distinguish Truth from Falshood, and Honour from Infamy. This Sentiment of Compassion is named Piety: The Sentiment of Modesty is named Equity: The Sentiment of Respect goes by the Name of Civility; and in short, the natural Understanding is what we call Prudence. Whence proceed these four Sentiments in Man? Not from exterior Causes. They then are intimately united to his Nature. But the Misfortune is, that most Men neglect, and even don't attend to that natural Uprightness which they received from *Tyen*; for which reason, they insensibly lose it, and are afterwards plunged into all kind of Vices.

On the contrary, they, who improve it, daily advance in Perfection, till they become celebrated by their Virtue and Wisdom. You sow the same Grain in the same Soil, and at the same Season; yet in the time of Harvest there is a difference in the Crop, tho' the Nature of the Grain be the same; but the Reason of this is, because the Culture bestowed by the Husbandman was unequal. We see in every Member of Man the same natural Inclination for its Object. The Eyes in every Man, for instance, are equally affected with Beauty, the Ears with Harmony, and the Palate with an exquisite Taste. Hence we may conclude, that, as there is a perfect Conformity in the Sensations of the Body, it is impossible that there should be found any Man whose Heart should be the only Part about him that is differently formed.

But whence can this Resemblance in the Heart of all Men proceed? From right Reason, which is the same in all. But if we neglect to improve these Lights of right Reason, if we cease to cultivate that natural Propensity to Virtue, they will become as a young Plant, which withers and dies when we neglect to water it.

When I lived in the Kingdom of *Tsin*, I went sometimes to see King *Suen yang*, and I was not surprized at his extream Blindness: For he was not at the least Pains in perfecting the natural Uprightness of his Heart. You plant a Tree: If, after a warm Day, which makes it bud, there come ten Days of Frost, it is impossible that it should grow, or bear Fruit: My Counsels and Instructions were, with respect to that Prince, as a warm Day is to a young Tree. But my Foot was scarce out of his Palace but he was invironed with a crowd of Flatterers, who made the same Impression upon his Mind, as ten Days of Frost make upon such a Tree: So that when I perceived how useless my Cares were, and how little the Prince profited by my Instructions, I left him to himself.

Thus it is, that most Men invert the Order of Nature, and blind themselves, by extinguishing the Lights of their Reason, and abandoning themselves to their Pleasures. Thus too, they neglect their natural Uprightness, which nevertheless has something in it more precious than Life; since a reasonable Man would prefer Death to the committing an unjust and unreasonable Action.

Is it not strange, adds *Mencius*, that Man being composed of two Parts, namely a Soul and a Body, the first being very noble, and the last very despicable, he should apply all his Cares to the vile, while he neglects the noble Part of himself, which ought to employ him entirely, because it distinguishes him from Beutes? What would we think of a Gardener who should leave the admirable and useful Trees *Hya* and *Kya* without Culture, and bend all his Cares to worthless, useless Shrubs?



## CHAPTER VI.

**M**ENCIUS in this Chapter establishes this Principle; That some Usages are common to, and ought to be observed by all Men; but may be dispensed with in some particular Cases: And that there are general Laws, but that these Laws have likewise their Exceptions. It was objected to our Philosopher; I can't get so much as will preserve my Life, if I observe the Laws of Honesty and Civility, which are established in the Commerce among Men: May I not violate these Laws to save myself from dying of Hunger?

Doubtless you may, answered *Mencius*: The end of our seeking Food, is, that we may preserve Life and prevent Death: And the Point of least Importance, in the Rules of Civility and Politeness, is, to do nothing contrary to these Rules, when it concerns the procuring to ourselves necessary Subsistence. Now, the Necessity of preserving Life, takes place of all the Points of less Importance in the Duties of Civility. It is a particular Case, and does not at all destroy the ordinary Usage: It is an Exception of a Law, but serves to confirm that very Law's Universality and Extent.

*Kyau*, younger Brother of the King of (\*) *Tiau*, one Day visited *Mencius*, and spoke to him in these Terms, I can't comprehend what I every Day hear; that there is no Man but may make himself like these famous Emperors *Tau* and *Sbun*, whose Wisdom and Virtue have always appeared to me inimitable: What is your Opinion on this Head.

I think, answers *Mencius*, that it depends upon yourself alone, to resemble these Heroes: You may want the Will, but can never be destitute of the Power to imitate them: For if you are really willing, you must always succeed. I stand in need of your Lessons for that effect, replied *Kyau*, so I design to fix my Residence here for some Time, that I may be near your Person, and hear the Instructions of so great a Master.

*Mencius* saw there was little Sincerity in this flattering Discourse: The Way of Virtue, said he, is like the high Road; none are Ignorant of it, and no Person has any Difficulty in keeping in it, but such as are Slaves to their Passions, and pleased with their Fetters. As you don't want Understanding, you may return Home, and your own Reflections will soon guide you to the Practice of Virtue.

*Mencius* relates the Conversation he had with the Doctor *Sung keng*. This last having said that a War being just about to break out betwixt the Kings of (†) *Tsin* and (‡) *Tsu*; he was thinking on the Means of pacifying these two Powers: That he would first repair to the King of *Tsu*, and endeavour to appease the Storm from that Quarter, and to inspire him with Sentiments of Peace: That if he could gain nothing upon his Inclinations, he would then direct his Course to the King of *Tsin*: and that he was hopeful to win the Favour of either the one or the other, so far as to make them enter into Terms of Agreement.

But, answered *Mencius*, what Argument will you make use of to persuade them, and to bring them over to your Sentiments? I will shew them replied the other, that their entering upon a War can be of no use, but, on the contrary, may prove very destructive to their States.

I am afraid, said *Mencius*, that you must lose your Pains, if you have no other Argument to use but their own Interests; and that you will never succeed in what you propose, which is, the quieting both Kingdoms. Suppose that this Motive should induce the Princes to dismiss their Troops and to lay down their Arms. What can be inferred from that? Candour will no longer prevail: Generals and Magistrates in their Obedience, will have nothing but their private Interest in View; and *Self* will be the Soul of Subordination, which is so necessary to good Government: Piety, Humanity, and Equity, will then be Virtues unknown; and the least Appearance of Gain will give rise to Quarrels and Disputes: Thence, Divisions, Hatred, Fury, Murders and Assassinations will proceed: Private Interest is the Bane of Society: And the Kingdom, into which it steals, cannot long subsist.

Would you maintain Peace in these two Kingdoms, you must charm their Princes with the Beauty of all the Virtues, but especially of Piety and Justice: If they take these two Virtues for the Rule of their Conduct, they will soon lay aside all their Inclinations to War. Their *Mandarins* and People will act by the same Rules, and will consult only *Piety* and *Virtue* in the Respect and Obedience which they owe, either, to their Prince, or their Parents. Then Sincerity, Candour, Peace, Friendship, Truth, Loyalty, and Obedience will flourish. These are the Virtues which root up Divisions, and either establish, or maintain Peace in a State.

He then gives an Account, how careful the ancient Emperors were to visit the different Kingdoms of the Empire, and of the Penalties they imposed upon the Kings, within whose Kingdoms they found, Agriculture neglected, Wise Men despised, old Age left without any Relief in its Miseries, or impious tyrannical Persons raised to Posts and Dignities.

He then mentions the Ordinances relating to these feudatory Princes. If they failed to repair to the Imperial Court at the time appointed, for their giving an Account of their Administration, they were reduced to a lower Degree of Nobility for the first Fault. If they failed a second Time, their Revenues were diminished, and the Bounds of their Jurisdiction contracted. For the third Fault, the Emperor sent an Army to punish the Rebel Prince, and to depose him.

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(\*) At present a Wall City depending upon *Tau chow*, in the Province of *Shan si*.

(†) At present the Province of *Shan si*.

(‡) Now call'd the Province of *Hé guang*.



him from his Dignity. He even frequently gave this Commission to the neighbouring Kings who invaded his Kingdom all at once, and executed the Emperor's Orders.

He then recounts the wise Regulations made upon a like Occasion, by the Prince *Ven tung*, who held an Assembly of the States, at which were present all the Feudatory Princes: Then mounting a kind of a Tribunal, he read the following Ordinance containing twelve principal Articles which they were to observe. The first made it Capital for Children not to pay all the Respect to their Parents, which was their Due. The second prohibited the Substitution of a Concubine, in Place of a lawful Wife; and in like Manner, the preferring the Son of a Concubine to that of a lawful Wife, in order to make him Heir of the Kingdom. The third ordained, that Men who were distinguished by their Honour and Wisdom should be honoured, and that handsome Pensions should be assigned them for their Subsistence. The fourth enjoins, that old Age should be respected. The fifth, that Children should be well educated. The sixth, that Strangers should not be despised, but treated with Honour. The seventh, that those who have rendered any Service to the State, should be rewarded with an hereditary Pension. The eighth, that many Posts or Dignities should never be conferred upon one Man. The ninth enjoins, that none should be raised to Posts in the Government but they who have deserved them, and have given Proofs of their Capacity. The tenth, that if a first Minister shall be found guilty of a Crime worthy of Death, he shall not be put to Death, without laying the Affair before the Emperor. The eleventh, that no Dikes or Causeways shall be made in time of Drought, so that the Waters may be kept upon the Ground, and not suffered to run into neighbouring Kingdoms. The twelfth, prohibits the Prince from disposing upon his Kingdom either wholly or in Part, without the express Consent of the Emperor.

How admirable, continued *Mencius*, is the Conduct of Heaven towards the Wise and the Brave. *Sbun*, that illustrious Emperor, was taken from the Plough, to be advanced to the Throne. *Kau tsong*, after a diligent search found *Fu yue* among Masons, and made him quit his Trowel and his Mortar to raise him to the first Dignity of his Court. *Ky au*, an Inn-keeper was placed at the Head of the Councils of *Ven vang*. *Ven kong* brought another out of Prison to make him his first Minister. *Pe li bi* was only a little Merchant, yet the King of *Tsin* raised him to the first Rank in his Court, and profited so well by his Councils, that no Prince ever acquired an Authority and Reputation in the Empire equal to his.

Thus, when Heaven designs a Man for the highest Employments which require an extraordinary Virtue, it never fails to prepare him for his exalted Station by a train of Adversities, Affronts, Hunger, Poverty, Fatigues, and many other mortifying Accidents. Virtue uses to recollect herself in Misfortune, to reunite all her Forces, and to struggle against Adversity. A wise Man does not know the Extent of his Resolution and Constancy, if he is not put to all kinds of Tryals.

We see the same thing happen in the Government of Kingdoms. A Prince who has not Ministers sufficiently wise and able to maintain the Vigour of the Laws, and who is not able to reform himself when he deviates from the Laws, soon falls into Snares spread by his Courtiers, and that Swarm of Flatterers that commonly infest Courts. He abandons the Care of his State, that he may give himself up to vain Amusements, to Idleness, to Ease, to Effeminacy, and the most criminal Pleasures. This gives Rise to Complaints, Murmurings, popular Commotions, Rebellions, and in the End, to the Ruin both of the King and Kingdom. Whence we may conclude, that Pains, Troubles, and Affronts, frequently contribute to a happy Life; and that Prosperity, Softness, and Pleasure, contribute yet more frequently, to an unhappy End.

## CHAPTER VII.

**M**ENCIOUS observes in this Chapter, that in order to serve Heaven aright a Man must 1<sup>st</sup>. Guard his Heart, and not allow it to have too great an Inclination for Affairs foreign to itself, or to dissipate itself in vain, trifling, Matters.

2<sup>dly</sup>. Follow right Reason in all his Conduct; love nothing but what is really amiable to her, and do nothing but what she enjoins. He informs us, that a wise Man never troubles himself whether his Days are to be many or few; that he knows their Number are fixed by *Tyen*, and that all his Care is, the due Regulation of his Morals: That Riches and Honours are sought after at the Expence of great Disquiets, and that these Disquiets are almost always useless, because the Object of our Desires and Ambition is commonly without ourselves: That the Case is otherwise with respect to virtuous Actions, the Principle which produces them being within ourselves, and that we attain it, as soon as we set about seeking it with a sincere and an upright Heart.

He next gives some Instructions to one of his Scholars, who followed the Profession of teaching Wisdom. You are ambitious, said he, to insinuate yourself into the Palaces of Princes, there to propagate your Doctrine: But if you would behave like a Man truly wise, you must not suffer the good or bad Success of the Pains you are at, to affect the inward Peace of your Mind: Whether Men receive your Instructions with Pleasure, or reject them with Disdain, your Conduct must be always equal and uniform.

Among these vast Numbers who seek to settle in the Courts of Princes, I distinguish four Sorts: Some who obtain their Ends by Intrigues of all kinds, and who have nothing in View but to please the Prince, and to render themselves agreeable by an insinuating Behaviour, and an abject Flattery. Others propose only to preserve Peace in the Kingdom, and to remove every Cause



Cause of Division. Some we may call the *Men sent from Heaven*, because they are solely employed in following the Laws of *Heaven*. If they have Grounds to believe that their Lessons upon the Rules of Morals and Government, will be of any service to Kings or People, they willingly accept of Posts and Dignities. If, on the contrary, they have reason to believe that their Doctrine will be neglected; they then retire from the Palaces of Princes to a Life of Obscurity and Retirement. Lastly, some may be looked upon as Heroes. Such as those, whose Lives are so well regulated, that they engage Princes by their Examples, and in some Measure force them to imitate their Virtues.

Every thing, adds *Mengius*, gives Joy to the truly wise Man. 1<sup>st</sup>. The good Health of his Father and Mother, and the Union of his own Family. 2<sup>dly</sup>. When he lifts up his Eyes to Heaven, if he finds nothing within him that is blameable. And when he humbles them to look on Man, if he finds nothing in his Conduct for which he needs to blush. 3<sup>dly</sup>. That he can, by his Discourses and Example, inspire the People with the Desire of perfecting themselves in Virtue. He does not make his Happiness to consist, as you see, in the Possession of Honours and Riches. Tho' he were able to establish a flourishing Kingdom in the very Heart of the Empire, and to subject all the People who are within the four Seas, yet he will not place his Happiness in that. Every thing that is without himself, Honours or Disgrace, Riches or Poverty, are incapable to affect him either with Joy or Grief. All his Pleasure is to cultivate and to bring to Perfection, the Virtues he has received from Nature; namely, Piety, Equity, Humanity, and Prudence. These Virtues, when once they are deeply rooted in the Heart, manifest themselves in the serene Look, the modest Countenance, the Deportment, and Air of him who possesses them. Every Part of his Person is stamp'd by the Virtue of his Heart.

The Memory of Prince *Ven vang*, continues he, will be for ever revered; and his Piety, Clemency, with his Cares of young Wards, Widows, Orphans, and old Men, is constantly celebrated. Is it only meant by this, that he took care to send every Day the necessary Subsistence to each Family? No; that was not enough for him to do.

The Method then which he took to relieve the Poverty of his People, and especially of those, whom either Poverty or old Age disabled from supplying their own Necessities, was this. He assigned five little Arpents of Ground to every Master of a Family, whereon he might build a House, and lay out Gardens. He ordained likewise, that Mulberry-Trees should be planted, with whose Leaves the Women might nourish the Silk-Worms: By these means, the old Men had Stuffs wherewith they might cloath themselves and keep out Cold. He likewise ordered every Family to bring up Poultry and Piggs. In short, he gave a certain Number of Arpents of Ground, which the Children, who were strong and robust, were to labour. By this sage Regulation, every good old Wan had wherewith to subsist both himself and his Family. While the Prince thus provided for the Necessities of his People, he found them more docile to hear his Precepts, and more inclinable to observe them.

How little is true Virtue understood, cried he again? The horror for Contempt and Poverty, and the desire of Honours and Riches, blind most Men. Let a Man be almost famished, he has a Relish for the most insipid Food; it would seem that his Pallat could no longer judge of Tastes. The hunger, and thirst of Riches produce the same Effects upon the Heart.

You have heard the celebrated *Liew hya weby*, who was a Pattern of Gentleness and Affability, spoken off. Neither the most frightful Poverty with which he was threatned, nor the first Rank of the Empire, with which he was flattered, could in the least sway him to Vice, or divert him from Virtue. The study of Virtue is a great Work, no Man ought to enter into it, but he who has Constancy enough to persevere in it till it is finished. He who applies to this Study is like a Man who digs for a Well. After he had diged to the Depth of nine Perches, if he grows weary, and leaves off his Work, he will never discover the Spring he seeks for, and all he has done must go for nothing: It is the same in our Pursuit of Virtue; if our Courage fails us in the Middle of our Work, and if we shall suspend our Labours, before we have attained to Perfection, we shall not only never succeed, but all the Pains we have been at, will be vain and fruitless.

When that famous Minister of the Empire, *I in*, saw the Emperor *Tay kya* degenerate from the Virtues of his Grand-father *Ching tang*, he caused him to descend from his Throne, of which he had rendered himself unworthy, and shut him up in a remote Palace, wherein the Tomb of his Grand-father stood. The Action procured him an universal Applause. The Prince when he viewed the Ashes of that Heroe from whom he was descended, came to himself, bewailed the Irregularity of his Life, detested his Vices, and applied himself seriously to the Study of Wisdom. As soon as the Minister was sensible of the Change wrought upon him, he brought him out of the Palace and replaced him upon the Throne. This was new matter of Joy for the People, who equally applauded the Wisdom of the Minister, and the Docility of the young Emperor.

But, said one of his Disciples, is this an Example to be imitated? If a wise Minister serves a disorderly Prince, will he be allowed to suspend him from the Exercise of Royalty? Without doubt he may, answered the Philosopher, if he has an Authority as ample, and Intentions as pure, as the Minister *I in*. Without these Qualifications, he will be looked upon as a Robber and a Rebel, and no Law will be too severe for punishing him.

I have read, replied the same Disciple, in the Book *Sbi king*, that he who does not work, ought not to eat. In consequence of this, we see no Person but has some Employment or other

Perseverance  
in the Pursuit of  
Virtue necessary.



other, Princes, Magistrates, Husbandmen, Tradesmen, Merchants, in short, every body is employed: But what is the wife Man, who does not enter into affairs of Government, employed in? His Life seems to me to be useless, and yet he receives the Pension of his Prince, which serves only to maintain his Idleness.

Do you reckon, answered our Philosopher, his Instructions and Examples for nothing? If a King profits by these, all the Kingdom soon feels their good Effects; Tranquillity, Opulence, and filial Piety are promoted. Can a Man, who is the means of procuring so much Happiness to a State, be called useless.

At last, the same Disciple, who thought the Morality of *Mencius* too austere, spoke to him in the following Terms: The Path of Virtue, as you lay it out, is beautiful, but too sublime, and accessible only to few. Why don't you render it more easy to come at? You would then have a great many more Disciples. There is no Artist, replies *Mencius*, who teaches a Trade, but follows a certain Method and some invariable Rules. And would you have a Master of Wisdom, who teaches the Road that guides to Perfection, have a variable Doctrine, which he can accommodate to the Taste and Caprice of his Hearers. Such a one, if he were able, would betray his Profession, and cease to be a Master of Wisdom.

## CHAPTER VIII.

Dialogue of  
*Mencius* with  
his Disciple  
*Kung sun shew*.

**M**ENCIUS, discoursing with his Disciple *Kung sun shew*, about the King of *Ghey*, whose Name was *Wbey wang*, said, that this Prince had no true Piety; that he was compassionate to Brutes, and cruel to Men. And would you have a Proof of this? added he. That Prince intoxicated with a Desire to aggrandise his State, and to enrich himself with the Spoils of his Neighbours, waged bloody Wars, and his People became the Victims of his Ambition. While he saw the Ground drenched in Blood, and covered with the dead Bodies of his Soldiers; the frightful Scene never touched him. Nay more, when he saw most of his Army cut in Pieces, far from saving the Remnant, he rallied them, and led them on to Battle anew, placing his Son, his Relations and his Favourites in the Front. Thus, we may see that he preferred his Conquests to the Lives of them who were dearest to him. Can you call that true Piety? Don't tell me that *Confucius* in his Work, entitled the *Spring and Autumn*, writes a History of the Wars among Princes. That Philosopher approved of no Wars but those that were just, such as that which the Emperor entered into, to punish a Rebel Prince. But he condemned and disapproved of unjust Wars, such as those which the Princes carried on against one another without the Emperor's Permission.

If any one, adds *Mencius*, shall go to a Prince and say to him; I am skilled in warlike Matters: I know how to draw up an Army in Battle array: And, by this Discourse, engage the Prince to take up Arms, and to carry War into his Neighbour's Territories: Would he not be look'd upon as a Blood-thirsty Man, and a real Disturber of the public Tranquillity? The Prince who is truly virtuous, has no Occasion to use Arms for Conquest. His Virtue and Moderation are more effectual for subduing Kingdoms, than the most dazzling Victories.

We need no other Example than that of Prince *Chin tang*: While he was overrunning the Southern Provinces, the People of the Northern complained of his Slowness: Have we not long enough, said they, groaned under the tyrannical Oppression of a merciless Master? Why does our Deliverer delay to come to our Relief? All the People of the Empire stretched out their Hands to him, and expected his Presence, only to submit to his Laws.

Encomium  
of *Shan*.

What I call Virtue in a Prince, appeared in that wise Heroe, Prince *Shan*. In the first Year of his private Life, tho' he was so poor that he could scarce get a little Rice and Pot-herbs to live on, yet was contented with his Lot. When he was Emperor, that supreme Dignity did not in the least swell his Heart. Neither his People, nor all the Delicacies of a Court, with all the Enchantments of a Throne, were able to seduce him. He possessed all these as if he had not possessed them: And it was by that Wisdom and Integrity of Life, which was always uniform, that he absolutely gained all Hearts.

But perhaps you will say, these Times were different from what ours are. The Corruption of Mankind is now almost become general; how shall we resist its Torrent? Vain Pretenses! Can a severe Famine cause a rich Man to die of Hunger? For the same Reason, a corrupted Age can never change the Heart of a Man who is solidly virtuous.

Afterwards, treating of the Piety which ought to guide a Prince in the Government of his People, he establishes the Order to be observed in gathering the Tributes. The Tribute of Silk, says he, ought only to be raised in the Summer. That of Millet and Rice, in the Autumn, and the public Taxes ought to be exacted only in the Winter. If a Prince shall break into this Order, and demand two kinds of Tributes in the same Season, he will reduce his Subjects to Misery and Famine: The People will then disperse themselves, to seek for a Livelihood in other Provinces; and the dispeopled Kingdom will be ruined by the Avarice of its Prince.

There are three things, added he, which ought to be more dear and precious to a Prince, than Gold and Jewels. 1<sup>st</sup>. The Kingdom which he has received from his Ancestors. 2<sup>dly</sup>. The People intrusted to his Care. 3<sup>dly</sup>. The Science of rightly governing them. He will acquire the Science of governing others, when he is once learned to govern himself, and to watch over the Motions of his Heart, so as to render himself its Master, which he will soon be, when he knows how to contract its Desires.

He



He then proceeds to the Choice which *Confucius* made of his Disciples. That Philosopher, said he, required that they should have elevated Sentiments, a great Courage, and a Constancy in the good Resolutions they had formed: He abhorred these Sophists who were only skilled in the Arts of Falshood and Dissimulation, and who, by a simple Outside and the vain Appearances of Virtue, only studied to attract the Encomiums and Approbation of their Fellow Citizens, without putting themselves to the Trouble to deserve them by Actions that were really virtuous.

Lastly, he ends this Chapter and his Book, by shewing that this great Art of governing and living well could not have subsisted long, if there had not been, at certain periods of Time, great Men who took care to transmit them to Posterity. The Emperors *Yau* and *Shun* were the first Masters, and the first Models of them, together with their Ministers *Yü* and *Kau yau*. The Emperor *Ching tang* appeared 500 Years after, and with the Assistance of his Ministers *I in* and *Ly shu*, revived these great Maxims which were then almost forgotten. *Ven wang* about 500 Years after, again restored them to their Vigour; and about the same Distance of time after him, *Confucius*, as it were, raised from the Dead the ancient Doctrine, which he put in a new Light by the Wisdom of his Reflections and Maxims.

## Hyau king, or, of Filial Respect. The fifth Classical Book.

**T**HIS little Book contains only the Answers of *Confucius* to his Disciple *Tseng*, concerning the Duty of Children towards their Parents. He pretends to prove, that this Filial Respect is the Foundation of the wise Government of the Empire: And for this effect, he enters into a Detail of what is owing to Parents from Sons of every Rank, either of Emperors, or Kings, first Ministers, Literati, or even of those who are in the lowest Stations of Life. This Book is very short, and consists only of eighteen brief Articles.

General Sketch of this Work.

In the first Article, he tells his Disciple, That the sublime Virtue of the ancient Emperors, who in their Reigns promoted Peace, Harmony, and Subordination throughout all the Empire, was derived from their filial Respect, which is the Foundation of all Virtues.

Particular Contents of the first.

In the second, third, fourth, fifth, and sixth Articles, he shews, That whatever Station a Man is in, and to whatever Dignity he is raised, he is obliged to observe this filial Respect: That Emperors and great Men who give the People an Example of Love and Veneration towards their Parents, find none who dare either despise or hate them: By these means Subordination is preserved in the Kingdom; and that the necessary Effects of this Subordination are Peace and Tranquillity.

and the five following Articles.

In the seventh, he says, That Filial Respect is of vast Extent, that it is a Virtue that reaches even the Heaven, whose regular Motions it imitates: That it comprehends the whole Earth, whose Fruitfulness it resembles. That she finds an Object in the most common Actions of Men, since it is in the most common Incidents of Life that she exerts herself: That when she is well established in a Kingdom, no Troubles, no Law-suits, no Quarrels are seen there; and that when Peace prevails in every Family, all the Subjects of the Prince are gentle, equitable, and Foes to all Disputes and Injustice.

Seventh.

In the eighth he shews, That when the Emperor gives an Example of Filial Piety, it is always imitated by the wise and great Men of the Empire: That the *Mandarins* form themselves by the Court, and that the People in like Manner imitate the *Mandarins*: and that the Conduct of the Emperor thus influencing all the Members of the State, all are submissive, the Laws are observed, and the Morals regulated.

In the ninth, *Tseng* asks of *Confucius*, If any other Virtue is greater than that of filial Respect, *Confucius* answers; That as Heaven produced no work more noble than Man, so the most excellent of all human Actions was that by which he honoured and respected his Parents. That the Father is with respect to his Son, what the Creator is to the Creature; and the Son has the same Relation to the Father, as the Subject has to the Prince: That he who does not love his Parents sins against Reason; and he who does not honour them, against Civility. That a King who requires Submission and Obedience in his Subjects, ought to do nothing contrary either to Reason or Civility; because his Actions serve for the Rule and the Pattern of his Subjects, who will be submissive and obedient to him only in proportion as they are so to their Parents.

Ninth.

In the tenth, he sums up five Duties of this filial Piety; The Man, says he, who honours his Parents ought, First, to honour them within Doors. Secondly, to take a pleasure to procure any thing that is necessary for their Subsistence. Thirdly, to let the Grief of his Heart appear in the Air of his Face when they are sick. Fourthly, to put himself in Mourning at their Death, and to observe all the Ceremonies prescribed during the time of Mourning. Fifthly, to discharge, with the most scrupulous Exactness, all their funeral Duties.

Tenth.

In the eleventh, he mentions five Sorts of Punishments for the different Crimes: And he pretends that there is no Crime so enormous, as the Disobedience of a Son towards a Parent. To attack a Prince; adds he, shews a Willingness to have no Superior: To remove the wise Men is to be willing to have no Instructors: And to despise filial Obedience, is to be willing to have no Parents. This is the Height of Iniquity, and the Source of all Disorders.

Eleventh.

In the twelfth he shews, that a King by loving his Parents, can fall upon no better Method to teach his People the Love which they owe to him. That a King who respects his eldest Brother, thereby sets the best Example to his Subjects of the respect which they owe to Magistrates:

Twelfth.



That a King, who exactly observes the Ceremonies that are prescribed, that is to say, who behaves towards every Person according to the Rules contained in the Book of Rites, can fall upon no better Method to promote the Usages, and to maintain the Peace and Tranquillity of the Empire.

Thirteenth. In the thirteenth, he says, that a Prince has attained to the Perfection of Virtue, when, by his own Example, he has established throughout all his Empire this filial Respect and Love: And he cites the Verses of the *Sbi king* to the following Purpose. "That a Prince ought not to be called the Father of his People, unless he knows how to win their Affections by regulating their Morals."

Fourteenth. In the fourteenth he shews, that there is no way so short or so sure, for attaining to a high Reputation, as being exact in all the Duties of filial Piety.

Fifteenth. In the fifteenth, *Tseng* puts this Question to *Confucius*. I am sensible of the Necessity and Advantages of filial Respect, but does it tie us down to a blind Obedience to all the Orders of a Father? *Confucius* answers; That if a Father or a Prince shall command any thing that is contrary to Justice or Civility; Or if both the one and the other shall fall into any considerable Error, the Son is neither bound to obey his Father, nor the Minister his Prince: But both the Son and the Minister will fail in their principal Duty, if they do not give their respectful Advice with regard to the Fault which the Father or the Prince is about to commit. He afterwards tells us, that in former Times, the Emperor had, at his Court, seven Ministers whose Office it was to make Remonstrances to him, and to tell him of his Faults: That a King had five; a first Minister three: One of the Literati had a Friend, and a Father had a Son, who performed this Duty to one another.

Sixteenth. In the sixteenth he says; That tho' the Emperor is raised to the supreme Dignity, and all the People are submitted to his Authority, yet, he has, above him, his Parents whom he ought to love and revere: For this Reason it is, that he appears twice every Year in the Hall of his Ancestors in so respectful a Posture, that he may make known to all the World how much he honours them.

Seventeenth. In the seventeenth he shews, that the Prince and the Minister ought to cultivate a reciprocal good Understanding.

Eighteenth. In the eighteenth and last Article, he teaches what a good Son is to observe when he pays the funeral Duties to his Parents. His Air, his Discourse, his Cloaths, his Food, and in short, all his Person ought to express the Grief of his Soul. However, the Laws established by the Ancients, put some Bounds to this. They require that a Son ought not to be more than three Days without eating: And not to continue his Mourning above three Years: That a Coffin should be made and adorned according to the Usages: That the dead Body should be shut up in it and served with Victuals after it is in the Coffin: That the Son must there weep and groan, and afterwards build a decent Burying-Place which is to be inclosed with Walls: That the Coffin should be deposited there with the usual Ceremonies: That a Building should be reared in which his Descendants are to assemble every Year in the Spring and the Autumn, there to renew the Memory of the deceased, and to pay him the same Duties as they paid him when alive.

## Syau hyo, or, The School of Infants. *The sixth* *Classical Book.*

Of the Author and Contents of this Book.

THIS Book was composed by the Doctor *Chu bi*, who lived under the Reign of the Family of the *Song*, about the Year of our Lord, 1150. It is a Compilation of Maxims and Examples, both ancient and modern. As this Work contains nothing but the Citations of the different Maxims and Examples, no other order is observed in it, than that of a Division into Chapters and Paragraphs. It treats, more particularly, of public Schools; of the Honours due to Parents, Kings, Magistrates, and aged Persons; of the Duties of Man and Wife; of the Manner of regulating the Heart; the Gestures of the Body; Food and Raiment. The Design of the Author in it, is to instruct Youth, and to form them to Morals.

This Work is divided into two Parts; The first is called Intrinsic or Essential; the other Extrinsic or Accidental: As most of its Maxims are contained in the Books of which I have already treated, I shall only mention some additional ones which the Author has thrown into it, and I shall follow the same order of Chapters and Paragraphs.

### P A R T I.

#### CHAPTER I. *Of the Education of Youth.*

Of the Education of Boys.

HE cites the Book of Rites, which prescribes the following Rules with respect to Education. A Mother, in the Choice of a Wet-Nurse for her Child, ought only to pitch upon a modest, meek, virtuous, affable, respectful, exact, prudent Woman, and one who is discreet in her Discourse.

At six Years of Age.

As soon as a Child can raise his Hand to his Mouth, he ought to be weaned, and taught to use his right Hand. When he is six Years of Age, he ought to be taught the most common



common Numbers, and the Names of the principal Places in the World. At the Age of seven, <sup>Seven.</sup> he ought to be separated from his Sisters; and not suffered either to sit or to eat with them. At the Age of eight, <sup>Eight.</sup> he should be formed to the Rules of Civility and Politeness, which he is afterwards to observe, either when he enters, or goes out of, the House, or when he is in Company with aged Persons. At the Age of nine, <sup>Nine.</sup> he is to be taught the Calendar. At ten, <sup>Ten.</sup> to be sent to the publick School, and he is to have no Cloaths lined with Cotton, because they are too warm for one of his Age. His Master is then to make him acquainted with Books, and to teach him Writing and Arithmetic. At thirteen, <sup>Thirteen.</sup> he is to study Music, that he may know how to sing the Verses, that the wise Maxims contained in them may be the better imprinted in his Memory. At fifteen Years of Age, <sup>Fifteen.</sup> he is to learn to manage a Bow, and to ride. At twenty, <sup>Twenty.</sup> he is to receive his first Cap with the usual Ceremonies; he may then wear Cloths of Silk and of Furrs, and then he is to give himself up entirely to study till he is (\*) thirty: At which Age he may be married, <sup>Thirty.</sup> and after that, he is to apply to the Management of his House, and to continue to perfect himself in Letters. At forty, <sup>Forty.</sup> he may be raised to Posts and Dignities, but he cannot be made first Minister till the fiftieth Year of his Age; and at seventy, <sup>Fifty.</sup> he must resign his Employment. <sup>Seventy.</sup>

As to what concerns the Girls; after they are ten Years of Age, they are not to be allowed to go out of the House. They must be taught to have an affable Air; to spin, to divide the Silk, either into Skeins or into Clues; to sew, to make Tissues either of Silk or of Worsted; in short, they must be kept to all the other Employments that are proper for their Sex; and at twenty, they may be married.

The first President of the supreme Tribunal of Rites, ought to establish in every District, Officers, who are to take care that three Things shall be principally inculcated upon the People. 1<sup>st</sup>. The six Virtues, namely, Prudence, Piety, Wisdom, Equity, Fidelity, and Concord. 2<sup>dly</sup>. The six commendable Actions, which are, Obedience to Parents, Love to Brethren, Concord among Relations, Affection for our Neighbours, Sincerity amongst Friends, and Pity towards the Poor and the Unhappy. 3<sup>dly</sup>. The six Kinds of Knowledge in which a Man ought to be instructed, consisting in understanding the Rites, Music, Archery, riding on Horseback, Writing, and Arithmetic.

The Doctrine of the Master, says another Book, is the Rule of the Scholar. When I see a young Man who is attentive to this, and endeavours to put it in Practice; who hears the Lessons of his Master in the Morning, and repeats them in the Evening; who forms himself upon the Conduct of the Sages, and strives to imitate them; who never expresses any sign of Haughtiness, and whose outward Appearance is perfectly composed; who watches over his Looks, and never casts his Eyes upon any Object that is ever so little indecent: Who among those of his own Age, keeps Company only with such of them as are wise and virtuous; who never speaks but to the purpose, and always in a respectful Manner; I immediately conclude that he has made great progress in Wisdom and Virtue.

## CHAPTER II. Of the five Duties.

### PARAGRAPH I. Of the Duties of Father and Son.

THE Author cites the Book of Rites, which gives the most exact Account of all that a Son ought to do, to express his Submission and Love with regard to his Father and Mother. He ought to rise early in the Morning, to wash his Hands and Face, to dress himself genteelly, that when he appears before his Father he may have a decent Appearance; to enter into his Chamber with great Modesty; to enquire about his Health, to present him with Water for washing his Hands, and a Napkin for drying them; in short, to do him all the little pieces of Service that may best express his Care and Affection.

When an elder Son has risen by his Merit to some considerable Dignity, and pays a Visit to the Head of his Family, whose Circumstances perhaps are but mean, he is not to enter the House with the Pomp and Magnificence that is suitable to his Station; but to leave his Horses and Equipage at the outer Gate, and to put on a very modest Air, that the Family may not have the least Grounds, from his Behaviour, to think he is come to insult them, by an Ostentation of Honours and Riches.

Tseng, a Disciple of Confucius, speaks thus; "If your Father and Mother love you, rejoice; and be mindful of them: If they hate you, fear, and take Care not to exasperate them: If they commit a Fault, inform them of it, but don't contradict them."

We read in the Book of Rites: If your Father or your Mother commit any Fault, inform them of it in the most gentle and respectful Terms. If they reject your Advice, don't forbear to respect them as much as ever. Endeavour to find some favourable Moment for admonishing them anew; for it is better that you should be importunate, than that they should become the Talk of the Town. But if this Advice shall exasperate them so far as to strike you, you are not to take it ill, but to pay them the same Respect and Obedience as before.

A Son, let his Necessities be what they will, ought never to sell the Vessels he made use of at his Father's Burial; and tho' he were starving for Cold, he ought not to use the Habits he wore at that Ceremony, nor to cut the Trees planted upon the Hillock where his Father's Burying-place is.

P A R A G.

(\*) This Custom is changed at present. They are married when it is convenient. much younger; sometimes in the fifteenth Year of their Age.



PARAGRAPH II. *Of the Duties of a King and a Minister.*

The Manner  
of Confucius's  
entering the  
Imperial Pa-  
lace.

A King ought to lay his Commands upon a Minister with Gentleness and Goodness; and a Minister ought to execute them with Readiness and Fidelity.

The Disciples of *Confucius* relate; That when their Master entered the Palace he stoop'd to the Ground; nor would he ever halt at the Threshold of the Gate: That when he pass'd by the King's Throne, the Respect and Veneration with which he was struck, was read in his Air and Look: That he walk'd so fast, he scarce seem'd to lift his Feet: And that when he went to an Audience of the Prince, as soon as he enter'd the inner Apartment, he modestly gather'd up his Robe, bow'd profoundly, and held in his Breath, so that one would have said, he had lost the Faculty of Respiration. That when he left the Prince's Presence, he walk'd very fast, that so he might be the sooner out of his Presence: That he afterwards resum'd his grave Air, and walk'd modestly to take his Place among the Grandees.

If a Prince makes a Present of a Horse to his Minister, this last ought immediately to mount him: If of a Habit, he ought to put it on that instant, and then repair to the Palace to return thanks for the Honour his Majesty had done him.

A first Minister betrays his Master if he connives at his Vices, and is so weak as not to tell him of the Hurt he does to his Character. He who aspires to the first Posts of a Court, and aims only at his own private Interest, is of no Use to the Prince. He is in a continual Agitation till such time as he has attained these Posts; and after he succeeds, he fears every Moment to lose them. There is no Villany of which a Man of that Character is not capable, in order to maintain himself in his Station.

As a modest Woman never marries two Husbands, so a faithful Minister ought to take care not to serve two Kings.

PARAGRAPH III. *Of the Duties of Man and Wife.*

Of the  
Choice of a  
Wife.

THE Book of Rites says; "That a Man ought not to seek a Wife in a Family of his own Name. He must act with Sincerity in the Presents he then gives, and take care that the reciprocal Promises that pass, are conceived in honourable Terms; that the future Spouse may be inform'd both of the Sincerity with which she ought to obey her Husband, and of that Modesty which should be the Soul of all her Conduct. When she is tied to a Husband, the Union should last as long as her Life; and she ought never to marry another. The Bridegroom is to go to her Father's House to receive the Bride, and to bring her from that to his own: He is to present her with a tame Bird, either to express his Affection for her, or, to instruct her by that Emblem, with what Docility she must suffer herself to be ruled.

There ought to be two Apartments in the House; an outward one for the Husband, and an inner one for the Wife. These Apartments must be separated by a Wall or a good Partition of Boards; and the Doors carefully guarded: The Husband must never go into the Wife's Apartment; and the Wife ought never to leave her own without a good Reason. A Wife is not her own Mistress; nor has she any thing at her own Disposal; and her Orders and Authority extend no farther than the Walls of her own Apartment.

Women that  
ought not to  
marry.

There are five Sorts of Girls whom a Man ought never to think of marrying. First, When she is of a House that has been negligent of the filial Duties. 2. When her Family is irregular, and the Morals of those who compose it are suspected. 3. When some Blemish or Brand of Infamy is annex'd to it. 4. When there is in it any hereditary or infectious Disease. 5. When she is an elder Daughter who has lost her Father.

Causes of  
divorcing a  
Wife.

A Man may repudiate his Wife in seven Cases: 1. If she has fail'd in her Obedience to her natural Parents. 2. If she is barren. 3. If she is unfaithful to his Bed. 4. If she is jealous. 5. If she is infected with any contagious Disease. 6. If she can't command her prattling, and stuns him by continual Clack. 7. If she is apt to steal, and capable, by that, to ruin him. There are, nevertheless, Cases in which a Man cannot obtain a Divorce. As for instance; if, when the Marriage was contracted, she had Parents, and during the time of her Marriage, by losing them, has no Resource left: Or, if in Conjunction with her Spouse, she has wore Mourning three Years for his Father or Mother.

PARAGRAPH IV. *Of the Duties of young Persons towards aged Persons.*

Precepts of  
Civility.

THE Book of Rites ordains as follows: When you go to visit a Relation of your Fathers, neither enter nor leave his House, but with his Permission; and never speak but when you answer his Questions.

When you are in company with a Man twenty Years older than yourself, respect him as if he were your Father, and if he is ten Years older than you, as your elder Brother.

When a Scholar walks the Street with his Master, he must not leave him to speak to any other Person whom he meets. Nor must he walk up with him, but keep a little behind. If his Master shall lean his Hand upon his Shoulder to whisper somewhat in his Ear, the Scholar must put his Hand before his Mouth, lest he be uneasy to him by his Breath.

If



If you sit by your Master, and if he puts any Question to you, never interrupt him with your Answer; and take care not to speak till he has done. If he examines you about the Progress you have made in your Studies, you are immediately to rise and to stand, during all the time you answer him.

When you are at your Master's, or an aged Person's Table, and if he presents you with a Glass of Wine, you are to stand while you drink it, and to refuse nothing that is offered you: But if you are ordered to sit, obey. When you sit by a Person of Note, if you perceive that he is in any Uneasiness; for instance, if he is restless on his Seat, if he makes a Stir with his Feet, or if he examines the Shadow of the Sun to know what it is a-Clock; you are immediately to take your Leave of him, and to ask his Permission to retire. Whenever he puts any Question to you, always answer him standing.

If you discourse with any Person who is your Superior, either by his Dignity, or his Alliances, never ask of him how old he is: If you meet him in the Street, don't ask him where he is a-going. If you sit by him, be modest, and don't look to either the one Side or the other; use no unbecoming Gestures, nor make any Motion with your Fan.

The Disciples of *Confucius* report, that when their Master assisted at any great Entertainment, he never left the Table till all those, who were older than himself, were gone.

#### PARAGRAPH V. *Of the Duties of Friends.*

A Man, who is serious in his pursuit of Wisdom, never chuses any for Friends, but those, whose Discourses and Examples can improve him in Virtue, and Literature.

The Duty of two Friends consists, in reciprocally giving one another good Advice, and in animating one another to the Practice of Virtue.

There are three Sorts of Friends with whom an Engagement and Intimacy cannot fail to be pernicious. The vicious, the dissembling, and the indiscreet Flacks.

When you receive a Person at your House, don't fail to press him at every Door to walk in. But when you come to the Door of the innermost Hall, ask his Permission to enter first, that you may put the Chairs in order; then, return to him, and conduct him respectfully to his Seat, which must be always on your Left. The Guest is not to speak first; for the Laws of Politeness require, that the Master of the House should open the Conversation.

#### CHAPTER V. *Of the Vigilance required over One's self.*

##### PARAGRAPH I. *Rules for the Government of the Heart.*

AS soon as Reason assumes the Mastery over our Passions, every thing goes well; but when the Passions get the better of Reason, all is wrong.

A Prince who would be happy, and wants to make his People so too, ought to observe the following Particulars: To take Care that the high Station to which he is raised, does not inspire him with haughty arrogant Airs: To oppose every irregular Passion: Never to be intoxicated by any Opinion, with which he had suffer'd himself to be prepossessed: To indulge himself only in lawful Pleasures: He must study to be popular and serious, for this will procure him the Affections of his People: If he loves any one, he must not be blind to his Faults: If he hates any one, he must not shut his Eyes to his good Qualifications: If he heaps up Riches, let it only be to diffuse them: In short, he must never decide with any Diffidence; and in giving his Advice, he must not assume a positive Tone.

When you come out of your own House, let your Air be modest, and such as you must have when you pay a Visit to a great Lord. When you deliver your Orders to any Body, have as much Gravity about you, as if you assisted at some great Solemnity. Judge of others by yourself, and never do that to another, which you would not have done to yourself.

Even when you are alone, you must retain your Modesty: When you are about any Business, apply your whole Attention to it: In the ordinary Commerce of civil Life, you are to express a great deal of Candour. These are Virtues which you ought never to neglect, even tho' you were banished to the most barbarous Nations. A Man may be said to deserve the Reputation of being wise, when he does not love to fill his Belly with Victuals: When he does not seek his own Ease: And when, he manages his Business with Dexterity, and his Words with Discretion, and seeks to keep Company with none but wise and virtuous Persons.

##### PARAGRAPH II.

THE Book of Rites speaks thus: That which distinguishes the wise Man from all others, is Civility and Justice. These two Virtues have their Principle in the perfect Regulation of all the Motions of the Body; the Gentleness and Serenity of the Look, and good Breeding in Discourse.

When one speaks to you, don't advance your Ear that you may the better hear him: Nor answer him by bawling, as if you were crying upon one: Don't look a-squint upon any body, nor

Of the  
Choice of  
Friends.  
Persons  
whose Friend-  
ship ought to  
be avoided.

Manner of  
receiving a  
Person who  
visits ano-  
ther.

Precepts of  
Morality.

Precepts of  
Civility.



suffer your Eyes to wander, so as to let him perceive you are thinking of something else. When you walk, let it not be with a strutting Pace, or with a fierce Look: When you are standing, don't raise your Foot in the Air: And when you sit, never let your Legs be crossed: When you work, let it never be with your Arms naked: When you are warm, never open your Habit that you may cool yourself: And in what Company soever you are, let your Head be always covered: When you are a-Bed, keep yourself in a decent Posture: When you discourse with any one, take great care not to put on a disdainful or a rallying Air. Never speak with Precipitation, nor let the Faults of others be the Subject of your Discourse: Advance nothing upon slight Conjectures, and never be stubborn in your Opinion.

The Disciples of *Confucius* say, that when their Master was at Home, he spoke very little: So that to see him, one would have thought he could not speak: But on the contrary, when he was at Court, he was admired for his Eloquence. That no Body knew so well as he did, how to adapt himself to the Genius and Quality of those he discoursed with. That, when he talked with the inferior *Mandarins* he struck them with Respect, by a certain Dignity of Expression which run through all his Discourse: That he insinuated himself agreeably into the Spirits of his superior *Mandarins*, by a gentle unaffected Eloquence. In short, that he never spoke but to the Purpose, and when it was necessary: That while he was at his Meals, or when he was going to Bed, he always observed a profound Silence.

### PARAGRAPH III. Rules about Dress.

Ceremonies  
when the  
first Cap is  
given to  
young Men.

THE Book *I li*, speaking of the Ceremonies practised when the Cap is first given to young Men, has these Words. The Master of the Ceremonies, in putting the Cap on his Head must speak thus. Remember that you now take the Habit of the Adults, and that you are now out of the State of Childhood: You must therefore no longer have any of its Sentiments or Inclinations: Assume grave and serious Airs: Apply yourself in good earnest to the Study of Wisdom and Virtue, and thereby merit a long and a happy Life.

According to what is prescribed in the Book of Rites; a Son is not allowed, while his Father and Mother are alive, to be dressed in (+) White. In like Manner, it is forbidden to the Head of a Family, whose Parents are dead, to wear Habits of different Colours, even when the triennial Mourning is expired.

Children must not have silken Cloaths, or Cloaths lin'd with Furrs.

He, says *Confucius*, who labours to reform his Manners, yet blushes to be plainly drest, and to feed on the coarsest Food, shews, that he has made but little Progress in the Path of Virtue.

### PARAGRAPH IV. Rules to be observed at Table.

WHEN you entertain any one, or when you sit at any one's Table, be very observant of all the Punctilios of good breeding: Take Care that you do not eat too greedily, or take too long Draughts in drinking; or make a noise with your Mouth; don't gnaw the Bones, or throw them to the Dogs; don't sipple up the Soup that is left, or shew any desire for any particular Meat or Wine, or pick your Teeth, or blow upon the Rice when it is too hot, or make up new Sauces for the Meats that is presented you. Take very small Mouthfuls: Chew your Victuals well between your Teeth: Let your Mouth never be too full.

Tho' the Table of *Confucius* was far from being delicate; and tho' he never was very curious about exquisite Meats, he always desired to have the Rice, that was served up to him, very well boiled, and he scarce ever eat any Fish, or any Victuals but what were minced. If the Rice was fermented, either with Heat or Moisture, or if the Victuals began to be in the least spoiled, he immediately perceived it, and never would touch them. Besides, he was very moderate in the use of Wine.

The ancient Emperors have had it in View, to prevent the excessive drinking of this Liquor; when they ordered the Guests at an Entertainment, to make so many Bows to one another at every Glass they drank.

These merry Companions, says *Mencius*, are in the utmost Contempt, because, they have no other Care but to satisfy their sensual Appetites, and to regale the most worthless Half of their Being, thereby doing an infinite Prejudice to their nobler Part, which deserves all their Care.

## CHAPTER IV. Examples drawn from Antiquity with respect to these Maxims.

### PARAGRAPH I. Examples of good Education among the Ancients.

THE Mother of *Mencius* liv'd in a House adjoining to a Field, where there stood a great Number of Burying-places: The young *Mencius* took a Pleasure in considering the Ceremonies which were practised there; and in his childish Amusements he diverted himself by imitating them: His Mother, who observed him, judged that was not a proper Place for her Son's Education: So she immediately changed her Dwelling, and lived near a public Market.

The

(+) White is the Colour of Mourning in China.



The little *Mencius*, upon seeing the Merchants, the Shops, and all the different Motions of that vast Crowd of People which resorted thither, made it his ordinary Diversion to imitate the same Motions, and the different Postures he had remarked in them. This is still the wrong Place for my Son to receive a proper Education in, said his Mother: So she immediately left that Dwelling, and took a House near a public School. The young *Mencius* examining what passed there, saw a great Number of young Gentlemen who practised Civility and Politeness; who made mutual Presents, yielding the Place to, and treating, one another, with Honour; going thro' the Ceremonies prescribed, when one receives a Visit; and then, the greatest Diversion the little *Mencius* had was in imitating them. Now, said his Mother, I have at last hit upon the Means of having my Son rightly educated.

*Mencius*, when a Child, seeing a Neighbour kill a Pig, asked his Mother, Why he killed that Animal. For you, answered she laughing; he designs to treat you with it: But afterwards, reflecting, that her Son began to have the Use of his Reason; and fearing lest, that, if he should be sensible, that she had a mind to deceive him, he might get into a habit of lying, and of tricking others, she bought some Pounds of the Pig, and had it dressed for his Dinner.

## PARAGRAPH II. Examples of the Antients upon the five Duties.

THE Prince of *Ki*, who has the Title of *Tju*, that is to say, of *Marquis* or *Baron*, seeing that his Nephew, the Emperor *Cheu*, abandoned himself entirely to Luxury, Effeminacy, and the most infamous Debauches, gave him a serious Advice with respect to his Conduct: But the Emperor was so far from following it, that he shut him up in Prison. While he was a Prisoner, he was advised to make his Escape, and the Means of making it were offered him. That I will not do, answered he, for where ever I go, my Presence will remind the People of the Vices and Cruelty of my Nephew. The Course he followed was, to counterfeit Madness, and to do Idiot Actions: He was afterwards treated only as a vile Slave, and thereby had Liberty to retire from public Notice.

The Prince *Pi kang*, who was likewise Uncle to the Emperor, seeing that the wise Councils of Prince *Ki* had no effect: What would become of the People, said he, if the Emperor continues in his Disorders? I cannot be silent: Tho' I should lose my Life, I must represent to him the Wrong he does to his own Reputation, and the Danger into which he puts the Empire: So he addressed himself to the Emperor, who heard him with an Air of Indignation mixt with Fury. It is pretended, says he, that the Hearts of wise Men are different from those of other Men: I want to be certain of this. So he instantly commanded his Uncle to be cut asunder in the Middle, and ordered his Heart to be thoroughly examined if it was formed different from that of other Men.

This cruel Execution coming to the Ears of the Prince of *Wey*, the Emperor's Brother; When a Son, said he, admonishes his Father three Times without Success, he does not stop there, but endeavours to melt his Heart with Cries, Tears and Groans. When a Minister has three times given a wholesome Advice to his Prince, without any Effect, he is thought to have fulfilled all his Duties, and is at Liberty to retire. This is the Course which I will follow. In effect, he banished himself from his Country, carrying along with him the Vessels which served at the funeral Duties; that there might be, at least, one of the Royal Family remaining, to pay the funeral Rites to their Ancestors twice a Year. *Confucius* boasted much of these three Princes, and spoke of them as true Heroes who had signalized their Zeal for their Country.

The young Princess *Kung kyang*, had been promised in Marriage to Prince *Kong pi*: But this last died before he espoused her. The Princess resolved to preserve the Fidelity she had promised, and never to take another Husband, to which, tho' her Parents much pressed her, she never would consent: She composed an Ode, where she made a Vow to prefer Death to Marriage.

Two Princes of two neighbouring Kingdoms, had some Disputes about a Piece of Ground; of which each pretended to be lawful Lord. They both agreed to chuse *Ven vang* for the Arbitrator. He is a virtuous and a just Prince, said they, and will soon decide this Difference: Accordingly, they both set out for his Kingdom, into which they had scarce enter'd, when they saw certain Labourers, who yielded to one another a Piece of Ground which was disputable; and Travellers who gave one another the Middle of the Way out of Complaisance. When they entered into Cities, they there saw young Men who relieved the Old of their Burthens, by taking them on their own Shoulders. But when they came to the Capital, and saw the civil and respectful Manners of the Inhabitants, with the reciprocal Testimonies of Honour and Complaisance that passed among them; How insensible are we? said they. We don't deserve to tread upon the Territories of so wise a Prince; and immediately they yielded up the Ground in Question to one another. But as each refused to accept of it, that Piece of Land remains still independent of, and exempted from, all Rights of Lordship.

I shall say nothing upon the third Paragraph, which relates to the Regulation of Manners; Nor of the fourth Paragraph, which is upon Civility and Modesty; because the Examples they contain are taken from the preceding Books, of which I have already given an Account.



## P A R T II.

## CHAPTER I. Maxims of Modern Authors.

PARAGRAPH I. *Containing Maxims upon the Education of Youth.*

Advice of an  
Emperor to  
his Son.

THE Emperor *Shaw Iye*, of the Family of the *Han*, being on his Death Bed, gave this Advice to his Son and Successor. If you have an Opportunity of doing a good or a bad Action, don't say, *It is but a small Matter*; for we ought not even to neglect the smallest Affairs: There is no Circumstance of good, however slight, but what we ought to practise; nor of evil, however small, but what we ought to shun.

The Instruction which the first Minister *Lyew pye* gave to his Children, was as follows: If a Man does not take care of his Reputation, said he, he dishonours his Ancestors, and precipitates himself into five Sorts of Vices; against which, one cannot be too much upon his Guard. I will recount them to you, in order to inspire you with the Horror which they deserve.

The first is, the Vice of those who are employed only in Pleasure and Merry-making: Who have nothing in View, but their own Conveniency and Interest: Who study to stifle, in their Hearts, every Sentiment of Compassion which Nature inspires for the Unhappy.

The second Vice is, that of such as have no Taste for the Doctrine of the ancient Sages: Who never blush with Shame and Confusion, when they compare their own Conduct with the great Examples, which, the Heroes of past Ages have left us.

The third is, of such as disdain their Inferiors: Who love only Flatterers: Who are only pleased with Buffoonries, and trifling Discourses: Who look upon the Virtues of others with a jealous Eye, and pry into their Failings, only to publish them: Who make all their Merit to consist in Pride and Vanity.

The fourth is, of those who love only Plays and Entertainments, and neglect their most important Duties.

The fifth is, of such as endeavour to raise themselves to Posts and Dignities; and in order to attain them, have Recourse to the most abject Meanness, and make themselves the Slaves of every Man who has Interest enough to serve them.

Don't forget, my dear Child, added he, that the most illustrious Families have been slowly established by the filial Piety, by the Fidelity, by the Temperance, and Application of their Heads: And that they have been destroy'd with a surprizing Rapidity, by the Luxury, the Pride, the Ignorance, the Whims, and the Prodigality of the Children, who have degenerated from the Virtue of their Ancestors.

*Fan she*, the first Minister and Confident of an Emperor, had a Nephew who was continually soliciting him to employ his Interest for raising him. As he was young and unexperienced; *Fan she* sent him the following Instruction:

Instructions  
of an Uncle  
to a Nephew.

My dear Nephew, If you would deserve my Protection, begin to practise the Councils which I give you.

1. Distinguish yourself by filial Piety, and your great Modesty: Be submissive to your Parents, and to those who have any Degree of Authority over you: And in all your Conduct, never betray the least Symptom of Haughtiness or Pride.

2. Imprint it well upon your Thoughts, that an extraordinary Application and a vast Compass of Knowledge is required, to fill great Posts. So, lose no Time, and store your Mind with the Maxims which the antient Sages have left us.

3. Entertain a mean Opinion of yourself, but do Justice to the Merit of others, and take a Pleasure to bestow that Share of Honour, on every one, which is his Due.

4. Take Care not to suffer your Mind to be diverted from your serious Occupations, or to be distracted by Amusements unbecoming a wise Man.

5. Be upon your Guard against the love of Wine, for it is the Poison of Virtue. The Man of the finest natural Parts, who abandons himself to so mean a Passion, soon becomes fierce and intractable.

6. Be discreet in your Words; all your great Talkers make themselves contemptible, and often involve themselves in troublesome Affairs.

7. Nothing is more comfortable, than for a Man to make himself Friends; but, be not too anxious about preserving them: And do not be amongst the Number of those People, whom the least Word that is dropt, if it happens to displease them, puts it into a Rage and Anger.

8. We see few that don't listen to flattering Discourses, and who, having tasted Praise that has been artfully gilded, don't conceive a high Idea of themselves: Never fall into this Fault; and instead of suffering yourself to be bubbled by the pleasing Inchantments of Flatterers, look upon them as Seducers, who want to betray you.

9. It is peculiar to the ignorant Vulgar to admire these vain Men, who make a Show of a pompous Equipage, and a long Train of Domestics, of magnificent Habits, and of all the Luxury invented to gain that Preeminence, which is seldom supported by Merit: But wise Men look upon such with an Eye of Pity, esteeming nothing but Virtue.

10. You see me at the Height of Prosperity and Grandeur; bewail me, my Nephew, and envy not my Fortune. I look upon myself as a Man whose Legs totter upon the very Brink of



of a Precipice, and who walks upon brittle Ice. Believe me, it is not high Posts which make a Man happy; it is no easy matter for him to preserve them and his Virtue at the same time. Follow then a Council, which is the Fruit of my long Experience; shut yourself up in your House, and there live retired; study Wisdom, fear to shew yourself too frequently abroad, and deserve Honours, by avoiding them. The Man who walks too fast, is prone either to stumble or to fall. Providence is the Dispenser of Wealth and Grandeur; and her Time must be waited for.

PARAGRAPH II. *Maxims upon the five Duties.*

THE Author enters into a Detail of the Duties of Domesticity: Of the Ceremonies appointed, when the first Cap is put on the Head of young Persons: Of the funeral Honours which ought to be paid to deceased Parents: Of the triennial Mourning: Of the Care with which we ought to shun the Ceremonies introduced by the Sectaries: Of the Duties of Magistrates: Of the Precautions that ought to be observed in Marriages: Of the Love that ought to be among Brethren, and of the Rules of Friendship. As most of these Reflections are to be found in the foregoing Books, I shall only mention some, of which, I have not yet treated.

Maxims of Civility.

Formerly, it would have been a Scandal and a punishable Fault to have eat Meat, or drunk Wine, during the time of Mourning for deceased Parents: How are the Times changed? At present, we see even *Mandarins*, at a Juncture like that, which is consecrated to Grief and Melancholy, visit and regale one another: They even have no scruple to make up Marriages. Among the Vulgar, the Relations, the Friends, and the Neighbours, are invited to an Entertainment which lasts the whole Day, where they frequently get themselves fuddled. O Morals! What are ye become?

The Rites of the Empire ordain every one to abstain from Meat and Wine, during the time of Mourning, except sick Persons, and those that are fifty Years of Age; these are permitted to take Soups and to eat salt Meat: But they are absolutely prohibited from feeding upon delicate Meats; or to assist at Entertainments. There are still stronger Reasons, for debarring them from all Pleasures and Diversions. But this I don't speak of, for there are Laws established in the Empire to curb such as are guilty of this Excess.

The Superstitious, who believe the Impositions of the Sect of *Fo*, think that they have discharged the essential Duty with Regard to their deceased Parents, when they load the Idol with Presents, and offer Meat to their Ministers. If you believe such Impostors, these Offerings efface the Sins of the Diseas'd, and facilitate their Entry into Heaven. Hear the Instruction which the celebrated *Yengave* to his Children. Our Family, said he to them, has always refuted the Artifices of this Sect by learned Writings: Take Care, my Children, never to be caught by these vain and monstrous Inventions.

When you design to marry your Son or your Daughter, seek only in your future Son, or Daughter, in Law, the good natural Temper, the Virtue, and the wise Education they have received from their Parents: Prefer these Advantages to all Honours and Riches. A wise and virtuous Husband, tho' poor and in a mean Station, may one Day make a Figure by his Riches and Dignities. On the other Hand, it is very probable that a vicious Husband, however rich or dignified he is, will fall into Contempt and Poverty.

Qualifications requisite in Marriage.

The Grandeur or Ruin of Families frequently proceed from the Wives. If your Wife has brought you a large Fortune, she will not fail to despise you; and her Pride will soon create Trouble in your Family. I shall grant, that this rich Match has raised and enriched you; but if you have the least Spark of a Soul, will you not blush to be beholden to a Woman for these Honours and Riches?

The Doctor *Han* used to say; When you marry your Daughter, let it be into a Family more illustrious than your own: For then, she will behave with the Obedience and Respect which becomes her; and the Family will be blest with Peace. For the same Reason, marry your Son into a Family more obscure than your own: For then, you can be sure that he will be easy in his House, and that his Wife will never transgress the Bounds of Respect which she owes him.

Sentiments of the Doctor Han upon Marriage.

The Doctor *Shing* was in the right, when he said, that to make Friendship more durable, it was necessary that Friends should respect one another, and inform one another of their Failings. If you chuse none for Friends, but such as will flatter you, and divert you with their witty Sayings, their Pleasantry, and their Jest, you will soon see an end of a Friendship so trifling.

And of Shing upon Friendship.

PARAGRAPH III. *Maxims of modern Authors, upon the Care with which a Man ought to watch over himself.*

AN antient Proverb says, that he who aims at being virtuous, is like a Man who climbs up a steep Mountain; and that he who abandons himself to Vice, is like a Man who descends a very rough Precipice.

The Doctor *Fu chung swen*, gave this Instruction to his Children and Brethren. Are we to instruct our Neighbours? The greatest Dunces, among us, are clear sighted. Are we to criticize our own Conduct? The most clear sighted become Dunces: Employ your Subtlety in criticizing your Neighbour, upon yourself, and apply the Indulgence with which you treat yourself, to him.

Instructions of the Doctor Fu chung swen to his Children.



The Heart of Man is like an excellent Soil. The Seeds with which it is sowed are the Virtues, Gentleness, Justice, Fidelity, Clemency, &c. The Books of the Sages, and the Examples of illustrious Men, are the Instruments by which the Soil is cultivated. The perplexity of worldly Affairs, and our Passions, are the noxious Herbs, the Thorns which grow in the Soil, and the Worms that gnaw and eat up the Seed: Care, Vigilance, Attention to our Duty, and examining our own Conduct, are the Pains bestowed upon watering and weeding this Ground. In short, when a Man is so happy as to arrive at Perfection; that is the time of the Harvest and enjoying the Crop.

Sentiments of  
the Doctor  
Hü weng ting  
upon true  
Wisdom.

The Doctor *Hü weng ting* explains himself in this Manner: A Man who aspires to Wisdom, ought to neglect the Delights of the Age, and not to suffer himself to be dazzled by the Tinsel Glitter of Honours and Riches. Princes, who are intoxicated with their Grandeur, distinguish themselves only by their Vanity and Pride. They have large Halls sumptuously adorn'd; Tables served with all the Delicacy and Magnificence imaginable; a great number of Lords and Domestics who surround them and court them; Sure, if I were in their Place, I would take Care not to imitate them. He who would be truly wise, ought to detest Luxury; and without debasing his Mind by employing it upon these Trifles, to aspire to more sublime Attainments: He ought frequently to remember the Examples of the celebrated *Cheu ko kung ming*, who flourished about the end of the Government of the Family of the *Han*. He lived peaceably in the Town of *Nau yang*, without Desires and without Ambition; being employed only in cultivating his Lands, and acquiring Wisdom. *Liew pi*, General of the imperial Troops, by his Intreaties, having engaged him to follow the Profession of Arms, he acquired so great an Authority in the Army, that having made a Partition of the Fields and the Provinces, he divided all the Empire into three Parts. When he was at this high Pitch of Credit and Authority, what Riches might he not have heaped up? However, Attend to the Discourse he had with the Heir of the Empire. I have, said he, upon my Family Estate, 800 Mulberry-Trees for nourishing Silk-Worms: I have 1500 Arpents of Land, which are carefully cultivated; so that my Children and Grand-children may have a plentiful Subsistence. This being sufficient for them, I will take Care not to heap up Riches; I have no other View but to procure the Happiness of the Empire, and to prove to your Majesty the Truth and Sincerity of my Words, I promise, that at my Death, there shall be found neither Rice in my Granaries, nor Money in my Coffers. And in Effect, the Thing happened as he had promised.

## CHAPTER II. Examples extracted from modern Authors.

### PARAGRAPH I. Examples of Education.

A Society for  
perfecting the  
Morals.

ONE of the Literati, whose Name was *Lyu*, born in the City of *Lyen tang*, formed with his Fellow-Citizens a Kind of a Society, for endeavouring in Concert with one another, to attain to Perfection. They agreed inviolably to observe the following Laws. 1. All the Members of this Society were frequently to assemble, in order to engage, and to animate one another in the Practice of Virtue. 2. They were bound to inform each other of their Faults. 3. They were to unite at the Feasts and Assemblies, and to pass them together. 4. They were to assist one another in their Necessities, and mutually to relieve one another in Troubles and Afflictions. 5. If any one of their Society performed an Action worthy of an Encomium, it was entered in a Register, that the Memory of it might be preserved. 6. If any of them fell into a considerable Fault, it was written immediately in the same Register. 7. Every Member of the Society who was three times admonished of his Faults, and relapsed into them, was for ever excluded from the Society, and his Name struck out of the Register.

Complaint of  
the Manda-  
rin *Hü yuen*  
against vain  
Eloquence.

The Mandarin *Hü yuen*, frequently complained that young People, who applied to the Sciences, and aspired to the Magistracy, followed only a vain Eloquence, without being at Pains to fathom the Doctrine of the ancient Sages, or to form themselves upon their Examples. For which Reason, he explained to his Disciples, only what was most important in the ancient Books, with respect to the Regulation of Manners, and the Virtues required in good Government: In his Discourses, he sought only to unfold the Sense of the ancient Books; and despising the Flowers of Eloquence, he advanced nothing but what was supported by solid Reasonings. His Reputation soon spread on all Sides: And in a very little Time, upwards of a thousand Scholars, made a vast Progress under so able a Master.

While he was Literary Mandarin in the City *Hü cheu*, he erected two Schools. In the one, none were admitted but those who had a very eminent Genius, and had, for a long Time before, applied to the Study of the Doctrine of the Ancients, and to comprehend all that was most Sublime in them. They who had distinguished themselves by their Prudence, were admitted into the other, where they were taught Arithmetic, the Exercises of their Arms, the Rules of Government, &c. This great Number of Disciples, dispersed themselves all over the Empire. And as they were distinguished from the Vulgar by their Wisdom, their Modesty, and Integrity, it was enough to see them, for one to know that they were Disciples of the Mandarin *Hü yuen*.

### PARAG. II.



PARAGRAPH II. *Examples upon the five Duties.*

THE young *Sye pau* minding nothing, but to render himself expert, and to acquire Virtue: His Father, who had married a second Time, took such an Aversion to him, that he drove him from his House. The young Man, who could not endure to part with his Father, wept Night and Day, and still hung about the House. The Father proceeded to Threatnings, and from Threatnings to Blows: The Son was then obliged to retire: But built a little Hut near his Father's House; where he went every Morning to rub and cleanse the Halls, as he had done before. This put the Father into a still greater Passion; he caused the Hut to be demolished, and banished his Son absolutely from his Presence. *Sye pau* never gave over for all this: He sought out a Lodging in the Neighbourhood, and went every Morning and Evening to present himself before his Father to offer him his Service. A year past thus, and yet the severe Manner in which he was treated, could not diminish his Tenderneſs and Piety. At last, his Father began to make Reflections upon the Injustice of his Hatred; and after having compared the Harſhneſs of his own Conduct, with the tender Love which his Son bore him, he yielded to the Sentiments of Nature, and recalled his Son about his own Person. Sometime after, *Sye pau* lost his Parents: After having performed a Mourning of three Years, his younger Brothers proposed to divide the Effects, to which he consented: But what was his Conduct afterward? Behold, said he, a Number of Domestics in a decrepid Age, and incapable to serve any longer: I have known them for a long Time, and they are formed according to my Humour: As for you, ye will have some Trouble in managing them: So, they may live with me. Behold some Houses half ruined, and Lands that are barren: I have helped to cultivate them from my tenderest Youth, and I will reserve them for my self. There is nothing now to divide but the Moveables: I will take these half broken Vessels, and that old Furniture which is falling into Pieces; I have always made use of them, and they shall be my Portion. Thus, tho' he was the elder Brother of the Family, he took for his Share all the Refuse of his Father's Household: And his Brothers, having soon squandered all their Fortunes, he divided with them what remained of his.

When *yu*, who made himself so famous throughout the Empire, relates, that it was to the wife Councils of his Mother, he owed all the Lustre of his Family. One Day, says he, she took me apart and spoke to me thus: "Having gone to visit a prime Minister, who was one of my Relations; after all the Compliments were past, You have a Son, said he to me, if ever he comes to any Dignity, and if you hear that he is poor, and scarce has whereupon to live; you may thence draw a good Omen for all the future Part of his Life. If, on the contrary, it is told you, that he is vastly rich; that his Stable is filled with the finest Horses, and that his Cloaths are fine: Look upon this Luxury and these Riches, as a certain Presage of his approaching Ruin. I have always, continued she, remembered this Reflection, in which there is so much good Sense. From whence can it proceed that Persons, who are raised to dignities, can every Year send such large Sums and rich Presents to their Relations? If it proceeds from their Frugality, and from abridging their Expences, I shall be far from blaming them: But if it is the Fruit of their Extortions, what Difference is there betwixt these *Mandarins* and common Robbers? And if they have Dexterity enough to screen them from the severity of the Laws, how can they endure themselves, and not blush with Confusion?"

When the Dynasty of the *Han* reigned; a young Girl, whose Name was *Shin*, at sixteen Years of Age married a Man, who, soon after his Marriage, was obliged to go to the War. When he was just departing, I know not, said he to his Wife, if ever I shall return from this Expedition: I leave a very aged Mother, and I have no Brethren who can take Care of her: Can I rely upon you, that if I die, you will charge yourself with this Duty? The young Lady agreed to this with all her Heart, and her Husband went to the Campaign without any Uneasiness. A little time after, News came of his Death, and the young Widow performed her Promise, by taking a particular Care of her Mother in Law: She spun, and wrought at Stuffs every Day, that she might earn whereupon to subsist her. When her three Years of Mourning were expired, her Relations designed to give her another Husband: But she absolutely rejected that Proposal; and informing them of the Promise she had made to her Husband, she told them that she would rather embrace Death than a second Marriage. So resolute an Answer stopped the Mouths of her Relations: And being thus become Mistress of her own Fortune, she lived eight and twenty Years with her Mother in Law, and gave her all the Assistance she could have expected from the best of Sons: The Mother in Law dying when she was upwards of eighty Years of Age, the Daughter sold all her Houses, Lands, and Possessions, that she might give her a magnificent Funeral, and purchase for her an honourable Burying-Place. This generous Action, had such an Impression upon the Governor of the Cities of *Whay ngan* and *Yang chew*, that he gave an Account of it to the Emperor in a Memorial which he presented upon that Head: And his Majesty to reward the Piety of the generous Lady, caused 4240 Ounces of Silver to be given her, and exempted her from all Taxes during the rest of her Life.

Under the Reign of the Dynasty of the *Tang*, the Sister of the first Minister of the Empire, whose Name was *Ky sye*, was dangerously sick: While her Brother was warming a Drink for her, his Beard took Fire: His Sister, touch'd with this Accident, Ha! Brother, said she, have we not a great Number of Servants? why will you put yourself to that Trouble? I know that, answer'd he, but both you and I are old, and perhaps I shall never have Occasion again to perform to you these little Pieces of Service.

*Pau*

Continuation  
of the Max-  
ims of Civil-  
ity.

Generous Be-  
haviour of a  
Daughter to  
her Mother  
in Law.

Example of  
fraternal Af-  
fection.



*Pau byau so* being Governor of the City *King sau*, which is now called *Syen ngan*, a Man of the lowest Rank, came to him. I formerly had, said he to the Governor, a Friend who sent me a hundred Ounces of Silver: He is now dead, and I want to pay back that Sum to his Son, but he absolutely refuses to receive it: I beg you would cause him to repair hither, and order him to take what is his Due: In the mean time, the Debtor deposited the Money in the Hands of the Governor. The supposed Creditor appeared by the Orders of the Governor, and protested that his Father never had sent a hundred Ounces of Silver to any one. The *Mandarin*, not being able to clear up the Truth, inclined sometimes to give the Money to the one, sometimes to the other, but neither of them would receive it; both refusing it, as not being their Right. Upon which, the Doctor *Liew yang* cried out, Who will now say, that there are no longer any Men of Probity? Or who will now pretend that it is impossible to imitate the Emperors *Tau* and *Shun*? If any one advances such a Paradox, I will go no farther than this Instance to confute him.

*Su quang*, who had been Preceptor to the apparent Heir of the Crown, presented a Petition to the Emperor *Swen ti*, in which, having laid before him, that he was in a very advanced Age, he begg'd Leave to retire to his House: The Emperor granted his Request, and presented him with a large Sum of Money: The Prince his Pupil, made him a considerable Present likewise; and the good old Man returning to his Country, ordered, that his Table should be always well served, that he might entertain his Neighbours and ancient Friends, asking from Time to Time of his Steward, how much Money he had yet left; and ordering him to purchase every Thing that was best in its Kind.

This Expence alarmed his Children, who went to their Father's Friends, that they might engage them to make Representations to him upon that Head. We hoped, said they to the Friends, that when our Father had arrived at Honours and Riches, he would have endeavoured to establish his Family upon a solid Foundation, and to have left us a large Estate. Yet you see what expence he is at in Entertainments and Feasts; Would he not employ his Money much better in purchasing Lands and Houses? The Friends promised to talk with the old Man; and having found a favourable Opportunity, let fall some Insinuations to him, with regard to the Reasons of his Children's Complaint.

I am surprized at my Children, answered he: I believe they think that I am a Dollard, or that I have forgot what I owe to my Posterity. Let them know, that I will leave them in Lands and Houses, what will be more than sufficient for their Maintenance, if they know how to manage it? But do not let them flatter themselves, that by increasing their Fortune, I will contribute to feed their Indolence. I have always heard it said, that to bestow Riches on a wife Man, is the means of enervating and weakening his Virtue: and that to bestow them upon a Fool, is the way to encrease his Vices. In one Word, the Money which I expend, was bestowed upon me by the Emperor, for the Comfort and Recreation of my old Age; Is it not therefore just, that I should use it according to his Intention; and that I should divert myself with my Relations and Friends, that I may the more gayly spend the short Remainder of my Life?

Remarkable  
love of Chas-  
tity in two  
young Wo-  
men.

*Tang seu* had two Daughters, the one nineteen, and the other sixteen Years of Age; both of them possessed of great Beauty, but of greater Virtue; tho' neither of them had any other, than a common Country Education. A Troop of Robbers, who at that time infested the Empire, broke all of a sudden into the Village where the two Girls lived: Upon which, they concealed themselves in the Cavities of the Mountains, that they might escape their Insults and Cruelties. They were soon discovered by the Robbers, who were dragging them along as Victims appointed to satisfy their brutal Passions. Having walked with them for some time, they came to the Brink of a Precipice. It is much better, said the elder Sister to the younger, to lose our Life than our Honour; and immediately jumping down the Precipice she expired upon the Spot. The younger Sister, almost at the same instant, followed her, but did not die by the Fall; having only both her Legs broken. The Robbers frightned by this Sight, held on their Way, without enquiring any farther. The Governor of the next City informed the Emperor of what had happened, and his Majesty, to eternise the Memory of so noble an Action, bestowed a magnificent Encomium upon the Virtue of the two young Women, and exempted their Family, and the Village in which they lived, from all Taxes, for ever.

An Instance  
of Affection  
in Brethren.

*Leau yung* lost his Parents when he was a Child: But he had three Brothers, with whom he was very intimate; they all lived together in the same House, and their Fortune was common to them all. It happened, that all the four Brothers married; and their Wives soon broke the Harmony: They could not bear with one another, and they were every Moment disputing and quarrelling; at last, they demanded a Division of the Fortune, and a Separation of the Families. *Leau yung* was sensibly afflicted at this Demand: And the better to prove how much his Heart was touched: He assembled his Brethren, and their Wives in his Apartment: He then shut the Door, and taking a Staff, he struck himself severely upon the Head: Ah! Unhappy *Leau yung*, cried he, what does it now avail thee to have watched continually over your Actions, to have applied thy self to the study of Virtue, and to have meditated incessantly upon the Doctrine of the ancient Sages? You flattered yourself, that you might one Day by your Example, reform the Manners of the Empire, and yet you are not able to establish Peace in your own Family.

The



This Sight made a lively Impression upon his Brethren and their Wives: They threw themselves at his Feet, and dissolving into Tears, promised to reform their Conduct. In effect, there was no more Noise heard: A good Understanding was re-established in the Family, and a cordial Union amongst them all succeeded.

PARAGRAPH III. *Examples of the Care with which we ought to watch over Ourselves*

THE Mandarin *Ti-ti-lun* was one Day asked, If, since he had first endeavoured to attain to Virtue, he had ever succeeded so far, as to divest himself of Affections for particular Persons? I perceive, answered he, that I have not, and my Reasons for thinking so are as follow: Sometime ago, a Person offered me a Horse that was so swift and so sprightly, that he would travel a thousand Furlongs in a Day: Tho' I refused this Present from one, who perhaps had some selfish Views in offering it, yet, when ever any body was proposed for filling up a vacant Post, that Person's Name came always in my Mind. Likewise, when my Son has any slight Indisposition, tho' I know that his Life is no way endangered, yet I cannot help passing whole Nights without Sleep, in an unaccountable Uneasiness; which instructs me, that my Heart is not yet free of all Affections that are not perfectly regular.

The Mandarin *Lyeu quon* was so much Master of himself, that the most extraordinary, and the most unforeseen Events, never affected the Peace and Tranquillity of his Soul. His Wife, one Time, undertook to put him in a Passion, and gave her Maid Orders for that effect, which was punctually executed as follows. One Day, when he was preparing to go to Court, and had dressed himself in his most magnificent Habits, the same Maid threw down a Kettle which entirely spoiled his Mandarin's Robes, and hindered him from appearing before the King that Day. The Mandarin, without altering his Countenance, was satisfied with saying to the Girl, in his ordinary calm Manner, *Have you scalded your Hand, Child?* and then he retired to his Apartment.

The Mandarin *Yang shin*, made such Encomiums upon one of the Literati, whose Name was *Vang mye*, that the Emperor intrusted him with the Government of the City of *Shang*. One Day, as *Yang shin* was passing by that City, the same Governor immediately came to pay him his Compliments; and offered him at the same Time a hundred and sixty Ounces of Silver. *Yang shin* giving him a severe Look, When I formerly knew you, said he, I took you for a wife Man, and, accordingly I recommended you to the Emperor: How happens it that you don't know me? Let me persuade you, answers the Governor, to accept of this small Mark of my Acknowledgment: It is now dark, and no body can know any thing of the Matter. How! replies the Mandarin, no body know any thing of the Matter! Does not *Tyen* know it? Do not heavenly Intelligences know it? Do not I know it? Do not you yourself know it? How then can you say that no body knows any thing of the Matter? These Words covered the Governor with Shame, and he retired in Confusion.

*Cbung in*, was three Times General of the Troops of the Empire. In this high Station, he never valued himself upon having fine Horses, and being bedaubed with Perfumes. All his leisure Moments, were employed in Reading: He laid no Stress on the vain Prefaces that are sometimes spread abroad, and was very cautious how he informed the Emperor of them. He detested all Sectaries, especially those of *Fo* and *Tau*. When his Soldiers fell into any Fault, he was rigid: When he was relieving the Poor and the Orphans, liberal. His Granaries were always full of Rice, in order to supply the Wants of the People in a time of Famine: He carefully kept up public Inns; and was magnificent in his Entertainments. In short, when he understood that there were, in the Place where he was at the Time, any Girls of an honourable Family, but poor, and without Relations, he took it upon himself to provide for them: He then found out Husbands for them of an equal Quality with themselves, and furnished them handsomely with Marriage Cloaths.

In the Visits which the Doctor *Lyeu* paid to his Friends, he sometimes spent more than an Hour in discoursing with them, without in the least bowing his Body, and all this while keeping his Breast and Shoulders immovable, nor was he seen to move either his Hands or his Feet: And such was his Modesty, that he appeared to be a speaking Statue.

*Li ven tsing* (A) caus'd a House to be built for himself near the Gate of the imperial Palace: One of his Friends told him, that the Vestible was not large enough, and that a Man on Horseback could scarcely turn himself in it: This House, answered he with a smile, will one Day belong to my Children, and the Vestible is large enough for the Ceremonies that will be performed at my Funeral.

(A) Orig. *Li ven tsing*.



T H E  
IMPERIAL COLLECTION,

CONTAINING

*The Edicts, Declarations, Ordinances, and Instructions of the Emperors of the different Dynasties.*

*The Remonstrances and Discourses of their most able Ministers upon good or bad Government, &c.*

*Together with several other Pieces, collected by the Emperor Kang hi.*

*To which are subjoined, Short Reflections written with the Red-Pencil; that is to say, by his own Hand.*

A D V E R T I S E M E N T.

**T**HE admirable Polity, and fine Order observed in the *Chinese* Empire, are owing to the Maxims contained in those ancient and valuable Books, of which I have given the Reader a Summary.

If it is demanded, whether this State, in so long a Tract of Time, under so many different Monarchs, and amidst such a Variety of Revolutions, is not impaired in its Vigour, and degenerated from the Wisdom and Strictness of these Institutions? The best Answer to this will be gathered from the *Chinese* themselves, by perusing the History of their different *Dynasties*, in the Collection made by the Orders, and under the Inspection of the late Emperor *Kang hi*, of which I give a faithful Translation done by *P. Hervieu*, an ancient Missionary in that Empire.

This Collection contains, 1. The Edicts, Ordinances, Declarations, and Instructions, of several Emperors, sent to Kings, or Tributary Princes; either upon the Subject of good or bad Government, or the Care they ought to take in their Choice of Ministers; or to recommend to the People the filial Duties, and an Application to Agriculture; and to Magistrates, Disinterestedness, and the Love of the People; or to stop the Progress of Luxury, and other Abuses in their Government. 2. The Discourses of the most able Ministers, sometimes upon the public Calamities, and the means of relieving the People; sometimes upon the Arts and Difficulties of Governing, upon the Management of War, the Advancement of Learning, and the Qualifications of a Minister: Or else, against the Corruptions introduced into the ancient Doctrine by different Sects, and especially that of the Idol *Fo*, upon the Falseness of Auguries, and against those who propagate them, &c. At the End of almost every one of these, you meet with short Reflections made by the late Emperor *Kang hi*, and written with the red Pencil, that is, with his own Hand.

I shall add to these, Extracts from a Collection drawn up under the Dynasty of the *Ming*, which immediately preceded the present one; treating of the Duties of Sovereigns, Ministers of State, and Generals of Armies, and the Choice to be made of them; of Politics, of Hereditary Princes, of Remonstrances made to the Emperors by their Ministers; of good Government; of the Daughters of Emperors; of such as abuse their Princes Favour; with Discourses by the most able Ministers, upon different Heads relating to the State.

I shall subjoin another Extract from a *Chinese* Book, intitled, *The illustrious Women*, by which it may be seen, that under all the different Reigns, the Ladies of this Empire have formed their own Conduct, and regulated that of their Families, upon these very Maxims.

This kind of Tradition incontestably proves, that the fundamental Principles of the *Chinese* Constitution have been always observed; and hence we may conclude, that it is by no means surprizing, if so large an Empire has subsisted so long, and still continues in its full Lustre.

Edicts, Declarations, Ordinances, and Instructions of the Emperors, &c.

*Some Time after Tsin shi whang, King of Tsin, was made Emperor, there was a Design to remove all who were not Natives of Tsin from their Employments. Li tse, who was a Native of the Kingdom of Tsin, and who had been very instrumental in promoting Tsin shi whang to the Imperial Throne, made the following Remonstrance to the Emperor in favour of Strangers.*

**G**REAT Prince! As there is a Report that an Order is entered the supreme Tribunals, by which all Strangers are removed from their Posts: Permit me to make a most humble Remonstrance upon this Head. One of your Ancestors followed a different Conduct. Zealous to search for Merit where ever it was; he had no regard to the Distinctions of Climate. That Part of the West, called (\*) *Yong*, furnished him with (†) *Yew yu*; he had *Pe li ki*

(\*) The Name of a Country.

(†) A Man's Name.

from



from *Wan* in the East, and finding the means of drawing to his Court, *Tsu shu*, *Pi bu* and *Kong jun chi*, all Foreigners, he gave them Employments; and their Services were of such use to him, that having subdued twenty petty States, he finished his glorious Reign by the Conquest of *Si yang*.

*Hyau kong*, during his Reign, saw a prodigious Change in the Kingdom of *Tsin*. The Manners of his People were reformed, his Kingdom grew more populous, Himself more powerful, and his Subjects more happy and contented. The Princes his Neighbours loved and respected him; and the Troops of *Tsu* and *Wbey*, who durst attack him, were defeated, while he enlarged the Bounds of his Kingdom above a hundred Leagues. To whom did this Prince owe his Successes? Was it not to the Councils of *Sbang yang* his first Minister? And was not this Minister a Stranger?

*Wbey yang* with equal success, made use of the Abilities of *Chang i*, a Stranger too, to annex to his Crown those Conquests which you well know, and of which your Majesty at this Day reaps the Advantages.

Could *Chau yang*, if unaided by the Councils of *Tan bi*, have destroyed *Yang bew*, expelled *Hu yang*, confirmed his Family in Possession of the Throne, rooted up Faction, and reduced the Princes his Neighbours to depend upon him for the common Supports of Life? In short, could he have raised *Tsin* to the Reputation of an Empire, in all Respects excepting the Name? It was the Councils of Strangers, that influenced all the Actions of these four Princes of your August House.

Permit me now to ask your Majesty, What Harm has your State ever suffered from the Strangers you have employed? On the contrary, Is it not certain, that had the Princes I mention excluded Strangers from their Councils, as your Majesty is now advised to do; their State would never have been so powerful; nor had the Name of *Tsin* been so celebrated. Besides, when I consider the several Things in Use about your Majesty's Person, I see Mount *Qyen* furnish you with precious Stones, *Sui* and *Ho* with Jewels, and *Lung* with Diamonds. The Arms you wear, the Horse you ride, even your Ensigns and your Drums, are either composed of foreign Materials, or embellished with foreign Ornaments. Why then do you make use of them?

If not to be a Native of *Tsin*, is sufficient to shut a Man out of all Employments, however great his Merit and Fidelity may be, to act consistent with this Maxim, you ought to throw out of your Palace, your Diamonds, your Moveables of Ivory, and your other Jewels. You would then banish from your Court, the Beauties of *Chin* and *Wey*. If it is an established Rule, that nothing foreign ought to find a Place in the Court; why do they present you every Day with those Ornaments of Pearls and the like, which adorn the Heads of your Queens? Why don't the Gentlemen, who are so violent Enemies to whatever is foreign, begin their Reformation, by banishing from your Court its greatest Ornaments, and oblige your Majesty to send back to *Chau*, even the Queen your Consort. In short, the Chinese Music consists only in two or three Instruments, one of Earthen-Ware, and one of Bone, which, both together, make but a very sorry Harmony; and would it be reasonable to desire your Majesty, to prefer their doleful Sounds to the sprightly Music of *Chin* and *Wey*? No, sure! Since then, Sir, in Affairs of Pleasure, you are presented with, and freely use the best of every Kind, let it come from what Country it will; must you be debarred of that Liberty in your Choice of Men? Must you reject without Enquiry, and without Distinction, every Man who was not born in this Country? Such a Conduct would shew that you prefer your Diversions to the Happiness of your Subjects.

It is not by these Means, that *Tsin* sees her self Mistress of so many other Countries: The large Rivers and Seas receive, without Distinction, all the Brooks that fall into them. Hence it is, that their Deepness is unfathomable: A Prince who is seriously resolved to accomplish himself in good Qualities and Virtues, ought to act thus. Such formerly were our (\*) five *Ti*, and our three *Yang*. They regarded only a Man's Wisdom and Virtue, without enquiring into his Country. And it was by this, and the Assistance of (†) *Quey shin*, that they at last had no Enemy to struggle with. At present, to dismiss by a Decree, so considerable a Number of your Officers distinguished by their Merits, of which your Neighbours will make their Advantage, and to exclude for ever from all Employments, every one, who is not a Native of (‡) *Tsin*, is, as the Proverb says, to furnish Arms to a Robber, is to give Advantages to your Enemies, in Prejudice of your own Subjects; to weaken yourself at Home, and to raise up Enemies against your self abroad; to imagine, that the Sentence which is entered, is either necessary or useful, is, in my Opinion, to impose upon your own Understanding.

[The Emperor Kang hi's Remark.] In former Times, whoever had Wisdom and Abilities was esteemed. Princes courted these Sort of Men with Presents and Employments, if they would accept of them, into their Service; so far were they from rejecting or banishing them, only because they were Foreigners. To make the best use of good Qualities wherever they are found, is a wise Maxim. *Li tsé*, Author of this Piece, was at the Bottom a bad Man: But there is no Reason for that, to despise the Good he advises.

On Occasion of an Eclipse in the Days of the Han, the Emperor Ven ti ordered the following Declaration to be Published.

I Have heard it said, that (||) *Tyen* always gives to the People he creates, Princes to nourish and govern them. If these Princes are worthless Men, and bad Governors, *Tyen*, to bring them to their Duty, either punishes or threatens them with Calamities.

(\*) *Ti*, Emperor, Lord, Master, Sovereign. *Yang King*. These three *Yang*, as they are commonly stil'd, have been in the Number of their Emperors. As for the five *Ti*, it is not agreed who the Persons are, to whom this expression relates.

(†) The *Quey shin*. Nothing in the Text marks a Plurality.

(‡) *Eeg* is said to have advised *Tsin shi cabang*, to cause the Books of *China* to be Burned.

(||) Heaven, or the Lord of Heaven.



In this 11th Moon, (\*) there has been an Eclipse of the Sun; what a Warning is this for me? On the one Hand, I reflect that upon my weak Person is devolved the Care of supporting my Family; of keeping the People, the Officers, the Princes, and the Kings that are under me in their Duty; and in short, of making my Empire happy. On the other Hand, when I consider, that, tho' charged with such a Burthen, I have but two or three Persons, at most, who help me to support it; I am sensible of my own Insufficiency: Above, the Stars lose their Light; below, my Subjects are pressed with Want; in all these I read my own Defect of Virtue.

As soon as this Declaration is published, let it be the Business of my People with the utmost Attention, to examine into my Conduct, and inform me of my Faults; and let this last Employment be entrusted with Persons of Understanding, of Integrity, and Resolution, sought out for that Purpose, and who shall be presented to me. For my Part, I recommend to all in Offices under me, to apply themselves, more than ever, to a conscientious Discharge of their Duty, especially by retrenching all unnecessary Expences to the People. I will set them an Example, by recalling from my Frontiers all my Forces, except such as are absolutely necessary for their Defence.

*The Emperor Kang hi's Remark.]* In the (†) *Shi king* we read, *All invisible as he is, he still is at Hand*, so that there is no time in which it is permitted us to relax in our Duty to *Shang ti*; but when an Eclipse of the Sun happens, which is as it were a Warning from (‡) *Tyen*, we ought then to redouble our Diligence and Cares to appease him.

*One of the Glosses speaks thus;]* This is the first time that any of our Emperors, on occasion of public Calamities, or extraordinary Phenomena have desired to be told of their Faults. But since the Days of *Ven ti*, there are many other Instances.

*Another Declaration of the same Emperor Ven ti repealing a Law against Criticising the Form of Government.*

**I**N the Days of our ancient Emperors, there was exposed on the one Side of the Court a Sheet, upon which any one might write, and propose any Amendments for the good of the State; and on the other Side of the same Court, there was a Board fixed, upon which might be marked what ever was conceived to be blameable in the Administration.

This was in order to facilitate Remonstrances, and procure good Advice to the Prince. At present, I find among our Laws, one which makes it criminal to speak ill of the Government: This Law is the Means not only of depriving us of the Advantages we might receive from the Correspondence of wise Men, who are at a Distance from us; but even of stopping the Mouths of the Officers about our own Court. How shall a Prince ever after this, be made sensible of his Faults. This Law is subject to another Inconveniency, which is this: Under pretence that the People have already made public and solemn Protestations of their Fidelity, Submission, and Respect, to the Prince, if any one amongst them seems in the least to depart from these Protestations, they are liable to be prosecuted as Rebels: It puts it in the Power of Magistrates arbitrarily, to construe the most indifferent Discourses into Sedition against the Government. Thus, simple ignorant People may be accused of Treason without any Thoughts of committing it, and convicted of a Capital Crime. No! I can never suffer the Continuance of such a Law, so let it be abrogated.

*The Emperor Kang hi's Remark.]* *Tsin shi wang* made a great many Laws, such as this; *Kautsu*, Founder of the Dynasty of the *Han*, had abrogated a great Number of the same. The Law spoken of here, was only abrogated under (\*) *Ven ti*, which was too late.

*Another Declaration of the same Emperor Ven ti, importing an Order to deliberate upon the Repeal of another Law, by which, the Relations of a Criminal were involved in his Punishment.*

**L**AWS being the Rules of Government, ought, if possible, to be faultless. Their Ends are, not only to punish Vice, but to protect Innocence. Yet I find among our Laws one still in force, by which, when a Man is criminal, his Father, his Mother, his Wife, and Children, are involved in his Punishment, and the least Punishment they have to dread, is Slavery. This Law is by no means to my Liking. It is a common and a true Saying, that Laws when perfectly just, are the surest Means of keeping the People in their Duty. When Punishment falls only upon the guilty Head, all the World approves of the Judge. The first Duty of a Magistrate is to guide the People, like a good Shepherd, and to prevent their going astray. If our Magistrates have not succeeded in this, and have still Laws to judge by, not entirely consistent with the strictest Equity, these Laws, tho' originally designed for the Good of the People, turn to their Prejudice, and favour of Cruelty. Such seems to me the Law I have mentioned; of which I cannot see the good Tendency. Let it be maturely deliberated, whether it is not necessary to repeal it.

*The Emperors Kang hi's Remark.]* These wise Princes, the ancient Emperors, often descended from the Majesty of their Throne, to bewail and to weep over the Guilty. How unreasonable

(\*) It may be likewise translated *there was*. This Text, does not determine the Time.

(†) *Shi* signifies Verses, Odes. *King* signifies Rule. This is one of the ancient Books, which in the Chinese opinion are the great Rule. *Shang* signifies Supreme, *Ti* Emperor Master, Lord.

(‡) This Expression is not translated, the Reader is left at liberty to settle the meaning of it, by considering the Connection of the Passages.

(\*) There was only a short Reign betwixt them.



was it to include, in the Punishment of a Malefactor, his Father, his Mother, his Wife, and Children. *Ven ti* wanted to have this Law abolished; whence we may conclude that he was a good Prince.

*Another Declaration of the same Emperor, importing, a Remission of the half of his Revenue in Grain, for the Encouragement of Agriculture.*

THEY who have the Government of People in their Hands, ought to inspire them with all possible Concern for what ever is necessary to the Good of the State: Such, without Doubt, is Agriculture.

For this Reason, I have been inculcating this important Point, these ten Years. Yet I cannot observe that they have enough laboured the new Grounds, or that there is greater Abundance of Grain. On the contrary, with Grief, I see Famine painted upon the Faces of the poorer People. Surely, either the subordinate Officers and Magistrates have not had a just Regard to my Ordinances on this Head, or, they are improper to fill the Rank they possess. Alas! If the Magistrates, who are immediate Witnesses of the People's Misery, are regardless of it, what effectual Remedy can I apply for their Relief? This must be thought of. In the mean Time, I remit Half of my Revenue in Grain for the current Year.

*The Emperor Kang hi's Remark.*] Nothing is more just in itself than this Declaration; and it is admirably well expressed: Even to this Day, it is affecting, and what must it have been when it was first published?

There are in the same Book, a great many other Declarations of the Emperor *Ven ti*, of the same Nature with this last, which proves him (says *Kang hi*) to have been a Prince of vast OEconomy.

*Another Declaration of the Emperor Ven ti, importing, an Order to deliberate upon changing Mutilations into other Punishments.*

I HAVE heard it said, that in the Times of (\*) *Shun*, the Execution of an Effigies, was sufficient to keep the People within their Duty. Happy Government! At this Time, for Crimes not Capital, we have three Sorts of (†) Mutilations very real and very severe. And yet there are every Day terrible Crimes committed. To what is this owing? Is it to my being destitute of the Virtues and Qualifications required to instruct my People aright? Yes, sure it is! The Faults my Subjects commit, and the Necessity there is of punishing them accordingly, are to me the greatest Subjects of Confusion. The *Sbi king*, animating a Prince to the right Government of his Subjects, says, *that he ought to be to them as a Father and a Mother*; yet, if any of my Subjects commits a Fault, even thro' Ignorance, he is immediately punished; and the Punishment is such, as disables him ever to repair it by a better Conduct. This pierces my Heart. What a Torture must it be to the poor Sufferers, when they commit a Fault, if they are so mutilated as to be, for ever after, incurable? But how severe does such a Law shew the Prince to be? Is this being a Father and a Mother to his People? Then let the Abrogation of this Law, come immediately under Deliberation: I ordain, that these Mutilations be changed into other Punishments; And it is likewise my Pleasure, that those who have been chastised more or less, according to the Nature of their Faults, be, after a certain Time, readmitted to the same Privileges with the rest of my Subjects.

*The Emperor Kang hi's Remark.*] It may be said, that the abrogating these Laws, will give greater Encouragement to Offenders, to act unpunish'd; and by this means increase their Numbers; but at the same Time, it should be considered that those Mutilations, and the Disgraces that attend them, deprive the Sufferers of almost all the Means of repairing their past Conduct. (§) To change these Punishments for others, such as whipping with Rods, will save a great many poor Wretches.

*Another Declaration of the same Emperor Ven ti, on account of the Prayers and Supplications offer'd in his behalf by many Officers who were negligent of their Duty.*

I AM now arrived at the 14<sup>th</sup> Year of my Reign; the longer it continues, the more I am sensible of, and confounded at, my own Want of Abilities; tho' I have not hitherto failed to discharge, every Year, the prescribed Ceremonies both to *Shang ti* and my Ancestors. I am sensible, that in these Ceremonies, none of our antient and wise Kings had any Eye to their private Interest, or petitioned for what is term'd *Happiness*. So far were they from this, that they set all Considerations either of Blood or Interest aside, in order to raise an able worthy Man, tho' no ways related to them; and preferred the wise Advice of another to their own natural Inclinations. Nothing is more beautiful and wise, than so disinterested a Conduct in great Princes!

At present, I understand, that many Officers outdo one another, in their Prayers for good Fortune, the good Fortune of what? not of my People, but of my Person: This is what I cannot relish. If I approved that Officers, indolent in their Duty, and unattentive to the Well-

(\*) An Emperor famous for Wisdom.

(†) *Pin.* Branding upon the Face with a hot Iron, cutting the Nose, cutting off one of the Feet.

(§) There is no such Thing now as cutting off the Nose, or

Feet, for a Crime. Sometimes, for certain Thefts, they apply a hot Iron to one of the Cheeks. But they have a ready Method of effacing the Marks.



fare of my People, should be entirely employed in the personal good Fortune of a Prince, who has so little Virtue as I have, it would be a considerable Addition to my Failings. I therefore ordain, that my Officers, instead of these pompous Petitions for me, should give all possible Application to a conscientious Discharge of their Duties.

*The Emperor Kang hi's Remark.*] It is the Virtue of an Offering, not the Contents, that renders it agreeable. When, in good Earnest, we seek for Virtue, the Gifts of (\*) *Tyen* come of Course. How ridiculous was it for the Officers of the Empire to imagine, that, by only repeating some Forms of Prayer, they could procure Happiness to their Prince? *Ven ti* was certainly in the right to condemn such an Abuse.

*Tsing te yew*, one of the famous Literati under the Dynastie of the Song, remarks of this Declaration: That if there were any Defects in the State, *Ven ti* attributes them all to himself; and with regard to Happiness, he disdained all that was not in common with his Subjects. In this, he was a true Imitator, and a worthy Successor, of our ancient Princes.

*Another Declaration of the same Emperor Ven ti, importing, that Men of approved Virtue and Merit might be sought for, and presented to him.*

THE great *Yu* was at extraordinary Pains, to procure virtuous and able Persons to assist him in governing wisely. The Orders he published for this Effect, were not only published within the Bounds of the Empire, but were known a great Way beyond them; and we may say, they were unknown only to Countries, inaccessible to Ships, to Chariots, and to Men. Every one, both far and near, esteemed it both a Pleasure and a Duty to communicate to him their Knowledge; by these Means, this great Prince was never seen to take one wrong Step, and became the Founder of a long and a flourishing Dynastie.

*Kau ti*, in later Times, has taken the same Precautions in founding our Dynastie. After he had delivered the Empire from its Calamities, his first Care was, as much as he could, to furnish himself with Men of Merit. All such he put in Posts, and recommended nothing so strongly to them, as to help him to govern aright. Aided by the powerful Protection of *Tyen*, and the Fortune of his Family, and peaceably possessing his large Kingdom, he extended the Effects of his Goodness even to neighbouring People. (†) From him, you know it, the Empire devolves on me. You know likewise (for I have often told you so myself,) that I have neither Virtue nor Qualifications sufficient for the Weight of Government.

This engages me to publish the present Declaration; to enjoin all who are in Posts in my Empire, from the Prince, to the simple Magistrate, to enquire carefully after Persons of Merit for my Service. Such, for instance, as know the World perfectly well; others who have a thorough Understanding of all Affairs relating to the State; but above all, such as have Resolution and Honesty enough, to inform me freely of what they think amiss in my Conduct. I require a good Number of all these to supply my Defects. In the mean Time, such of you as are in the Rank of (§) *Ta fu*, must aid me in this, as far as you can. All that is essential to be examined, are the following Points. 1. My daily and my personal Faults. 2. The Defects of the present Administration. 3. The Injustice of Magistrates. 4. The Necessities of the People. Explain yourself upon these Heads, in a Memorial drawn up on purpose. I will read it, and, in so doing, perceive whether your Zeal for my Service extends so far as it ought; and I will not think it real, if, from the Beginning to the End of that Memorial, you do not speak with Freedom, and without sparing even my Person. Take Care, *Ta fu*; it is no Trifle ye are about, but an Affair of the greatest Consequence; and endeavour worthily to acquit your selves of what I give you in Charge.

*The Emperor Kang hi's Remark.*] This is the first Declaration an Emperor ever published, in order to procure able Counsellors. The Shortness and Aptness of the Style in this Piece, are in the ancient Taste.

*Another Declaration of the same Emperor Ven ti, upon the Peace concluded with Tan yu a Tartar Prince, towards the North of China.*

FOR many Years past, my Subjects have suffered a good deal, and my Neighbours and Allies, yet more. The Irruptions of the *Hyong nu* have been frequent. I am sensible they have cost many Lives on both Sides, and have Reason to believe that much of the Mischief has been concealed from my Knowledge. I cannot see my People suffer so long without being sensibly affected, and the more so, because I have always looked upon myself as the Author of it; for, if I had more Wisdom and Virtue, these Misfortunes would have been prevented. In this continual Distress, I have been Day and Night, meditating on the means to procure a lasting Peace, both at Home and abroad. To this alone, tend the frequent Motions of my Ambassadors. I have omitted nothing to make (||) *Tan yu* sensible of my real Intentions, which are equally calculated for the good of his Subjects and mine. *Tan yu* at last comprehends them, and acknowledging their Justice, desires to contribute to the common Good of both. We therefore have agreed, mutually to forget what is past, and to live in Friendship for the Good of the World. In this Year I can say, I have acquitted myself of the first Duty a Prince owes, which is to establish Peace in his Family.

(\*) Heaven.

(†) He addresses his Discourse to the great Officers of his Court.

(§) An important Post, in the Empire.

(||) *Tan yu* was a Relation of *Yen lu's*.



Declaration of King ti, Successor of Ven ti, enjoining Compassion in judicial Proceedings against Criminals.

**L**AWS and Punishments are necessary, in order to prevent or stop Mischiefs; but at the same Time, it ought to be remembered, that they who are once put to Death, can never be brought again to Life. Now it often happens, that corrupt Judges sacrifice an innocent Person, to, either, their own, or another Man's Passion; and thus, barter away the Lives of Men. It even happens, that some, tho' disinterested in Appearances, yet seek at the Bottom, to acquire a Character, at the Expences of another, by giving the specious Names of Vigilance and Justice to the vilest Subterfuges, and the most unwarrantable Severities; thus, destroying many of their fellow Subjects, and even some Officers of Distinction. This occasions to me great Uneasiness, Grief, and Compassion: But, on the other Hand, as Punishments are necessary, and Laws must ordain them, what I think myself obliged to ordain, that these Abuses may be as much prevented as possible, is this. When, in the strict Sense of the Law, a Man is capitally convicted, if there are any Circumstances by which the Public favours the Criminal, let this be regarded, and a Mitigation of the Sentence take Place.

*The Emperor Kang hi's Remark.]* This Edict is well expressed; the Emperor King ti was a clear sighted, and an intelligent Prince, which appears still more by his Tenderness and Clemency.

Another Declaration of the Emperor King ti, recommending to the People Agriculture, and to Magistrates Vigilance and Uprightness.

**T**O what end serve so many Sculptures, and such a Profusion of empty Ornaments? They are not only unnecessary, but mischievous, by taking up a great Number of Hands, who might be employed in Agriculture. Why too, so many Embroideries and Bawbles, which now amuse our Women, formerly more usefully employed in the Manufactures of wearable Stuffs and Cloths? By the Men's pursuing other Arts than Agriculture, the Lands are become desert; and by the Women's leaving for Trifles, our profitable Manufactures, whole Families are destitute of Cloathing. It seldom happens, but that People, who want Food and Rayment, run into all manner of Evil. I, every Year, cultivate the Earth with my own Hands, and the Empress my Consort, rears Silk-Worms. It is with the Labours of our own Hands, that we furnish out Part of the Ceremonies paid to our Ancestors. We think it our Duty to act thus, that thereby, we may give a good Example, and animate our Subjects to Agriculture, and procure Plenty in the Empire. With the same View, I refuse Presents, I suppress unnecessary Offices, and retrench every thing else as much as possible, that the Taxes may be proportionably diminished. There is Nothing, Nothing! I have so much at Heart, as the Improvement of Agriculture. If it once flourished, Plenty would follow of Course, and Reserves might be laid up against the Times of Scarcity. Then should we no longer dread those Days, when Famine prompted the Strong to spoil the Weak, and Troops of Robbers deprived poor Families of the Necessaries of Life. If Agriculture flourished, we should no more behold the Young cut off by misery, and violent Deaths, in the Bloom of Life; and every one would have enough to make his Life glide gently on to the Brink of old Age. Instead of this, we now feel a Year of pinching Want; what occasions this Calamity? Do I suffer myself to be imposed upon by Hypocrisy and Fraud in the Distribution of Offices? Are the Magistrates remiss in administering Justice? Have the Officers of the Tribunals, under Pretext of collecting my Revenue, oppressed my Subjects? In fine, are there any, who trampling upon the most essential Laws, and whose Business it is to suppress Robbers, yet secretly share in their Rapines? We strictly charge all the principal Officers of our Provinces, that they will, more than ever, watch over the Conduct of their inferior Officers, and inform our Ministers of the Culpable. And for this Effect, we ordain, That this our present Declaration be published throughout all our Dominions, that every one may be instructed in our Intentions.

*The Emperor Kang hi's Remark.]* This Declaration comes directly to the Point, and there is not a Word in it but what has this Tendency. What this Prince remarks of inferior Officers, shews, he was acquainted with the most private Hardships of his People.

Declarations of the Emperor Ven ti, recommending to his Subjects, that they would give him Advice in his Administration, that they would instruct him in certain Points, and speak to him with Freedom.

**B**EING raised as I am, by a singular (\*) good Fortune to the Throne of my Ancestors, that I may transmit it to my Posterity; and charged with the Government of a great Empire, that I may encrease its Splendor, I am no less full of Gratitude for the Honours done me, than sensible of the Weight of Power. Day and Night since my Accession, have I incessantly applied myself, yet, I have Grounds to fear that many Things have escaped my Vigilance; and that I have committed many Faults. For which Reason, I have recommended to all the (†) *Chu hien*, and to all others in the Empire, to find out Persons capable to instruct and assist me in the great Art of Governing.

(\*) This alludes to his being preferred to the Succession by his Father, before his elder Brother.

(†) Tributary Princes.



You then (†) *Ta fū* (a Rank which I see you with Pleasure worthily possess) you I say, who are at the Head of those hitherto presented to me, read this with Attention. The Point upon which I demand your Advice is this. I hear that under our 5 *Ti* and our 3 *Vang*, the Empire enjoyed a charming Tranquillity; and yet, that in Order to preserve it, they made Use only of some very simple Regulations, and a few pieces of Music. Since the Death of these Princes, the Form of their Bells, their Drums, and other Instruments, have been transmitted to us. But their Government has met with a different Fate: It has fallen by little and little to Ruin. Under (\*) *Kye*, *Cheu*, and others like them, there did not remain almost a Vestige of it.

What surprises me most is, that in the Space of 500 Years betwixt the time of *Ven vang*, to the last Reigns of the Dynasty of *Cheu*, there have been several good Princes and worthy Ministers, who have opposed the Corruption of the Age, and full of Esteem for the ancient Government, have endeavoured to re-establish it, but in vain. Things went from bad to worse. Is this to be attributed to the fault of Men alone? Ought we not rather to say, that Things happened thus by the supreme Decree of (†) *Tyen*? From whence proceeded the Prosperity, of our three first Dynasties? And what was the first Cause of their Decay and Ruin?

I have heard many, both of the naturally Wise and Virtuous, of those who are born dull, and those who are viciously enclined, make a Distinction of *long Life* and *untimely Death*. Both the one and the other, say they, is to be attributed to Nature and Fate. This I have a Thousand Times heard, but am far from being satisfied on that Head. While I expect some Satisfaction from you in this Point, I shall inform you of what I have chiefly at Heart: I require, that every one voluntarily, and without Constraint, should do his Duty, and that the Vicious may be restrained and reclaimed, by the most gentle Laws, and the mildest Punishments. In short, that my Subjects being united may live in Contentment, and that the Government may be faultless. I want to have again the seasonable Returns of Dews and Rains, that render the Fields fertile, and the Trees abounding in Fruits. That no terrible Phenomena may be seen in the Stars, and that the Seasons may again be regular. In fine, I want, aided with the powerful Assurances of *Tyen*, and the constant Protection of *Quey shin*, to make my Empire every Day more flourishing, my People more happy, my Neighbours, and, if possible, all the World, to share in that Happiness.

You see *Ta fū*, what I wish for. From you I expect great Assistance in these Points: From you who are so thoroughly acquainted with the most remote Antiquity, with the Government of our wisest Princes, and with the Springs upon which the good or bad Fortune of Empires depend. But what I chiefly recommend to you is, that you proceed regularly, and not upon too many Articles at once, discussing first one Subject, then another; thus advancing by Degrees, till you are perfectly well informed, of all that is most essential and of greatest Use in every Point. Whatever Faults you discover in the Officers of my Empire, whether they lie in the want of Virtue, Disinterestedness, Zeal, or Application, let me be informed of them, without omitting any Thing. As for what relates to my own Person, speak it out boldly; for that End use no Artifice, or Disguise, and dread no troublesome Consequences. Apply yourselves incessantly to draw up a Memorial on these Heads; which, when done, I shall read.

*In Pursuance of the above Declaration, Chwen ti hong shu drew up a Memorial for the Emperor, (an Extract of which I shall give below) with which, Ven ti was so well pleased, that in order to procure another, made the following Declaration.*

It is said of (†) *Sbun*, that when walking peaceably about, with his Arms folded, he was giving the Enjoyment of perfect Peace to the Empire. It is said, on the contrary, of (||) *Ven vang*, that in order to keep every Thing in Order, he put himself to prodigious Pains; the Care of his People employed him so much, that many Times, the Sun was set, before he had broken his Fast. Whence did this proceed? Why did the one Prince toil so much, and the other so little? Was it on Account of their different Maxims? I know not, if I am mistaken, but I think I have discovered the Reason of so remarkable a Difference. In the Times of *Sbun*, all the native Simplicity of the first Ages still prevailed. In the Time of *Veng vang*, Pomp and Luxury had got footing. In Effect, we find by our ancient Books, that about the Beginning of the Dynasty of the *Cheu*, were introduced large Chariots, richly adorned and painted, glittering Arms which were sometimes adorned with precious Stones. Then were introduced Consorts of Music, and magnificent Balls; but no such Things were known in the Reign of *Sbun*: The Maxims of his Days, were, that if any one had a fine Stone without any Blemish, to engrave a Figure upon it, was not to embellish, but to spoil it: Under the *Cheu*, a contrary Maxim prevailed, which was, that Virtue must be aided, and supported with a little Embellishment.

In Times more distant from one another, the Difference was still as great; severe Laws were then instituted to keep Men in their Duty, and Mutilations were frequent. These Laws were abolished under the *Cheu*; and under *Kang vang* Criminals were so few, that the Prisons remained empty, during the Space of forty Years. Punishments came again in Use under the *Tsin*; then a horrible Massacre ensued, but it never diminished the Number of Offences. An infinite Number then perished. One cannot reflect on it without Horror and Compassion: But alas!

(†) A Degree of Honour, to which he had elevated *Chwen ti hong shu*, the most esteem'd of the wise Men that were presented to him.

(\*) Names of very bad Princes. (†) Heaven.

(†) A famous Prince.

(||) Another famous Prince among the first of the Dynasty of the *Cheu*.



Alas! It is by calling it continually to Mind, and by comparing what passed under the Emperors my Predecessors, that I endeavour to improve, so as to support the Dignity of my Crown, and to procure the Happiness of my People.

I aim chiefly at promoting Agriculture, and filling Offices only with worthy Men. To set my Subjects a good Example, (§) I labour the Ground with my own Hands. I honour those who distinguish themselves in this Labour, and frequently send Emisaries into the Country to find them out. I inform myself with great Care of the Poor, the Orphans, and the Helpless; In short, I am incessantly contriving to render my Reign glorious, by making my People virtuous and content. Notwithstanding of all this, I cannot say, that I have been successful. The Seasons are irregular, the Air is tainted, Diseases abound, Numbers of People die, and my Subjects suffer a great deal. I know not to what I should attribute all these Misfortunes, unless to this, that in spite of all my good Intentions, some Corruption reigns among those I have put in Offices. It is in order to examine this so intricate and necessary Point, that I have brought to my Court many knowing Men, whom I have searched for in all Parts.

To you then, my Lords, to all and every one of you, this Declaration is addressed. We strictly charge you, carefully to examine into the Defects of the Government. In those Points that differ perhaps from wise Antiquity, examine, if the Difference is grounded on Reason, or Negligence. Lay open to us your Thoughts: Disclose the Ways and Means you think proper to procure Redress of the growing Evils, and do it in an exact Memorial; in the drawing up of which, we expressly charge you to take Care of two Things. 1. That you shall not confine yourselves to talk to me in fine Language; but restrict yourself to what is practicable. 2. That neither Respect nor Fear shall hinder you from speaking with Freedom; for such is our Will.

In the Book, from which these Pieces were taken, are several other Declarations of the Emperor *Vu ti* upon the same Subject, with the two foregoing. *Kang hi* says of one of them, *This Piece alone, shews that a polite fine Diction obtained in the Time of Vu ti*. I shall not be positive that these are the Emperor's Words. One thing is certain, that an Author, named *Ching te hew*, is cited immediately after, who says: "That the Declarations of *Vu ti* are too laboured. They have, continues he, Taste and Style, but are at the same Time vague and empty: I love those of (||) *Vu ti* much better; the Language is more simple, but not less beautiful; and at the Bottom, they come more directly to the Point in whatever is real and solid." I find in the same Book, other Declarations and Ordinances of the same Emperor *Vu ti*, either containing, Acquittances of what were his Dues, or Orders to supply the Old and the Poor out of his Treasury. Upon which, the Emperor *Kang hi* says; *Vu ti* in all these imitated his Father *King ti*, and his Grand-father *Ven ti*, but not in their OEconomy. He exhausted his Treasures by a thousand Expences; and towards the end of his Reign found himself in very bad Circumstances.

*Chau ti*, youngest Son to *Vu ti*, succeeded him: In this Book I only find two Pieces of his, whereof the first is very short. The occasion of its being written is as follows. *Han fu* and four others, were presented to him as Persons of distinguished Merit, exemplary Virtue, and great Capacity; but at the same time, he was given to understand that they wanted to live retired, and not to concern themselves with Affairs; from which they hoped his Majesty would excuse them. Upon this *Chau ti* published the following Order.

I HAVE an equal Love and Esteem for *Han fu* and his Friends. Qualified as they are for great Employments, I am willing to spare them the Fatigues. I therefore consent that, being free of all Cares, they be only employed in advancing, by their Discourses and Examples, every one in his own Country, the Practice of all the Virtues, especially filial Piety. As a Testimony of my Esteem for them, I ordain my Officers, who are upon the Spot at the beginning of every Year, to make a Present to each of them, at my Expences. (\*) If any Misfortunes happen to them, I order a (+) Coverlet to be furnished to them, and suitable Habits at my Cost likewise; and that the funeral Honours paid them, be such as are due to a Person of the second Rank.

*Emperor Kang hi's Remark.*] For a Prince thus to deprive himself of a good Minister, is, in Effect, to gain him. Their Discourses and their Examples form a great many able and virtuous Men.

*Tang wang*, King of Yen, tho' of the Blood Royal, entered into a Party against the Emperor *Chau ti*, who thereupon sent him the following Letter sealed with his own Seal.

**K**AU TI, from whom we have both of us the Honour to descend, when he came to the Crown, gave to all the Princes of his Blood Appanages, in order to strengthen his Family. Since his Days, the (†) *Lyu* having endeavoured to undermine us; all the *Lye ti* remained firmly united against them as common Enemies. They had Prince *Kyang* and others on their Side. The *Lyu* were extirpated, and our Family, in the Person of *Ven ti*, kept Possession of the Throne.

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(§) An ancient Custom.

(†) Some of them are inserted above.

(\*) The meaning is, If they shall die, but the *Ching's* than that Expression.

(†) Because in China the Coffin is dressed up almost like a Bed, and the dead Body, when put into it, is habited very well.

(†) A Family, that by means of an Emper's Consort aspired to the Crown.



The Families of *Fan*, the *Ki*, the *Tsau*, the *Yuan*, to which *Kau ti* was so much indebted for their Fidelity and Services, after being considerably encreased, found themselves in a short time as it were, blended with others of all Ranks and Conditions. Numbers of them contentedly laboured the Ground, and suffered a great deal without repining; and a few, from Regard to the Figure they once made, were raised, but none above the Rank of *Hew*. This you know, and, at the same Time, are not ignorant, that our Family met with a different Treatment. Without once appearing in the Field, or doing the least Service, they were admitted into, as it were, a Partnership of the Empire: They had a Territory assigned them, they were honoured with the Title of *Vang*, or King, and were furnished with considerable Sums. Such was the Conduct of *Kau ti* to those of his own Blood; and these Favours have been perpetuated so ever since his Time, that the Succession has continued from Father to Son; and where the elder Son was dead, it devolved upon the younger; so that it is to your Blood that you owe all you are. And it is against that very Blood, which now ennoble you, that instead of the Affection you owe to me as the Chief of your Family, you are caballing against me, with People who don't in the least value you. You are forming, or at least supporting, a rebellious Party. If it is granted to the dead to be conscious of what passes here below, with what Face dare you appear at the *Myau* of your Ancestors, when you perform the usual Honours to their Memories?

*The Emperor Kang hi's Remark.*] The Grave, the Solid, and the Tender are so intermixed in this Letter, that they support and illustrate one another. Besides, the Style is well connected, and has a great deal of the Pathetic.

*A Gloss.*] *Tan*, when he received this Letter, opened it, read it, and strangled himself upon the Spot.

*Declaration of the Emperor Suen ti, importing an Order, that Persons might be presented to him, who were distinguished for filial Piety.*

CONSCIOUS as I am, of my own Inabilities and Insufficiency, I endeavour to supply my other Defects by a constant Attention to the Necessities of my Government, in which I employ myself Day and Night. The just Fear I have of disgracing my Ancestors, makes me call in to my Assistance, Persons distinguished for their Character and Merit. Notwithstanding of all this, and other Methods I take, I have yet failed of Success in the Reformation of Manners. Reflecting to Day on what Tradition informs us of; That filial Piety is the Basis of all other Virtues; I ordain, that from every Government, one distinguished for this Virtue be presented me: I want to honour and promote all such according to their Capacities.

*The Emperor Kang hi's Remark.*] The *Han* succeeding immediately to the *Tsin*, that is to say, to Times of Trouble and Corruption, nothing was more needful than the Suppression of Immorality and the promoting of Virtue; thus we see that since *Ven ti's* Days, *You ti* and others have made this their main Study.

*Another Edict of the Emperor Suen ti, importing an Exemption from all Attendance on public Services, to those who had lost their Father or Mother.*

ONE good Method to retain Subjects in a quiet Submission is, to inspire them with a Love of the filial Duties. But it happens now adays, that without Regard to such as have lost their Father or Mother, they are employed as other People in public Services; so that a disconsolate Son cannot peaceably pay his last Duties to his Parents. If he has the least Spark of Piety, this Violence must pierce his Heart. I am touched with Compassion at such a Case, and ordain, that henceforth, he who loses his Father or Mother, his Grand-father or Grand-mother, such a one shall be exempted from Attendance on public Services, to the intent that he may provide a decent Funeral for them, and freely acquit himself of all the Duties of a good Son.

The same Emperor (*Suen ti*) published a Declaration, by which he for the future dispensed with a Son's accusing a Parent, or a Wife her Husband, but made it Capital for a Father or a Husband, to conceal certain Crimes of his Son or of his Wife. Upon which the Emperor *Kang hi* remarks, that this Distinction is founded upon good Reasons.

*Yu, younger Brother of Yuen ti (both Sons of Suen ti, tho' by a different Mother) was, when young, made Vang, or King of Tong ping. When he grew up, he committed some Extravagancies which disoblged his Mother, who on her Part exasperated him worse. Yuen ti gave his Brother some Advice, and then wrote to his Mother in the following Terms.*

**I** The Emperor, charge all my Eunuchs upon Duty, that they forward this Letter to the Queen, Mother of the *Vang*, or King, of *Tong ping*.

Some Things, *Madam*, have come to my Ears, which makes me beg Leave to suggest to you, that the Happiness of Families united within themselves by the strictest Ties of Blood, consists in Unanimity; and their Destruction is occasioned by nothing so much, as Discord. It is said, that the King of *Tong ping*, under the Pretext of the high Rank he holds, grows



grows in Insolence in proportion as he advances in Years. That he neglects his Studies, and abuses his Officers; and, even seems, a little to forget the Respect he owes to you. These are Faults, but after all, they are Faults that many wise Princes have not been entirely free from at his Age. An ancient Maxim says, that it becomes Parents to conceal the Failings of their Children. Reflect a little, Madam, upon this Maxim; and on the Relation, in which you and your Son stand to one another. Tho' you live and breathe separated from each other, yet the same Blood and the same Spirits are diffused thro' both your Bodies. Can any Ties be more strict, and should any Trifle have power to break them? In former Times, *Cheu kang* in advising *Pe kyū*, recommended to him, among other Things, never to break with a Friend, but for very weighty Reasons. If bare Friendship requires a mutual Forgiveness of many Injuries, judge by this, Madam, I intreat you, of your present Case. Besides, I have sent a Messenger to the (\*) *Vang* your Son, and I have given him some Advice about his Conduct. He does not excuse, but acknowledges, his Faults, and repents of them. You, Madam, on your Part, take care by a Behaviour full of Indulgence, Tenderness, and if there is occasion for it, of Patience, again to cultivate Harmony with him.

*The Emperor Kang hi's Remark.*] This Advice is very well conceived, and ought to have had its Effects. The Historian *Pau kū* says of *Yuen ti*, that all the Orders which he gave in Writing, were full of a Sweetness and Openness entirely in the ancient Manner. He is certainly in the right, and this Piece proves very well what he advances.

Declaration of the Emperor Ching ti, Successor to *Yuen ti*, recommending to the (†) *Hew* and other great Men, to take Care to avoid all unnecessary Expences; and that none be allowed to wear Cloths, or have Equipages, &c. above his Rank.

OUR ancient Princes, in establishing the Titles of Honour with so much Wisdom, had an Eye principally to distinguish the Ranks in the State; but at the same Time took Care, that the Chief should be filled with Persons of the greatest Virtue. To do the greater Honour to them, these Distinctions in Chariots and Habits were regulated, that were so scrupulously observed by Antiquity. According to the Maxims of these great Men, Riches gave none a Right to dispense with the Observance of the Laws. This Usage was a continual Lesson inculcated thro' the whole Empire, and taught that Virtue was preferable to Riches. People then saw many as noble Examples of this, as they saw Persons in a Station superior to their own.

How vastly is the Scene now changed? We now behold only Luxury and ridiculous Expences: This Evil encreases every Day. The *Kong*, the *King*, the *Hew*, and those who either as my Friends, Relations, or Officers, approach nearest to my Person, instead of entering with me into Sentiments of Zeal and Compassion upon these Extravagancies, authorise them by their own Examples. Instead of continually watching over their own Conduct as they ought to do, and by duly observing the (‡) Rites, setting a just Pattern for the People, they are employed in nothing, but their own Vanity and Pleasures. They build large Houses, lay out vast Gardens and Ponds, and harbour about their Persons a Pack of idle Slaves. They refine every Day upon their Dresses, and strive who shall have the greatest number of Bells, Drums, and singing Women. To conclude, in their Chariots, their Dresses, their Marriages, their Funerals, and every other Article, their Expences are extravagant. Those of the Magistrates and People who are rich, follow their Examples; and these Excesses pass into a Custom.

While these Disorders last, how can Modesty, Temperance, and wise OEconomy flourish in the Empire? How, if these Virtues are wanting, shall we escape suffering bad times? Is it possible that every one shall always be above Necessity? O! How good Reason had the (§) *Sbi king* to say: "Ye, whose Rank and Employments raise you above the Level of the common People, watch carefully over your own Conduct: Your Inferiors, who always have you in their View, will be sure to follow your good or bad Examples."

By these Presents, we enjoin our Ministers and Magistrates to labour for a Reformation of these Abuses. *Black* and *Green*, are the only Colours which all the Commonality should be allowed to wear; and let them not be permitted to use any other. We recommend to all the *Hew*, and others who have Access to our Person, that they examine this Point, and that they be the first to bring about, by their own Example, so necessary a Reformation.

*The Emperor Kang hi's Remark.*] This Declaration, exactly answers the End of establishing these Distinctions: Those who are above others, by possessing their Ranks agreeably to the Law, set to all the Nation a Pattern, of what is called, genteel Frugality: Which, without doubt, is a great Step to the Reformation of a State: For by it, Luxury, that fruitful Source of Calamities, falls to the Ground. And as those who have great Employments, Dignities, and Estates, are the most apt to forget themselves on this Head, *Ching ti* went directly to the Point, by addressing himself to them.

(\*) The King.

(†) A Dignity immediately inferior to the *Fang* or King.

(‡) Public Ceremonies practised in their Worship.

(§) The Name of a Book.



## Declaration of the Emperor Ngay ti, for reforming Music.

At present, three great Abuses prevail among us; Profuseness in Entertainments, and Apparel; an Itch after Numbers of vain Ornaments, and a Passion for the tender effeminating Music of (||) *Chin* and *Wey*. Prodigality ruins Families in the third Generation: and by it the whole Empire becomes poorer. The Itch for vain Ornaments, occasions Multitudes of People to attend only very useless Arts, and to neglect Agriculture; and effeminating tender Music inspires Licentiousness. To pretend, while these subsist, to introduce Plenty and Innocence into a State, is to seek a pure limpid Stream from a muddy Fountain. *Confucius* had a great deal of Reason to say, that the Music of *Chin* should be avoided, because it inspired a Looseness of Manners.

By these Presents, we discharge our Band of Music, and all the Officers attending on it. As for the ordinary Music in the Ceremonies of *Tyau*, and the musical warlike Instruments, we do not pretend to alter them; these are approv'd of in our (\*) *King*, but no Officers are appointed for these Purposes. We will that it be enquired into, to which of the other Officers it will be proper to commit the Management of these Matters.

The Emperor Kang hi, who pign'd himself upon being a lover of Music, makes the following Remark upon this Declaration.] Music has the Virtue to calm the Heart, and for that the wise Man loves it. Besides, in diverting himself with it, he may exercise himself in governing well, by an easy and just Application of the Government in Music. But with Regard to wanton Music, that admits of no Comparison. *Ngay* was in the right, to retrench such a number of needless Expences.

A Gloss.] The Emperor saved, by this Reformation, the Pensions and Entertainment of above 440 Persons.

## Discourse of Kya 'han, upon good or bad Government. Address'd to the Emperor Ven ti, formerly called Hyau wen.

SIR, I have heard it said, that a good Minister is he, who having the Honour to serve a Prince, employs in his Service all his Abilities; and above all things, testifies his Zeal by sincere Remonstrances, without disguising any thing, tho' it should cost him his Head. Possess'd of such Dispositions, I now proceed to discourse to you upon Government. I shall not go far out of my Road to seek for an Example, to illustrate the Difference betwixt the Good and the Bad. The History of the *Tsin* who immediately preceded the *Han*, will furnish me with such an Instance, and I beg your Majesty to run it over with me, and to give some Attention.

In the first Ages, Literati of small Fortunes, and poorly habited, were frequently seen to advance themselves to the highest Honours, by their Virtue and Wisdom, and to immortalise their Names by their important Services to the State. It was not thus in the Days of the *Tsin*. *Shi wang*, a Prince of that Family, by becoming Master of the Empire, thereby became Master of its ordinary Revenues; but not satisfied with these, he loaded the People with new Taxes and Vassalages, till his Severity reduced them to such a State of Misery, that knowing they had nothing worse to fear, the Mountains were infested with Robbers, and the Roads filled with Criminals, whom the Officers of Justice were always dragging to Prisons, and to Punishments. At last, he alienated the Affections of his People so much, that they eagerly watched the least Breath of Sedition; and waited only for the Signal, for they were ready to follow any one who should give it, to shake off their heavy Yoke.

*Chin shin* gave that Signal: This, great Sir, you know, and you likewise know the Consequences. Besides, if *Shi wang* ruined the People by Taxes, he likewise ruined himself by his Expences. In a Journey he made from *Kyen yeng* to *Yong*, he changed his Palaces 300 times, and found every one of them furnished, without carrying any of his Moveables from the one to the other; nay, not so much as the Drums or Bells (†). Many of the Palaces he dwelt in were so prodigiously large, that they appeared rather Mountains than Houses. They were sometimes built to the Height of several scores of (‡) *lin*. From North to South they extended a 1000 Paces, and from East to West, half a League. The Number and Richness of his Equipages were answerable to the Magnificence of his Buildings. Where did all this Profusion end? Why! in his Descendants, being deprived even of a thatch'd House.

*Shi wang* caused large Roads to be laid out for his Couriers, even to the breadth of fifty Paces, lined with earthen Walls, and planted with Pine-Trees and other Evergreens, which formed one of the most agreeable Sights in the World. Where did all this end? His Children of the second Generation, had not a Bush into which they could creep for Safety.

*Shi wang* choose for his Burying-Place the Mountain *Li*; some hundred thousands of Men were employed upon it for ten Years: They dug a prodigious Ditch of (§) a vast Depth; within, there was heaped up precious Stones, and Metals of all Sorts; and the Ornaments on the Outside, consisted of the most beautiful Varnishes, in the most vivid Colours, with even the finest Pearls

(||) These are the Names of a Country, formerly two petty Kingdoms.

(\*) Old Books that regulate these Affairs.

(†) *Tsing te shew* says, that under the *Han* Dynasty, *Ky shan* was the first who gave Advice to the Emperor in Writing; he was encouraged to this by the good Dispositions of *Hyau wen* who created him a *Hou*.

(‡) *Tang king chuan* says upon this Passage, *Kya shan* had Energy, but his Style was not correct. This may be owing to his living near troublesome Times.

(§) A Measure of eighty Feet.

(§) The *Chinse* says, that it penetrated even to three Sources, an Exaggeration alluding to some Fable like that of the ancient Poets about Hell. In other Places they mention nine Sources.



Pearls and other Jewels. Round one of the upper Stories ran large Galleries, and behind all, there was raised a Mount for Pleasure, planted with the most agreeable Woods. This was a great Expence for the Burying-place of one Man? I say of one Man; for his Descendants were obliged to beg a few Feet of Earth for that Purpose, and could not procure a small Roof of Reeds to cover it.

At last, *Shi wahang*, like a wild Beast, having cruelly torn in Pieces all the *Chu bew*, swallowed down, if we may so speak, the whole Empire, and trampled upon all the Laws of Humanity and Justice. But the Vengeance of (\*) *Tyen* soon overtook both him and his Family. These are the Matters I have presumed to suggest to you, and I beg you would attend to them, and make a good Use of them.

It is true, the Subject who is zealous and faithful, is little regarded by his Prince when he speaks without Disguise; and it has often happen'd that he has ruined himself, without having it in his Power to serve his Prince. But at the same Time it is as true, that it is, almost always, very difficult for a Sovereign to govern well without such a Monitor, and as the most understanding Princes have always had a true Zeal for hearing sincere Advice, the most loyal Subjects have not fear'd to expose even their Lives, that they might give, to the Prince they served, this Testimony of their Duty.

But it is with Princes in this Respect as with Soils. The best Grain when sown upon a stony Ground, far from multiplying, does not so much as grow. On the other Hand, a rich well watered Soil, encreases even the worst Seed committed to it. For Instance, under (†) *Kye* and *Chew*, the Advices of *Yuan long*, *Kit se* and *Pi kan* three great Men of consummate Wisdom, had no other Effect upon them but to hasten them to their Ruin. Under *Ven wang* it was otherwise, he not only had Men of Sense about his Person, who cheerfully and successfully communicated their Lights to him; but there was not the least Scullion about his Palace, who durst not speak his Mind freely; and if his Advice was good, it was even followed: The Consequences were answerable, (‡) *Kye* and (§) *Chew* perished with their Families, while that of *Ven wang* flourished.

A good Prince then ought to do the same by those who are capable to assist him, that a good Soil does by the Seeds committed to it; it nourishes them, and multiplies them as much as possible. Such is the force of Lightning, that there is nothing but what it penetrates: Should a Weight of 1000 (||) *Kyun* fall from a Height, it would infallibly crush whatever was beneath it. And yet these Comparisons are weak to shew what the Authority of a Sovereign is, with Regard to a Subject. Even, when he opens a Way to Remonstrances, when he desires they shall be made, when he takes them in good Part, and amends by them; yet still there remains some Dread in the Subject, who seldom goes so far in this Point as he can. What would be the Consequences, if a Prince, self-opiniated, cruel, headstrong, and blinded by his Passions, should fall with all the Weight of his Authority upon those who advised him? Tho' they had all the Wisdom of *Yau*, and all the Firmness of *Mong pwen*, they could not fail of being crushed. But then, a Prince of this Character would be soon left to himself, and then he would commit still greater Faults, yet no Body would dare to advise him; till, by an infallible Consequence, the State would be in very great Danger.

In the first Ages, our wise Princes were seldom without a Man attending them, whose Duty and Office it was, to remark their Faults, and to keep an exact List of them. They had besides, two Officers, one of which was employed to read in Prose to the Prince, whatever Acts of Government were transacting in the whole Empire; and the other, in collecting all the Verses and Songs which were in Vogue. Not only Ministers of State and Persons in Offices, freely gave necessary and important Advices in all Affairs as they occurred, but even People in high Ways and in Streets, without any Dread, discoursed of what they disliked in the State. Thus the Prince was perfectly well instructed both in his Duties and in his Defects. Can any Thing be more conducive than this, to the Ends of good Government? Not that our Ancestors were ignorant of the Difference between Subjects and Sovereigns, or of what was owing to the Rank they held: But they were not less exact in respecting old Age, in furnishing themselves with good Ministers, in raising Men of Merit, and, as far as they could, in procuring sincere Advice. In the Deference they shewed to (‡) old Men, which went so far as even to serve them with their own Hands, their View was to promote filial Piety in Families. They, as it were, associated in the Government, able Men; because they well knew how apt a Person is to be intoxicated with Power, and blinded with Passion, when elevated above the Level of Mankind. In short, they opened a large Field for Remonstrances, because there was nothing they so much dreaded, as by being ignorant of their Faults, not to have in their Power to correct them.

(\*) Heaven.

(†) Two bad Emperors.

(‡) He of the Dynasty.

(§) Note that the Name of the Dynasty, *Chew*, whatever Resemblance is otherwise, is when written and pronounced in

the European Manner very different, both in the *Chinese* Writing and Pronunciation, from the Name of that bad Prince.

(||) *Kyun* was thirty Pounds.

(‡) There was a Ceremony established for this.



Did *Sbi wbang* want great Qualifications? By no Means. After having subdued the Empire, and destroyed the six Kingdoms into which it was divided, he divided it anew, into *Kyun* (\*) and *Hyen* (†), which he governed by very worthy Officers. On the Side where he had most to fear, he fortified himself with a long and a vast Wall. He himself entered in as minute a Detail of the Affairs of his Empire, as any Man can do into those of a private Family. Notwithstanding of all this, his Troops were defeated by (‡) *Ghin*; and the Empire passed to the *Lyew*; because *Sbi wbang*, who was full of himself, listened to nothing but his Avarice and his Pride.

Under the Dynasty *Cheu*, the Emperors erected 1800 petty States, every one of which had its Prince, and every Prince his Rights. Yet the Land was subject only to the Tax of a simple Tithe, and the Persons of the People only to three Days Average in a Year. The Subjects easy and contented, by their Songs celebrated the Mildness of the Government, and the Virtue of their Princes, who on their Parts, were furnished with a decent Plenty. *Sbi wbang* Master of these 1800 States, squandered his Revenue and ruined the People, and still not having enough for satisfying his Ambition and maintaining his Vanity, he redoubled his Cruelties and Exactions. There was not a Family, nay, not a single Man in the Empire, who did not inwardly look upon him as their most cruel Enemy, and secretly load him with a thousand Curses.

At last, *Sbi wbang*, tho' in the most imminent Danger of losing all, was the only one who was easy; having met with some precious Stones in a Voyage, he was so full of self-conceit, that he caused his Exploits to be engraven upon them, and without any Scruple, raised himself far above *Yau* and *Shun*. The Posterity of our most fortunate Princes, has never been able to maintain themselves upon the Throne, beyond the twentieth or thirtieth Generation. *Sbi wbang* promised to himself, a Succession of 10000 Generations in his Family. He laughed at the ancient Custom, of having Titles of Distinction determined after Death; he was resolved to fix (§) those of himself and his Descendants before-hand. He called himself *Sbi wbang ti*, as being the first Emperor of his Family. He ordered that his Successor should have the Appellation of *Eul shi wbang ti*, to denote his being the second of the Family, and so on for 10000 Generations, or rather, for Eternity. In the mean time *Sbi wbang* died. There succeeded an universal Insurrection of the Empire against his Son, who was as worthless as himself, and in a short time, lost at once his Empire and Life. In him ended the Dynasty of *Tsin*.

But let us enquire once more, why *Sbi wbang ti* did not perceive the melancholy dangerous Situation, to which he had reduced his Affairs? It was because no Person about him durst talk to him; because, intoxicated with Pride, he rigorously punished the least Murmur; because any one who pretended to give him a sincere Advice, was sure to forfeit his Head: and because he gave to his Ministers neither Authority nor Credit. He proved by his Misfortune, the Truth of what is advanced by our *Shi king*: "Will a Prince hear? Then he is spoken to. Do's he hate Advice? He receives none; but there is nothing more dangerous for him than such a Silence." *Ven wang* understood the Truth of this Maxim, and acted in a different Manner. So the same *Shi king* says to his Praise: "Appear Men of Merit, and boldly disclose yourselves; you are in Safety under such a Prince, whose greatest delight is to see your Numbers encrease."

And indeed, to reap all the Advantage that can be expected from the Councils of Men of Merit, you must both love and honour them. Such was the Conduct of our ancient and wise Princes towards their Ministers. They not only rendered them powerful and rich, by bestowing upon them large Pensions; but they distinguished them yet more, by singular Marks of their Favour and Regard. Was a Minister sick? the Prince visited him, without minding how often he did so. Did a Minister die? The Prince went into second Mourning, and in Person performed the (§) *Tyau*, seeing him dressed according to Custom, and put into his Coffin. Till these Ceremonies were over, the Prince abstained from Meat and Wine; denying himself Music, till after the Funeral; and he was so very strict in this, that he did not even use it in the Ceremonies performed in Honour of his Ancestors, if they interfered with those of his Minister's Burial.

If our ancient Princes so much distinguished a Minister when dead, they likewise entertained a vast Regard for him when living. Did they pay him a Visit? it was always according to the Rites, in their Habits of Ceremonies, and with Decency and Gravity. The Minister on his Part, exerted himself in every Instance, in the exact Performance of his Duties, and dreaded Death less than the not answering the Favours of his Prince. Thus, every thing prospered, and many after Ages felt the happy Influences of that Reign. At present, your Majesty seated on the Throne of your Ancestors, calling to mind their Actions and their Virtues, shows the greatest Dispositions to imitate them; and by a Reign still happier than theirs, to give a new Glory to your Family, and a new Lustre to the Crown which you hold of them. It is no doubt, with this View that you seek out and honour Men of Merit and Virtue. Your whole Empire applauds your Conduct, and it is every where said, that the ancient Government revives. There is not a Man of Letters in the Empire, who does not aspire to render himself capable to contribute to this. At present, you have at your Court a good Number of such Men, of whom you can have great Assistance in so glorious an Undertaking.

(\*) These are what are now called *Fu*, or Cities of the first Order, which have several others depending on them.

(†) Cities of the third Order, of which several were required to make one of the first Order.

(‡) An obscure Fellow, who rebelled against *Sbi wbang*.

(§) *Ghi* signifies to begin. Beginning: *Eul*, the Second King.

(§) Name of a Funeral Ceremony.



But for my own Share, I can not dissemble: When I see those whom you have most distinguished enter into all your Pleasures, to which you are but too much addicted; I am apprehensive that you (\*) reap but too few Advantages, from so many Men of Capacity and Merit. Do you on your Part never turn a little indolent? I am afraid you do. But if you do this, tho' in the smallest Degree, the (||) *Cbu bew* will follow your Example, and the Ministers and Magistrates will do the same. Then, what will become of all your good Designs? How have you laboured, since your Accession to the Throne, for the Happiness of your People? You have abridged your self in your Table, your Music, your Equipages, and your Troops. You have more than once remitted your own Revenues, and the annual Tributes. You have converted into arable Grounds, all your Parks and Gardens. There has been seen dispensed from your Magazines, 100000 Pieces of Stuff for the Relief of the Poor. You have regulated the Exemptions of Children, in Favour of aged Parents. You preserve the Dignities of *Nan*, *Tze*, and the like; every one may advance to them by Degrees; their Appointments are considerable, and well paid; and all this, without reckoning the extraordinary Gratifications you bestow upon your Officers of the first Rank, and their Families. In short, your Favours extend even to Criminals: You have softened their Miseries, allowed them the Comfort of seeing their Relations, and in their Favours mitigated the Rigours of the Laws; by these Steps, you have not only gained the Hearts of your Subjects, but have procured benign Rains, that have been followed by a plentiful Crop. Fewer Robberies are now seen, less Misery is felt; and (†) *Tyen*, to second your good Intentions, has diminished the Number of Criminals, in Proportion as you have softened the Severity of Punishments.

I understand, that in the Provinces, when the Magistrates cause your Declarations to be published, there is not an old Man so decrepid with Age, if he can support himself upon a Staff, who does not crowd to hear them, and in hearing, says to himself: "Why can't I live a little time longer, that I may see the Perfection of that happy Change, which the Virtues of such a Prince must produce?" Things being upon this Footing, your Reputation so well established thro' the whole Empire, and your Court furnished with so many Men of the most distinguished Merit; instead of profiting by them, happily to finish what you have so successfully begun, and supporting the Hopes conceived of your Reign, in what does your Majesty employ so many great Men? In meer Amusements. No! Sir, this is what I cannot reflect upon without extreme Anguish of Heart, which my Zeal will not allow me to conceal: Alas! How truly is it said by our *Sbi king*; "To begin well, is common, but to end well, is rare."

However, don't imagine, that I propose any thing to you that is difficult. All I beg is, that you would apply yourself less to hunting, that you would revive at certain Times the Ceremonies of (§) *Ming tang*, and cause (‡) the *Tay hye* to be reestablished and promoted. You will hence soon see with Pleasure, excellent Effects; but as for the Literati of Merit, with whom you have so well furnished your Court, and whom you have put into the greatest Employments, Amusements are not for them; so far from engaging them in Diversions, you should not suffer them to follow you in yours. To treat them as you do, is against the wisest Maxims, and the most constant Practice of sage Antiquity. More serious Affairs ought then to take up all their Time. They ought incessantly to be improving in Knowledge, and confirming themselves in Disinterestedness, Uprightness, and other Virtues. Without this, they will soften by Degrees, till at last, their Character will be quite effaced. What a Shame, and what a Loss is it, that Men of so many good Qualities, should not only be useless to you, but even have their Morals corrupted at your Court! This gives me a mortal Uneasiness. Divert yourself in the Morning, but let it be with some Officers of a lower Rank; and then return to the others, and treat with them about the Affairs of your Empire. Thus, without renouncing reasonable Diversions, you may maintain in full Vigour the two essential Points of Government, the Councils and the Rites.

[The Emperor Kang hi's Remark.] The Composition of this Discourse is far from being correct, but it is solid at the Bottom. This and other Pieces of that Age, retain a little of the Disorders that so long prevailed in the Empire before the *Han*; but, one can perceive by them, that those Men, who saw the State extricated out of their Inconveniencies, did their best to hinder it from relapsing into them. The western *Han* owed a good deal to the two *Kya* and *Tong chong shu*; they properly were the good Leaven of their Dynasty.

(\*) *Ching te hseu* says: All this Discourse of *Kya shan* tends to reclaim *Fen ti*, who was too much addicted to hunting, and took his Counsellors and Ministers of State along with him to that Diversion. It would seem at first, that it was neither necessary or prudent to cite the History of the *Yin*, but at its Bottom it was not amiss; for tho' *Fen ti* was a good Prince, he began to be a little careless of his Conduct: Instead of holding frequent Councils with his Ministers, he was for ever engaging them in hunting Matches; one Passion brings on another: It is easy to imitate what is ill, and *Fen ti* might have ruined himself like *Yin*, which was what *Kya shan* feared, and wanted to prevent. In this he was to be praised, but in my Opinion he ends ill; for one of our most essential Maxims is, always to be perfecting ourselves in Virtue, to be stopping up every Avenue of Vice; but *Kya shan* when he ends his Discourse, opens a Road of Remissness for his Prince. He is inconsistent with himself in this Point, and does not follow the Doctrine of the *I rev*

or Literati.

These are the Words of the *Tsing te hseu*; and this Doctor is in the Right, for the true *I rev*, which some Europeans are pleased to call Sect of the Literati, is really the Doctrine common to the whole Empire, and what is contained in the Book, which have been constantly acknowledged as King. Now according to these Books, every body, but the Prince more especially, ought incessantly to watch over his Actions and Thoughts, that he may not give the least entrance to Vice. In this Case, and with the Assistance of *Tyen*, these Books tell us, that both Prince and People are happy.

(||) Tributary Princes.

(†) Heaven.

(§) The Chinese Author have a good deal of Rabbinism about *Ming tang*, and they are pretty like one another.

(‡) In Chinese, *Tay*, signifies most High and the first. *Hs*, a School or College Study.



*KYA CHAN*, Author of the preceding Piece, left, behind him, one of his Nephews called *Kya i*, about the Person of the same Emperor *Ven ti*. When he was twenty Years of Age he was created (\*) *Po se*, and a short Time after he was raised to the Dignity of *Ta sū*: *Ven ti* regarding his Counsels so much, that most of the Orders he gave, and the Regulations he made, were by his Advice. But the Jealousy of the (†) *Kyang* and the *Quan*, to whom the reigning Family owed the greatest Obligations, obliged *Ven ti* to part with him; and he appointed him (‡) *Tay sū* to the young *Vang* of *Chang sha*. He afterwards served in the same Station under the *Whang* of *Leang way*, but that Prince dying young, *Kya i* was so sensibly grieved, that he fell sick and died a little after his Pupil, in the 33<sup>d</sup>. Year of his Age. He was not 26 when he presented to *Ven ti* the Discourse I am to translate; long as it is, the Gloss says, that the Historian of the *Han* has abridged it in several Places.

Discourse or Memorial presented to the Emperor *Ven ti*, by *Kya i*.

GREAT Emperor, When I attentively consider the present State of your Empire, I see a Thing capable to make me give great Cries: Two other Things fill my Eyes with Tears; and six others, make me utter heavy Sighs; without counting a Thousand other less considerable Faults, which, tho' they are contrary to Reason, and hurtful to good Government, yet it would be impossible for me to enumerate. In all the Writings presented to your Majesty, every one has the following Words: The Empire has nothing more to fear, Peace is established, and every Thing is in Order: As for me, I am far from being of this Opinion: When People talk to you at that Rate, it is either from Flattery, or for Want of Understanding. For, let us suppose a Pile of Wood and a Man sleeping on its Top, while it is set on Fire below: Has this Man, tho' the Flame has not reached him, nothing to fear? And is not this a natural Image of the State of your Affairs; Every Thing that is important is neglected, and all the Cares of Government are applied to Matters of little Consequence. There is in the Administration, a Conduct that is very irregular, ill supported, and without any constant Rule; how then can it be said that every thing is in Order? This is what I cannot agree to, tho' I wish more than any Man, that it were so.

I have seriously considered the Means of restoring this good Order in the Empire, and thereby of assuring its Tranquility. And for that Reason, I presume in this Discourse to lay them before your Majesty, begging that you would read it with some Attention, and extract from it what you find to be good.

I propose nothing to you that can too much fatigue either your Body or Mind. I do not even require that you should deprive yourself of Music, with which you are so much charmed. But what is most important, and no ways inconsistent with that, is, to keep all the tributary Princes in their Duty, to prevent the raising and the marching of your Troops, to cultivate Peace with the (§) *Hjong ná*, to make yourself obeyed by all your Subjects, to extend your Care to those who are most distant from your Court, to endeavour, above all things, to render them good, and to diminish, as much as you can, Lawsuits and Villanies.

These are the essential and capital Points; if you succeed in them, which I believe is very easy for you to do, you will render your Empire happy, and deserve eternal Praises. Posterity, when they shall admire the Exploits of the Father, will be charmed with the Virtue of the Son; you will be always looked upon as the Joint Founder of the Dynasty, and that *Myau* which you have before-hand built, and to which you have given the Inscription of (||) *Kū ching*, shall afterwards obtain with Justice, the glorious Title of (‡) *Tay tsong*; latest Posterity will always join you with your Father in the Honours paid to him, and the Empire will celebrate that filial Piety, by which you support so well the Honour of your Family. In the mean Time, your Goodness will be praised, with which you so well provide for the Wants of your Subjects: But above all, your Wisdom will be admired, that has given a Form to the Government, by which, every succeeding Prince, however weak, and however young, may reign peaceably.

This is what I propose. If your Majesty thinks that I aspire to too high a Perfection in Government; I am persuaded, that from the Understanding and Qualifications you possess, and with a little Assistance from able Men, you may with Ease, attain to all I propose. As I frankly lay my Sentiments before you, it is the utmost of my Wishes that you may agree to them, and put them in Practice; for I have advanced nothing, but what is founded upon a serious Examination of the History of past Ages; and upon attentively comparing them to all I could extract from the present Times; upon this I have been meditating Day and Night: Thus I may be bold to say, that were *Shun* and *Yu* to rise again and give you Advice, it would infallibly be the same which I now suggest.

(\*) A Title of Honour.

(†) The Names of two Families.

(‡) Governour.

(§) The Chinese call certain Tartars of China by this Name.

(||) *Kū*, signifies Antiquity. *ching*, to perfect.

*Ven ti*, says a Gloss, caused his *Myau* to be built in his own Lifetime; and placed the Inscription *Kū ching* upon it, thereby denot-

ing that he apply'd to perfect what his Father had established.

(‡) *Tay* signifies very great. *tsong* signifies the Head of a Family: But the two Words joined here together are a Title of Honour, given more than once to Princes who are looked upon as Joint Founders of a Dynasty: As *Tay tsū* is given as the Title of many Founders of Dynasties. *Tsū tsong* when joined, signifies Ancestors in general.



In the Infancy of a Dynasty, if a Prince would establish it firmly, it is natural for him to be distrustful, and then, he sometimes takes false Alarms, and may be deceived in his Suspicions. Hence it happens, that sometimes the Innocent suffer; but there is no avoiding this: And in such Circumstances, in the Beginning of the Dynasty, the safety of the Sovereign, and the good of the State, is inconsistent with the Impunity of subordinate Powers, when overgrown. Take Care that your younger Brother does not possess too powerful a State. He may be tempted, if he has not already formed the Design, to make himself Emperor of the East, and to rival you. On the West your deceased elder Brother's Son, certainly has Designs upon *Tong yang*; and some even pretend, that they are upon the Point of Execution. As for the *Vang* of *U*, you know what his Forces are, and that he is the most powerful of all the *Chu bew*; this *Vang*, I say, acts in all Respects within his own State, by his own Authority, and in contempt of your Laws. This too, I am certainly informed of. You may judge by this, what a Prince who behaves thus, and has yet only tasted of your Indulgence, will not attempt.

Such is your present Situation, a Situation little different from that of those Emperors, whose melancholy History is wrote in the (\*) *Chun tsew*. 'Tis true, that there are no actual Com-motions; but why? Most of the *Vang* are yet young, and under the Tuition of Governors and Ministers, who manage their Affairs. And these Governors and Ministers are Men of your own appointing; or at least, sincerely devoted to your Family. But in a few Years, when these *Vang* are grown up, they will have more Spirit, and be less tractable. Then their ancient Officers will each pretend Infirmities, or some other Reason for retiring from Court. Then shall these Prin-ces, being as it were emancipated, either give a Loose to their Inclinations, or follow the Advice of those who have interested Views. When this Change happens, and the Time is not far off, if your Brother or Nephew should start their Claims, and break openly from their Allegiance, what Remedy must be applied? For my own Share, I see none; and I believe that (†) *Tau* and *Shun* themselves would be puzzled to find out one. A Man who wants to dry himself, does not wait for Night, but makes the best of the Noon-Day Sun that he can. Why have you that Knife in your Hand if you make no Use of it? Two Proverbs are attributed to (‡) *Whang ti*; their Appli-cation is very plain. Profit Prince, Profit, by the Power and Time you have. You will then find every thing easy; but, if you delay, all will be difficult. The smallest Inconvenience that can attend such a Delay, is, that you will be reduced to the irksome Necessity of shedding the Blood that comes from the same Source with your own. But who can answer for other Conse-quences? And then will not the Times of *Tsin* revive? Rouse your self, Sir, strike a masterly Blow, you have Authority, you are Emperor, the Juncture is favourable, but at the same time pressing; Supported by (§) *Tyen*, fear only what is really formidable; Give your Empire Peace and Quiet, by preventing the Danger and dissipating the Storm that threatens it.

That you may the better comprehend the Importance of this Advice, let us call to Mind some Points of History, and make some Suppositions. No Doubt, you remember what History tells us of one of the *Vang* of *Tsi*, called *Wen*. He grew so powerful, that nothing less would serve him, but that the other *Chu bew* should come in a Body and pay him Homage. They respected him a good deal more than they did the Emperor. Had you been then Emperor, if you had allowed him quietly to arrive at that degree of Power, what would you then have done? Durst you have attempted to reduce him? I own I know little; but I know, and dare boldly pronounce, that if you had, your Attempt had been fruitless.

But we need not go so far back for Instances: In later Times, *Shang* reigned in *Tsi*, *Kin pi* in *Wbey nan*, *Pung ywe* in *Leang*, *Hun sin* in *Han*, *Chang ngau* in *Chau*, having for his Minis-ters, *Qyan kan*. *Lü quan* reigned in *Ten*, and *Chin bi*, tho' no *Vang*, possessed *Tay*. Now sup-posing that these six or seven Princes were still alive; and that each of them was so well estab-lished at Home, that his State was in a flourishing Condition; and that they had nothing to fear from one another; suppose all this, would not you who are Emperor be a good deal alarm'd? Sure you would.

After the Deaths of *Sbi whang* and his Son *Eul shi*, the Empire being in Distress and with-out a Master, your Father *Kau ti* taking Arms, all those I have named did the same. Every one had his own Views and his own Party. But none among them at first had any particular At-tachment to your Father; yet, by Degrees, they all came over to his Side. It was a great Piece of good Fortune for him, that they were all of them Princes very moderate in their Ambition. But the great Motive of their Resolution was, that they found a Superiority of Merit in *Kau ti* above Envy, so that they were not ashamed to yield to him. Thus your Father was indebted for his Crown to his own Bravery and Merit. He was no sooner Master of the Empire than he shar'd his Conquests with these Princes, giving to each 20 or 30, and to some, 100 (||) *Hyen*. Notwith-standing all his Merit and Liberalities, within ten Years, there were frequent Rebellions in several Quarters, and he scarce reign'd a Year in Peace. Yet all these Princes were sensible of his Abi-lities and Courage, by Experience, and they personally held their Dominions of him. If these six or seven Princes reigning over as many different States, some larger, others less, but every one of them considerable, had enjoyed them quietly, would you, had you been then Emperor, have

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(\*) The Name of a Book ascribed to Confucius.

(†) Two Princes famous for their Wisdom.

(‡) The Name of an ancient Emperor.

(§) Heaven.

(||) Towns of the third Order, and their Districts, are called *Hyen*.



liv'd undisturbed? Could you have kept their Turbulence within the Bounds of Duty and Submission? I dare again affirm, you could not, had they belonged as much to you, as, for the most Part, they did to the then Emperor.

But I must repeat it again; If you do not speedily take some Course to prevent it, Affairs will come to this Issue. All the *Vang*, who are now your Subjects in Name, will in Effect be no longer so. Each of them proud of his Power which is really too great, will be a petty Emperor within himself, and dispose of every Thing independantly of you, and arrogate to himself the Right to dispose of this or that Dignity as he pleases; of forgiving Crimes, and of pardoning Malefactors tho' worthy of Death; and perhaps some of these *Vang* more bold, or powerful than the rest, will go so far as to use a Chariot covered with Yellow, to the great contempt of the Laws of the Empire, and your Sovereign Authority. Should any one forget himself, to this Degree, what must be done? Will you send him your Orders and Reprimands? He will despise them. Will you summon him to appear at your Court? He won't come? Or granting he comes; will you dare to punish him according to the Rigour of the Law? But thus to punish near Relations, would infallibly set all the rest against you, and produce a Rebellion from most of them. I own, indeed, that there are some (\*) *Feng kya*, but, besides that they are rare, to what End will their Boldness serve? No sooner shall they dare to open their Mouth, but some mercenary Cut throat will, by planting a Dagger in their Hearts, render them for ever dumb: Unless then, you immediately pursue other Measures, Things will come to this Pass, that you neither can stop the Rebellion of your Relations, nor protect from their Resentment, those who shall have the Courage to declare for you against them.

No sooner was your Dynasty of *Han* establish'd on the Throne, than the (+) *Lyu*, abusing their too great Power acquired by an Alliance, endeavour'd to destroy it. But I have pointed out the Spring of these former Commotions, which was the Power of the *Lyu*, and have you not the same Reason to be afraid, lest the very same Thing should be attempted against you, which formerly the *Lyu* have against all your Family, and that the Empire should fall into almost the same Troubles as formerly? In such a Case, who could answer for the Event? Notwithstanding your vast Capacity, you would be then in no small Perplexity. But how much more fatal would it be, should it not happen till the Reign of some of your Children endowed with fewer Abilities than you? The Butcher (†) *Tan* in one Morning dissected twelve Oxen, without his Knife being in the least hacked, how came this? Because he only used it to cut the Flesh, and artfully to separate the Joints. When he came to the Bones, or any Part that was too hard, he immediately used the Ax: What the Knife was to this Butcher; Clemency, Liberality, and the like Virtues are to the Sovereign: The Laws and his Power are the Ax; and at present, the *Chu bew* seem to be so many Bones and hard Cartilages: At least two of them doubtless are so. Certain Experience shews that most Troubles in the State begin by the too great Power of tributary Princes.

This is plain from History, particularly from one of the Passages I have pointed out. The Revolt began by *Wby yu*, when he was the *Vang* of *Tsu* a powerful State. He was followed by *Han sin*. Why? Because the latter was supported by the *Hu*. The Abilities of *Quan kau*, Minister of (‡) *Chau*, had rendered that State rich and powerful, so that he was the third who rebelled. *Ching bi*, who rebelled immediately after, had no large Dominions, but excellent Troops. The others rebelled sooner or later, as they were more or less strong. *Li*, *Vang* of *Chang sha* was the only one who never swerv'd from the Respect and Obedience he owed to his Sovereign. But his Dominions contained no more than 25000 Families. It is justly said of him, that tho' he did less than any of the others for the reigning Family, yet it was more obliged to him than any other, because he had never done any Thing against it. And indeed, tho' he might have been emboldned to throw off his Obedience to his Prince, by his being at such a Distance from the imperial Court, yet he continued always faithful and obedient. But was his Fidelity owing purely to his Virtue, or to his having better natural Dispositions than the others? May not one safely conclude, that it was in some Measure owing to his own Weakness; but let us come to Facts.

There were formerly given to *Fan*, *Ki*, *Quan* and *Kyang*, some dozens of Towns, as it were in Pledge, with the Title of *Vang*. These petty Principalities were afterwards abolish'd, and it is right not to re-establish them. The Descendants of *Han sin* and *Tu* obtained the Title and Rank of *Chu bew*, which they still possess. There is no great Inconvenience in allowing them to keep this Distinction, if it is not made a Precedent for others; for if you would keep all the *Vang* in Obedience, and destroy the Intrigues of the great Men of the Orders inferior to *Vang*, nothing is more expedient, than to reduce the first Order to the same footing with the *Vang* of *Chang cha*; and to treat the second as formerly *Fan*, *Ki*, *Kyan* and *Quan*, were served. At the same Time would you establish your own Authority, and assure a lasting Peace to the Empire, weaken the Power of every one of these Princes, by making several petty Principalities out of every one of their Territories. The Smallness of their Power will deprive them of the Temptation to rebel. Thus, it will be easy, by treating them gently, to keep them attached to you, and make them as ready to comply with your Will, so far as the Laws of the Empire oblige, as the Fingers are to obey

(\*) This was the Name of a Man who being *Tu se*, openly presented an Accusation to the Emperor against *Li ang*, saying he ought to be punished with Death.

(†) The Name of a Family, of which the Empress, Wife of

*Kau ti*, founder of the Dynasty of *Han*, was.

(‡) This Citation is taken from *Kieu tsé* a famous Minister, under *Wen tung* Founder of the Dynasty called *I Lok*.

(§) The Name of a foreign Nation adjacent to *Chine*.



obey the Motions of the Hand. Put things in this Situation, and I will answer for it, that every one will cry out; "What a masterly Stroke of Wisdom is here! The Peace of the Empire is now assured for a long time." Begin then by breaking the three Kingdoms of *Tsi*, *Chau*, and *Tsu*, into the several Principalities, which the Extent of their Dominions comprehends, rendering each almost equal to that of *Chang sha*; ordain that the three *Vang*, who at present possess these three Kingdoms, leave each to his eldest or youngest Son, according to the order of his Birth, one of these Principalities, till every one of them has its own Prince: Do the same with *Leang yen*, and the other Kingdoms. If it shall happen, that the Sons or Grand-sons of the reigning *Vang* are not so numerous, as that each of these Principalities, so divided, can have its own Prince, then order it so, that the Principalities that remain, may go to the other immediate Descendants of the Family.

As to certain Principalities lock'd up within some of these Kingdoms, and possess'd by Families who have the Title of *Chu bew*; you must distinctly mark out their Extent, and make them separate States as the others, with the Rights of Succession, and render it impossible that they should ever be annexed to your Empire, but for the Crime of Treason. By this, you will endear a great Number to your Person, since you will shew that you seek no private Advantage; and by this, the whole Empire, will both applaud your Wisdom and praise your Generosity. Every Branch of the Estates that are divided, will do their utmost to preserve themselves in the Rank of *Vang*. Their Weakness and their Interest will naturally induce them to continue in their Obedience; and this will spare you the Unpopularity of inflicting any rigorous Punishments. No more tragical Events will be seen, and your Clemency and Goodness will be no less praised than your Wisdom and Disinterestedness. The Laws will then be in Vigour, and your Commands meet with Obedience. No Prince, tho' possess'd of a *Li ki* or a *Quan kau* for a Minister, will dare to undertake any thing. The factitious Designs of *Chay ki* and *Kay chong* (\*) will be crushed. When the Princes and great Men are subjected, their Inferiors easily fall in with what is right; and the whole Empire, charmed as I have said, by your Wisdom, Disinterestedness, and Clemency, will enter yet more unto its Duty by so equitable a Firmness. In effect, when things are upon this Footing, not the least Convulsion in the Empire, can follow even upon the Reign of a minor Prince, tho' an Infant and posthumous.

In short, you will thereby assure the Glory and Tranquility of your Kingdom, and make your Name adored by future Ages. All these Advantages may be produced by a single Stroke, of which I am persuaded you see the Expediency, and I dare answer for the Consequences. Then what withholds your Arm? Perhaps you think the Evil is yet Light. But allow me to ask you, Sir, if a Man can be in good Health when his (†) Leg is swelled as large as his Body, and his Finger (‡) as big as his Arm. Sure you will own, he cannot; and that you look upon such a Swelling as dangerous. Believe me, Sir, it is a certain Truth, that even a Wound in the little Finger, when neglected and ill managed, too often baffles the ablest Physicians, becomes incurable, and kills the Patient. Such a Swelling is still more to be dreaded, when accompanied with acute Pains in the (§) Feet. This is certainly the Evil that is capable to make one send up great Cries.

But what is more monstrous is, that tho' the Emperor, whoever he is, is without Doubt the Head of the Empire, because he is above the Rest of the Nation; and the Barbarians on our Borders are the inferior Extremities, and in this Respect, the Feet of the Empire: Yet at present, the *Hyong nu* commit a thousand Insults upon us, and in order to prevent more, the reigning Family furnishes them every Year with large Sums, either in Money or other Commodities. To exact this kind of Tribute, is the Part of Masters, to pay it, of Subjects. Thus the Feet is above, and the Head below: Unnatural Reverse! While this is suffered, can it be said that there are in the Empire Officers truly zealous? And yet this is her shameful Situation, without one Effort to relieve her. She is likewise afflicted with violent Pains in one of her Sides; that which I speak of is the *N. W.* Notwithstanding the great Expences in keeping on Foot such a vast Number of Troops; and notwithstanding the large Pay of their Officers, the People are in continual Alarms. These who have ever so little Strength, are incessantly upon the Watch, and Day and Night employed in making Signals by Fires or other Methods. The Troops on the other Hand, are obliged to sleep with their Armour on their Backs, and their Helmets on their Heads: These are the real Calamities that afflict your Empire. A Physician offers you an infallible Remedy for them, and he is not heard. Is not this capable enough to draw Tears from the Eyes? As you possess the glorious Title of Emperor, is it not shameful to render yourself in Effect, Tributary? If you continue to put up with the greatest of all Ignominies, and to suffer the present Wounds to fester, in what must such a Conduct end? Among all who have the Honour to advise your Majesty, there is not one who does not agree with me, in the Reality of the Evils I have touch'd upon. But when there is any talk of remedying them, they see not, they say, in what Manner it can be done: For my Share I am of a different Opinion. The whole Nation of *Hyong nu* has not so many Inhabitants as one of the great *Hyen* of your Empire. And what shame must it reflect on those at the Helm of Government, that they have not, with the Forces of so vast a State, been able to resist the Insolence of one so small. The Inconveniences we suffer from the *Hyong nu*

(\*) These were the Men who advised the *Vang* of *Why nan*, to the Rebellion he then projected.

(†) He means the *Vang* of *Why nan*.

(‡) He means the *Vang* of *Tsi* & *Tsu*.

(§) He means the *Vang* of *Tsi* and *Tsu*. The one Cousin German of *Pen ti* both Sons of one of his elder Brothers.



are so easily prevented, that let the Forces of one Prince your Tributary act but ever so little according to my Directions, these Barbarians shall soon be reduced. Make but a Trial, and you shall soon be absolute Master of the fate of (\*) *Tan yu*, and pronounce the Doom of the Traytor (†) *Twe*, who is at the Head of his Counsels. Allow me, Sir, to tell you that the Insolence of the *Hyong nu* is owing to your Manner of treating them. Instead of hunting down these troublesome Savages, you are chasing Wild Boars; and instead of pursuing these revolted Scoundrels, you are following Hares; Thus, for a vain Amusement, you neglect the most dangerous Evil. It is not thus, that the Quiet and Repose of a People is attained. It must be owing to yourself, if you are sincere in the Matter, that your Authority is formidable, and your Virtues dear to the most distant People, even beyond the Limits of your Empire; while, at present, you are not sure of being obeyed even within thirty or forty Leagues of Empire. This is the second Thing I mentioned, which must draw Tears from the Man who is zealous in your Service. (§) Luxury is now arrived at such a Height, that mean People embroider the Cloaths, and even the Shoes, of the Boys and Girls whom they are obliged to sell. One can see none exposed in the Slave-market, but such as are glittering with a Profusion of Ornaments. At present, People of ordinary Rank, dress their Wives and Slaves in these very Things, which formerly adorn'd our Empress, and which she carried only to the Temple. These Axes and other Figures in Embroidery, formerly solely reserved for the imperial Habits of Ceremony, serve now to adorn the Parlour or the Dining-room of a Merchant who has scraped together a little Money: Who, in seeing these Disorders, would not say that the Forces of the Empire are drained? No, they are not in Effect, but they are very near being so.

When I see Persons of no Quality furnish their Houses in this Manner, while your Majesty's Habit is only of the coarsest Stuffs, and the most ordinary Colours: When I see the Shoes of a vile Concubine more richly embroidered than the Collar of our Empress; this Disorder chiefly sets me a crying: But I likewise see, that it is of such a Nature, that it must be soon followed by Misery. In effect, the employing so many Men in making Cloaths for one Person, is the Cause why many can get no Cloaths at all. There are ten who eat the Product, for one who tends the Culture, of the Earth; How then is it possible but many should want Food? Besides, to pretend to maintain Order among a People pressed by Hunger and Nakedness, is to pretend to an Impossibility. Behold, what drains and ruins the Empire: Behold, what produces the Robberies and Rebellions that are ready to break out.

Nevertheless you are frequently told: *Every Thing goes well, let us leave them as they are*: And they who talk to you in this Manner, are your clear-headed Gentlemen. Yet there cannot be a greater Medley of Customs imagined: All Ranks are confounded, and there is no longer any Distinction betwixt the Grandees and the People. Even the Respect due to your sacred Majesty is encroach'd upon, yet they never cease to cry out; *Do not let us stir, every thing goes well*. Is there any thing more capable to make a Man send up deep Sighs? (||) *Tong yang*, without troubling himself about Virtue, was wholly employed in suggesting to his Prince the Means of gaining and amassing Money. Thus in the two Years that he was in Office, there was a terrible Corruption of Morals. The Son of a poor Man then only thought upon the means of leaving his Father, that he might become the Son in Law of one who was in better Circumstances. While a Father and Mother was digging the Ground or handling the Rake, the Son, pampered with the Fruits of their Toils, was acting the Man of Importance, and putting on Airs of Haughtiness even with regard to them. The young Wife, when giving suck to her Child, used then insolently to dispute with her Husband: The Step-mother and the Step-daughter were Spies upon one another, and every Moment looked upon one another with the most malignant Eyes. Nothing then remained to Men, but Indulgence for their Children, and a Passion for Riches: When this is all the Distinction, how small is the Difference between Man and Brute?

Notwithstanding of this, *Sbi whang*, pursuing his Project, and taking Advantage of favourable Junctures, invaded six Kingdoms, and made himself Emperor; he had then nothing more to do, but to take such Measures as might establish his Family upon the Throne. The true Measures for this were Temperance, Modesty, Gentleness, Uprightness, Honour, and the Maintenance of the established Laws. These were all unknown to *Sbi whang*: He blindly followed the Road which *Sbang yang* had pointed out; and only studied to be rapacious, that he might be profuse. His Subjects followed his Example; every one made his Passion, and the Extent of his own Power, the Rules of his Conduct. Wit and Parts were then only used to make Dupes of the simple and weak; Bravery and Courage to take advantage of the weak and fearful; and a superiority of Strength was looked upon as a Right to commit an Insult. In short, the Disorder was at last too great to be longer born.

At this Juncture (‡) a Man of a superior Merit appeared; every thing yielded to his Courage, and all submitted to his Virtue: And as before that our Fore-fathers said; The Dynasty of *Tsin*, so they after that said; The Dynasty of *Han*. But tho' the Days of the *Tsin* are over, yet almost all their Vices still remain. Luxury prevails: The Rites are more and more disregarded, and with them

(\*) The Prince of the *Hyg nu*.

(†) A Chinese Fugitive.

(§) Here begins a Detail of the Things that are capable to make one send up great Sighs. According to our Author, there ought to be six. But *Ting king* says that three of them are only touched upon in this Discourse, as we have it in the authentick History. They are found, says he, more at large in Collections made since,

but these deserve little Credit. The Gaps therefore are left unsupplied, and remain as in the Body of the History.

(||) The Name of the Minister of *Tsong*.

(‡) The Author points out *Lieu pang* Surnamed *Kan si*, or *Kau shi*, the Founder of the Dynasty of *Han*, the Father of *Tsin*, to whom he addresses himself.



them Modesty and Virtue vanish. This Change from bad to worse increases sensibly every Month, but more so every Year. The Crimes of murdering a Father or a Brother, however shocking, are not without their Examples in our Age. As to Thefts and Robberies, they are become so barefac'd, that the innermost Rooms of the Palace, in your Father's and Brother's Time, were forced open, and rifled of their Furniture. In short, Licentiousness has come to such a Height, that in the Capital of your Empire your (\*) Officers are robbed, and have their Throats cut in the Face of the Sun.

While these Outrages are committing on the one Hand, one sees, on the other, a wealthy Villain under the Appearance of Honesty, furnishing to the public Stores some hundred thousand Measures of Grain, or vast sums of Money, and thereby procuring the highest Employments of State. A Disorder greater than all I have mentioned: Yet it is a very common one, tho' they take care to conceal it from you. While they are busied in aggravating some particular Abuses, the Age is corrupted, the greatest Vices obtain, and an unbounded Licentiousness is rooting itself in your Empire; and all this is beheld without Concern or Uneasiness. One would be apt to conclude by the Insensibility of your great Men, with regard to these Disorders, that they either think all things are going right, or that it is none of their Business to reform them if they are wrong. But upon whom then must we rely? Upon the ordinary Magistrates and their Underlings? Alas! These are so taken up with their Writings and their Registers, that they carry their Views no farther. And granting that they had Understanding and Virtue enough to see, and be touched with, these Evils; to reform so many Abuses, to remedy so many Disorders, and to inspire your Subjects anew with the Love of their Duty and Virtue, is an Undertaking far beyond their Capacity.

Our Dependence then is, That your Majesty would take a personal Concern in reforming all this Degeneracy. But I don't see that you are in the least touched with, or alarmed at it. This gives me greater Uneasiness still. For, to maintain the sovereign Authority, to mark out the proper Distinctions of different Ranks, and to regulate Families, are the Duties that (†) *Tyen* has devolved upon Emperors, and in which he does not immediately concern himself. In these sort of Matters we may safely say, that not to advance is to retire, and not to put Things on a good footing, is absolutely to let them fall to the Ground. (‡) *Yuan tse* says, that the exact Observation of the Rites, Justice, Uprightness, and Modesty, are the four Pillars of Government, and that if they fall, the Empire is soon ruined.

Perhaps it will be objected, that *Yuan tse* is a poor Author: I shall suppose he is. But it is at the same time the more shameful for others to be more ignorant than he. The Passage I cite is a certain Truth. *Tsin* suffered these four Pillars to fall, and immediately after he fell himself. Within thirteen Years after, his fine Court became a desert Hillock. Can we now pretend, that these four Pillars are in a firm State? No, that would be to flatter ourselves too grossly. We see those who are hatching the most pernicious Projects, already hugging and applauding themselves. Whispers and Surmises are buzzing about on all Hands. And why are not Things immediately regulated as they ought to be? Why is not the necessary Distinction of Power betwixt Sovereign and subordinate Authority adjusted, the Distinctions in Ranks settled, and the Order in Families regulated? Were this done, all those who form destructive Schemes, would lose the Hopes of succeeding. Suspicion and Jealousy would cease, and you would thereby give Posterity an easy Plan for their Conduct in Life: In short, by this, the Peace and Happiness of all your Empire would be secured for a long Time. To neglect Affairs of this Consequence, is the same Thing as if one should set adrift a Bark in a large and rapid River, without either Oars or Tackling. It must go down with the Stream, and the least Breath of Wind that moves the Billows makes it a Wreck. Are we not in the same Condition? And is not this a sufficient Reason to make any one send up deep Sighs?

The three first Dynasties subsisted for many Generations; that of *Tsin*, which succeeded to them, but for two short ones. Surely, if we regard his Qualities and Nature, there is nothing differs so much, as *Man* does from *Man*. Whence proceeded it, that the three Families *Hya*, *Shang*, *Chew*, had so many long and glorious Reigns, and the Dynasty of *Tsin*, which was always in Trouble, ended almost as soon as begun? One, and perhaps the chief Cause was this. Of old, if our Emperor had an hereditary Prince, they invested him as such with Solemnity. A Man of Distinction was nam'd, who conducted him to the (§) *Kyau* in Noon-day, that he might be presented to *Tyen*. All the great Officers of the Court followed them thither in their Habits of Ceremony, and respectfully presented themselves before the young Prince, to acknowledge him Heir of the Crown.

Tho' he was thus declared Successor to the Throne, if he passed by the Palace of his Father, he immediately alighted from his Horse, or out of his Chariot. Did he meet with a Palace of any of his Ancestors in his Journey? he instantly quickned his Pace. By all these Ceremonies, he was taught what Obedience and Duty he owed to his Parents; and thus they lost no Time in instructing him aright from his Infancy. (||) *Ching vang* could scarce walk, when he was put under the Tuition of *Chau kong* in quality of *Tay pau*, of *Chew kong*, in quality of *Tay fu*,

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(\*) A Gloss says, *Fen ti* was a good Prince. Posterity has much commended him: *Kya i* himself knew well that Things did not go so ill: But he wanted they should be better than they were, so he exaggerated them, that he might thereby the more affect and influence his Prince.

(†) Heaven.

(‡) An ancient Minister of the Kingdom of *Tsin*.

(§) A Place appointed for the solemn Ceremonies in honour of *Shang ti*, *Shang*, signifies *supream*, *ti*, Emperor, Lord, Master.

(||) An Emperor of the Dynasty of the *Chew*.



of *Tay kong* in quality of *Tay tse*. Every one of these three Lords had one under him, who never left the Prince. The first had the Charge of his Person, the second was his Governor, and the third his Preceptor. The Men then chosen to form a young Prince, were recommended by their Virtues, and were equally capable to give their Pupil proper Instructions. The Lessons they gave him were indeed frequent; but their principal Care was, that he should speak to none but those of unblemished Morals, and see nothing but what was decent and regular. In short, all the Officers of his Train were eminent for Virtue, Gravity and Knowledge, but at the same Time they were ingenious at improving every Opportunity for instructing him aright. A Man born and educated in the Country of either *Tsi* or *Tsu*, will infallibly have its Accent; and can a Prince, educated in the Manner I have described, fail of taking a virtuous Bent? *Confucius* rightly observes that Education is, as it were, a second Nature; and we naturally do that to which we are habituated.

When the hereditary Prince was become marriageable, he was made to pass successively thro' six Sorts of Apartments, which were so many Schools. In the first, which was to the East, he was instructed in the Rites, one by one; and above all, in the Duties he owed to his Relations, either by Blood or Alliance. He was there taught to prefer the nearest of Kin, to those more remote, when all other Circumstances were equal; to treat every one with Goodness, and to keep them united, every one in his proper Sphere. He then passed to the School of the *South*, where he was taught to make the proper Distinctions of Ages, and to inspire the younger with Respect for the elder; to establish Principles of Honour and Honesty among all, and thus, to root out the Seeds of Dissensions and Law-Suits. Then he went to the School of the *West*; where he was instructed in the Choice a Sovereign ought to make of the Officers, whom he puts in Posts: And the constant Maxims inculcated here, were to prefer Wisdom to all other Qualifications, to pay more particular Honour to such as had distinguish'd themselves by their Virtue; and to put none into great Posts, but Men of great Abilities and uncommon Merit, Men capable both to see and to promote whatever was for the Good of the Empire. From the School of the *West*, he passed to that of the *North*, where he learned the Distinctions of Stations, and the Regard a Sovereign ought to have, for such as are, by their great Employments and eminent Dignities, raised above the Level of Mankind, in order to preserve thereby the necessary Subordination of Ranks in a State, and to oblige every one to keep his own. Having passed through these four Schools, the Prince arrived at a fifth which was of a higher Order. There, under the most able Masters he had Instructions of greater Depth and Extent. After every Lesson, he retired with his *Tay fu* [or Governor] who caused him to give him an Account of it. If he had mistaken Things, the *Tay fu* put him right, and sometimes even chastised him. But his chief Care was, to inculcate in his Mind, and give him a clear Notion of, the most important Points. Thus, his Head and his Heart were improved at once; he became both able and virtuous, and he was qualified for Empire.

Did he begin to form himself? In place of the Officers I have named, he had others of less Authority, but no less Vigilance, who examined all his Actions. He had an Historian who was placed near him, on Purpose to take Notes of his Actions for the Day; another Person observed him during Meals, and told him immediately when ever any Indecency escaped him. In short, he had a Flag set up in public, whereon any one might fix what he judged proper to be proposed; on the other Side there was a blank Table, where he might write what he had a mind to propose should be corrected. But if any one had an urgent Remonstrance to make, he had no more ado but to beat a Drum, and he was instantly heard. All this was advantageous to the Public, without being disagreeable to the Prince; who, as he was educated from his Infancy in the Schools of Wisdom and Virtue, had nothing in him to reprehend, that could occasion to him either Grief or Shame. As he was, without Ceremony, instructed in the most wholesome and the most safe Maxims, he naturally took every thing in good Part.

Besides, the Ceremonies instituted on particular Seasons and Days; and which were never dispensed with by the Emperors under the three famous Dynasties, were of great Use both to the Prince and his Subjects. Some of them both taught and inspired Respect to the Sovereign, others, Obedience and Piety to Parents, and others, the Rules of Gravity and Decency. The most minute Observance had its allegorical Meaning; for Instance, it was usual for the Prince not to see an Animal dead which he had been accustomed to see when living, nor to taste of any Creature whose Groans he had heard when under the Knife of the Butcher; for this Reason, he never went near the Kitchens. The End of all this was, to encourage in the Prince and all about him, Sentiments of Goodness, Humanity and Compassion. If it is asked, why every one of our three famous Dynasties continued so long? I answer, from observing all these Measures, but more especially the right Education of the Heir to the Throne.

The Reverse happen'd under the *Tsin*, Politeness and Modesty were Virtues scarce known. The Man most respected, was he who yielded to no-body, who was most liberal of his injurious Language, and most grossly affronted the first who came in his Way. Thus, neither the Rites nor Virtue, but the fear of Punishment was the Prop of Government: So that *Cbau kau*, Governor to (\*) *Hu bay*, entertained him with nothing but this Maxim. To Day, Heads were cut off, to Morrow, whole Families were massacred. What was the Event? *Hu bay*, to Day, mounted the Throne, and to Morrow, killed one of his Subjects with his own Hand. The most respectful and just Complaints passed for seditious Murmurs, the most important Advices were treated as trifling,

(\*) This was the Name of the Son, whom *Shi wahang* appointed for his Successor; being the same who was afterwards called *Eul shi*.



trifling, and the Prince saw the Head of a Man struck off with the same Indifference as that of a Poppy. Must all this be attributed only to the Nature of the Prince? By no Means, the greatest Part of it was owing to his bad Education. Of two common Proverbs, one says, "If you have no Experience in an Affair yourself, follow those that have succeeded in it:" The other: "When the first Cart overturns, he who drives the second is upon his Guard."

Our three famous Dynasties flourished long; we know by what Means, we have nothing to do but to imitate these Means. The Dynasty of the *Tsin* was soon cut off; we know the crooked Paths they kept, and the Traces of their Steps are mark'd out to us, so let us shun them. To march in the Steps of the *Tsin*, is to perish like them. I have said, and say it again, that upon the Education of the hereditary Prince, depends the Fate of his Empire. But upon what does the Success of this Education depend? Upon two essential Points; First, that he be early instructed. Secondly, that it be by Men equal to the Office. When a Prince is instructed in Time, before he receives any Prejudices, good Impressions have all their Force upon his Heart. There remains nothing more then but to put Men about him, who can conduct themselves wisely and dexterously. On the other Hand, if this is delay'd, and if his Heart has got a wrong Bias, you may place worthy Men about him; who may follow him, attend him, and see his Faults, but rarely can they succeed so far as to correct them. The People of *U* and *Tse* are born with the same Inclinations, and in their Infancy resemble one another even in their Accents; but when they grow up, the Antipathy betwixt them is so great, that they can't endure one another. Whence proceeds this but from Education and Custom? I then had Reason to say, that in order to educate a Prince aright, he must be early put into good Hands; when this is done, the Success in a manner is certain, and consequently, the Empire is happy. For, as the *Schu king* says, the Happiness of all the People depends upon one Man. This is what ought to be thought of, and is what most immediately presses. (\*)

The most clear-sighted Mortals see what is past, much more distinctly than what is to come. But what is the end of our Rites? They are to prevent Disorders, as Chastisements are to punish them. Hence, every one must be sensible of the Importance, the Necessity, and the Effects of Punishments. To encourage the Practice of Virtue by Rewards, and to deter from the Pursuit of Vice by Punishments, are the two great Springs of Government. Our ancient Sages have made Use of them with a matchless Firmness, Constancy and Equity. I am far from rejecting either; but if I here tye myself down to the Rites, it is, because they tend to root out the Seeds of Vice before they spring up. They instruct the People by almost insensible Degrees, removing Vice, and directing us to Virtue so gently, that we ourselves scarce perceive the Motions. This made *Confucius* say; "It is a happy Talent to be able, to determine a Law-Suit aright; there are Men who can do this, and actually do it, but it would be much better, were there no Law-Suits at all." Let us search for the Means.

They who would aid a Prince in governing well, cannot, in my Opinion, do better, than to distinguish betwixt his real and principal Interests, and those which either are not necessarily so, or so only in Appearance: and may be neglected without hurting him. Upon this, more than any Thing else, depends a Prince's good or bad Success. What he chiefly ought to understand is, that great Alterations either for the better or the worse, are not made all in one Day, especially in great Empires; that they proceed by little and little from remote Causes, and that tho their Seeds are sown separately, yet their Effects appear all at once. If the ordinary Government depends only upon the Rigour of Laws, and the Severity of the Princes, these Numbers of harsh Laws and cruel Punishments, will be answered by the People with a load of Curses and Rebellions. If on the other Hand, the Prince regard the Rites and good Example, there will result from the People a sincere Union among themselves, and hearty Affections for his Person. *Sbi wahang* wished as much as *Ching tang* or *Vu wang*, to do Honour to the Hall of his Ancestors, by transmitting his Crown to latest Posterity. Yet *Tang* and *Vu* founded, each of them, a Dynasty that lasted for 6 or 700 Years, while that of *Sbi wahang* endured but for thirteen. The Cause of so vast a Difference was as follows.

The Empire may be compared to a Vessel beautiful and precious, but brittle. If it is always placed upon a compact, sure Place, it will continue whole for a long Time; without this Precaution it will be soon broken. Goodness, Justice, the Rites, and Music, composed a firm and compact Basis, upon which *Tang* and *Vu* established their Empire. Thus, their Dynasties continued for many Ages, and their Memories is, and ever will be, dear to us and our Posterity. As for *Sbi wahang*, he established his Authority solely upon Terror and Punishments, neither Virtue or Beneficence having the least share therein: Hence soon followed the Murmurs and Imprecations of his Subjects who hated him, as being their greatest Enemy; and he in Person had well nigh fallen a Sacrifice to so general a Hatred. His Son could not escape this Fate, and at once lost his Life and Empire. This Event is so late, that it may pass as one in our Days; so that I can produce no more interesting Proof to confirm what I have advanced.

A Sovereign may be compared to a Hall, the Officers of his Kingdom to the Steps of the Stairs that lead to it, and the People to the Ground, upon which these Steps stand. If the Hall is so raised above the Ground, that there are betwixt them, for Instance, nine handsome Steps in good Repair, the Look of it is grand; it has a good Effect, and we mount to it with Respect.

If,

(\*) Perhaps *Kia i*, to finish one of the Subjects of his groaning, took occasion here to mention some Circumstances relating to this Prince, whose Education was neglected, which the Histo-

rian has curtailed: However that may be, he enters on another Subject.



If, on the other Hand, it is almost on a Level with the Ground it stands on, and has a few pitiful Steps to lead to it; we naturally despise it, and enter the Hall without any Ceremony. The Application of this is easy, and our ancient Emperors understood it well. For which Reason they established that beautiful Variety of different Orders. Nearest their Persons they had the *Kong*, the *King*, and the *Ta fū*: (\*) Thro' different Parts of the Empire were dispersed the *Kong*, the *Hew*, the *Pé*, the *Tse*, the *Nan*, without counting the Officers of the different Cities, and a great Number of Subalterns.

The Sovereign, raised above all these Orders, appeared so grand and venerable, that all the Officers who approached him, being under the Shelter of his Majesty, were secure from all Insults. The Vulgar have a Proverb: *Tho' I killed the Rat, I had a Regard for the Vessel*. This Expression, tho' homely, may be applied here. 'Tis the Respect due to the Person of the Prince, that makes even the Horse he rides on, nay, the Straw his Horse eats, respected. Our ancient *Rituals* prohibited any one from looking into the Mouth of this Horse; and there was a Punishment determined, for any one that trod upon the Straw he was to use. And to this Day, whoever is sitting, when the Table or the Baton of the Prince passes by, instantly rises; they who are on foot compose themselves respectfully: If any one either in a Chariot or on Horse-back, meet the Chariot of the Prince, tho' empty, he immediately alights to the Ground. Can it then be wondered at, that our ancient Laws subjected, to the corporal Punishments they prescribed, only such as were of an Order inferior to the *Ta fū*? Doubtless our wise Legislators thought it in some Measure inconsistent with the Respect they owed the Prince, to subject to these Laws any one who by his Rank approached his Person; and always believed that as the Prince raised none to distinguished Ranks, but Men of true Merit, it would have been absurd to have employed any such Means to keep them in their Duty.

And indeed we don't find in Antiquity, that a wise Prince punished any one with Death. Matters are a good deal changed in that Respect; they whom our ancient Emperors called by way of Distinction, when they spoke to them, (†) *Pé fū*, *Pé kyew*, are liable to be capitally punished; even they, whom to this Day, our Emperors, when they meet them, honour with a Civility, are not exempted. The *Kong*, the *Hew*, and the *Vang* themselves, are subject to the most infamous Punishments, as well as the meanest People. Their Visages are branded, their Noses slit, their Hair cut off, they are whipt, exposed in open Roads, and are sometimes cut in Pieces. Nay, I must say more, it is no rare Thing to see Officers of the highest Rank suffer the most ignominious of all Punishments, by having their Heads cut off. To push things to such Extremities, to pay so little Regard to the highest Distinctions, besides that they are the means to make the Possessors of them take vile Inclinations, is going against the Proverb, and paying no Respect to the Vessel.

Another Proverb says, That let the Shoes be never so well made, they won't make a Pillow, and however neat the Cap may be, it won't mend the Shoes. Formerly, was an Officer broke for Corruption? His Fault was mitigated to the World, and it was only said, *that he had not duly attended the Rites*. Was he broke for Debauchery? The Harshness of that Expression was softened, and it was said, (‡) *that the Curtains about him were too thin*. If he was broke for Weakness or Incapacity to discharge his Duty, it was said, *that his subaltern Officers obeyed him ill*. When an Officer then was declar'd culpable, if the Fault was not of a high Nature, he immediately resign'd his Employment, and Matters went no farther. If his Crime was capital, as soon as the Prince had pronounced it to be such, the Officer turned towards the (§) North, made the ordinary Obeisances, first condemned, and then actually put, himself to Death. So much did Antiquity respect Greatness even when Guilty. But must they then escape? By no means; let them be cashiered, let them be punish'd, nay, put to Death, if they deserve it. But to seize them, to bastonade them, to bind them with Ropes, to deliver them up like the meanest private Persons to the vilest Officer of Justice; can be Spectacles profitable neither to the Small nor Great.

It is pernicious to the People, from whose minds it erases that excellent Maxim; *Respect those who are over you, and who by their Rank are venerable*. It is pernicious to the Great, in whom it damps those heroic Sentiments which their high Stations inspire. It is pernicious to the Prince, as naturally tending to weaken the Zeal of those upon whom principally depend both his Glory and Safety. For this Reason, the Rites have always recommended to a Prince, that he should treat his Ministers and other great Officers with Civility. Otherwise, the People will forget the Duty they owe to their Superiors; the Effects of which Neglect may be in Time felt by the Prince himself. The great Men will forget themselves, and seeing themselves outwardly degraded, will degrade themselves, if we may so use the Expression, inwardly too. No more will they entertain any Sentiments of Honour; but acquit themselves superficially of their Duty, and catch at every Occasion of plundering, selling, enriching themselves with, and neglecting the public Good. If their Prince is distress'd upon any occasion, they will take but little Concern, nay, perhaps aid the opposite Party underhand, and rejoice at his Difficulties; when they see the State and the Prince both in Danger, their first and only Care is to provide for their own Safety.

(\*) Perhaps the Historian has here likewise cut off some Circumstances: at least what follows, has no Connexion with what goes before; *Kya* in the Thread of this Discourse, speaks of the Regard a Prince ought to have for his Ministers, and other great Officers.

(†) *My grand Uncle*, as European Princes say, *my Cousin*, to Persons of a certain Rank.

(‡) Contrary to the Chinese Custom, it being scandalous there for Men and Women to be seen together in Common.

(§) The Emperor sat with his Back to the North, and his Face to the South.



*Yu yang* was a great Officer under *Chong bin*. When *Chi pé* had defeated and killed *Chong bin*, he offered an Employment to *Yu yang*, who accepted of it. *Chau* a little after overcame and put to Death *Chi pé*, upon which *Yu yang* appeared inconsolable, and did all he could to place the Son of *Chi pé* upon his Fathers Throne: History says, he made five different Attempts for that purpose, but all without Success. One asked of *Yu yang* his Motives for a Conduct so different from his former, with Regard to the two Princes he had served. *Chong bin*, answered he, used me almost like the most vulgar of his Subjects, tho' I was under him a great Officer; so I took but a vulgar Concern in his Fate. *Chi pé* treated me according to the Rank I held in his Kingdom, and my Grief for him is proportioned to his Respect for me.

And indeed, if an Officer, for whom a Prince shews a due Regard, is not zealous in that Prince's Service, he must be a Brute. When Affairs are on a right footing betwixt a Prince and an Officer, the latter forgets even the Interests of his own Family to serve those of the State. If an occasion happens that he may be a great Gainer, or must be a considerable Loser, he neglects all Advantages, and hazards every thing rather than to desert his Duty: In short, he sacrifices himself without Reserve to the Service of his Prince. But these Dangers are rare, when the Prince treats his great Men with the Regard prescribed by the Rites; for then there are no Differences among the Princes of the Blood, who after they have lived in Friendship, have the Satisfaction to die in Peace, and to be buried with their Fathers. There are no rebellious Wars among the tributary Princes, each lives and dies in Quiet at Home. Good Ministers seek for no Pretences to retire from Business, which, to their last Breath, it is their Pleasure and Duty to discharge. The Officers of War do the same, and willingly die on a Breach, or in the Frontiers of the Empire. This is meant by the Expression; *A wise and an accomplished Prince is safe in Ramparts of Gold*. A Comparison that shews the Relation betwixt him and his Grandees. Such were the happy Effects of their Union, betwixt our ancient Princes and their great Officers; but alas! Since their Days, this Maxim is much neglected, this good Custom is abolished. Is not this deplorable?

*The Emperor Kang hi's Remark.*] *Kya i*, like an able Minister, saw the means of preventing the least Troubles, reforming Abuses, and regulating Manners. No Time, no Station of Life escaped him. His Understanding like a flaming Torch lighted him thro' all. What an Unhappiness was it for a *Yuan* and a *Kyang* to banish so great a Man, and to lose the Benefit of his vast Capacity?

*Another Discourse of Kya i, to induce the Emperor Ven ti, to lay up Stores of Corn and Money.*

(\*) *QUAN* *tsé* speaking of the People, said, that they might be instructed and formed to good Morals, when there was wherewithal to feed them. But no Antiquity, even the most remote can produce an Instance, nor is there any to this Day, of a People continuing long faithful in their Duty, when they wanted the Necessaries of Life. It was an old saying, that a Man who did not labour the Ground was in danger to want Bread. A Woman who neglects to work at Stuffs, may be soon without Cloaths. The Necessaries of Life are not all to be had at all Times. If they are not frugally managed, they must run short. Such were the Maxims of Antiquity; Maxims which they practised, and whereof the exact Observance formed the Basis of their Government. Thus they never wanted Necessaries.

At present, Agriculture is neglected. Vast Numbers of People live upon the Fruits of the Earth, which very few cultivate. This is equal to a Famine. On the other Hand, Debauchery and Luxury increase; this is the same as if Troops of Robbers plundered the Empire. When Robbery and Famine prevail at once in a State, for what can one answer? Forty Years ago, the Dynasty of the *Han* began. They did not lay up the least Reserve, either publick or private. This awakens Compassion when one considers it. If Rain was ever wanting to fall just at the Time it was expected, the People were instantly alarmed. Was there a scarce Year? One bartered away his Degrees, another disposed of his Children. This is no unusual Thing. When a State is upon the Brink of Ruin, can the Father or the Master of it be without Dread? That Years of Famine may come, is to be expected. *Yu* and *Tang* have themselves passed thro' these shocking Proofs. Let us suppose, that by Misfortune, 2 or 300 Leagues of a Country proves barren. How shall this be remedied? At the same Time, suppose our Frontiers are invaded, and we are obliged to send large Armies to their Defence, how are our Troops to be maintained? There is War and Famine at once, and the Empire impoverished without having any Resource.

It commonly happens in these Cases, that the daring and the strong take advantage of the Opportunity to assemble, to plunder, and to rob where ever they can. While the weaker are for some Time supported by the Price they get for their Children, and then they perish miserably. These are not vain Terrors; you know they are not. You are but half Master of the Extremities of your Empire, which want but an Opportunity to revolt. If so a cruel Piece of News were brought you all of a sudden, how would you behave? Would it be then time to deliberate? Believe me, there is nothing of so great Consequence, as to lay up in Time good Magazines of Provisions: This will, as it were, secure your Empire. When the Treasury is full, and Provisions abound, every thing is calm; and the State is equally able to make a Defence, or to push a Conquest.

(\*) A Gloss says, that the erecting of the Granaries which the Emperor had in every City in China, was owing to this Discourse.



The first Step to this is, effectually to labour for the Re-establishment of Agriculture. Do all you can, that your Subjects may each live upon the Fruits of his own Culture. There are every where infinite Numbers of idle and vagabond People: And how many others improperly apply themselves to Employments useless in Society? Dispatch all such to cultivate the Lands which lie barren to the South. This is the best and the most profitable Employment. Nay, if it be necessary, don't spare even Force. Thus, you will have in all Parts, wherewithal to lay up Reserves of Provisions; and by procuring Plenty, you can assure the Repose of all your Empire, whereas, now it is in a dangerous and a melancholy Situation. This is what afflicts me. My presuming to give you this Advice, proceeds only from my Zeal for the Glory and Welfare of your State.

*The Emperor Kang hi's Remark.]* The Fundamentals of Government consist in instructing and feeding the People. When we behold with what Vehemence and Zeal, *Kya i*, in those Days, sought to promote the publick Good, we can't help saying; This is a Man whom we may justly call a proper Counsellor for a Prince.

*A Gloss.]* In Consequence of this Discourse, *Ven ti* published Declarations to animate the People to Agriculture; and revived the ancient Rite of cultivating the Earth with his own Hands, to give them an Example.

Chang, surnamed *Li vang*, was the last of the Children of *Kau ti*, Founder of the Dynasty of the Han. When his elder Brother *Ven ti* became Emperor, he made him King of *Whay nan*. The new King afterwards committed many Faults, and *Ven ti*, who was naturally mild, took no notice of them, till wearied out by his repeating them, he ordered a *Tsyang kyun* (\*), who was at the same time a *Hew*, to write the following Reprimand to the Vang of *Whay nan*. Tho' the *Tsyang kyun* wrote with his own Hand, it was in Terms, which shewed that it was by the Emperor's Orders.

GREAT King. I have heard often of your Resolution, your Justice, your Continence, Honour, and other good Qualifications; that is to say, that (+) *Tyen* treating you as one of its Favourites, has crowned you with its Gifts, and given you Qualifications to form you for a (‡) *Shing*; this is what you ought carefully to attend to: But it would seem by your Conduct that you do not, since you are ungrateful for the Gifts of *Tyen*. Our present Emperor no sooner mounted the Throne, but he made you the Vang of *Whay nan* from a *Hew*. You thought yourself so little deserving of that Honour, that it was with Difficulty you accepted it. However, he invested you with the Kingdom, which on his Part was a singular Favour. Since that Time, you have never appeared at his Court; you only once made a Step to ask Permission for that purpose, but far from demanding it in the regulated Forms, and with the Respect due to a Sovereign; you did not even exactly observe the Regard due from a younger to an elder Brother.

Besides, you have of our own Authority, and as it were to shew its Extent, put to Death a Person of the Rank of *Chu hew*. Our Emperor is unwilling to enquire into it, but this is an extraordinary Indulgence. The Emperor by our Laws, has the sole Right of filling up the great Employments in every Kingdom; yet you, rejecting a Minister regularly nominated by him, presumptuously demanded that you might be admitted to appoint another. Our Emperor was willing to dispense with the Law, and to indulge you in this. Could there be greater Condescendence. You next attempted, as it were, to degrade the *Chu hew* in your Territories. You insisted upon their keeping Guard in Linnen Habits at *Ching ting* the Burying-place of your (||) Mother. This the Emperor would not permit, but it was as it were degrading yourself, when you was thus deprived of the Homage of the *Hew*; so that in this, he shewed a Regard to your Dignity. This is a fresh Obligation you lie under to him.

Reason would teach, that you ought to exert yourself in answering the Goodness of the Emperor, by an exact Observance of all your Duties: On the contrary, by the Licentiousness both of your Words and Actions, you give him fresh Matter of Offence, and ruin your own Character throughout the Empire. This indeed is judging very ill. All that your Family or your self now possess, comes originally from your Father *Kau ti*. He many Times endured the Inclemencies of Air, exposing himself to the Dangers of Battles and Sieges, where he was covered with glorious Wounds. Why did he suffer this? It was to establish his Family. Instead of applying yourself seriously to imitate so worthy a Father, instead of performing the *Tsi* and other Ceremonies, which may revive in your Mind the Ideas of his Virtues and Exploits; you are forming an extravagant Project of degrading the *Hew*, who are dependant on you, to the Rank of the common People. To degenerate thus into Pride and Avarice, is not to perform the Part of a worthy Son. Not to be able to maintain things upon the same Footing on which you received them from your Father, is to betray a want of Capacity and Wisdom. To make a Point of guarding the Sepulchre of your Mother, and to neglect that of your Father, is to shew a Respect for the one and not for the other, and thus to overthrow all good Order. In your repeated Violations of the Emperor your Masters Orders, where is your Submission and Obedience? In your Neglect of Duty to your elder Brother, where is your Observance of the Rites? In your inflicting on your

(\*) The highest Degree of the Officers of War.  
244 Heaven.

(†) A Man of the first Order.

(||) She was not Mother to *Ven ti*.



your greatest Officers infamous Punishments, where is your Clemency? In shewing the greatest Contempt for the *Vang* and the *Hew*, that you may honour and raise a worthless young Debauchee, whose only Merit is his Sword, where is your Understanding? In short, in neglecting all Study, in slighting all Council, in running blindly into every Suggestion of your Passion, and Caprice, where is your Conduct? Great Prince, beware! The Way you tempt is dangerous, and may lead you to your Ruin, nay, if I may so say, you degrade your self from the Dignity of *Vang*.

Instead of staying at your own Court, there with Majesty to receive the Honours due to your Dignity, you flutter about, and piqueing yourself upon equalling *Mong paen*, you affect to act the Bully; how indecent is that? I repeat it once more, all your Steps are so dangerous, that if you take not Care in Time, I dare pronounce, that (\*) *Kau ti* will receive no more Offerings from your Hands. Formerly *Cheu kong* put to Death *Qyan shu*, and imprisoned *Tsay shu*, in order to secure the Dynasty of the *Cheu*. *Wen kong* Prince of *Tsi*, put to Death his own Brother for Rebellion. *Tsin shi wabang* put to Death two of his Brothers, and sent his Mother a great way off, in order to secure the Peace of the Empire. *Kin wang*, whom your Father *Kau ti* had made *Vang* of *Tay*, defended that State very ill against the *Hyong nu*; and *Kau ti* deprived him of his Charge. The *Vang* of *Tsi pe* took it in his Head to raise Troops: Our Emperor did himself Justice. Such were the former Proceedings at the Court of *Tsi* and *Cheu*. We have likewise taken a View of what has been transacted in our Days, by the *Tsin* and the *Han*. And will you pretend to dispute with the Emperor, regardless of these Examples, both ancient and modern? Ridiculous!

If you do not amend, your Quality of being the Emperor's Brother, cannot exempt you from being judged by the Laws. If Things come to that Pass, you are infallibly ruin'd, and your Officers great and small, especially your Ministers, must be involv'd in your Fate. To lose in this Manner, at least, your Rank and your State, to become the Object of Compassion to those of the meanest Stations, to see your Officers punished, and draw the Scoffs of a whole Empire upon your own Person, in short, to be a Stain to the Memory of your god-like Father, is what must be very disagreeable to your Spirit. Set then about a Change. Write a respectful Letter to your Brother, and acknowledge your Fault in these Terms: "(+) I had the Unhappiness to lose my Father in my Infancy, the Troubles of the *Lyu* then succeeded, and lasted for some Time. Since your Accession to the Throne, that happy Change and your Favours puff'd me too much up: Blinded by Pride, I have committed many considerable Faults, which, when I reflect at present upon, fill me at once with the most sensible Grief, and the best grounded Fear. 'Tis with these Sentiments, that humbly prostrate upon the Earth, without daring to raise myself, I wait for the Chastisement I deserve."

If you behave thus, the Emperor, as he is your Emperor, will allow himself to be mollified; and as he is your Brother, will be highly pleas'd at your return to your Duty. Each of you will possess your high Ranks with a mutual Contentment. This is what I wish, and sure tis of the greatest Importance to you, that seriously weighing my Advice, you instantly follow the Course I suggest; for if you hesitate long, the Arrow will be discharged, and it will be in vain to endeavour to stop it.

*A Gloss.* *Li wang* was discontented at this Letter, and held on his former Way; soon after, he was judg'd in Form, and banish'd.

*The Advice that Kya i proposed under the Emperor Ven ti, to diminish the Power of the tributary Princes by dividing their Estates, was renew'd by Shau tso, under King ti, the succeeding Emperor. The Matter was brought into the Council, whereupon the U and Tsi revolted. King ti retracted, and sacrificed Chau tso, as if he had given the Advice. There is nothing in the Discourse of Chau tso on this Occasion, but what we have already seen in that of Kya i; so I but just mention it, and proceed to other Discourses of that Minister.*

*A Discourse upon War, address'd to the Emperor King ti.*

I HAVE heard, that since the Accession of the present Dynasty to the Throne, the (†) *Hu lu* have made many Incursions into our Frontiers, and always carried off a Booty, either more or less considerable. In the time of (§) *Kau bew*, in one Irruption they forced several Cities, ravaged a large Extent of Country, carried off a great Quantity of Cattle, and either killed or made Slaves of many of the Emperor's Subjects. They returned some time after by the same Quarter; we oppos'd them with some Troops, but we were defeated; and a good many of our Officers killed upon the Spot. It is a common saying, that "Victory inspires even Cowards with Courage. And a defeated Army can scarce support itself. Since the Days of *Kau bew*, these Barbarians entered thrice by *Long si*, and came always off with Advantage. At present it is otherways; Our Troops that lie on that Side of the Empire, sustained by the Protection of (||) the *She shi*, and directed by your wise Orders, have revived the Courage of the neighbouring People, and we are in a Con-

dition

(\*) He here insinuates to *Li wang*, that he may come to lose his Life. What follows proves this to be the Sense.

(†) The Chinese Expression is equivalent to this: They say literally, *your Subject had the Unhappiness*; and above, *for I have heard their Expression is, your Subject has heard*. The Chinese, not excepting the *Vang*, make use of this Term when they speak to the Emperor.

(†) The same, who by way of Contempt, are called *Hyong nu*, *Hyong* signifying *Wicked*, *Cruel*; *Nu* a *Slave*.

(§) The Queen Dowager of *Kau ti*.

(||) This appears to be a tutelar Spirit; but the Chinese are so little agreed upon the precise Signification of these two Letters, that I chose not to translate them.



dition not only to resist, but to conquer them. There have passed already several Actions, in which we defeated the Barbarians, tho' they had the Advantage in Numbers.

SIR, The Difference of this Success is not owing to the People of *Long si*, who of themselves are not more nor less brave than they were, but to the Generals and Officers. A Book entitled *The Art of War* says, "That there are no People, however brave, who can be called invincible, but there are Generals, of whom it may be said, that they never were beaten." Nothing is then of greater Importance, either for the Reputation of your Arms, or the Safety of your Frontiers, than the Choice of your General.

Success in  
War to what  
owing.

Of the Choice  
of Ground.

Men.

and Arms.

Maxims of  
different  
States.

Advantages  
of the *Hu lu*  
over the  
*Chinese*.

and of the  
*Chinese* over  
them.

Besides this Choice, there are three other Things of the utmost Importance to the Success of Battle, and to which a good General ought to attend. First, the Ground, which he ought to know perfectly well, in order to be able to make all Advantages of its Situation. Secondly, that his Men become Warlike, by a continual Exercise of their Arms. Thirdly, that the Arms, of which there are different Sorts, be all excellent. As to the Ground, if the Country is incumbered with Rocks, Woods or Rivers, or tho' level, if covered with Bushes, and rank Grass, he ought to employ his Infantry; since a Soldier on Foot is then better worth two others, either on Horseback or in a Chariot. On the contrary, if he meets with a plain level Field, or a Tract of high lying Ground, without either Woods or Rocks, he ought to employ his Cavalry, for then a Horseman or a Charioteer is worth ten foot Soldiers. If the Risings of the Ground are frequent, the Valleys narrow, and separated with a great many Rivers, the best Arms are Bows, shorter Arms are then of small Use; nay, of so little, that one good Archer is then worth a hundred Soldiers otherwise armed. Where they meet with Thickets and Woods, they must have recourse to their Hatchets, for then one good Hatchet-man is worth more than two Pike-men. In Defiles and Windings, the Sword and Dagger are of use: A Man thus armed is then worth ten Archers.

As to the Men themselves, the subaltern Officers ought to be chosen, and the Soldiers well disciplined. Otherwise they will know nothing of Encampments or Marches, it will be easy to disperse, and impossible to rally them; they will let slip every Advantage, and neither have Caution to prevent foreseen, nor Dexterity to extricate themselves from unforeseen Dangers. They will not know when to obey the Signal, either of the (+) Drum or the Kettle-Drum; and a hundred such raw undisciplined Men are not worth two.

As to their Armour, if offensive, it must be sound, handsome, and sharp. If defensive, it must be strong and thick. You may as well expose a Man naked to the Waist, as allow him to carry a bad Cuirass: A Bow that wants force, is not so good as a Dagger. An Arrow that does not fly straight, is as bad as none. And if it does fly, what is the use of it if it has not Force to pierce? A Man had as good be without Steel, as to have it blunt and bad. If a General does not watch over this, and if his Soldiers are but ill armed, five Men are not so good as one. The Book I have cited goes on. "To lead on an Army ill provided with Arms, is to carry Men to be butchered. A Prince who puts a General at the Head of wretched Troops that are to fight, in Effect, delivers them up to the Enemy. And the General, who neglects those Points we have touched upon, is a Traytor to his Prince: In short, a Prince who makes an ill Choice of a General, abandons his Dominions to his Enemy. Their Maxims are very just, and ought to be weighed."

'Tis farther said, and justly too, that as there is a Difference betwixt great and little, between strong and weak, between what is difficult and dangerous, and what is easy and favourable, a Man must understand and attend to all these Circumstances, before he can determine aright how he is to act. Different States ought to have, and generally have, different Manners. The Maxims of a small Kingdom are to yield to a greater, that it may procure Peace. The common Maxim of little States is, whenever Occasion serves, to unite against a greater Power. The Maxim of our Empire is, always to oppose Barbarians against Barbarians.

The *Hu lu*, with whom we have now to do, have three Advantages which we want. Their Country is full of Mountains and Ditches, to which their Horses are accustomed, and in which neither our Horses nor Chariots can enter, far less, act. These People are accustomed to make irregular IncurSIONS from their Youth, and while they are galloping over Mountains and Plains, know how to shoot very exactly from their Bows. As neither our Horses or Chariots can come at them, how can our poor foot Soldiers make Head against them? Besides the *Hu lu* fear neither Wind nor Rain, Hunger nor Thirst. They are much fitter for Fatigue, and more hardened to Labour than our People. But when we engage them in a plain open Field, we have great Advantages. The Evolutions of our Cavalry and Chariots put them in Disorder. Our large Bows do Execution at a great Distance; their's make no Impression upon us. When we come even to handy Blows, our Men armed with good Cuirasses, keeping still their Ranks, with either their Swords or their Pikes in their Hands, and sustained by our Archers, soon rout the Barbarians. When our Men skirmish or fight ever so little at a Distance, the defensive Arms of these Barbarians being made of nothing but Skins or Wood, are soon broke to Pieces. If both Sides dismount and engage Hand to Hand, fighting only with short Arms, these *Hu lu* resist us still less. As they are accustomed only to fight on Horseback, they have not Resolution enough to maintain a Dispute on Foot.

By this Reckoning, we have seven Advantages over these Barbarians, for three that they have over us. If we add to this, that we can easily bring ten Men into the Field for their one; the Victory appears still more certain. However we may always say with great Truth, that Arms are fatal Instruments,

(\*) A Gloss says, That the Signal for Battle was given by \* Drums; and for a Retreat, by Kettle-Drums.



Instruments, and War is a dangerous Trade. The greatest and the strongest may there, in an instant, be levelled with the meanest and the weakest; and it sometimes happens, that by too determined a Resolution to conquer, a Defeat becomes total and irretrievable. Then Repentance is too late. To tread warily, and to leave nothing to Fortune, is always a good Maxim. There are some of these Strangers that voluntarily submit to our Laws; of these may be form'd a Body of several Thousands. They are a Race as hardy and as laborious as the *Hu lu*: They have all their Manners and all their Qualities; and in my Opinion, may be of great Use. We ought to provide them well in Arms both offensive and defensive, and put at their Head one of our best Officers; who is beforehand a little acquainted with their Manners, and who knows how to gain them: We ought to recommend to this General, to employ those Troops, only in Defiles and Passes, and to make Use of others in open Fields. This in my Opinion is the Way to hazard nothing. Tradition informs us, that an understanding Prince makes his Advantage of every thing, even of a Fool's Words. What am I, but a Man without Wisdom, and without Merit? However I don't despair, but that your Majesty's Wisdom will find something in this Discourse that may be of Use.

*Another Discourse of the same Shan tso, to the same Emperor, upon the Manner of securing the Frontiers of the Empire.*

I FIND that under the Dynasty of the *Tsin*, *Sbi wbang* from the North, attacked *Hu me* (+) and *Yang ywe* in the South: He took Arms, not to guard his Frontiers and secure his Subjects, but to gratify an unbounded Pride and an insatiable Avarice: Thus before he saw his ambitious Designs take effect, he threw the whole Empire into Disorder. It is a true Saying, that to make War upon an Enemy with whose Strength or Weakness we are unacquainted, is to hazard all. *Sbi wbang* found this true by Experience. The Country of the *Hu me* is very cold, the Bark of the Trees there are about three Inches thick. The Men subsist themselves upon the Flesh of Creatures half raw, and drink nothing but Milk; the Skins of the Beasts are hairy and thick, and the Skins of the Men are as hard in Proportion, and as well formed to endure excessive Colds. *Yang ywe* on the contrary, is a Country where is almost no Winter, and where the Heats are long and violent, but don't much affect the Inhabitants who are accustomed to them. The Troops of *Sbi wbang* could not bear the Rigour of these Climates. They who carried them their Provisions perished upon the Road; and no body went to such a Country, but with as much Unwillingness, as if they had been going to receive a Punishment.

In effect, they who were condemned to this Service were, 1st, Officers who had been faulty; 2d, Those who had married in order to be free from the Authority of their Fathers; and lastly, They who had been branded with Infamy, whose Father and Mother had been People who act by Violence, and, contrary to their own Inclinations, are by no means to be depended upon. The Method of Rewards is much better; where there is a Prospect either of Preferment or Spoil, the Soldiers and common People will rush upon the Fire, and expose themselves to the greatest Dangers. But in these Expeditions of *Sbi wbang*, both Soldiers and Subjects had a thousand Dangers to encounter, and no Reward to expect. Thus every one foresaw the impending Misfortunes of the Dynasty of the *Tsin*. No sooner had *Cbing shin* given the Signal and taken the Field, after possessing himself of *Ta tse*, but the People flocked to him from all Sides, as the Waters of a River follow their natural Course. Thus ended the Expeditions, to which Ambition, Pride and Avarice prompted *Sbi wbang*.

It is not surprising that the *Hu* attempt frequent Incurfions into our Frontiers. The Reason is this; They are a People not indebted to the Culture of their Grounds, either for Food or Rayment. Flesh and Milk furnish them with the former, and the Skins of Beasts with the latter. They have neither Towns nor cultivated Fields, nor settled Habitations, but wander up and down like Savages. Do they find in a Spot Pasture and Water for their Herbs? There they stop. Are they in want of Grass? They decamp and seek it where it is to be found. In short, to come and to go costs them nothing. It is their ordinary Employment. Let us then suppose, that this Nation when hunting, should make an Irruption into our Frontiers in several Places: The Princes of *Ten*, of *Tay*, of *Sbang kyun* and *Long si*, who are upon the Boundaries of these Lands, have so few Subjects to oppose them, that if your Majesty does not send Troops thither, the People in these Quarters must be exposed; and if not supported, Fear may induce them to submit to the Enemy. To send Troops, is attended with another Inconveniency: A few will not answer the Design; and a large Army takes a considerable time to be drawn together. Nay, when it comes into the Field, the *Hu* are retired too far to attack them. Constantly to keep up a large Body of Troops there, is a vast Expence. To disband them, is inviting the *Hu* to renew their Incurfions. These are the Inconveniences that have long subsisted, and attend the Empire upon that Quarter.

In order to obviate them, nothing seems to be more expedient, than to establish new Colonies all along our Frontiers, to encourage Families to settle there, by giving them the Property of Lands. For this effect, Fortresses ought to be built, surrounded with good Walls, and furnished with (\*) Stones and other Arms. Every one ought to have a reasonable Extent of Land, and to be placed as near the Passes upon the Frontiers, as Conveniency will allow of: And each Dis-

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trict,

(+) The Names of Countries.

(\*) The Chinese says *Pau*, which signifies a Machine for throwing Stones: But how it was made, or how it threw the Stones no body knows. Ever since they have had Cannons in China, they

likewise call them *Pau*; but there is this Difference betwixt the two Chinese Characters, that the first is *Ta she*, and the second *Ho pau*. Now *She* signifies a Stone, *Ho* Fire. *Pau* signifies *Wrapped up*, to wrap up, &c.



trict, where at least a thousand Families ought to be settled, should be distinctly marked out by Rivers and other Boundaries. For this Effect, Houses must be first built, and Provisions made for whatever is necessary for Agriculture; then let such as are convicted of certain Crimes, and such as have by some Act of Grace escaped their deserved Punishments, be sent thither. As there will not be sufficient to People the Country, certain Criminals may have Power to ransom themselves, by sending certain Numbers of Slaves both Men and Women, who shall go thither. Honour may likewise be decreed, for such as shall contribute voluntarily a certain Number. In short, if all this is not sufficient for the Purpose, certain Honours and Rewards must be proposed to such as will willingly go; and Magistrates must be ordered, to furnish such as are unmarried with the Means of maintaining Wives, without which, it will be difficult to fix them there.

Not only every Family must be furnished with what is necessary for Agriculture, but Laws must be established that are advantageous for the Society in general. For Example; if the Enemy shall make any Inroads upon our Lands, and any of them be taken Prisoners, the Magistrates shall be obliged immediately to pay a reasonable and a fixed Price for the Property of half the Slaves thus taken, which Property shall devolve to those who have taken them. Thus these People, partly from a Prospect of Advantage, partly from their own mutual Defence, as Allies and Relations, will become hardened, and ready to fall upon the *Hu*, if they shall rebel. As they will be accustomed to the Climate from their Youth, and acquainted with whatever relates to these Barbarians, they will the less fear them, and be more able either to restrain or conquer them, than any Troops sent thither for that Purpose. Thus you will shun the Inconveniences that attended *Shi wbang*, and must attend every Prince that sends out his Armies upon such an Expedition. You will secure your Frontiers by procuring them real Advantages, which will encrease in progress of Time; and these Establishments when made, will leave a grateful Remembrance of your Virtues and Glories to future Ages.

*The Emperor having agreed to this Advice, Shau tso drew up the following Memorial, which he presented to his Majesty.*

GR EAT Prince. I hear with Joy, that your Majesty is determined to secure your Frontiers by establishing Colonies, which for the future will save a vast deal of Expence and Trouble. You cannot give your People a more solid Proof of your Goodness, than by thus cutting off all Occasions of future Inconveniences. There is no more now to be done, but that your Officers second your Majesty's good Intentions; and like wise and distinguished Men, manage the Inclinations, and win so upon the Affections of the People who are first transplanted, that they shall have no occasion to regret the leaving their native Country. In this Case, I dare assure you, that there will be no want of Colonists; and that in a short time, all the poorer Sort of People will encourage one another, and assemble themselves to go thither.

Besides these Colonies will answer two Purposes: The one is the Cultivation of desert Countries; the other, the Security of the Frontiers. With Respect to the first Point, what is to be observed according to the Method of the Ancients, is as follows: Before any City is built, or any District regulated, Care must be taken to pitch upon a healthy Place where the Waters are good, and where the Soil, by the Beauty of its Trees and the Quantity of its good Vegetables, is promising and inviting. When such a Spot is fixed upon, then the City may be built, and its Dependances on all Quarters marked out: The good and arable Lands must be divided, and each one's Possession bounded by hedges of Communication. Every House ought at least, to have one Parlour, and two convenient Chambers in good repair, secured with sufficient Doors, and tolerably well furnished; so that these new Inhabitants finding there whatever is necessary, may the more easily forget their ancient Dwellings, and more cheerfully improve their new Settlements. Each of these Cities ought to be provided with Physicians and (\*) U's; the one to take care of the Sick; the other of Burials and funeral Ceremonies. Marriages must be promoted, and the Customs of mutual Rejoicings and Condolences, attended with mutual Assurances, encouraged; Burying-Places must be assigned them; in short, nothing must be wanting that is requisite to their fixed and lasting Settlement.

With Respect to the second Point, which is the Security of the Frontiers; what I have farther learned of the Ancients to be necessary on this Head, is as follows. That all the Families of the District be divided into fives. That every five Families be under one Head. And that every fifty Families be incorporated in a *Li*, which is to be under a Chief of greater Distinction than the former. That four *Li* thus formed may make a *Lyew*, which shall be under an Officer. In short, that ten *Lyew* may compose an *I*, which is to have a Commandant, who shall be superior to all the other Officers. That the Officers be Men who are well acquainted with the Country, and the most proper to make themselves popular. That every subaltern Officer shall have regulated Times, when those under him are to perform their Exercises, to which all the younger People must duly repair. That every Officer shall be at the Head of his respective Troops when they march against an Enemy. That the People of one District shall not be allowed to settle in another, but that being accustomed one with another, they may live in Harmony together. Thus, if an Alarm should spread at Night, they will the better know one another's Voices in order to their mutual Assistance. In the Day-time, during the Heat of Combat, they will more easily distinguish each other; and tho' at a Distance, will more readily expose themselves even to Death

(\*) It is plain, that this Expression has not the Signification of a Sorcerer or Magician, which it has elsewhere.



for their common Safety. That to all these Regulations, Rewards be appointed for the Brave, and Punishments for the Cowardly: Thus in a short Time, we may hope to see Soldiers, who will never turn their Backs upon an Enemy.

*Under the Empire of the said King ti, the King of U resolved to attack the King of Lyang. As he had no lawful Reason for so unjust a Proceeding, Mey ching endeavoured all he could to dissuade him, and for that end drew up the following Discourse.*

SIR; It is a common and a true Saying, that if a Prince is accomplished, every thing succeeds well with him. If he is inconsistent with himself in any Point, a single Slip will make him miscarry; and that Miscarriage often brings him to the Brink of Ruin. *Sbun*, notwithstanding he was afterwards Emperor, did not possess a (\*) Foot of Ground. *Yu*, whose Jurisdiction did not extend over ten Families, saw himself Master of the whole Empire, and of, I don't know how many other Princes. *Ching tang* and *Va vang* were born Princes, yet neither of them was possessed of ten Leagues of Ground. Each of these in his Life-time became Emperor, and Founder of an illustrious Dynasty. What was the Secret of their Success? In a few Words it was this; Being careful to do nothing that could make them blush before *Tyen* (†), or that could hurt them in the Affections of the People, they always followed the Dictates of that right Reason they had received from *Tyen*, and looked upon themselves as the common Fathers of their Country. Their Subjects on their Part, answer'd this Conduct with suitable Sentiments of Affection. There were none in Posts during their Time, who were afraid of ruining themselves, for making a plain and frank Declaration of whatever they thought conducive to the Public Well-fare. Thus, these great Princes met with Success in their Life-time, and with Fame and Veneration after their Deaths.

I wish I were able to discover the Bottom of my Heart, and to shew the Zeal from which I speak. I know of how small Importance I am, and how much Reason I have to fear you will slight my Council. However, I beg you will give some Attention, or rather awaken the Sentiments engraven upon your own Heart on this Occasion. Suppose there were a Rock equally high and rugged, at whose Foot there lay an unfathomable Abyss. Suppose that a Man loaded with a vast Weight, were placed upon the Extremity of this Rock in such a Manner, that half hanging, half standing, both he and his Load were prevented from falling entirely, only by a (‡) small weak Thread. What Man in such a Situation, seeing on the one Hand that his Fall was hindered by next to nothing, and on the other, that if he did fall he must infallibly perish; who I say, would not tremble? And yet, allow me to say it, this is very near the Condition you are actually in: But it is only in your own Power to escape the Danger. The Enterprize into which you are engaged, is infinitely (§) difficult and dangerous. Give it up, and in the Twinkling of an Eye, you may be assured of a (||) permanent Prosperity. To be able to pass the rest of your Days in Peace, in Joy, and the Possession of a powerful State, and yet to engage your Forces in an Enterprize equally painful and fruitless, allow me to say, is what I cannot comprehend the Meaning of.

Some People there are whom their own Shadows frighten, and to shun the Sight of it, are always foolishly turning and returning. But would they peaceably remain in a Shade, the Phantom would disappear, and they would be easy. The best Method for a Man who is afraid to be over-heard, is to hold his Peace. The Man who is afraid his Project should be known, had best abandon it. Is boiling Water upon a large Fire? To blow upon that Water with one's Mouth, to allay the Boiling would be fruitless; the only Way would be to take away the Fuel; any other Method would be (—) ridiculous. The Happiness of Prince and People both, depends upon certain Foundations, which ought to be well established. Their Unhappiness likewise has its Seeds, but the wise Man crushes its Growth. To succeed in this, the most minute Beginnings must be watched. For that which appears but an inconsiderable Matter at first, in a short time, becomes important and weighty. The Water which distils from the Mountain *Tay*, in a long Course makes itself a Passage thro' the Stone, which one would think had been wrought by a Chissel. A Cord frequently drawn up and down thro' a Plank in the same Place, becomes at last two Pieces, tho' it is longer a doing than if it had been cut by Steel. In short, that Tree, which, tho' now ten Foot in Circumference, was raised from a very small Seedling, when tender and young, was every way flexible, and might have been easily plucked up. But how vastly different is it now from what it then was? (†) Evil is of the same Nature. Think upon this, my Prince, I conjure you, think upon it seriously. Do not begin to abandon, nor change the wholesome Maxims of your Ancestors; Such a Conduct never goes unpunished.

*The Emperor Kang hi's Remark.*] When this Remonstrance was presented, the Design of *Vang* had not yet taken Air; and very few People were acquainted with it: For this Reason, *Mey ching*, thro' all this Piece, speaks in too general, and sometimes in dark Terms. But *Vang* understood him.

(\*) The Chinese Expressions: He had not so much Ground as could serve him for erecting a Stile, or driving a Stake.

(†) Heaven

(‡) The Chinese says, a Hair.

(§) The Chinese Expression is: There is as much Danger as an Egg is in, to be crushed by a heavy Weight, and as much

Difficulty, as there would be in scaling Heaven.

(||) Orig. As firm as the Mountain *Tay*.

(—) The Chinese is: It would be as it were to run with Faggots, in order to quench a Fire.

(†) A Gloss. *Vang* had no Regard to this Remonstrance; he made War and perished.



We have already seen the Declaration which the Emperor Vu ti made, by which he demanded of the wise Men presented to him, especially of Tong chong shu, proper Advice about Government and other Points. The Answers of Chong shu were so long, that I shall only give some Passages.

*Extracts of the Answers of Chong shu, to the Emperor Vu ti.*

YOUR Majesty, in your Declaration, was graciously pleased to command, that some Information may be given you about what is called the order of (\*) *Tyen*, (Heaven) and about the (†) Nature and Affections of Man. This is a Task to which I own myself very unequal. All I can do, in Consequence of your Commands, is to inform your Majesty, that, after a serious Examination of past Events, particularly of those in which we are instructed by the (‡) *Chun tshu*; nothing seems to me more capable to inspire Princes with a filial and respectful Awe, than the Method in which *Tyen* uses to deal with Men. When ever a Dynasty begins to deviate from the right Ways of Wisdom and Virtue, *Tyen* commonly sends them some Chastisement in order to reclaim them. If the reigning Prince pays no Regard to such a Warning, it employs Prodigies and extraordinary Appearances to inspire him with a just Dread. If all these are ineffectual, and the Prince persists; his utter Ruin is near.

By this Conduct of *Tyen*, it is plain that his Heart is full of Tenderneſs to Princes, and that he means only to reclaim them by Correction. In effect, his Design is to aid and support them; and he never abandons them, till their Disorders proceed to the last Extremities. The most essential Point then for a Prince, is, that he use his utmost Efforts, First, to receive Instruction and Lights in whatever relates to his own Duties. Secondly, to make so good Use of them, that he may daily advance in Merit and Virtue. Thus, and no otherways may a right Change be wrought, and happy Consequences expected. "Do not relax in your Endeavours Day nor Night," says the *Shi king*; "Use your utmost Efforts," says the *Shu king*: Would not all this seem to say, that there is a Necessity to put a Violence upon one's Self in these Cases?

The Dynasty *Chew* was wretchedly torn in Pieces, under the Reign of *Yew wang* and *Li wang*. But when there arose a Prince, who incessantly called to Mind the Virtues of his Ancestors, and animated himself by their Example, to support the Glory of that Empire he had received from their Hands, who applied himself as well to remedy the Abuses, as to supply the Defects of Government; (§) *Sbang tyen* assisted him, and furnished him with able Ministers. Hence he always succeeded. Under him the good Government of the first *Chew* revived. He was a Subject of the Poets in his own Time, and after his Death, his Memory was celebrated; as it continues to be to this Day, by Elogies.

Such is the ordinary Effect of a sincere Attachment for Virtue, and of that continual Application recommended by the *Shu king*. What this Emperor obtained by these Means, another might have obtained in the same Manner: For tho' Honour commonly attends Virtue; yet, properly speaking, it is not Virtue that raises the Man, says *Confucius*, on the contrary, it is the Man, that can give a value to the Virtue. The Peace or Disquiet of States, their Ruin or their Glory depends upon Princes. When any one of them loses his Empire, this Event is not to be attributed to the Order of *Tyen*, who deprives them of their Power to maintain themselves on the Throne, but to their own Imprudence and Disorders: I know, that it is very truly said, that the Foundation of a Monarchy is a thing beyond the Forces of one Man to compass, that it is a Boon from *Tyen*, perhaps the greatest he makes to Mankind, and that the Consent of the Universality of the People to own one Man as their common Parent, and the happy Omens that attend such a Consent, are, as it were, the great Seal of Heaven in his Favour. But besides that, even this, in some Sort, is only the Consequence of Virtue, which, as *Confucius* says, does not long remain by itself; besides this, I say, we never speak thus, but where we treat of the Foundation of a Dynasty.

After having set the good Princes *Tau* and *Sbun*, their Government, their Virtues, in Contrast with the bad Princes *Kye* and *Chew*, and the unhappy Consequences of their Vices, *Tong chong shu* concludes in these Words:

"So true it is, that the Manners of People depend on those who are over them, as the Clay upon the Wheel depends upon the Potter who forms it, and as the Metal in the Crucible depends upon the Founder, who throws it into what Mold he pleases."

He then shews how the Corruption of Manners, tho' before very great, grew still more excessive under *Shi whang*. And then he goes on,

"The best Carver in the World, says *Confucius*, cannot work upon a Piece of rotten Wood; and it would be losing ones Pains to prop an earthen Wall already old, and which threatens to fall every Moment. In such a Situation did the *Han*, who succeeded the *Tsin*, find the Empire. For this Reason, in Spite of the greatest Qualities and good Intentions of our Emperors, since the Beginning

(\*) The Chinese says, *Tyen Ming*.

(†) The Chinese Expression is: *Sing, T'ing*, which perhaps must be translated Reason and the Passions. This is often the Sense of these Words. It is enough to mention this here for we commonly use the most general Signification in the Translation.

(‡) Name of a Book, said to be written by *Confucius*.

(§) *Sbang*, signifies Supreme, *Tyen* the same as elsewhere: The Reader may make his own Observation upon the Meaning of this Passage.



ing of the Dynasty, they have not obtained all the good Effects which were to be wish'd for. It would seem that the greater Care they took to deserve Success, the less they met with. They made Laws, but all the Effect of them was to augment the Number of Criminals. They gave Orders, which only served for new Occasions of Frauds: This is as if one should try to stop the bubbling of boiling Water, by throwing other boiling Water upon it. Allow me, that in order to explain my Thoughts, how so great an Evil may be remedied, to use the Comparison of a *Kin* (\*). Sometimes the Keys are so disordered, that it is in vain to endeavour to tune them, by touching them here or there. The shortest way is to change the Strings, and new mount the Instrument. If a *Kin* is not new mounted when it has Occasion, the most able Musician in the World, will not be able to give it its right Melody.

'Tis thus of Government. Why has not the Success till this time never answered the good Intentions and Cares of the *Han*? Because they working always upon the Ground-Work of the Government of the *Tsin*, had no other Aim but to avoid their Excesses. The Government of the Ancients must be recurred to; above all, you must begin with a hearty Endeavour for the Conversion of the People, and for making them in love with Virtue. For Want of beginning here, all the Means they employed during the seventy Years they reigned, were unsuccessful. Try this, Great Sir, and endeavour to procure to your People, the Instruction of which they stand in need. By your Regulations, and by your Example, inspire them with an Esteem for Virtue. Lay a greater Stress upon this, than upon Proclamations, Sentences and Punishments. You will see the Reformation of Abuses, and the Prosperity of your Government, advance in Proportion with the Pains you take. Success and Plenty will follow those Calamities that are now too frequent.

The *Shi king* says; "Procure the real good of your People, let not the least Individual escape your Care: *Tyen* (Heaven) will crown you with Blessings." It thus speaks to those who govern, and informs them, that it is thus, they can draw down the Rewards of Heaven. But what must the Princes do more? They must honour and practise the five (+) Virtues. It is by making them flourish, that a Prince deserves the Assistance of *Tyen*, the Protection of the *Quey shin*; and that he puts himself in a Condition, to make the happy Effects of his Government, felt to the utmost Bounds of his Empire.

## SECOND DISCOURSE.

IN the second Discourse, which is only a Consequence of the former; he suggests to *Vü ti*, to re-establish the (†) great College, or the great School, in order to furnish the Empire with good Masters, capable to instruct and to form his Subjects to Virtue. He bemoans the small Number which were then in the Empire. He not only suggests that the great College should be re-established in order to encrease their Number, but that none should be put into Places of Trust, except Men of Merit, and no Regard ought to be had to the Sons of great Officers, who had nothing to recommend them but their Riches, or at most, the Services of their Fathers. He blames the advancing such to Employments, as had nothing to plead but the Merit of a Parent, and desires that they should advance only by Degrees.

'Twas not thus, continues he, in former Ages; Then, every different Genius had a suitable Employment allotted; a Capacity that were but midlings, was always employed in midling Affairs. Was there a Person whose Merit was extraordinary, they made no Scruple to advance him all of a sudden to the most exalted Station. Thus, a Man by having the Means of exerting his Genius, he was of great Use to the Public. At present, it is otherways. A Man of the most distinguished Merit, remains a long time in the lowest Obscurity: And a Person whose Talents are but ordinary, jumps at once into Employments far above his Comprehension.

## THIRD DISCOURSE.

IN this third Discourse, *Tong chong shu*, after excusing himself for having so ill digested the Matters he had treated of in the foregoing Discourse, returns to the main Point, which regards the Instruction and Reformation of the People. He Expresses himself thus:

Anciently, says he, besides that all the Officers in the Empire made it their principal Study: There were other Officers established on purpose to watch over it. In this consisted the Basis of their Government: And nothing was so much at Heart, as to inculcate on the People both by Instruction and Example, a sincere Love for Virtue. By these Means sometimes it happened, that there was not one Criminal found throughout the whole Empire. But of late, this excellent Method has been disused. The People thus neglected, have abandoned Justice, and blindly follow their Lusts, without the Dread of any Laws to restrain them. There are now such a vast Number of Criminals, that every Year they may be counted by (§) *Wan*. If one attend ever so little to this vast Difference, one cannot help concluding, that the ancient Method must be absolutely followed: And this the (||) *Chun tshü* makes us fully sensible of, when it censures every thing that deviates from wise Antiquity. All that is required of, and commanded to Men by *Tyen*, is comprized under this Word *Ming* (+). To fulfill all that this Expression signifies, is the

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Height

(\*) An Instrument of Music much esteemed in China.  
(†) *Viz.* *Jin*, Charity; *I*, Justice; *Li*, the Observation of the Rites; *Chi*, Prudence; *Sing*, Fidelity.  
(‡) In *Chingse*, called *Tay ho*. *Tay*, signifies great, very great,

the greatest in all Respects. *Hsü*, signifies to Study; Study, or a Place of Study, and acquired Science.  
(§) Ten Thousand. (||) A Book written by *Confucius*.  
(+) *Ming*, signifies Order, Command, superior Wisdom.



Height of human Perfection. The Powers or the Faculties which every one brings into the World with him at his Birth, are all comprehended under the Term (\*) *Sing*: But, our Nature, in order to bring it to the Perfection of which it is capable, must be aided by Instruction. All the Passions natural to Man are comprehended under the Word (+) *Tsing*. But these Passions must have Rules to hinder them from running into Excess. The essential Duties of a good Prince, and his first Cares are, respectfully to enter into the Views of *Tyen* his Superior, and conform himself to its Orders: To procure to his People the Instruction which is necessary to give their Nature the Perfection of which it is capable. In short, to make Laws, to establish the Distinction of Ranks and other Regulations, which may best answer the End of preventing or stopping the Unruliness of Passions. Is there a Prince who omits none of these Duties? His Throne is firm, and his Government established upon a solid Foundation.

Man has received from *Tyen* his *Ming*, but it is different from other Beings, even Animals. From this (‡) *Ming*, spring in a Family, the Duties of Father to Son, of Son to Father, &c. In a State, those betwixt Prince and Subject, and the Difference and Respect due to old Age. Thence proceed the Union, Friendship, Politeness, and the other subordinate Links of Society. These are the Characteristics of Superiority that *Tyen* has given to Man, above all other created Beings upon Earth. *Tyen* has produced the five Grains, and the six Kinds of domestic Animals for his Nourishment. Silk and Wool, &c. for his Cloathing. It has given him the Faculty of taming for his Use, Oxen and Horses; even Leopards and Tygers may by him be shut up into Cages, and brought under Subjection. In Effect, it is owing to a celestial Intelligence, that he is raised above other Beings. He who understands, as he ought, his own Dignity, and the celestial Nature he has received, will not debase himself to the Rank of inferior Creatures, but maintain his own, and distinguish himself from them by the Knowledge he possesses, and the Regard he pays to Charity, Justice, Temperance, the Observance of the Rites, and the other Virtues. The Esteem he entertains for these leads him to practise them; at last, they become so agreeably habitual, that his doing of Good and following Reason becomes not only a Duty, but a Pleasure. To him who has attained to this Perfection, is properly given the Name of *Wise*: And it is in that Sense, that *Confucius* says, no Man ought to be called *Wise*, who forgets his *Ming*, or misunderstands his Nature.

*Ching se syew*, an Author who lived towards the End of the Dynasty of the *Song*, speaking of the Discourse from which these Passages are transcribed, says: Of all the Literati, who wrote under the western *Han*, *Chong shu* appears to me, to be the only one who has altered nothing in the Doctrines of *Confucius* and *Mengius*. Thus he often reminds his Prince of the Maxims and Examples of the ancient Emperors *Tau* and *Shun*.

*Nyen ngan*, in a Discourse addressed to the same Emperor, touches upon two Points. First, the Luxury that reigned. Secondly, the War which was carrying on.

At present, nothing is to be seen all over the Empire, but Luxury and expensive Follies upon curious and magnificent Equipages, Habits and Houses. Never was all Refinements upon sensual Pleasures, carried to such an Extravagance. There is no jumble of Colours but what is worn. Every Day produces new Concerts, and Delicacies for the Palate cannot be any farther improved: One would say, that there was an universal Endeavour in the Empire to give a Loosé to all the Passions. The People have got such a Taste, that there is nothing glaring and affected but what they covet. To allow of these foolish Extravagancies, is to teach the People to love them, and to follow their own vicious Byas. Whatever is fine, ornamented, costly, or curious, naturally strikes the Senses, and easily seduces. Repasts serve no longer the End of Nourishment, but of Gluttony and Debauchery. Music, whose original Design was to calm the Emotions of the Heart, serves now to kindle up the most shameful Passions. A sincere Attachment to the Rites, is now degenerated into Ostentation, Grimace, and superstitious Vanities. Dissimulation and Chicane, have turned Wisdom out of Doors. I would willingly know if Tricking, Ostentation, Gallantry, and Intemperance, are good Lessons for a People? Are these the Means of keeping them in their Duty? Surely not; and one needs not be astonished that they make a new Progress in Crimes every Day of their Lives. What I wish for is, that your Zeal for your People and the Good of your State, may set you upon remedying these Disorders as soon as possible.

After he has sharply exposed the bad Consequences of *Sbi whang's* ambitious Expeditions, he makes the Application and goes on.

I hear of nothing at present, but military Expeditions. Here Fortresses are built, and there the Barbarians are attacked: Such a People has submitted, and we are going to attack such another. The *Hjong nu* are terrified, and we have burnt (§) their *Long tsing*. These Designs are applauded by all your Council: For my share, I can easily see how certain of your Ministers and Officers may find their Account in all these: But is this for the Good of your Empire? I maintain it is not. When you can enjoy a profound Peace, needlessly to involve yourself in foreign Wars, to make useless Conquests, and to drain your own State, is not to act as the Father of your People

(\*) Nature.

(†) Inclinations, Affections, Passions.

(‡) *Ming*, the same as above; but here the Author applies *Ming* and *Sing* to the same thing. *Yin* to right Reason, according to the Book *Chung yung*, which begins with these Words. *Tyen Ming chin wuy sing*. *Tyen ming*, and *Sing*, have the same Signification.

It is *Ming*, say the Commentators, so far, as it comes from *Tyen*: and it is *Sing* so far, as it constitutes Man.

(§) A Gloss says, that this was the Place, where these People perform'd their *Tsü* to *Tyen*. [that is, made their Offering. See the Note, p. 312.]



People. From an unbounded Ambition, or merely to gratify yourself, to irritate the *Hyong ni*, who are willing to be at Peace with you, is to very ill to provide for the future Repose of your Frontiers. These Expeditions, tho' attended with the desired Success, may really be looked upon as Misfortunes, which will draw with them a long Train of Unhappiness. The Resentment of these Barbarians will continue. What will your Subjects who are their Neighbours suffer hereafter? and how many Alarms must your other Subjects feel? Believe me, these are not the Means to prolong the Dynasty of the *Han*.

We see on all Hands, the forging of Cuirasses, the scowring of Swords, the sharpening of Arrows, and the bending of Bows. Nothing is met on the Roads, but Armies marching, and Waggons loaded with Provisions; but we meet them with Grief. Whatever may be told you to the contrary, these are the Sentiments of all, except a very few of your Subjects. And it appears to me, to be so much the better founded, in that the most terrible Revolutions have been produced by Wars. Is a Prince seen in any Difficulty? then bad Designs begin to be hatched. Such a one possesses in the Heart of your Empire ten Cities, and almost a hundred Leagues of Land: Your House is then no longer in Safety: Take Care: *Sbi wabang* was entirely taken up with his ambitious Projects. A Man of no Consequence at the Head of Troops, armed with almost nothing but Sticks, gave the Signal, which hastened his Ruin. Now a-days, there are some who want neither Credit nor Power, and are much more to be dreaded. Think upon it, Prince; the greatest Revolutions often depend on Inconsiderable Circumstances.

*Frequent Remonstrances were made to the Emperor Vu ti, because Luxury prevailed in his Reign, and Agriculture was neglected. This Prince, one Day addressing himself to Tong fang so, said to him; I want to reform my People; suggest to me the Means, and lay before me the Measures you think most proper. Tong fang so answered him in Writing, in the following Terms.*

SIR, I might propose *Yau, Shun, Yu, Tang, &c.* as Patterns for your Imitation, but their happy Reigns have been long over. Why should we go so far back? I will confine myself to Times not so remote, and to domestic Examples. I propose to you those of *Ven ti*, whose Reign was so lately, that some of our old Men have had the Happiness to see it. But *Ven ti*, when raised to the high Dignity of (\*) *Tyen tsé*, and in Possession of the vast Empire of which you are now Master, wore none but rough-spun Cloaths without any Ornaments. His Drawers were made of an ill dressed Skin. An ordinary Belt served him for keeping his Sword. His Arms had nothing in them that were curious; his Seat was a very indifferent Matt; and his Apartments had no Furniture that was either costly or glaring. The Ornaments and Riches of his Equipage, consisted in Bags full of useful Writings, with which he had been presented; the Embellishments of his Person were Wisdom and Virtue, and the Rules of his Conduct, Charity and Justice. All the Empire endeavoured to imitate these aimable Examples with which they were charmed.

Now a-days, we see Things quite different. Your Majesty is pent up within the vast Circumference of a Palace, which of itself is a large City; you undertake a prodigious Number of new Buildings, and give each of them fine Names. On the left is the Palace of *Fong wabang*: On the right that of *Shing ming*: So that in general, it is a Palace of a thousand, or rather ten thousand Gates. In your inner Apartments, your Wives are loaded with Diamonds and other precious Ornaments. Your Horses are richly harnessed, and even the Collars of your Dogs are costly. In short, you cause Wood and Clay to be clothed in Embroidery: Witness these theatrical Chariots whose Evolutions you love so well; every thing there is dazzling, rich and curious: On this Side you cause to be founded and erected Bells of a hundred thousand Pound Weight: On the other Side you are making Drums, whose Noise equals that of Thunder. In short, there is nothing to be seen but the Comedies and Dancings of the Daughters of *Ching*. I frankly own to you, Sir, that to behave thus, to carry Luxury to such an Excess, and yet to endeavour at the same time, to inculcate upon your Subjects Frugality, Modesty, Temperance and Application to Agriculture, is to aim at an Impossibility.

If then, your Majesty consults me in good earnest; if you really design to follow my Advice, or at least want to know my Opinion, I would advise your Majesty to bring together all that Trumpery of vain Ornaments; to pile them up in a Square, and then set them on Fire, that all the Empire may be witness of your Reformation. If you begin thus, you may become a second *Yau*, or another *Shun*. Our *I king* says; "There are certain Points so essential, that when they are perfectly observed, the rest follow a-course."

*Ching te syew* says of this Piece: So was a little testy, he had his own Way of representing Things. But he was otherways, an upright, sincere, and an able Man: *Vu ti* employed him a long time.

(\*) That is Emperor: I have before explained the Literal Meaning of this Expression.



Under the same Emperor Vu ti, Kong sun hong his Minister of State proposed that the People should be prohibited the Use of the Bow: Vu ti ordered that a Deliberation should be made on this Head. U kyew presented a Writing to the Emperor, in which he gave his Opinion against it. The Extract of his Discourse is as follows.

1. **SHI WHANG**, during his Reign, made such a Prohibition. His true Motive for making it was to prevent the Revolts, of which he had some Reason to be afraid; it is true, he made a Handle of another Pretext: Some Quarrels happened, in which, some on both Sides were killed. He then gave out that it was in Order to prevent these Disorders, that he published this Prohibition, which was observed with Rigour, but did not at all prevent these Commotions. All the Difference was, that they then fought Hand to Hand with Spades, or such like Instruments of Handy-craft or Agriculture. *Shi whang* was likewise unsuccessful in preventing that which was his true Motive for making this Prohibition. Notwithstanding of this Order, he was beaten by the Forces of a very inconsiderable Person, who were rather armed with Staves than Weapons; and soon after he himself lost his Empire. 2. There are at present, say some, a great many Robbers, and this Prohibition will diminish their Numbers, or at least render them less hurtful: But it will be so far from answering this End, it will even destroy it. The Wicked will break this as well as other Laws, and the Virtuous alone will observe it. They will thereby be out of a Condition to give good Advice to the Bad, who will soon become more insolent. 3. The intended Prohibition is against the Custom of our ancient Emperors, who were so far from depriving their Subjects of the Use of the Bow and Arrow, that they recommended to them the Use of both, and appointed proper Times for that Exercise. We read in the Book of Rites: "When a Son is born into a Family, a Bow and Arrow are hung before the Gate."

Under the Emperor Swen ti, new Establishments were made, and the Lands upon the Frontiers towards the Hyong nu, were cultivated. Upon these last disputing the Grounds, there was a Battle. Several Chinese were made Prisoners, and soon set at liberty. Some were for laying hold upon that Opportunity, and for engaging Swen ti to make War. Whey syang, one of his Ministers, opposed this, and, in order to dissuade the Emperor from it, made the following Discourse.

**W**HEN there are Commotions, or Rebellions in a State, and if they can be quelled only by the Force of Arms; in such a Case, War is justifiable. When an Enemy unjustly invades a Kingdom, makes a great Ravage, and will hearken to no just Terms; to take Arms then for the Defence of our Country, is entering into a necessary War. When the Difference is about Trifles, when Pride and Jealousy has a greater share in the Resentment than Interest, it is a War of Anger and Frenzy. When the Desire of being enriched with its Spoils, is the Motive of invading an Enemy's Country, it is then a War of Avarice. Lastly, if it is only to acquire Glory, to shew a Superiority, or to humble a Rival; it is a War of Vanity and Ambition. In the two first Cases, a People seldom succeeds, but in the two last, never. This is what is commonly said, and this common Opinion of Men is founded upon the ordinary Conduct of *Tyen*. But it is visible that the *Hyong nu* have no Intention to attack us: They have made no Irruption upon our Territories: They have indeed disputed a Piece of Ground, upon which our People intended to make a Settlement. The Dispute grew warm: Some Prisoners were made: But they were afterwards very handsomely set at Liberty: So that it is not worth while to take any farther Notice of it.

Nevertheless, I understand that your great Officers of War press you to put them at the Head of Troops, in order to march into the Country of the *Hyong nu*. If your Majesty consent to this, what Name will you give this War? In my Opinion it will neither be just nor necessary. Besides, your People, especially those on that Quarter, are already so miserable, that the Father and the Son are reduced to make Use of the same wretched Habit: I know not how many People live upon Roots, and wild Herbs. What will be the Consequence, if you march thither a numerous Body of Men? Even tho' they may be victorious, their Victory will be more destructive than it can be useful. It is said, (\*) that Wars are followed by bad and barren Years. It is likewise said, that this proceeds from the Inclemency of their Seasons, introduced by the Groans and Sighs of People ruined by the Consequences of Wars. But if Famine succeeds to War, let us suppose, that it is by a useless foreign Conquest being made; will not that occasion a vast deal of Disorder at Home? For my share, I believe this is so much the more to be dreaded as the Governors of your Provinces, and even the Men who are in the most exalted Stations about your own Person, are very ill chosen: Because Corruption and Disorder thereby encrease every Day: Because it is no rare thing for a Son to kill his Father, a younger, his elder Brother, and a Wife, her Husband. This very Year, two hundred and twenty two Crimes of this kind have happened.

Tho' there were no other Disorders or Troubles to be feared, can this Evil of itself be looked upon as Slight? And yet your Officers, without giving themselves any Trouble, press you to bring into the Field an Army, on a very trifling Occasion, against these foreign Barbarians. This

(\*) A Gloss says, that this is a Word of *Lau tse*, who lived in the time of *Confucius*, and whom the *Señ Tao* made their Head.



is not the Thing that presses most. *Confucius* understanding that one of the *Ki*, when ready to die, discovered great Fear, lest his Family should suffer by the Spite of a certain *Cbwen yu*. Why does he not rather dread, says the Philosopher, the Disorders which he leaves in it? I would willingly say as much to them, who advise you into a War at present. I am far from being of this Opinion: I conjure you at least, before you come to any Resolution, to deliberate maturely with the *Hew of Ping chang*, and *Ping ngen*, and *Lo chang*, and others of their Character. If they incline for War, let it, in Gods Name, be carried on.

On Occasion of an Eclipse of the Sun and an Earthquake, the Emperor Ywen ti published a Declaration, ordering the Defects of the Government to be exposed; and Quang hong, who was then Po se, presented the following Discourse to the Emperor.

SIRE! Behold what are the present Manners of your Empire. Riches are in great request, Virtue, almost in none. Uprightness, Modesty, Temperance, are rare, especially at Court. The most natural, and the most common Laws are overthrown. Alliance carries it from Blood. Your nearest Relations are nothing in Comparison to certain remote Allies: The greatest Number of your Ministers and Officers, study only the Grimace of Complaisance, and how to enrich themselves by your Indulgence. Such is the State of Things. And such is the Source of those Calamities that afflict your Empire. This is what you must endeavour to remedy; otherways, your (\*) Amnesties are useless.

The Court is commonly the Pattern of the People's Manners. When your great Men, not only live in a mutual good Understanding, but even yield to one another on certain Occasions, Disputes and Quarrels will very soon become rare among their Inferiors. Robberies and Outrages will soon cease, by the great Men becoming charitable and liberal. In short, let Justice, Temperance, Modesty, and Humanity obtain at Court; Unanimity will soon reign among the People. They will excite one another to follow so fair Examples. By these Means our wisest Princes, without using almost any Severity, have made Virtue flourish. But if Vice reigns at Court, it diffuses itself thro' the rest of the Empire so easily, that if there is among the People the least (†) Coldness or Misunderstanding, it immediately improves into Disputes and Quarrels. Haughtiness among the Great, is always productive of Insolence among the Small: If great Officers are seen to affect an independant Authority, to abuse the Favour, and make a Traffic unknown to him, of the Authority, of their Prince: In a short Time, nothing will be heard of among the People, but Robberies, Rapines, and Factions. But at present &c. (‡)

If then Vice reigns throughout the whole Empire, in Spite of both Amnesties and Chastisements: It is not *Tyen* that occasions it, but the wrong Measures that are taken to prevent them. I have found out several Passages of Antiquity to this Purpose. A Prince of *Cbing* made great Account of such as were strong and hardy. In a short Time, he had a good Number of Subjects, who could each of them subdue a Tyger. *Má kong* Prince of *Tsin*, above all Things esteemed those who were capable of an inviolable Affection to his Person. And there were soon several found, who pushed their Attachments to him so far, as to kill themselves when he died. A Princess of *Tsin* loved the *U*; the People immediately gave into a thousand Superstitions. A *Hew* of *Tsin* was a great Oeconomist: All his People were the same. *Tay vang* was Humanity and Goodness itself: Thus, there was no such Thing as Revenge heard of amongst his Subjects: But each easily forgave his Neighbour. To judge by these Instances, will it not fairly follow, that such as the Prince and the Court are, such commonly are his Subjects?

Your Majesty, whom the Admonitions of Heaven have inspired with a respectful Dread, and whose Compassion for your Subjects is redoubled, has done well to begin, by reforming your self: You have put a Stop to the useless and sumptuous Works begun at *Kan swen*. You have abandoned the Expeditions, you designed against *Cbu yay*. How much Joy has your Declaration upon these two Points caused thro' the whole Empire? Persevere in these fair Paths. Enquire into whatever calls for a Reformation in your Court. When your Family is once well regulated, extend your Cares farther. In what regards Music and Poetry, confine yourself to the Taste of *Ta* and (||) *Song*; let it be grave, serious, and instructive. Shun those of *Cbing* and *Wey*. Open a large Door for Remonstrances: Seek out for Men of Merit: Above all, honour those who are disinterested, upright, and sincere. And banish from your Court all Flatterers. Apply your self to the reading of our *King*, examine the Practice of the happiest Ages. In this Manner, study whatever is humane and natural in Government, and what produces Union and Peace. In short, endeavour by setting them the fair Example of your Virtues, to reform the Ideas and correct the Vices of your Subjects. And at least, let all your Empire see, that Wisdom and Virtue alone, can recommend a Man at your Court.

The Emperor Kang hi's Remark.] This Discourse may be called a good one, both for its Sense and Expression. There is not one Word but has its Meaning.

(\*) On occasion of some Singular Event, the Emperors pardon certain Criminals. This Custom still holds, and is called *Ta he*, or the great Pardon.

(†) The Chinese Expression is: Change of Colour.

(‡) He repeats here more at length, what he had said in the Beginning about the Manners of the Court, and then proceeds.

(||) Names of Chapters in the *Sái king*.



There is in the same Book another Discourse of the same Author to the forementioned Emperour Ywen ti. This Prince had two Faults to correct, the first was, He was Irresolute and bestowed all his Favours on the Relations of the Queen, who abused her Trust. For which reason Quang heng in the present Discourse, touches on two Points, that are essential to all Persons, but more especially so to a Prince. The first, is to know his weak Side, and to correct it; the second, to regulate his Family.

**B**EFORE he directly enters upon the Subject, he exhorts Ywen ti to strengthen himself in the laudable Passion he had of worthily sustaining the Glory of his Ancestors, of advancing more and more the prosperous State of the Empire he held from them, and of securing it to his Descendants. 'Twas thus, says he, that Ching wang did; he had always in his Mind the Virtues and Example of Ven wang his Grand-father, and of Vu wang his Father. His own Reign was full of Happiness and Glory: But when Encomiums were made upon it, he attributed all his Honour to his Ancestors, saying, that all he did was but following their Views, and imperfectly imitating their Examples. Thus, he always deserved the Favour of Shang tyen, and the Assistance of Quey shin.

After this Exordium, Quang heng explains what he means by a Man's understanding his own (\*) Nature and correcting it, and in what Manner he ought to be understood. Every one, says he, ought carefully to examine what he possesses in too large or too scanty a Degree; then to cut of from one Part, in order to add to the other. For Instance, Persons who have naturally a great deal of Wit, or who have acquired a great Compass of Knowledge, are liable to be distracted amidst a great variety of Views. They ought to guard against this. Those on the contrary, whose Experience is small, and whose Capacity is but moderate, ought to dread, lest a good many things, even of Importance, may escape them. These Defects they must supply as well as they can. Men brave and vigorous ought to be afraid, and guard against their being violent. Persons who are gentle, good, and compassionate, ought to guard against Weakness, Irresolution, &c.

As to the second Head, he says nothing but what I have (†) mentioned before. He only endeavours to make his Prince sensible of what Consequence it is to him, to regulate his Favours in the best manner, and not to give much way to particular Inclinations against his real Interest, and to the Prejudice of his own Blood.

There is in the same Book a third Discourse of Quang heng's addressed to Ching ti, the Son and Successor of Ywen ti.

**T**HIS Prince had newly mounted the Throne. Quang heng in a very short Exordium, praises the filial Piety he had shewn. After which, he exhorts him to increase the good Foundation he already had by his (‡) Application. For this End he principally recommended two Things.

The first is, carefully to fortify himself against a Passion for Women. Upon this he speaks of Marriage, as necessary to accomplish the Will of Tyen, and of the Preference which ought to be given to the Virtue of one Woman, besides the other Qualities she may possess. He cites the Encomiums bestowed by the Shi king, upon the Wife of Ven wang, who was of no small Assistance to him to make Virtue flourish. He puts him in Mind by way of Contrast, of the fatal Consequences, which the Passion of some Princes for some particular Concubines was attended with. He invites him to read History, to be the more fully convinced that the Ruin of Dynasties had most frequently taken its Rise from this.

The second Thing which Quang heng recommends to the young Emperor Ching ti, is, the frequent reading of the King, upon which he makes an Encomium. It is, says he, a Summary, or an Abridgment of the Words and Actions of the ancient Sages. One cannot enter too deeply into its Meaning: There all the Duties are marked out, both with Regard to Tyen and Man: In short, every thing that a Prince ought to do in order to render his Subjects happy. He ends by exhorting him to acquit himself worthily of the (§) great Ceremony which he was soon to perform: And to give, by that first publick Action, an Idea of what was to be expected from him, in the following Part of his Reign.

I was willing to insert here the Extract of three Discourses of Quang Heng, the two first addressed to the Emperour Ywen ti, and the third to Ching ti his Successor: but I thought I ought not for that reason to omit a Piece of another Author under Ywen ti, his Name was Kong yu, on occasion of a bad Year, addressed this Emperour, exhorting him to imitate the Temperance, Frugality, and Modesty of the Ancients.

**A**MONGST the Ancients, every thing was determined by certain Rules: In the Palace of our Emperors, the Number of Women never exceeded nine, and that of the Horses, eight. The Walls were handsome and in good repair, but without Ornaments. The Wood was clean

(\*) Quang heng uses the Expression *Sing* or Nature. But Ching ti says upon this Passage: that by this Expression, is understood the Nature or Temper that depends upon Organs and Matter. He does not speak here of that Nature *Sing*, or natural Reason, which is also named the Order or Law of Tyen.

(†) It was, says a Gloss, the Character of Ywen ti.

(‡) The Chinese says literally, tho' you have natural Capacity, *Sin*, I wish that you would add a Heart, *Shing*. *Sin Shing*.

(§) It was that, of which Confucius says: The End is to honour the supreme Lord, or the supreme Emperour Shang ti.



clean and smooth, but without Sculpture. The same Simplicity was observable in their Chariots and all their Moveables. The Circumference of their Park was but for a few Leagues, and the Entrance of it free to all Degrees of People. Their Revenue was the Tythe of the Grounds, which was all that ever was paid them. Every Family furnished three Days Work of a Man in a Year, and that was all the Average they had. The personal Estate of the Emperor was a hundred Leagues of Ground: From the rest he drew the Tythe. Every Family was at its own Ease: And these fortunate Times are highly celebrated by fine Odes.

In Times more modern, our Ancestors *Kau tsü*, *Hyau wen*, and *Hyau king*, fell into a pretty close Imitation of Antiquity. Their Women never exceeded Ten, and the Horses in their Stables a Hundred. The Emperor *Hyau wen*, approached the most near to the ancient Simplicity. His Habits were of a coarse plain Stuff, and his Breeches of ill drest Leather. Never did Gold, Silver, or Carvings appear upon his Moveables. Things are much changed since. Not only every Emperor has exceeded his Predecessor in Expences, but Luxury has crept into all the Orders of the Empire. The Question now is, who shall be most richly clothed, most finely accoutred, or who shall have the handsomest Sword, or the finest Sabre. In short, every one without any Ceremony, uses what before was only proper for the Sovereign to wear. Thus should the Emperor appear to give an Audience, or march out for any Ceremony, were it not for some other Circumstances, he could scarce be distinguished. This indeed is a great Disorder, and the worst of it is, that it is not perceived.

Formerly *Chau kong*, Prince of *Lü*, when the Rights of the Emperor were laid before him, that he might be inspir'd with the Respect due to his Sovereign, "How do I act contrary to them," says he? He himself alone, was blind to his own Conduct. Now a-Days, how many imitate him? The *Ta yü* encroaches upon the *Chu bew*: The *Chu bew* acts like a petty Emperor, and the Emperor himself, a good deal exceeds what Reason prescribes. The Evil is great, and may already pass as inveterate. But if there is a Remedy, it is you, O Prince, alone that must apply it. If there is a Possibility to recall former Times? your Example must do it. I say, if they can be recalled, for according to my small Measure of Understanding, it appears impossible to put things upon the ancient footing. But we ought to come as near them as we can.

As for what regards your Palace as it is at present, it is a determin'd Point: You cannot touch it. But you will find, if you please, enough to retrench from other Things. Formerly, as now, the Kingdom of *Tsi* wrought the Stuffs and Habits for the Court. Three Officers were expressly deputed for this, and they supplied the rest: But then these Stuffs and Habits, amounted only to ten great Bales. At present, these Stuffs employ in the same Kingdom, Officers and Workmen without Number. This single Article, amounts annually to some scores of (\*) *Wan*. The Moveables of Gold and Silver for the Court, are wrought at *Szü* and *Quang han*. These are computed to amount to five hundred *Wan* in the Year. The Expences of the Overseers of your Work about the Court, and the Workmen, either employed for your Self or the Queen, amount annually to five thousand *Wan*: You maintain in your Stables near Ten thousand Horses; these consume a great deal of Corn. There goes frequently from your Queen (I have seen it my self more than once) Tables, not only rich and well appointed, but even loaded with Vessels of Gold and Silver. These are Presents she makes to some one or other, and often to People whom it does not become her to treat with so much Honour. What will the Amount of your Queens Expences be? I cannot exactly tell; but they must be very great. In the mean Time, your People are in Misery. A great Number of your poor Subjects are dying of Famine. Many Coarces lie above Ground exposed to the Dogs; and this too happens, while your Stables are full of Horses who feed upon Corn, and are so plump and wanton, for the most Part, that either to take down their Fat or their Mettle, they must every Day have a breathing. Ought Things to go thus under a Prince, whom *Tyen*, [Heaven] by placing on the Throne, has appointed as the Father and Mother of his People? Is that *Tyen* then become blind?

These excessive Expences began properly under (+) *Vü ti*. He filled his Palace with all the handsome Girls he could gather from all Quarters of his Empire, they amounted to Five thousand. Under *Chau ti*, who was young and weak, *Ho quang* had all the Authority. This *Ho quang* was ignorant both of Reason and Religion. After he had heaped up in the Palace a useless Mass of Gold, Silver and Jewels, he made a curious Search after Birds, Fishes, Turtles, Oxen, and extraordinary Horses, Tygers, and even Leopards, with other such wild Beasts; all to supply Ponds and a Menagery, which was in the Inside of the Palace to divert his Women. An indecent Thing, if ever any was so contrary to the Will of *Tyen*, and I even believe, notwithstanding of what *Ho quang* pretended, contrary to the Orders that *Vü ti* had left him on his Death-bed.

Since that Time, the Evil has increased. Under *Swen ti* the most Women were entertained. Such a *Chu bew* would have had a hundred, and all the rich Men as many. Within Doors, Numbers of Women had scarce any other Employment than to bewail their Fate, and to vent a thousand Imprecations. Without, appeared a Company of useless Men. An Officer, for Instance, of an ordinary Rank, entertained for his Diversions, some Dozens of Comedians. In the mean Time, the People suffered: Multitudes died; and one would have said, that all Endeavours had been used to people Tombs, and to dispeople the World. The Court was the Source of this Evil, but it is now become almost general. Every one sets it up as a kind of a Law for himself, that

(\*) A *Wan* is 10,000 Ounces of Silver.

(+) This is only to be understood with respect to the Dynasty of the Han.



that he should follow what had been in Vogue for so many Reigns. This is the present State of Things, and I cannot think upon it without the most sensible Grief.

I conjure your Majesty, to go a little farther back than these latter Reigns, to examine with Attention, and to imitate the laudable Frugality of some of your Ancestors, to cut off two Thirds of the Expences of your Court, in Moveables, Habits, and Equipages.

The Number of the Children you may hope for, does not depend upon the Number of your Wives. You may chuse from among them a Score of the most Virtuous, and send the rest off in Search of Husbands: Forty Horses are sufficient for your Stables. Of all the vast Parks you now possess, if you please, you may reserve one: Give the rest to be cultivated by poor People. In a Time of such Misery and Barrenness as the present, are not the Retrenchments I propose, indispensable Duties? Can you be sensible of your People's Sufferings, and not endeavour effectually to remove them? Would that be to answer the Designs of (\*) *Tyen*? That *Tyen*, when he makes (†) Kings, does it for the good of the People. His Design, doubtless, never was, to place a Man in that Station, that he might divert himself as he pleased. Don't presume too much, says the *Shi king*, to those who reign, upon what *Tyen* has done in your Favour. You may meet with a troublesome Reverse. To discharge the Duty of a King, is not so easy a Matter. (‡) *Shang ti* examines you very strictly. Don't divide your Heart.

*A Gloss.* *Ywen ti* took this Remonstrance so well, that he retrenched his Habits, his Moveables and his Horses: And forbade that any of the Beasts in his Menagery to be fed with Flesh; dismissing all his Comedians; and giving to the People great Part of his Parks.

*Under the Emperor Swen ti, when they were Deliberating about the Means of laying up Provisions for the Armies on the Frontiers: Chang chang proposed that Criminals, with an Exception of some Crimes, might have it in their power to redeem themselves by Furnishing a certain Quantity of Grain: Upon this Syau Whang chi, made the following Remonstrance.*

THE People at the same time, have in their Hearts two Principles very opposite, the one of Good, the other of Evil. They have a Stock of Goodness and Justice, but they have likewise, a Fund of Avarice and Interest; against both which, they ought to be fortified by Instructions and by Laws. *Yau*, as great a Prince as he was, during the Course of his Reign, never could extirpate from the Hearts of his Subjects all Passion and all Interest: But he took his Measures so well, that Passion and Injustice yielded to Reason and Equity. Under the destructive Reign of *Kyê*, Corruption, tho' at the greatest Height, had never entirely stifled in the Hearts of the People, the Principles of Virtue and Equity, but that of Avarice was their Predominant. This is properly the Difference betwixt these two Reigns; a Difference, to which those who are intrusted with Rule cannot enough attend.

It is proposed to your Majesty, that those convicted of certain Crimes, may be permitted to ransom themselves, by furnishing a Quantity of Corn. This I cannot approve of, for when two Men are equally guilty, why should the one escape because he is rich, and the other die because he is poor? Shall the Heinousness of Crimes then no longer be the only Rule of Punishment? Shall Poverty and Riches have any Share in it? Are we then henceforward to see two Laws established, where indeed there is but one? This is a Disorder which must infallibly be attended by another. For as soon as this Innovation is known, where is the Son, or where is the Brother, that to ransom the Life of his Father, of his Brother, or any other of his Relations, will not use all imaginable Methods to save them? Their Hopes of Success will render them blind to Danger: What a Source of new Crimes will this afford? For one Man whose Life Money will save, there will be ten who will lose theirs under the Punishment. This is, at the same Time, to weaken the Love of Virtue and the Force of our Laws. When these Bases of Government are once ruined, I doubt much, if your Ministers, let them be as able as *Chew kong* and *Chau kong*, can ever re-establish them.

In former Days, the Granaries of the Prince were open to the Subject, Did they want? He furnished wherewithall to supply their pressing Necessities. If they were free of all these Necessities? He allowed his People to live in Plenty. We read in the *Shi king* these Words: *Have Pity upon those poor People who suffer. Apply yourself to succour them preferably to us.* In this Passage the Princes addressed *Tyen*: And thus the Poet chuses to express their Goodness and Compassion for their People. But we find at the same Time, a suitable return of Zeal on the People's Part for their Sovereign. The Poet makes them speak thus: *Water, instantly Water; and render fertile the Domain of our Prince; then extend that Blessing to our Lands.* Tho' our Times fall short of those of the Ancients, the Zeal of your Subjects still subsists: They are loaded with Duties to supply the Exigencies of our Frontiers: A Poll Tax is added to the Tax; your Subjects suffer a great deal, and are not insensible of their Misery: Notwithstanding of which, they make it their Duty to furnish all the necessary Charges. Nobody remonstrates against these; they being, the ordinary Means of providing for the Safety of States. But for the Method that is now proposed, it is a direct Breach of the Laws: It naturally tends to make ten Men perish for one, there is no Choice to be made. Your Virtues, Sir, and the Care you have taken for the Instruction of your People, have put Things upon so good a Footing, that your Government will reflect no Dishonour upon *Yau* and *Shun*; but you would degenerate, should you follow the Council that has been given you.

The

(\*) Heaven.

(†) The Chinese says *Shing jin*.

(‡) The supreme Emperor.



*The Effect of this Discourse.]* Swen ti laid this Discourse before Chang-Chang, who notwithstanding persisted in his former Opinion, which drew a Reply from Syau whang chi, wherein he exposed at large the Inconveniences that had followed upon a like Experiment. This Reply made the Emperor drop the Project of Chang-Chang.

*A Remonstrance of Lyew hyang to the Emperor Ching ti, upon the extravagant Expences he had been at, and which he still continued to lay out upon Interment of the Princes of his House.*

SIR; I find in our *I king* this Maxim, which is principally calculated for Princes. "You live happy; do not forget, your Happiness may soon change. You find yourself now settled on the highest Pinacle of Fortune, remember that you may tumble down." This is the way to render the Repose you now enjoy in your own Person durable, and to transmit the high Station you now fill to the Descendants of your Family. A wise Prince cannot do better than to examine History, and attentively to weigh the different Events which are there pointed out, and to trace back and to sound their Springs, to distinguish what is worthy of Praise or Blame, that he may the better profit by what he reads. By this he will, at least, have one Advantage, that he can readily point out this Truth, so proper to inspire with a respectful Dread; That there never was, till this Day, a Family to which *Tyen* has for ever assured the Empire.

*Confucius* reading the *Sbi king*, and coming to a certain Passage in the Ode, which is intitled *Ven vang*; "How terrible, cried he, with a Sigh, are the Judgments of *Tyen*! And how great is this Truth; That the first Care of a Man ought to be, to leave, as an Inheritance to his Descendants, a large share of Virtue!" How true is it, that without it, all other Goods are useless and transitory? If *Tyen* had ordered it otherwise, how could Princes have been kept in their Duty? Or how could Subjects have been animated to Virtue? Thus spoke *Confucius*, in bewailing the Lot of the *Wits*, and that of the *Ing*, who were become Subjects of the *Cbew*. *Yau* himself, that wise, that virtuous Prince, could not render his Son capable of the Empire, and chose another for his Successor. *Yu* and *Tang*, in Spite of all their Cares, could not perpetuate Virtue in their House, and the Empire passed to another Family. How many Changes of Dynasties have happened since that Time! *Kau ti*, the Founder of yours, seeing himself Master of the Empire, entertained the Thought of removing his Court to *Lo yang* (A). *Lyew king* represented to him, how needless that Expence would be. *Kau ti* immediately desisted, and fixed his Court at *Qyang chong*. There he frequently called to mind the Fates of the Dynasties of *Cbew* and *Tsin*. This first, said he, had many great Princes, to whom I cannot, I cannot be compared. It has, however, at last degenerated, and is now lost. The last had only two Princes, both without Virtue, so it was soon at an End. Full of these Thoughts, he carefully avoided the Faults of *Tsin*, and applied himself, as much as Circumstances would allow him, to imitate the first *Cbew*. In short, during his whole Reign, he was extremely attentive, vigilant, and circumspect. That wise Prince understood in its full Extent, what I have cited from *Confucius*.

*Hyau wen* being at (\*) *Pa lin*, in examining the Situation of the Place; finding that on the North Side the Mountain was not very steep, appeared very uneasy and thoughtful: Then addressing himself to the great Men who were about him, he told them the Reasons. I am thinking, says he, how I may best secure from Insults the Tomb of (†) *Kau tsü*; and I am contriving for that Effect a Pile of the largest and hardest Stone, with the best Cement that can be made.

*Chang che shi* answered: "If there is nothing in the Tomb to excite Avarice, if it had all the Thickness and Solidity of Mount *Nan*, it is the same thing, as if it had many Openings. If there is nothing in it to prompt Avarice, it is secure without a Rampart". And, indeed, what has a Prince to dread after Death? But it is otherwise with his Family and the State. Their Prosperity and their Ruin depend upon many Things. This demands our Precaution; the little Expression, *Chang che shi*, is full of Meaning: It expresses what I would say. *Hyau wen* understood it well, and left off his intended Expences.

Formerly, say our Books, the Corps of the Deceased was clothed in strong thick Habits, and placed in some remote Spot built about with Faggots, without any other Security. Afterwards, some wise Men judged it requisite to change this Custom, and brought in Use the double Coffin. It is said this Change was made under *Whang ti*. This *Whang ti* was himself buried under Mount *Kyau*: As *Yau* was upon *Tsi in*. Both their Burials were very frugal, and their Sepulchres no way magnificent. *Sbun* was buried at *Tsang ü*, without any other Attendants but his two Wives. The Place of *Yu*'s Sepulchre is at *Whey ki*, without so much as a Tree growing round it. Where is the Sepulchre of *Ching tang*, and the other Emperors of his Dynasty? Neither History nor Tradition give us any Light into this Point. *Ven vang*, *Vü vang*, and *Cbew kong*, have theirs at *Pi*. That of *Mü kong* King of *Tsing* is at *Yong*. That of *Chu li tse* at *Vü kü*. All their Tombs are very mean, and it was a wise Precaution which these Princes took in ordering them to be so. With respect to their Children or their Subjects, 'twas the Effect of Wisdom and Piety in them, to conform themselves to the Royal Intentions. *Cbew kong* was the younger Brother of the Emperor *Vü vang*. He was intrusted with his Funeral, and defrayed it at a very cheap Rate. *Confucius* buried his Mother at *Fang*, in an old Tomb only four Foot high; but being much damaged by the Rains, the Disciples of *Confucius* not only repaired, but embellished it. Their Master understanding this, "Alas, cried he, with Tears! Antiquity would not have acted thus."

(A) Now *Ho-nan fü* in the Province of *Ho-nan*.

(\*) The Name of the Place, where *Kau ti*'s Burying-Place was.

(†) The same with *Kau ti* or *Kau whang ti*, Founder of the Dynasty of the *Han*, and Father to *Ven ti*, or *Hyau wen*.



*Ten lyu ki* the making a Journey into the Kingdom of *Tsi*, his Son who was with him died on the Road as they returned. He caused him to be buried in the Habits of the Season in a Grave not very deep, without any more Mold upon him, than was necessary to shew that a dead Body had been buried in that Spot. This done, he said, weeping for his Son; "It is the Fate of our Bodies to return to Dust. It is an unalterable Decree that Rottenness shall penetrate every where, whatever Precaution we use to prevent it." The Place of his Son's Birth was but 100 Leagues distant from that of his Death. His Father caused him to be buried in the Spot where he died, without being at the trouble to (\*) transport him to the burial Place of his Family. *Confucius* on a Journey, understanding what *Ten lyu* had done and said on this Head; He both approved and commended him, as being well versed in the Rites. *Confucius* was certainly a dutiful Son; *Ten lyu* an affectionate Father: *Shun* and *Tu* loyal Subjects; and *Chew kong* loved *Yu wang* as his elder Brother, and honoured him as his Emperor. Yet we see that all these great Men, as if they had acted in Concert with one another, shunn'd Magnificence and Expences in Funerals and upon Sepulchres. Was this Motive a mean Parsimony? Doubtless not: Who dares to suspect them of that? But besides other Considerations, they had this one, that they thereby less exposed the Bodies of the Dead to the Insults of the Living.

The King of *Wen* acted quite otherwise; he erected to his Father, without much regarding the Rites, a Monument equally sumptuous and proud. Within ten Years he saw it demolished and plundered by the People of *Tse*; the same Thing happened to the five Kings of *Tsin*, in a Sepulchre where their dead Bodies were interred, together with a good deal of Riches. These Riches were seen carried off, and the Remains of their Bodies were left in so pitiful a Condition, that one cannot think of it without Horror. At last *Sbi wahang*, the King of *Tsin*, becoming Emperor, he chose for his Sepulchre the Mountain *Li*, whose Foundation he caused to dig, if we may so speak, even to the (+) Center of the Earth. On its Surface he erected a Mausoleum which might pass for a (‡) Mountain. It was 500 Feet high, and at least half a League in Circumference. On the Outside was a vast Tomb of Stone, where one might walk as easily as in the largest Hall. In the Middle was a sumptuous Coffin, and all around there were Lamps and Flambeaux, whose Flames were fed by human Fat. Within this Tomb, there was upon one Side a Pond of Quick-silver, upon which were scattered Birds of Gold and Silver: On the other, a compleat Magazine of Moveables and Arms: Here and there were the most precious Jewels in Thousands. In short, the Magnificence and Riches, either of the Coffin, the Tomb, or the Buildings wherein it was placed, is inexpressible. He not only expended immense Sums upon it, but it cost him the Lives of a great many of his Subjects. Besides the People of his Palace who had perished there, the Workmen who had been buried alive were counted by (§) *Wan*. The People no longer able to support this Tyranny, all of a sudden run to Arms, upon the first Signal of a Revolt. These Works upon the Mountain *Li* were not yet finished, when *Chew ehong* encamped at its Foot; and soon after *Hang si* rased these vast Walls, burnt these beautiful Buildings, penetrated into that proud Monument, carried off all its Riches, and made that Sepulchre a Place of Horror: However the Coffin still remained there. It is said, a Shepherd searching in the midst of these Labyrinths for a stray Sheep, happened to drop some Fire, which caught the Coffin and consumed it. Surely, never did any Prince carry his Magnificence farther than *Sbi wahang*, especially with regard to his Sepulchre. You see what are the Consequences. Can any thing more dismal be conceived?

But to return. It is plain from History, that always where there was most Virtue, there was least Pomp, even as to what related to Sepulchres: That those who are acknowledged, by all the World, to have been the most understanding of the Ancients, were the most removed from Pomp: That those who valued themselves upon their Magnificence on this Point, were such as had no Reputation, either as to Wisdom or Virtue; and that those who had the smallest Share of both, always carried this Ostentation and Magnificence the farthest: It appears, that the most sumptuous and the most rich Tombs and *Myau*, were soon pillaged and demolished. Can one deliberate, after this, upon the Course that he is to follow?

There was a Time, when the *Chew* beginning to degenerate, gave into Luxury and Expences. The rest of the Government felt it. *Yen Vang*, a clear-sighted Prince, succeeded them: He perceived the Cause of the Evil: He applied a Remedy: He revived a decent Frugality: And set the first Example himself. This Example had such an Effect, that it put the Government upon a right Footing: His Reign was flourishing, and his Posterity numerous; and it is his Memory which our *Sbi king*, in the Ode *Se kan*, celebrates. On the contrary, *Nyen kong*, King of *Li*, valued himself upon erecting fine Terrasses, inclosing vast Parks, and magnificently adorning the Halls of his Ancestors. He died without Posterity, and the (||) *Chun tssu* does not spare him. Will any one after this, prefer Pomp to Oeconomy? Your Majesty, at your Accession, shewed your Value for, and gave more than one Proof of, this last Virtue. Your Moderation, especially, was admired, in the Conveniencies which you proposed to make at the ancient Sepulchre of your Family. You soon changed that Method in the new Sepulchre, that you have begun at *Chang lin*. What proud Terrasses, or rather what laboured Mountains! How many private Coffins have been removed for it! We may count them by ten Thousands. How much Money has been

(\*) This is commonly done; all Persons, of any Distinction, never fail to do it at this Day.

(†) The *Ching* says, to three Sources; no Doubt alluding to some Fable, of which I am ignorant.

(‡) The Text does not very clearly express the Form; whe-

ther it was a single Mass, or consisted of many Buildings, as at present.

(§) A *Wan* is 10000.

(||) The Name of an ancient *Ching* Book.



been expended, and the Charges already amount to more than a hundred *Wan*. The Dead hate you, the Living endure you, but murmur at you. The Breath of these Groans and Imprecations blasts the Seasons, and sterilizes the Ground.

I am a Person without Understanding, but my way of Reasoning is this: If the Dead know what passes here, surely, by disturbing so many Coffins, you make a great many Enemies among them. If the Dead are unconscious of what is done on Earth, what End can these profuse Expences upon the Sepulchre of one Man, serve? Only one, which is, that they attract the Eyes of the Living. But Men of Wisdom and Virtue, far from approving these Expences, only behold them with Regret. A People which is harassed, is far from relishing such expensive Lessons of filial Piety. We shall suppose, that there are some Persons abandoned to Wisdom and Virtue, whose Inclinations lead them to Pomp, that applaud this Undertaking. Is there any thing in such Applauses that can flatter you? You, Sir, are naturally full of Goodness, Sincerity, and Uprightness. Your Genius is Superior, and never was there a Prince more capable to reflect a Lustre upon his Dynasty, or more closely to follow, even the most wise among our ancient Sages and ancient Emperors. Will you then, on the contrary, imitate the Faults of so bad a Prince as *Sbi wbang*? Will you, like him, disregarding the Repose and Safety of your Empire, and the Sentiments of every wise and virtuous Man, undertake these proud and useless Works? Will you buy, at such a Price, the Applause of certain worthless Sycophants? Nothing can be more melancholy if you do, nor can I help blushing in your behalf. You have many other Patterns to follow; amongst the Ancients, *Wbang ti*, *Yau*, *Shun*, *Yü*, *Tang*, *Vü wang*, *Chew kong*; amongst those who are more modern, *Vü kong*, *Yen hyu*, *Confucius*, &c. But without even going so far back as them, you find in *Hyau wen*, who was one of your own Ancestors, an Example of this Kind, which you ought to follow; and in *Sbi wbang* one, which you ought to shun. To conclude, I advise you to abandon the Works of *Chang lin*, to fix on the ancient Sepulchre of your Family, and to regulate by the Counsels of all your great Men the Accommodations which ought to be made there.

*A Gloss.*] *Ching ti*, at first, appeared touched with this Discourse of *Lyew hyang*; nevertheless he did not follow his Counsel.

*Another Remonstrance of the same Lyew hyang, to the same Emperor Ching ti, upon his abandoning the Government to the Relations of the Empress.*

**S**IR; There is no Emperor, who does not wish to maintain in his State good Order and Peace, during his Reign; and who does not propose to transmit his Crown to his Descendants; notwithstanding of which, great Revolutions are not rare: And it is still more frequent to see, at least, dangerous Commotions in States. The most ordinary and immediate Cause of these Misfortunes is attributed, and I believe justly too, to Princes giving, or at least permitting too great an Authority to certain of their Subjects. This appears evident in a great Number of Examples which are furnished us, by the ancient Book (\*) *Chun tssü*. In Times nearer our own, *Chau wang*, King of *Tsing*, saw his Kingdom brought to the Brink of Ruin, by making his Uncles on the Mother's Side, too powerful. However he was happy, in finding two faithful Subjects who supported him. *Eul shi*, the Successor of *Sbi wbang*, gave himself entirely up to *Chau kau*. This last begun, by removing from about his Person every one whom he suspected: After which, he freely abused his Power. A Revolt soon followed; *Eul shi* lost his Empire and his Life, at once. This Example is not ancient, since to this Prince, who was the last of the Dynasty of the *Tsin*, the Dynasty of the *Han* succeeded.

But this very Dynasty furnishes us with an Example yet more recent: In the second Generation, it saw itself at the Brink of Ruin. The *Lyu*, whom the Favour of the Empress, a Descendant of that House, had raised, seiz'd the Helm of Government, and all Honours and Employments were engrossed, either by them or their Creatures. They had the Command of the Troops, both to the North and South; their Pride and their Haughtiness even exceeded their Power, and they were within one Step of mounting the Throne, which they were ready to take, when the *Hew's* of *Kyang* and of *Chubi*, supported by some others of their Character, with a Courage and Zeal worthy of themselves, opposed the *Lyu*, rooted them out, and confirmed the Throne to the *Lyew* (+).

The *Wang* (+) are at this Time, what the *Lyu* were before. No less than 23 of them are raised to the highest Honours. One of them, who is Generalissimo of your Troops, absolutely and arbitrarily disposes of every Thing. Five others, who are of the same Family of the *Lyew*, carry their Pride and their Insolence yet higher. They frequently cloak their Avarice, their Violence, and even sometimes the most mean and the most shameful Passions, under the Pretence of public Good. When this Pretence cannot take Place, they have Recourse to your and the Empress's Name. They make every one sensible of the Relations they bear to her, and what she bears to you; and under this Title they attempt every thing. All the first Employments of the great Tribunals are filled with their Creatures. Is there any one of their Cabal who applauds them? Does he mount to the first Offices? Is there any Unwillingness expressed, that he ought not to be raised in that manner? The Effects of their Vengeance are soon felt. Happy is he, to whom it does not cost his Life. They have in Pay vast Numbers of wordy Sycophants, who are always praising them every where. Even your Ministers are in their Interest.

(\*) This Book cites a great many; but as they are only Names of Men and Countries, I omit them.

(†) Family-Name of the Dynasty, surnamed *Han*.

(‡) Name of the Family of the Empress, Consort to the Emperor *Ching ti*.



You see truly, great Prince, upon what footing these *Wang* are, while the Princes of your House are buried in Obscurity. Those amongst them, whom they understand to possess any Degree of Merit, are removed to a Distance, by a thousand Artifices. You are often put in mind, that you may entertain a Distrust of them, of the Examples of the Princes of (\*) *Ten* and *Kay-chi*: But they take care never once to mention the (†) *Lyu* and the *Ho*: In short, never did the *Wang fu*, under the *Chew*; never did the *Hew* of *Yang*, under the *Tsin*; nor the *Lyu* and the *Ho*, under the *Han*, your Predecessors, attain to so great a Pitch of Power, as have the *Wang* under your Reign. The same State never suffers two Powers so extremely opposite. Either your House is in the utmost Danger, or that of the *Wang* ought to perish. Remember of whom you are descended. Will it not be shameful for you to let your Empire pass to meer Allies, and to reduce those who are of your own Blood, to the most vile Conditions? If you have not a due Sense of your own personal Interest, study at least to support the Splendor of your Ancestors. This touches your own Honour: This touches even the Honour of the Empress; for it is a settled Rule with the most remote Antiquity, that a Woman ought to prefer the Family into which she enters by Marriage, to that from whence she is descended. The Security of the Happiness of States must be begun at a Distance; and Troubles must be prevented before they arrive. By doing otherwise all is hazarded.

It is not yet too late if you please, but if you will believe me, do not delay it. Call near your own Person such of the Princes of your Blood as have Merit, and make them enter into a Share of the Government; but above all, trust the least Part of it to your Allies. *Hyau wen* excluded them, and his Reign was peaceable. It is the true Interest of both Families, that your Allies should be enriched by your Favours, in Consideration of the Empress: That they should have wherewithal to support themselves in Time to come on a good Footing; but that your House should reign and should govern. This is the Method by which both of them, each according to its own Rank, should continue and flourish for many Ages. But if your Majesty should act otherwise, there is all Reason to fear, that we may yet in our Days, see the tragical Events of which I have spoken, and that you will leave to Posterity a melancholy Memorial of your Reign.

*A Gloss.*] *Ching ti* having read this Remonstrance, caused *Lyew hyang* to come into his Presence; and shewing by his Sighs that he was very much touched with his Discourse, he told him; *You may depend upon it, that I will think upon and provide for every Thing, that you have represented to me.* Besides he raised him to a considerable Post in the Government.

Towards the Reign of *Ching ti*, People gave into all kinds of Superstitions, and pretended Secrets, particularly into a Search after a kind of Immortality. In the Collection from whence I take these Pieces, there is a Discourse of *Ku yong*, which represents to the Emperor the Vanity of these Researches, and concludes, by desiring him not to suffer any one of these Mountebanks to appear at his Court. All his Proof consists of Examples drawn from History (‡); so that to point it out as I have done, is to give an Abstract of the Discourse.

*A Petition of Mey fu, presented to the Emperor Ching ti in favour of the Family of Confucius.*

PRINCE; It is commonly said, that every one ought to conform himself to the Rank that he bears: And that he who acts otherwise, is in hazard to displease the Sovereign, and to feel the Effects of his Indignation. According to this Maxim, I ought to hold my Peace; and being but a petty Officer, ought not to propose any Thing that is considerable; but I own this is a Maxim that I cannot approve of. The fear of Punishment, and the hopes of raising my Fortune, no way affect me. 'Tis true, that if I am silent, agreeable to the humble Rank I possess, I may quietly pass the Remainder of my Days; but then after my Death, my Body will be no sooner rotten, than my Name shall be forgot. There is no degree of Rest, and no Pitch of Fortune that I would purchase at this Price. My Ambition is not confined to this Life: I endeavour to merit, that after my Death, my Name may be seen engraven upon Monuments of Stone, and that my Figure may be seen gravely sitting in a lofty Hall, before which there is a handsome Court. I should be sensibly afflicted, should I pass my Life without being (‡) useful to my Country, and thus deserve to be forgot as soon as I am dead.

This is what employs me Night and Day: And this is my Motive for presenting to you this Petition. It is a common and a true Saying, That to preserve others is the Means of preserving one's self, and that to shut up the Way to one's self, is to shut it up to others; and accordingly every one receives either Reward or Punishment, in proportion as he does good or evil. *Sbi wbang* destroyed the *Chew*, and seized six Kingdoms. Under him Virtue was without Honour and without Reward. Under him, the Ceremonies, in honour of the Chiefs of our three famous Dynasties, were disused. In short, he did all he could to extinguish the (§) true Doctrine. Thus he died amidst Alarms and Troubles; his Son was killed, and with him his Posterity perished. Punishments, which perfectly well agree to his Conduct with respect to others.

(\*) Two Princes of the reigning Family, who had occasioned some Commotions.

(†) Two Families, two of which were Empresses, who abused their too great Authority.

(‡) The ordinary Fund of the *Chinese* Eloquence.

(§) A Gloss says, that he who procures Honours to the great Men of past Ages, does real Service to the State.

(§) The *Chinese* says, *Tyen Hyu*, the Doctrine of *Tyen*, or the Celestial Doctrine.



*Fu wang* observed a contrary Conduct. Before he descended from the Chariot, which served him to gain the Victory, he gave orders to preserve the Descendants of our five *Ti*. He afterwards made the Prince of *Ki*, one of the (\*) *Hya*, and the Prince of *Song*, one of the *Ing*, these Families, and to shew, at the same time, that he did not pretend to possess the Empire, so as not to do Good to others. Thus his Family, as a Recompense, multiplied so exceedingly, that the Number of those who carried the Pictures of their Ancestors into their Hall, formed, as it were, the Course of a fine River. At present, the Royal Family *Ing*, has no direct Heirs which are in Place, and *Ching wang* who was the Chief, has no body who continues the Ceremonies in his Honour. Is it not for this, that you as yet have no Heir?

According to the Interpretation which *Ku lyang* gives of a Passage of *Chun tsiu*, *Confucius* and his Family are descended of the *Ing*. Your Majesty would do very well, to honour them with the Title of Successors in Chief to that Royal Family, in order to continue the Ceremonies. It is true, that they descend only in a collateral Line, but what does that signify? The first of a Family who becomes a Prince, becomes thereby President of the Ceremonies, altho' it was formerly the Right of another. A Prince (†) of distinguished Merit, tho' born of a Woman of the second Order, is sometimes justly preferred to the (‡) Son of the Wife. Besides, an ancient Tradition says, that the Descendants of Persons of Merit and Virtue, ought never to be without Lands. By much stronger Reasons, those of *Confucius*, that eminently wise and virtuous Man, and who has the Advantage to be descended from the *Ing*, ought not. *Ching wang* celebrated the Funeral of the great *Chew kong*; his Uncle treated him only as a *Chu hero*. (§) *Whang tyen*, as it is said, found that to be too little, and testified its Resentment by a great Storm.

At present, the Hall of *Confucius* is but little honoured, and his Descendants are in the Rank of mean People. It is not the Intention of the *Whang tyen*, that so great a Man should not be respected in the ordinary Ceremonies, except by People of so mean a Condition. *Confucius*, without possessing any Kingdom, had all the Qualities of a great King; for which Reason, *Ku lyang* called him a King without a Kingdom. Your Majesty then with that Consideration, can grant to his Descendants what I propose. Besides that, I don't doubt but that this good Action will contribute to the Happiness of your Empire. It is the Means of eternizing your Memory, and my Reason is this. Till this time, it has never been the Custom to honour great Men in the Persons of their Descendants: The wise Kings your Successors, will follow this Custom, and it will eternally be remembered, that it was introduced under your Reign: Is this a thing to be neglected?

*The Emperor Kang hi's Remark.*] The Aim of *Mey fu* was to illustrate the Family of *Confucius*, that he might more certainly obtain what he wanted.

*The Gloss.*] *Ching ti* granted to the Family of *Confucius*, what *Mey fu* proposed.

*Under Ching ti, on account of some extraordinary Phenomena's, a pretended Astrologer, proposed to send a large Army against the Barbarians of the North: Adding, that when the Army was on foot, the first Officer of Distinction, who should commit any Fault, should be put to Death: That thereby the rest might be struck with Respect, and the Barbarians with Terror: That the bad Omens might be averted, and every thing might succeed. Ching ti half inclined to this Advice, and asked the Opinion of Wang kya, who gave it in Writing as follows.*

**I**T is not by empty Words, but by virtuous Actions, that you must try to gain the Hearts of the People. *Tyen* must be answered and obeyed by a real and solid Virtue, and not by a fair Outside. No, that is not allowed, nor is it indeed easy to impose upon common People, and far less is it either allowable or possible to impose upon *Shang tyen*, or to escape his (||) penetrating Sight. When he causes extraordinary Phenomenons to appear, it is either to keep Princes in their Duty, or to reclaim them. If they profit by this Warning, and if they seriously practise Virtue, the Minds of the People are satisfied, and *Tyen* obtains his Aim.

As for what certain Talkers say, who take Advantage of every thing to enhance their own Value, and who pretend to see in the Stars, the Necessity and Success of these Expeditions against our Neighbours, I am far from finding in their Discourses, the true manner of answering and obeying *Tyen*. On the contrary, I think I see the melancholy Prelude of the most fatal Revolutions. Nothing, it is true, is more terrible, than to see a considerable Officer dragged for the least Fault, with his Hands tied behind his Back, to the Gate of the Palace, there to undergo the most disgraceful Punishment. But can all this Pomp of Terror hinder it from being said with Truth, that it is always dangerous to stir without Necessity: And that the Advice of these Talkers, was not an

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(\*) The *Hyan* reigned before the *Shan* or *Ing*: And the *Sian* before the *Chew*, of which *Fu wang* was the first Emperor: These are called the three Dynasties.

(†) Some eminent Writers complain of this Usage, and look upon it as an Abuse.

(‡) The famous *Fen wang* is ranked in this Number, but it is

always cried out against; and it is pretended, that it is scarce ever done without very bad Consequences.

(§) The Character *Wang* is never applied but to the Emperor, and *Tyen*, as we have many times observ'd, to Heaven.

(||) The Sense of the Chinese Expression is *Shin*, which signifies Spirit, spiritual, impetrate, all at once.



Advice to be followed. As for me, all that I see in the Councils given you, are either Flatteries in order to engage you in Enterprizes that are really very dangerous: Or, frivolous Reasons founded upon new Conjectures, in order to induce you to an extravagant Severity. Is there any thing more capable to spoil the most Virtuous Prince, than Flattery? Is there any thing more ready to attract the Hatred and Curses of the Subjects, than Expeditions, that are as hazardous as they are unnecessary?

As for these trifling Reasonings that are founded upon vain Conjectures, they visibly wound the true Doctrine. And the extravagant Severity with which, by this Means, they would inspire you, is diametrically opposite to Clemency and Gentleness; Virtues, upon which the greatest Princes have always valued themselves. Formerly *Mu kong*, King of *Tsing*, preferred the Advice of a certain Talker, to the wise Councils of his wife General *Pe li lu*; this cost him the entire Ruin of his Army. *Mu kong* then openly acknowledged his Fault, but it was too late, for his Army was defeated: Believe me, that the Quality which bids fairest to render a Prince famous in after Ages, is the Faculty of discerning those who would impose on his Judgment, and his Care not to give into the Advice of People, who are without Experience, and without Wisdom. Your Majesty may be convinced of this, by reading History: To which I advise you as much as possible: And I conjure you above all, never to take the first Advice that is offered, without a due Examination.

*The Emperor Ngay ti had a Favorite, whose Name was Tong hyen, whom he loaded with Honours and Riches: This made every body repine at his Conduct. Wang kya upon this, made a Remonstrance to the Emperor: Wherein, having laid before the Emperor, a full Account of the Favours he had beaped upon Tong hyen: Together with the Riches, the Pride, and the Vanity of that Favorite: He gave an Instance of two Persons, who by a like Bounty, were raised under other Reigns, and whose Fortune had so far intoxicated them, that they threw the State into Confusion, and likewise ruined themselves. He concluded, with pressing the Emperor to weigh these two Examples, and other Instances of past Ages, and to moderate his Favours with Regard to Tong hyen; were it for no other Reason, but for the good of that Favorite, whom these extravagant Favours could not fail to hurt. The History says, that this Remonstrance by no means pleas'd Ngay ti, whose Affection for Tong hyen was not at all diminished: That notwithstanding, he was ashamed to act openly against the Remonstrance; he took an indirect Method of increasing the Riches of his Favorite. The Empress's Consort produced an Ordinance, either real or supposititious, by which the Empress's Dowager left to Tong hyen an Estate, containing 2000 Families: This Ordinance was sent to Wang kya the Minister of State, in order to put it in Execution. Wang kya immediately sealed it and sent it to the Emperor, with a second Remonstrance, which is as follows.*

**I**T is a common and a true Saying, that *Tyen* is the Master of Dignities and Lands. Thus the *Shi king* says, when it speaks of Sovereigns. "*Tyen* deposes under his Commands, a capable and a virtuous Man." In this Respect therefore, they who reign are in *Tyen's* Place. What then is more proper to inspire them in their Distribution of Favours and Graces, with a serious Attention and a respectful Dread? Whoever therefore misplaces them, is almost always punished with the Murmurs and Curses of the People, by the Disorders of the Seasons, by epidemical Diseases, and such like Plagues. No Man can be more alarmed than I am, to see on the one Hand, your Majesty in a bad state of Health, and on the other, the excessive Favours you heap upon a Minion, by lavishing on him the highest Titles, by draining your Treasures, and fearing, if I may so say, that they will not be sufficient for him: In short, in some measure, by degrading yourself, and stooping to raise him.

*Hyau wen*, one of your Ancestors, was anxious to raise a certain Terrass. But upon a Computation of how much it would cost him, altho' the Sum was but moderate, and not above a hundred (\*) *Kin*, yet he gave up his Project, notwithstanding of his Inclination. *Hyen* your Favorite understands better Things. It is not rare to see him, tho' a Subject, draw out of the Royal Treasury a thousand *Kin*, in order to gratify some Family. This is what has not been seen since the most remote Antiquity: For this Reason, he is cursed all over the Empire. There is a Proverb in Country Places; *That the Man who is pointed out with the Finger, never dies of a Disease*. I tremble for *Tong hyen*; yet I understand, that an Order of the late Empress is produced, by which the Ministers of State and others, are commanded to put him in Possession of what formerly was the Estate of three *Hew*. For my share, I am inclin'd to believe, that these late Earthquakes, these Rockings of the Mountains, and Eclipses of the Sun, are so many Advices given you, not to raise the Subject above the Sovereign. *Hyen*, who has been for a long time overloaded with your Favours, has been seen insolently to disdain them, and when he had received Lands from you, to demand an Exchange: But after having obtained it, to return incessantly to the Charge, and fatigue you with new Demands: He being always importunate and insatiable, and you always easy and condescending to his Desires and Caprices: This has been observed for a long time. But as nothing is more contrary to the Respect that is due to you, and to the Good of your State, there is not one of your good Subjects, who does not behold it with Grief.

Your Health is precious, and you have as yet no Heir. These Circumstances demand of you a singular Application to gain the Heart of *Tyen*, to render yourself amiable to your Subjects, and thereby

\* At present 100 *Kin* is 100 Ounces of Silver: I know not if it was the same in those Days.



thereby to deserve his auspicious Protection. Yet this is what you do not in the least think of; being entirely employed in making the Fortune of one Subject, you forget all the rest, and even your own Health. Whence can it proceed, that you are so insensible of what supported *Kau tsü* in so many Exploits, I mean, the Desire and Hopes of perpetuating the Throne in his Family? The Book (\*) *Hyau king* says: "If there are at the Court of a Prince seven Officers truly zealous, and who have Courage enough to make respectful Remonstrances upon occasions, tho' that Prince be a little irregular in his Conduct, he will not, for all that, lose his Crown." If I presume at present, to send back to your Majesty this Ordinance sealed up, it is not because I fail in my Respect to the Orders of the Court, nor that I court my own Ruin by offending you; it is because I dare not produce it; it is because for the Honour of your Majesty, and the Good of your Estate, I am very much afraid, lest it should come to the Ears of the Public: All I do, and all I say, is not in order to raise my own Value, or to make a Shew of my Zeal to your Majesty. Be pleased to examine yourself, what other Motive could engage me to make these reiterated Remonstrances, notwithstanding of the Danger to which they expose me.

The Emperor *Kang hi* praises these two Remonstrances of *Wang kya*, especially the one I have now translated: Several other Authors are cited, some dead, others living, who praise this Piece. *Wang kya* perished, but not entirely for these Remonstrances, but for some other Affair which *Teng byen's* Vengeance had raised against him. He was thrown into Prison, where it is said, he was starved to Death. His melancholy Fate, stopped the Mouths of all the other zealous Subjects.

Under the Emperor *Ngay ti*, *Tan yu* a Tartar Prince to the North West of *China*, wrote a Letter of Submission, begging the Emperor's Permission to come in Person, and to pay him his Homage. The greater Part of the Ministers and Officers of State, looked upon this Request as an Occasion of a great, but useless Expence. *Tang yong* was of another Opinion, and presented a Remonstrance to the Emperor on that Head, where he lays before him at large, all the Troubles that these People had occasioned since the Days of the *Tsin*. Representing at the same time, that it was both for the Honour and Advantage of *China*, that these People should submit. He adds, that the Proposal of *Tan yu* could not be rejected without irritating him, in which case, the Emperor must feel the Effect of it for a long Time. The Emperor, upon this Remonstrance, accepted the Proposal of *Tan yu*, and sent him his Permission for what he wanted. In the Book from which these Pieces are extracted, some Reflections, which an ancient Author named *Hü yu*, made upon the Events treated of in this Piece, are inserted in the Margin.

A good many of our Emperors, says that Author, seeing every thing quiet at Home, have endeavoured to make Conquests abroad; and have valued themselves upon submitting those People, which the former Dynasties could not subdue. Such amongst others was, *Vü ti* one of the *Han*, who during thirty Years, employed vast Armies against his Neighbours to the North West, but without Success. On the contrary, under the Reigns of *Swen ti*, *Yuen ti*, *Ching ti*, and *Ngay ti*, Princes, who never troubled their Head about making Conquests, these People submitted themselves, particularly in the time of *Ngay ti*, under whose Reign the Dynasty *Hü* was much decay'd: (†) *U sun* paid him Homage according to the Rites, and more than Fifty petty Princes of the western Kingdoms, had Seals which they received from our Emperor.

Tho' nothing, in Appearance, was more glorious, or more advantageous for *China*, for my Share, when I consider it in that Situation, I compare it to a great Tree which shoots forth large Branches and thick Leaves, but whose Trunk and Root the Worms devour. The Tree, notwithstanding of its beautiful Appearance, is in great Danger. Thus, our wise Kings of Antiquity, applied themselves carefully to regulate their Empire well at Home: This they made their principal Study, and were far from neglecting it, in order to form Designs abroad. O! How well did these great Men understand Matters?

*Kong quang*, a Minister under *Ngay ti*, proposed to that Prince, to destroy the Palaces of such of his Ancestors, whose Times and Ranks were passed. This Proposition appeared in general, reasonable. All the Difficulty was, with Respect to the Palace of the (§) *Hya yü*, upon which there were different Opinions. *Yuan le*, *Pong swen*, and some others, were of Opinion, that it should be destroy'd, saying, that tho' *Hya yü* was a very great Prince, and tho' the Empire owed him great Obligations, yet his Time being expired, according to the Degrees both of Succession and Relation, his Palace ought to be destroyed. *Lyew hing*, *Wang shun*, and some others, were of a contrary Sentiment. They presented upon that Head, a short Discourse to the Emperor. It consisted entirely in crying up the Reign of *Hya yü*, who according to them, and to History, was a very great Prince, and particularly a great Conqueror. They ended, by saying, that the (†) *King* determined nothing so clearly with Respect to the Number of Degrees, but that their Palaces might yet stand. They shewed by some Examples, that they have stood for seven Generations at one time: *Ngay ti* followed this last Advice, and the Palace of *Hya yü* was preserved.

(\*) A Book upon filial Piety, written by *Csefaui*.  
(†) Formerly nam'd *Tan yu*.

(§) Otherwise nam'd *Fü ti*.  
(†) Books in Verse, which are Canonical.



Ping ti succeeded Ngay ti, but reigned only a short Time. Vang pwen possessed himself of the Throne, and the Dynasty of the Han was interrupted for upwards of twenty Years. Syew, otherwise called Wen shû, Grand-son of Kau tsu, restored it in the ninth Generation: And the Han having remounted the Throne, possessed it for upwards of 200 Years. This Restorer of the Dynasty of the Han, has been Surnamed Quang vu.

In the 27th Year of his Reign, some body presented a Memorial to him, to engage him to make War upon the Barbarians in the North West: Which Proposition he answered in the following Declaration.

**I** REMEMBER, that I have often read in the *Whang she kong*, that what is flexible, altho' it appears weak, carries it from what is stiff and strong. This is an Allusion which lets us see, that what is called Force and Power, ought to yeild, and in effect does yeild, to Gentleness and Virtue. Thus it is usually said, When a Prince is virtuous, that which contributes to his Pleasure, contributes to that of his People. On the contrary, when a Prince is without Virtue, his Pleasures are of such a Nature, as cannot be relished by the Subjects. It is added with Reason, that the Pleasures of the first Kind are durable, but those of the second Sort, are short liv'd and fatal to the Enjoyer. The Prince who seeks to meddle in foreign Affairs, fatigues himself to no purpose. He who confines himself to those at Home, easily brings them to a happy Period. Is a Prince in Peace? People attach themselves to him: Are his Affairs perplexed? They take Occasion to raise a thousand Storms against him. Thence proceeds this Maxim, that the Prince who endeavours to extend his Territories, renders them desert and barren: He who endeavours to grow in Virtue, sees, that, at the same time, his Strength encreases. Is a Prince content with what he has? He can preserve it without great Trouble. But would he invade the Property of others? He labours for his own Hurt and Destruction. Victories of that kind, are at the Bottom real Defeats. My Government is as yet very imperfect: My Empire is frequently subject to public Calamities: My poor People have Difficulty to subsist themselves, and pass their time very poorly: What shall become of them, if by ill timed Undertakings, I should encrease their Miseries.

*The Emperor Kang hi's Remark.*] (\*) *Quang vu* had been long at the Head of Armies, he knew well, how much the People suffered by War: So that it is not at all surprizing, that he took Care not to engage them needlessly in it.

*A Gloss.*] After this Declaration, no body presumed to advise *Quang vu* to any Project of War.

Ming ti, the fourth Son of *Quang vu*, succeeded him. When he was (+) *Tay tse*, he had *Wen yong* for his Preceptor, who being infirm, petitioned to be allowed to retire from Court. Ming ti, who was now Emperor, answered the Petition of *Wen yong* in a Writing, which I am now to translate.

**I** HAVE had the Pleasure to study under you from my Child-hood, for during nine Years Notwithstanding of your Cares, I am yet a Man without Judgment, and without Understanding. Our five *King* are Extensive: The Words of our ancient Sages are full of Mysteries and deep: It is all that forms a Genius of the first Order, to be able to penetrate to their Bottom: This is far above the Capacities of a Man, without Genius and without Abilities, like me. Your Assistance can yet be of great Use to me, and I am very sensible, how little I deserve what you are so complaisant as to tell me, when you ask Permission to retire. Others, besides you, have used such Terms to their Disciples, but these Disciples were, in effect, able Men, who had perfectly comprehended our *King*. Besides, they were obliged to leave their Master by indispensable Duties, and by Family Affairs. They gave him Testimonies of their Grief, which he answered by the Marks of Esteem, which every one of them deserved. As for me, I am far from deserving those which you bestow upon me in your Petition. But since you absolutely desire to be gone, I dare not presume to hinder you: I only recommend to you, to take care of your weak State of Health, and to spare nothing for that Effect, and in short, to put a due Value upon your own (‡) precious Person.

Chang ti succeeded his Father Ming ti: In the second Year of his Reign, there was a great Drought. His Advisers attributed this Calamity, to his not raising the Relations of Empress Dowager. So it was immediately proposed to the Emperor that they should be raised, but this was opposed by the Empress Dowager, who caused the following Declaration to be published

**T**HESE Talkers who attribute the Drought to my Relations being without Dignities, talk thus, either to flatter me, or from some other secret Motive. What they say, is without any Foundation; (§) Five Brothers of an Empress were made *Hew* in one Day: But this did not produce the least Rain. Every one knows how many Commotions the Relations of the Em-

presses

(\*) *Quang vu* himself, in a Letter to one of his Officers, says: I have been ten Years in the Army, and have no relish for empty Compliments.

(†) *Tay*, signifies great, very great: *Tse*, signifies a Son. To these two Characters, is commonly joined the Character *Whang*,

and then they say *Whang tay tse*, to express that Son of the Emperor, who is appointed his Successor.

(‡) The Chinese says, *Of your Body of precious Stear*.

(§) She means the *Wang*, against whom we have seen above, pretty home Remonstrances.



presses have occasioned under other Reigns; for which Reason, the Emperor and I judged it convenient, that my Relations should have no share in the Government. I have often told this to my Son, who is the present Emperor, and yet he is pressed to raise the (\*) *Ma* upon the footing of the (†) *Yu*; Is that reasonable? I have the Honour to be Empress, that is to say, (‡) Mother of the Empire. The Cloaths that I wear, are of Silk, but they are plain and without Embroidery. My Table is neither magnificent nor delicate. My Servants are clothed with the most common to set a Pattern to my Relations, that I may induce them to do the same. But instead of imitating my Conduct in this, I know that they make it a subject of their Raillery, and look upon my Frugality and Modesty, as the Effect of sordid Parsimony. Not long since, I past by the Gate called *Yolong*, where I met one of my Relations: Having stopt a little to ask his News, I saw in his Train, a long Rank of Chariots together with a light and a numerous Troop of Horsemen, every one of which seemed to be a flying Dragon. His meanest Domestics were all richly clothed. As my Servants and his were too near, I did not care to put myself into a Passion, or to give him a public Reprimand. But in order to bring him to himself, I took care, without telling him for what Reason, to cut off his Appointments for a whole Year. Notwithstanding of this, I did not see that he endeavoured to reform himself, or that he shewed that he was sensible of the public Calamities. It is ordinarily said; Who shall know the Subjects but the Prince? And indeed, I know my Relations and Servants better than any other. No! Whatever may be said on this Subject, I will never abandon the wise Views of the late Emperor, or degenerate from the Virtue of my (§) deceased Father. I will take care not to renew the thing that has once already overthrown the Dynasty of the *Han*.

The Emperor Ching ti, after having read over and over again, with great Sighs, this Declaration of the Empress Dowager, renewed his Instances with her, in the following Terms.

IT has for a long time, been usual to make the Sons of the Emperor *Vang* or *Kings*, and the Brothers of the Empress, *Hew*. The one Custom is as well established as the other. Your Modesty and Disinterestedness, certainly do you a great deal of Honour. But why would you hinder me from being as liberal and as beneficial, as any of my Ancestors? Of three Uncles by the Mother whom I would make *Hew*, one is aged, and the other infirm. What Consequences then are to be dreaded? If you do not yield, I own to you, it will give me great Pain. So I beg that you would instantly consent, that it should be done.

The Empress answered her Son's Instances, by the following Declaration.

IT was not upon slight Grounds, and without due Deliberation, that I made my former Declaration. I am far from endeavouring to set up my Modesty in Prejudice of your Liberality. What I have in View, is the real and the solid Good of both Houses. Formerly the Empress (||) *Tew* proposed, to make the elder Brother of the Empress (†) *Wang*, a *Hew*. *Kau tsü*, says *Ya yü*, in opposing this, made a Regulation, that none should be raised to this Dignity, but a Person of the reigning Family, or of some Families, from which the reigning Family has had great Obligations. But what great Services have the *Ma* performed that they should now be put upon the same footing with the *Yu*? Besides, it is with Families that are raised and enriched in so short a time, as with certain Trees, that are made to bear twice in a Year: This cannot last. In short, I see but two Reasons that can induce a Family to wish for Riches and Plenty: The one is, to do honour to their Ancestors, by being in a Condition to acquit themselves of the Ceremonies that are appointed on their Account: The other is, that they themselves may live comfortably and happily. My Brothers have tasted more than sufficiently of your Favours, to make them to do this: What Occasion is there for them to have an Appennage? I oppose it once more, and I have seriously weighed it. Give over your Jealousies and your Uneasinesses on that Account. The most solid Mark of Piety which I can give to my Ancestors is, in securing the Fortune of my Brothers, by checking its Growth. We are in dangerous Times. Corn is at an excessive Price; and the People are miserable: This employs and afflicts me Night and Day. At such a melancholy Juncture, ought I to be thinking to raise my Relations, and to sacrifice to them, what I owe to the Empire; I who am its Mother? No! Speak no more of it to me; my natural Temper is well known: I am firm in my Resolutions, and it is fruitless to irritate me by an obstinate Resistance. If we shall see happier Times when Peace and Plenty shall be diffused over all, then I will confine my Cares to my Grand-son: I will meddle no more in Government, let my Son act as he pleases.

The Emperor Kang hi's Remark.] After praising the Wisdom, Firmness, and Resolution of this Princess; she reflected, says he, upon the fine Instructions and Examples of her Father. Her Vigilance and Zeal, may serve as a Rule and a Mirror to the Empresses of all Ages.

(\*) The Name of the Empress's Family.

(†) The Name of the Family, which had contributed most to re-establish the Dynasty of the *Han*.

(‡) *Qat mü*: *Qat*, signifies Empire, Kingdom; *Mü*, Mother.

(§) Her Father was a Warriour, famous for his Wisdom and Virtue.

(||) The Name of a Family.

(†) The Name of another Family. Of these two Empresses, the one was Mother, the other the Wife, of an Emperor.



Chong ti, one Day, entertaining the great Officers of his Guard in one of his Apartments to the South; in his Way thither, he happened to pass through a large Hall, where the Habits and Moveables, which had been used by the Empress Quang yé, the Wife of his Grand-father Quang vü, lay. He seemed to be touched with seeing this, and changed Colour immediately; and he that instant ordered, that a Habit of Ceremony for each Season, and upwards of fifty Trunks full of ordinary Habits should be reserved. He distributed all the rest among the Vang, sending each of them that which he had allotted him. He did more for the Vang of Zong ping who commanded the Frontiers. He accompanied his Present with a Letter, of which the following is a Translation into our Language.

THE great Officer who came from you, has instructed me in every thing with Regard to you. I immediately gave him Audience, and approved of all your Steps. Notwithstanding of the Distance I am from you, I frequently employ my self in your Troubles and Labours: And you cannot believe with how much Sadness and Uneasiness I do it.

One of these Days, when I was to treat the Officers of my Guard, in an Apartment to the South, as I was going there, I past by the Hall, where the Things, which formerly Quang yé wore, were kept. Confucius says: When we see any thing that has been worn by a Person whose Memory has been dear to us; and if that Person is no more, the Sentiments of Tenderness and Grief, naturally arise in our Hearts. I have proved the Truth of this on this Occasion; you are too good a (\*) Son, and too faithful a Friend, not to feel the same thing, when you receive the Present that I have sent you, which is a Trunk full of the Habits which the Empress Quang yé has left behind her, together with the Ornaments of her Head: This, perhaps, will be some Comfort to you at the Time, when your Grief for the Loss of her, may be greatest. Your Descendants may hereby, likewise, see the Fashions of the Habits of the Empress in our Times. The Family of Confucius, as yet, preserve his Chariot, his Chaise, his Bonnet, and his Shoes. Such is the Force of Wisdom, that when it is eminent, it renders itself long agreeable. It would be natural at the same time, to send you something which had belonged to Quang vü: But in the second of the Years, named Chong yuen, all that he left behind him, was divided among all the Wang: I only augment my Present, with a Horse from the Country of the (†) Wan. This Animal has something singular about him, in that he bleeds at a little Hole, which he by Nature has upon his Shoulder. A Song, made under Vü ti, celebrates a certain Horse, called Celestial, and which, as it is said, Seated Blood. There is something resembling this, in the Horse I send you. Alas! While I am writing you this, perhaps you are actually hastening to stop some Incurfion, or to maintain the Posts which our Troops possess. I frequently think on your Alarms and Fatigues, and am perfectly sensible of them. I recommend it to you, that you should treat yourself well, and take care of your Health. I (‡) long much to see you soon.

Kyang ke, who was originally of Tü, was poor, but virtuous. He more particularly distinguished himself by his Piety towards his Mother, who was a Widow. All the Neighbourhood praised him so much to the Magistrates, that the Emperor being informed of it, made him a (§) Ta fû. Kyang kè becoming infirm, obtained Permission to retire to his own Country: But he was not forgotten in his Absence; Chang ti gave an Order in his Favour, conceived in the following Terms.

SOME time ago, one of the Ta fû, named Kyang kè, retired on Account of an Illness. I wish very much, to be informed about his Health. Filial Piety, which is the Foundation and Principal of all the Virtues, is likewise, as it were, their Crown. Kè, of all my Subjects, has distinguished himself most in this Respect. When this Order comes to Hand, let him receive out of the Royal Granaries, a thousand Measures of Corn. On the eighth Moon of every Year, let the Magistrate of each Place, give him Wine and a Sheep, and enquire from me about his Health. (||) If any thing happens to him, let an Animal of the second Order, be employed in the ordinary Ceremonies.

Ho ti, the fourth Son of Chang ti, succeeded him. When he mounted the Throne, the Empress his Mother, agreeable to the Intentions of the deceased Emperor, published the following Declaration.

THE Emperor Hyau vü, being to punish the (‡) U and the Yee, in order to supply the Expences of War, imposed a Tax on Salt and Iron. The Invasions of the Barbarians since that time, have been so frequent, that this has been continued ever since. The late Emperor studied to diminish the Imposts and Taxes. As for that upon Salt and Iron, finding it had been established for a long time, and he himself not being free of the Apprehensions of a War, he thought it not convenient to touch them. But Experience has let us see, that by the bad Management of the Commissaries, the People have been very much distressed; and yet the State has reaped no great Advantages. This gave him a sensible Pain, and induced him on his Death-bed, to order that the Tax on Salt and Iron should be abolished; and to give both of them up, to the People;

(\*) The Vang [or Wang] of Tong pang, was likewise Grand-son to Quang vü.

(†) A famous Country for Horses.

(‡) The Chinese says: As a Man who is Thirsty; viz. wishes to drink.

(§) A considerable Rank of Honour at Court.

(||) That is to say, if he shall die: But the Chinese Politicians avoids that Expression.

(‡) Names of Kingdoms.



People; reserving however, certain Rights payable to the ordinary Magistrates of the Place, according to the ancient Customs. In consequence of that Order, we make the present Declaration, ordaining, that it be published throughout all the Empire, so that every one knowing our Intentions, may conform thereto.

*Ssang ti*, an Infant three Months old, succeeded to *Ho ti*. The Empress was Regent. In the Book from which these Pieces are taken, there is one of that Princess; the Substance of which is as follows:

She bewails the Corruption of Manners, which she attributes to the little Application that was bestowed in studying the *King*. She invites Persons of Reputation, to instruct the Princesses and Princesses of the Blood, of whom there were upwards of forty, each above five Years of Age. Several Schools were appointed with very good Masters, over whom this excellent Princess watched with great Care. She did the same to the young People of her own Family.

*Vu ti*, first Emperor of the seventh Dynasty, which was called (\*) *Tsin*, recommends it to his Subjects, that they should advise him freely.

THE most difficult Part of an Officer's Duty, is to make Remonstrances to his Prince. If the Prince is difficult on this Head, he stops the Mouth of his most zealous and faithful Officers. This is what I cannot think of, without sending up profound Sighs. I have formerly, by an express Declaration, recommended to my Subjects that should freely give me those Advices, which they shall judge to be useful to me. In effect, I am resolved to profit by them, as much as I can. To encrease this Liberty, I declare as follows. If a Remonstrance is good and sound at Bottom, tho' it is but in a homely Dress, and even, tho' there may be an inconsiderate Expression in it; I will, that it be not imputed as a Crime to the Author, but that such shall be wink'd at and pardoned. And that all the Empire may know, that People may now give Advice, without any Danger, I ordain, that *Kong shau*, and *Ki mu fu*, who were so much wanting in their Respect to my Person, be released.

*Kyen ywen ti*, another Emperor of the same Dynasty, undertook to reduce (†) *U*, and nominated *Kyau yang ku* General of his Troops, honouring him with several Titles: And amongst others, with that of *Kay fu*. The latter, in order to excuse himself, presented the following Discourse.

YOUR Majesty, by a new Excess of Bounty, designs to put me at the Head of your Armies; and at the same time, to honour me with the Title of *Kay fu*, &c. I read that Order with Respect and Acknowledgment; but, in the ten Years since I first began to serve you, I have had but too many honourable and important Posts. I know of how little Value I am, and how little deserving the Posts, with which your Majesty has honoured me. And I deserve yet less, those with which you would now honour me. I likewise know, how great a Crime it is, for one to abuse his Prince's Favour too long; these Thoughts employ me Night and Day, inspire me with a just Dread, and turn those Honours with which you load me, into Matter of Sadness. It is a Saying of the Antients; To receive the greatest Honours and the largest Pensions, without having a well known Merit, and without having done very important Services, is to preclude from great Employments, those who are capable of them; and to frustrate those who have done great Services, of the Reward which they have deserved. By Favour of an Alliance, I have been raised enough already, and perhaps too much. Your Majesty ought to take care; and yet I see by an Effect of your Bounty, you design new Employments for me, and new Titles, yet more Illustrious. As I have not deserved them by my Services, I dare not accept of them. That would be to dishonour my high Rank, and at the same time, to expose me to a fatal Down-fall. I have been for some time thinking upon retiring, that I may guard the Tomb of my dearest Father. But how can I do this, when I have these Posts? I fear, lest I should displease you, if I should refuse your Favours. But on the other Hand I think, that I would do ill to accept of them. It is a Maxim of Antiquity, that one ought to know to circumscribe himself, and especially, a great Officer ought to take care to stop where he ought. This Maxim appears to me so essential, that notwithstanding of my Defect of Virtue, I have it very much at Heart, to follow it. Within these eight Years, your Majesty omitted nothing to draw Men of Merit to your Court, where you gave Employments to them all. But I do not see, that the Success has answered your good Intentions. There is a great Likelihood, that many Men of Merit live in Obscurity and Oblivion: That others are not advanced in Proportion to their Services: Notwithstanding of this, if I am raised to new Honours and new Employments, can I accept of them without blushing?

I have been in Post this long time, notwithstanding of my little Merit; but after all, I am far short of the Rank, in which your excessive Goodness would now place me. Allow me, to mention some People, who are a great deal more deserving than me. *Li bi*, *Tseng chi*, and *Li yun*, are Persons worthy of your Choice. The first, who is already *Ta fu*, joins to a perfect Disinterestedness, extended Views, an unshaken Integrity, and a venerable Gravity. The second, who is *Ta fu* likewise, watches with a singular Attention over his Actions, and never suffers the least indecent Liberty; he is a Man in his personal Character, who is without Reproach, and who lives

(\*) I write *Tsin*, not *Tsing*; tho' it ought to be done, in order to distinguish it from that Dynasty, of which *Schi wahang* was Founder. These two Chinese Characters are quite different.

(†) The Name of a Kingdom which composed part of the Empire, but had revolted from the Dynasty of the *Tsin*.



without soothing his Passions, or being contaminated with the Guilt of others, lives well with all the World. The third, who is likewise *Ta fū*, is a Man, as understanding and disinterested as the other two, and besides that, has an easy Air, and a great Simplicity of Manners. These three great Men are grown old at Court; where they have always lived and served with Honour. They have filled several Posts, but their Families are far from being Rich. To prefer me to these great Men, would be to baulk the Expectations of all the Empire. I am so far from aspiring beyond my Capacity, that I am thinking upon retiring, and I am resolved to do it in a short Time. The present State of your Affairs, obliges me to defer it a little. But permit me, and I beg it as a Favour, not to accept of your new Honours. Allow me to confine myself to the Station in which I am, and to repair to the Post upon the Frontiers, where my too long Absence, may have already occasioned bad Consequences.

*A Gloss.* The Emperor did not yeild to the Excuses of *Yang kú*, who was indeed a Man of great Merit, and besides that, Twin Brother to the Empress. He was therefore made General, and in less than two Years he reduced *U*, which till that time, had substracted itself from the Dominion of the *Tsin*.

*Lyew she lays before the Emperor the Advantages of the Virtue Yang: It consists in respecting, and willingly yeilding to, others.*

OUR wise Kings of Antiquity, have much valued the Virtue *Yang*, and showed a particular Esteem for it. These Princes had two Views in this; the first was, that it might procure them Men of Merit. The second was, to strangle Jealousy, Intrigues, and Disputes. Every Man esteems Virtue and Merit: And every Man is glad to have it thought, that he possesses them. Our Antients knew this well; and when they recommended Deference, they were far from pretending, that by an ill judged Modesty, Persons of Merit and Virtue, should yeild Honours and Employments to those who had neither of these Qualifications. What they meant was, that Men of Merit paying Deference to one another, and mutually yeilding to one another, there should be none amongst them, either unknown or forgotten. Formerly, was any one named to a great Employment? He immediately excused himself, and proposed filling up that Post, with a Person whom he judged more capable. If so laudable a Custom were once revived, how easy would it be for a Prince, to form a just and a judicious Knowledge of the Persons who serve him? It is to this Day, an Usage, that when an Officer is upon the Point of being advanced, he excuses himself, in Appearance at least, for his want of Capacity. But we no more see that they propose another, for filling up the Posts that is designed for them. Thus, properly speaking, there is no more real Deference amongst the Great: And for that Reason, says *Confucius*, there can be nothing expected from the People, but Envy, Quarrels and Contentions. Alas! The Spirit of Envy reigns but too much amongst the great themselves, instead of the Spirit of Deference. Thence proceed two great Evils. Merit is frequently forgotten, and frequently, when it appears, it must grapple with Calumny.

When the Spirit of Deference obtains, those who have real Merit, soon enjoy the Reputation that is their due: For every one when Occasion presents, endeavours to yeild to them. And as no body cares to yeild to a Man whom he does not esteem, if then Men without Virtue and Capacity fill Posts, there will at least be very few such, and they can never be advanced higher. At present, great and midling Capacities are so blended together, that it is very difficult for a Prince to make a just Discernment of them, as formerly.

A King of *Tsi*, was very fond of the Instrument of Music *Yu*, and assembled 300 Men to play upon it in Concert; a certain Person, whose Name was *Nan ko*, who understood nothing of the Matter, seeing 300 Men playing all together, thought, that with a little Impudence, he might pass in the Crowd. And in effect, he received Wages for a long time. When that King was dead, his Successor gave out, that he was still a great Lover of the Instrument *Yu*, than his Predecessor; But that he wanted to hear each of these 300 Men, play singly. At this News, *Nan ko* fled: How many *Nan ko* are got into Posts, ever since the Virtue *Yang*, and all the laudable Customs that were its Consequences has been disused?

At least, If Merit could break thro' that Crowd, and raise itself to the highest Employments it might continue there in Safety. But what has it not to dread now a-days? When Envy and Ambition have unhappily succeeded to the Spirit of this Virtue. In effect, to commit no Faults, belongs only to a Wisdom and Virtue of the first Rate. Thus *Confucius* commending *Yen tse*, whom he loved best of all his Disciples, thought it a sufficient Elogium to say of him, that he never fell twice into the same Fault. But if that Crowd of ambitious Hangers-on, with which the Court now swarms, finds their Access precluded by a Man of a superior Merit, it is ordinary for them to fret. Thence forward they lay themselves out to speak ill of them; they frequently calumniate them; at least, they take great Care to observe them, and to inhance and aggravate the smallest Faults that escape them. However favourably a Prince is prepossessed for an Officer, if he hears frequent Complaints of him, he can't help enquiring into their Causes; if he finds them groundless, it is a great Happiness. But if he finds they are just, he either dissembles, and then his Authority gradually suffers, or he punishes with Rigour; and then the Number of Criminals become so great, that a Man has scarce Grounds for hoping any thing else, but to be comprehended in them, either sooner or later. Thus, not only Men of Merit shyn to appear in Public; but even they who are in Posts, being apprehensive of some trouble-

some



some Reverse, retired as soon as they can. But what great Services can a Prince or a State hope for, from People who live in continual Alarms, and who are always providing for their own Safety? When Affairs come to that pass, a Prince is much to be lamented.

But how shall these Evils be remedied? By re-establishing the antient Practice, which in my Opinion, is not very difficult to do. Amongst those who are, at present, in great Posts, or in those Ranks that lead to them, there are many understanding virtuous Persons; and if they are not very forward in proposing others to the Posts, to which they themselves are named, it is not because they are ignorant of the Value or Advantages of such a Deference, but because the Custom is alter'd, and they follow the Torrent: When *Shun* gave the Post of *Se kong*, to *Yu*: This last respectfully excused himself, and earnestly begged, that it might be disposed of either to *Tsi*, *Ki*, or *Kyew yu*, as being more worthy than he. When *I* was named *Yu quan*, he presented, *Cbu*, *Hu*, *Hyong*, and *Pa*, as Persons preferable to himself in his Opinion. *Pei* did the same, when he was charged with the Care of the Rites. He would have yielded to *Quey* or *Long*. In short, in these antient Times, they who were raised, acted thus. The Usage which obtains now a-days, of a Person who is raised to a Post, presenting to the Emperor a Writing, by way of Thanksgiving, is, I think, a small Vestige of that, which was practised anciently with so much Advantage. Great Use may be made of this. There is nothing to be done, but to regulate in good earnest, that these Writings, which contain only empty Thanks, or frivolous Excuses, shall actually be rejected; and that none shall be presented to the Prince, but those which with this Excuse shall point out good Subjects for filling up the Posts in Question. Every one doubtless will do this. And then it lies at the Emperor's Door, to compare those who are proposed to him, and to prefer in each Rank, those to whom the Deference is paid, by the greatest Number of Voices. Then a great many deserving Persons, who at present live retired, and are only employed on their own private Perfection, will be obliged to appear, and fill up the great Posts of the State; even they, who court these great Posts, will endeavour to merit by their Conduct, a good many Voices for themselves. Thus the Choice of Officers shall be founded, if we may say so, on the Judgment of the whole Empire. The Prince shall see with the Eyes of almost all his Officers, the Merit of each of them. From thenceforth vain Discourses, and secret Intrigues which ruin all, shall cease. If then, they who at present fill the first Ranks, should back this Proposal before the Prince, and without reflecting that it comes from a Person of slender Understanding, should get it put in Execution, I believe that they would thereby render to the State, the most important Piece of Service, that could at this time be expected of them.

Under the same Dynasty of *Tsin* *Yu pu* opened a great College at *Pan yang*: He advertised it by a Writing, in which he explained its Rules. Upwards of 700 young Students repaired to it. At the first opening of the Classes, *Yu pu* made them the following short Discourse.

**B**E HOLD you here, young Students, assembled in a very numerous Body, all of you destin'd, one Day, to fill the most important Posts; all of you in the Flower of your Age, and full of a becoming Warmth. This Day, for you, is opened this new Academy. For what End do you come here? Doubtless you come to learn how to speak well, how to write well, and above all, how to live well. You come here, to lay the Foundations of an eminent Virtue, to render yourself capable, of what is of the greatest Dignity in the Common-wealth, and in one Word, seriously to study true Wisdom.

It is of Importance to acquaint you, that at first, this kind of Study has nothing in it very agreeable, or very inviting: Nay, it frequently happens, that at first setting out, it is not much relished. But in time, it is quite otherwise; different Exercises succeed one another; you perfect yourselves by little and little, you acquire new Attainments every Day by reading, you make new Discoveries of yourselves, you study to go to the Bottom of them; the Genius opens, the Heart dilates, and you feel the Value of this true Wisdom: In its Search, you take a Pleasure, which surpasses every other Pleasure, and is fairly worth them all. In short, a Man is agreeably surprized, to find himself intirely changed, without his almost perceiving after what manner this Change is brought about. Yes! the Tincture which the Heart and the Genius receives from studying with Ardour and Constancy, is, for its Duration, beyond the most valuable Tinctures. These last, either wear out or fade; but the other, when thoroughly imbibed, is subject to none of those Disadvantages.

That the Heart may take it in well, you must in some Measure imitate the Painters; these Artists begin by rightly preparing the Stuff which they are to paint; upon this Ground they lay the Colours which they design to give it. The wise Man act thus in Morality; within, his Heart is pure and upright; and without, his Actions are corresponding. This is essential and indispensable: But every one can give it more or less Lustre, according as his Disposition is more or less happy, and according as his Application is more or less constant. Besides, altho' the Capacity is not equal, yet when the Man is not improv'd by Study, the Defect does not lie in the Capacity so much, as in the Resolution; A Man may be very well mounted, says the Proverb, tho' he does not ride the Horse (\*) *Ki*: A Man may be a good Disciple, without being as well qualified as (+) *Yen-tse*. The grand Point is Constancy. You begin to lop and saw, and then you immediately give over. If the Tree was tender or rotten, it could neither be pruned nor sawed very quickly. On the contrary, by continuing your Toil, you can cut or cleave the hardest Marble.

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6 M

Take

(\*) A famous Horse.

(+) The most beloved Disciple of Confucius.



Take Courage then, young Gentlemen, all you have to do in this College, is to study the great Rules which our antient Sages have left us. With the Helps you have, you may advance a great Deal in a few Years, and soon gain both the Esteem and Respect of those who are in Posts about Court, and thereby early enter upon Employments. There are some People in the World, who, without retiring themselves like you, without having the Advantages that you have, and even under Pressures both from Nature and Fortune, have not failed to become excellent Writers, famous Ministers, and very great Men: But these are very extraordinary Persons, and cannot serve for a Rule. He who is not possessed of so excellent Qualifications, should try, as it were, to form a large River, by damming up the Water by little and little: or to raise a Mountain, by heaping together the Grains of Sand. There are Enterprizes in Nature in which we cannot succeed, without Constancy: Such now is yours, young Gentlemen. But then, in case, that for a short time, giving up all other Care, you should apply yourself in good Earnest, and with Ardour, and direct all your Studies to one Point, you will infallibly make a great Progress. And tho', perhaps, you may not all advance with an equal Pace, yet there is none amongst you, but may make a very considerable Progress.

In the Book from which these Pieces are extracted, *Yu pá* is very much praised, who tho' living at a Time, when the Politeness, the Wisdom, and the Eloquence of the Antients were very much neglected, yet endeavoured all he could, to recover them.

*Under the same Dynasty of the Tsin, the Emperor Ming ti, a little after he mounted the Throne, designed to give an important Employment to Yu long, who, under the preceeding Reign, had been advanced in the Army: Yu lyang (a), in order to excuse himself, presented the following Discourse to the Emperor.*

**S**IR: For upwards of these ten Years I have been in Posts; it is rare for a Man to advance himself so fast, and with so little Expence as I have done: For this, I am indebted to the Bounty of the late Emperor; and I have a due Sense of Gratitude. But at the same time, I am not ignorant, that Favours ought always to bear some proportion to Merit, and that an excessive Favour by raising a Man too high, exposes him to the most fatal Down-fall. To know where to stop, is a Maxim of Wisdom, proper for all Mankind; and is more applicable to me, than any other Person. Tho' I am very far from being ambitious of new Honours, I am yet farther from a Desire to obtain them, in prejudice of those who are more worthy of them than me. Under the Reign of the late Emperor, I was raised to the highest Posts of the Army; but I owed them less to my Merit or my Services, than to the Goodness which his Alliance with me inspired him with. Yet as at that time, very few People well qualified were presented to him, this Scarcity in some Measure, might justify the Honour he did me. At present, Things are on another Footing: Under the auspicious Reign of your Majesty, we see at Court, and throughout all the Provinces, a great Number of Persons of the highest Merit, all equally devoted to your Service. But at this Juncture, to give me the Employments that your Majesty offers, and to unite in my Person, all that is of greatest Importance, both in the Gown and the Sword, allow me to say, looks, as if you deviated from that sovereign Equity, which has rendered the Dawnings of your Reign so bright. It must, at least give Occasion to suspect, that your Conduct is influenced by private Inclinations.

As I am Brother of the Empress, I belong to you in a strict Sense: You know how many Commotions the raising of such Allies have occasioned in past Ages, and how odious the Remembrance of these past Misfortunes renders any such Choice to all the Empire, especially when it is into a Post which gives the Person chosen, any Share in the Government. Profit by this Knowledge. Tho' I had Talents greater than I have; and tho' you judged that they might be very useful to you, yet it would be prudent for you to deprive yourself of them, rather than to go against a Prejudice so universal, and founded upon so many fatal Events. To endeavour absolutely to overbear it, would be to nourish Suspicions and Murmurs in the Hearts of your Subjects, and to expose yourself to the greatest Misfortunes.

It is not even sufficient, in order to guard against those Inconveniences, that your Ministers and great Officers, should penetrate into the Uprightness of your Intentions, and approve of your Choice. For how can they go from Door to Door all over the Empire, to justify it? I am naturally as fond as any Man, to see my Riches and Honours encrease; and am far from being insensible of the new Honours which your Majesty offers me. Besides, the Manner in which you offer them, and your own high Station, makes me afraid, lest you be disobliged at my Refusal; and that this Refusal should expose me to the Loss of my Dignity, or perhaps my Life. Tho' I have but little Understanding, yet I am not so blind, as needlessly to expose myself to your Displeasure, and all its Consequences. But, being instructed by the Events of past Times, I am afraid of being the Occasion of Commotions; and the Good of your State is infinitely dearer to me than my Dignity, or even my Life. For this Reason, I desired more than once to retire. And it is this, which likewise engages me to refuse the new Post, with which your Majesty would honour me. Weigh, I beg of you, the Reason which I have freely laid before you, for my not accepting this Honour. If your Majesty shall judge, that my opposing you in this Manner is a Crime, I will willingly undergo the Chastisement, and look upon the Day of my Death, or the Beginning of my Life.

*Ming ti* yielded to these Reasons, and named another.

(a) One of these Names must be wrong, but we cannot say which.



*The Emperor Hyau ven ti, by a publick Declaration, invited all the Subjects to assist him with their Counsels. After having set forth in his Declaration, all that we have seen in other Declarations of that kind; the Example of the wise and famous Emperors of Antiquity, and the Inconveniency of a Practice contrary to theirs: He concludes his Declaration in these Terms.*

OUR Intention then is, and we heartily wish it, that all our Subjects, from the greatest to the meanest of our Officers, the simple Literati, the Trades-men, the Merchants, and others, may set forth to us what they believe to be of Advantage to the State, and capable to contribute to the Happiness of the People. Let these who judge any thing to be deficient in the present Government, especially with Regard to what appears to them hurtful to Morals and Virtue, act in the same Manner. I recommend to all, not only not to conceal any thing of that Kind, but to speak it out freely, and without Disguise: It is not fine long Discourses that I want. But short full Memorials, which I my self can examine. It will then be as easy for these who present them, to shun the Faults capable to offend me, as it is for me to draw from them, all the useful Instruction I hope for.

*A Fowl which had four Wings and four Feet, was presented to the Emperor Swen vù ti. Tswi quang at that time, possessed at his Court the Post of Tay chang. The Emperor who esteemed him, sent to him, and asked him what he thought of that Monster. Tswi quang took this Occasion to give the Emperor some Advice with Regard to his Conduct. The whole Writing which he presented, is as follows.*

I HAVE read in the History of the five Elements, which is a Book written in the Days of the Han, that under the Reign of Swen ti, in an Apartment of the Palace, a Hen became a Cock in his Feathers, but remained a Hen in all other Respects. Under the Reign of Twen ti, in the House of one of the Ministers of State, a Hen became a Cock by little and little. She got his Head, his Neck, his Spurs, his Crow, and even called the Hens to her. In one of the Years nam'd Yong quang, there was presented to the Emperor a Cock, from whom grew Horns. Lyew byang, who was alive at that time, explained these Prodigies. He said, that Hens being domestic Animals, represented those who came about the Person of the Prince, and that these monstrous Changes informed the Emperor, that he had People about him who were carrying on bad Designs, and were contriving to disturb the State. He particularly pointed out *She byen*, who was then a Favorite. In effect, in the first of the Years named *King ning*, *She byen* was judged guilty, and verified the Prediction. Under the Emperor *Ling i*, in the first Year called *Quang bo*, a Hen happened to be entirely changed in her Feathers, and to be like a Cock all but the Head. The Emperor, having order'd the great Officers to deliberate upon this Point, and to lay before him the Result of their Reasonings; *Tsay i* answered for the Rest and said: The Head is the principal Part of the Body, and is the Symbol of Sovereignty. All the Body of the Hen is changed except the Head. In order to answer this Omen as you ought, your Majesty must entirely change your Manner of Government, otherwise, your Misfortunes will be very great. In effect, a little after happen'd the Revolt of *Chang ka*, which threw the Empire into Disorder. The then reigning Emperor, altered nothing of the Severity of his Government. He harassed his Subjects more, so that there were Rebellions on all Sides, and the Disorder was general. *Lyew kyang*, and *Tsay i*, were two very understanding Men: and their Explanations were confirmed by the Event. Now, altho' the Fowl, of which we are treating at present, is different in its Figure from the extraordinary Fowls in those Days; it nevertheless admits of the same Interpretation, and the Omen is very much to be dreaded. These extraordinary Feet and Wings, are Symbols of some Persons, who are caballing and plotting together to raise Commotions. These Wings and Feet are of different Sizes. There are Commotions of several kinds: But neither these four Feet, nor these four Wings have their natural Bigness: These Cabals are still weak, and it is easy to disconcert them.

It is a common Opinion, that Calamities and Monsters are Omens, and at the same time, Advices and Instructions to Princes. Those Princes who are wise, see them, and enter into themselves: Thus every thing turns out happily with Regard to them. On the contrary, Princes without Understanding, become yet more insatuated, which brings them to the greatest Misfortunes. The *Sbi king*, the *Sbu king*, and the *Chun tsyü*, the History of the *Tsin* and the *Han*, furnish us with many Examples, of which your Majesty is not ignorant. Is there not then in our Days, some new *She byen* at Court? At least, it is certain, upon our Frontiers towards the South, a great many People have perished: And the Fields have been seen covered with Bones, without any Burial. It is not without Grief and Murmurs, that the Living see this, and the Souls that belonged to these dead Bodies, are yet more sensible of this. The Troops sent to *I yang*, likewise have suffered a great deal. Behold the Heat of Summer is come, and they are not yet returned: On the Side of *Tong chew*, very few People are returned, of a great many who were employed in the Convoys of Provisions. In short, the People is overwhelmed with Trouble and Misery; and nothing is more common at present, than to see People who hang or strangle themselves in Despair. You may judge of the State of Agriculture every where. The Grounds and Trade were never in so bad a State: What loud Cries would *Kyai* and *Kü yang*, if they were alive, make in their Remonstrances? You are set up as the Father and Mother of your Subjects: Instead of appearing sensible of their Sufferings, or effectually labouring for their Relief,



you entirely abandon yourself to your Pleasures, and hazard even your Empire. Why do you not call to mind how much this cost *Tay tsü*: You are born with a very penetrating Understanding; make Use of these Qualifications; examine with a just Dread, the Views of *Tyen ti*: Treat your Officers according to their Ranks; but at the same time, keep them to their Duty. Remember *Teng tong*, and *Tong hyen*: It was even the Favour of their Prince, by being too excessive, that caused their Ruin. Acquit yourself at the stated Times, of the Ceremonies that are appointed; honour the Aged and the Wife; apply yourself to procure Peace to your People; give proper Orders for the Relief of the Poor, and for that effect, retrench your Expences in Entertainments, in useless Labours, in Concerts, and in Wine; set the Day apart for Business, and the Night for Rest: Don't hinder sincere and understanding People, from coming near your Person; banish all Flatterers. Then there will be nothing but happy Omens.

The Emperor took this Advice very well. Some Days after, *Yu kau* and some others, who had been plotting secretly, were discovered, convicted, and put to Death. For which Reason, the Emperor esteemed *Tsui quang* more than ever, and treated him with greater Distinction.

Under the same Dynasty, King ching proposed to the Emperor, to take off the Prohibitions upon Salt. In his Supplication he speaks as follows.

THE Book of Rites, in the Chapter *Tse leng*, says plainly, "That the People must not be prohibited from taking in Forests, in Mountains, in Meadows and Lakes, that which can serve to nourish them; such as Venison, Fruit, and the like." It likewise requires the Proprietors should be the first to invite them, and to conduct thither, such as stand in need of any of these Things. But at the same time, it requires that whoever shall dare to use Force, or to carry off any thing by Violence, shall be condemned to Death without Pardon. This may be called a Willingness in every one to assist, and to communicate to another, part of what he himself has. It is true, that in the same Book of Rites, in the Times of the *Cheu*, we read Prohibitions from fishing, &c. but it was only for a certain time, in order to prevent the young Fry from being destroy'd, and the Rivers and Lakes from being drained, by Peoples fishing out of Season. These Prohibitions were so far from being a Grievance, that they preserved and encreased the Fishes, to the great Advantage of the People.

The first Care of a Father of a Family is, to provide plentifully for the Subsistence of his Children: This is what they pride themselves in above any thing else. For a like, or a better Reason, the Sovereign, who is the Father and Mother of his People, ought to do the same. We never see a rich Father of a Family, refusing a little Vinegar to his Children, or some such Trifle capable to create an Appetite. Is it then becoming, that a Sovereign of a rich and powerful Empire, should be less indulgent to his Subjects, and refuse them the most common thing that *Tyen* [Heaven] has ordained for their Use. And yet this is done, by forbidding them Salt. I know that the Motive of this Prohibition, which is more antient than your Reign, or even your Dynasty, is the Revenue, that thereby accrues to the Prince. But is not this like imitating a Man, who tho' he is rich, takes Care only of his Mouth and his Teeth, and neglects the rest of his Body? Do not all the People, Men and Women, work for their Sovereign? That which they furnish every Year, is it not sufficient to maintain his Dignity, and to support his Troops. Can a Prince, for whom so many People work, be in any Dread of Want? Is it reasonable that such a Dread, should make him to forbid the People, from using what is presented them by certain Ponds. The antient Kings acted quite otherwise. Their first Care was to provide for the Wants of their People, and thereby they rendered them docile and attentive to Instruction. This was what makes them so celebrated; and for this, the *Sbi king* praises them. I am a Man, whose Knowledge is but small, and whose Views are confined: But I love to read, and I read a great deal. When, after having seen in our antient Books, the Indulgence which our Kings had for their Subjects, I come to certain Books of modern Date, where I find Taxes upon Taxes: I can't help saying with a Sigh, What a Difference there is betwixt ancient and modern Times? How much at large were People in these Days? How confined now? Many Dynasties have succeeded one another without lightning the Yoke: Your Dynasty, Sir, has the Honour already, to have begun well. It has almost abolished the Taxes upon Corn and Stuffs. How many Encomiums has it already received, among the most distant People? Kings, whom their Dignity has raised above the Level of Mankind, ought likewise to carry their Virtue much higher. This is their Duty; nay their true Interest. *Tay vang*, by the Contempt that he expressed of a Jewel, submitted and devoted the whole People to his Person; on the contrary, in the Ode *Kyé chu*, we have a King represented to us who is odious and unhappy, for having over-burdened his People. Tho' your Predecessors have carried their Goodness to their Subjects to a great Height, yet I should wish for the Honour of your Reign, that your Majesty would carry it yet a little higher. It is said, that two things are commonly very fatal to Princes. Too great Prodigality in their great Men, and too much Avarice in themselves. If it is unworthy of a Prince, and even dangerous in him to make a Difficulty in parting with his Treasures; how much more so will it be to dispute with his People the Profit of a little Salt. It is a common and a true Saying, That it is better for a Prince to hoard up in his Subjects Houses, than in his own Granaries and Coffers. When this Hoard is in the People's Hands, they are satisfied, and the Prince is rich. But when all is heaped up only in the Royal Granaries and Exchequer, the People are poor and discontented. When the People are discontented, how can they be profitably instructed, or successfully inspired with the Love of Vir-



ture. When they are poor, can the Prince be long rich? I therefore wish, that your Majesty, improving upon the Goodness of your Ancestors, would take off the Prohibition from the Salt Pits, and only make some Regulations for preserving it in Plenty.

The Emperor having ordered this Supplication to be deliberated on, the Chief of his Counsel were of Opinion, that the Prohibition should subsist. It is very antient, said they: And in the preceeding Dynasties, when there were Deliberations for the same Effect, it was always concluded to maintain them. It is true, that in Progress of Time, it occasioned Murmurs, and some Com-motions among the People; but this must not be attributed to the Prohibition, but to the Neg-ligence and Malice of the Commissaries.

*Notwithstanding of the Advice of the Counsel, the Emperor caused the following Declaration to be published.*

**I**T is true, that the Prohibition upon Salt is very antient, and has, as it were, past into a Rule, yet all the Dynasties do not resemble one another. Some of them have been more solici-tous to promote the Good of the People than others. As for me, if any thing appears capable to advance the Happiness of my People, or to facilitate their Devotion to the Rites, and the Love of Virtue: That is a sufficient Motive for me to embrace it, provided it is consistent with Rea-son. This appears in what was proposed to me by *King ching*; so that as soon as the proper Re-gulations for preserving the Salt Pits are made, let the Prohibitions be taken off. Let this our present Order be published and executed.

*After the Emperor Ven ti, Founder of the Dynasty of the Swi, had reduced the Kingdom of Chin, (†) all his Officers applauded his Victory, and proposed the making Choice of some Mountain, where they should repair to perform the Ceremony of Fong chen. Ven ti rejected this Proposal, and that they might not renew their Solicitations, published the following Order.*

**I**SENT one of my Generals, to reduce to Reason, a petty rebellious Kingdom. The Ex-pedition was successful, and what then? Yet every one flatters and applauds me. I am even pressed, notwithstanding of my Defects in Virtue, to perform the Ceremonies of *Fong chen*, upon some famous Mountain. As for my share, I never heard that *Shang ti* was to be moved with trifling empty Talk. I absolutely forbid any one ever to speak of this to me again.

*A Letter of the same Emperor Ven ti, Founder of the Dynasty of the Swi, to Tang the King of Korea.*

**E**VER since (‡) *Tyen* raised me to the Throne, I have had nothing so much at Heart, as the Happiness and Quiet of my Subjects. By leaving you in Possession of the maritime Countries, I thereby intended to make known to all the World, how much removed I am from all Avarice; and that all I propose by reigning, is, that I may render my Subjects content and virtuous. I may likewise pretend, that you on your Part, remain in your Duty, and that you in Proportion, enter into the same Views, and like a good Subject, imitate my Examples. And yet I under-stand, that you disturb your Neighbours: It is said, you streighten (§) *Ki tan*, and deprive it of all Liberty. You exact Contributions of more Kinds than one, from *Mey ko*. Whence proceeds that Itch of Oppression? Or how dare you to harass the States which are in Subjection to me? If you are in want of Labourers, I have Plenty: Why don't you call for them? For some Years, you have foolishly been busied in heaping up Stores and Provisions, you have your Agents for that Effect, distributed thro' all Quarters; and you drain these little States. Why is all this done? If you have not formed bad Designs, and fearing, lest they should be discovered, you act every thing underhand.

An Envoy was dispatch'd from my Court to you; my Intention in sending him was to give you, as one of my foreign Subjects, a Mark of my Goodness and Esteem. But I design'd at the same time, that after having informed himself of what related to your Subjects, that he should give you some Advice on my Part, on the Manner of Government. Nevertheless, you caused him to be watched under your own Eye, and shut him up in his House as in a Prison. You concealed, as much as you could, his Arrival from your Subjects. You prohibited the Officers of your Court, from whom you could not conceal him, from visiting him; in short, you have, as it were, shut both his Eyes and his Ears, and you appeared frightned, lest he should have been able to inform himself of the State of your Affairs, but I have taken care to be informed in another Manner, of all your Steps, which are not like those of a good Subject. I have put you in Possession of a great Extent of Ground, and the Title and Honours of a (\*) King. In short, I have loaded you with Favours; all the Empire knows I have: And yet, all this is not sufficient to make you sensible of my Good-ness. You want Gratitude; you express a distrust of me; and you render yourself suspected, by sending, under different Pretexes, Persons, who secretly examine all that passes at my Court. Is this the Conduct of a faithful and a blameless Subject?

Notwithstanding of all this, as I impute your Faults, partly to the little Care I have taken to instruct you in your Duties, I am willing to forget what is past. But you must amend, and an-swer my Indulgence, by a sincere and real Submission: You must exactly fulfill the Duties of a foreign Subject: You must follow and imitate my Government: In Place of hating and harass-

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ing

(\*) Or *Fang*.

(†) In the Times of the *Swi*.

(‡) Heaven.

(§) *Ki tan* and *Mey ko* are the Names of two Petty States lying near *Korea*.



sing these other Strangers, who are your Neighbours; you must, by your Example, inculcate upon them Submission and Virtue: And above all things, you must remember, that tho' they are weaker than you, yet, like you, they are my Subjects. But do not think to impose upon me by vain Appearances: A thorough Change must be wrought upon you, if you desire that I should treat you as a good Subject. And then being satisfied with your Amendment, I will never decree your Punishment. Our wise and ancient Emperors, above all things, esteemed Gentleness and Justice: Notwithstanding, that I come far short of the Virtue of these great Princes, yet I make it my Duty to imitate them. All my Empire knows this: And that alone, ought to free you of all Dread and Distrust.

If, after the Assurances I have given you, I send Troops against you, what will all my Subjects say of me? But above all, what will the Strangers that are subdued, like you, to my Empire, say? Free yourself therefore of your Suspicions; change your Conduct, and be easy. It is true, I have subdued *Chin*: But if you continue in your Duty, that ought not to alarm you: All the World knows that *Chin* forced me to punish him. After being many times pardoned, he attacked the *Hew of Fong*, who was faithful to me, and killed a great many of his People. He plundered on all Sides, and had the Boldness to advance even to my Frontiers. I had often than once, during the Space of ten Years, given him Advices with Regard to his Conduct. But instead of profiting by them, he grew insolent upon my Goodness, and trusting to the (\*) *Kyang*, which bounds his Territories, he valued neither my Advices nor my Threatnings. He even encreased the Number of his Forces, and seem'd to defy me with his Insolence. Being forc'd to it by so open a Rebellion, I sent against him, one of my Generals with only a few Troops: This Expedition lasted but for a Month. One Morning, avenged me of ten Years obstinacy, and the Defeat of *Chin* was followed with universal Peace. Both the *Shin* (†) and Men rejoiced at this. You alone, I hear, are alarmed, and uneasy: I see the Reason but too well. As it was not the Fear of *Chin* that engaged me to treat you well, so his Defeat is no Motive for my oppressing you. But if I were of an Humour to do it, who could protect you? What Comparifon is there betwixt the Waters of (‡) *Lya*, which are upon your Frontiers, and the great *Kyang* which covered *Chin*? Is your Country more populous, than that of *Chin*? Doubtless not. And if I should punish your past Faults, as they deserve, it would cost me but little. I would have no more to do, but to send against you, some of my Officers: But I do not love to hurt any body. For which Reason, I follow the more moderate Course; I advise you, instruct you, and give you Time for your Amendment: If you answer my Gentleness as you ought, you may live easy and happy.

(§) *Tay tsong*, the second Emperor of the Dynasty of the Tang, whom Historians have compared with the most famous Princes of Antiquity, drew up a Writing, upon the Difference betwixt good and bad Government, and upon the difficulty of reigning well. As he drew it up chiefly for his own Use, he entitled it the Mirror of Gold, or the Precious Mirror.

AFTER having each Day, spent the necessary Time for dispatching the Affairs of my Empire, I take a Pleasure in reviewing and reflecting upon the Histories of past Ages. I examine the Manners of every Dynasty, the good and bad Examples of all their Princes, their Revolutions and their Causes. I have always done this with Profit, and I have done it as often as I can mention. Every time I read, what is said of *Fo bi* and *Whang ti*, and the matchless Government of *Yau* and *Shun*, I always stop. I feel, I admire, I praise, and all this, without wearying. When I come towards the End of the *Hya*, the *Ing*, the *Tsin*, and certain Reigns of the *Han*, I am seized with an uneasy Dread. I seem to walk upon a rotten Board, or upon a thin Surface of Ice over a deep River. When I reflect from whence it proceeded, why under all the Princes who have wished to reign in Peace, and to transmit their Empire to a numerous Posterity, there has yet happened so many Troubles and Revolutions: I find that the most common Cause, was the little Care which these Princes had to reflect upon themselves, and the Aversion they had to hear any thing that could discompose them. Thus in the End, they became blind, both to their Duties and their Defects; and this Blindness occasioned their Ruin: With what a Dread does this Reflection inspire me.

It is in order to shun this Blindness, that after having seen by reading History, what are the Principles of good Government, and what are the Springs of Commotions; of all these I compose a Mirror for my self, in which I may behold my Faults, in order to endeavour to amend them. The most essential Character of good Government is, not to raise any to Posts, but Men of Merit and Virtue. A Prince who acts thus, reigns happily; but there is nothing more dangerous and fatal for a State, than a contrary Conduct. Is a Prince in any Difficulty? He never fails to consult his Ministers and his other great Officers. If these are all understanding zealous Men, let the Danger be ever so great, it seldom ends in his losing all. And what cannot be enough lamented, is, that Princes, heedless of this Choice, are intirely taken up with empty Pleasures. Ah! how much better would it be for them, to make a Pleasure of their Duty: But above all, of a Duty so important as is the Choice of good Officers, especially good Ministers!

It is commonly said, that *Shun* and *Yu*, these two great Princes, loved no Pleasure, and that, on the contrary, the two Tyrants, *Kyé* and *Chew*, loved it much. I am of a different Opinion. The bad

(\*) *Kyang*, signifies a River. It likewise is the proper Name of the greatest River in the Empire.

(†) The Spirits

(‡) The Name of a River.

(§) In the Times of the Dynasty of the Tang.



bad Conduct of *Kye* and *Chew*, cost them a thousand Disquiets, abridged their Days, consequently disturbed their Lives, and rendered them of a short Duration. Can this be called the Love of Pleasure? On the contrary, is it not to have a true Taste of Pleasure, to love it like *Sbun* and *Tu*, who owed a long and quiet Life to their Virtue, and who calmly tasted the Pleasures of a happy and peaceful Reign? It must be allowed, that Complexions and Dispositions are very different; some are good, and others bad: And that there are different Degrees in each Kind. The Virtues and Actions of *Yau*, *Sbun*, *Tu*, and *Tang*, give us ground to believe, that (\*) *Tyen* has distributed Cruelties of these bad Princes. However, we may truly say, that the Happiness of Princes and States, depends less upon their Complexions and natural Dispositions, than their Care of keeping that just Mean in every thing, which common Sense dictates.

We read in *U ki*, that a Prince of (†) *Sang* applying himself solely to certain Exercises of Virtue, and neglecting to keep his Army on Foot, lost his State; that the Prince of *I* perished likewise, but for a quite different Reason, he laying all his Strefs on his Forces, and neglecting Virtue. Therefore *Confucius* says, that the Government of a State, ought to be justly tempered with Gentleness and Resolution, with Severity and Mercy. And indeed, Goodness and Justice should always go Hand in Hand; to make too great Concessions to the one in Prejudice of the other, is a fundamental Fault, and may be attended with very bad Consequences. What a Conduct therefore is it, for a Man to deviate from both the one and the other? And what would one say of a Man, who was absolutely destitute of Goodness? An Emperor raised to the highest Degree of Honour, to which a Man can rise, is obliged at once, to love his People, and to endeavour to make them happy. Two Things are requisite for this: Good Order and Security. As for good Order, Regulations must be made, and they must be supported with Example. As for Security, an Army must be kept on Foot, to intimidate Enemies from undertaking any Thing upon the Frontiers. For as it is by no means convenient, to terrify the People by a standing Army; it is likewise rare, that Gentleness alone, and the Virtue of a Prince, can over-awe the Barbarians, and secure the Frontiers. When the great Fish, *Kin*, appears above the Water, the Billows become smooth. When the (‡) *Whang*, and the *Ho*, plunge, or dive under the Water, there is no fair Weather to be expected: It is their Flight in the Air, which prognosticates that.

A very important Point for a Prince, is to know how to accommodate himself to the different Tempers of Men, and to profit by their several Talents. It is an universally received Maxim, that as he who intends to build a large House, should begin, by chusing a good Architect, and then to proceed to buy Materials proper for his Plan: In the same Manner, a Governour ought to begin by chusing his Ministers, in order to assist himself by their Understanding and by their Councils, in the Government of his Subjects. In attentively reflecting upon the past Dynasties, I observe, that when the Prince had a solid Love for Virtue, he never wanted virtuous People about him; but when he shewed a Passion for Building, and other Works of Art, all the able Men in that Way appeared: If he loved hunting, he got a parcel of excellent Hunts-men about him: Was he enchanted with Music? He was presented with Crowds of People from *Chin* and *Wey*: Sometimes it might happen, that the Prince debased himself so far, as to love Painting, and such like Ornaments. Then (§) *Yen* and *Chau* were in Vogue. When all Avenues are blocked up to sincere Remonstrances, then few zealous, or faithful Persons are seen at Court. Is a Prince fond of Applause? Numerous are the Crowds of his Flatterers. Our Ancients, indeed, had a good deal of Reason to compare a Prince to a Vessel, and the People to the Liquor that it contains. As the Liquor takes the Figure of the Vessel, so the Subjects commonly imitate the Prince. How great a Motive ought this to be for him to aim at Perfection? But as the finest Stone requires to be polished, in order to become a fine Vessel; thus Man stands in need of Study and Application, in order to acquire true Wisdom.

*Yen vang* and *Confucius* had their Masters: And if these great Men had need of Masters, how much more have others? so that one of the most remarkable Differences betwixt a good and a bad Prince, is, that the good Prince fights for Persons of Merit and Virtue, in the same manner, as the Labourer expects his Crop; and receives them with the same Joy, as the Husbandman, who has a little before been threatened with Drought, sees a plentiful Shower fall upon his Fields: On the other Hand, a bad Prince, commonly has an Aversion for any Man, who has more Merit than himself: And admits none about his Person, but those who are without Merit and without Virtue. O how hard it is, for a Man thoroughly to divest himself of the bad Inclinations, to which he has a long time been habituated! *Vang puen*, and *Sun bau*, at first, counterfeited to be good Princes: But as they acted only by Interest, and as their pretended Virtue was only Hypocrisy and Dissimulation, they did not long hold it out. They returned to their natural Byas; People knew them, and abandoned them: A Bark of plain Boards joined together only with Glew, cannot hold out long, against the large Billows. A Horse, who is bred up on purpose, in order, on some Occasions, to make a hundred Leagues at a Stretch, if he is put to the Trial, frequently bursts before the Journey is ended: This exactly was the Case of *Vang puen* and *Sun bau*. We saw

(\*) Heaven.

(†) *Sang* and *I*, were two Countries.

(‡) The Names of two Water-Fowl. These Allegories admit of a double Sense: The Billows denoting the Irruptions of the Barbarians, which the Power of Arms, figured under the Fish *Kin*, quells: And by the Birds *Whang* and *Ho*, the People, who should be easy and satisfied, while the State is without any Com-

motion: or else, by the Fish *Kin*, is denoted brave Persons, who are capable to head Troops: And by the Birds *Whang* and *Ho*, those who are fitted for Governing, and must be drawn from Obscurity, and put in Poss. If we apply these Allegories with what goes before, the first Sense appears the most natural: But if to what follows, the last appears to be the Meaning.

(§) Names of Countries.



law verified in their Persons, as in a great many others, our antient Proverbs. That as the (\*) *Shin* cannot be made use of, when we would measure large Stones: Thus, a midling Capacity will not do for great Things, &c. And the most simple Virtue, if it is constant, is more worth, than the most political Cunning. Oh! what a Difference is there betwixt Prince and Prince, and Man and Man. *Kau tsü* respected *Li tsong* so much, that he held up his Train, to do him the greater Honour. *Syu chew*, being disobliged with the wise Advices of *Pi kan*, inhumanly ordered his Heart to be pluck'd out. *Ching tang* always had a real Esteem, and a cordial Love for his Minister *I yun*. *Kyé* had a wife and zealous Minister in *Long pong*; and yet he caused him to be put to Death. *Chwang*, King of *Tsü*, after having held a Council, and discovering a Superiority of Genius over all his Ministers, went from the Council Board (+) melancholy and thoughtful. This Melancholy hung about him, even in his easier Hours. On the contrary, *Vá bú*, rejoiced and triumphed in a Manner, in such a Superiority. The Reason of this is, that Princes who are without Capacity, want either to conceal or persevere in their Faults; but Understanding Princes, want to be acquainted with their Failings.

When I cast my Eyes upon *Kau tsü* and *Ching tang*, I compare the Reigns of these great Princes, to these Years, that are remarkable by a just Temper of Heat and Cold, and by a Regulation of the Seasons, which diffuses Plenty over all. It is said, that when the Empire is well governed, *Ki ling*, an Animal of an auspicious Omen, appears. Were not *Kau tsü*, and *Ching tang*, real *Ki ling* in their kinds? I own, I think they were. When I next consider the *Kyé* and *Chew*, I think, that I see in their Reigns, these direful unhappy Years, which the Irregularity of the Seasons, renders barren and fatal. These Years, usually produce a great Number of destructive Insects, and even frightful cruel Monsters. Alas! Were not these wicked Princes *Kyé* and *Chew*, Monsters themselves? How much Instruction do I not find, in reflecting upon these two Opposites. I know very well, it is said, that *Tyen* has more or less favourable Conjunctions for States. That is true: But that does not hinder the Happiness or Unhappiness of States, from depending on the Conduct of Men. Was there not under *Ching tang*, a seven Years Drought? This Prince having pared his Nails, devoted himself as a Victim. Immediately there fell a Rain, for a hundred Leagues all round. In the Time of one Emperor, Mulberry-Trees were seen all of a sudden, to grow in the Palace. This Prince struck with a Prodigy, which was explained to him, as being very dreadful, solidly applied himself to Virtue; and instead of the Dangers that threatned him, he receiv'd the Homage of the Ambassadors of sixteen Courts, at his Palace. Who then dares say, that it is not the Business of Princes to make their States happy?

Some say, that it is a very difficult Thing to reign: Others say, it is easy. The first, to prove their Opinion, reason thus: The Dignity of Emperor, raises a Prince above the rest of Mankind: He has an absolute Power: Rewards and Punishments are in his Hand: He not only possesses the Riches of his Empire: But he likewise can, as he has a Mind, serve himself with all the Abilities and the Talents of all his Subjects. What then can he wish for, which he may not obtain? Or what then can he undertake, which he may not execute? They who are of the contrary Opinion, reason otherways: If a Prince, say they, shall fail in his Respect to *Tyen*, Prodiges streight appear, and Monsters are born. Does he exasperate his Subjects Minds? He is often punished by an untimely Death, as happened to *Vá i* and *Chew*. Would he indulge himself in any Passion, as for instance, bringing Things of greater Rarity and Value, from afar? In making large Parks, fine Ponds, great Buildings, lofty Terraces? He must for these Ends, load the People at least, with Averages, and Agriculture must thereby suffer. Hence proceed Scarcity and Famine. The People groan, they murmur, they faint. If the Prince is insensible, and neglects to remedy this: He is look'd upon as a Tyrant, born, not to govern, but to oppress, the People. He is the Object of public Curses: What worse can he dread? But every Prince, who values his Reputation, ought, as much as he can, to be watchful in his Endeavours, to diminish the Taxes, to shun every thing that can overload the People, and to procure their Happiness and Tranquility. But he cannot do all this, without very great Self-denial, and without repressing his most darling Inclinations: Then, it is easy enough.

There is another Difficulty yet greater; which is the right Choice of Persons who are put in Posts, and the employing each of them according to his Talent. A Man, whom the Prince very much esteems, and looks upon, as equally capable and virtuous, may have many Failings, and even, Vices. Another, whom all the World deserts for real and well known Faults, may have, at the same time, some good Qualities, of which an advantageous Use may be made. When this proves the Case, what Course must be followed? Should a Prince reject a Man who has Abilities, he thereby deprives himself of an useful Assistant. Should he know a Man to be vicious, and yet not abandon him: This has given Rise to the most fatal Commotions in a State. Even they, who to all Appearance are blameless, have not always suitable Talents; nor ought they to be indifferently employ'd in every thing. *Kong cho* was very serviceable to a great Kingdom. But *Tse tsan* would have miscarried there; yet he was Minister in a smaller State, where he did Wonders. *Chew pá* stammered, and spoke ill. (†) *Kau tsü* did not, however, fail to make him a *Hew*, and he richly repaid that Honour, by confirming upon the Throne his Family, when it was almost ruined. *Tse tsü*, on the contrary, was an eloquent Man, and a fine Speaker; and yet, notwithstanding

(\*) A *Shin*, is 1 tenth of a *Tow*, and a *Tow* is 1 tenth of a *Tau*,  
a *Tau*, for instance, of Rice, is 100, or at most, 120 l. Weight.

(†) He was afraid, that, in case he should be in the Wrong,

no body would put him right.

(‡) The first Emperor, of the Dynastie of the *Han*.



standing of his fine Speeches, he never could raise himself: He was seen to beg for a Post under *Ven ti*, about his Menagery, and yet he could not obtain it.

Out of different Talents, always to make the best Choice, and that too, among Persons, whose Talents are the same, are difficult, but necessary, Things, in order to reign well. There is a Difference, not only in Talents, but in natural Dispositions, in Tempers, in Conditions, in Inclinations, and even in Virtues. In all these Kinds, there are different Species, and different Orders in every Species. What Difference, for Example, is there between the common (\*) *Hyau* and a *Hyau* of the first Order? The first consists, in cheerfully serving the Father and the Mother, in never failing to them in Point of Respect, and in providing for all their Necessities. The second exerts itself, in procuring the Good of the State, in re-establishing Peace in Families, and in exactly observing all the Rites. *Shun* possessed the Virtue *Hyau* in an eminent Degree, and yet he had not the good Fortune to please his Parents. *Tsen tsan*, possessed the Virtue (+) *I in* in a very exalted Measure: Yet he was not the Person, whom *Confucius* praised the most of all his Scholars. *Confucius* said, that a Son has not the true Virtue *Hyau*, if he indifferently obeys all that his Father commands: And that a Minister, who implicitly gives into all the Views of his Prince, does not possess the Virtue (†) *Chong*. Thus the great *Chew kong*, being less afraid of displeasing his Prince, than of not serving him honestly, secured the Peace of his Empire, by the just Punishment of a Criminal who was dear to his Prince. *I ya*, on the contrary, in order to assure his Fortune, took Care always to accommodate himself to his King's Inclination: When (§) *Quan chong* was dead, he was advanced, and he soon threw every thing in Disorder. (||) *Ki feng*, upon a pressing Occasion, bravely exposed himself to certain Death, that he might save a Person whom he acknowledged as his Prince. (4) *Yuen yang*, that he might gratify a private Resentment, reduced the Empire, within two Inches of Ruin. In *Chia yuen* and others, Fidelity and Uprightness have been seen, not only without Reward, but even in Misery and under Oppression. In *Tjay pi*, and others, Treason has been covered with the most specious Outside.

Does not all this prove the Difficulty of reigning well? This Difficulty would be still greater, had we not these Histories, where an attentive Prince may learn to distinguish real and faithful Subjects, from self designing Flatterers. The Kings of *Tsin*, owed it to the Bravery and Ability of *Pe ki* that they became Masters of the Kingdom of *Chau*: And yet one of them put him to Death. *Ya fu*, under the Emperor *King ti*, prevented the Disasters, that otherwise might have attended the Rebellion of the tributary Princes; and yet, under that same Emperor, *Ya fu* ended his Days, under the Hands of an Executioner. *Wen chong* was treated in the same manner by the King of the *Tze*, tho' that Prince, without the Advice of *Wen shong*, could never have subdued his Enemy *U*. In short, *U si*, as a Reward of long and very faithful Services, had a Sword, with which he had orders to kill himself. We shall suppose, that these great Men were Criminals; but did they deserve to perish in this Manner? Surely not. It was Injustice and Passion, on the Part of the Princes. As for *Chau kau*, *Han feng*, *Hing pu*, and *Chin bi*; altho' all of them had their Merit, and some of them had done very important Services, yet they forgot, and belyed themselves: Thus their Punishment was warranted by Justice. But their Faults should have been wisely prevented; and it is a Blemish in *Kau tsu*, who was so great a Prince, that he did not know how to preserve Persons of so extraordinary Qualifications, who had served him so well. The Founder of the Dynasty of the *Han*, in this respect, was much inferior to its Restorer *Quang vu*. This last, knew how to reward his Generals as well as *Kau tsu*. But like him, he did not expose them to be forgotten by him. It is thus, that a Prince ought to act, with Regard to those, to whom he in some measure, owes his being raised, or preserved upon the Throne. It is a bad Reward of their Services, to expose them to lose their Fruits.

The Difficulty of reigning well, in my Opinion, may be enough seen from what I have already said; but we shall render it still more perceptible. As a Prince is elevated in a high Rank above the rest of Mankind, he is in the most conspicuous Point of Light. If he commands any thing that is not agreeable to the most exact Reason; he not only does himself a considerable Injury, but he is despised by every wise Man: Does any Action or Gesture escape him, which is unbecoming his Majesty? A general Sneer goes round, among both great and small. Does he advance any one to Posts? Then there rise a thousand jealous Murmurs. Has he Regard for a Recommendation? All the Candidates cry out, that every thing is bestowed by Inclination and Interest; and that nothing is given to Merit. If he raises a Man of acknowledged Merit, to the first Employment; it is immediately attributed to Chance, and not to the Discernment of the Prince. By good Luck, say they, for once, he has not blundered. Is any one in Post, who has not so great

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Merit?

(\*) *Hyau*, Respect and Love for Parents. The Sense of this Character is more ample here.

(†) *I in*, Goodness, Charity, Clemency. This Word is sometimes put for Virtue, or any virtuous Man in general.

(‡) Zeal and Loyalty for ones Prince.

(§) He was first Minister to *Chewang wang*, King of *Tsi*; and very strongly recommended to that Prince, never to put *I ya* in Post.

(||) *Kau tsu*, the Founder of the Dynasty of the *Han*, while he was disputing the Empire with *Hyang yu*, was besieged in a City; his Army being at a great Distance, *Ki feng*, who commanded in the City, marched out in form; seeming as if he would surrender himself, and abandon *Kau tsu*. This News caused great Joy in the besieging Camp. The Guards grew

careless, and *Kau tsu*, flying out of another Gate with some Horsemen, forced the Guards, and saved himself. *Hyang yu* having entered into the City, summoned *Ki feng* to give up *Kau tsu*. I have deceived you, answered *Ki feng*; that I might give him an Opportunity to escape. *Hyang yu*, in a great Passion, ordered *Ki feng* to be burnt on the Spot.

(4) *Yuen yang*, was the Enemy of *Shau tsu*: The first had given the Emperor a useful Advice, which had been followed. As it related to a Tributary Prince: *Yuen yang*, that he might ruin *Shau tsu*, by his Intrigues, alarmed all the Tributary Princes, who took up Arms against the Emperor. They were appeased by sacrificing *Shau tsu*. This was what *Yuen yang* wanted.



Merit? People never scruple to say, that the Prince has no Understanding. If a Prince speaks pretty frequently, he is a Caviller. Does he speak little? There is nothing in him; and he does not know how to instruct those who are about him. Does he follow the Dictates of his Humour, and show some Passion? He spreads over the Court, and through the whole Empire, a very prejudicial Terror. Is he moderate, easy, and indulgent? The Laws and his Orders are ill observed. Are the People at ease? The (||) Officers have too much to do, and are discouraged. Are the Officers satisfied? The People are harassed, and complain. All the Empire is like a great Tree, of which the Court is, as it were, the Trunk and the Root. Cannot a Prince then know, all the disastrous Events that afflict his State? *No Skin, no Hair*, says an antient Proverb. The essential Point therefore to a State, is, that the Court be provided with good Ministers. That is true, but Ministers like (\*) *I in* and *Pu yue*, are very rare.

The Court being provided in good Ministers, the next Point of Consequence is, to have faithful, able, and indefatigable Generals on the Frontiers. But the (+) *Wbey shang*, and the *Li nu*, are hard to find at present. Besides, when a Prince is so happy, as to find People of such a Merit, he cannot help taking a liking for them. After he is instructed of the Danger a Man suffers on the Frontiers, he does great Violence to himself, in sending Persons, whom he loves, thither: He knows, that on the other Hand, if he fails to send them, he is in danger to see the Leaves of his great Tree fall, and its Branches cut down. Nay, perhaps the Tree perish intirely: What does not a Prince, who has an equal Share of Goodness and Wisdom, suffer when this is the Case? As for me, when I am revolving these Thoughts in my Mind, I feel all the Weight of Royalty: But being yet more sensible of another's Pains, than of my own, I frequently say, to myself: If a Prince, who is an absolute Master, has so much to suffer, what must they suffer, who without being Masters like him, share and bear with him the Weight of Government? The *I king* says, The *Chinese* Books do not drain their Subjects. Thus, Words seldom give the exact Meaning of Thoughts, in all their Extent. I have aimed at nothing in this Discourse, but to express in a few Words, that which employs me inwardly. Tho', according to the Proverb, He who suffers, has some Comfort in singing his Pains; yet this is not the Reason why I have taken up my Pen: I am yet farther, from endeavouring to dazzle the Sight by a shining Discourse. I strive to instruct myself: This is my End. But at the same time, I do not at all blush, to lay before all wise Men in this Writing, my Thoughts and my Sentiments.

[The Emperor Kang hi's Remark.] Nothing is better conceived, or better expressed, than what *Tay tsong* says of Government in general, and of the Choice of Officers in particular. This is reminding Antiquity to purpose. *Tay tsong* did more; he imitated it. His Government almost equall'd that of our three famous Dynasties.

The same Emperor *Tay tsong*, in the third of the Years called *Chin quan* (A), made the following Ordinance.

THE Virtue (4) *Hyau*, is the Foundation of all the other Virtues. It is the most essential Instruction. In my Youth, I received good Lessons upon this Virtue. My Father, and my Master, did not only make me repeat the Book of Verses, the Book of Rites, and others, but at the same time, they let me see the great Springs, upon which the Good of States and the Government of People depend. With these Advantages I extirpated by one Expedition, all the Enemies of the State; and secured Quiet and Liberty to my People, who had just emerg'd from beneath Oppression. Besides, my Heart is full of Goodness; and if at any Time, I have discovered more Justice and Severity, than Clemency, the Reason is, because there are Crimes, to which Mercy cannot be absolutely extended; in the same manner, as there are some Enemies, with whom we must necessarily use Force and Courage. I have had nothing in View, but the Good of the whole, and the Peace of the Empire. Passion has no share in what I have done. The Emperor, my Father, when he retir'd to *Ta ngan*, charged me with the Government, I was obliged to obey him. As I feel all its Weight, it is all my Employment. I am in the Inside of my Palace, and amongst my Queens, as if I were in a frozen Valley. Frequently do I pass whole Nights without Sleep. I rise before Day. All my Words and Thoughts, are directed to answer, as far as I am able, the Goodness of (†) *Tyen*, and the Intentions of my Father. That I may better succeed herein; being full of Compassion even for the Guilty, I want to regulate Punishments anew, to prevent and relieve the Misery of the People; to punish and check those who oppress them; to invite near my Person, and to put in Posts, Men of Virtue and Merit; to open a wide Door to Remonstrances, and to take away from those who would present them, all Dread; that I may thereby, if possible, make new Acquirements in Knowledge, every Moment.

(A) In the *Chinese* it is *Yuan*; under which are comprehended equally, all the Judges, Magistrates, Officers of War &c. Some *French* Books have used another Expression, calling them *Mandarins*. This, if one has a mind, may serve here; and in other Passages, where I have used the Term Officers. I must only inform the Reader, that the Word *Mandarin*, has no Resemblance to the *Chinese* Sound. I believe it is a *Portuguese* Word, and is derived from *Mandar* to Ordain.

(a) The third of the Years *Chin quan*, answers to the third Year of his Reign, and of *Christ*, 629. These Names of Years are, as it were, Epochs, Marks, or Titles, by which the Years of every Emperor are designated; for the *Chinese* never mention their Emperors, whether dead or living, by their proper Names,

out of reverence to them, as if they were too sacred to be pronounced. The curious chronological Table of the *Chinese*, published by *P. Faupet*, (as already observed, P. 133. Note 1.) gives us these Epochs of the Emperors, some of whom have had no less than ten, during the Course of their Reign. Without this Table, we should have been at a Loss to fix the Dates of the Decrees, which the Missionary who translated them from the *Chinese*, ought to have done, for his Readers' satisfaction.

(\*) Two famous Ministers, mentioned in the *Shi king*.

(†) *Wbey shang* and *Li nu*, were two Generals, famous in their Time.

(4) Filial Piety.

(†) The *Chinese* says, to the Heart of *Tyen*.



My Application in all this, is so constant, that I don't even allow myself one Day of Relaxation. My great Passion is, that every thing may be regular; that my Subjects may follow Reason in all things, and may be solidly virtuous. Thus, when I see any thing not in its proper Place, and any of my Subjects vicious, I immediately take myself to Task, for the small Talent I have for Instruction, and effectual Reformation: I have good Reason for doing all this. For in short, the *Shu king* says, *Virtue, when pure and solid, touches* (§) *Shin: What effect then, must it not have upon the People?* I am told from different Quarters, that the People enter into their Duty; that Robberies are become rare; and that the Prisons in several Cities are empty. I learn all this with Pleasure: But I forbear to attribute it to my Care and Example. My Reflections on this Head, are as follows; People are weary, say I to my self, of Commotions and Rapines: They are now returning to the Paths of Virtue: These happy Dispositions must be improved, in order to endeavour the Conversion of the whole Empire. My military Expeditions have occasioned me to run over a great Part of the Provinces. At every Village I came to, I sigh'd and beat my Breast, at the Misery of the poor People: Being convinced of it with my own Eyes, I did not allow one Man to be employed in the useless Averages. I did my best, to make all my Subjects live at Ease, to the end, that Parents might be more able to educate their Children well, that their Children on their Parts, might acquit themselves better of all their Duties with Regard to their Parents, and that the other Virtues may flourish with the Virtue *Hyau*.

In order to make known to my whole Empire, that I have nothing more at Heart; When this Ordinance is published, let there be given in my Name, and on my Part, in every District, five Measures of Rice, to those who distinguish themselves by their *Hyau*; two Measures to every one who is Four score Years of Age; Three to those who are Ninety; as many to those who are a Hundred, together with two Pieces of Stuff: Besides, at the Beginning of every Moon, let a Measure of Rice be given to every Woman who brings forth a Son. As for they, whom the Calamities of the Times have forced to abandon their Country; let some be at Pains to persuade them to return, and at their Return, let them be furnished at my Expence, with what may put them on Foot again, in the same Condition as formerly. I likewise ordain, the general Officers of every Province, to examine carefully, which of their subaltern Officers are excellent, which good, and which bad, in order to send me a sealed List of them. That each Officer in his District, take care to inform me if there are any, no matter in what Station, in whom is discerned a true Talent for Business or for War, or have distinguished themselves by their Virtue; let a Memorial for this Effect be drawn up. Lastly, if there are any, who, having been a little debauched in the late Commotions, have reclaimed themselves so far, as to amend in Time of Peace. I likewise want to be informed about them. To bewail ones Faults; and to correct them, is a Thing, that many of our ancient Kings, whose Example I much value, have esteemed. Let this present Ordinance be immediately published. It is a common and a true Saying, that one Day being unhappily lost, the Loss is frequently felt for three Years. The Empire cannot be too soon instructed in my Intentions.

In the third of the Years, named *Chin quan*, *Li ta lyang* was raised to the Dignity of *Ta fù*, and had the Government of all the Territory of *Leang chew* given him. Some time after, a Deputy of the Emperor *Tay tong* passing that Way, saw an excellent Hawk, and immediately proposed to *Ta lyang*, to make a Present of it to the Emperor. *Ta lyang* gave it to the Deputy, in order to send it if he thought fit. In the mean Time, he secretly conveyed to the Emperor, a Memorial conceived in the following Terms.

YOUR Majesty, long ago, openly laid aside the Diversion of Hunting. Yet one of your Deputies has asked a Bird for you, for that Purpose. He either did it because he well knew your Inclinations in that Point, and thought that it would give you a Pleasure; or he has done it of his own Head, and without knowing your Intentions. If the Latter was the Case, he must be a very weak Fellow, and very unfit for his Employment; But if he knew your Intentions, your Majesty must have changed your first Resolutions, and as it were, annulled your former Orders.

#### TAY TSONG'S ANSWER.

YOUR rare Ability for Affairs, both of Peace and War, joined to a singular Honesty, and an unshaken Firmness, induc'd me to commit to your Care, the Management and Safety of a People, at a great Distance from me, and almost Forreigners. I am extremely well satisfied with the Manner in which you discharge this important Trust. I am charmed with the Honour you acquire, and I have always in my Mind, your Services and Zeal. I have not indeed tried the Officer, who was the occasion of my being presented with the Hawk; but I have a due Esteem for the good Advice you send me on this Occasion, at such a Distance, and for your Care in recalling to your Memory, the *Past*, in order to my being instructed with Regard to the *Future*. I read your honest Heart thro' all your Writing, and while I read, I sigh'd, and incessantly praised you. Am I not happy, said I to myself, in having such an Officer? Never deviate from your Honesty; persevere to the end, in worthily filling the high Rank you possess. To this Conduct, says the *Shi king*, the Favour of the *Shin*, and the greatest Prosperity, are inseperable. In the Opinion

(§) *Shin*, signifies a Spirit. I have elsewhere translated it *Spirit*; the Reader may use it as he has a mind.

It does not determine, neither here nor in other Places, whether it be of the Singular or Plural Number.



nion of our Antients, an Advice given in Season, is a very rich Present. The Advice I have now got from you, certainly has its own Value; and to shew you that I esteem it, I send you three Vessels of Gold, which are not indeed massy, but they have been used by me. One of the most proper Methods for your worthily filling your important Employments, and your supporting your high Reputation, is, to employ your leisure Hours, in reading some useful Book. That I may animate you to this, I augment my Present, with a Copy of the History of the *Han*, written by *Sun*. The Facts are there laid down in few, but well chosen, Words, and the political Observations are masterly: So that one may say, that this Book contains the Substance of the great Art of Governing, and the mutual Duties of Sovereigns and Subjects. I hope that you will read this Book with the greater Care, as you receive it from me.

*Towards the End of the Years, named Chin quan, the same Emperor Tay tsong, composed, for the Instruction of his Son and Heir, a Book, intituled the Rule of Sovereigns. This Book consisted of twelve Chapters. The first was intituled, Concerning what regards the Person of the Sovereign: The second, Concerning his advancing Relations: The third, Of the Care in searching for wise Men: The fourth, Of the Choice of Officers: The fifth, Of Readiness to hear Advice and Remonstrances: The sixth, Of his Care to banish Backbiting and Calumny: The seventh recommends, The avoiding of Pride: The eighth, The Love of a decent Frugality: The ninth treats, Of Rewards and Punishments: The tenth, Of Application in promoting Agriculture: The eleventh treats, Of the military Art, of which a Prince ought not to be ignorant: And the twelfth, Of the Learning, which he ought principally to esteem and cultivate. All these Matters were treated in such a manner, as served both to form the Prince to Virtue, and to teach him how to govern well. Tay tsong addresses this Book to his Son, and begins with the following Preface.*

THESE twelve Chapters, tho' they are short, contain the great Rules of our ancient and wise Kings, and the Duties of good Princes. On a Prince depend Troubles or Peace, the Ruin or Prosperity of his State. It is easy to know these Rules, and to be acquainted with these Duties: But the great Point is to follow, and to fulfill them: This is not so easy: And it is still more difficult to persevere invariably in them, to the end. It must not be imagined, that these wicked Princes, knew no other Path, but that of Vice; and that our wise and virtuous Emperors, whose Memories are so much celebrated, were unacquainted with all Paths, but those of Virtue. Both the one and the other, knew the two different Roads: But the one is downwards, and easy to follow: The other leads over Heights that seem fatiguing. Groveling Souls, without regarding the other, follow the easy Path, which conducts them to their Ruin. Great Souls, on the contrary, without being discouraged at the Difficulty, bravely take the other Road. But the Prosperity which soon attends them, rewards their Courage. Thus Men, by their different Conduct, become happy or unhappy, and all that is told us of the Gates of good and bad Fortune, are either allegorical Representations of what I have now mention'd, or else, they are mere Fictions.

If (+) you would reign as you ought, you must tread the Paths of the great Souls. Propose to yourself as your Patterns, and take for your Masters, our wisest Princes. Do not confine yourself to what I have done. He who endeavours to imitate our greatest Princes, frequently comes far short of them. If a Man aspires only at what is midling, he bids fair not to reach even that. No! Nothing, but a virtue of the first Rate, ought to be your Pattern. For my share, since I mounted the Throne, I have committed many Faults. I have been over curious about fine Stuffs and Embroideries, and even Pearls and precious Stones. To make a constant Use of these, as I have done, is guarding very ill against the Passions. I have adorned my Buildings with Sculptures, I have gone so far, as to raise some Terrasses. This cannot be done, without acting too inconsistently with what is called a Praise-worthy Frugality. I provided myself in Dogs, Horses and Hawks, even from the most distant Countries. It is an empty Curiosity which breaks in upon Disinterestedness, and perfect Temperance. In short, I have made some Journeys of Pleasure, by which, many have suffered. This discovers a gross Ignorance of one's Self, and a great Disregard of others. Don't make my Example, your Authority. I look upon it, as being so faulty, that it might have been attended with fatal Consequences. If it has not, it is owing to my having on the other Hand, re-established the Empire in Peace and Tranquillity. If I have wronged any of my Subjects, I have much oftner relieved their Necessities, and I commonly supplied them with Plenty. The Advantages attending my Victories, my paternal Cares, and my Goodness, have made them either to forget my Faults, or bear with them without repining. They even praise and applaud me; but notwithstanding of all that is said of my Reign, I acknowledge a great many Faults, upon which I cannot think without Shame and Repentance. If you imitate these Faults, what will you not have to dread? You, I say, to whom the Empire as yet owes nothing, and who owe the Empire, only to the Happiness of your Birth. But if, by assuming Inclinations worthy of your Rank, you practise and promote Virtue; if you undertake nothing but what the authorises, your Life will be happy, and your Reign glorious. If, on the contrary, you shall abandon yourself to your Caprice and Passion, you will forfeit your Empire, and lose your Life. It requires Ages to establish, and but Moments to ruin, Empires. Nothing is more easy than to lose a Throne, but great is the Difficulty in rising to it by Merit. Can a Sovereign then be too watchful and attentive?

(+) He speaks to his Son.



An Author, named *Hu san feng*, says of this Preface. *Tay tsong*, here acknowledges and confesses his Faults: This is very commendable; but it appears, that he writes all this for his Son; and the great failing of this Prince, was his Love for Women. Notwithstanding this, *Tay tsong* does not give him one Caution against this Passion: Nothing is more true than the Saying, that Parents never know the Faults of their Children.

An Author, called *Ting fong*, reasons otherwise upon the same Subject, and says: According to the Maxims of our Antients, nothing is more commendable in Princes, than not to doat upon Women. *Tay tsong*, who in this *Rule of Sovereigns*, so exactly instructed the Son in every other Point, never spoke of this important one. Was this because, perceiving that this was his own weak side, he was afraid, should he mention it, of giving People Occasion to talk? One thing is certain, that *Kau tsong* his Successor, had so blind a Passion for a Woman during his Life, that he left her when he died, the Government of the Empire, which had well nigh ruined all. The Silence of *Tay tsong*, upon so important a Head, seems to confirm what is too much verified in other Respects; That Princes have commonly some darling Faults, which they do not like should be touched upon.

The same Emperor *Tay tsong*, marching in Person towards *Korea*, and arriving at *Ing chew*, gave order, that the Bones of the Officers and Soldiers, who had died in the War of *Lyau tong*, should be carefully looked for and collected. He caused them all to be brought together, near the City *Lyew chew*. He then ordered the Magistrates of the Place, to prepare an Animal of the first Class. He next performed in honour of the Dead, the Ceremony called *Tsi*: He likewise made use of a (\*) *Tsi wen* of his own Composition, and wept so bitterly, that all his Army was deeply affected.

A Declaration by one of the Emperors of the Dynasty of the Tang.

IT is a true Saying, That Pearls and precious Stones are of no Use, either for Food or Raiment. They do not of themselves, protect us from Cold or Hunger. It is the same, with diverse other vain Ornaments. *Ven ti*, one of the *Han*, very rightly says, That Sculpture, Engraving, and such like Arts, are detrimental to Agriculture: That Embroidery, and other Works of that Kind, do, most perniciously, divert Women from employing themselves, as formerly, in making useful Stuffs, and Garments for common Wear. That wise Prince ascribed to these Disorders, the Cold and Want which his People underwent. *Kya i*, who lived in the Reign of *Ven ti*, carried these Reflections yet farther. A Man, says he, who does not eat twice a Day, suffers Hunger; and, if he lets a Year slip, without making himself any Cloaths, he endures Cold in the Winter. Now, when a Person undergoes Cold and Hunger, nothing can restrain him: In such a Case, the tenderest Mother cannot restrain her Child; and therefore, by a far more cogent Reason, how should a Prince restrain his People?

Raised, as I am, above the People, above the Nobles, and above the Kings, loaded, in Spite of my Debility, with the Care of making my Empire happy, I incessantly apply my self to it, so far as to forget, even my necessary Meals and my Sleep. I would gladly revive Simplicity and Innocence in my Empire: Yet, as that is not to be hoped for, while our People are in Want, I would fain have every individual Family sufficiently provided for. But alas! I am unable to bring that about. My Granaries are in a manner, empty, and the Scarcity still continues. If there happen but the least Drought or Inundation, my People will, as heretofore, be reduced to feed upon Bran. When I search for the particular Causes of this Calamity, I find myself to be the sole Occasion thereof: By the Delicacy of my Table, and Richness of my Attire, I have taught my Subjects, high Feeding and Luxury.

In short, People follow the Inclinations of Princes, and not their Instructions; it being very rare, that a Sovereign's Exhortation reclaim those whom he hath corrupted by his Example: And, accordingly our prudent Monarchs of old, made their own personal Conduct, the principal Springs of Government. By this means, they effectually corrected all Abuses, and made their Subjects virtuous. In Times nearer our own, some Princes, without being able to equal, have imitated them with Success? And why shall not I do the like? For me to aim at inspiring my People with good Oeconomy and Frugality, with Simplicity and Integrity, while they behold me using choice Silks, Pearls, Embroidery, and costly Gems, is to attempt an Impossibility (+). Yes, I at length know it to be a certain Truth, that it behoves the Sovereign to set the Example; and I will do it.

All my Gold and Silver Moveables, with other Ornaments of those Metals, shall be melted down for the Payment of my Troops, and such like Occasions: And as for my rich Garments, my Pearls, Diamonds, and other precious Stones, Things sufficiently useless, I am instantly going to destroy them all in a Fire, before my Apartment; to convince my whole Empire, that I abhor and detest Luxury. Since a sincere and upright Heart, has the Power to move *Tyen* or *Heaven*, I likewise reckon, it may touch my Subjects; and that, at least, they will obey such of my Orders, as they shall see supported by my Example. To begin with my Palace, I ordain, that the Queens, Princes, and Concubines, do henceforward array themselves in Garments, whose finery, shall consist solely in being neat and decent. I forbid their wearing Pearls or any other Ornaments of Price. (+) I will, if possible, bring Matters to such a Pass, that Gold shall be no more esteemed than

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(\*) A Kind of Funeral Oration.  
(†) The *Chinese* Original says, It is the same, as thinking to stop a Pot of Water from boiling, by increasing the Fire under it; or not to be wet, and yet leap into a River.

(‡) In the *Chinese*, is specified one particular Sort of Ornament, named *Tsi*, made of the Feathers of a certain Bird, of a violet Colour, very rare, and highly esteemed. [It is mentioned before.]



than common Earth (\*): I will, at least, absolutely banish Luxury. Moderation and Frugality are the Means, whereby People's Wants are to be relieved: It is my Desire, that these Virtues should flourish in my Empire. Let this my present Declaration be immediately published, and be it known unto all Men, that such is my Will and Pleasure.

*In the fifth of those Years, styled Whey chang, (z) Vu Tsong, one of the Emperors of the Dynasty of the Tang, published the following Ordinance.*

UNDER our [first] three renowned Dynasties, there never was the least mention of *Fo*: (+) It has been only since the Dynasties of the *Han* and the *Whey*, that this Sect, which introduced Images, began to spread itself over *China*. Thence downwards those foreign Customs have been established insensibly, for want of taking proper Care to prevent it, and are still gaining Ground daily. The People are unhappily bigotted to them, whereby the State is a Sufferer. In the two Courts, in all the Cities, and in the Mountains, nothing is to be seen but *Bonzas* (†) of both Sexes. The Number and Magnificence of the (A) *Bonzaries*, are every Day augmenting: Multitudes of Artisans, are perpetually employed in making for them, Images of all Sorts of Materials: Vast Quantities of Gold and Silver, are consumed to adorn them. Many People forget their Prince, their Parents and Relations, to station themselves under a *Bonza* Master. (B) There are also many wicked Wretches, who abandon Wives and Children, to seek among the *Bonzas*' Sanctuary, to screen and protect them from the Laws. Can any thing be more pernicious than this? Our Ancestors held it for a Maxim; that if there was but one Man who did not labour, and but one Woman who neglected employing herself in something appertaining to the Silk Manufactures, some one in the State was sensible of the Omission, and underwent either Cold or Hunger. How then must the Case be, in these our Times, when infinite Swarms of *Bonzas*, both Male and Female, are fed and clothed by the Sweat of others, and employ in all Parts, at an immense Cost, vast Numbers of Workmen, in building and adorning stately Edfices? (c) Are we to seek for any other Cause of that Poverty, to which the Empire was reduced, during the Dynasties of the *Tsin*, *Song*, *Tsi*, and *Yang*, and of all the Impostures and Knaveries, wherewith those Times abounded?

As to our Dynasty of the *Tang*, the Princes, who were its Founders, after having successfully employed the Force of Arms to restore the State to its pristine Tranquillity, took care to establish it by prudent Laws; and in order to affect it, far from borrowing any thing from that vile foreign Sect, in the very first of those Years, styled *Chin quan*, the Emperor *Tay tsong*, declared himself against it: But he proceeded with too much Lenity and Indolence, so that the Evil has only increased. For my own Part, after having read, and seriously considered the several Representations made to me on this Subject, and having maturely deliberated thereon, with wise and intelligent Persons, I am come to a Resolution. It is a Grievance, and some Remedy must be applied. All my well affected and experienced Officers, throughout the Provinces, press me to set a Hand to the Work: This, in their Opinion, is the Way to dry up the Spring of those Errors, which overspread the whole Empire, and to re-establish the Government of our Ancestors. they think it is the common Interest; and that the very Life of our People, consists in doing it. after this, how can we excuse ourselves from applying the Means? Here then follows what I do ordain. 1. That more than 4600 great *Bonzaries*, [or Monasteries] which are dispersed throughout the Empire, shall be entirely demolished: Consequently the He and She *Bonzas*, (d) who have their Abode in those *Bonzaries*, and by a moderate Computation, amount to no fewer than 26 (e) *Wan*, must again become Seculars, and pay their Shares of the usual Taxes. 2. That there be also destroyed upwards of four (f) *Wan* of lesser *Bonzaries*, which are spread up and down the Provinces: And consequently all the Lands thereunto annexed, amounting to several *Wan* of *Tsing*, (g) must revert to our Domains: Likewise, that fifteen *Wan*, [or 150,000] of Slaves, appertaining to the *Bonzas*, be intolled by the respective Magistrates, and accounted as part of the People. With regard to such out-landish *Bonzas* as are come hither, either from *Ta tsing*, (h) or

(\*) He alludes to a Saying of *Kau ti*, first Emperor of the Dynasty of the *Tsi*. *Viz.* If I reign only ten Years, I will make Gold and Earth bear one Price. [See P. 109.]

(+) In the French it is *tsing*, as if *Tsing* was another Name, of the Year *Whey chang*, which was the 5th of *Vu tsong*. See the last Note in this Page.

(†) The Name of a certain Sectary of *Hindostan*, whose Doctrine passed into *China*, not long after the Birth of *Christ*.

(‡) I use this Word [*Bonza*] says our Author, because it is used in other French Books; tho' it is not of *Chinese* Original [it was first brought into *Europe* by the *Portuguese*, who seem to have coined it: The *Chinese* Word being *Seng* or *Ho-seng*, which the Author ought at least to have given us.]

(A) This Word seems to be coined by the *Jesuits*, who translated these Declarations, to supply the Place of Monasteries, which Name he is not willing to give them: tho' in Effect, they are such, and are so called by other Missionaries, in several Parts of this Work.

(B) They are Sanctuaries for all Sorts of Villains, like the *Ramiss* Monasteries: which for that Reason, will equally fall under the Lash of this Declaration.

(c) Has not the same Complaint been made against the *Ramiss* Clergy; and ought not the *Ramiss* Princes to mind those Argu-

ments coming from a *Chinese*, which they disregard in Protestants, as the Effect of Prejudice?

(d) For there are *Bonzaries* of Women, as well as of Men; just like the Monasteries and Nunneries in popish Countries.

(e) A *Wan* is 10,000, so that 26 *Wan*, amount to 260,000.

(f) Or 40,000.

(g) A certain Land Measure so named.

(h) Several Europeans pretend, that *Ta tsing* is *Palestine*: at least, it is certain from a Monument still extant, that under the Dynasty of the *Tang*, some Christian Priests came into *China*, who had Churches in more than one Part of the Country, and lived in common. But we cannot easily discover by this Monument, whether they were Catholics, or Nestorians: [Nor does it matter which they were. But since they are layed in the Monument, to come from *Ta tsing* or *Tau tsin*, it appears from the Ordinance, that they underwent the same Fate as the *Bonzas*: nay, what is more remarkable, are considered themselves as *Bonzas*: Which shews, there appeared to the *Chinese*, the same conformity between their Religion and that of the *Bonzas*, which we have already observed, and shall, in its proper Place, shew there is between the latter and the *Romish*. The Generality of those who read the French will find it difficult to know, when, and by what Emperor, this Decree was made; for his Name is omitted or



*Mi bú pa*, to propagate the Law, professed in their respective Regions, and are in Number, about 3,000: It is my Decree, that they also return to a secular Life; To the end, that the Customs of our Empire may be uniform, and unmixed. Alas! The putting them on their ancient Footing has been but too long deferred: Why should they be deferred any longer? It is a Matter settled and concluded on. At Sight of this present *Ordinance*, let every one proceed to Execution. Such is our Will and Pleasure.

A Gloss says, That this Decree was actually executed, some few Particulars only excepted. That two great *Bonzaries*, with thirty *Bonza's* belonging to each, were left standing both in the Northern, and the Southern Court; that one *Bonzary* also was suffer'd to remain in every Government, with a certain Number of *Bonzas*; that those *Bonzaries* were distinguished into three different Orders; and that the Number of *Bonzas* was not alike in all of them.

Wey ching's Remonstrance to the Emperor Tay t'ong.

IT effectually behoves a Prince to love the Good and hate the Wicked; to place near his own Person, Men of Virtue and Merit; and to remove from about him, those who are destitute thereof. By entertaining the former, he furnishes his Court with select Persons: By keeping at a Distance the latter, he avoids being surprized by the Artifices, which Interest and their Passions are, on every Occasion, suggesting to them. As to the rest, there is no Man so bad, but that he has one laudable Quality, and does some little Good: Nor any, however prudent and virtuous, but has some Foible, and is sometimes guilty of slight Faults. But then the Imperfection in this latter, resembles a minute Spot or Blemish in a fine Jewel; while the little Good which the former has in him, may be compared to the sharpened Edge of a Knife-Blade, made only of Lead. This Blade, may indeed be used once: But is it, on that Score, held in any Esteem? On the contrary, a skilful Jeweller, does not refuse a beautiful Gem, on account of a small Blemish. To suffer ones self to be imposed on, or captivated by such slight good Qualities as may be found in a Man, otherways monstrously vicious; and to be discouraged at slender Defects, in a Person otherways of Virtue and Capacity, is to confound the most differing Scents, and to be unable to distinguish a Diamond of the highest Value, from a common Pebble.

But it is a much greater Misfortune, when a Prince, sufficiently qualified to distinguish Men of solid Virtue and real Merit, from such as have neither, neglects to invite the first, or reject the last. You, Great Prince, have an intrepid Courage, joined with a most penetrating Wit and Discernment; a most majestic Air, and uncommon Capacity, unite in your Person. But you do not, methinks, sufficiently temper your Love and your Hatred; and that redounds greatly to your Prejudice: Hence it proceeds, that notwithstanding your Fondness for Men of Virtue and Merit, the Choice you make, is not the most exact: Hence it proceeds, that you have still in your Court, Flatterers, whatever Aversion you have to Adulation. But you, more especially, suffer yourself to be carried too far, by your Aversion to Evil. When you are told Good of any one, you seem not to believe it: Are you told Ill of one? you instantly take it for granted. How great soever your Talent may be, it is still better you should be diffident thereof. Your Conduct in this Particular, seems to me, liable to many Inconveniences. How comes this to pass? It is thus.

As it is the Property of honest Men, to say what Good they know of others: On the contrary, it is the Custom of base Spirits, to speak Ill of every one indiscriminately. If the Prince easily believes the Ill which is told him, and is not ready to believe the Good he hears of People, he takes the direct Way to encourage Slander and Calumny: Which of course would be opening the Gate to wicked Men, and shutting it against good ones. This is a Failing of evil Consequence; for it puts, as if it were a Wall of Separation, between the Sovereign and his virtuous Subjects. Do any Troubles afterwards happen to arise? Are the Prince and State in any Danger? There are none found at Court to apply a Remedy. There are two Sorts of Intimacies, which ought well to be distinguished: The first is, that of good Men among themselves. Of this Tie, Virtue is the Knot. They mutually esteem each other. This Esteem engages them to assist and support each other on every proper Occasion; but it is always by honourable Methods. The second is, that of base and wicked Souls: Tho destitute either of Love or Esteem, they fail not uniting thro' Interest, and helping each other in their Intrigues. The first of these Unions has nothing in it but what is just, and must be useful to the Prince: The second is pure Cabal, nor is there any Thing more pernicious. The Misfortune is, that one may be mistaken for the other; and in such Case, the Consequences are terrible. For if the Prince takes for Cabal, what is say'd or done, by Persons of Virtue and Merit, in behalf of one another, he keeps on his Guard, he mistrusts, and shews them no manner of Respect: If, by a second Error, he takes for a sincere and upright Zeal, the Liberty, wherewith some buz in his Ears, Calumnies against this and that Person, and believes all they tell him, it is still much worse; For he will banish from his Presence, his best Subjects, or at least, grow diffident of them. This they will soon perceive: But in removing the Cause

or disguis'd (See before Note 2) in the Title of the Ordinance: (whether by a Mistake of the Printer, or with Design by the Translator, to conceal this remarkable Event, I shall not pretend to say,) and only the Year of his Title mentioned; but that Circumstance helps to discover the Secret: For by the Chronological Table (mentioned P. 135. Note 1. and 514.) the fifth of the Years, named *Whey chang*, (or as it is written in the said

Table *Whey chang*) is the fifth Year of the Emperor *Yu t'ong*, which falls in the Year of *Christ* 845, when consequently this Ordinance was published. The Difference between the Title of Years in the two Authors, happens by an easy Mistake in the Printer or Engraver, of an H for a K, or a K, for an H: *Da Halde* writing in *Hochchang* and *Fuguet*, *Kwei tchang*.]



Cause of his Jealousy, they may not give him all the Light which would be necessary. Such of his inferior Officers as are privy to the Intrigues, dare not once open their Mouths to make a Discovery. From the Court, this Evil spreads itself into the Provinces; and if it be not speedily plucked up by the very Root, its Consequences are always very fatal. Nothing, indeed like this, has happened yet, nor will, tis to be hoped, in your Time. Your Majesty's Views are, undoubtedly, extended beyond the present Juncture: You will prudently turn any Mistakes, you may have committed of this Kind, to your Advantage; and know how to repair them to your Profit. But what may not be apprehended during some weaker Reign, and under a Prince less disposed readily to recollect and correct himself? Your Majesty cannot do it too soon. Be afraid of transmitting to your Descendants, amidst so many shining Examples, the Faults I take notice of to your Majesty. Let your Promptness, to rid yourself of it, teach them to shun it.

What I have been laying down, my Sovereign, properly speaking, regards only the Choice of your Officers. I shall now offer a Piece of Counsel of a more general Concern, and so of more Importance, with Respect to your well Governing. It is, that you frequently consult the beautiful Mirror (\*) of Antiquity. Looking at ourselves in a clear and still Water, we behold our Faces, such as they really are. A Prince, by comparing his own Conduct, with the Steps taken by the Sages of old, may pass thereon a sound Judgment. Informed thereby of his own Defects, the Error he commits, and what are his principal Duties, he leaves very little to be done by his Officers, whose Business it is to remark his Faults, and to give him Advice. He increases, as of himself, in Wisdom and in Virtues. His Government grows daily, more and more perfect; and his Reputation augments proportionably. Consequently, what's more worthy the Applications of a Monarch?

As to the rest, the chief Care of our greatest Princes, *Whang ti, Yau, Shun, and Yu*, was to make Virtue reign, and to inspire their Subjects with the Love of it. In vain, would a Prince promise himself, by the Assistance of a Code, or Statute-Book, three Feet thick, to govern as they did, without taking Pains and bestirring himself (†). In these happy Days, it was neither the Severity of Laws, nor the Rigour of Punishments, which regulated or reformed People's Manners: It was only the Virtue of those Sage Princes. Careful not to allow any thing disorderly in their own Conduct, and exercising on themselves the strictest Justice, they treated their Subjects gently, and with Lenity: Whereby their Government, without being any way harsh or severe, was extremely vigorous. In effect, Mildness and Justice are the main Springs of Government: These are the Springs, which in a State, should give all Things their Motion; and if Chastisements are used, they ought to apply them as the able Coachman does his Whip, by Intervals, and but very rarely.

What then most of all imports a Sovereign, is to be himself virtuous, and to inspire his People with Virtue. Mankind are internally furnished with Reason and Passions; from whence outwardly proceed their good or bad Actions. Consequently, the only way for them to root out all their Disorders, is to regulate their Hearts. "To this end, our first rate Philosophers have applied their Care. Rightly to give Judgment in Causes, sayed *Confucius*, is something. I know some Men capable of doing it. But what I would have, is, that some would do it in such a Manner, as not to need any farther Judgment thereupon." To succeed herein, what is to be done? The Way is prudently to regulate and establish Rites; to instruct the People, to acquaint them with the Nature of their Passions, and arm them against Surprise from that Quarter; to oblige and encourage them to make Use of their Reason; to make tighter, if I may so express it, the Ties of Nature, which is common to them, and inspire them with a sincere Affection for each other. This mutual Love, will eradicate all Inclinations to do harm; every one will strive to perform his Duties, and Order will reign universally.

It will be in vain, to think of attaining this, by the Multitude or Rigour of Laws: Only Instruction, supported by good Example, can have such a desirable Effect. Accordingly, the wisest of our Kings, have always assigned Punishments a Place many Degrees below Virtue and Morality: Nor did *Shun*, as the *Sbu king* informs us, nominate *Kyew yu*, to preside over the five Punishments, till he had first giving him orders to cause the five capital Instructions, to be thoroughly inculcated over all the Empire. Nay, farther: The End even of Punishments, is not merely to punish Faults, and make Malefactors suffer; but they are design'd, either to deter People from doing what is Evil, or to remedy some Disorder; to widen the Path of Virtue, and streighten that of Vice. In short, Instruction and Example, ought to be the ordinary Occupations of Sovereigns. When they employ those Means, every one imbibes great and generous Sentiments, and conducts himself by noble Principles; whereas, under bad Princes, however severe they may be in punishing, the Inclinations of the People being wholly base and corrupt, nothing is seen but Trouble and Disorder.

It is, in proportion, the same, as to the Conduct of Magistrates, with Regard to the People under their Jurisdiction; and it may with Reason be affirmed, that the Figure of Metal has scarce more Dependence on the Form of the Crucible in which it is melted, or of the Mould it is to be cast in, than have Peoples Manners on those of the Princes and Magistrates, by whom they are governed: So that a Prince who should imitate our ancient Kings, would revive those happy Times.

(\*) Possibly, this Discourse was what induced *Tay tseu* to compose his *Golden Mirror*, whereof we have already given the Translation, p. 510.

(†) The *Chinese* has it, with his Hands a-croft, and doing nothing.

(‡) A famous Minister, by whose Assistance *W'ee lung*, Prince of *Yü*, became so powerful, that he was in a Manner, equal to the Emperor himself.



True it is, that those great Monarchs have had very few perfect Imitators. But, even while the Dynasty of the *Chew* was in its Decay, if the Government had not then, as formerly, Instruction and good Example for its Ground-Work, but greater Reckoning was made of the established Laws, yet we find those Laws to have been observed religiously. "A good Prince, (sayd *Qyang* (\*) *chong*) is guided by the Laws, and not by his own Views: He makes his particular Ideas and Inclinations give Place to the general Opinion and Benefit; nor can he possibly prosper otherwise."

Thus stood Matters during the first Year of your Majesty's Reign. The Laws were your Rule: You observed them exactly in punishing Crimes; in doubtful Cases, you set the Affair to be debated; you heard all the Suffrages with Patience, and you followed, without Hesitation, that Method which was most approved. Your People, made acquainted with your Decrees, and persuaded of the Equity thereof, received them without murmuring. Your Officers, having Experience of your Steadiness, in what you had once concluded on, dreaded no troublesome Revocations, and seconded you zealously: Each had his Station and his Talents. But for some Years past, Things have changed. You gradually, nay, daily more and more, grow difficult, and even somewhat rigid. You sometimes imitate those Fishers, whose Net restrain the Fish on three Sides only, leaving them Room to escape on the fourth (†). At other Times, and that much more frequently, you imitate those, who with Greediness hunt after the small quantity of Fishes, which are to be found in the least and the shallowest Rivulets (‡). Is a Choice to be made, but more especially, are you to judge of a Fault? Your Humour and your Inclination, are the only Rules you then follow. Have you a Love for any Person? Let his Crime be ever so enormous, right or wrong, you excuse him. Has any one the Misfortune not to please you? How light soever his Fault is, you find means to augment it, by diving into his very Intentions; and when any one makes you some Remonstrance thereupon, you suspect him guilty of Collusion.

What follows such a Conduct? Why, the Laws are rendered utterly useless; they are implored in vain, and the Magistrates dare not maintain them. You indeed, shut up their Mouths; but do not imagine, that in their Hearts, they acquiesce with your Decrees, and that those Decrees are executed without Murmurs. We have a Law specifying, That when the Criminal chances to be any Officer above the fourth Class, or Order, Care shall be taken, that all the superior Officers, give in their Reports, touching his Crime. This Law was enacted in favour of the Accused's Rank and Degree. The View of those who established it, was, to screen the Party from Calumny or Oppression, and bring every thing to Light, which might prove to his Advantage. At present, quite contrariwise, this Law is grossly abused, in order to arm against the Accused, those who have a Right of making the Report. Your Intentions being known to him, they search for, and improve even the minutest Circumstances, which may serve to aggravate the Faults; and seem afraid your Majesty would be offended, if they did not represent them criminal enough. Nay, even when the Case is of such a Nature, that no Law can be found whereby to judge him a Criminal, they examine him independantly of all Laws, and at length find means to make the Fault three times worse than it really is. Your Mind, in the Point, is known; and this is the Reason why, for some Years past, all such as are informed against, are in mortal Dread of having their Affair brought before you; and deem themselves extremely fortunate, whenever it happens to be terminated in the *Fa tse* (†).

As to the rest, what you transact upon the Throne, and in your Court, your Ministers and Officers do after the Example you set them, in their respective Tribunals. By this Means, Accusations multiply; Proceedings are spun out; and, while the principal Point of Government is either neglected or forgotten, much Time is squandered in canvassing light Slips, and often mere Trifles. What will this pretended Exactness at length produce? It will occasion Multitudes of Crimes, frequently very grievous ones, from the Method of punishing a single Offence, and that often a trivial one; it will stop up the high Road to Justice, and increase the Numbers of Malecontents and ill-disposed Persons. This is not the way to banish Dissensions, or to cause Union, Tranquillity, and good Order, to reign in a State.

Hear what a celebrated Author says, putting his Words into the Mouth of a Prince. — "The generality of People abhor filthy Debauches and Plunderings. These Crimes I never pardon. All People rejoice at it, and my Severity in punishing them, does not make me looked on as a cruel Prince; because I treat the Offenders answerably to the Idea of the Public, and the Horror which they have for those Crimes: So that it is in Conjunction with the Public that I judge them. The People have an Abhorrence also to Nakedness and Hunger: But it is a very different Kind of Abhorrence; for every one, dreading them for his own Sake, compassionates them in others. When therefore, I meet with any induced merely thro' Want to commit a Fault, I am ready enough to pardon him; nor have I found that for so doing, the People charged me, either with Partiality or Weakness. This is because my Conduct herein, also corresponds with the Dispositions of my Subjects: The Public pardons them at the same Time, when I do. In short, such as I treat with Rigour, are, in the general Sentiments of my People, Objects of Abomination: And they to whom I shew Indulgence, are, also in the common Opinion, Objects of Commiseration. The Care I have thus to follow the common and general Idea, gains me the Hearts of my Subjects, and so far prevails, that, without bestowing many Rewards,

(\*) A famous Minister, by whose Assistance *H'ee long*, Prince of *Tai*, became so powerful, that he was in a Manner, equal to the Emperor himself.

(†) A Symbol, or Emblem, of Princes and Magistrates, who use Clemency and Compassion.

(‡) A Symbol of Rigour and greedy Exaction.

(†) A Tribunal or Court of Judicature so named.



"Rewards, I easily enough, bring them over to Goodness, and with punishing but rarely, effectually turn them from Evil."

The Inference to be drawn from this, is, that in Matter of Punishments, a Prince who follows the general Idea and common Sentiment, hazards nothing; and that, tho' in following it, he should punish certain Faults somewhat too lightly, his so doing would not be attended by any great Inconveniencies. On the contrary, when a Sovereign follows his own particular Notions, if he is a little too indulgent, People say he is weak, and that he opens a Door to Disorders; if he is severe, he passes for cruel, and makes himself odious. Our ancient Princes were mindful of this in their Chastisements, whenever they used any: But they depended very little thereon; it being their chief Care, by Instruction and good Example, to maintain the Bulk of their Subjects in Virtue, and bring back to their Duty such of them as went astray. Alas! How different are the Measures taken now, especially in criminal Cases? No sooner is any Officer accused and imprisoned, but you come to a Resolution with Regard to his Affair, even before his Examination. For Form-sake, this Examination is taken afterwards; and if the Person charged therewith does, right or wrong, bring the Informations to square with your Intentions, which are to him but too well known, he is then a Man of Judgment and Ability: Or if the Judges, without determining upon the Nature of the Fault, or setting the Matter in a proper Light, according to Law, have private Recourse to your Majesty, and ask your Pleasure in the Affair, you then deem them zealous, faithful Officers. Such a Procedure is not the way to allure able Men into your Service, and attach them to you.

When a Man is to be judged, particularly, any old Officer of Consideration, a good Prince ought to remember, that this Man, tho' accused, is nevertheless his Subject, and that he should always retain for him a fatherly Affection. His Heart thus disposed, he ought, as holding the Scale in his Hand, to examine without Prejudice, the Fault whereof such Person is accused, search into and weigh the Evidences: That done, if he is ever so little dubious, he should recur to the Judgment of a Majority of his great Officers; and if the Case seems to them any way doubtful, it behoves him to lean towards the most favourable Side. They who bear the Sovereign's Commission, ought likewise to come into the same Sentiments, and follow this Method, as that which in all Ages has been the most approved. *Shun*, in deputing *Hew yu* (A), his criminal Judge, expressly recommended to him, Moderation and Compassion.

Under the Dynasty of the *Cheu*, when the Accusation was of any Importance, Judgment was never passed, till after the three (+) Orders had given in their respective Opinions. When a Sentence had the Approbation of the Majority, it was then denounced definitively. This is what was termed, *accommodating the Laws to the People's Sentiment*. The Expression is still in Use; but, alas! How strangely is the Sense perverted? To admit into the Judgments given, Presents, Alliances, Friendships, Enmities, and Revenge, is what they now call *accommodating the Laws to the People's Sentiments*. The superior Officers, in this Point, suspect their Subalterns; And what Possibility is there, that any real Zeal, or sincere Attachment, can subsist amidst all this Suspicion and Diffidence? "Of old, says *Confucius*, in criminal Judgments, they strove as far as the Laws would permit, to save the Lives of those accused." At present, they seek for Pretences to condemn them to Death; to this End they stick not to strain the Text of the Code, and have always ready some musty old Statute or other, to authorise their sinister Constructions. In a Word, they lay about to Right and Left, in Search of wherewithal to aggravate Faults.

*Whey nan tse* says, If the Water is ever so deep (\*), we may distinguish, from the Surface (†), whether its Bottom be Gold or Iron. If the Water is not both deep and clear, it will not greatly abound with Fish (§). For my Part, when I find a Prince looking on one, who can cavil at Trifles, as a good and able Judge; holding for a faithful zealous Officer, him who abuses his Subalterns; reckoning frequent Informations for signal Services: I compare him to one, who, to widen a Piece of Leather, stretches and pulls it till he tears it. In my Opinion, a Sovereign ought to take a quite different Course. It suits the Rank he holds, to be perpetually distributing his Favours; to reward liberally, and to punish sparingly; yet, without casting the least Blemish on the Laws: For, in Truth, the Laws are, with Respect to Judgment, the very same as the Ballance is to Weight, or the Line and Level are to Judge of Plans. Therefore, to make Judgment depend on either Love or Hatred, on Humour or Caprice; or on the particular Views of any Person soever, is wanting to judge of Weight without a Ballance, and of Plans, without a Line or Level. Is it not wanting to be deceived?

*Chu ko lyang* (||) was, while he lived, Equity itself. He openly declared, "That his Heart was a Ballance, which neither Authority, Affection, nor Interest, could turn to any Side." And in this, he said nothing but what was very true. And who was this *Chu ko lyang*? He was Minister of a State in a Kingdom of no great Extent. What Comparison is there between him and our august Emperors? How then happens it, that the Lord of such a vast and flourishing Empire does not blush at bringing down upon himself the Curses of his Subjects, by rendering their established Laws subordinate to his own Views, nay, even to his particular Inclinations?

I come now to another Point. It frequently happens, that you are disposed to amuse yourself with certain Things, sometimes of very little Moment; nevertheless, you will not have People take

(A) Orig. *Huan yu*, which seems to be a Mistake.

(+) 1. All the great Officers. 2. All the subaltern Officers.

3. The People.

(\*) Orig. 10 *Lin* in Depth.

(†) By this Comparison, *Tay tung* is given to understand, that it is in vain for him to dissimble, since People see thro' him.

(§) *Tay tung* is here reproached with his unfair Conduct, and told, that Spite of his great Genius, or deep Dissimulation, he will never allure Men of true Merit into his Service.

(||) A famous Minister and General, while the Empire was divided among three Princes, contending for the Sovereignty.



take Notice of your Doings, much less, suffer any to talk of them. On those Occasions, you are observed to fall of a sudden into a Passion, or rather, to feign one, in order to frighten your Subjects, and tie up their Tongues from speaking. If what you do is reasonable, what Harm is there in its being known? If otherwise, what signifies your Endeavours to conceal it? We have a good old Proverb, which says, "*The surest way to keep secret what we would not have known, is not to do it.*" When any one is afraid of being over-heard, his best Way is to be silent. To expect that all we say or do, shall be concealed from all Mankind, or shall never be talked of, is a vain Imagination (\*): The Pains we take about it is utterly useless; and all we gain by it, is to make others laugh at our own Expence.

*Yau*, placed at his Gate a great Drum, on which, whosoever had any Advice to give for the public Good was to strike, and that Prince gave him immediate Audience. *Shun* affixed a Board, whereon, every one had free Liberty to write down whatever he judged amiss in the Government.

*Tang* had near his Person a particular Officer, whose Business was to register what Faults he should commit. *Vu vang* caused to be engraven, on the Moveables of his Apartments, the chief Maxims of the wise *Tay kong*. Thus did those famous Princes, in the height of their Prosperity, not only watch over themselves, but got others to do it also. Ever steady and impartial, they inspired all their Officers with no less Confidence than Zeal; and Virtue established among them a Harmony, as delightful as beneficial.

"A Prince truly virtuous, (sayd *Vu ti*) takes Pleasure in hearing Things told him, which are naturally disagreeable to others." In effect, to cherish faithful and sincere Officers, and to drive from him Flatterers and Slanderers, is indisputably, the best Course a Prince can take, both for his own Security, and the Welfare of his State. It has been experienced in all Ages, that no Dynasty was ever known to perish so long as the Sovereign and his Ministers, united by the powerful Bond of Virtue, acted in Concert for the common Good. But it too often happens, that Princes, finding their Power well established, and the public Affairs on a good Footing, have neglected able and zealous Men, in order to advance others, whose supple Dispositions have rendered them more agreeable.

And you, Great Prince, recall to Mind, I beseech you, the Beginning of your Reign, when being moderate, weary, and vigilant, you joyfully embraced whatever beneficial Proposals were made you: If you chanced to make a Slip, how light soever it was, you repaired it instantly; you received even the harshest Remonstrances with Pleasure, which appeared in your Countenance; and accordingly, all Men of Capacity were eager to assist you with their Counsels. But now, that you have nothing to disturb your Quiet, when even the remotest Barbarians are your obedient Vassals, you seem to be quite another Man. Grown haughty and full of yourself, at the same time you exclaim against Flattery, and the Views which accompany it, you listen with Pleasure to Flatterers, who load you with Applauses. You hold florid Discourses, touching the Usefulness of just and sincere Remonstrances; but at the Bottom, you like not to have any such made you. Thus you gradually open the Door to Vice and Lucre. The Path of Virtue is more and more stopped up, and that so visibly, that it is perceived even by those who are least attentive (+). This is no trifling Matter. It was by your former Conduct, that your Empire is become so well settled: By your present Conduct, it cannot avoid falling to Ruin. Is it possible you should not see it? And, in case you really do see it, how chances you do not hasten to apply a Remedy? Ever since I had the Honour to serve your Majesty, my constant Dread has been, lest Men should cease from speaking to you with intire Freedom; and now, with Grief, I find, that such Freedom of Speech is much out of Use to what it was heretofore.

In all the Memorials presented you, relating to national Affairs, the Memorialists content themselves with briefly hinting what Inconveniences have occurred, or at most what are to be feared. As to Means of remedying, or preventing them, I do not observe that they make the least Mention of any. But I do not at all wonder at it: Your Haughtiness keeps you in too high a Sphere; And, even when you imagine you descend from it, you still resemble a Dragon (‡) armed all over with sharp-pointed Scales. Men dread to approach you, and yet far more to irritate you by speaking with Freedom. Such as at first dared not to explain themselves fully, and touched on Matters gently, finding that was not sufficient sought how to compass their Design: But meeting with no Encouragement, they chuse to remain silent; and this they the more readily incline to do, by Reason that were they even assured of bringing you at first to approve their Proposals, as being both momentous and reasonable, they have always Room to fear that your Favorites, not relishing them, will make you alter your Mind; and that all the return they shall meet with from your Majesty for their Zeal, will be some Affront. Even the People of your own Retinue, your Officers, and Domestics, who are perpetually about your Person, are in such awe of you, that when there is a Necessity of informing you of what may give you Displeasure, they stand looking on each other, none daring to open his Mouth. How then dare your Officers without Doors represent to you frankly every thing which their Zeal prompts them to? Your Majesty says, in one of your late Declarations, "When my Officers have any Representation, touching State-Matters, to lay before me, they may do it: But let them not from hence expect that I shall come into all the Measures they propose." Now, I am at a loss to comprehend, how you could resolve to express

(\*) The Chinese Expression is: This is attempting to catch Birds with one Hand, and covering the Eyes with the other.

(+) The Original Chinese has it, the People who travel back-

wards and forwards.

(‡) In China, a Dragon is the Emperor's Symbol, and is no Way odious.



express yourself in this Manner; for surely it is not the Way to excite People to give you wholesome Advice, but rather to deter them from it. Believe me, nothing but a noble and generous Zeal can induce a Subject to give his Sovereign Advice. It is known to be a delicate Point; and even when they meet with the utmost Encouragement from the Prince, it is much, if on such Occasions, the most Resolute find not within them some Remains of Fear, which hinders them from saying All. To express yourself then as you do, is with one Hand to open a Door for Council, and to shut it with the other: So that one is at a Loss what to depend on, or which Method to chuse. The best Means you can use to procure good Council, is for you to love it really and sincerely. *Wen*, King of *Tsi*, affecting a particular Kind of Violet Colour, his whole Kingdom wore no other. A certain King of *Tsi* having declared that he liked slender Women, all the Ladies of his Palace fasted to get fine Shapes; and several of them died with over-fasting. Now, if a Desire of pleasing the Prince in such Trifles, could have so much Power over Women and the very Populace, how much more might not prudent and zealous Officers be influenced by a Desire to please him, and assist him with their wholesome Council, if they saw he really loved it? But, when the Heart is not so disposed Words are useless, nor can Appearances deceive.

*Tay tsong*, having perused this Remonstrance, answered it with his own Hand, in the following Terms; viz. — “ I have attentively read over your Discourses, from Beginning to End: It is throughout both, solid and pressing; in short, it is such as I expected from you. I am sensible of my own Want of Virtue and Capacity. I cannot think on our glorious Monarchs of ancient Times, without extreme Confusion. Had I not such stout *Rowers* (\*), how could I safely cross so wide a River? How can we, without salted (†) *Mey-tse*, rightly give a Sauce the five Relishes? As a Token of my Satisfaction, I make you a small Present of 300 Pieces of Silk.”

The Emperor *Kang hi*, greatly commends *Wey ching*'s Discourse: Divers Authors, both antient and modern, do also speak in Praise of it. One of them compares *Wey ching* to *Kay i* and *Tong chong shu*, both of them famous under the *Han* Dynasty. “ They were all one and the same Person (A) (says this Author) the only Difference between them, is the different Ages wherein they flourished.”

*In the eleventh of those Years styled Chin quan, (B) the Emperor Tay tsong undertaking to build a great Palace at Fey shan, the same Wey ching dissuaded him from it, by a Remonstrance made on that Occasion.*

HE introduces it with an Account, from History, of the unhappy Catastrophe of several Princes, attributing all to their foolish Extravagance. He dwells most on the Dynasty of the *Swi*, which was of a very short Continuance, and to whom the *Tang* Dynasty had but lately succeeded. He gives *Tay tsong* to understand that he is taking the same Road, wherein the others lost themselves. —

“ The People (pursues he) have only changed one tyrannical Government for another, not much unlike it. By pursuing this Course, you may arrive at the same Point. The least that can possibly happen is, you will leave to your Descendants a rifled exhausted Empire, with a Load of Maledictions from their Subjects. Now, the Groans and Execrations of a People bring down the Wrath of the *Shin* upon both Prince and State: This Wrath is followed by fresh Calamities; Public Calamities naturally cause Troubles and Commotions. There are but few Princes who have not a Love, either for Reputation or for Life: How comes it to pass, that you take not this into Consideration?”

*In the same Year, Wey ching presented another Discourse to the Emperor Tay tsong.*

HE begins with telling him, as in the preceeding ones, that his Majesty is no longer the same Person he has been; that he is become haughty, &c. And after animadverting to him, that if it be the Water (‡) which bears up the Bark (§), it is likewise the Water which swallows it up, he proposes to him ten Points whereon to meditate, according to as many different Situations, in which his Heart might chance to find itself.

Does a Prince (says he) find vast Desires grow in his Heart? It behoves him to remember this Sage Maxim, so useful to all Men, and so very necessary for Sovereigns; *Learn to be content with what suffices*. — Does the Exigence of Affairs require some military Expedition? We have another Maxim, which on that Occasion he should weigh with Attention: *Know when to stop seasonably*. As the End and Motive of this Expedition are to restore Order, when Order is once restored, then is the Season to stop. — Is he tempted to study how he may distinguish himself? Does he, with such View, meditate some Enterprise? Let him think, *That nothing is more glorious to a Man, and especially to a Sovereign, than Humanity and Moderation, which give him the Mastery over himself*. — Does he find rising in his Heart, any Motions of Pride and Haughtiness, which his high Rank and Dignity have inspired? Let him reflect, *That the greatest Rivers, and the very Sea itself, are lower than the smallest Brooks, without losing their Advantages*. —

In

(\*) The Symbol or Emblem of State Ministers, and other Grand Officers.

(†) *Mey tse* is a tart Fruit, like wild Abricots. They candy them: they pickle and also salt them, purposely to be used as Sauces.

(A) In the Orig. *ts'le men* Emperor, which seems to be some Mistake.

(B) That is, in the eleventh Year of his Reign, the first of which begins the *Chin quan*.

(‡) An Emblem of the People.

(§) Emblem of Emperors.



In his rural Diversions, let him never forget the antient Rule, of *inclosing the Game on three Sides only* (\*). If Indolence or Laziness attacks him, let him call to Mind the Saying: *To begin well is of no Signification, except you likewise end well.* — If he perceives or fears, that Matters of Moment are, or will be, concealed from his Knowledge: *Let him thoroughly examine his Heart; let him utterly banish thence, all Prejudice, all Humour and Caprice, all particular Affections and Aversions; in a Word, let there be a perfect Vacuum: He then will never want zealous and faithful Subjects, who will acquaint him with whatsoever it concerns him to know.* With regard to the Care he ought to take, to prevent wicked Men from imposing on him with Calumnies and false Reports; the most effectual Method is, *To be himself so virtuous, that wicked Men dare not approach him.* In the Distribution of Rewards, let not a Fit of Good-humour carry him too far; and when he is to inflict Punishments, let not Anger have any Part therein.

In the first of those Years styled *Shin kong*, (A) the Empress *Vû hew*, greatly harassing her People, in order to preserve, and push farther, certain Conquests, *Tyen jin kye*, made her the following Remonstrance.

I HAVE constantly heard it said, That *Tyen* hath placed the Barbarians in the Regions absolutely distinct from our Territories. The Empire under our ancient Princes, was bounded by the Sea, Eastwards; Westward, by *Lew ma*; Northward by the Desert *Ti o no*; and its Southern Bound, was what goes by the Name of the *Uling* (†). These were the Barriers which *Tyen* had set between us and the Barbarians. It appears from our Chronicles, that diverse Lands, into which our three first famous Dynasties never introduced either their Knowledge or their Arms, are now Part of your Dominion. Your Empire is not only far more extensive than those of the *Ing* and the *Hya* (‡), but it even surpasses that of the *Han*. And does not all this satisfy you? Why should you carry your Arms beyond them, into barbarous and uncultivated Countries? Why should you drain your Treasuries, and harass your People, by attempting needless Conquests? Why will you prefer, to the solid Glory of Governing a flourishing Empire in Peace, the vain and imaginary Honour of constraining a few Savages to wear Caps and Girdles?

*Sbi wbang*, under the *Tsin*, and *Vû ti*, under the *Han* did so: But our five *Ti* (§), and our three *Wang*, never did any thing like it. Now, to prefer the Examples of *Sbi wbang* and *Vû ti*, to those of our most illustrious ancient Monarchs, is to hold the Lives of Men as nothing, and make you hated by all your Subjects. *Sbi wbang* himself, ought to be a warning to you: The Fruit of all his Exploits was, that his Son lost the Empire. *Vû ti*, one of the *Han*, imagined, that by the Hoards his Predecessors had left, he might extend his Dominions. He undertook four Wars successively, and maintained them well enough; But his Treasure being quite exhausted, he was obliged to burden his People, and the Misery soon became general: Fathers sold their Children, Husbands, their Wives; infinite Numbers perished thro' mere Want, and Robbers, in numerous Bands, swarmed in every Quarter. At length, *Vû ti* opened his Eyes, and giving over his military Designs, applied himself to the peaceable Government of his Empire; and, to convince the whole World of his Repentance and Intentions, in nominating *Hew* (||) to be his Prime Minister, the Title he conferr'd on him was, *Fû min hew* (‡). This Alteration in *Vû ti*, procured him the powerful Assistance of *Tyen*. One of our old Proverbs says, *A Coachman fears being over-turned, where he has seen another over-turn.* The Comparison, tho' somewhat low, may, for its Sense, be applied to what is ever so great.

He next lays down at large, the vast Expences of a War; and concludes, with exhorting the "Empress, "not to go to seek those Pisnires in their Holes, but only to keep the Frontiers well "guarded."

The same Empress *Vû hew*, whom her imperial Consort left Regent at his Decease, set aside, and banished the Heir to the Crown, then a Minor. She, long after, recalled him, on a Remonstrance made her on that Occasion, by *Sû ngan heng*: But, as she still continued ruling singly, tho' far advanced in Years, without saying a Word of restoring the rightful Prince, who was of fit Age to govern, she sayed *Sû ngan heng* put the following Remonstrance into a little Box, and so got it privately conveyed to her Hands.

A TRULY faithful and zealous Officer, never lets his Zeal give Way to the Times, either in Hopes of gaining the Sovereign's Favour, or thro' a criminal Fear of losing it. A real Philosopher, does not, thro' Apprehension of Death, or Desire of Life, omit doing what is actually his Duty. When, therefore, a Prince's Conduct appears faulty, there is Reason to impute it, partly to his great Officers taking no notice thereof. The late Emperor, on his Demise, (\*) intrusted to you, jointly with the Prince his Heir, the Government of the Empire. But, alas! Even under *Tau* and *Shun*, there were found a *Kong kong*, and a *Quen*. Certain Discontents have

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occasioned

(\*) A Gloss says: "We must always leave the Game some Gap, that Part may get away, and the Species be preserved." Besides, this shews Clemency and good Nature.

(A) That is, the fourteenth Year of this Empress's Reign.

(†) These two Words imply Moving Sands. *U*, signifies five; *ling* is Mountain, or a Chain of Mountains: [five sandy Hills.]

(‡) Names of Dynasties. [*Ing* is the same with the *Shang*.]

(§) i. e. Our ancient and wisest Princes.

(||) A Title of Dignity, equivalent with Duke.

(†) *Fû*, to make happy: *min*, the People; *Fû min hew*, is, the Duke charged to make the People happy.

(\*) The Chinese here, and on all such Occasions, avoid the ordinary Expressions *Died*, *Death*, *Decease*, *Defunct*, &c. In this Place it *Verbatim* runs, in *reposing his Chariot*, in the same Manner as we say, in *finishing his Career*.



occasioned a Division, between your Majesty and that young Prince; which I attribute to the Unhappiness of the Times, but others, to your Ambition. "The Express, say they, wants to dethrone the *Li* (\*), and transmit the Empire to some other Family: Else, considering her great Age, why does she not suffer her Son to reign?"

That which I myself say, and which seems to me to be Fact, is, that your Court swarms with Sycophants, and the Door is shut against wholesome Counsel. As the Empire is attacked by Barbarians, and your People suffer at the rate they do, you will find it very difficult to preserve them, and free yourself from the present Embarrass. This Empire which you now rule over, is the same that once appertained to those illustrious Monarchs *Yau* and *Ven wang*. The *Sui* (†), who lately possessed it, having by their ill Conduct, become unworthy thereof, saw themselves set upon from every Quarter. While like Deer they fled, Numbers of Crows assembled: Then appeared, like an *Eagle*, (‡) or a flying *Dragon*, our illustrious Founder of the *Tang*; who, after he had restored a Calm in the Empire, was acknowledged as its Sovereign. He stipulated with all the Grandees, that only the *Li* should be made or styled *Vang*; and that the other Titles of Dignity (§) should not be bestowed on any, but those who had deserved them by their Services. Accordingly, he gave a few of them to such, as had served him well already. The Agreement was confirmed by Oath; nay, even Blood was drawn to that effect. If then your Majesty now fills the Throne, it is not therefore ever the less the Throne of the *Tang*. "A Magpy, says the *Sbi king*, builds her Nest, and the Bird *Kyew* places herself there afterwards." You are a Woman, and born a Subject; yet you are become Empress and Mistress. How comes this to pass? Doubtless, it was done with no other View, but that you should take Care on your Part to act conformable to the Designs of *Tyen* (or *Heaven*) and win People's Hearts. There was a Time, when, disgusted with the Conduct of the Heir, who had not then attained to Years of Maturity, you had Thoughts of substituting in his Stead his Brother *Vang*, of *Syang*. But, reflecting afterwards, that this Prince was the younger, and rightly fearing to ruin the Royal Family, by creating therein Trouble and Division, you wisely conformed with the People's Wishes, by recalling the rightful Heir from his Exile. This Prince is now of ripe Age; he has withall, many Virtues; he is your Son, and you are his Mother: All this notwithstanding you envy him the Station whereof he is so worthy, and withhold what is his Due.

It is a true Saying, "That those in the Provinces generally follow the Court's Example." By dealing so unjustly by the right Heir, what Sort of Example is it you set the whole Empire? What Hope is there, after this, of reforming its Abuses, of establishing good Manners, and more particularly, of propagating Tenderness and Piety in Families? With what Front dare you henceforward appear, at the Burial-Place of the late Emperor and his Ancestors? You have hitherto, indeed, reigned alone and peaceably: But know you not, that Things are never nearer their Fall, than when they have attained their utmost Perfection? That which is pow'd into a Vessel already full, runs over upon the Ground. It is often so very necessary to come immediately to a Resolution, that to make the least Delay will ruin our whole Design. For my Part, it seems to me, that both *Tyen* and Men, are ready to declare in favour of the *Li* (||).

Besides, why, at your Years (for the Water, which is almost all run out, will soon strike the Bell) (‡) why should you still, I say, fatigue yourself both Day and Night? Why do you not throw off the heavy Load of Government, and charge the Prince with it? Your Repose is absolutely concerned; and, if you are more sensible of any thing else, it also concerns your Honour. This Action will gain you the greatest Praises at present, and it solely depends on you, to have it transmitted to Posterity, by Songs and Histories. I therefore exhort you to it, as to a Thing of high Importance to the Tranquillity of the whole Empire. I am of Opinion, that I ought not to prize a short Life, and fail in Duty to my Country by a criminal Silence. I therefore intreat your Majesty, to spare a few Moments from your great Occupations, to examine at leisure these my weak Arguments. If your Majesty does me the Justice to look on me as a sincere and loyal Subject, I conjure you, without Delay, to do what I propose. But, if you ascribe my Remonstrance to any other Motive than that of my Zeal, and are thereat offended, it is in your Power to punish me for it, and, at the Expence of my Head, to convince all your Subjects that you cannot bear the Truth.

For the better Understanding of the foregoing *Peice*, it is necessary to subjoin what follows.

*Vu bew*, was originally a Girl of mean Condition; it is even say'd that she was a Slave: But *Kau tsong*, became so greatly enamoured with her, that he made her Empress. When he was dying, he appointed a Successor, who was already of some Age: However, he declared at the same time, that it was his Will the Empress should govern in Conjunction with his Son. This Prince being married, grew very fond of his Father in Law, whom he advanced, and enriched to such a Degree, that all the Nobles made him on the Occasion pretty home Remonstrances, which were received very ill by the Prince, and caused no change in his Conduct. The Lords then addressed themselves to the Empress, who laying hold of this Opportunity to reign by herself, banished her Son at a great Distance from Court. Many People however were displeased with this Proceeding; but the Grandees having been disgusted with the Prince, had themselves,

(\*) The Name of the then reigning Family.

(†) The Name of the Dynasty, which immediately preceded that of the *Tang*.

(‡) I translate *Fung*, *Eagle*, and *Lang*, *Dragon*, after other Missonaries, but will not warrant the Justness of the Translation.

(§) *Of Heu*, of *Kang*, &c.

(||) Family-Name of the Prince, of the Dynasty of the *Tang*.

(‡) An allegorical Expression, to tell her, she has not long to survive. It hence appears, that the *Céleste* had formerly, a Sort of Water-Clock. [Clepsydra]



selves set on the Empress, who besides was very much dreaded. Thus the Exile and Disgrace of the Prince continued for several Years, and the Empress governed alone.

*Sü ngan beng*, lay on the Watch for a proper Opportunity, which having found, he advised the Empress to recall the Prince, and restore him to his just Rights. The Empress consented to it, and the Prince returning to Court, was declared Successor as before; but that was all, for she still retained the whole Authority. As the Prince was of a mature Age, and seemed to have amended his Faults, every one murmured at the Empress for not resigning the Government, which right belonged to him: But none was bold enough to speak to her, for fear of her Resentment; Besides, she was so besieged by certain Flatterers, who were her Favorites, that it was very difficult to get a Petition conveyed to her. However, *Sü ngan beng* more courageous than the rest, and encouraged by the Success he met with the first time, found means to inclose the following Remonstrance in a Box, which none but the Empress herself was to open.

The Empress dissembled: But still let Things remain as they were. At length, falling sick, the Grandees took that Occasion to address the Prince to mount the Throne. On his agreeing to the Proposal they told him, the first thing he had to do was to put to Death the two Favorites of the Empress, in whom she put most Confidence. The Prince consented, and marching to the Palace with some Troops, seized those Ministers, and struck off their Heads. The Empress being informed hereof, demanded by what Authority, they came with Force, to take and put her People to Death? She was answered, they had done it by the Prince's Order, and that he was present. The Empress then said, without discovering the least Concern, these two Men had offended him, and he was resolved to punish them. I am well enough satisfied, let him retire to his own Palace. (\*) To which it was replied, that, to obey her orders was not convenient; that she being so old and infirm, could no longer take that Care on her, which such a vast Empire required: That it was time for the Prince to assume the Government, and that they entreated her to approve thereof. As she was not in a Condition to oppose it, she was obliged to give her Consent, and a few Months after died.

In the sixth of those Years, named Tali, the Emperor Te tsong (A), published the following Declaration.

TO be a Sovereign, is to have received from T'ien (Heaven), an Order to subvert the People. For this Reason, a good Prince loves his Subjects, not only as his Children, but even as his own Person. He takes Care to feed the Hungry, and cloath the Naked, and yet he thinks he has not done too much, nor is his Goodness satisfied; it always employs his Heart, either in the Care of rendering his Subjects happy, or in the Grief and Confusion of not having fully succeeded. In good Times, his Granaries are in the Hands of his People, and all his Subjects are at their own Ease: The old Men want for nothing, and without Troubles or Disquiets, they see their Children's Children multiply. The Averages are few and easy. The Rule of which our antient Princes laid down, was, three Days Work of a Man in a Year for each Family. In short, when Peace and Harmony obtains in a State, it is easy to promote Virtue there likewise: Alas! I have been burthened with the Government these eight Years, yet I have not been able to reach, or even come near, this. But this is not owing, notwithstanding of my Defect in Virtue, to my not doing all that lies in my Power for that effect, and to my not wishing if I could, to do more. But the Irruptions of the Barbarians, and the Troops that must be kept on foot to secure our Frontiers, and other necessary Expences, have put me out of a Condition to relieve my People, and have obliged me sometimes, even to load them with new Taxes. There has been one continued Succession of Inundations and Droughts. We cannot say, that we have had one plentiful Year. The Husbandmen abandon the Fields; Fathers sell their Children; and the High-ways are full of poor People, whom Necessity have obliged to leave their Country and their Relations. It is not so much their Fault as mine, that thus they forget all their most natural Sentiments. I have neither Skill enough to prevent their Necessities, nor Virtue enough to inspire them with the Courage and Patience which these Extremities require. This gives me real Grief, and the greatest Confusion: Night and Day I think of nothing else. Till such time as I can relieve my People, as the Territory which depends upon this Court has suffered most, I free it for one Year, of all its Averages, and all its Taxes. And I ordain, that my Officers should fall upon some Method, for the Relief and Support of the Poor.

On Occasion of the Rebellion of certain Chu ché, the Emperor Te tsong, travelled into Lyau tong.

The Army of Rebels was defeated, their Chiefs were taken, and upon the Emperor's resolving to publish an Indemnity, the Soothsayers told him, that the Royal Family was still threatned with some new Misfortunes: And that in order to avert them, it was necessary to change somewhat in the present Names and Titles. The great Men proposed, that he should add a Word or two to his own Surname, and Lû ché, as the only Person who opposed it.

SIR, said he, addressing himself to the Emperor, all these Surnames and pompous Titles, are not of ancient Usage. To assume them even in the most flourishing and happy Times, would discover a Want of Modesty. But to encrease them at so melancholy a Juncture as the present, would be very improper, and might be very hurtful. If you are positive to regard what these Soothsayers pretend, I mean, what they say with Regard to changing the present Titles and

(\*) The hereditary Prince, has his Palace a-part to the East of that of the Emperor: And *Tong kong*, which signifies the Eastern-Palace, is a common Expression to denote the hereditary Prince.

(A) Here seems to be a Mistake, for the 6th Year of the *Ta li*, by P. Fouquet's Chronological Table, is the 9th Year of the Emperor *Tai tsong*, the immediate Predecessor of *Te tsong*.



and Surnames, it would be better, instead of increasing your own, which would render you odious, to testify your Respect for the Advice which *Tyen* has given you, by retrenching them.

The Emperor took the Advice of *Lû ché* very well, and resolved to change only the Name of the Years. And then he caused to be shewed to *Lû ché*, a Declaration minuted by a Secretary of State, and asked his Opinion of it.

Sir, answered *Lû ché*, The Actions of a Sovereign, are what properly and effectually touches the Heart. Discourses are commonly empty, and, if they are not well executed, they have not the least effect. While you publish a Declaration in such Circumstances, you cannot appear too modest, you cannot too much aggravate your own Failings, nor show too earnest a Desire of reforming yourself. The Emperor agreed to this, and ordered *Lû ché* to draw a Declaration up, which he did in the following Terms.

*Declaration of the Emperor Te tsong, drawn up by Lû ché.*

THE best Means by which a Prince ought to govern aright, and promote Virtue in his Empire, are, a sincere Affection for his Subjects, a generous Self-denial in their Favours, a continual Care to correct his own Defects, to repair the Faults he has committed, and to press to Perfection: Ever since I mounted the Throne, to which I succeeded by my Birth-right, there has scarce been any thing but Troubles. These Troubles have obliged me, sometimes to neglect the ordinary Ceremonies with Regard to my Ancestors; and have so much taken up my Mind, that I have not, as I ought, employed myself to acquire Virtue. While with Grief I reflected over and over again, upon these first Years of my Reign, which I have employed so ill, it is time, said I to myself, it is time to begin to repair them, by publicly acknowledging that I have lost them, by laying open, without disguise, the melancholy Effects of my bad Conduct; and by expressing a sincere Desire, to observe a better, in Times to come.

My Ancestors, these illustrious Founders of our Dynasty *Tang*, after having, by their Valour and their Virtue, delivered the People from Oppression, and given Peace to all the Empire, established an admirable Order. In this, they were assisted by a great Number of excellent Officers in all Ranks, whose Zeal they wisely animated, and whose Services they generously rewarded. Things being put upon so good a footing, continued there; and behold! at the End of 200 Years, (\*) you succeed to your Ancestors in their Posts, and to my Father in his Throne. Ever since my Accession, my greatest Fear has been, lest I should fall short of their Wisdom and Virtue; and to do my utmost to imitate them, has been my constant Resolution. But being educated by Women in the Heart of a Palace, till I was pretty well grown up; I at this Day, feel the Effects of an Education, so unsuitable to a Prince. Being quite ignorant of the Affairs of Government, I entered into Possession of a peaceful Empire: But I have not had skill enough to prevent that which may disorder it: Unacquainted with the Fatigues of Husbandmen, unmindful of the Hardships of Soldiers, I have not imparted as I ought, the Effects of my Bounty to either the one or the other of these Professions; by this, I have given them a Right to doubt of my Affection, and a Handle to treat me with Indifference. Besides, instead of employing myself in acknowledging my Defects, I have undertaken useless Wars upon slight Grounds. There has been nothing but the Motions of Troops, of Convoys, and Recruitings. I have increased the ordinary Taxes. Here, I have exacted Chariots, there, Horses. There is not a Province in all the Empire, but what has suffered by these Proceedings; My Officers, and my Soldiers, after being obliged to fight several times in one Day, have spent whole Years, without laying aside, either their Head Pieces or their Armour; far from the Burying-places of their Ancestors, far from their afflicted and forlorn Wives. My People being obliged to leave the Lands without Culture, for continual Averages, have been over-whelmed at once, with Toil and Misery, and reduced to wish for Death, under the Hands of an Executioner, *rather than for such a Life.*

Mean time, *Tyen*, above me, gave me frequent Advices, by chastising me; yet I cannot profit by it: Below, Men are breaking out into Murmurings, of which I am not inform'd. Thus Misery increased by little and little, till a rebellious Subject has endeavoured to take the Advantage of this Disorder, and has pushed his Insolence to the utmost Excesses. Forgetful of all shame and dread, he has spread Tumults thro' all. The People and the Nobles, have all suffered by this; and he has carried his Boldness so far, as even to insult the Tombs of my Ancestors. I am the more sensibly concerned at this, as I myself have been the Occasion of it: And I never think of it, without the greatest Confusion, and the most lively Grief. Thanks to the Protection of (+) *Tyen ti*, which comes from on high, the *Shin* and Men, united themselves in my Favour. My Ministers, and my Generals, have unanimously done their utmost, to show their Zeal and their Abilities; my Forces have served me well: The Rebel is defeated, and taken. I must now endeavour to remedy the past Evils. It is for an Introduction to this, that I publish the present Declaration.

While I am incessantly employed in remembering my past Faults, my Officers of all Ranks, without

(\*) He addresses his Discourse to the great Officers.

(+) I have not as yet translated *Tyen*, which has occurred frequently by itself, and is again to be met with in this Piece. He seems to have determined the Sense of the Word *Tyen* in the first Line of the Emperor *Te tsong's* Declaration p. 527. Here, and in other Passages, the Character *Ti*, which commonly signifies the Earth, is joined to it. As I have always left the Reader to judge of the Sense of *Tyen*, by that of the Passages with which it is connected, I likewise leave him to judge of the Sense,

which it is proper to affix here, and in other Passages, to the Characters of *Tyen* and *Ti*, when joined together; and if it is better to make *Lû ché* say, that the material Heaven and Earth, powerfully protect; and that the Protection of the material Earth, comes from on High; or to understand the Figure in the same Sense as the Expression *Chau ting*, which literally implies the Court and the Hall, or, the Hall of the Court, signifies the Emperor; and *Tong kong*, or the Eastern Palace, signifies the Hereditary Prince &c.



without excepting the greatest, in all the Writings they address to me, outvye one another in giving me new Titles: I have never accepted of them: I never wish'd for them. I have only been so complaisant, as to allow, some Days ago, that upon the Advice of the Soothsayers, a certain Affair might be taken into Consideration. But reflecting seriously upon it yesterday, I found myself seized with Dread. Alas! Said I to myself, to (\*) penetrate, to comprehend, and as it were, to incorporate with the most impenetrable (+) *Ing yang*, is to deserve to be called (+) *Sbin*: To unite one's Virtue with *Tyen ti*, is to deserve to be called a (\$) *Sbing*. Can a Man, without understanding like me, support these Titles? To govern peacefully and successfully, to promote good Order over all, is what we call (||) *Wen*. To know the proper Management of Arms, in order to maintain, and establish a happy Tranquillity in the State, is what we call being (+) Warlike. Can these Epithets agree with me? Yet, these are the magnificent Titles, my Officers lavish upon me in their Writings. If, notwithstanding my Unworthiness, I should accept of them, should I not therefore render myself still more unworthy? And would not that be a new Subject of Confusion for me?

I therefore forbid, that henceforth any one, be who he will, either at the Court, or in the Provinces, in their Petitions, or other Writings, should give me the Titles of *Sbin*, *Sbing*, *Wen*, *Vu*. Man, who is subject to so many Passions, is likewise subject to Inconstancy: Sometimes he follows Virtue, sometimes Vice. Both one and the other, greatly depend upon the different Juncures, in which the Person is: And when the Prince, by his Wisdom and Example, does not promote Virtue, we need not then wonder, that Disorders and Villanies are very frequent. If therefore I, who hitherto have not known how to give my Subjects the Instructions and Examples I ought, should treat with Rigor, all those who have committed Faults, it would be a Kind of Injustice, or at least, too great Severity in me. After this, I would not dare to allow myself to be called the Father and Mother of my People, a Title so essential to a Sovereign.

I therefore design, in the Beginning of this Year, to renew myself, and to pardon what is past: The Year, which now commences, and according to the ordinary Course, ought to be called the fifth *Kyen chong*, shall be called the first *Yuen bing*. And I give an universal Indemnity, for all Faults that have been committed until the first Day of the said Year. *Li bi hye*, *Tyen ywe*, *Wang*, *U sun*, are Persons, who formerly did great Services; some in the Cabinet, others in the Field: I have not been able to gain them: My Conduct towards them, has inspired them with Distrust and Uneasiness: They have shared in the last Commotions: But their Faults, tho' grievous, are nothing in Comparison of mine. It is a common Thing, when a Prince goes astray, that his Subjects should go astray likewise. Have I really been an Emperor? What Effects of my Power and my Goodness have been felt? But it is time that they should be felt, and that all the Empire should be acquainted with the Effects which my Repentance hath had upon me, and the benevolent Inclination with which it inspires me: I pardon *Li bi hye*, and the three others: I even give them a full Pardon: I re-invest them in their former Ranks; and I will treat them henceforward, as if nothing had happened. (\*) *Cbu lau*, is the Brother of *Cbu tse*: They are both together at present, in Prison: But they were far distant from one another, when *Cbu tse* rebelled. It has not been proved, but that the younger of these two Brothers, was first acquainted with the Designs of the elder. Otherways, I would carry my Goodness as far as it would go. But without any further Examination, tho' he helped his Brother, and by that committed a very great Crime, yet, I willingly grant him time to reform.

As for the Troops disbanded, towards the North and South of (+) *Whang bo*, all I require of them is, that they retire to their former Posts, by the ordinary Roads, without offering any Violence or Harm to any one whatsoever. As for *Cbu tse*, he is an ungrateful perfidious Villain. He has joined the greatest Insolence to Rebellion and Perfidy. He has committed Outrages, he has plundered and demolished the Tombs of my Ancestors, so that I dare not pardon him: Such as have joined him in his Rebellion, whether People or Soldiers, great or inferior Officers, as they have been deluded by his Artifices, or forced into his Measures by his Violences; if they return to their Duty, no farther Notice shall be taken of them. Talents are differently disposed of. A Man, who cannot succeed in one kind of Business, may do Wonders in another. But as the Architect who plans a Building, heaps up Materials of all Sorts: In the same manner, a Prince, who lays out great Projects, does not confine himself to Persons of one Kind; and he rejects no Man, who can be good for any one thing. Far less should he reject for ever, those who being otherways Men of Merit, have had the Misfortune to make some Slip, by which they have lost their Posts: Provided they become Wise at their own Expences, they effectually reform, and therefore ought to be the Object of my Clemency. If therefore, among those antient Officers, whether great or small, who for slight Offences, have been degraded, broke, or even banished, any one is found, in whom a rare Talent, or an uncommon Capacity is discover'd; let such be presented to me, and I will dispense with the common Rules, by giving them new Posts, according to their Qualifications.

(\*) The Chinese Expression implies all these Senses.

(†) Two very unsettled empty Expressions in the Chinese: *Phi* is

*Idolophy*.

(‡) Spirit, Spiritual, Excellent, &c.

(§) Wise and virtuous in the first Degree.

(||) *Palitie*.

(+) *Pa*.

(\*) He was the Head of the Rebels.

(+) The Name of a River. *Ho*, signifies a River, *Whang*, Yellow; which implies, that its Waters are tinged yellow by the Land thro' which they run.



All you brave Officers of my Army, whose Zeal and whose Valour have been long unshaken, have lately given greater Proofs than ever of both, by so seasonably flying, either to defend the Capital, or to *Lyau tong*, to make head against the Rebels. Never shall I forget, either your toilsome Marches, or your generous Combats. I know well, how much both the State and my Family owe to you. I want to eternise the Memory of your Services, by honouring your Families, and giving you Lands and Revenues. Such of the Soldiers who signaliz'd themselves upon the late Occasion, should likewise have some Distinction. If any amongst them, has unhappily committed any Fault that is criminal, let his Punishment be diminished three Degrees below what the Law ordains. I grant to their Sons and Grand-sons, the Diminution of two Degrees. To die generously in Defence of one's Prince and Country, is a thing which our ancient Sages have much esteemed. To gather together the Bodies and the Bones of the Dead, in order to pay them the last Duties, is a thing recommended by the Book of Rites. These two Kinds of goods Works, tho' each of a different Species, have for their Principle a just and a tender Compassion. We ordain and enjoin the Magistrates of the Cities of all Ranks, that, if within their Jurisdiction, any Officers of War die in our Service, they carefully look for their Bodies, and cause them to be transported immediately to the Place of their Departure: And there if they have no Families, that the Magistrates shall honourably discharge their Burials, and the Ceremonies *Tsi*, according to the Custom; That they proportionally act in the same Manner towards those, whose Bodies or Bones are yet upon any Field of Battle: That the Magistrates of the Neighbourhood shall gather them together, and bury them decently.

The Necessity of keeping up our Troops in the Field, has harrassed our People for the Convoys. The Villany of some Commissaries, has likewise very much encreased their Yoke. At present, since my Exigencies are not so pressing, I am willing, not only to diminish these oppressive Averages, but to make them a little amends for what they have suffered, I ordain, till I can do better for them, That the Taxes upon Marches, upon Buildings, upon Wood, upon Canes, upon Tea, upon Varnish, and upon Iron, be henceforth abolished. And because the Territory depending upon our Court, has suffered more than all the rest, as it is the Place which the Rebels have over-run, ravaged, and burnt: I remit to it, the half of the Summer Taxes. In that Part of these Territories where I halted with my Army, when I marched out against the Rebels, the Inhabitants of the Place provided every thing in great Order: This was a great Relief to my Troops. In that Spot let a Banner be erected, which may inform all the World of my Faults, and of their good Services. Let *Fong tyen*, which was hitherto but a Town, be a City of the third Order, and bear the Name of *Chi*; and let all its Dependances be exempted for five Years, from all Imposts.

The first Principle of a wise Government is, to honour Virtue; Earnestly to search for Men of Virtue and Merit, is the chief Duty of a Prince: These are Maxims universally received in all Ages: I call them to Mind, and meditate upon them Night and Day: With Grief I see that instead of pure Virtue, Artifice and Contention prevails yet chiefly at my Court. Shall this then be the Age, in which there are no more truly wise Men. Doubtless, they are not extinct; but they have retired, and have no Regard to my Words. They observe my Conduct, and probably that prevents them from appearing; therefore this Day, I earnestly recommend it to all the Magistrates of my Empire, that each in his own District, should observe, if there are not some one of these wise Men who bury in a Retreat, a sublime Virtue and rare Talents; who contented with genuine Virtue, practise it in Private, without Shew or Ambition. Let me be acquainted, without failing, of as many of these wise Men as shall be discovered. I shall take Care to invite them according to the Rites, and will omit nothing to engage them in my Service.

Likewise, if any one, whoever he is, is discover'd to possess an unshaken Uprightness and Sincerity, which qualifies him freely to represent to me, what ever is for the common-Good; a profound Knowledge of our antient Monuments, which may render him capable of labouring with Success to reform the Manners of the People; or a singular Genius for War, so as easily to become a General; I will, that all such be presented to me.

In like Manner, I enjoin all Magistrates to keep an exact List of all Orphans, old Men, Widowers and Widows, and other Persons who are destitute of Support, and are not in a Condition to earn their own Livelihood; and let them be relieved according to their Necessities. We likewise enjoin the two first Officers of each City, to appear in Person, at the Gate of the House of every old Man who is above ninety Years of Age, in order to inform themselves of their Health and their Wants. If any Man or Woman shall excell in the Virtue proper to his or her State, more especially if a Woman shall distinguish herself by Modesty, or a Child by filial Piety: Our Intentions is, that a Banner be erected at their House, and that all their Lives, they shall be exempted from such Averages as are least dispensable.

It is the Quality of War to drain a State, it therefore behoves us at present, more than ever, to live frugally and soberly. I design to set an Example of this, by circumscribing myself for the Benefit of my Subjects. Of all my Tributes and ordinary Taxes, I shall only exact so much as is just necessary for the Support of my Troops, and to defray the Ceremonies regulated with Regard to my Ancestors. I absolutely remit the rest to my Subjects; being sorry and ashamed by reason of the Lowness of my Exchequer, that I am not in a Condition to satisfy my Inclination, by giving them more ample Rewards, and greater Largesses. Moreover, if in these our present Letters, any thing has escaped our Attention, which may render the Benefit of our Amnesty in  
complete;



complete; I ordain the great Officers of our Court and Provinces, to draw up an exact Memorial of what they conceive proper to be added. In the mean time, we declare, that whosoever after the publishing of these Presents, shall presume, either in Justice, or otherways, to reproach any one of a Fault for which he has our Pardon, such a one shall render himself criminal, and incur the Penalty due to that very Fault. If either in the Mountains, or elsewhere, any Arms are stored up or concealed; we ordain, that they shall be produced in the Term of 100 Days, under the Pain of being treated as guilty of Rebellion. In short, as by the antient Regulations, those Declarations, that carry an Indemnity in them, shall be forwarded at the Rate of (\*) fifty Leagues in a Day: We *Will*, that the same Regulations be observed in this Case; to the End, that the Extremities of the Empire may be the sooner informed of it.

[A Gloss.] This Declaration caused a general Joy all over the Empire: Particularly in *Shang tong*; it so much affected the Officers of War and the Soldiers, that they shed a great many Tears.

The (†) first Years of *Te tsong's* Reign, being troubled with several Commotions, and that Prince attributing the Fault to himself, in a Conversation he had with *Lu ché*: The latter talked to him in the following Terms.

GREAT Sir; I am very far from blaming your Modesty. In this you imitate our greatest Princes *Tau* and *Shun*. Permit me, however, to inform you of the Conduct of your Ministers, who disorder every thing. He then particularises *Lü ki*. *Te-tsung* modestly taking upon him the Defence of his Minister; What say you to this, says he to *Lu ché*: You now forget your Uprightness, you have not the Courage to attribute the present Misfortunes to me, but to others: But after all, they ought not to be attributed to Men. In all Ages, is it not well known, that the Rise and Fall of Empires, is regulated by the Order of (‡) *Tyen*? *Lü ché* retiring without making any reply: But a few Days after, he presented to the Emperor the following Writing, in which having in a lively Manner laid open the Defects of the Government, he concludes thus.

You see, Sir, what in reality causes Commotions and Rebellions. The Evil reaches farther than you imagine, and you alone are ignorant how far it extends. While rebel Troops assemble and march with flying Colours, insulting even your Palace in broad Day; there is not the least Guard at your Gates to defend them, nor even a single Sentinel who dares say *who goes there?* Where are these Officers, by whose Eyes you see, and by whose Ears you hear. Daunted with the Danger of which they themselves are the Cause, they neither have the Honesty to inform you of its Nature, nor Courage to check its Progress, at the Hazard of their own Life. Yes I say, and maintain it, that your Ministers are very blameable: And I dare aver it; it is likewise a Fault in you, to attribute all to the Order of *Tyen*. *Chew*, that Pattern of wicked Princes, did the same. When it was represented to him, that his Disorders and his Cruelty ruined him: It is *Tyen*, answered the Tyrant, who has made me Emperor, and upon him depends my Destiny. On the contrary, we find, that the *Shu king* makes a wise Prince speak in a very different Manner. The Author speaks as follows.

"*Tyen* looks upon what I do, in the same Light in which my People sees it; and *Tyen* hears my Words with the same Sentiments, with which they are heard by my People. All then that *Tyen* sees, and all that he hears, is that which passes amongst Men." One must not imagine to himself an Order of *Tyen* which does not relate to, or has no Connexion with the Actions of Men. Nothing is more unreasonable than to neglect ones Duties, and to impute Miscarriages naturally attending such a Neglect, to the Orders of *Tyen*. The Text of the *I king* says: *Tyen* is propitious; and *Confucius* commenting upon that Text, says; The Expression (§) *Yew*, signifies the same thing with the Expression *Tsü*. But who are they whom *Tyen* favours? They who are tractable and Docile. Who are they whom Men use to relieve? They in whom is seen Sincerity and Probity. To study ones self with Submission to *Tyen*, and never to be defective in Faith to Men, are the Means of obtaining Assistance. The *I king* treating of the Relation of Men to *Tyen*, and of the Assistance and Favours which the latter grants or denies to the former, immediately lays it down, that an Action is good or bad, to which some Good as a Reward, or some Misfortune as a Punishment, symbolically answers. Hence it evidently appears, that the Orders of *Tyen* with Regard to Men are not such, as that nothing depends upon Men themselves. In effect, it was never seen, that a State, wherein Reason and Virtue prevailed thro' all the Degrees of Men, was ever at the same time visited by *Tyen* with fatal Disorders. Neither was it ever seen, that an Empire in which Irregularity universally prevailed, has been blest by *Tyen* with the Enjoyment of a flourishing Condition and a profound Peace. No; never, never, was such a thing seen.

But if your Majesty has still any Doubt of what I say, behold, without going very far, how you may point out this Truth with your Finger. Ever since, by ill concerted Wars, and never ceasing Levies, the Forces of your Empire have been drained, and your Subjects alarmed and rendered distrustful; there has been nothing but suspicious Intrigues, and Cabals on all Sides. One would think he beheld the Sea tossed by the Fury of the Winds. Every body says loudly in this vast Capital, that if this continues ever so little, some melancholy Event must necessarily happen. But tell me, I beg you, are all they who talk thus, skilled in the Art of Divination? Have they

(\*) The Chinese says 200 *Li*; ten *Li* make an ordinary League.

(†) This is Prior to the foregoing Declaration. The Order of Time is not very strictly observed, in the Book out of which

these Pieces are extracted.

(‡) Heaven.

(§) Both the one and the other signifies to aid and to favour. But *Tsü* is more vulgar, *Yew* is more sublime, and may serve to denote more than human Assistance.



by the mysterious Secrets of that Art, discovered the Order of *Tyen*? It is plain, that they only talk from their Observation of the Minds of the People, and the present State of Affairs. In this they are in the Right. Hence, in effect, spring Commotions and Rebellions, and not from what we call the fatal Revolutions of Times.

I am well aware of what is said, that a long and a too great Prosperity, is the Forerunner of Confusion; and that out of Confusion arises Order: That there are States whose Ruin has been preceded by no Calamity; and others, amidst impending Dangers and Misfortunes, have become flourishing: All that is truth in this, instead of contradicting, confirms my Observation. For instance, How is it, says one, that Prosperity introduces Confusion? Because too much Prosperity, unless Men are upon their Guard, naturally inspires an excessive Confidence, and an indolent Security. In what Sense, says another, does Order rise from Confusion? It is, because Trouble awakens and excites Attention and Vigilance, and gives Opportunities for Men of Merit, to exercise their Talents.

To make a just Application of all this, a large Detail must be made of all the Defects and Disorders, that are the Source of the present Calamities. But it is not necessary that Things should come to this Pass; for that which I pointed out to your Majesty in the Beginning of this Discourse, is sufficient; if your Majesty thinks upon that, it will verify again at this time, that out of Confusion itself, Order may arise. There is one Method by which this may be brought about: No Severity, and much Virtue. This is the only Secret I know. In such an Extremity as Things are in at present, he who follows this Method, supports and raises himself; he who leaves it, is ruined. Every Mean amidst these Extremes is dangerous; think on it seriously. To prefer the Judgment of the Public to your private Views, to follow Reason, and not your own Inclinations, as your Guide; to banish from your Person those Sycophants, whose Hearts are yet more designing, than their Tongues are smooth; to employ Men of real Merit, to chase Dissimulation and Artifice from your Court and Councils; and in their stead, to introduce Sincerity and Uprightness, by setting the Example yourself: This is the high Road in good Government, which is easy to be known, and impossible to be mistaken. There is even no Occasion to waste your Spirits, in order to tread in it with Success. You only have Occasion for a little Resolution and Constancy, in order never to leave it. If you have these, I may boldly assure you, that you have nothing to fear, either from your Subjects, or from those fatal Revolutions to which you seem to attribute the present Calamities, and that your Reign will be glorious.

*The same Emperor Te tsong, talking one Day with Lû ché, told him, "You have hitherto represented to me, that the Prince composes but one Body with his Subjects, and especially with the Officers he employs; so that there ought to be among them, no Distrust Suspicion or Reserve: And that thus the Prince ought to have, and to express a sincere Disposition, to profit by the Advices of all Kinds of Persons. I have done this, and what has been the Consequence? I know not how many Talkers have imposed upon me. They drive a Trade with their Eloquence, and seem at that Price, to buy the Right of being formidable. They put me in the wrong, whether I am so or not, and these Gentlemen always raise themselves at my Expences. You see that for some time I have dropt Remonstrances, without declaring myself with regard to what they contained. It is not from Indolence, that I have relaxed from these Cares in State Affairs." The Reason of my Silence, is what I have told you. Lû ché some Days after, presented the following Remonstrance upon that Head.*

**S**IR: I have always heard it said, that amongst Men, there is no (\*) Assistance without (+) Confidence, and no Confidence without Sincerity. Thus, all our antient Sages have held these two Virtues in singular Esteem. An ancient Tradition goes so far, as to say, That by this, all Business ought to begin and end: And without this, all Business would soon be at an end. If this Truth holds in the smallest Affairs of common Life, how much rather ought it to have Place in Affairs of State? Can then a Sovereign, whose firmest Support is the Sincerity and Uprightness of his Subjects, and especially of those whom he immediately employs, dispense with the Practice of those Virtues? Doubtless not; and permit me to tell your Majesty, that you despise them, when you think that these Virtues have done you wrong. It is a common, and in some measure, a pretty true Saying, that common People have but little Understanding: But it may likewise be truly said, that they understand a great deal in some Points: If they concern either themselves or their Duties; they frequently are mistaken, or in doubt. But when it concerns their Prince, then nothing escapes them, they perfectly well distinguish his good or bad Qualities, they see through all his good, evil, and most secret Inclinations, and publish them. They study and imitate all his Actions.

That which is true of the People in general, is still more so of the Persons, whom the Prince employs in particular. Do they see their Prince use any Artifice with them? They treat him with the same. Are they sensible that he distrusts them? They are cautious and upon their Guard; being entirely taken up with the Care of keeping themselves in Post, they give themselves very little trouble about any thing else, having no Regard for their Duty, or Zeal for their Prince, but in Proportion as he treats them with Honour and Gentleness. In short, as the Shadow follows the Body which forms it, and the Words, the Voice which pronounces them, thus,

(\*) *Sin*, signifies to believe, to trust, Confidence, Faith, Fidelity. The Context determines its Sense.

(+) *Ching*, signifies Sincere, Upright, Sound, Perfect, Sincerity, Uprightness. The Context likewise determines its Sense.



Thus, the Generality of those Persons whom the Prince employs, conform themselves to his Conduct. If a Prince, who is not sincere and upright, require Sincerity and Uprightness in his Officers, he may deceive them for the first time; but they won't trust him a second. No! It is only by carrying Sincerity and Uprightness to the highest Perfection, that a Prince has a Chance to find either of these Virtues in his Servants. Does an Officer of War in your Reign, actually forget what he owes to you and the State? You send others against him, who fight and extirpate him. Some one of your Ministers or other Officers, are deficient in serious Affairs: You order him to be tried. In such Junctures as these, tho' they are frequently very delicate, why should those whom you entrust with the Execution of your Orders, observe them? Why should they impartially do ready Justice upon the Guilty? Because, finding in these unworthy Subjects only Ingratitude, Art and Treachery, they find a Prince full of Gentleness, Sincerity, and Uprightness. So true it is, that it infinitely concerns one never to deviate from these Virtues. Stick close therefore, I conjure you, stick close to these inviolably. Practise them constantly; and tho' you are obliged, for that Effect, to make great Efforts, yet they will be well employ'd: And I am persuaded, you never will have cause to repent of them.

The antient Tradition says: Where is the Man who does not commit Faults? The Point is to know how to correct them. *Chwang wey*, in our antient Books, praising the Virtue of *Ching tang*, thought he paid him a great Compliment, by saying, "that he spared for nothing in order to correct himself." *Ki fu*, being willing to exalt the glorious Reign of *Suen wang*, says, that all that was defective in that Prince, was abundantly supplied by *Chong shan fu*, his first Minister. *Ching tang*, certainly, was a Prince of uncommon Wisdom, and eminent Virtue: *Chong wey*, who was a Man very virtuous, and very understanding, was Minister of that Prince, and ought to have known him very well; yet he did not go so far as to say, that he committed no Faults: But was satisfied with praising his Care in correcting them. *Suen Wang* was likewise a very great Prince. The Dynasty of the *Chew* was ruin'd: He had the Honour to raise it by his wise Government. *Ki fu* was an understanding Man, and a very good Judge of this Kind: And yet in praising his Master, he never said, that he wanted no Qualification necessary for good Government; always supposing, that his Prince would take care to supply what was defective in himself, by the Assistance of a good Minister.

Whence, I think, we may conclude, that according to the Idea of our Antients, nothing is more to be esteemed or praised, especially in a Prince, than a constant Care to correct his Failings, and to repair his Faults. They had good Grounds for judging in this Manner: For there is no Man, even from the most Ignorant and Stupid, to the most Knowing, who is not sometimes mistaken, and don't sometimes commit Faults. The Difference betwixt these two Characters is, that the former acknowledging their Faults, profit by them, and correct them; but the others, by a false Shame, seeking to cover them, and to excuse them, never endeavour to amend them, and commit still greater.

In Antiquity less remote; when Things rushed to Ruin, Flattery prevailed among Ministers, and Pride among Princes. Throwing out, as it were in Concert, that sincere Confidence which formerly prevailed, and was so strong a Link in Life, they substituted in its Place, the Grimace of Ceremony. A Man then could not approach or leave the Person of his Prince, without having recourse to mean Flatteries; but it was all Show. Men of Merit, being over upright and sincere, could not comply with this Change; and thereby suffered. The Bad, whom Interest render'd fawning, made their Advantage of this, the Sovereigns then began to be intoxicated with their Meannesses and Flatteries, and at the same time, a thousand Divisions sprung up amongst themselves, from their Avarice and Ambition. In short, it is hardly to be expressed, what Evils were occasioned then and afterwards by this affected Complaisance and artful Flattery, which unhappily undermined that honest Liberty and noble Openness, which formerly prevailed, and ought always to prevail, at the Courts of Princes.

*Tay tsong*, one of your most illustrious Ancestors, united Gentleness and Justice, the civil and the military Virtues, in the highest Degree. By this Wisdom and Valour, he established Peace and Order in the Empire, so that few Reigns have been more flourishing than his. But at present, what is he most praised for, and what has he been most praised for ever since his Reign? You know well, that it is his Ardour in procuring Remonstrances, and his Manner of receiving them. Is not this alone sufficient to make your Majesty comprehend, that in effect nothing is more glorious for a Sovereign, and nothing bids fairer to eternise his Memory.

Your Majesty says, that your Officers have such a way of representing Things, that whatever is good, they take care to attribute to themselves; and whatever happens wrong, to their Prince. I own this is a Fault in them; but after all, it is such a Fault, that instead of obscuring your Virtue, if you please, it may be the Means of brightning it. To admit Remonstrances conceived in these Terms, to shew no Uneasiness at them, but to let them pass current, would be a masterly Stroke in you, worthy of yourself, and tending to your Honour. Besides, what does your Majesty gain by following an opposite Course? When you reject these Remonstrances, do you hinder them from having a Run in the World? For my share, I believe it is quite otherways, and that such a Conduct in you, does not a little contribute to spread them the more. It is true, that by these Means you prevent the like coming to your Hands again; but then at the same time, you hazard your never receiving any more that are useful. Ought the Door to be shut to all Advices, for such a Trifle as that?



The truly wise Man takes care never to relax, even in the smallest Affairs: He keeps well with all, and he displeases none. The most eloquent Discourse makes no Impression upon him, if at the Bottom, it is not supported by Reason and Experience: When both the one and the other give a Sanction to any Proposal that is laid before a wise Man, he is not startled at an ill-turned Period, or a homely Expression. Does he find a Man that agrees with his Views? He does not, for all that, conclude, that he is in the right. Does another differ from him? He does not therefore conclude, that others are in the wrong. He does not suffer himself to be dazzled with what is extraordinary and singular, so as to embrace it; nor to be so much prepossessed with what appears vulgar and homely, as to reject it entirely for that. A Person makes a Discourse to him, which appears empty, and without any Tendency, and that too in very harsh Terms: Yet he does not presume immediately to pronounce, that he is impertinent. Another lays down his Proposal in very smooth, plausible, clear Words, and the Advantage accruing by it, appears to him considerable and certain: And yet he is not very forward in assuring himself that he is an able Man, and that he must follow what he proposes. He examines every thing at his own Leisure: He weighs every thing maturely: After which, he takes what is best from every one. It is by observing this Method, that a Prince may promise himself, that he shall never be ignorant of any thing, that it imports him to know.

On the other hand, Propositions which are dangerous to all Mankind, are much more so to a Prince. The most common may be reduced to four; namely, that of an *extravagant Confidence*, that of *Suspicion*, that of *Contempt*, and that of *Passion*. Is a Prince abandoned to the first of these? He approves every thing that is told him by any one, be who he will, without examining it very close; and this Approbation frequently has dangerous Consequences. On the contrary, is a Person suspected? He may well propose fine things, and support them with solid Reasonings; but as his Intentions are suspected, these Reasonings have no Weight. Is a Man undervalued? Whatever he proposes is despised, and frequently he himself ruined. Is a Prince possessed with a strong Passion for any thing? Every worthless Wretch, who can be a Tool to his Passion, is raised to Dignity and Posts. A Prince, thus following Passion and Prejudice in Defiance of Reason, becomes hateful to Men of Probity and Virtue, who no longer care to serve him. How then can he succeed in governing right?

It is a good Subject's Duty, to endeavour to render himself useful to his Prince. His Inclination and Interest in this, go Hand in Hand with his Duty. Therefore, he desires to be near the Person of his Prince, to be known to him, and to make him acquainted with his Views. Princes, on their Parts, commonly endeavour to know their People thoroughly. However, it frequently happens, that a Man of Merit finds it difficult to gain Admittance to his Prince, who on the other hand, has oftentimes no less Difficulty, to be perfectly acquainted with those he employs. Whence proceeds this? From nine Faults; of which, six relate to the Sovereign, and three to the Subject. 1. A Desire to overbear every body upon all Subjects. 2. To make a Show of Wit. 3. A Spirit of Contradiction and Wrangling. 4. His hating to hear Truth. 5. The having too severe a Haughtiness, or 6, too violent a Temper. These are the six Faults relating to the Prince; and these produce three on the Part of the Officers. 1. Artful Flattery. 2. An interested Reserve. 3. A cowardly Meanness. These are Faults that stifle Zeal in the Subject, and are a great Hindrance to the Princes knowing Mankind; which is a Science so difficult, that it puzzled *Tau* himself. A Prince, subject to the Faults I have pointed out, does not fail sometimes to flatter himself, with having fathomed the Capacity or Weakness of his Officers, by an Objection which he starts, or an Answer which he draws from them. Oh! how much is he deceived!

In short, to desire to govern well, and not to make it your principal Study to gain the Hearts of your Subjects, is pursuing wrong Measures: Without this, never did any Prince succeed. But what Measures must be pursued, in order to gain the Hearts of the Subjects? You must study to court, and to search for Men of Merit; you must even make Advances to them, in order to bring them over to your Service. I say you must *court and search for Men of Merit*; for if a Prince acts in the same Manner with all the World indifferently, Men of Merit will not come near him at all. Nothing then is more important for a Prince, than justly to distinguish true Merit. This is certain; but then it is no less certain, that if the Prince hates sincere Advice, and loves Flattery, he is frequently deceived. One commonly succeeds by accommodating himself to his Sovereign's Views, and by flattering his Inclinations; to oppose him, and tell him disagreeable Truths, is always a dangerous and ticklish Affair, and frequently costs the Adviser dear. It is true, there have been wise Princes, under whom the contrary has happened; and who were so far from frightening Truth away, that they always received her with Encomiums, and crowned her with Rewards: And yet, these Princes themselves, had Reason to be afraid lest the Zeal of Subjects should be too delicate in exerting themselves on that Head. How would it be under a Prince, whose suspicious ill Temper, and Transports, should prove so many Barriers to stop this Zeal?

*The Emperor Kang hi's Remark.*] As to the Principles of this Discourse, there is nothing more just, or more distinct.



In the second of the Years named Ywen ho (A), there were Complaints against the great Officers of the Provinces; they being accused of harassing the People, and extorting from them large Sums, under Pretence of some Gratuity which they were raising for the Emperor. Hyen t'ong, who then reigned, published an Ordinance, in which he very much bewail'd this Abuse. In the Conclusion of it, he absolutely prohibits all the great Officers of the Provinces to present any thing at Court, besides what was regulated, and exactly to observe the stated Times for raising the ordinary Taxes. Notwithstanding this Ordinance, which was published in the Spring, Fey kyun, who commanded in the Country of Yang yang, trusting to an Officer of the Palace, who was in his Interests, privately caused Bajons, and other Moveables of Silver, weighing upward of 10,000 Ounces, to be presented to the Emperor, who accepted of them all; but the Secret took Air. Li kyang taking up the Pen, in the Name of many others in Concert, with whom he presented to Hyen t'ong the following Memorial.

**S**IR: Among the great Qualifications, and eminent Virtues, which render you equal, or superior to so many of your Royal Predecessors; all your Empire, more especially, admires your singular Penetration, which gives you such an Insight into the Misery of your People, and that paternal Goodness, which incessantly engages you to relieve them. Worthless Officers abusing your Name, levy large Sums upon your People, besides the ordinary Taxes. A Present they make to you, serves as a Screen for their Avarice; for the greater Part of it goes to their own Coffers. This Disorder could not escape your Penetration; and you no sooner was appriz'd of it, than in order to apply an effectual Remedy to it, you prohibited that any thing should be presented to you, besides your ordinary Revenues, which should be collected at stated Times. Your Ordinance upon this Head, published last Spring, drew Tears of Joy from us. Your People, both when they read it, or heard it read, made loud Demonstrations of their Joy, by Feasts and Songs. We now, said one to another, we now live in the most happy Days: Let us celebrate the Virtues and Beneficence of that Prince who has reviv'd them.

Such were the Sentiments which your Ordinance, published last Spring, produced in the Hearts of your Subjects. But at present, when you have abolished it, by receiving the Presents of Fey kyun, what do you think is their Discourse? They say, that no Stress is to be laid upon your Ordinances; that you want only to save Appearances, and that the Desire of amassing Riches is your ruling Passion. What can give a greater Wound to your Virtue than this? Fey kyun, if we may judge by this Action, is far from being a good Officer: His Conduct, with regard to you, is artful. Why should he present you with that Plate, against so positive and so late an Ordinance? The most favourable Construction that can be made of such a Step, is, that he did it to sound you, that he might take his Measures according to the Manner in which you accepted of the Present. His way of Reasoning with himself would then be this; If the Emperor rejects this Present, I must act uprightly, and do my Duty; If he accepts it, this Ordinance is only for Form sake: He is pleased with what is offered him; we may act in our own Way, and behave in our usual Manner, to those who are under us. But are not such Actions and Reasonings, a Failure in Obedience, Fidelity, and Uprightness? In a word, are they not Crimes?

However, as Fey kyun is one of your greatest and most powerful Officers of War: Besides, as he possesses a Post of the greatest Importance by its Neighbourhood to Strangers; if, for these or other Reasons, your Majesty is unwilling to punish him according to Law; let us, at least, hope that your Majesty, in order to preserve your Ordinance in Force, will instruct your Subjects of the Provinces anew in your real Intentions, and, for the Credit of your Government, will be pleased to cause an express pressing Order to be issued out in Form, ordaining, that the Plate sent by Fey kyun, shall not remain in the Palace, but be instantly sent back to the ordinary Treasurers.

Hyen t'ong having read the above Memorial, at first appeared surprized, and a little touched. But soon recomposing himself, he caused Li kyang to enter, and he talked to him in the following Terms: *The Multiplicity of my Affairs is such, that it is impossible for me to keep each of them present in my Memory. In effect, I have permitted Fey kyun's Present to be received, but it was merely thro' want of Reflection. As for Fey kyun, he is excusable in one Point: When he sent off his Present, my Ordinance was only yet on the Road, and had not reached him: But the Money shall, according to the Request contained in your Memorial, be paid back immediately to the ordinary Treasurers:* This was actually done that same Day, and the Emperor gave an Advice, as follows, to all the Ministers of State.

Behold so many Pieces of Plate, with which Fey kyun presented me, contrary to my Orders: But as his People were upon the Road before he had received them, he is less blameable, and I pardon him. As for the Plate itself, we let you to know, that according to our Orders, it shall actually be remitted to our ordinary Treasurers.

This Declaration of the Emperor's agreeably surprized all his Ministers, who complimented one another in common, by Writings drawn up on purpose: And they learned with Joy, both at Court and in the Provinces, with how much Facility the Emperor yielded to Remonstrances.

This is the Substance of what is related in an historical Gloss, by one of the Persons, who, by order of the Emperor Kang hi, was set over the Edition of the Collection, from which these Pieces are extracted. Two Authors of Reputation are cited in the Margin, who say, that this was not

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(A) That is, in the second Year of Hyen t'ong's Reign.



the first time that *Hyen tsong* had issued out Ordinances, which he was not at all displeased to see broken. They speak of this Emperor, as a Prince of no Character in History, as one who was covetous of Money, and suffering himself to be guided by his Eunuchs. This last Evil, says *Hsi in*, was doubtless the greatest, and the Cause of the other. *Ly kyang*, and others, would have done much better, had they in their Remonstrances, gone directly to the Ground of the Evil: Because they did not this, their Remedies had a bad Effect.

The same Emperor *Hyen tsong*, having received a certain kind of a Bone, which was said to be a Bone of (\*) *Fo*, caused it to be introduced, with Ceremony, into the innermost Parts of his Palace, where he kept it guarded with great Respect for three Days, in order to cause it to be transported solemnly into the Temple of that Sect. The People, the Literati, the Kong, and great Numbers of the (†) *Vang* approved of this Festival. *Han yu*, who was only *She lang* in the Tribunal of Crimes, presented the Emperor with the following Remonstrance.

SIR; let me be permitted respectfully to represent to you, that the Doctrine of *Fo* is, at the Bottom, a vile Sect of some Barbarians. It began to insinuate itself into our Empire, under the last Emperors of the *Han*; at least, it is certain, that anciently it was not known. *Whang ti*, it is said, reigned a hundred Years, and lived a hundred and ten. *Shau hau* reigned ninety Years, and lived a hundred. *Chwen hys* reigned 79 Years, and lived only 98. *Ti ko* reigned seventy Years, and lived 105. *Yau* reigned ninety Years, and lived one hundred and eighteen. *Sbun* and *Tu*, each lived 100 Years. Under these great Princes, the Empire enjoyed a profound Peace: Their Subjects being happy and contented, lived to a good old Age. Yet *Fo* and his Sect were not yet known in *China*: *Cbing tang*, the first Emperor of the *Shang*, likewise lived his hundred Years. *Ven vang* and *Vu vang*, the first of the *Chew*, lived, the one 97, and the other 93 Years. Surely it was not *Fo* who made them reign and live so long; for no *Fo* was yet known in *China*. *Ming ti*, on the contrary, reigned but eighteen Years. His Descendants were always in Trouble, and succeeded always soon to one another, and soon lost the Empire. The Worship of *Fo* did not end with the Dynasty of the *Han*; on the contrary, it increased. Notwithstanding this, in a very short time, a great many Dynasties succeeded one another, namely, the *Song*, the *Tsi*, the *Lyang*, and the *Chin*. And of all these Princes, *Lyang wu ti* alone reigned for a long time. This Prince, from his Bigotry to the Sect of *Fo* would not kill Animals, even for the (‡) *Tsi* of his Ancestors. He reduced himself to one Meal a Day, and that consisted of Pulse and Fruits. In short, three times during his Reign, did he debase himself to honour *Fo* by Meannesses unworthy of his Rank. Where did all this end? He was besieged in *Tay ching*, and press'd so close by *Hew king*, that he died of Famine, and his Empire passed into other Hands. These Princes, who have founded their Empires upon the Honours they paid to *Fo*, have been still more unhappy. Let us then conclude, that the Service of *Fo* is, at least, an useless Thing.

The illustrious Founder of our Dynasty, *Tang*, when he became Master of the Empire, entertained a Thought of extirpating this Sect. He put the Affair under Deliberation: But unhappily they who were in Post, were Men of a narrow Way of thinking. They were not conversant in Antiquity, and, for the most part, they were ignorant of the Doctrine of our ancient Kings, which is so agreeable to all Times: So that, instead of profiting by the good Dispositions of *Kau tsu*, to extirpate that Error out of *China*, they let the Proposal drop. How heartily do I curse them, whenever I think of this!

Your Majesty, whom so much Wisdom, and so much Valour, exalt above the most of the Princes who have reigned these many Years; your Majesty, I say, in the Beginning of your Reign, prohibited this Sect from building new Temples, and any of your Subjects from becoming a *Bonza* in time to come. This makes me believe, and say with Joy, that at least, under your Reign, the Designs of *Kau tsu* will be executed. Yet, your Orders have as yet been without Effect: This is too much Condescension already. But besides, how can you yourself annul them by running into an Extreme directly opposite? It is said to be by your Majesty's Orders, that all the *Bonzas* assemble solemnly to conduct in Procession one of the Bones of *Fo*, into the inner Part of your Palace, where you design to place it with Honour in an exalted Hall. Notwithstanding the Poorness of my Judgment, I know well that your Majesty, tho' you have given Orders about this Pomp of Worship, Processions and Prayers, is no way devoted at the Bottom to the Sect of *Fo*. I know well, your real Motive is; that you may render the Joy which fills all Hearts, more solemn, for this plentiful Year. Indulging this Disposition, you have a mind to give some Spectacle, or new Diversion; and for that Reason, you have permitted this Pomp of extraordinary Ceremonies.

For in short, is it probable, that a Prince, so understanding as you are, should have any Belief in that Sect? No! I am persuaded you have not; but the ignorant stupid Vulgar, are easy to be seduced, but hard to be reclaimed. When they perceive that your Majesty pays these outward Honours to *Fo*, they are convinced that you really honour him: And they don't fail to say; Our great and wise Emperor, giving himself so much ado about honouring *Fo*; why should we poor People spare our Persons and Lives? There needs no more to persuade them, by Dozens and Hundreds, to burn their Heads and Fingers. The only Contest then among them will be, who shall

(\*) The Name of a Sect and Sectary, which came from *India*.

(†) A Title of Honour next to the *Hew*; They are Kings, but Feudatory. At present, this Dignity is a mere Title without

any Possessions.

(‡) It is said, that in their Stead, he made the Animals appointed for these Ceremonies, of Pulse.



shall soonest squander what he has, in order to take the Habit of a *Bonza*. At least, from Evening to Morning, the Roads leading to the Bonzaries will be filled with Pilgrims. Old and Young will be seen running thither in Crowds; and for fear of what may happen, divest themselves of what they have. They will go still farther, and if this should be prevented by rigorous Prohibitions affixt to the Bonzaries, there will be simple People enough found, who will flash their Arms and other Parts of their Bodies in honour of *Fo* (A).

This Abuse, you must be sensible, will be greatly prejudicial to good Morals, hurt our Policy, and render us ridiculous to all the World. But what was this same *Fo*? A barbarous Foreigner, whose Tongue and Cloaths were different from ours. He never was capable to speak that Language, which our antient Princes have transmitted to us: Nor did he ever wear any Cloaths made in the Fashion regulated by these great Men. He either was ignorant of, or neglected, the most essential Duties of Prince to Subject, and of Son to Father.

In short, let us suppose that this *Fo* were still alive, and that his Prince had deputed him in his Name, to repair to your Court to pay you Homage; how would your Majesty receive it? At most, after a short Audience, you either would treat him hospitably according to the Rites; and make him a Present of a compleat Habit, or else you would order him a Guard which should have an Eye to his Conduct, and which should convey him to your Frontiers, without allowing him an Opportunity of endeavouring to seduce your People. In this manner would you treat *Fo*. If he were yet alive, and sent hither by his Prince, why then should he be so much revered so many Years after his Death? Where then is the Decorum of introducing in Pomp into your Palace, and to its innermost Parts, whose Access is so severely prohibited, a rotten Bone, the sorry stinking Remains of his Carcass? *Respect the Quey shin, said Confucius, but don't go near them.* It has been seen in Antiquity, that *Chu hew* being obliged to perform a funeral Ceremony without the Bounds of his own State, was afraid of troublesome Consequences: And that in order to guard against the Badness of the Omen, he sent one of these *U*, who, by using the Herb *Lye* and other Formalities, averted the Misfortunes.

At present, your Majesty, without taking any Precaution, and without the least Necessity, draws near a rotten stinking Bone, and stops to look at it. Notwithstanding this, your Officers keep Silence, and suffer you to do it, the *Tu tse* themselves, who by their Employment are more oblig'd to speak, have not made the least Remonstrance. Indeed I blush with Shame. Give up, I conjure you, give up that Bone to your Officers of Justice: Let them cast it into the Water or the Fire, and thus root up the Evil. Thereby you will prevent the Progress of those Suspicions and Doubts, which you have given Rise to in your Empire, prepossess Posterity against these Errors, and verify by your Example, that Sages of the first Rate, in concerting and executing their Designs, far exceed the Generality of Mankind. Oh! How glorious and how graceful would that be in you? Oh! What a Joy would that give to me, and to every truly zealous Subject! Dread no troublesome Consequences: I take these all upon my self. If *Fo* really can do any thing, let him discharge all his Wrath upon me. *Sbang tyen*, who fees us inwardly, knows that my Sentiments answer to my Words, and that I am incapable to prevaricate. Happy should I be, if your Majesty would indulge my earnest Prayer. I should not then know how to express my loyal Gratitude.

*Hyen tsong*, having read this Writing, was in so great an Anger, that he designed to put *Han yu* to Death. But he was appeased at last by *Tsui kyun*, *Fey tá*, and some others. He was satisfied with banishing *Tan yu* to the Provinces, where he gave him a Post much inferior to that he had at Court.

[The Emperor Kang hi's Remark.] The Expressions here are close and full of Honesty; and at the Bottom, reasonable and sensible. It ought to have been sufficient to have reclaim'd the first Man of the Literati of that Dynasty from the vulgar Errors, and to have given a Value for its Author.

I leave the Reader to judge, both of the Discourse of *Han yu*, and what the Emperor and he says of it, by which he will know in what manner the Chinese reason, when they refute strange Religions.

*Ywen ching*, being one of the Censors by his Office, presented the following Discourse to the Emperor.

OUR antient Kings, by establishing different Employments for the common Good, intended that each should acquit himself of his own, with Exactness and Faithfulness, and that they who failed should be cashiered, and even punished with Death. At present, amongst all the Officers of your Empire, We the Censors, without contradiction, are they who most uselessly fill some Employments at your Court, and do the least for our Appointments. It was not thus under *Tay tsong*: That Prince, who was the Honour of your Family, had *Wang quey*, and *Wey ching*: He had them always near his Person, even in the Time of his Diversions. He gave them so much Employment, that he formed no Enterprize, and gave no Orders without taking their Advice. Thus, what was too hard for the Capacity of that Prince, when aided by the Understanding of these two great Men? Nothing was better laid down, than the Projects that were undertaken under that glorious Reign; nothing was ever better conceived, than the Declarations and Ordinances that were then published. *Tay tsong* treating his Censors thus, was only afraid of making too few. When the three first Orders assembled to take some important Resolution with regard to War, he always caused one of the Censors to assist, and to make the Report to him. The great Officers, who are by their Posts, as it were, the Eyes, Ears, and Arms of their Sovereigns, had then in *Tay tsong*, not only a vigilant Head, but a good Father, who devoted them to his Person by a tender Generosity, and animated them to his Service by an entire Confidence. As every

(A) The best of Religions when its Professors lose Reason in Enthusiasm or Priestcraft, degenerates into the like Absurdities.



thing, tho' proposed by the Prince himself, was freely rejected at the Council Board if it was bad; so every thing that was good, was eagerly embraced. Thereby Success became so sure, that in less than four Years there was seen an admirable Order in the Empire: And the Chiefs of our barbarous Neighbours came themselves with their Arms to guard our Emperor. What was the Reason of so great and so ready a Success? Was it the Force of Arms? No, it was the Access which the Prince granted to his Person, it was his Manner of receiving Counsels, and the Zeal of his Officers, especially his Censors, to give him good ones.

How much are Things now changed in this Respect! All the Office of Censors, at present, is reduced to the Appearance they make in their Rank, at certain Ceremonies. But what is the Duty of their Posts by their Institution? It is carefully to observe the Prince, and to supply, by their Advices, every Failing, both in his personal and political Character. It is to propose openly, in full Audience, and in full Council, capital and essential Points, and some others in particular under their Hand and Seal. These several Years, there have been no Audiences or Councils as formerly, nor any Channel regulated for these Writings.

Behold then the Substance of the Censors Post now. When a new Order is publish'd, when any Retrenchment or extraordinary Regulation is made, if they appeared blameable to the Censors, they could under their Hands and Seals represent the Inconveniences, and propose their own Opinions. Alas! say I to my self, when I think of this, when one has even the Freedom of reasoning with the Prince upon Affairs, and to suggest to him Precautions against future Dangers; in short, when at the Council Board and in private Audiences, one labours with the Prince in the Government of the State; yet it does not fail sometimes to happen, that he has difficulty enough to make him yield and quit his own Opinion, and to keep in his Favour against Sycophants and Backbiters. How can we, by a simple Remonstrance, or by an Advice given under our Seals, cause Ordinances to be revoked after they are published, Things already established to be abolished, or draw from the Prince one of these honourable Declarations, of which we had formerly so many, and of late, so few Instances? No, that is not a thing to be hoped for. It appears so impracticable, that he who makes Remonstrances, or gives any Advice with regard to Government, is look'd on as a Knight Errant, sometimes, as an Incendary. Things being on such a Footing, I cannot, notwithstanding my Defect of Merit, hinder myself from blushing, while I uselessly fill a Post which *Wang quey* and *Wey ching* possessed under *Tay tsong*. If your Majesty looks upon me and my Colleagues, as Persons incapable to assist, or unworthy to approach you, we consequently are unworthy to possess the Rank we fill at your Court; we ought to be broke and banished.

But if your Majesty has put me in Post, with a Design that I should be useful: If with the same View you continue to me the Pension and Honours annexed to my Rank, I beg that you would give me an Opportunity of fulfilling its most essential Duties. Formerly, the first Censors were of the Privy Council, as much as the Prime Minister was. Besides, the first Censors were frequently about the Person of the Prince, who called them from time to time, by an express Order: He always received them with an Air of Goodness, which assur'd them, as it were, that their Advices would be agreeable. If your Majesty will be pleased to re-establish Things upon that Footing, I shall endeavour on my Part to answer your Goodness, and worthily to fulfil the Duties of my Function; I will lay before you my weak Thoughts, and perhaps I may be so happy as to propose some that may be of Use to your Service. But if your Majesty shall find nothing in them but what is frivolous and trifling, let me be punished, and die the Death of a Traytor. It would be less shocking for me, to lay down my Censorship, than to possess it on the Terms I do now.

*A Memorial presented to an Emperor under the Dynasty of the Tang, to induce him to rank (\*) Han wen kong in the Number of those who accompany Confucius, in the Buildings erected to his Honour.*

THE Sages of the first Rate are glad to be known, provided their Wisdom can be useful. There is one thing admirable in this, which is, that sooner or later, they have Justice done them. Some are in Posts during their Life, and become the Glory and Happiness of their Age: After which, they are entirely, or very near, forgot. Others, who during their Life-time are neglected, are honoured after their Death: And their Memory for many Ages encreases in Fame. *Confucius* was of the last Sort. From the Times of the (+) *Han* to those of the *Sui*, the highest Titles that the Emperors have conferred upon him, have been those of (†) *Kong* or *Hew*. At last, under our Dynasty *Tang*, he got the Title of (§) *Vang*. The Titles of his Scholars were always changed in Proportion; being made *Kong* or *Hew*, when before they were only *King* or *Ta fu*. Tho' filial Piety has been always look'd upon, as the Virtue most capable to move *Tyen ti*, and to touch *Quey shin*; *Tyen tse*, whom this Virtue rendered so famous, nevertheless remained, for the Space of five or six hundred Years, among the common Rank of Disciples: And it was only by our Dynasty *Tang*, that he was advanced to be one of the ten (||) *Ché*. These were happy and charming Regulations, if ever there were any such.

In the Middle of a dark Night, if the Moon appears all of a sudden, her Splendor appears the more bright. It is the same with the Sun, where he rises from behind the thick Clouds that had long concealed him. The longer the Time is since it thunder'd last, the louder will the next Thunder be.

(\*) *Han kong*, is a Title of Honour bestowed upon *Han ju*, (the Author of a Piece which we have seen above, against the Bone of Fo,) after his Death.

(†) Names of Dynasties.

(§) Degrees of Honour, such as Marquess, Duke.

(||) *Ché*, signifies able, intelligent, &c. These ten *Ché* hold a distinguished Place in the Hall of *Confucius*.



be. The Wisdom and Memory of (\*) *Cheong chi*, which was neglected or despised under the (†) *Cheu* and the *Tsin*, known and respected, but in too small a Degree, under the *Han*, buried, and as it were extinguished under *Tsin*, the *Song*, the *Cbin*, and the *Sui*, has at last, under our Dynasty *Tang*, happily and gloriously, in one Day, been avenged of the Injuries of so many Ages.

If the Dead are conscious, it is easy to judge of the Sentiments, which these great Men entertain about these Changes. But our Dynasty *Tang* itself has had a Man, whose whole Life was employed in the Maxims of *Confucius*, who has displayed their Worth in his Discourses and Writings, and expressed it in his Morals and Actions: In the former, he is on a Level with (‡) *Pen* and *Min*, in the latter, with *Hyew* and *Hya*. Yet he has not a Place at the Feast celebrated in Honour of *Confucius*. This I think is very inconsistent with the Zeal of our Dynasty in Honour of *Confucius*, and inconsistent too with the Honour, which the Zeal of our Dynasty has always expressed for departed Sages. One *Wen chong tse*, without much deserving it, enjoy'd this Honour for a long time; and can it be denied to *Han wen kong*? None ever deserved it better than he did. He declared an open War with the Sects *Yang*, *Me*, *Po*, *Lau*, and singly reduced them to the greatest Extremities. He fairly and vigorously maintained the Doctrine of *Confucius*; he maintains it at this Day in his Writings, from whence Thousands of learned Men draw, at the same time, the same Zeal against the false Sects, the same Love of Virtue, and the same Art of governing a-right, which he himself drew from *Confucius*. Thus he says in one of his Works, *If there had not been so great a Master as Confucius, I would not have called myself a Scholar*. And surely, if he had lived with *Confucius*, he had at present possessed a distinguished Rank in the Monuments erected to the Honour of that great Master.

Under our Dynasty *Tang*, a Score of Men, famous each in his several Age, for being attached to the Books of *Confucius*, have been pitched upon to have a Place on that Account in the Hall, and at the Banquet of *Confucius*. I do not at all blame this; there is nothing in it but what is useful and reasonable: But if this Honour has been granted to twenty Persons, of whom most had not well penetrated into, or comprehended the profound Sense of *Confucius*: How can it be refused to *Wen kong*, the Glory of our Dynasty, who so well express'd it in his Conduct, and raised its Value in his Writings? I therefore beseech your Majesty to give Orders, that a Place may be assigned to this great Man; and I doubt not, but such an Order will inspire into your Subjects a new Ardour for Study and Virtue.

In the eighth of the Years named *Pau ta*, on occasion of some extraordinary Phenomena, the Emperor published the following Declaration.

WE find in the Book *Chun tsiu*, a great Number of Solar Eclipses, Earthquakes, Comets, extraordinary (§) Showers and Hail. At present, we see these extraordinary Phenomena renewed; Whether the Faults of the Princes draw them on us, or if it is the charitable Warnings of *Tyen*, [Heaven] whose Heart is full of Goodness; they ought equally to inspire us with a respectful Dread. With these Sentiments, upon seeing these Prodigies, I call to Mind, that formerly my Armies being in the Country of the *Min* and *Pwe*, the Officers and Soldiers there, committed great Excesses: Without respecting the Will of *Tyen*, or being touched with the Necessities of Men, they ruined Agriculture, and brought the People to Misery. Tho' they did this without my Orders, and against my Intentions, yet their Sin falls upon me, and I acknowledge that I am guilty. That I may testify my Repentance, and, in some measure, repair my Faults, I grant an Amnesty to all the Criminals of my Empire, and I ordain, that Care shall be taken, effectually to relieve the Poor, especially such as are destitute.

In the first of the Years called (b) *Twang kong*, *Tay tsong*, the second Emperor of the Dynasty *Song*, gave the Title of *Vang* to four of his Sons in different Provinces, where they already commanded, and addressed to them the following Discourse, which he published in form of a Declaration.

Declarations under the Dynasty of the Song.

DURING the Years named *Hyen te*, while the (†) *Cheu* reigned, I was scarce sixteen Years of Age, and followed my deceased Father, who commanded the imperial Armies, and who reduced to Obedience *Yang cheu*, *Tay cheu*, and other Places. Being early accustomed to carry Arms, I frequently fought against the Rebels, and killed many of them with my own Hand. My Brother, who during that time was employed in reducing *Lü ho*, being informed by my Father's Letters of my Courage and Conduct, said; *It is well, we have a worthy younger Brother*. At Eighteen I joined him, and was present at the famous Expeditions of *Kyan quan*, *I cheu*, and *Mo cheu*. My Brother mounting the Throne a little after, had two Wars successively upon his Hands, against two Rebel Officers. He marched against them in Person, he committed to me the Care of defending the Capital, and of maintaining Order through all. He returning victorious, I had the Command of his principal Troops, and the Government of *Kay song*. My Conduct there, during sixteen or seventeen Years, is well known. The Literati and the People, the Husbandmen and the Soldiers, all praised it, and I had the Pleasure to see the Wicked

(\*) A Surname of *Confucius*.

(†) That is to say, during his Life, and the two or three hundred Years immediately after his Death.

(‡) Famous Disciples of *Confucius*.

(§) That Author says, that it rained frozen Wood.

(b) The first of the *Tsong* or *Tsong kong*, as it is in *P. Faquet's* Table, was the 13th Year of the Reign of this Emperor.

(†) This is not the ancient and famous Family of that Name, but one of those five, each of which reigned for so short a time betwixt the *Tang* and the *Song*.



Wicked themselves reform by my Cares. In short, during the (\*) thirteen Years that I have reigned, you know how averse I have been to all Luxury and foolish Expences; you have neither seen me oppress my People by useless Expeditions, or by Voyages of Pleasure abroad, nor lead a voluptuous lost Life at home: Above all, you have seen me upright and sincere, without Affectation, and without Vanity in my Words or Conduct.

As for (†) you who are born to Royalty and Plenty, you have been delicately bred up within a Palace; and this makes me fear, that being unacquainted with the Miseries of the People, and negligent of distinguishing Vice from Virtue, you may commit a great many Faults. I have a thousand things to lay before you on this Head: But I shall confine myself to recommend to you some of the most essential Points. Know therefore, that as you are the Sons of an Emperor, you ought above all things to vanquish and curb your Passions. That you may be assisted in this, always hear with Attention, and take in good Part the Advice that shall be given you, either with regard to your Faults or Defects. Never put your Cloaths on, without compassionately reflecting how many Cares and Pains the Stuffs that you wear have cost. While you are at your Meals, reflect upon the Sweat and the Toils of the Husbandman. If you are to take a Resolution to decide an Affair, or judge in a Cause, put yourself in the calmest Disposition: No Joy, no Anger. I have a great many Affairs to go through, but that does not at all fatigue me. Was I ever seen to express either Impatience or Disgust? I give a great many Audiences: Was I ever known to shew, I will not say Disdain or Haughtiness, but not to treat every one according to his Rank, and with due Civility? Above all, I recommend to you carefully to avoid Defects, to which Princes who have Spirit and Capacity, are very liable. Don't trust too much to your own Understanding, nor despise the Advices of them, whom you believe to be less capable than yourself. It was a good Saying of our Ancestors; *I look upon a Man who contradicts me, as my Master, because he wants to instruct me, and to be useful to me. But I dread him, who applauds and flatters me, as my Enemy; for he looks to his own Interest, and not to mine.* Don't forget these Maxims, but practise them; and thereby you will keep your Footing and come to a happy End.

*Remonstrance of Yun chu to his Emperor, with regard to three Faults which he found in him.*

*VENTI*, one of the *Han*, was a Prince of singular Virtue; and yet *Kya i* at that time found somewhat to bewail in his Government. *Vu ti*, one of his Successors, had reduced and subdued all his barbarous Neighbours; and yet *Sin lo* and *Yen ngan* did not fail to inculcate upon him the Ruin of *Tsin*, as if he had reason to fear the same Fate. These two great Princes were so far from being angry with these Advices, that they took them very well. Thus, the Empire continued without Interruption, for upwards of ten Generations. *Eul shi*, the Son and Successor of *Shi wabang*, who was the second and last Emperor of the *Tsin*, and *Tang ti*, the second and last Emperor of the *Sui*, acted quite otherways; therefore they perished in a very short time. I am far from designing to compare a Prince so gentle and virtuous as you, to either of these two last. But I beg you at the same time, to examine how necessary it is, that Things should be on as good a Footing now, as they were under *Ven ti* and *Vu ti*. Towards the West, there is a Nation sometimes submissive, and sometimes jealous: You have very powerful Enemies towards the North. Both the one and the other are attentive to what passes in the Empire, and are ready to take Advantage of any Commotions that shall happen. Thus, notwithstanding of the Peace your Empire actually enjoys, your Majesty has reason to be afraid, and to block up every Inlet to the smallest Disorders.

Besides the Care of watching over the Frontiers, and of opening a Door to Advices, which I cannot enough recommend to you; my Zeal for your Glory and the common Good, obliges me to represent to you three Things. In the first Place, you are inconstant in your Government, you frequently alter your Edicts. In the second Place, you often misplace your Favours, and do not always make a right Choice of the Persons whom you employ and trust. In the third Place, you are extravagant in your Gratifications, which are commonly ill judged. There is nothing easier for your Majesty, than to shun these three Defects. It depends only upon yourself: You have no more to do, but heartily to will it; to which I exhort you, and so much the more, because it appears to me, that at last they may be attended with bad Consequences.

Let us touch a little upon each: To what do the People trust, if not to the Words and Edicts of their Sovereign? Anciently, when one was published, every body ran eagerly to read or to hear it; now-a-days it is otherways. They are coldly received. Every one who talks of them, says; *This is not constant, we can't depend upon this Edict: Another very different, or perhaps directly contrary, will be soon published.* In this manner People talk: This Inconstancy which renders your Edicts despicable, cannot fail to diminish, by little and little, the Respect that is due to Sovereign Authority.

I hear People sometimes reason upon this Inconstancy, and the Cause to which they attribute it is as follows. The most part of your Officers lay before you a Regulation: Beforehand they weigh its Advantages, and lay them before your Majesty; you approve of them. If another, whom you love and value, comes, and in a private Audience, puts Things in another Light, concluding that the former Regulation was by no means convenient; your Majesty immediately changes your Opinion. Therefore, when your zealous and understanding Officers see the Fruit of their Zeal and their Wisdom vanish, they cool, and are discouraged. The second Inconvenience of your

(\*) He succeeded his Brother, who died without Male Issue.

(†) He addresses his Sons, whom he had made *Yang*.



your Inconstancy is this; the Sovereign alone can distribute Dignities and Posts, according to the Merits and Services of each. Things not long ago have been much changed not only the being related to the Empress, but even the Post of a Eunuch of the Palace, or the Merit of having some Connexion with them, is a Title of being advanced very quickly. This Method which has been opened one of these Years, is so well known, and so common, that it has got a Name; It is called *the Within-door Way*. I don't know, but that under the Reigns of some of the Dynasty of the *Tang*, while Women were at the Helm of Affairs, such Methods might be in Use then. But I know well, that these Reigns have been always look'd upon as the bad Times of the Dynasty; that that Method was then called *the indirect Way*, and that these Examples are not to be follow'd. If among the Relations of Queens, or amongst the Eunuchs of the Palace, there are found any Men of Virtue, Merit, or great Capacity, they ought to be advanced; but let it be in a quite different manner; and by the Deliberation of the Council, not by indirect sneaking Methods: These are unworthy of your Majesty, and liable to great Inconveniencies. If your Officers who see these Inconveniencies, are silent, and wink at them, that is a great Breach of the Laws. If they vigorously oppose them, that would be to put a bar upon your Goodness, and to resist your Will. To abandon the Defence of the Laws, is what zealous faithful Officers can never resolve to do: To oppose your Goodness and your Orders, is what respectful Subjects will hardly do, for fear of weakening your Authority. This is a perplexing Dilemma. Besides, I beg you would consider, that the principal thing you require of your Officers, is a perfect Equity, which is never byass'd by private Affections, or interested Views. You are in the right to exact this. But how can you obtain it, if in the Distribution of Honours and Posts, you are inconsistent with yourself. As for Gratifications, Princes ought to bestow them; for by their Means, a Prince animates his Officers to serve him well. But besides, that their Donor ought always to be tender of the common Good, there are likewise Rules to be observed in Gratifications. They must be properly made, and discreetly proportioned. But for these several Years, you have carried them to an excess. It is not rare to see you without any Reason, make large Presents, sometimes to a Domestic, sometimes to a Groom of your Bed-chamber, and sometimes to a Physician. Your Subjects know this very well, and say loudly, that your Majesty is a very bad Husband of what your Ancestors have saved, and that you will soon exhaust it all. The People indeed have not seen the inside of your Coffers; nor can they know exactly what is, or what is not there. But on the one Hand, as they are acquainted with your Bounty, so on the other, they feel themselves every Day loaded with new Taxes. Hence, they conclude, that your Exchequer is not very well furnished, and they suspect that what you seek from them, you lavish upon Sycophants. Yes! That People who saw with Pleasure, the Valour and the Services of *Wang quey* richly rewarded, groans under less considerable, but more frequent and ill judged Gratifications. These Thoughts which I have laid before you, are not my own private Sentiments alone, but those of the Public. All the great Officers about your Person know this as well as me; but the Fear of displeasing you, binds up their Tongues. By their Silence, the Government every Day goes from bad to worse, and the Minds of your Subjects are exasperated to a Degree that makes me tremble.

All I wish then, is, that you would incessantly regulate your Household, and exert yourself in your public Character with that Application, that so vast an Empire requires. Then you will not want zealous loyal Subjects, who will assist you with their Abilities. The Laws by little and little, will be established in their former Vigor; your Revenues being rightly managed, will suffice for the Exigences of the State, and the Security of the Frontiers. In short, that I may end as I have begun, I beg that your Majesty would consider, that the Occasion of the sudden Ruin of the *Tsin* and the *Szei*, was, their having shut the Door to Advices, by taking them amiss; and that a Conduct directly opposite, rendered the Reigns of *Ven ti* and *Vu ti* in the Times of the *Han*, glorious, and assured the Crown for a long time to their Posterity.

A DISCOURSE by SHE KYAY.

UNDER the present Dynasty, we have nothing but Imposts, Taxes, and Prohibitions, and these too in the highest Degree. They obtain on the Mountains, and in the Vallies, in Rivers and Seas; upon Salt, and upon Iron, upon Wine and Tea; upon Stuffs and Silks, upon Turnpikes and Roads, upon Brooks and Bridges. Upon all these and many other Things, I every where see *Prohibitions laid, &c.* While these Prohibitions are rigorously and carefully enforced, I see on the other Hand, the Son abandon the Father, and the People withdraw from the Authority of the Prince; the Husbandmen quit the Spade and the Plough, and the Women the Manufactures of Stuffs: The Tradesmen, each in his way, every Day refine upon vain Ornaments; the Merchants traffic with Pearls and other useless Ornaments; the Gentlemen of the Gown neglect the Study of our ancient Books, whose Summary is *Justice and Clarity*. Superstition and Error become as so many Customs: Corruption creep into our very Language; empty Flourishes become the Fashion; Numbers of People run about the Streets, and lead an idle Life. A great Number of Magistrates lose their Time at Entertainments; Multitudes of People wear Cloaths far above their Ranks; Buildings become every Day more expensive; Weakness and Innocence oppress'd by Force and Power. The great Officers suffer themselves to be corrupted, and their Underlings to fleece the People. I see, I say, all this; and I see at the same time, that no effectual Remedy is applied, either for preventing or suppressing it.

And yet, according to the Notions of our Antients, those wholesome true Notions, it was a per-



sonal Crime in a Son to abandon his Father, nay, it was a public Disorder, and is always a great Abuse. It is rebellious in a Subject to withdraw himself from Authority; for Men to abandon the labouring the Ground, and the Women the Manufactures of Stuffs, is to starve both themselves and others: For the Workmen to refine upon vain Ornaments, the Merchants to traffic in useless Toys, and the Literati to neglect Charity and Justice, is, for each, in his respective Profession, to abandon what is Essential and Capital. For Superstitions to establish themselves in China, is to introduce Barbarism into the Empire. To bring a florid Stile in Vogue, is, as it were, to bury our King: So many idle Vagabonds running about the Streets, and our Magistrates losing their Time at Feasts, is abandoning both public and private Concerns. By the Prevalence of Luxury in Building and Cloaths, all Orders must be soon confounded. By Force and Power not being curbed, the Poor and the Weak are oppress'd. By great Officers suffering themselves to be corrupted by Presents, and the small living upon Rapine, there is an End of Equity and Justice. Where is the Wisdom in not prohibiting, or rather in not putting an effectual Stop to so great Evils, and in enforcing a rigorous Observance of, I do not know how many, Prohibitions, from whatever is necessary to Mankind? Is this the Government of our Ancients? But if any one should ask at me, what should be done in order to re-establish that wise Government, my Answer shall be in two Words: All that is done at present must be forbidden, and all that is forbidden must be done: Such was the Government of our Ancestors.

*The Emperor Kang hi's Remark.]* Among Laws, there are some more some less important: Some are Capital and Essential, and some are less so. If they are confounded, and the latter are preferred to the former, the People do not know which of them to embrace. The Distinction that ought chiefly to be made in this Case, is very well laid down in this Piece, whose Stile is likewise lively and nervous.

An historical Gloss says, that *She kyay* was an able, upright, resolute Mn, who loved Good and hated Evil: But a little too greedy of Reputation. For which Reason, he seized all Occasions of speaking and acting. He thereby made himself Enemies who sought to ruin him, and he had some Difficulty to escape their Vengeance.

*Jin tsong having no Son, adopted one of his Relations who was a young Man, and created him hereditary Prince. The young Prince being weak and committing several Faults, the Emperor and the Empress had Thoughts of substituting another in his Room: But the Secret was not so well kept, but that the Prince was apprized of it. Upon this, they laid aside their Design: And Jin tsong dying, the young Prince was declared Emperor. He falling sick, and his Disease putting him out of a Condition to take care of his Affairs, the Empress Dowager took the Reins of Government in her own Hand, giving Audiences regularly, and consulting about every thing with the Ministers thro' a Curtain. As soon as the Emperor was recovered, she resigned the Government into his Hands. The Prince having been informed that Jin tsong and the Empress had for some time been consulting to set him aside, he inwardly owed them a grudge; and seemed uneasy, that the Empress had during his Illness, taken upon her the Government. The Officers of the Palace siding with his Resentment, treated that Princess very ill, and let her and her Daughters be in Want of a great many Things. At this Juncture, the Emperor being informed of the Services and Merit of Fû pi, nominated him to be Ting ché, which at that time was a very considerable Post; but Fû pi excused himself from accepting it, and laying hold of so fair an Opportunity exhorted the Emperor to behave otherwise with Regard to the deceased Emperor, and the Empress Dowager who was yet living. He did it as usual, in Writing; and it was in the following Terms.*

**S**IR; I have a due Sense of the Goodness with which you would reward me for some Services that my Duty bound me to perform to the Emperor your Father. But I would be much better pleased, if you yourself would endeavour to acknowledge the Obligations you are under to that Prince, and the Empress his Consort who is yet alive. They chose you as their Successor to the Throne, out of a great many Princes of the Blood, who were as nearly related to them as you. If at present, you possess the glorious Title of the (\*) Son of Tyen, if you are Master of the vast Riches of so great an Empire, it is merely thro' their Favour. A singular Favour if ever any was! A Favour for which it is not easy to make suitable Returns. In short, a Favour which you cannot enough acknowledge. Yet, you not only neglect to acquit yourself of the ordinary Ceremonies with Regard to the late Emperor, but you are neither observed to pay the Respect due to the Person, nor to provide for the Exigencies, of the Empress Dowager who is yet alive. How! Is then the most ordinary Civilities too great a Complement to Persons to whom you owe so much? Where is your Gratitude and Piety? Surely all the Empire expects other things of your Majesty. While you were under the Hands of the Physicians, the World was less surprized at this Conduct. But since your Health is recovered, since you bear without any Inconveniency, all the Weight of Affairs; to fulfill all the other Duties of a Prince, and to neglect that of a Son, makes every Officer, both of your Court and in the Provinces, conclude, that your former Negligence was not so much occasioned by your Want of Health, as your Want of Piety. As for my share, I own that I don't understand the Motive that induces you to act in this Manner. Is it because you imagined, that the late Emperor in his Life-time, discovered a Coldness towards you? Is it because you have had unfavourable Accounts on that Head? It is a certain Truth, that the late Emperor if he pleased, might have named another Successor besides you;

(\*) *Tyen tsé*, this is a Title of Honour given to the Emperors of China.



you; but he chose you, and in Consequence of that Choice, you are his Successor. What surmises or suspicions, even tho' they had a little Foundation, ought to efface a Favour so well known, so great, and so real.

As for the Empress Dowager, if, for some time, she took the Management of Affairs upon her self, she did it at the Request of your Ministers and other great Officers, while you was not in a Condition to manage them yourself; but she never pretended to be a Partner with you in Sovereign Rule. In short, some time ago, she resigned to you the Government; since which time you have reigned and ruled alone. The rest is past and ought to be forgot, nor does it become you to resent it so long as you do. For these petty Reasons of Uneasiness, even tho' they were real, to forget a Benefit of the first Order, is to imitate *Yew wang*, who is sharply reprimanded in the *Sbi king*, for a Fault in its kind, not so grievous as yours. I have a sensible Concern when I see you, instead of imitating *Sbun*, a Prince eminent in so many Respects, particularly in that of his Piety towards his Relations, imitate *Yew wang*, a Prince who is so infamous in History.

It is said, that it is not the Empress Dowager alone, who must bear with your capricious Temper, your Resentment I hear, extends even to the Daughters of the late Emperor, whom consequently you ought to look upon as your Sisters. You have deprived them of their Apartments, and given it to your own Daughters. Being shut up in a Corner of the Palace, they receive from you not the least Mark of your Goodness; you take no Care of them, and they are to you as Strangers. Permit me then to open my Heart, and to inform you of the Sentiments of the whole Empire, and of my self more especially. The late Emperor reigned for 41 Years. Under a Reign whose Happiness was equal to its Length, the Empire felt the Effects of his Goodness. There is not one of his Officers who is not (\*) pierced with his Gratitude: As no Man owes more to him than I do, being raised by him, from one of the poor simple Literati to the greatest Employments, so no body has more sincere, and more lively Sentiments of Gratitude for that good Prince, than I have. By this you may judge, how great the Concern of all the Subjects of your Empire, and of me in particular, is to see the Empress his Consort, and the Princesses his Daughters so much neglected. I am so much affected with it, that I have not the Heart to accept of the Dignity to which you would raise me. What Proportion do my weak Services bear to the Obligations, which your Majesty owes to the late Emperor and Empress Dowager? Such as a Thread, or a Hair of Silk bears to the whole Universe. How inconsistent is it to forget what you owe to them, for the greatest of all Favours, and to reward the trifling Service that I have done you? How absurd is it, not to be sensible of it? I own I am heartily so. What I wish above all things, is, that you would render to the late Emperor the accustomed Duties; and that as a good Son, you would honour the Empress. Besides your owing this Example to all your Empire; it is the way to gain the Hearts of your Officers. As for me, when I shall see you change, tho' I should live only upon Roots and Water, there are no Fatigues nor Hardships that should discourage me, and no Danger that should daunt me from serving your Majesty with Pleasure, to the last Breath of my Life. But at the same time, while, without such a Change wrought, your Majesty offers me every Day new Honours and the greatest Riches, I cannot resolve to accept of them. The State still feels the wise Government of your Ancestors: The Laws which they establish'd are observ'd, the People are submissive, the Officers vigilant, and every thing goes smoothly on. There is no occasion for your Majesty who is yet in Mourning to disturb yourself, or to give a very close Application to Affairs. That which is most pressing, and in which, without you, your Officers can do nothing, is, to take care of whatever relates to the Empress Dowager, and the five betrothed Daughters of *Yin tsong*: Upon you alone, depends their Fortune, and you alone can make them happy. If you act as a dutiful Son and Brother, you will attach the People to your Person, and draw upon yourself and your Posterity the Assistance of *Tyen*. I say, that you will attach to you the People; Make a fair trial, they will be sensible of it, and you will be able to point out the Truth of this Promise. I say, that you will draw upon yourself and your Posterity, the Assistance of *Tyen*. This Point, tho' it be a little more obscure, yet is as certain as the other. Don't pretend to say, that *Tyen* neither hears nor sees; That Men are very short sighted, and what have I to fear? You would be hood-winkt if you thought so. Behold, what I thought it my Duty to represent to you, while I excuse myself from accepting of the Honour which your Majesty is pleas'd to do me. I own, it is both imprudent and rash to talk so freely. But I dare to assure your Majesty, that what I have here laid before you, is the Dictates of my Honesty and Zeal. Happy would I be, if your Majesty would think it so; and instead of finding Fault with my Boldness, profit by my Honesty.

*A Gloss.* This Remonstrance was without effect, or at least, without any Answer. *Fu pi* repeated it six or seven times. But the Emperor *Ing-tsong* always rejected his Excuses: At last, that Prince by a public Declaration, shewed a Resolution to alter his Conduct, and then *Fu pi* accepted of the Post that he offered.

Discourse of *Se ma quang* to the same Emperor *Ing tsong*, upon filial Piety and Equity.

IT is a (+) common and a true Saying, that in point of personal Perfection, filial Piety is the Chief of all Virtues, and Equity is the Soul of Government. Confucius in his Book upon filial Piety, says, that this Virtue is the Principal and the Foundation of all others. He adds, that he

(\*) The Chinese says: His Griefs pierced to the Marrow of the Bones.

(+) In the Chinese it is literally: Your Subject has heard say, 'tis a common Phrase with them in this kind of Writing.



who does not love his Father and Mother, and does not behave to them with all due Respect, tho' he loves the rest of Mankind, and treats them with all the Respect imaginable, cannot in Justice pass for a Man, either of Virtue or Honour; and in effect, is neither the one nor the other. For never did a Tree without a Root shoot forth fair Branches. The late Emperor *Yin tsong*, by adopting you, and calling you to Empire, made you the noblest Present which was in the Power of Man to make. (\*) That Prince is now no more; but he has left an Empress and five Daughters. These as they were nearest to him, so they ought to be dearest to you: and you should express for them, all possible Concern. You cannot fail in this, without answering very ill the Intentions of *Yin tsong*, and the Obligations you owe him. Formerly, when the Empress Dowager governed in your Palace, the Officers of your Household respected her. Both Great and Small were watchful to serve her. At present, when she has resigned to you the Cares of Government, and meddles no more in Affairs, I apprehend no Alteration with Regard to her will happen. Some of the Officers of your Palace may be idle Fellows, and may neglect, and serve her ill. She is Mother of the Empire, and all the Empire ought to have it at Heart, that she be happy and satisfied. But all the Empire, Sir, relies upon you, and you have more Obligations than one upon you, to take all the Care of this which you are capable to express.

I likewise fear, that there are Fire-brands in your Palace, who interpreting in their own Manner, the Words and Actions of the Empress, make Reports of both, which serve either to cool, or to exasperate your Majesty. If there are any of such a Character, they won't fail to mask themselves under the specious Pretexes of Fidelity, Loyalty and Zeal. But they are at the Bottom mean Souls, who have nothing in View but their own Interest, and who endeavour, by the Dispositions which they either believe or see to be in the Prince, to make their own Advantage. If then you discover any of these abandoned Sycophants, ordain, without hearing them, that they shall immediately be put into the Hands of Justice and tried. One Example which you shall make of this sort, will stop the Mouths of all others of that Kind. On the contrary, if you lend an Ear to such Discourses, there will be no end of Backbitings and Calumnies, and they will infallibly be attended with fatal Disorders; this is a Point of the Importance, and deserves your Attention.

In short, it is a received Maxim, and has become as it were proverbial: In Matters of State the Prince alone ought to decide, but in domestic Affairs, the Empress ought to rule; I therefore wish that your Majesty deciding all foreign Affairs by yourself, would leave all Affairs within Doors to the Empress, together with the Distribution of all the Gratuities and Posts there, at least, that nothing of that kind be done without her Advice and Consent. Every thing then will be in order; you will see your Mother, who is above you, happy, and the Officers and your People under you, testify their Satisfaction, by Encomiums and Songs. If, because this Order is not established, the Officers of your Household should be neglectful, and fail in their Services to the Empress; if any of them by false Reports, should embroil you with her, this must be known without Doors: Perhaps the Empress shall fall sick out of Vexation; what a Dishonour will that reflect upon you? How can you answer for it in the Face of the Empire? All the Good you can otherwise do, will not be able to cover your Shame. This is the Tendency of my first Proposition, which was; That filial Piety is in point of personal Perfection, the Chief of all Virtues.

In the Chapter of the *Szu king*, which is called (||) *Hong fan*, when the Author comes to recommend it to the Prince to be equitable, and never to be influenced in his Actions by private Inclinations or Aversions; he lays so great Stress upon that Point, that he inculcates the same thing in six different Manners, that he may the better set forth its Importance. He who governs a State, says *Cheu jin*, ought not to repay private Services done to him before he mounted the Throne, with public Rewards. Much less ought he to employ the Rigour of the Laws, that he may gratify a personal Hatred. We read in the *Ta ho* (†), he who would promote Reason and Wisdom in his Conduct, ought to keep his Heart equal and ballanced. But the Heart loses that Equality and Ballance, when private Love or Hatred gives it a Bias to one Side or other. From being but one of the Princes of the Blood, you were raised to the Throne on which you now sit; this was a wide Step. It was natural enough after this Rise, that you should retain some private Favour or Resentment, towards those who had formerly done you some good Office, or given you some Disgust: But beware, for these Affections and Disquiets ought not to influence your Government.

The great Rule of Sovereigns, is, to reward Virtue, and to punish Vice; to advance Men of Probity and Merit, and to banish all who want both. Honours and Posts, being the most precious Treasures of States, a Prince ought not to distribute them to his Subjects, whose only Merit is, that they agree with him in some particular Notions. Far less ought he to make use of the Chastisements regulated by the Laws, to satisfy a private Resentment against those who have transgressed them. Formerly, Dignities and Posts were distributed before an Assembly of the whole Court, and Criminals were executed in the Face of the World: As if the Prince would thereby signify, that his private Inclinations had no Part in all that was done; that he distributed Rewards to Persons whom the Public would not think unworthy, and that they whom they judged worthy of Death, were condemned at the same time by the public Voice.

At present, there is a great Mixture among the Officers of your Empire. There are amongst them Men of Virtue and Merit, but they are mixt and confounded in the Crowd. The Good and

(\*) The Chinese has it *He is retired far off in ascending*: I have already taken Notice, that the Chinese Politicallness fluns the blunest Expression of *He is dead*, and employs more soft Terms, according to Persons and Circumstances.

(||) The great Rule or Rules.

(†) The great Study or Science. This is the Title of the Book.



and the Bad are upon a Footing. This is a Disorder infinitely prejudicial to the Good of the State, and I could wish that your Majesty would seriously apply to remedy it. The Thing you must do for that effect, is as follows. Lay yourself out to know those thoroughly, whose Virtue and Capacity are greater than ordinary, and who are thereby most capable to answer the Hopes of the Public. Such as you know to be Men of this kind, draw immediately out of the Crowd, advancing them to the first Posts; and tho' they had formerly the Unhappiness to displease you, yet do not fail to promote them in proportion to their Services. Act in the same manner with Regard to Punishments: However great the Favour be you have for any one, yet if he is guilty of any Crime, and for that detested by worthy Men, and condemned by the Voice of the Public, do not allow yourself to relent so far as to pardon him. By this Conduct, there will soon be no more any Men of Merit out of Posts, nor any weak Persons in them. You will advance Virtue, you will make Vice tremble, and promote Order throughout all your Court. All your People will feel its Effects, and you will build their Happiness upon your Wisdom. And reciprocally making their own Happiness yours, by their Loyalty and Submission; your illustrious Posterity will, in order to reign in Peace, have no more to do but to imitate you.

But on the contrary, if your Majesty, leading an idle Life in your Palace, and abandoning yourself to your Pleasures, should devolve your Authority upon some one of your Officers; if, without examining who has, or who has not, Merit; without distinguishing genuine Virtue from Vice artfully disguised, or regarding any Consequences, you put all indifferently into Posts, the first who shall present; or which is worse still; if making your Inclinations or Regretments your Rule, if you should banish from you all those who have formerly displeased you, and advance only those whom you have always inclined to favour; if you use the Power of rewarding, only that you may gratify Sycophants who have no Merit, and who have done no Service, and that of punishing, only that you may check zealous loyal Subjects, whose Uprightness is all their Crime; then every thing will soon rush to Confusion, both at the Court and in the Provinces: There will be no more Law, no more Order, no more Peace: Can any thing be more fatal both to the Empire in general, and to your Majesty in particular: These are the Reasons why I said that Equity is the principal Point of Government, in the same manner as in personal Perfection, filial Piety is the first of all Virtues. Upon the Value or the Contempt which a Prince shews for these two Virtues, more than upon any thing else, depends the Happiness or the Unhappiness of his State; and the Glory or Shame of his Reign. Weigh this Truth, that you may be the more animated to the right Practice of these two capital Virtues.

*A Gloss.]* *Se ma quang*, the Author of this Discourse, was a dutiful Son, a firm Friend, and a loyal Subject; he was a Man of approved Probity, of a reverend Gravity, singular Temperance, and unshaken Uprightness: He was Minister to four Emperors, and was never known to prevaricate.

*Another Discourse of the same Se ma quang, to the same Emperor Ing tsong, on Occasion of the public Calamities.*

SINCE your Majesty came to the Throne, there have been many extraordinary Phenomena, and public Calamities. Black Spots have appeared in the Sun; and Inundations and Droughts have succeeded one another. During the Summer of the last Year, the heavy Rains begun, and did not end till Autumn was over. Towards the South East of your Court, in a Country where there were upwards of ten Cities, great and small Houses were swallowed up in the Waters, or seen floating and swimming upon the Tops of Trees. How many Families were thereby ruined? Thus universal Misery prevail'd on all Hands: The Son was separated from the Father, and both the one and the other were overwhelmed under the Weight of their Calamities. Parents sold their Children, and Husbands their Wives, at as low Prices as we now commonly give for the vilest Animals: The Famine was so great at *Hyu* and *Ping*, that the nearest Relations were seen to eat one another.

To this watry Autumn a Winter succeeded, not as it ought to have been, cold and dry, but moist and temperate, such as the Spring uses to be. Plants and Trees shoot forth out of Season; and in the Spring came very boisterous Winds. At last, in the Summer, the infectious Diseases made a horrible Ravage over upwards of 100 Leagues of Land. The Houses were filled with the Sick, and the Highways with Burials. In the Beginning of this Spring, the Crop appeared prodigiously fine, and then the People began to breathe, in hopes of a plentiful Harvest, which they were just about to reap, when there fell so extraordinary a Rain, that in one Day and a Night, the Rivers and Brooks overflowed, and forced the most rapid Torrents to run against their Streams, overturned the highest Bridges, covered the tallest Hills, made a wide Sea of the level Fields, and ravaged the Harvests.

Here in your Capital, the Desolation is as great; the Inundations has carried off all the Barriers, and has undermined all the Gates and Walls: The Tribunals of the Magistrates, the public Granaries, and the Houses of the Soldiers and People have all suffered. Numbers of People have perished, either by being buried under the Ruins of their Houses, or swallowed up in the Waters. Doubtless, these Calamities are very extraordinary; I don't know if their Parallel has happened for many Ages. Is not your Majesty frightened? Are you not thinking upon a strict and a serious Examination, into the Causes that have contributed to draw down so great Calamities? My Zeal has led me to think for you, and I believe that on your Part, three Causes principally contrilute.



First your Conduct with Regard to the Empress Dowager. This Princess who is full of Wisdom and Goodness became your Mother, by adopting and designing you, in Consort with *Jin tsong*, for the Empire. Ever since you enter'd into the Palace, she has express'd for you all the Cares of a Mother. When *Jin tsong* died, and you were sick, that Princess kneel'd before the Imperial Apartment, knocking the Ground with her Fore-head, so as even to wound herself, in praying with the utmost Earnestness for your safety. After this, how could you on the Report some envenom'd Tongue, who exasperated you against her, allow yourself to be persuaded, that this Princess did not entertain for you all the Sentiments of a good Mother? Tho' this should be partly truth, is it allowable for a Son to dispute with his Father and his Mother, and to entertain only for them, the Tendernefs and Respect which he judges to be proportioned to the good or bad Treatment they give him. Who ever heard such a Maxim maintained?

There is another Maxim better established, and universally received. A great Favour, Tradition tells us, ought to cancell all the little Causes of Discontent. The late Emperor drew you from the Government of a Province, for which you was likewise indebted to him, to place you upon the Throne, and to make you Master of the Empire. What has he required of you as a Return for a Present of that Nature? That, at his Entreaty, you would take a Concern about the Empress his Wife, and the Princesses his Daughters. Yet you lost your Temper, as soon as that Prince was put in his Coffin, and even before he was buried, you shut up the Princesses in a retired Apartment; you never almost saw them; you abandoned both the Mother and the Princesses her Daughters, to the Discretion, or rather to the Negligence, of some mean Officers. Permit me, in this Affair to reason from Less to Great. Imagine with yourself, that one of the common People has some Arpents of Ground to subside himself, his Wife and his Daughters upon; finding himself advancing in Years, and without a Son, he adopts a young Man, one of his Relations, and makes him his (\*) Heir. The latter finding himself Master of the Estate, no sooner sees his Father dead, than he absolutely disposes of his Goods according to his own Fancy, without shewing any Regard for his Mother, or any Care for his Sisters. They might well sigh, groan, and bewail themselves: But he was insensible of all. What Idea do you think, all the Neighbourhood would entertain of a Son of such a Character? How would he be look'd upon? What would be said of him? Such a Conduct then would lose the Character of a Peasant in his own Village: And what ought an Emperor, upon whom the Eyes of all his Subjects are fixt, to expect from a Conduct, a great deal more extravagant. How is it possible that he can be beloved?

In the second Place, the late Emperor, who was naturally easy and gentle, was always in Pain, when he was obliged to contradict those he employed. During the last Years of his Reign, he was violently tormented with a Pain in his Breast, which disabled him from attending the Cares of Government; so that he was forced to devolve them almost entirely upon some one or other of his Officers. It is to be wish'd, that he had always made a right Choice; but Intrigues and Interest were often seen to prevail over Virtue and Merit. Whatever Care the Authors of these Injustices took to screen themselves, they could deceive only the heedless unattentive Vulgar. Men of Sense saw and bewailed the Evil: But not knowing how to help themselves, as the Prince was in such a Situation, they kept silence. All their Comfort was, that a young Prince, as you were, mounting the Throne, you would examine every thing by yourself, instruct yourself in every thing carefully, and vigorously maintain the Sovereign Authority. They then hoped that all incapable Persons would be removed, that Men of Merit would be advanced, that pure Equity would regulate all Rewards and Punishments, in short, that by this wise Conduct, the Court and all the Empire would soon change its Face.

These were our Hopes, but we have not seen them fulfilled; even in the Beginning of your Reign, you appeared to be as much fatigued with the Weight of Affairs, as ever *Jin tsong* was, when bowed down with Sickness, in the latter Part of his Reign, you abandoned the Decision of Affairs more than he did, to certain Officers; and one would have said, that you was afraid to have seen clearly into their Conduct. Great Numbers of Memorials have been presented to you, some of them were of the greatest Importance; you paid no Regard to them. Under Pretence of letting Things go as they were formerly, you examined nothing to the Bottom; and while you attentively applied to Trifles, you neglected the material Part of Government.

Officers, who are absolutely worthless, without Virtue and without Merit, are in Posts: You know them, and yet suffer them to continue, as if you had not the Courage to remove them. The Empire does not want for Men of Parts, who join a great deal of Wisdom and Probity to very great Abilities. You are convinc'd of this, and you know them to be such: Notwithstanding of this, you never mind them. Such a Step is dangerous, and subject to great Inconveniences which are pointed out to you, and you are sensible of them; and yet you take that very Step. Another Measure is good, you know it is, and you are taught to point out the Advantage of it with your Finger; and yet you dare not declare yourself and say, *My Pleasure is, that this Measure be pursued*. Then they who serve you, perceive this Weakness, and take Advantage of it, or rather they abuse you. As they are at present more Masters, than they could be in the latter Part of the last Reign; they are likewise more insolent. Their Caprice, or their Interest, decides every thing. These Gentlemen don't blush at promoting the most Worthless, and at acquitting the most Guilty: In one Word, they dare do every thing, and stick at nothing. Thus it is that you govern in the Empire, but do you hereby worthily answer the Expectations of the World.

(\*) The Daughters in China don't inherit any thing from their Parents.



In the third Place, you have, it is true, fine natural Parts: But have you a larger share of them than *Tau, Shun, Yu, and Ching tang?* You ought, after the Example of these great Princes, to endeavour to improve so fine a Ground-Work, in profiting by the Abilities of wise Men. But this is what you have never been known to do. On the contrary, if you have any thing in your Head which you resolve to execute, you can be diverted from it with the Reasons that expose its inconvenience. No! The bravest Soldiers don't defend a Place in which the Enemy has besieged them, with greater Resolution than you defend your own Opinion. You never once reflect upon any thing that contradicts it. To act in this Manner, is not acting according to the Maxims of our ancient Sages, in uniting many Rivers to form a large Sea. A wise Prince hears and weighs every thing without Prejudice. When he examines the different Views, he does not say; *This here is mine, and that there is another's. This Person is my near, and that my distant, Relation. This was first suggested to me, and that came but late.* These Circumstances never sway him either to one side or the other; he seeks the best course, and that determines him entirely. But how can he distinguish this best Way, if he lays himself open to Prepossessions.

The *Szu king* says, "If any one offers an Advice contrary to your Inclinations and your Notions, that is a Reason for presuming that it is good, and for weighing with greater care its Usefulness and Advantages. Another Advice agrees with your Views, for which Reason, you ought to pay the greater Deference to the Reasons that are against it." But if, contrary to these Maxims, you hear with Pleasure, and embrace with Joy, only what is agreeable to your Notions, if you reject, and are even angry at, every thing else; the natural Effect of this Conduct will be, that Flatterers will appear, and that Men of Probity will retire. Is this the way to procure Happiness to your Subjects, and Glory to your Reign? Your Dynasty from its Beginning, after the Example of other Dynasties, established Censors, who were in a manner the Eyes and the Ears of the Prince: So that neither Ministers nor others, dar'd to conceal any thing from him that concern'd him to know. All the Affairs which come to Court, pass through the Hands of Ministers. They deliberate, they decide, and under the Favour of the Prince, they promulgate that Decision: If it happens that a Censor, according to the Duties of his Post, should make any Representations to you upon their Decisions, and lay before you their Reasons: Your Majesty, instead of examining his Memorial by yourself, immediately delivers it into the Hands of those very Persons whose Decisions are censured, and you follow their Judgment. Where are they who have so much Uprightness, as to acknowledge that the Advices of another, are better than what he has resolved upon himself; far less are there any found, who own that they have done wrong, and that they are blame worthy. All that your Majesty gains by acting in this manner, is, that you acquire the Reputation of being a Prince who loves no Advice, and who desires to have none. As for your Officers, they have the Advantage of being absolute Masters, and quiet Possessors of Sovereign Authority.

The three Points which I have touched upon are not secret, all the World is very well apprized of them. Every faithful zealous Officer bewails them. But they are afraid of some Emotion of Anger from you, or some Repentment, almost as terrible, from the interested Persons. For which Reason they dare not talk to you. In the mean time, Sadness, Uneasiness, and Indignation, possess the Hearts of your good Subjects; the more these Sentiments are suppress'd, the more violent they are. And I am not at all surprized, that they have drawn down these intemperate Seasons. If I have the Boldness to talk thus, it is only that I may beg you to consider, that as you are above Men, so *Tyen* is above you, and to conjure you to answer the Designs of Heaven, and the Desires of your Subjects. You cannot do this better, than by effectually remedying the three Points which I have touched upon. Acquit yourself towards the Empress Dowager with all the Duties of a good Son. Take Care to please her, and make it your Business to render her happy and contented. Extend your Goodness to the young Princesses your Sisters, have an Eye upon their Wants, and settle them when it is time. Delegate the sovereign Authority to no Person, for it belongs to yourself alone. In your Choice of Officers, distinguish true Merit: In Rewards and Punishments, regard nothing but the Importance of the Services, and the Heinousness of the Crimes. Give an utter Exclusion to all Flatterers, and banish such of them as are in Posts. Open a Door to Advice, hear without Prejudice all that is given you; and follow with Courage and Constancy, that which is the most wholesome. Besides, it is not enough to testify by Words, that you will in Time to come, observe this Conduct; you must shew it by your Actions; and these Actions too, must be the Effect of a firm and sincere Resolution. Nothing can resist this Sincerity when it is perfect; even Stones and Metals have more than once yielded to it. How then can Men resist it. But if you are deficient, Appearances will produce nothing. No, they won't make the smallest of your Subjects move. Far less can you hope that it will touch *Tyen*. Do not deceive yourself, says the *Sbi king*, by saying *he is far exalted above us &c.* Notwithstanding of his being exalted above us, yet he is near both to our Words and Actions, which he sees and hears. Scarce do our Thoughts rise from our Hearts, but *Tyen* is immediately acquainted with them; must he then present himself to your Eyes under a human Shape, and strike your Ears with the Sound of a sensible Voice? I know of how little value I am, and of how little use to you, yet I thought myself obliged to tell you my Opinion and my poor Sentiments, which your Majesty may examine and weigh at Leisure.

Another



*Another Remonstrance of the same Se ma quang, to the same Emperor Ing tsong.*

TOWARDS the End of the third Moon of this Year, I had the Honour to exhort your Majesty to publish a Declaration, which might open a Door to Advices. A few Days since, your Majesty knowing that I had return'd to Court, ordered that Declaration to be register'd the fifth Day of the fifth Moon. No Man could be more sensible than I was, when I first received these News. Besides its being extremely agreeable to me to understand, that your Majesty design'd to agree to my Proposal, the Advantage which I hoped would thereby accrue to the State, was a still greater Cause of Joy to me. But when I read over that Minute, I own to you, that I found things in it which I could not relish. Let me die a thousand Deaths rather than to dissemble. Nothing could be better than the Beginning and End of this Declaration: But towards the Middle of it, we read these Words. "But if any one, in presenting to us Memorials, Advices or Remonstrances, shall speak from Inclination or Interest, if, forgetting his Station, he should touch too freely upon the great and secret Springs of Government; if he should find fault in other Terms, with things that are established and practised; and in order to enhance his own Value, if he should oppose the Designs of the Court, sell and abandon himself to Popularity, espouse its Inclinations and Abuses, that he may raise an empty Reputation: As all this will be very hurtful if it go unpunished, I cannot dispense with my effectually punishing those who shall be herein culpable."

Sir; I have heard it constantly and truly said; When a wise Prince treats his Officers with Goodness, and expresses a Value for them; when banishing Distrusts and Suspicions, he, as it were, sets their Zeal at large; then, these Officers on their Part, being free from Dread and Uneasiness, are entirely taken up with the Care of serving him well. As they are secure of the Heart of their Prince, they likewise open theirs to him, and suffer him to be ignorant of nothing which they think can be of Service to him. You, by an unseasonable Precaution in a Declaration expressly made for exciting your good Subjects to assist you with their Advices, insert six Restrictions conceived in such a manner, that any who speaks, if Advantage is taken against him, cannot escape his Ruin. In my Opinion, no more effectual way could have been fallen upon to have shut up every body's Mouth.

Let us in the mean time suppose, that any one shall speak. Let him blame or praise ever so little in his Discourse, nothing is more easy than to ruin him, by saying that he speaks from a Motive of private Favour or secret Interest: If an Officer who is in Post shall transiently touch ever so little, upon what in a strict Sense shall not be found within his Sphere, he may be ruined, if his Enemies please to accuse him of having forgotten his Rank. He who shall treat of what may trouble the State, and assure its Repose, may pass, if one has a mind, for having too freely touched upon the great Springs of Government: If by accident, a Person speaks of a Matter, to which any ancient Edict relates, he may pass as a Man who at an improper time, blames Things that were established and practised. Zeal further inspires some one occasionally to declare against a new Regulation, which for some time past may have made a Noise; and if he exposes its Inconvenience, he is accused of endeavouring to make himself popular, by opposing the Views of the Court. Lastly, none dare endeavour to touch the Prince with the Miseries of his People, without exposing himself to be condemned as a Fire-brand, a seditious Person, and the Head of a Rebellion. Things being thus, I can't see any thing upon which one can express himself with Safety.

Surely a Declaration in such Terms, instead of procuring Memorials and Advices, will deprive you of them more than ever. I then very earnestly request you, to strike out that middle Part, and to fill it in another manner, agreeable to what I laid before you in the thirtieth of the third Moon. It concerns the Good of your State and your Honour, that there may be no Room to suspect, that while you demand Advice, you really design to shut the Door against it.

*In the sixth of the Years named Kya yew, Chin kyew, was very intimate with two favorite Eunuchs of the Palace, and obtained the important Employment of Kyu mi, managing so by his Intrigues, that not only Affairs that regarded War, but all others pass'd through his Hands. Tang kyay, Fan tse tau, Lin whey, Chau pyen, and Wang tau, who were Censors, openly attacked him, and presented Remonstrances upon Remonstrances against him to the Emperor. Chin kyew recriminated, and accused his Aggressors of caballing: As these last had pointed out the Patrons of Chin kyew, the Emperor had taken their Advices as a Reproach to himself for being governed by the Eunuchs, and this Reproach had piqued him. The Measures he took were, to break Chin kyew and the Censors at the same time, and to give each of them different Employments in the Provinces. Ngew yang iyew, who was afterwards one of the most famous Men of the Song Dynasty, began then to be upon the Ranks. Altho' by his Employment, he was a Subaltern of the Kyu mi, he sided with the Censors, demanding that they should be recalled and re-established. For this effect, he presented the following Remonstrance.*

SIR; Since the Beginning of your Reign, you have been seen to open a very large Road to Remonstrances; if it sometimes happened that there was any exceptionable Passage, and which deserved Punishment, you graciously pardoned it, that you might not damp the Zeal of your Officers. I see, nevertheless, that sometime ago, in one Day, you have prosecuted the five Censors, who have accused *Chin kyew*, you have deprived them all of their Posts, and banished them



them from your Court. You cannot imagine what a Surprise this Order of yours has occasioned both in the Court and in the Provinces; and how many Suspicions it has started. As I have not seen the Remonstrances of the Censors, I know not exactly the Strength or Weakness of their Reasons, but I know that *Tang kyay, Fan tse tau, &c.* have been long in Posts, that hitherto they have behaved in them with Honour, and have at your Court always had the Character of being blameless Men. How can you think, that all at once giving the Lye to their former Probity, they would surprize and deceive you? No! so extraordinary, and so sudden a Change is not naturally to be imagined.

Surely it must be owned, that the Office of Censor has always been attended with its Difficulties, tho' it has met with different Ones at different times, or rather, under different Reigns. Is a Prince naturally uneasy, haughty, cruel, and as averse from being willing to hear his own Faults, as he is eager to search for, and easy to believe those of others? Then his Ministers and great Men are alarmed and in dread. In such Times as those, it is a dangerous and a difficult thing to advise a Prince with regard to his Conduct; the most able have not succeeded in this. But then it is an easy and a safe thing to soothe a Minister or any great Officer. On the contrary, is a Prince gentle, moderate, obliging, severe to himself, and indulgent to others, as ready to justify those whom he employs, as he is to condemn himself? If it happens at the same time, what is natural enough, that a Minister, or some great Man, being supported by People within Doors, has Authority in his Hands, and has Opportunities to be acquainted with every thing before the Emperor, having it in his Power to make any one sensible of the Effects of his Vengeance: In such Junctures, nothing is more easy, than to give Advice to the Prince upon his personal Faults; but it requires surely a great deal of Courage to attack a Minister: Whoever is so hardy as to do it seldom succeeds. This has been the Experience of all Times, and deserves some Attention.

The same Experience tells us, that Princes, according to different Circumstances, have more or less Difficulty to form a right Judgment of what is laid before them; and to know how to do it is a great Art. Two opposite Parties make a Representation to a Prince, each producing its own Reasons, and placing them in the most favourable Light for themselves. Each represents himself as a zealous, faithful and disinterested Person: Each, if you believe himself, has nothing but the public Good at Heart. How shall the Prince determine himself? If he thoroughly knows those who speak; if he knows that such a Man is upright and faithful; that such another has a mean Soul, and is Master of the Art of Dissimulation; if in their Discourses he clearly perceives, that such a thing is for the Good of the State; such another is really private Interest, cloathed in the specious Name of public Good, then he has no more Difficulty to determine himself.

These are the Means that are laid down, by which, a just Judgment, as much as it is possible to make, may be formed. A Discourse is presented to you, in which the Person who presents it talks without any Circumlocutions, in clear express Terms, tho' perhaps a little blunt: You find that he proposes things not at all conformable to, but entirely disagreeing with your Views and Inclinations. The first time you read this, you find Repentment and Anger rise in your Mind; but compose yourself, and know that this Man is a faithful and zealous Subject. There comes a second Discourse whose Expressions are soft and smooth, but void of all Meaning; you find that the Person therein studies to justify your past Orders, and to join with your present Views: Immediately you feel Complaisance and Joy. Repress these Motions, and distrust yourself, lest the Author is a vile Flatterer who sacrifices the Good of the State, and your Glory, to his private Interest. In the same manner, one of your first Officers makes Representations to you, upon an Affair within his Sphere, by reiterated Remonstrances in the Face of the whole Empire. He has no sooner either spoke or written than the whole World is acquainted with it. The Public speaks, examines, and judges of, it. Where is the Man that will say, that it is possible to impose upon the whole World? It is therefore to be presumed, that his Proposals and his Representations are purely the Effect of his Zeal. Another lays before you his Opinion, with regard to things not within his own Sphere. He conceals himself in order to do it; he demands a strict Secrecy: He uses every Mean to engage his Prince to determine himself, without communicating the Affair to any other. This carries an Appearance of his great Esteem for the Abilities of his Sovereign; but at the Bottom, it commonly proceeds from some secret Interest, which he is afraid should be laid open. The Experience of all Times have authorised these Rules. A Prince who knows how to follow them, perceives without any great Difficulty, and that too pretty justly, the different Motives that influence the Person who speaks. We have at present in the Person of your Majesty, a temperate, an assiduous, and a laborious Prince, who pardons nothing in himself, who loves to be instructed in his Faults, even when he is told of them roughly and bluntly. But with regard to those who serve you, and especially the Officers whom you employ, you are quite different; to them, you are all Civility, Beneficence, and Indulgence. You would commit a real Violence upon yourself to change them, you have their Reputation at Heart, you support them as much as possible, and being full of Indulgence towards them, cannot persuade yourself that they can render themselves unworthy. So that I believe I may venture to say, that we live in those Times which I have touched upon, wherein nothing is easier than occasionally to advise the Prince with regard to what relates to his own Person, but it is very dangerous for any one to presume to touch upon any thing that regards the Person of those who are about him.

What I have seen since I came to Court, is as follows; In one of the Years named *King yew, Fan chong yen* was so bold as to speak in Quality of a Censor, with regard to the Conduct of *Lyu i, hyen* one of the Ministers, but it cost him his Post, and he was sent to a City of the Province as



a private Magistrate. In one of the Years named *Whang yew*, the same *Tang kyay*, of whom we are now treating, spoke loudly in Quality of Censor against *Wen yen po*, who likewise was a Minister; he met with the same Fate as *Fan chong yen*. The same thing happened some time after to *Chau pyen* and to *Fan tse tau*, for having supported *Lyang che* against *Lew kang* and his Cabal. Two Years ago, *Han kyang* was banished to *Tjay chew*, for having censured *Fu pi*. Lastly, very lately, *Tang kyay*, *Chau pyen*, *Fan tse tau*, *Lyu wbeey*, and *Wang tau* were broken, for having remonstrated against *Chin kyew*. Among so many Censors, who have been turned out of Post within the Space of twenty Years, I don't know one who was treated so, for having personally offended the Sovereign.

This makes me say, that at present, we may safely and successfully advise the Prince with regard to his personal Conduct; but that an undaunted Courage is requir'd in the Man who dares to attack the Minister, and he seldom or never succeeds when he does: If your Majesty will reflect seriously upon that Passage of History which I have now recalled to your Memory, I think you will naturally enough conclude, that this proceeded from the Zeal and the Courage of *Tang kyay* and his Collegues. Of all these five Censors that have been lately broken, *Lyu wbeey* is the only one who lately came into Post. The other four have been long in that Office. *Tang kyay* for a like Affair was banished into *Quang si*, where he would have died, if your Majesty had not restored him to Life, by permitting him to change the Air. *Fan tse tau* and *Chau pyen*, have once already met with the same Fate, and past many Years as simple Magistrates. All three were re-established in their Posts. All three remembered their past Disgrace, and saw well when they attacked *Chin kyew*, they had still greater to fear. Notwithstanding this, they did attack him; their Duty told him that they ought to speak; and they bravely did speak. This surely deserves the Title of being faithful Subjects; they having acted always like themselves, and discovered an unshaken Resolution. Their Collegue *Wang tau*, was one of the poor Literati, without Riches and without Friends: *Han kyang* becoming accidentally acquainted with him, found in him true Merit. He became his Protector, and drew him out of Obscurity that he might make him Censor. Soon after, *Han kyang* becoming *Chong ching*, enter'd into Conspiracies against the Good of the State. *Wang tau* vigorously opposed him; and supported the Interests of the State against his Artifices and Ambition; but *Han kyang* still persevering in his Conduct, he was adjudged guilty and to be severely punished. It is well known, how natural it is for one to have a Regard for his Benefactor, and to support, or at least to excuse him, when there is Occasion: But if a Man, as *Wang tau* has done, prefers his Duty to all other Considerations, and submits all the Sentiments of personal and private Gratitude to the common Good; he can act only from a Principle of strict Honesty and uncommon Equity. Such, Sir, such were the Censors who have been lately broken. I don't flatter them in the Picture I have drawn of them: All the World will easily discover its Likeness.

Is it to be presumed, that Persons of that Character, even supposing that they were deceived, could have any other Motive for attacking *Chin kyew* than their Duty, or any other View than that of the public Good? Some perhaps, in order to render them odious, may have represented them as plotting, and entering into a Conspiracy form'd to disturb the great Officers, and render themselves formidable. But upon what is this Accusation founded? An Occurrence that is quite modern and very well known, destroys it too much. Last Year, *Han kyang* informed against *Fu pi*, who was a Minister of State. Was *Tang kyay* and *Fan-tse-tau* seen to lay hold on this Occasion, to join with the Informer? On the contrary, they and their Collegues, with their ordinary Equity, made your Majesty and the whole Empire sensible of the Artifices of the Accuser, and the Innocence of the Accused. Where then is the pretended League, and the pretended Conspiracy of the Censors? No, Sir, Suspensions of this Nature, can never fall upon Persons of their Character: Likewise it appears, that your Majesty has not entirely believed it, else you would have treated them in another Manner, and deprived them of the Ranks they held. But your Majesty could not resolve to let them be without Posts, so you entrusted each of them with pretty important ones. They were given to understand, that they were banished with Regret. In effect, besides its being a Loss to your Court, it stops the Mouth of every one else, and the State must infallibly suffer. It were to be wished, that your Majesty being more attentive to the Zeal, the Disinterestedness, and Constancy of the Censors, had given less Ear to the vain Suspensions of their Adversaries. But this Evil, such as it is, is easy to be repaired. Any Faults which they may have committed, has been sufficiently punished by banishing them. Let your Mercy now take Place; that you may inculcate upon your good Subjects the Disinterestedness, Zeal and Liberty of Speech, recall and restore *Tang kyay* and his Collegues. All the Empire will then applaud you.

#### DISCOURSE of the same Ngew yang syew, upon the Sect of (\*) Fo.

IT is upwards of 1,000 Years, since *China* had the Misfortune to be infected with the Sect of *Fo*; and for these thousand Years there has been no time in which Men of Sense have not always detested it, and have not wish'd it in their Power to destroy it. Our Emperors have more than once prohibited it by their Edicts, and it was often thought that it was abolished: However, it always revived with new Force, and things came to that Pass, that after many and unsuccessful Endeavours, this Evil was look'd upon as incurable. Is it then effectually so? No! It is only that wrong Measures are taken to remedy it. A good Physician, if he treats his Patient well, examines

(\*) An idolatrous Sect which came from *India*.



amines the Symptoms and the Cause of his Disease. If he finds that it proceeds from a Weakness of Constitution, or a Lowness of Spirits, he goes straight to its Source, without directly attacking any of the accidental Circumstances by his Remedies. He endeavours to enliven the Spirits, and to strengthen the Constitution, and then the Symptoms fall of course.

The Misfortune which we now bewail must be treated in the same Manner. *Fo* was a barbarous Foreigner, at a great Distance from our *China*. His Sect probably sprung up since the time of our three famous Dynasties. But Virtue and Wisdom at that time prevailed in the Empire. The People were well instructed in their Duties, and the Rites were in their Vigour. How then could the Sect of *Fo* find an Entrance here? After these three first Dynasties the Government was not the same. The Instruction of the People, and the Practice of the ancient Rites, were both neglected. This Negligence increased by degrees; and in 200 Years time it grew to such a Height, that the Sect *Fo* profited by it, and pierced into the Heart of the Empire where they settled. Let us then go to the Source of so great an Evil; let us revive the Government of our ancient Kings; let us instruct the People as we ought; let us re-establish the ancient Rites all over the Empire; and the Sect of *Fo* will fall, &c.

The rest of this Discourse is not translated; it is very long, and reduced to two Points: The first explains the ancient Government. He finishes his Explanation by saying, that from the capital City, where the Court resided, to the smallest Villages, there are public Schools, where there are some chosen young Men, who having formed themselves at their Leisure under good Masters, are capable to instruct others in their turns. In the second Place, he extends his Proposition by saying, that the only way to destroy the Sect *Fo*, is to re-establish the ancient Government, and especially the Instruction of the People, and the Practice of the ancient Rites. Upon this he quotes the Example of *Mong tse*, who without minding direct Refutations, strongly recommended Charity and Justice to his Fellow-Subjects, and thereby made them abandon the two Sects *Tang* and *Mé*.

Discourse of the same Ngew yang syew, upon the Difficulty of Reigning well.

IT is a common and a true Saying, that it is very difficult to become able in the Art of Reigning. But what are these Difficulties? The greatest consists in a right Choice of a first Minister, and knowing how to employ his Abilities properly. Besides, it is a received Maxim, that when a Prince has chosen a prime Minister, he must repose in him a real Confidence. Otherwise, the Minister will be always in an Alarm, and will never dare to propose, or to undertake any thing: Consequently, if he were the ablest Man that ever was, his Ability can be of very little Use to him; and he never can perform any thing great. On the other Hand, to devolve all upon one Man, and to submit nothing that he shall speak to Deliberation, or else to neglect all other Advices and to reject all other Remonstrances; besides its discontenting a great Number, is to expose one's self to the greater Misfortunes. Let us suppose a Prince acts thus, and that he forms some Enterprize upon the bare Advice of a Minister, without having held a Council, and against the Sentiments of a great Number, and the strongest Remonstrances: If the thing by accident should succeed, it is much to be fear'd, that the Prince, exulting in the Success which he owes to Chance, and praising his Minister excessively, shall say in a triumphant Manner, We see more clearly than these wise Men. We should have been wrong to have had any regard to their Advices and their Remonstrances.

A Prince with these Dispositions is much to be bewailed. It is true, bad Success will soon reclaim him; but a Misfortune may be so great, that it may be felt when it is too late to retrieve it. A great many Princes have been thereby ruined, as we may see in our Histories. Two Examples are as follow: (\*) *Fu kien* possessed a very large Dominion: He had good Soldiers, and could have raised nine hundred and sixty thousand Men: Throwing his Eyes upon a little neighbouring State, from his high Degree of Power, he harboured a Desire to become Master of it. It is, said he to himself, but a small Spot of Ground: What Forces have they to resist me? The Conquest is both sure and easy: Upon this, he made every thing ready. All his Subjects were against this Enterprize, which was equally unjust and unreasonable. The best Heads in the Kingdom made Remonstrances against it, even his own Son opposed it; but nothing avail'd: for the Prince, being intoxicated with his own Notions, found *Mu yong chwi*, one of his Generals, who confirmed him in it. Why, Sir, said he to him, do you hear so many People? What effect can their Discourse have, but to darken your own Understanding? This is an excellent Man, said the Prince. I have found none but him, who, like me, is disposed to secure the Peace of my State by this Conquest. The Troops immediately took the Field, and advanced Southwards to *Sheu chun*. The Enemy poured upon them before they were assembled, and gave them a total Defeat.

*Fu kien* did not succeed better in his Enterprizes towards the North, eight hundred thousand Men either perished, or were lost there: The same thing happened to *Tsin tay* under the *Tang*. This Prince took it in his Head, to take the Command of *Tay yuen* from *Tsin*, and to banish him to *Kyun chow*. All the understanding loyal People that were at Court, no sooner heard of this, than they did all that lay in their Power, to shew the Emperor that the Resolution was unreasonable. The Prince in the Night-time, while he was all alone, called in *Sue wen yu* his Favorite, who then filled the Post of *Kyu mi*; What think you, said he, of my Design? A great many don't

(\*) Otherwise called *Tsin shi anhang*.



don't relish it: 'Tis a Proverb, answered the Minion, that he who builds a House upon the Side of a High-way, can't finish it in three Years. Why do you hear so many People? Who can give you better Advice than yourself? The Emperor pleased with this Answer, said to him; A Sooth-sayer lately promised me, that I should this Year, find a Man capable to second me in the Design I have to make my Kingdom flourish. I have exactly found him in you: He then ordered *Sue wen yu* to draw up an Order against *Tsin*. Next Morning, when the Counsel knew of it, they grew all pale. Six Days after, News came, that *Tsin* being informed of it, had rebelled and advanced at the Head of a great Army. The Emperor being seized with Terror and Fright, cried out; It is that Wretch *Sue wen yu*, who has thrown me upon this Precipice. He trembled while he was speaking these Words; and was drawing his Sword to kill him with his own Hand. Sir, said *Li fong*, stopping him, you repent too late; for the Evil is done. And indeed, as the Misfortune was imminent, and none saw any Remedy, the Emperor and all the Counsel dissolved into Tears.

*Fu kyen* and *Tsin tay*, each in his Time, followed the Advice of one Man who fell in with their Notions; but their Ruin which was the Consequence, is a Proof of the Danger of this Conduct. And yet *Fu kyen* proposed nothing less with his General *Mu yong chui*, than to secure a lasting Peace to his vast State by a Conquest, which appeared to him equally easy and sure. *Tsin tay* likewise looked upon *Sue wen yu* as his Oracle. He reckoned that by his Assistance he could aggrandise his Empire, and make that flourish. So true it is, Princes are frequently blind in their Choice of those they employ.

But by your way of reasoning, says one, a Prince ought to put no Confidence in his Minister, however cautious he may have been in the Choice of him. This quite mistakes my Meaning. When *kong* the King of *Tsi*, put Confidence in *Kong chong*; *Syen chu*, the King of *Shu*, trusted in *Chu ko yang*; and both of these Princes did right. But was not all that these two Ministers advised, approved by the wisest Men? Was it ever known that any body remonstrated against what these Princes ordained by their Counsels? If the Body of the Officers had given a contrary Advice to these Princes, or if the People had groan'd and murmur'd, it is to be presumed, that they would not have obstinately pursued the Advices of one Man, and have rendered themselves odious to all besides, and have drawn down upon themselves the Curses of the People.

There is, in my Opinion, a Difficulty still greater in the Art of Governing well; which is, to hear and to form a right Judgment of all. There comes every Day to the Ears of the Prince, Discourses of a good many different Kinds. Sometimes Flattery speaks; and in order to gain a favourable Audience, she embellishes her Discourse with Art and Eloquence. Sometimes a Zeal which indeed is sincere, but disrespectful and blunt; and consequently very importunate. To hear both the one and the other with proper Precautions, is a thing which has its own Difficulty; but does not surpass the Capacity of a Prince, who has a little Understanding and Penetration: As Complaisance and Flattery commonly please every body, especially Princes, a little honest Bluntness and Freedom in contradicting them, naturally displeases them: On such Occasions, it is a very difficult thing for a Prince not to allow himself to be either overreach'd or put in a Passion; yet after all, it is not beyond the Power of an ordinary Wisdom and Virtue.

What then is the grand Difficulty? It is as follows; A considerable Enterprize is set on Foot; some propose to the Prince, to succeed by Means which are not very difficult, and seem to be very plausible, but are at the Bottom very unsure. Others open a way to him, which he sees would conduct him to the Point he seeks: But they are represented to him as so perplexing, and so full of Difficulties, that it appears to him as it were impracticable. I say, that it is not then easy for a Prince to judge aright and to take proper Measures. One or two Passages of our History, may illustrate my Opinion.

At a time when all the Empire was in War, the Prince of *Chau*, had an Officer of War called *Chau ko*, who talked the best upon these Matters of any Man in the Kingdom; so that he did not scruple to give himself out as the first Man in the Practice of military Affairs. His Father, who was an Officer of Reputation, and grown old in Arms, frequently talked with his Son upon the Art of War; but he could never puzzle him with his Questions. Notwithstanding this, he never looked on his Son as a Man capable to command. On the contrary, he frequently said with a Sigh; If ever my Son is at the Head of the Army, the Empire must suffer. The old Man dying, the Emperor soon after named *Ko*, to the Command of his Army. His Mother demanded Audience of the Prince, and told him what she had frequently heard her deceased Husband say: But the Prince had no Regard to what she told him: So *Ko* was confirm'd in his Post. He then attacked the King of *Tsin*, and lost the Battle with his Life: The Consequence of his Defeat was, that more than four hundred thousand Subjects of *Chau*, surrender'd themselves to *Tsin*.

When *Tsin shi wbang* was about to subdue the Country of the King, he asked an Officer of War, named *Li sin*, how many Troops he would need for that Purpose. *Li sin*, being young and brave, answered, that two hundred thousand Men would be sufficient. This Answer was very agreeable to *Shi wbang*. However, meeting with *Wang tshen* an ancient General, he asked his Opinion likewise; he answer'd, that it would require six hundred thousand Men, otherways he was not sure of Success. *Shi wbang* being nettled at this Answer, said to *Wang tshen*, you are old, and your Age renders you a Coward. So he immediately named *Li sin* to command his Army, and gave him two hundred thousand Men with Orders to reduce King. *Wang tshen* instantly took leave of the Prince, and retired to *Ping yang*. A little after, *Li sin* was beaten, and suffering the Enemy to take Possession of seven large Cities, shamefully returned home. *Shi wbang* acknowledging



knowledging his Fault, went in Person to *Ping yang*, and made his Excuses to *Wang tſyen*, preſſing him to take the Command of the Troops againſt *King*. I have told you, answered *Wang tſyen*, and I tell it you again, I muſt have ſix hundred thouſand Men. *Shi whang* promiſed to let him have them: When theſe Troops were got together, *Wang tſyen* advanced againſt *King*, and happily conquered him.

Theſe Paſſages of Hiſtory prove what I have advanced with regard to certain perplexing Junctures which a Prince may be in. But how ſhall he act in the End? An Officer makes very reaſonable Propoſals: He lays down Expedients, and answers Difficulties; every thing he ſays, appears as practicable as it is advantageous. Behold *Chau ko* and *Li ſin*: Was it not Wiſdom in the Prince to employ them? Yet they ruined all. Another lays down very difficult, and ſeemingly impoſſible Propoſals. Is it not natural to drop them? This was *Wang tſen's* Caſe: Nevertheless you muſt return to theſe, or renounce your Project entirely. In a Caſe of this kind; to hear what every one propoſes, and to take the proper Meaſures, is what I call difficult.

Moreover, if *Shi whang* and the Prince of *Chau* took the wrong Meaſures, there was one thing which, in my Opinion, contributed very much to it. The old experienc'd Generals, far from diſſembling, either with themſelves or their Maſters, the Difficulties of an Enterprize, and being willing to ſecure its Succeſs, lay theſe Difficulties out, as being rather greater than in effect they are. This is diſpleaſing to Princes, who expect to find no Obſtacle to their Deſires. On the contrary, young Officers who are newly advanced, endeavour to enhance their own Valour, and to over-rule other People. They are all Fire and Fury: They ſuffer themſelves to be hurried away, and every thing to them appears eaſy. This commonly pleaſes Princes, eſpecially thoſe who are ambitious of the Title of Conqueror: Theſe hear with Pleaſure, and believe with Eaſe, an Officer who, for a ſmall Expence, takes upon him the Succeſs of an Enterprize, which they have at Heart. This is too ordinary to Princes; and theſe two, whom I have mentioned, committed this Fault, which coſt them dear. But after all, that which was committed by the Prince of *Chau* was ſtill more conſiderable, nor could he ever afterwards retrieve it.

An Hiſtorian ſays, that *Lyen po* commanded the Troops of *Chau* before *Ko*. *Tſin*, who was afraid of that old General, uſed Stratagems to have him changed. He ſpread abroad a Report, that he was afraid of *Ko*; and that he was ſure of Victory, provided he had not to do with him. He took Care that this Report ſhould be communicated by way of Secret, at the Court of *Chau*. That Prince was caught, and notwithſtanding a good many Remonſtrances, he named *Ko* his General. But alas! This *Ko*, was at the Bottom, no other than a fine, frothy Speaker. His Father who knew him well, judged him incapable of Commanding; his Mother acquainted the Prince with this, and all the Officers judged in the ſame manner: Even the Enemy knew his real Character. The Prince alone, who was concerned more than any other, always ſhut his Eyes upon this Point, and in ſpite of all the World ruſhed upon his own Ruin. An enormous Fault, but a Fault of which, ſince that time, we have ſeen many Examples.

*Tay tſong*, the ſecond Emperor of the *Tang*, once ſet 300 Priſoners free upon their Word of Honour, that they would return at ſuch a time; which they punctually did, and notwithſtanding that they all had deſerved Death, he gave them all their Pardon. *Ngew yang hew*, who wrote the Hiſtory of the *Tang*, compoſed a ſhort critical Diſſertation upon this Subject; which is inſerted in the Collection from which theſe Pieces are extracted, and is as follows.

Unſhaken Honour, and generous Equity, are Virtues proper for Men of Virtue and Honour, and are as dear to them as their Lives. As for the Bad, as all their Principle is to fear Punishment, So Punishment ought to be their Portion, eſpecially if they are Men who by their Villainy have already deſerved Death. I find in the Memoirs of the Dynaſty *Tang*, that in the ſixth Year of the Reign of *Tay tſong*, at one time, more than 300 Criminals were freed upon their Word of Honour, and each of them was ſuffered to go to his own Houſe, provided that they ſurrendered themſelves at a ſtated time. Is there any thing elſe in acting thus, than promiſing to one's ſelf to find that Faith and Generoſity in the moſt Vile, which can only be found in the moſt Wiſe and moſt Virtuous? And yet theſe Criminals who were freed, all ſurrendered themſelves at the Day appointed. No body expected this: Muſt we therefore conclude, that becauſe an honeſt Man keeps his Word even at the Hazard of his Life, therefore the ſame Honour ſhall be found in ſo great a Number of Rogues? It is not natural to think this.

It may perhaps be ſaid, that the Goodneſs of *Tay tſong*, in enlarging ſuch a Number of Criminals, had Force enough to change theſe 300 Perſons; and that Gratitude has a great Power over the Minds of Men. To this I answer: I ſee very well, that *Tay tſong* both thought and ſaid this. But who knows when he enlarged them, if he did not ſay to himſelf: The Mercy which I ſhew them, will eaſily make them underſtand that if they return they will be pardoned; ſo that they will infallibly return. Who knows, I ſay, whether *Tay tſong* did not reaſon in this Manner, and whether this was not his Motive for enlarging them? Who knows, on the other hand, but that theſe Criminals actually laid their Account with being pardoned; and that it was not upon this Hope alone that they had the Courage to return? For my ſhare, when I examine this Action, I think I ſee, both on the one Part and the other, Artifice, Intereſt, and Vanity. As for what is called Goodneſs, Honour, Generoſity and Virtue, I ſee no ſuch thing. *Tay tſong* had been ſix Years upon the Throne: All the Empire had, during that time, felt a thouſand real Effects of his Goodneſs. Theſe 300 Men ſhared it in common with others; and yet they had not amended, but had even rendered themſelves worthy of Death. To ſay that a Freedom for ſome Months had changed them all of a ſudden, ſo as to make them look upon Death as a Welcome to their



Country; and to make them neglect Life when in the Balance with Honour and Justice, is, I think, to talk of an Impossibility. What Proof would you have, says one, to persuade you that such a Return was actually owing to these Motives? I answer: If *Tay tsong*, finding that these Criminals were returned, had inflicted upon every one of them the Punishment he deserved: If he had afterwards enlarged others for such a time; and if these others had returned like the first, and surrendered themselves up at the time appointed; I should have then attributed the Return of the second to their Honesty and Gratitude. But if a Prince should think it proper to do this frequently, he would thereby authorize Homicide. Our ancient Kings never acted in this Manner; their Laws and their Sentences were founded upon Nature, and a Knowledge of the human Heart. They were never seen to deviate from these Principles, or by equivocal Experiments to endeavour to attract vain Encomiums.

Ngew yang hew has written, not only the History of the Tang Dynasty, but likewise that of the five Dynasties, each of which lasted but for a very short time; and all of them continued but for some Dozens of Years, that fell betwixt the Tang and the Song. Upon one of these Princes becoming Emperor from his being the Lord of (\*) Shû, and perishing in a very short time, Ngew yang hew takes occasion to expose the Vanity of what the Vulgar call happy Omens. His Discourse, which is inserted in the Imperial Collection, from which these Pieces are extracted, is as follows.

**A**LAS! Ever since the Times of the *Tsin* and the *Han*, nothing is more commonly thought on, or at least talked of, than good and favourable Omens. Tho' there have not been wanting Men of Sense, who have written very well against this Abuse, yet it still subsists. Those which are commonly esteem'd good Omens for Princes, are the *Long*, the *Ki ling*, the *Fong wbang*, the *Quey*, and that which is named *Tsü yu*. But I find in the historical Memoirs of *Shû*, that these pretended good Omens were never so frequent, as when a certain Prince of that Country made himself Emperor. Yet all the World knows, that he was scarce seated upon the Throne, than he fell from it, and miserably perished. If any one shall say that these Omens did not relate to that Prince, I would ask, to whom then did they relate? For besides it being certain that they all appear'd in his Time, they could not be applied to any other in particular, nor to the Empire in general, wherein there never were any Disorders and Commotions. What then is this same (†) *Long*? It is an Animal which appears so seldom, that he is looked upon as invifible; and for that very Reason has past as being somewhat very mysterious. He loves, as it is said, to mount into the Clouds, and rises even into Heaven; and then he is satisfied. As soon therefore as he shall be so lavish of himself, if we may so speak, as to become vifible, he shall then be no longer mysterious: And when he is seen here in Lakes and Rivers, he is out of his Element, and consequently dissatisfied. How then can one draw an Omen from this? Besides a single one does not always appear, for they are sometimes seen in Troops. For my Part, instead of drawing a good Omen from this, I look upon it as monstrous. The (‡) *Fong wbang* is a Bird, which flies as far from Men as possibly he can. Antiently, under the happy and flourishing Reign of *Shun*, *Whan* was ordered to be Precedent of the Music; which he rendered so compleat and harmonious, that even the Birds and the Beasts were so charm'd with its Sweetness, that they danc'd and leap'd when they heard it. It happened that in these Circumstances, that the *Fong wbang* appeared likewise. Afterwards it was vainly concluded, that the Apparition of the *Fong wbang* was the Effect of the Prince's Virtue, and a Presage of his happy Reign. This was an empty Conclusion. For how many times afterwards was the *hong wbang* seen to appear under Princes without Virtue, and in Reigns without Lustre: Nay, we may venture to say in Times of Confusion and Horror. The same may be said of the (§) *Ki ling*, an Animal with four Feet, that I have said of the Bird *Fong wbang*: He flies from Men as far as he can. Formerly when *Ngay kong*, Prince of *Lü*, was hunting, he found one: But the Animal turned about his Back upon him, and without giving him one Look, fled away. *Ngay kong* caused him to be followed and taken; and he was brought to the Prince, but in Chains, and against his Will.

*Confucius* relating this Fact in his *Chun tsyü*, expresses it in four Words, which contain two satirical Strokes. He says: That as he was hunting in the West, he caught a (||) *Ki ling*. When our Historians mention Hunting, they always mark out the precise Place. In every other Passage of the *Chun tsyü*, *Confucius* observes this Method very exactly. In this Passage he uses an indeterminate Expression, in the West; thereby giving us to understand, that *Ngay kong* exceeded, and did not confine his Hunting to this or that Place, but run over a vast Country. *Confucius* adds, that he took a *Ki ling*. This is a very rare Animal, and very seldom to be met with. *Confucius* thereby intimated the insatiable Avarice of *Ngay kong*, who drained every thing, and from whom not even the most retired Haunts of Animals could escape. This Passage of the *Chun tsyü* is, in reality, an ingenious Censure upon the Conduct of *Ngay kong*.

(\*) Now the Province of *Se chuen*.

(†) The Europeans have translated this Word *Dragon*, but I have never yet met with any body who has ventured to tell me, that he has ever seen a *Long*, a *Feng*, a *Li ping*, or a *Ki ling*.

(‡) Other Europeans, before me, have translated the two Letters by the Word *Eagle*.

(§) Some Europeans have translated these two Letters by the Word *Unicorn*.

(||) Besides the *Chun tsyü* here cited, an Ode of the *Shi king* is entitled *The Footsteps of the Ki ling*, but it does not mention its Appearance.



But Superstitions gradually gained Ground after the Death of *Confucius*. The *Ki ling* was then made a happy Omen for Princes: A thousand idle Stories consequently were spread abroad, and gained Credit to this false Notion. A *Fong wang* appeared under *Shun*. As he was a very wise and virtuous Prince, and as his Reign was very happy, it might be then allowable to acknowledge in the *Fong wang* such a thing as a happy Omen. But since that time, the *Fong wang* having appeared in the most melancholy and disastrous Times, there is not the least Foundation to say, that the Apparition of this Bird ever conveyed with it what was called a good Omen. There is as little Foundation to what is said of the *Ki ling*: For, in short, no *Ki ling* ever appear'd under our greatest Princes, such as *Yau*, *Shun*, *Yu*, *Tang*, *Ven*, *Vu*, *Cheo kong*. Antiquity never mentions it but once, and that too in a Time of Trouble. Whereupon, then, can the Opinion which I have refuted, be founded.

The Tortoise is likewise given us as a good Omen. As for me, I know that this is a blewish Animal, which we frequently meet with in our Rivers, and is often seen even in the Mud. This Animal after it is dead is of Use. I know that the (\*) *Pu quan* value it, and that *Tay*, in his Book of Rites, puts a living Tortoise among the Number of good Omens: That according to the same Book, the Virtue of the Prince is eminent, when it causes the Tortoises to come into the Rivers of his Palace. But I know likewise that this Book is a wretched Compilation heap'd together from all Hands, and with very little Judgment; in short, it is a very bad Book. We now shall speak of what is called *Tsu yu*: I own I am ignorant of what it is, or if by these Words we are to understand Animals, or somewhat else. I know that in the *Sbi king* we read these Words, "Alas! Alas! *Tsu yu*." *Kya i* says upon this Text of the *Sbi king*, that *Tsu* was a Park of King *Ven wang's*, and that *Yu* is the Quality of him who had the Charge of it. These Words were interpreted thus in the Time of (†) *Quay*. But lately, Interpreters have made them the Names of two Animals, which they say are of good Omen: And as *Tsu yu* is not mentioned in another Passage, it is not easy to convince People otherwise, who are positive in this Opinion. As to *Tortoises*, *Dragons*, *Unicorns*, and *Eagles*, which the Vulgar make good Omens for Kings; it is certain that they have appeared in the unfortunate, disastrous Times of five Dynasties; and they were never seen more frequent, than when the King of *Sbi*, endeavouring to raise himself likewise, had very near perished. The most zealous Espousers of these pretended good Omens, are surely much puzzled about this Passage of History. I profit by their Perplexity, I attack their vain Credulity, and I endeavour to undeceive them.

*The same Ngew yang hew speaks of the Times of the five Dynasties, in the following Terms.*

IN the History of the five Dynasties, I don't fail to find fine Examples. There were three Men who then lived, of an unshaken Honesty and Disinterestedness: There were ten who generously laid down their Lives for their Prince. What I think extraordinary, and what raises my Indignation, is, that tho' at that time, as at all others, there were Men of Learning in Posts, and Men who gave themselves to imitate our ancient Sages, I don't find a single Man among these, who has done any thing worthy to be recorded. The three illustrious Persons whom I have mentioned, were all of them Men of the Sword; was it therefore, because at that time, among the Literati, there were no Men of Merit and Virtue? Doubtless not. It ought rather to be attributed, partly to unattentive, unthinking Princes, who did not use proper Means to attract them to their Service; and partly to the Aversion the Literati of true Merit, had to Troubles, and their thinking that Times such as these were, not worthy of their Cares. There is not, said *Confucius*, a Village of ten Families, wherein the Prince may not find some Subject who is Loyal and Zealous: And I believe he speaks Truth. In effect, in the little Histories of these Days, we meet with pretty singular Passages. The following is of a Woman, by which we may conclude, that if the virtuous Literati did not then appear, it was not because there were none of them in the Empire. A Magistrate, whose Name was *Wang ing*, who had a Post at some Distance from his own Country, died in extreme Poverty, leaving behind him a Son who was very young. His Wife, the Name of whose Family was *Li*, soon after set out on her Return, carrying along with her the Bones of her Husband, and leading her Son by the Hand. When she came to the Territory of *Kay song*, she enter'd into an Inn, where the Landlord, not knowing what to think of a single Woman with a Child, refused to give her Lodging. As Night drew on, the poor Woman begged very hard, and shewed great Unwillingness to leave the House. The Landlord losing all Patience, took her by the Hand, and thrust her out of Doors. Then lifting her Eyes to Heaven, she cried with a lamentable Voice, 'Shall it then be truly said, that being the Widow of *Wang ing*, I was touched by another Man?' At least, I shall not suffer this unhappy Hand to dishonour my whole Body. When she had spoken thus, she snatched up an Ax, with which she gave herself so severe a Blow that she cut her Hand half off. The People who were passing by, stooped at this Sight, and all the Neighbourhood run to her: Some sigh'd, some wept, and others bound up the Wound. The Magistrate being acquainted with her Story, procured her good Medicines, severely punished the Inn-keeper, took care of the Patient, and told her History at the Court. Oh! with what Shame ought this single Action to inspire the Literati of these Times!

(\*) This is the Name of an Office or Profession; *Pu* signifies the Consulting by Divination or otherwise, about the Choice

of a Lucky Day: the Success of an Affair, &c.

(†) At the Beginning of the Han Dynasty.



Hya tsü having been deprived of the Post of (\*) Kyu mi, Ta yen was put in his Place; this last was the Friend of the Ministers Fû pi, Han ki, Fan chong yen, and of Ngew yang hew, who was Censor. They lived very intimately with one another, and with some others like themselves; One of which was She-kyay, a Man disinterested, honest, and zealous; but too free and bold in Criticizing and Censuring the Actions of others, in his Verses, which he wrote very prettily. Hya tsü being exasperated at a Piece of She kyay's, and discontented at having lost his Employment, informed the Emperor of a Cabal of certain People, who, as he said, were link'd together against any one whatsoever: He then particularly named Fan chong yen and Ngew yang hew. The Emperor then addressing himself to these Ministers: "I have frequently heard People talk, said he, of Cabals formed by (†) mean Wretches, by base Souls, and Men without Merit and without Virtue: But do honest Men who are in Place, and who have both Merit and Virtue, form their Cabals likewise? Fang chong taking up the Discourse; Sir, said he, when honest People unite together and combine to do good, and principally to serve you and promote the public Welfare, no Inconveniency can attend such an Union, which has nothing in it, but what is both very good and very useful: A Prince ought to be very attentive to discover those Engagements from Engagements which are both criminal and dangerous." Ngew yang hew being informed of what had passed, presented to the Emperor the following Discourse.

**SIR:** In all Times, Engagements equally honourable and virtuous, and Cabals unworthy and dangerous, have been confounded together: In all Times, this Confusion has laid a Foundation for unjust Accusations. Happy the Accused, who, like us, are under a Prince, who is capable to discern Men of Worth and Probity from mean base Souls. A Prince of this Character soon perceives, that when the former unite, the Links of the Chain which binds them together are Reason and Virtue, and its End is, the Public Good. He sees, on the other hand, that the Union formed by bad Men, is founded only upon Interest. But can this be called an Union? For my share, I believe no such thing subsists among them. Each of them has some View, either of Ambition or Avarice. While he thinks that he can be assisted by others, he appears attached to them; but when these Inducements cease, and greater come in his Way, these Gentlemen are seen to destroy, abandon, and betray one another mutually: Nay, tho' they were allied by the nearest Ties of Blood, nothing can bind them. Men of Honour don't act thus: The Rules of the most upright Reason, and the strictest Equity, are what they propose to themselves inviolably to preserve. Their chief Business lies in giving, every Day, new Proofs of their Zeal to the Prince they serve: All they dread to lose, is their Virtue and Reputation. These are their Maxims, these their Exercises, and these their Interests. Do they intend to endeavour to become more virtuous, and to press to Perfection? They keep in the same Tract, they as it were march in Company, and mutually aid one another. Does it concern the Service of the Prince and State? Each of them, for that effect, contributes all he possibly can, without ever relaxing or prevaricating: Such is the Union of Men of Honour, and such the Factions they form. Thus, by how much it imports the Prince to prevent, or to disperse the Wicked, who are united only in Appearance, by so much it is advantageous to him to cherish that sincere Union which among Men of Merit, sometimes forms the Love of Duty and Virtue.

In the Time of the great Emperor Yau, the Officers of the Court were as it were divided into two Parties: One consisting of four bad Men, of which Hong quang was the worst: The other consisted of eight Yen and eight Ki; that is to say, of sixteen Persons equally wise and virtuous, and perfectly united amongst themselves. Yau banished the four bad Men, and joyfully cherished the Union of the sixteen good ones. Then every thing was in Order, and never was any Government more perfect.

When Shun mounted the Throne, there were at his Court, at one time, Kau yu, Whan, Hew tsü, Ki, &c. in all 22 Persons, and in the most distinguished Ranks. The Union amongst them was great; they reciprocally esteemed, and praised one another upon all Occasions. They contended who should yield to one another the highest Rank. This sure was a great Party; Shun profited by it. His Reign was happy; and the Memory of his Government is celebrated to this Day.

The Shu king says, The Tyrant Chew had under him some Millions of Men, but every different Man had a different Heart. Vü wang advanced against him with 3000 Men, but all these 3000 had but one Heart. Under the Tyrant Chew, as there were as many Hearts as there were Persons, there consequently were no Alliances nor Parties. The 3000 under Vü wang, having but one Heart, they may therefore be look'd upon as one great Party: To this supposed Party it was, that Vü wang owed his Success.

In the Times of the later Han, while Hyen ti reigned, under the fine Pretence of Party and Cabal, all the Literati in the Kingdom were search'd out, seiz'd upon, and imprisoned. When the Rebellion of the Yellow Caps happened, all the Persons of Zeal and Wisdom being in Prison, the Confusion was very great. The Court then opened its Eyes, repented, and set at Liberty these pretended Caballers. But this Repentance was too late; for the Evil had gained so much Ground, that it could admit of no Remedy.

Towards the End of the Dynasty Tang, the like Accusations were renewed. This Abuse still encreased, and under the Emperor Chau tsong it grew excessive: This Prince put to Death the very best Men of his Court, for this pretended Crime. The Instigators of this credulous Prince,

(\*) This Post was like that of President of the Council of War. meanings, tho' Syau literally signifies Little, and Jiu, a Man.  
(†) In the Chinese it is Syau jiu; which, implies all these



by his Order, caused a great Number of Men of Merit, to be drowned in the (\*) yellow River; joining a poor Clench of Wit to that Cruelty, and saying, that these Gentlemen, who piqued themselves so much in being pure and (+) unstained, ought to drink of these muddy troubled Waters. The Consequences of these Disorders were, that the Tang Dynasty ended. Let us recapitulate all these Passages of History.

Among all the Emperors who have yet reigned, none of them had Subjects so averse from uniting, as that bad Prince Chew, the last of the (‡) Shang. Every one of them minded only himself; and this was owing to that Tyrant. Never did any Prince take more Precautions to keep good Men from uniting together than Hyen ti, the last of the Han, did. He kept them all shut up in very close Prisons. Never did any Prince treat Men who were united by Virtue, so cruelly, as Chau tsong, the last of the Han, did. These Princes therefore perished miserably, and ruined their Dynasties. No Court had ever Officers more united, than that of Shun. This Prince never thought proper to express any Dislike at this, but employed every one according to his Capacity: He had no Reason to repent of this. And Posterity, far from blaming, commends, and ever will commend him, for knowing how to distinguish in this, as well as in all other things, betwixt Men of Honour and groveling mean Souls. Yu wang owed his Success and his Empire to the Union of 3000 Men, who all had but one Heart. When they who are united, how ever great their Number may be, are Men of Honour and Probity; their Union is as advantageous to the Prince and the State, as it is agreeable to themselves. I present to you these Passages of History as a Kind of a Mirror, wherein every Sovereign, in my Opinion, may discern clearly enough, that which may be dangerous or useful in every Incident of his Life.

Discourse of Chin hau to the Emperor Shin tsong, upon the principal Part of the Art of Government.

SIR; I most respectfully tell you, that the great Art of Reigning consists in rightly examining the true Doctrine of Antiquity; and in following it: In thoroughly understanding and penetrating into the Difference between Good and Evil; and in knowing where the one begins, and the other ends; lastly, in rightly distinguishing betwixt Subjects who are loyal and zealous in Reality, from those who are only so in Appearance. But when the Prince knows how to do all this, he must likewise possess a determined Resolution, and attach his Heart immovably to Good with an upright Intention. If a Prince is not well founded in what is called the Principles of Reason, Justice and Equity; if he has not clear distinct Notions of all these, he is subject to lend an Ear to a thousand bewitching Discourses, which easily seduce him to take Bad for Good: And if his Resolution is not firmly determined, he will soon quit the Good he has already embraced. A Prince ought to lay it down as a Principle, never to deviate from the Maxims of our ancient wise Men. Let him propose to himself, to imitate the Government of our ancient Kings, and not to hearken to the Maxims which the Corruption of latter Ages has, as it were, established. Let him labour to perfect his own Understanding: Let him put Confidence in deserving Persons: Let him absolutely, and without Regard to any, banish from all Employments, those who want either Honesty or Virtue. Let him advance and raise none to the first Ranks, but Men of approved Wisdom. Thereby he may hope to revive the happy Times of our three ancient Dynasties. But the greatest Misfortunes of States, commonly proceed from small and insensible Beginnings. You must therefore possess a continual Attention, besides a firm and determined Resolution: An Attention which never becomes habitual, but by exercising it by little and little, tho' with Constancy. For this Reason, our ancient Kings, even in the Time of their Diversions and during their Meals, caused some Instruction to be read to them; and kept near their Persons a Man of approved Honesty, who was capable to aid them in this Exercise; and thereby they became famous and virtuous Princes. Behold then, Sir, I speak it with Respect and Obedience to you; behold, what I wish with regard to you.

I wish that your Majesty would make Choice of learned and virtuous Men, who being free from the Trouble of Employments, may entertain you in a manner that is agreeable, but proper to cherish your Virtue. I wish, out of all the wise Men in your Empire, that you would chuse those Persons for Censors, who have the openest Sincerity and firmest Resolution: And give them to understand, that you seriously recommend to them carefully to examine the Faults committed in your Government, and the Abuses established therein, in order to inform you of them with Freedom. Your Majesty, every Day thus acquiring Understanding, will greatly strengthen the good Foundation which you have already laid; and in the End, succeed in establishing a Form of Government upon the noble great Rules of our Ancients. At present, we see with Grief frequent Troubles arising in the State: There are nothing but Robberies on all Sides. The Corruption of Manners is grown to such a Height, that People now blush at nothing. So that we may truly say, that you do not express a Value great enough for Virtue, and that you don't shew Ardour enough for true Wisdom. Make the Maxims of our ancient Sages your sole Study, and the Examples of our ancient Kings your Patterns. Apply yourself in good earnest to follow these Maxims and Examples, for that is the Means of procuring the Happiness of your Subjects.

(\*) So named from the Colour of the Waters, which are much dyed by the Earth.

(†) In the Chinese it is Tsing, or a pure clear Water: Tsing and, signifies pure Water: This Expression is likewise used in

Morality: Pü tsing guan, signifies, an honest disinterested Magistrate or Officer.

(‡) The Name of a Dynasty.



Discourse of Wang ngan shê to the Emperor Jin tsong, who had reigned a long time, and neglected the Affairs of Government.

SIR: To judge by the History of past Times, when a Reign is long, it is not enough that the Prince is neither too violent nor too cruel. He must have for his People a tender constant Compassion, which renders him attentive to their Exigencies, otherwise, there frequently happens very fatal Troubles. The longest Reigns that have happened since the Days of the Han, were those of the two *Vu ti*; one, of the Dynasty of the *Tsin*, the other of the Dynasty *Lyang*. These two Princes had a great deal of Spirit and Capacity. In the Beginning of their Reigns they did great things; but as they had not a great enough Stock of Tenderness for their People, they at length relaxed: Having neither Wars abroad, nor Commotions at home, they lived as it were from Day to Day, without thinking of what might happen, and above all things, they were far from imagining that they had ought to fear as to their own Persons: Yet they had Difficulty to escape the Fury of the Rebels, and had the Mortification to see the Palace of their Ancestors insulted and demolished; Their Wives and Children in the greatest Want; Their Fields drenched in the Blood of their Subjects, and Hunger kill those who had fled from the Sword. What a Grief was it for a good Son thus to see his illustrious Ancestors dishonoured, what a Grief was it to a Father, for such is a Prince with Regard to his Subjects, to see his Cities and Fields filled with the Dead! They never imagin'd that any such thing would happen. They saw but too late, that these unforeseen Misfortunes were the Fruits of their Indolence.

In effect, the Empire is as it were a fine Vessel equally large and precious: In order to preserve it in a fixed firm Situation, it requires all the Force of the wisest Laws. And in order to keep it safe, it must be committed to the Custody of the most understanding faithful Men. But if a Prince is not animated with the most tender and constant Love for his Subjects, he is in time weary'd out by the fatiguing Cares, which the Support of the Laws and the right Choice of his Officers require. Months and Years pass without his giving himself any Trouble: And while he thinks only upon living quietly, Things appear to go on in their Channel: This Tranquility perhaps may last for some time, but it is difficult to prevent fatal Commotions from happening. You, Sir, have a very penetrating Understanding, with a great deal of Wisdom and Capacity: You likewise love your People; but I entreat you to consider, that you have now reigned for a long time, and in order that you may not be exposed to the Fate of the three Princes I have mentioned, your Love for your People must animate you to support with Constancy, those Cares that are necessary for assuring their Quiet, and the Glory of your Reign.

At present, the greatest Posts should be filled with Men who are virtuous and capable; and the Laws vigorously enforce'd; yet they who rule, are the first to wound them by Regulations inconsistent with them. Amongst your Officers there is a vast deal of Disorder; and among your People a great deal of Misery. Their Manners are every Day more and more corrupted: Abuses increase; and in the mean time, your Majesty enjoying the Honours and Delights of a Throne, remain inactive without minding the Choice of your Officers, and without informing yourself of what is requisite for maintaining or reviving good Order. As for me, I own that my Zeal does not permit me to see such a Negligence without Grief and Uneasiness, nor even to wink at it. A Reign or a Life of this Kind, cannot be very lasting. The three Princes I have mentioned prov'd this; profit by their Misfortune, and don't think you have done enough for securing the Repose of your Empire for ever. I dare say that if you regard this; you will have always some-what to do. Nay, I must add, that if your Indolence continue much longer, I very much fear that it may cost you dear; and then, a useless Repentance will avail you, as little as it did any of these three Princes.

An (\*) inveterate Disease, says the *Sbu king*, requires a strong Medecine which is nauseous to take. I therefore intreat your Majesty to be less sensible of the Nauseousness of the Remedy, than of the Danger of the Disease, with which you are so violently attack'd: Your Majesty having done me the Honour to call me near your Person, and to make me Superintendent of the Officers in your Train, I have a particular Obligation to watch over every thing that may wound the good Order of your Court, the Repose of your State, or the Glory of your Reign. With these Views and from these Motives, I presume to present you with this Remonstrance; being persuaded, that if your Majesty will seriously reflect upon what I have laid before you, you will perceive its Importance better than any body else, and rouse yourself to the great Advantage of all your Empire.

Extract of a DISSERTATION of the same Minister.

IN the Book from which these Pieces are taken, there is another of the same Author. It is a Dissertation wherein he handles the Question; Whether it is lawful for a Son to revenge his Father's Death with his own Hands? He pronounces in the Negative. To suffer such a thing, says he, at a Time in which Laws are in Force, would be a great Disorder. Others before him, have handled the same Subject, especially two famous Literati under the *Tang* Dynasty; namely, *Han-yu*, and *Lyew tse hew*. They agree with *Wang ngan shê*, that Recourse must be had to the Tribunals. *Wang ngan shê* proposes an Objection drawn from the Book *Chun tsyû*, which is ascribed to *Confucius*, and from a pretty ancient Book of Rites. In answer to these two Texts, he says; That a Son's being authoriz'd to revenge the Death of a Father with his own Hand, is to be only understood of those Times, wherein the Empire being in Confusion and Disorder, no recourse could

(\*) The Chinese Expression literally is; The Medicine that does not cause the Patient to wink, never cures him.



could be had to Magistrates: He likewise objects that which is found in an apocryphal Collection of the Ordinances of (\*) *Chew kong*, who was famous for his Wisdom and Equity. It is there said, that a Son who kills the Murderer of his Father, provided he immediately declares it to the Magistrate, is not blameable. If, answers *Wang ngan shê*, there are Magistrates who are in a State to receive and to hear him, why does he not rather apply to them for Justice? No, there is no Appearance that this Regulation was made by *Chew kong*. *Wang ngan shê* in the same Dissertation, taking it for granted, that it is a lawful thing, and even a Duty, for a Son to wish that his Father's Death should be revenged; in the Conclusion puts the following Case. The Empire is in Confusion, the Laws have no Force; a Son pursues the Murderer of his Father; they who have the largest share in the Commotions, and thereby have Power in their Hands, support the Murderer in such a Manner, that the Son cannot, without perishing, revenge his Father's Death. What shall he do? Ought he to pursue the Dictates of that Revenge at the Price of his own Life, or to renounce his Revenge, that he may not leave (†) his Father without Posterity. To have it in his Power to revenge the Death of a Father and not to do it, is inconsistent with the Tenderness of a good Son. To revenge his Death, and thereby to extinguish his Posterity, is directly contrary to perfect filial Piety. My Opinion however is, (‡) that it is better to live and to bear with the Confusion, which the not revenging a Father's Death may Occasion; but to cherish in your Heart the Desire of revenging, if possible without your own Death, the Death of your Father. This is all that depends on a reasonable Man. The Possibility of revenging or not revenging, depends on *Tyen*. To vanquish yourself and to respect *Tyen*; where is there any thing blameable in this?

A Picture of *Wang ngan shê* by *Su yun*, who seeing that *Wang ngan shê* of whom he had a very bad Notion, was rising at Court, and was upon the Point of obtaining the first Posts, he composed the Picture of a Person, and sent it secretly to *Chang ngau tau* who was in Post, that he might give him to understand, that it was of Importance that *Wang ngan shê* should not be raised any higher, or become Minister of State.

IN Affairs of this World, certain Effects follow certain Causes so naturally, that I think one may almost infallibly foretell them; tho' no body but a Man who is out of the Question and entirely at his Ease, can do it with Success. When the Vapours form a Circle round the Moon, every one says, *We shall have Wind*. When we see Sweat upon the Stones, we are told it will rain. Whence does it proceed, that from these Causes the most Ignorant can conclude what the Effect will be: And that in the Affairs of Life, most People, who are otherways very clear sighted, do not perceive the natural Connection between certain Effects and certain Causes? It is because Interest or Fortune trouble us without: One Man has his Hopes, and another his Fears. Prejudices, form'd by our Passions, possess us within. We have an Inclination for one thing, and an Aversion for another.

Formerly, *Shan kyu ywen* having observed *Wang yen*, pronounced without any Scruple, that he would deceive the whole Empire and render the People unhappy. *Quo fwen yang* having examined *Lü ki*: If ever, said he, this Man is advanced, it will be at the Expences of our Posterity. O how much more surely may we at present, pronounce what the infallible Consequences of advancing (||) a certain Man will be! For in short, according to what History relates to us of *Wan yeng*, he was a very dexterous Hypocrite, and had a certain natural Air of Politeness and Gentleness, which he abused, in order to surprize and gain those whom it was his Interest to please. He was a Rogue and a Cheat: But he was neither covetous nor malicious. Under a Prince less weak than *Whey ti* was, *Wang yen* could have occasioned no Trouble.

As for *Lü ki*, he was indeed a very bad Man, and capable of undertaking any thing: But he had neither Knowledge nor Politeness. His Air, his Discourse, and his Manners, were every where forbidding. No Prince, but one as weak as *Te tsong*, would have suffer'd himself to be govern'd by a Man of such a Character. From all this we may conclude, that the Predictions of *Shan kyu ywen* and *Quo fwen yang*, about *Wang yen* and *Lü ki*, may yet appear not entirely infallible.

At present a Man is raised, who has continually in his Mouth the finest Maxims of *Confucius* and *Lau tsé*, but in his Conduct he follows the Example of (§) *Quan chong*; he has formed a Retinue of certain Literati, whose Fortunes are disproportioned to their Ambition: They and he have in their Conferences, formed a particular Jargon of their own. They give one another new Names, and strive with one another, who shall bestow the greatest Encomiums upon this School Master of theirs. A Man needs not stick to say, that *Hyen jen ywen* or *Meng tsé*, are revived. Let us examine him a little nearer. At the Bottom he is a very bad Man, who conceals under certain

(\*) The Regard which the *Chings* have for their ancient Sages, and their Books that are acknowledged as *King*, is such, that when any thing containing in them, is clearly proved to be contrary to Reason, they say, that it must not be attributed to these great Men. If any thing is found in their *King* that is plainly trifling, they chuse to say, that it is a Corruption of the Text, or an Addition of after Ages, rather than to allow that their *King* originally had any thing in it that is bad. [Is not this a much better Way of saving the Credit of their Canonical Books, than that of justifying such Passages, and maintaining the Doctrines contain'd in them to be good and rational?]

(†) This supposes that he is an only Son, and without Male Issue. Tho' *Wang ngan shê* does not express this to be the Case.

(‡) We here perceive the Superiority of Christianity over

Philosophy. Let us ask *Wang ngan shê* a Question: If vanquishing ones self so, as even voluntarily to renounce the Desire of revenging a Father's Death, and to leave Vengeance to that which you call *Tyen*, would not be a more complete Conquest of yourself, and shew greater Submission to what you call *Tyen*? This Question would no doubt puzzle him: He would find this Doctrine sublime: He would hardly say, *No*. And if he be sincere, he will find where withal to correct him, by attentively considering my Words. [If this Doctrine be taken in too strict a Sense, no Man should pursue a Criminal, Wickedness will abound, and penal Laws become useless.]

(§) *Wan ngan shê*.

(§) The Minister of *Wen kang*, the King of *Tsi*, very skillful at harassing the People.



certain Appearances, as much as he possibly can, a very extraordinary Malice and Avarice. In one Word, *Wang yen* and *Lü ki*, may be both found in one and the same Man. You may judge what we are then to expect.

As to his outside Appearance: To wash ones Face, and to clean ones Cloaths, are Cares that every one takes about himself; on the contrary, he affects a fordid Air, his Habits are Worsed, his Dyec very near the same with that of Dogs and Hogs. His Head looks always like that of a Prisoner, and his Face like that of a Man in deep Mourning. At every other Turn he is citing Sentences from our King, but is far from practising them in his Conduct. It is ordinary enough, that a Man, who against common Sense, and the most reasonable Inclinations of Nature, strikes into Singularity and an equivocal Outside Appearance, is at the Bottom a bad Man, and wants to disguise himself. This is the Method which *Iya shu tyau* and *Keyfang* took, for insinuating themselves at the Court of *Fey*, where they turned every thing upside down. This too is the Path which this Person treads: Notwithstanding of the good Intentions of an equitable Prince who is zealous for good Order, and notwithstanding of the Capacity of a great and a wise Minister, I see him ready to step into the highest Honours which he has always in his Eye. If this shall happen, (I dare to say this with a great deal more certainty, than what was formerly said about *Wang yen* and *Lü ki*) it will be for the Curse of the Empire. If he is stopp'd on his Road, and banished, the Generality of Mankind who are not acquainted with him, will not fail to blame and to cry out against me. It is a Loss, will they say, he was a Man of Merit: *Sü syun* has carried his Distrust and Suspicious too far. But if he continues to go on, and if he takes some Steps that still remain for him to take; the Sufferings of the Empire will justify my Prediction. I shall then be looked upon as a Prophet: but how small a Consideration is this to a Man who has the Good of the Empire at Heart?

*Wang ngan shé* became Minister of State: In the Collection from which these Pieces are taken, there are a great many Remonstrances against a Regulation invented by him, which tended to ruin the People: The Memory of this Regulation is cursed to this Day, so that the Prediction of *Sü syun* was in some Measure justified.

Discourse of *Yu t'ing* against Auguries, and the Historians who relate them and cry them up.

HOW great Men were our ancient Kings! Their Words were as so many Maxims which might have served for Laws to all the World: And their Actions as so many Patterns to all Ages: Yet notwithstanding the vast Wisdom and Virtues of these great Men, they still distrusted themselves. They were afraid of relaxing and forgetting themselves. In order that they might be kept in Exercise, or corrected in Case of Need, they had always an Officer amongst others of their Train, whose Business it was to remark their Words and Actions, to pass an equitable Judgment upon them, and to transmit them to future Ages. Such was the principal Employment of Historians in their first Institution. Their keeping the Register of Months and Days, in order to give Notice of the Times appointed for Ceremonies, was only an Accession to this Post. The ancient Books contained the Words of our ancient Emperors. The Book which is entituled *Tau ki*, and that which is called *Chun t'fyü*, the one of which was written at *T'ü*, and the other at *Lü*, are Histories in which their Actions and Discourses, their Conventions and Treaties, their Good and their Evil, their Success and their Miscarriages, are all transmitted.

As for Auguries and Omens, these Books pay no Regard to them. When we come down to the History of the *Han*, we find that they are collected and delivered with Care; sometimes it was a kind of *Cbi*, a singular Plant of a reddish Colour; sometimes it was a wild Goose entirely White, here it was a Spring of sweet Wine, and there a sugar'd Dew. Under one Reign, some extraordinary Cloud was remarked. Under another, an antique precious Vase was found. All this was attributed as the Effect of the Virtue of the reigning Prince, or as a certain Prefage of his Success. Never did wise wholesome Antiquity look upon a History as being defective, for not containing any thing of this Nature. And if the Author of a History amuses himself in collecting these kind of Affairs, he certainly deviates from the original Design of History.

As for me, I say that the Happiness or Unhappiness of States depends on Virtue and Vice, and not on these pretended good or bad Auguries. That which rendered the Reign of *Yau* famous, was the Union which he established among his Neighbours, and the good Intelligence he promoted among the different Kingdoms. *Shun* could distinguish from among his Officers, and banish from his Court, four bad Men; and could employ sixteen others equally able and virtuous. By this he principally prov'd himself to be the worthy Successor of *Yau*. *Yu* knew how to drain off the Waters, and to prepare the Grounds for Culture. This made him famous, and rendered him the Successor of *Shun*. The Prosperity of *Ching tang* was owing to his uncommon Charity. The hereditary Virtue, which had for many Generations subsisted in the Family of the *Chew*, directed him upon the Throne. Can it be denied, that these Emperors independent of good Omens, were very wise Princes, and reigned happily? On the other Hand, (\*) *Quey* ruined himself by his intolerable Pride and stupid Expences. (†) *Sin* by his tyrannic Cruelty, (‡) *Li wang* by his Exactions, and (§) *Yew wang* by his Luxuries, made themselves odious and contemptible. Independently of all Prodigies or bad Omens, these Princes always were, and always justly will be reckoned

(\*) The last Emperor of the Dynasty *Hsia*, he was commonly named *K'ü*.

commonly named *Chew*.

(†) The last Emperor of the *Shang* or *Iy* Dynasty. Hewas

(‡) Two bad Princes of the Dynasty, named *Chew*. Under whom the Dynasty went to decay.



reckoned Men without Capacity; and their Reigns, which were full of Trouble and Confusion, will be always held in Detestation.

It is said, that in the Times of the *Shang* under *Kau tsong*, Mulberry-Trees and Rice were seen to grow spontaneously in the Palace: That this Prodigy was interpreted, as being very unfavourable; and the People were frightened with it. And yet that Emperor retrieved this Dynasty, which was going to decay. Under *King kong* the Prince of *Song*, Astrologers tells us, that two Constellations were seen to mingle. Notwithstanding of the frightful Appearance of these Omens, it was to *King kong*, that the State of *Song* owed its Repose and Security. This is a Proof, that when a Prince has the Wisdom and Virtue that is requisite to the Rank he possesses, these monstrous Events can never hurt him. *Ngay kong* the King of *Lü* caught a (\*) Unicorn; and notwithstanding of that good Omen, that Prince being expelled out of his State, was obliged to take Refuge in the Kingdom of (†) *Wey*. Under *Ping ti* it was said, that the (‡) *Fong wbang* were heard to sing; and Wonders were expected from this; yet *Vang puen* usurp'd the Throne, and interrupted the *Han* Dynasty. This proves, that if a Prince is without Understanding and Virtue, it is in vain for him to flatter himself with what is called happy Presages.

It is true, that *Confucius* in the *Chun tsü*, has pointed out the Eclipses of the Sun, the Earthquakes, the sinking in of Mountains, the falling of Stars, and the Birth and Changes of certain Insects. But this did not proceed from his loving to collect extraordinary things, or to swell his Book: His Design was to induce the Princes, to enter into themselves at the Sight of these Prodigies, and to excite them by Means of the Dread thereof, to correct their Vices, to cultivate Virtue, and to re-establish good Order in the Empire. Besides, that he might not be suspected of supposing the Happiness or Unhappiness of States, and the good or bad Success of Princes to depend on these Events, he expressly finished his Book with the Disaster of *Ngay kong*, under whom an (§) Unicorn had appeared. *Yu tsing* then relates certain Passages of the History of the *Han*, and deplors the Blindness of some Princes in this Point. In short, one of the Emperors of the Dynasty *Han*, declared against these Auguries, and publicly blamed the Officers of the Provinces, who prognosticated happy Presages. As this Talent became again in Use under the Dynasty *Song*, *Yu tsing* exhorts the Prince to abolish them, and to found the Happiness of his Reign upon Virtue, and the Love of his People.

The 7th of the Years named (A) *Hi ning*, *Chinkyé* having had a Commission in the Provinces, and having been an Eye Witness of the People's Misery, painted down what he had seen upon a Sheet of Paper in order, to present it to the Emperor: *Wang ngan shé* who was then Prime Minister, knew very well, that this Misery of the People was attributed to the new Regulation of which he was Author: On this Account, he did all he could to stop the Advices that were given at Court. *Chinkyé* used a Stratagem, and conveyed his Sheet to the Emperor with the following Discourse.

SIR; I my self have seen the Ruin which the Grass-hoppers made last Summer. There have been great Droughts throughout all the Autumn and the Winter. The End of the Spring is now come, and yet the least Rain has not fallen. The great Draughts has ruined the Corns. It has hindered the smaller Grains, even the Pease, to be sown. The Price of Rice is exorbitant, and every Day encreases. All the World is melancholy and alarmed. Out of ten of your Subjects, there are nine who believe they have reason to fear, that they shall very soon die of Misery. Thus, without any Regard to the prohibitory Edicts, their young Trees have been cut in the Spring. They have fished in all the Rivers and in all the Lakes. Every one of your Subjects endeavour to find wherewithall, to pay your Officers who dun them, and how they shall buy a (||) *Shin* of Rice. Thus the Trees are ruined in the Country, and the fishing which is hindered from propagating, is destroyed in the Lakes and the Rivers. Besides the Barbarians insult *Cbing*.

What is the Cause of these Disorders? No other, except that your Officers at the Court and in the Provinces, do not follow Virtue and Reason as the Rules of their Conduct. Alas! Nothing is more easy and more common, then to open a Way to great Calamities. But nothing is more difficult or more rare, than to perceive their Approach at a Distance. They are like Storms that from almost insensible Causes, form and swell by degrees, but pour forth all of a sudden with an uncontrollable Rapidity, and a restless Violence. When Blood runs in Rivulets over the Fields, then the most Stupid can cry out, *All is lost! Terrible Misfortune! Dismal Disaster!* Wisdom consists not, in deploring these Accidents when they happen, but in preventing their Causes by effectually foreseeing them, and by averting the Evil whether it threatens, or if it actually has begun.

The Evils which I have laid before you are not past Remedy. I only beg your Majesty not to lose Time, but immediately to open your Treasures and your Granaries, for the Relief of the Miserable, and above all things, to annul these burdensome Regulations which are the modern Inventions of your Ministers, but far from being suggested by Wisdom and Virtue. By these Means, you, answering the Intentions of *Tyen*, may hope to cause the Irregularities of the Seasons to cease, to draw down plentiful and propitious Showers, to restore Life to your expiring People, and for many Generations to secure the Happiness and Glory of your Family.

It is commonly said, that is is of Importance, that a Prince and the Officers who govern under him, should mutually know one another to the Bottom of the Heart. How different is it now-

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a-days!

(\*) The Chinese call it *Ki ling*.

(†) The Name of a Kingdom.

(‡) A Creature that is famous, and perhaps fabulous. Some Europeans have translated it *Eagle*.

(§) The Unicorn or the *Ki ling*, for it is doubtful if the Unicorn is understood by these Words.

(||) The Name of a Measure, and is sufficient for to serve a Man who has not hard Labour for a Day.

(A) That is, the 7th Year of *Chin tsong*.



a-days! Notwithstanding of my weak Abilities, I see in your Majesty, a Heart full of paternal Tenderness for your People. Ever since your Accession to the Throne, you have given a thousand shining Instances of this. Of the several Measures proposed to you, you have many times embraced that which was most favourable for your People; and you have nothing so much at Heart, as the Lives and Properties of your Subjects. You desire that they may live longer and happier, if it be possible, than the Subjects of *Tau* and *Shun* ever did: That is your Ambition; and not to stuff your Coffers, and to heap up more Wealth than there is in all the Empire besides. Doubtless you are far from valuing yourself upon a thing so unworthy of a wise Man and a good Prince.

But your Officers, both at Court and in the Provinces, either have not penetrated, or would not enter into the retir'd Sentiments of your Heart: Among them there is nothing but Exactions, Punishments and Cruelties. Your People, who are subject to *Tyen* and to you, are reduced to the utmost Extremities. Your Officers who are the Cause, see all this coolly and calmly, without applying the least Relief thereto. You being such as I know you to be, and they being of the Character I have painted, what can we expect from such an opposite Resemblance?

I don't know what your Officers pretend. What I know is, that they are every Day falling upon new Expedients in the Art of *Ways* and *Means* of amassing Riches, in which they follow no other Rules but their own Humour and Caprice. At this, I say within myself; Have there then been unhappy Ages and Reigns, without virtuous or able Persons? Must this be attributed to the Prince's bad Choice of Ministers, or to their own ill Government. In happy Antiquity, private Persons of all Ranks, Men and Women, even to the Workmen in the Fields, and the Cutters of Wood, were Zealous for the State. Each endeavoured to assist his Prince in the best Manner he could. At present, Zeal is wanting even in the Body of the Censors. They are all Dumb: or if any of them speak, it is with the View of providing for his own Safety, by excusing himself from a Post which he has not the Courage to fulfill worthily; while your Ministers with insatiable Avarice, pursue what is called Interest, in so base and unworthy a Manner, that there is not a Man of Wisdom or Virtue in the Empire, who has the least Correspondence with them or will even speak to them as they pass by.

Is this to be attributed to the Times? Is this to be attributed to your Majesty? When I would attribute it to the Times, my Memory immediately instructs me that *Tau* and *Shun* had a *Whan Ki*, and such others: That *Ching tang* and *Yen wang* had an *I* and *Lyu*: That under the Dynasty *Han* and *Tang*, all the good Princes had virtuous zealous Officers: That there were Men of the same Character ever since the Beginning of your Dynasty, under your illustrious Ancestors: That there had been seen in several Times, the same Correspondence betwixt the Prince and his Ministers, as there is betwixt the Heart and the Members in the Human Body. It was an admirable Concert regulated by the Voice of the Prince. All conspired together for the Good of the State. And in all the State, such a perfect Correspondence was sensible. Under your Reign, Things are otherways; you are all Clemency and Gentleness, and your Ministers the Reverse.

If this cannot be attributed to the Difference of the Times, it must proceed from your Majesty not following a good Method in the Choice of your Servants, and in the Manner of your Government; this requires your Attention: It concerns the Interest of your House to make a better Choice, and to keep a stricter Hand over those you chuse. A Person who accidentally and occasionally receives a Meal from another, testifies his Gratitude, of which he is void for his Father who has maintained him for so many Years. This Abuse is frequent enough among the meanest People. At present, it is seen to prevail among the Ministers of the first Rank. It is a received Maxim, that Prince and People ought to look upon themselves as Father and Son. With much more Reason ought these Ministers and other great Officers, whom the Prince distinguishes by large Pensions, and by superior Honours, to show him the Gratitude and Zeal of dutiful Sons. But what do we see? On the one Hand, a Prince full of Goodness, and jealous of the Happiness of his State: On the other, Officers, who being satisfied with living upon their Appointments, look upon their Prince not as their Father, but as a Stranger or a Passenger, and are equally indifferent with Regard to the Evils that afflict, or the Dangers that threaten, the State. Is any thing more deplorable than this? Some say, for the Excuse: *I confine my self within my own Sphere; I acquit my self of my own Office; I am not concern'd, and it is none of my Business to be troubled about any thing else.* Wretched Excuses! It is true, that there are different Ranks and Posts about a Court; but each, in his respective Station, as a good Son owes his Prince, all the Zeal and Loyalty he can pay him, to be defective in any thing of this Kind, is worse than one's disobliging a superior Officer by doing his Duty; and what are all the Advantages he can reap from his Favour with Men, when put in the Ballance with the Misfortune of offending (\*) *Whang tyen*?

For my Share, I see well, that in certain Palaces almost as much respected, and more powerful than yours, the Advice I give you, would have been taken as an Insult and Rashness. I know to what I expose my self: But ten thousand Deaths, shall not daunt me: Behold, what encourages me. *Tyen* and his Orders, which are above all, claims my Respect; the Honour of my Prince and his Family, which is next to *Tyen*, my Zeal; and the People, who are next to the Prince, my Compassion: Were I to be cut in Pieces; What am I to be spar'd on such an Occasion? An Insect is crush'd; and who values it?

I am return'd from executing a Commission, which oblig'd me to travel through a good Number of the Provinces, through which your Troops have march'd. A Man, in seeing the State in which the People are, would be apt to say, that there is not a Person in the Empire

(\*) Heaven. The Emperor.



pire who is charg'd with the Care of them, nor any who is in the least touch'd with these Calamities. Husbands hire out their Wives; Fathers sell their Children; the nearest Relations separate and disperse abroad on all Quarters. Every thing in the Field is ruin'd: neither the Mulberry nor the Fruit-Trees are spar'd. The Havock is irreparable. Many pull down their Houses, and sell the Materials out in Parcels. One Man is harra's'd for Money, another for Gain. But the most merciless Creditors are your Officers and their Commissaries. The poor People languish under their Oppression. One cannot view so much Misery without having his Heart rent. I don't speak by Hearsay: I have seen all I lay before you: I put every thing down, on the very Day it happen'd, in my Journal; and from these Journals, when put together, I have drawn up a Sketch in which it is all represented. As I have put nothing in it but what I have seen, your Majesty may judge that what my Draught contains, is not the Hundreth Part of what has pass'd; tho' I doubt not but what it contains will be more than sufficient to touch your Majesty, to draw Sighs from your Breast, and Tears from your Eyes. But what would be your Grief if you saw what pass'es at a greater Distance, where, as I am informed, the Misery is yet greater. I join this Supplication to my Sketch; I beg your Majesty to examine both the one and the other; if, after mature Deliberation, you (\*) execute what I propose, and if in the Space of ten Days it does not rain, order my Head to be cut off, as being a Man disrespectful to T'ien, and undutiful to his Prince: but if, in effect, you shall reap Advantage from my Advice, I shall be so far from expecting any Reward, that I shall always look upon my self as culpable, for having presum'd to act out of my Sphere.

*Chin tsong* having receiv'd this Draught and Supplication, examin'd them without shewing them to any Body, sending up frequent and heavy Sighs; then putting these Writings in his Sleeve, he shut himself up in the innermost Part of his Palace, getting no Sleep for a whole Night. Next Morning he issued out his Orders conceived in eighteen Articles, which perfectly answer'd what *Ching kyé* had propos'd; and caused great Acclamations of Joy and Gratitude among the People. *Chin tsong*, when he issued out that Order, published a Declaration, wherein with a great deal of Modesty he excus'd himself, and press'd his People to advise him. On the third Day a very plentiful Shower fell, which reach'd a great Way round. The Ministers entering in order to congratulate the Emperor, he shew'd them the Supplication, and the Sketch of *Ching kyé*: To this he added a Reprimand, for which they thank'd him upon their Knees. *Wang ngan shé* some Days after sought Leave to be retire. People knew very well why, and who had been the Informer against him. Thus *Ching kyé* was expos'd to all the Creatures of *Wang ngan shé*. They discover'd that the Address, with which he had convey'd his Advice to the Emperor, was, to send a Courier in the Manner of the (†) *Yu tse*, who were instigated to demand Justice. *Ching kyé* lost his Post, was sent as Magistrate to *Ing cheu*, and the Imposts soon return'd.

In the Collection from which these Pices are drawn, after that which I have just now translated, there follows one of *Sü shé* presented to the same Emperor (‡) *Chin tsong*. *Sü shé* goes a good deal more roundly to work with him than *Ching kyé* did. This Discourse is divided into three Points. In the first he proves, that the Prince can have no Strength, but in the Affections of his Subjects. He then exhorts him to do all that he could to gain them. All this Point turns on the same Matter upon which *Ching kyé* has touch'd, namely, the new Imposts, and the new Regulations invented by *Wang ngan shé*. In the second Point, *Sü shé* exhorts *Chin tsong* to promote good Morals and Virtue in his Empire. He says, that upon this, more than upon all his Wealth, depends his Force and Continuance upon the Throne. He proves this by History. One of the Means above others he proposes is, to remove from Posts all Men, who tho' they had Capacity, wanted Virtue. This is always levelled at *Wang ngan shé*, and to such others. The third Point is upon the Maintenance of the Laws: He makes this principally rest upon the Usefulness of Remonstrances. On this Head he bewails, that the Tribunals established throughout all Ages are now become mute: He then acquaints the Prince that a formidable Authority intimidates them: This is spoke against the Ministers, and particularly against *Wang ngan shé*. He exhorts the Prince to support the Authority and Liberty of these Tribunals, to fill them with Men of Weight and Authority, whose Understanding may be useful to him, and whose unshaken Firmness may keep the Ministers in Awe. As we have seen these Affairs treated of in several Discourses, and as this of *Sü shé* is long, I only given the Contents of it, without translating it.

*Some Advantages which the Emperor Chin tsong had gain'd over a neighbouring Nation had put him into the Humour of making War. Chang fang ping, who was in Post, resolv'd to dissuade him from it by a Remonstrance. As he did not write well himself, he apply'd to Sü shé, who drew up for him the following Piece.*

SIR, The Love of War and of Women are two Passions which appear very different from one another: They however have been compar'd, and at least resemble each other, in so far as, that the Latter in many Respects hurts the Health, and cuts short the Life of a Prince who

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(\*) First, to open his Granaries and Treasures for the Relief of the Miserable. Secondly, to abolish the new Imposts, and the new Regulations which were burdensome to the People.

(†) In order to make his Papers come to the Emperor's Hand, he had us'd the Way which is reserv'd only to the *Yu tse*.

(‡) He was the Son of *Sü faw*, Author of the Portrait of *Wang ngan shé*, which is translated above.



is tainted with it; in like manner, the former many Ways injures the State, which must infallibly perish when its Prince abandons himself to this Passion. Our antient and wise Kings never made War but when they were indispensably oblig'd to do it. If they gain'd an Advantage over their Enemies, the Fruits of their Victory were a long and a happy Peace. And if they came by the worst, their Losses were not of such Consequence as to reduce them to Extremities. Different Measures were pursued in Times more modern. Our Princes then wantonly made War, only because such was their Will. Thus whether Success or Disasters attend it, War is always a very pernicious Thing. Are they victorious? The bad Consequences of War don't fail to break out, tho' perhaps later, yet not less fatally. Are they vanquish'd? Their Defeat always has very terrible Effects, but nevertheless not so (||) dangerous as those that commonly attend a Course of Victories.

A wise Prince who has gone to the Bottom of this Truth does not suffer himself to be hurried away with the Ardor of signalizing himself by his Exploits, nor even to tempt his Fortune by the Hopes of a Victory, tho' almost certain. He attentively weighs the Evils of War, and never resolves upon it but as the last Tentative. Is a hundred thousand Men brought into the Field? Every thing is in Motion. Large Sums are every Day expended, Millions of Families harass'd, the Cofters and Granaries of the Prince drain'd, the People impoverish'd, and Cold and Hunger prevail. People assemble, they steal, they pillage, and spread Alarms and Confusion throughout all the Empire. The Dying, the Wounded, the Sufferers, break out in Murmurs against the Prince, and bring upon him, as a Chastisement, Inundations, Droughts, and such like Plagues. Sometimes these are occasioned by a General, who being at the Head of an Army, who he knows is devoted to him, puts what Value he has a mind upon his Services. Sometimes by the Subalterns and Soldiers, who being check'd, disband or rebel. In short, War draws along with it a thousand and a thousand Inconveniences: and the Curses of so many innocent People who suffer by it, cannot fail to affect the Prince who loves it, and those who advise him to it. How many Princes either passionately fond of War, or too easy in engaging in it, have proved this by their Misfortunes.

Do not let us, in God's Name, speak of those who have perish'd by shameful Defeats, consider only to what they, whom Victory seems to have followed, have been reduc'd by their Success. *Sbi wbang* becoming Emperor by the Destruction of six Kingdoms, into which *China* was at that Time divided, wanted to push his Conquests further. He attack'd (\*) *Hu* and *Xweé*: What the Empire suffer'd in supporting these Wars is inexpressible. *Sbi wbang* was obstinate, and extended the Bounds of his Empire, a good deal beyond what our three famous Dynasties possess'd. But when he died he left Things in such a Situation, that the Mold about his Tomb was scarce dry when *Eul shi*, his Son and Successor, lost his Empire and Life at once.

Under the *Han* Dynasty, *Vu ti* being willing to make his best of what *Ven ti* and *King ti* his Predecessors had saved, and of the Plenty which their Reign had introduced throughout all the Empire, undertook great Wars. After having subjected and subdued the (†) *Hyong nu* in the North, he attack'd and subdued a great many other Kingdoms towards the West. Every Year brought about some new Enterprize, and almost always a new Success. At last, in the Year named *Kyen ywee*, the fatal Consequences of these Wars broke out: More than one *Chi bew* (§) began to stir in the Empire. These Troubles lasted for thirty long Years, and cut off great Numbers of People. There happen'd on Account of some Sorceries, a remarkable Misunderstanding between the Emperor and his Son; a Misunderstanding which made Seas of Blood stream through the Capital of the Empire, ruin'd the young Prince, and deeply affected his Father. *Vu ti* indeed bethought himself, and grew more moderate and repented. But it was too late, for he had spent too many Years in War and Confusion.

*Ven ti*, the Founder of the Dynasty *Swei*, was no sooner Master of what lyes toward the South of (†) *Kyang*, than he undertook several Expeditions against the Barbarians. *Yeng ti*, his Son and Successor, vigorously pursued them: He reduced powerful Kingdoms, and render'd himself very formidable abroad; but the Poople at home being overburdened detested and cursed him: He gave Occasion to Rebellions on all Sides; and these Troubles soon put an End to this Dynasty.

(\*) *Tay tsong* having, with a surprizing Rapidity, subdued *Tu que*, *Kau chang*, *Tu yu*, and other Countries, wanted to signalize himself by some Exploit still more remarkable: He then, without any Necessity, undertook the War against *Lyau tong*; he marched in Person into the *Korea*, where he was unsuccessful, and from whence he return'd with Shame. These Wars which he had begun, were still more unseasonably pursued under the Emperess *U*, whose bad Conduct had well nigh ruin'd the *Tang* Dynasty. *Tay tsong* was a Prince whom all the World allows to have had eminent Qualifications: To himself he was severe; to others, gentle, kind, liberal, and indulgent; and yet he was very near falling into the Hands of his Enemies. His Posterity, immediately after him, was in great Danger of being ruin'd: Let it not be said, that their being sav'd was owing as a Reward to his Virtues: We ought to say, that their

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(\*) This is afterwards explain'd.

(†) Names of Countries.

(†) *Tartars*.

(§) A famous Rebel under *Wang ti*, according to the *Chi-*

ness Historians.

(†) The Name of the great River in *China*.

(\*) The second Emperor of the *Tang* Dynasty.



Dangers were to be attributed as a Punishment of his wantonly making War. Let us return to the Point.

*Vu ti* and *Tay fong* loved War: As these Princes, in other Respects had many great and amiable Qualifications, their military Expeditions did not entirely ruin them. *Shi wbang* and *Ven ti*, likewise undertook great Wars: As in other Respects, they were cruel and detestable, the sudden Extinction of their Race was the Fruit of their Victories and Conquests. Always when I fall upon these Passages of our History, I shut the Book, and dissolve in Tears: So much am I touched to see that Princes, who had so many great Qualifications, should be so grossly mistaken. O how much had it been to be wished, on their own Accounts, that these four Princes had first met with some remarkable Check; that thereby being disgusted at War, they might have been afraid to be again engag'd in it! Such a Check in this respect, would have been highly for their Advantage. Unhappily for them, they succeeded in their Enterprizes. This Success warm'd them with an Ardour after Fame and Conquest, but blinded them with Regard to all the Consequences: And this makes me say, that if our Princes are victorious, the fatal Consequences of War are a little slower in their Advances; yet they are not less pernicious in their Effects: But when they are conquered, the melancholy Effects of their Defeats are commonly less dangerous. I beg that you would weigh this well.

*Sin fong*, a good natur'd peaceable Prince, who loved his People very much, reigned for a long Time, without ever once thinking of War. Under his Reign, Arms were encrusted with Rust. This long Peace rendered the Generals and other Officers of War, idle and negligent. *Twen hau* wanted to take Advantage of this Negligence. He invaded *Yen ngan*, *King ywen*, *Ling fu*, and other Countries with a great Army. The Troops that oppos'd that Rebel, were defeated three or four times. Notwithstanding of these Losses and the great Levies which they were oblig'd to make, not the least Murmur was heard all over the Empire. The War was happily finished, and without any bad Consequences; how happened this? Because they knew their Prince, and that he loved Peace. It was because *Tyen ti* and *Quy shin* saw much clearer than the People, that this was no War set on Foot by Avarice, Ambition, or Caprice, but pure Necessity.

*Tyen* has given you a great deal of Courage, and a large extent of Genius. You have it in View to increase the Wealth and Strength of the Empire. Scarce was you seated on the Throne, when you was seen to be curious about fine Arms, and anxious to be well stor'd with them. The neighbouring States, and your Subjects being heedful of your Actions and Words, concluded, that your Inclinations were for War. Your Ministers then thought this as well as the others. But whether that they were more ignorant or less zealous, they took no Care wisely to oppose these growing Inclinations: Far less did the (\*) *Kyumi*. The Censors themselves were silent, and did not give you the least Advice on this Head. Thus your warlike Inclinations gather'd Strength without any Opposition. *Sze kyang* and *Wban kyang*, Men naturally restless, next came in Play: These propos'd to you several Expeditions, as being advantageous and worthy of yourself; some others of their Creatures approved of these Designs. War was made, your Country exhausted by supporting it, and you were frequently defeated. In short, the Wars in the Years *Kang ting* and *King li*, which have always been deplored, were not near so deplorable as these. *Tyen* was irritated, the People exasperated, the Soldiers in the Frontiers discontented, the Court tumultuous and alarm'd, and your Majesty was reduced for whole Months, to make only one Meal a-Day, and that too, pretty late. Behold in what these Expeditions, from which you promised yourself so much Advantage and Glory, ended. Whence proceeded this? It was because you yourself fought for War, without being oblig'd to make it; and your Troops were less animated against the Enemy than against you.

Afflicting as these Losses were, on the one Hand, it was on the other, a singular Favour which *Wbang tyen* did you in consideration of your Ancestors, by making you reenter into yourself. Alas! The Favour was useless to you, You got about you some Men of trifling Capacities, unable to go to the Bottom of Matters. Their flattering Discourses and Inclinations, allowed you to see nothing in these Defeats, but the Shame attending them. You was positive to wipe all that away by some Victory. Thence proceeded the Expeditions of *Hi bo*, *Mey shan*, and *Tu li*. They indeed succeeded better than the Former; but can these Wars be deemed successful, which occasioned the Death of so many Persons of all Ages, drain'd your State, exhausted your tributary Princes, and whose whole Fruit consists in the Possession of certain useless Lands, and the empty Name of Conqueror.

Dazzled by the false Lustre of this Reputation, without reflecting upon the real Evils which these Wars had occasioned, you undertook a new War against (+) *Ngan va*. The Expence for the Convoys was extravagant. A prodigious Number of Men died in the Averages. Your Army of 100,000 Men, while you were heaping up Amunition and Provisions, was ruined by Sickness before they came in Sight of the Enemy. This unexpected Misfortune seemed to have cooled you warlike Ardor. But that Passion soon revived. Behold another Army in the Field: Your Troops under the Conduct of *Li-byen*, had some Advantages; and your Majesty was in Raptures at it. You ordered them to advance, and it appeared, that that at the Bottom of your Heart, you looked upon these neighbouring States as a sure and an easy Conquest.

The Designs of *Tyen* are difficult to fathom. As for me, I respect and dread them. When in a whole Campaign your Army fights one pitch'd Battle, and comes off victorious, Couriers immediately

\* This was the Name of certain Officers who form'd a Council for the Affairs of War.

(+) Now called *Tong King*.



mediately fly about, and you send Advices of your Victory over all. The great Officers of your Court crowd to give you Joy of your Victory in Writing, as usual. They strive who shall magnify the Success most, and who shall best turn a Complement to please you.

In the mean time, a great Number of your Subjects, whose Lives the Sword has cut off, lie dead on the Field of Battle. The Ways are full of People who faint under the Fatigues of the Convoys. Your People in a great many Places, being overburthen'd with their Subsidies and the Cruelty of the Collectors, abandon their Dwellings, and wander up and down. Husbands sell their Wives, and nothing is seen over all the Country, but People who are all pale, emaciated, and ready to hang themselves in Despair. Here a poor old Man weeps over a Son, who was the sole Support of his gray Hairs. There, a Son bewails the Loss of a Father, to whom the War had hindered him from paying the most essential Duties. On one Hand is an Orphan, and on the other a Widow, who sends up the most wofull Cries. Your Majesty neither hears nor sees any thing of this Kind.

It is almost like your Meals, in which you are sometimes served with Beef, Mutton, or other well drest Meats, and you eat heartily: But if before your Meal, you were to see those Animals under the Hands of the Butcher, first to bellow and defend themselves, then to yield to Force, be knock'd on the Head, and have their Throats cut; then stretch'd on the Table, mangled, and hack'd in Pieces: Notwithstanding of all the dressing that could be given them, when they are served up to your Table, the Knife and Fork would drop out of your Hands, and you would not have the Heart to eat them. How would your Majesty behave, could you with your own Eyes, behold the frightful Sight of so many dying Men, and hear with your Ears, the dismal Groans of so many others, who think themselves wretched in living? How can you relish the News of Victory, and the Congratulations attending it? Believe me, tho' you had as able Generals, as well chosen Men, as strong Armies, and as large Provisions of Money and Provisions, as the four Princes whom I have mentioned; yet being instructed by their Example in the fatal Effects, which even the most happy Wars in Appearance produce, you ought wisely to dread to engage in them without Necessity. How much better Reason have you to fear this in the present Situation of Things. Your Officers are not to be compared to theirs. The public Treasures and Granaries are already exhausted. You have scarce wherewithall to pay to the Officers of the Empire, their ordinary appointments, and the Largesses made at (\*) *Nan kyau*, which are of so ancient Usage, have been for a long time retrenched.

However great your Capacity may be, it appears to me, that to stir in such Circumstances, is a very dangerous thing. Sickneses follow, and encrease, Famine. The Robbers from the East and the North, seeing you employed elsewhere, renew their Robberies. If, while you are engag'd in a War of your own making, the People being overwhelmed with always supplying new Subsidies, at length lose Patience, join with, or imitate the Robbers: You will be then reduced to that melancholy State in which the Empire was; when after the Conquests of *Sbi wbang*, a Robber, who was a mere Scoundrel, by turning Rebel, threw every thing into disorder, and ruined the Dynasty of the *Tsin*.

I am old, and have had the Honour to serve your Majesty for a long time; my Zeal which was alwas sincere, and increases every Day, makes me pass whole Nights without sleeping, and makes me frequently, even during my Meals, break out into Sighs, and dissolve in Tears. It is a true Maxim, that before we are engaged in any important Affair, we ought to examine if what we design, is agreeable to the Intentions of *Tyen* (Heaven.) If it is agreeable, it will succeed; if it is not agreeable, it will not succeed. The common Signs by which a Prince can judge whether or not *Tyen* is favourable to the Designs which he forms, are, on the one Side, regular Seasons, Plenty, Abundance, and other Events of that Nature. Or on the other, a Reverse of all these, Scarcity, Famine, and such like Calamities. But during all these late Years, there has been nothing seen but what is frightful: Eclipses of the Sun, extraordinary Phenomena in the Stars, Earthquakes, Droughts, Inundations, and epidemical Diseases. All these succeed without any Interruption; and I believe that very near the Half of your Subjects are dead. You may, I think by all this, judge if the Heart of *Tyen* is favourable to your Enterprize, and conclude that it is not.

In the mean time your Majesty, instead of giving up your Design, engages farther and farther in it. I own that this equally astonishes and afflicts me. Does a Son who has offended his Father and Mother, think to appease them? Being more sedate, more assiduous, more docile, and more respectful than he was before his Fault, he makes them sensible that he acknowledges it, and repents. If he does this, they pardon him. But if this Son, instead of thinking upon re-entering into their Favour, shall again break loose in order to trouble the whole House, or to bully and beat the Servants in Presence of his Father and Mother, will such a Conduct be proper for appeasing them? Or will such a Son deserve Pardon?

I therefore beg you to recall the past Time, examine what has made the preceeding Dynasties to flourish, or to fall; and above all things, give a particular Attention to the Will of *Tyen*, and to the Signs which he gives. Give up your warlike Prospects. Apply yourself to cultivate a good Correspondence with the neighbouring States; to promote good Order and Plenty in your Court and throughout all your Empire; to render your Subjects happy, and thereby confirm your Family

(\*) That is to say the Suburbs of the South, where the solemn Ceremonies in honour of *Sbang ti*, or the supreme Emperor, were performed. On this Occasion old Men were treated, and other Largesses were bestowed.



mily upon the Throne. Could I see such a Change, I would close my Eyes without regret; tho' I should die on a Dunghill, I shall die satisfied.

*Kau tsü*, the Founder of the *Han* Dynasty, purchased the Honour of a Throne, by the Defeat of several brave and powerful Rivals. *Yang yü ti*, the Restorer of the same Dynasty, in order to establish it, gave many Battles, and gain'd as many Victories. And yet *Kau tsü* was very forward to make Peace with the northern Nations. *Yang yü ti* received, with Pleasure and Thanks, the Proposals that were made him by his Neighbours in the West. Was this because these two Emperors wanted Courage or Skill in the Art of War? Doubtless not: But their long Experience made them to foresee at a Distance, and wisely to prevent, all troublesome Reverses. Your Majesty on the contrary, being at ease in the innermost Part of your Palace, make no Scruple to pronounce; *Let these be attacked, and let these be extirpated*. Perhaps I am too fearful: I own that this Confidence of yours, to me appears extravagant. But alas what can I do! When a Man designs to dissuade his Prince from any thing, he must watch his Time, and wait till the Prince is half disgusted at it himself: Then he may easily succeed. But to undertake to check the Passion of a Prince when it is in its greatest Force, is attempting a very difficult thing. This is still more true of what is called Ambition, a Passion for Conquest, and a Thirst after Glory. These Passions have a prodigious Sway over the Heart. Whoever possesses these, is hardly diverted from pursuing them, were he one of the petty Literati cloathed in coarse Stuff, if his Spirit is once warm'd with their Force. Yes! while the Passion is strong, to hear the Person who opposes you, to yield up your own Views to the Advice of another, to distinguish what is useful and what is just, in short, to sacrifice your most darling Passions, requires a great Soul, a Penetration, a Moderation, and a Wisdom far above the Level of Mankind.

Your Majesty, who was always passionately fond of War, is more enamour'd with it now than ever. I see this, and yet I venture to dissuade you from it by this Discourse. I do it, first, because having the Honour to know you, I suppose that what is called Greatness of Soul and Moderation, is the same in you, as in other Princes. In the second Place, because I don't at all doubt, but that your Majesty will in the End, heartily repent of having indulg'd this Passion, and that you will then look with an evil Eye upon those, who having the Honour to approach you, did not make to you the least Remonstrance upon this Head. Lastly, because being old and ready to join your Father (†) in another World, I want to prevent the Reproaches he will make me should I, like others, hold my Peace. Think of this, Great Sir, and pardon my Rashness.

MEMORIAL of *SU SHE* upon GOVERNMENT.

THE Memorial being long, I shall translate some Articles entirely, and give an Abridgement of others.

It is a common Saying and a true; "Other Measures are to be taken in order to govern aright when Times are confus'd, than those which are pursued when all is calm:" And yet there are certain very well known Rules laid down for all these Times. Whence it happens, that a wise Prince or an able Minister, who sees any Perplexity arising, may be sorry, but he never is disconcerted, because he knows what is proper to be done upon these Emergencies. If the People are reduced to Poverty by an Inundation or a Drought, so as to be obliged to disperse themselves, and then to reunite, in order to plunder and to pillage on all Hands: It is well known, that what is then requisite, is to supply the People with Necessaries; and this is the Means of re-establishing Peace. If the Commotion proceeds from a rebellious Subject, who wants to share in Sovereignty, and is at the Head of a powerful Army; it is well known what is then to be done; he must be opposed as soon as possible with good Troops. If it is occasioned by an ungrateful Favorite, who abusing his Princes Favour, usurps his Authority, and without the Concurrence of his Sovereign, makes himself Master of Titles and Fortunes: It is well known, that he must be tried and punished as he deserves, as soon as possible. If the neighbouring Barbarians make Incursions upon our Territories: It is plain that we ought to provide for the Security of our Frontiers. These different Kinds of Troubles, draw after them a great many Evils. But those Evils are felt, they are seen, and their Cause is seen: Thereby a Prince is in a Condition to apply a proper Remedy.

What is troublesome and perplexing is, that when in a State without any of these Causes appearing, all the Effects are felt which they commonly produce: One does not then know where he shall turn his Eyes, and waits as it were with folded Arms till some great Revolution happens; this appears to me the present Situation of Affairs.

For near these (\*) hundred Years, the Empire properly speaking, has had no War; and Miracles are talked of this pacific Government. Yet at the Bottom, this is only a fine Name. For in reality the Body of the State cannot be very sound and wholesome, when Agitations and Disquiets affect, and even endanger it, while the Causes are not seen. There are neither Inundations nor Droughts, and yet the People complain and mourn as in Times of the greatest Barrenness. No Rebel has attacked the Empire, or divided its Revenues: Yet these Revenues are not sufficient for their Uses. There is no Favorite at Court, who being too powerful, abuses his Authority. And yet there does not at present appear to be, betwixt the Prince and his first Officers, that fine Harmony that is so essential to Government: And consequently throughout all the Empire the

People

(†) The Text says, *Under the Earth*.

(\*) This Memorial is of a prior Date to the foregoing Piece. I have already taken Notice, that in the Book from which these

Pieces are taken, the Order of Time in which they were composed, is not well observed.



People do not love their Magistrates. Our neighbouring Barbarians have not for a long time, made the least Incurſion upon our Territories. And yet we find, that ſeveral Places of our Provinces are frequently alarmed. Yes! I repeat it; this is our preſent Situation; than which, in my Opinion, nothing can be more perplexing or more dangerous.

A Phyſician viſits ordinary Patients: He feels their Pulſe, he examines their Looks, their Geſtures and their Voices. According to the Rules of his Art and Experience, he determines whether the Diſeaſe proceeds from Cold or Heat, or from a Conflict betwixt both. He proceeds by Rules, and nothing puzzles him. But a Patient of another Kind is preſented to him. It is a Man, who without any apparent Cauſe, is very ill. He eats, he drinks, and acts very near in his ordinary Manner; and when he is aſked where his Illneſs lies, he can't tell you: His Pulſe is not like that of a Man in Health, yet the Phyſician can't account for his Symptoms. If a Quack ſhall be called to this Patient, he will tell him, his Diſeaſe is all a Jeſt, and there is nothing in it. But if the Phyſician is a (||) *Pyen ſi*, or a *Tjong kong*, he will be ſurpriz'd and alarm'd. He will perceive that an Evil of this Kind is deeply rooted, and by how much more difficult it is to be diſcovered; by ſo much the more will the Difficulty be to cure it. He will perceive, that ordinary Remedies will avail nothing, and he will ſeriously ſtudy in what Manner the Patient ought to be treated.

I ſee at preſent, Literati, who calling to Mind certain Paſſages of the Hiſtory of the *Han* and the *Tang*, and connecting them as well as they can with the Texts of our ancient Books, thereby carefully compoſe Memorials. They think that thus they can remedy the Evils of the Age. But in my Opinion, they are far out in their Reckoning. Our Miſfortunes are of ſuch a Nature, that I can ſee no Remedy for them; except the Prince who is the Head of the State rouſing himſelf, and as it were awaking from his Lethargy, inſpires new Spirit into all the Members of this great Body; that all of them may be ſenſible that he animates them, and that they may know how to behave under him as they ought.

When I look into the Hiſtory of the Ruin of the weſtern *Han*, I find that neither Tyranny nor Diſſoluteneſs had any Share in it. The Princes under whom it happened, had none of theſe Views: But they were extremely lazy and indolent. They loved their Quiet ſo much, that in order to ſave the Fatigues of ſome Months or Years, they expoſed their Crown and their Families to the Miſfortunes of many Ages. The Sovereign is the ſame thing in a State, as what Heaven is in the Univerſe. (\*) *Cheong chi* commenting upon the Book *I king*, and ſpeaking of the Properties of the Heaven, takes particular Notice of its conſtant Activity and uninterrupted Motion. In effect, it is this conſtant regular Action that preſerves this World. The Sun and the Moon which give Light, the other Stars which are its Ornaments, the Thunders which are its Voice, the Rains and Dews which are its Benefits, are all the Effects of its Action and Motion. And if the Heaven were without Action and without Motion, I believe that this unmoveable Maſs corrupting of itſelf, and could not long ſubſiſt; far leſs could it influence all the reſt of the System.

If our Prince, taking a happy Byaſs upon this Model, ſhould one of theſe Days diſplay himſelf, ſhining with a new Luſtre, and armed with a noble and formidable Reſolution, ſhould he make all his Subjects ſenſible that he will not bear the Title of Sovereign in vain, and that he is reſolved to animate and be animated for the Good of the Empire which is under him. Then all the Men of Underſtanding would immediately crowd to aſſiſt him with their Advices; and all the Men of Courage would preſent themſelves, and offer to ſerve him at the Expence of their Lives; they would ſtrive with one another, which of them ſhould beſt ſecond the Activity of their Sovereign, and then nothing would be impracticable. But while the Prince, either indolent or irresolute, won't diſcover what his Intentions are, or leaves People to think that he intends nothing at all: Tho' his Officers were equal to the *Lyu*, the *Tſi* or the *Ki*, what can they do? For which Reaſon, I begin this Memorial by requiring in a Sovereign, Activity, and a determined Reſolution effectually to reign and to govern his Empire. I ſhall lay down in the following Articles, what I think is moſt eſſential for doing this with Succeſs.

*Su ſhe*, after blaming his Prince for too lightly changing the eſta bliſhed Laws and Regulations on account of ſome Inconveniencies, proceeds thus.

They who give theſe Advices, are Literati of a pedantic Knowledge, who found their Opinion upon ſome particular Inſtance of Antiquity. As for me, tho' I own, I think there is ſomewhat defective in our Laws as we now have them; yet the bad Succeſs of the Government is not owing to that Defect, but to the wrong Choice of Men who are put in Poſts. The Laws and Regulations of a State reſembles the five Sounds of Muſic; in the Combination of the five Sounds with the ſix *Lyu*, ſome can't fail being of a tender laſcivious Strain. In like manner, ſome Inconveniencies will attend ſome Laws and Regulations that are made. Our ancient Sages ſaw this well; therefore their Laws and Regulations were very few. The reſt they truſted to the Virtue and Diſcretion of the Perſons whom they put in Poſt. The Prince ought to apply all his Cares to the right Choice of a firſt Miniſter: But he ought after that, to put a real Confidence in him; and to be thoroughly convinced that he deſerves it. If the Miniſter perceives that the Prince renders himſelf dark with Regard to him, he, on his Part, will be fearful and reſerved: He will then only half profit by his Talents, and nothing that is great can be done.

This Confidence is the more requiſite at preſent, in that, if a Miniſter would put Things upon a good Footing, he will find great Obſtacles in the abandoned Indolence that has crept into all the

Members

(||) Two celebrate Phyſicians of Antiquity.

(\*) *Confucius*.



Members of the State, which is the Reason why People only think of the present, and never disturb themselves about what is to come. A Minister in such Circumstances, must have the Courage to raise himself above the common Ideas, and a great many unwarrantable Customs. This cannot be done without his opening a great Field for Envy, Detraction, and Calumny. If he does not see to the Bottom of his Prince's Heart, will he dare to oppose him?

In another Article *Sû shé* says: When the Empire is disquieted and in Motion, every one endeavours to make the best of his Talents that he can. Whence it frequently happens, that they who have Courage, having different Interests, endeavour to ruin one another; while they who have only Cunning, supplant and destroy one another with less Noise. These Parties by little and little gain Strength, and put the finishing Hand to the Disorders and Confusion of the Empire. When Peace is re-established, the new Emperor being informed that the former Troubles were occasioned by the Ambition of certain Persons of a greater Merit than ordinary, in order to shun the like Misfortunes, employs only Persons who are naturally gentle, fearful, unambitious, and without any great Capacity. What is the Consequence of this? At the End of a few Years, if the least Difficulty occurs, the Prince has not one Man from whom he can hope Assistance. And if Assistance does not speedily interpose, every thing at least insensibly languishes, and the worst is to be dreaded for the State.

The Sages of a first Rate observe a different Method. In the longest and most profound Peace, they know how to keep the Minds of Men in Exercise, and to animate the Subjects to do all the Good of which they are capable. For this End, they open different Ways agreeable to the different Inclinations of Men; every one enters with Pleasure into some one of these Ways, every one moves, acts, labours; one is animated by this Motive, another by that: In the mean time, all this tends to promote the Interest of the Prince and the State. Thus, to open different Ways, and to put your Subjects in Action, calls for your immediate Application, and you cannot begin too soon. All the Objection that lies to this Advice can easily be refuted.

*Sû shé* in the rest of this Article, refutes a Maxim which is stretched too far concerning the Gentleness and Indulgence that is proper for the Sovereign, and the Misapplication of the Doctrine of (\*) *Chong yong* by some Pedants.

In another Article *Sû shé* says;

Sir, behold what is said in general of an Emperor; being placed as it were by way of Loan above the rest of Mankind, charged with extending his Cares to an almost endless Space, that every thing may be kept in order; (†) Does he prosper? Nothing is more high or more firm. Does there happen a troublesome Reverse? Nothing is more abject, nothing more frail. And the Transition from the one State to the other, depends very often upon a mere Trifle. Therefore a Prince who is truly wise and provident, does not lay near so great a Stress upon the Means of making himself feared, as of the Measures he takes to make himself beloved. Whatever Care he takes to maintain his Authority, and however well established it appears, yet it is not chiefly upon this that he founds his Confidence; but upon his knowing that he is too well beloved for any Subject to fail in his Obedience and Respect. He immediately, and in his own Person, assures himself of the Hearts of those he employs: And they, by a wise and loyal Conduct, secure the Hearts of the People. This is his most effectual Security in his high and elevated Situation. He who founds this Security upon his Name of Emperor, or upon his Sovereign Power, or upon the happy Situation in which he has put Things, may indeed maintain his Authority for some time, if no Difficulty occurs; But does a perplexing Juncture happen all of a Sudden? He finds no Zeal in his Servants: They are all with Regard to him, as to one they had met by Accident upon a Road. Does two Roads meet in one? They salute one another in Form, they coldly take their Leave, and each goes his own Way.

Behold what happens to Princes who are too haughty, and who have only the Art to render themselves formidable. Are they in any Difficulty? In vain do they look out for some one to assist them, for no body appears, and this for two Reasons; First, because the Prince is not beloved. Secondly, because his Haughtiness and Fierceness having driven from his Court the Men of the greatest Merit, and kept all others in Fear and upon the Reserve, no body has been accustomed to manage that precious Vessel; and in Times of Trouble and Confusion, every one declines to take the Trouble of it. From all this *Sû shé* concludes, that the Prince, far from keeping this Vessel always shut up, ought to act so, as that a good many People may be accustomed to manage it: That is to say, that he ought to invite into the Government, all the Men of Abilities that he can, and give each of them an Opportunity of exercising his Talents. He then complains, that Emperors frequently render themselves too inaccessible, both by the Fierceness and Haughtiness with which they treat their Ministers and great Officers, and by a hundred perplexing Ceremonies that are too mortifying and too troublesome. He then shews, that the greatest Emperors both of ancient and modern Times have acted otherways. It is true, says he, that Antiquity recommends to Sovereigns a Gravity worthy of themselves, and a continual watching over their Words and Actions. But it is likewise true, that certain injudicious Literati by abusing many Texts, cherish the Pride of Princes. .... That which seems, continues he, to press most in the State of Indulgence and Laziness, that has gained upon all the Members of the Empire; is, that

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his

(\*) This is the Text of an ancient Book upon the true Mean.

der a great Weight.

(†) The Expression in the Chinese is literally, Does he prosper? He is Mount Tay. Does he not prosper? He is an Egg un-

(1) That is to say, the Empire and its Government.



his Majesty who is the Head, rousing himself and gathering new Strength, would put all the rest in Motion; for this End he lays down five Articles in the following Terms.

1. It is certain, that next to the Sovereign, upon the Ministers and great Officers of War, depends the Happiness or Unhappiness of States. It seems to me, that your Majesty ought to call them frequently into your Presence, and to reason with them upon Affairs. The frequent Councils you hold with them, will produce good Views; at least your Majesty will reap this Advantage, that you will thoroughly be acquainted with your Servants.

2. (\*) The *Tay chew tse*, are they to whom you entrust the Care of your People in the Provinces. It would be proper, when they are changed, either when they are going elsewhere, or when they retire from Business, for them to be obliged to repair to Court; and that your Majesty should set a-part a Time for admitting them, and enquiring at them about the Customs and Manners of the Place they have just left, about the most perplexing Affairs that have occurred therein, and upon the Expedients that contributed most to disengage them. Besides that these Informations may be very useful to you, you will thereby discover the true Talents of Magistrates.

3. In all Times, our Emperors had certain Officers appointed, whose Employment is to entertain them with useful Discourse, and to read and explain to them our *King*. For a long Time this has been so easily dispensed with, or so superficially perform'd, that it is done with no Advantage: and yet nothing was more wisely establish'd, or more useful, if it is conscientiously discharged. I wish therefore that your Majesty, instead of naming the Officers as you do without much Care, and merely for Form-sake, would chuse Persons proper for this Office: And that they on their Part, without confining themselves to a cold tiresome Lesson upon the *King*, were capable, upon these Texts, to entertain your Majesty with whatever is most useful and curious in the History of all Ages.

4. If, among the Advices or Memorials that come to your Hands from the Provinces, there are any that either for their fine Dress or Solidity, are above ordinary, it would be proper for your Majesty to call the Author to Court; to interrogate him, to shew him some Marks of Goodness and to commend him, were it no more than to encourage and inspire him with more Liberty to give you useful Advices upon Occasion.

5. Tho' the meanest Officers do not commonly converse with the Prince himself, yet in my Opinion, your Majesty being acquainted by sure Methods, that any one amongst them has done his Duty, should, all of a sudden, and without telling him for what, call him to Court, and acquaint him that you know and approve of his Conduct, and let him taste of your Bounty. This will not only be attended with no Inconveniency, but it will be a good way of inculcating the Sentiments of Honour and Virtue upon others of his Rank. They are very numerous, and considering their small Appointments and the vast Distance that they believe is betwixt them and the Sovereign, they may grow negligent. Both they and all the Empire will thereby perceive the vast Tenderness your Majesty has for your People; your Care to contribute all you can to promote their Happiness, and your Value for Merit in all Ranks of Life; and this, in my Opinion, will be a new Mean, besides those pointed out by the Laws, to encrease the Number of good, and diminish the Number of bad, Officers.

In another Article the same *Sa shé* says, When no Petition is sent to Court, and when in effect no Person in the Empire has Reason to complain; when no Suppliant appears, and when throughout the Empire every body has either what he wishes, or what he in reason ought to wish for; it is the Effect of the most fine perfect Government in the World, and the brightest Proof of the superior Wisdom, and the perfect Disinterestedness of those who govern. Such were the happy Reigns of the great Princes *Tau* and *Shun*. But if it be impossible to put an end to all Supplications and Accusations, it ought to be so ordered, that these Law-suits and Petitions be dispatch'd quickly and without Delay, that the Officers of the Provinces may not affect so prodigious a Distance from these of the Court, and that the most common People may find an easy Access to the Officers of the Provinces.

Man, for instance, has a Heart and two Hands; does he feel a Trouble in any Part about him, were it but an Itching, tho' the Uneasiness in the Main is inconsiderable, and incapable to alarm him, yet he can't keep his Fingers from handling the Part affected, and that too very frequently. Every Time they approach it, is it by an express formal Order of the Heart? No, there is no Occasion for such a precise premeditated Order. For as the Heart naturally and habitually acts for the whole Body, the Hands are likewise naturally habituated to follow the Propensity of the Heart. In this Manner, Things are managed in a State which is governed by Sages of the first Rate. A tender and sincere Love unites the Head with the Members, and the Members with the Head, which is the Emperor, in such a Manner, that their Evils and Dangers, great and small, are in common, and the reciprocal Assistance they give one another is very ready. We don't see this Now-a-days.

Does any one, who is oppress'd or in pinching Necessities, carry his Complaints, or displays his Rights at Court? It is as if he address'd *Tyen* or *Quey shin*, for he receives no Answer. The Ministers and other great Officers never by themselves examine Things to the Bottom, but rely upon their inferior Officers. It is thus commonly with mean interested Souls who do nothing but for Money. But when once they receive that, the Affair is dispatch'd in less than a Day. But, do the Petitioners come to them empty handed? they let them dance Attendance

\* The same that is now *Chi fa*, or the first Civil Officers of a City of the first Rank. There are in this Province always several

ral Cities of the second or third Order; sometimes more, sometimes fewer, whose Officers are subordinate to him.



dance for a whole Year. Do you ask of them the most just Thing in the World, and Things that cannot be refus'd you? They find Means to put you off a long Time that they may force you to purchase them. In short, you must either stay for the meere Trifles, or go without your Business.

Under some preceeding Dynasties there were Junctures, in which the Laws being ill-digested or destitute of Vigour, gave Rise to Cheats and Injustice. At present when that Door is shut, another is opened. Law itself is made a Trade of: Is a Man to be wrong'd? They seek in our Laws some Quirk, to which, under some specious Pretext, his Affair may be reduc'd, and by which he may be cast. Is another, who pays well, to be favour'd? However unjust his Plea may be, it is put in such a Light, that under Favour of some Article of our Laws which relate to his Case, he gains his Suit. At present, they complain much of the Multiplicity of their Business. But this is not in reality, because they have more Business now, than they used to have at many other Times; but because the Officers are neither industrious nor expeditious, because they devolve every Thing upon their Underlings who prolong them, in order to extort what they want: thereby their Business grows from Day to Day, from Month to Month, and from Year to Year, till they can scarce see the End of it. Make your Officers laborious and expeditious, otherwise there is no Remedy.

One of the Things which our antient Kings fear'd most, was, least some one of their Subjects losing Courage, and despairing of Success, should entirely abandon the Care of his Honour and Fortune. These wise Princes knew well that when it comes to that Pass they never stop half way in Wickedness, but hold on till they commonly became incorrigible. For which Reason, one of their greatest Cares was to act in such a Manner as that their Subjects, being always animated by Fear and Hope, should never be weary of doing Good. With this View, having establish'd different Degrees of Distinction, and different Posts, to which considerable Appointments were annexed, they never bestow'd them but upon deserving Persons; but they never laid any Man under an Incapacity of enjoying them, and thereby they animated every one to aspire to them. The Road to these Posts and Honours was open to all their Subjects; and they who did not arrive at them, could not justly impute it to any Thing but to their own Disorders and Weakness. Thus there was seen through all the Orders of the State not only a great Ardour for well-doing, but likewise an admirable Constancy not to relax nor prevaricate.

But still what Secret had our ancient Princes to arrive at this? It was as follows: Being persuaded that the Son of a Man of Quality, when he degenerates, has nothing that can in Reason set him above the Level of the most common People; they had Regard to nothing but to Merit and Capacity; they were so determined in this, that be his Birth what it would, without these two Qualifications, he never could propose to be advanced: Thereby, Men of a high Birth had a Check put upon that Licentiousness, which is so natural to them, and they endeavoured to support their Ranks; thereby, the meanest who were conscious of Virtue had a Spur to excite them; thereby, throughout all the Empire a generous Emulation, which produced admirable Effects, encreased every Day. O! what just Notions had these antient Princes! In Progress of Time this Method was lost. Certain Employments were annexed to Persons of a certain Rank; while others, on the contrary, however great their Merit is, can never arrive at the same Employments. Yet now, as formerly, some Promotions are always made with an Eye to Merit and Virtue; at least this is pretended: but I find wrong Measures are taken for this. For Instance, it is now regulated, that when a Man has got his Degree of (\*) *Tseng tse*, he is sure of a Post, which renders him equally noble and rich. Is not this Promotion a little too swift? He has succeeded very well in his Exercises on the Day of Examination. But must we conclude from this that he has Capacity and Genius for his Affairs? What I think still worse is, that those of a certain Condition are either entirely precluded, or some Bounds are assign'd them, beyond which they cannot pass. The Officers of the (†) *Cheu* and the (‡) *Hyen*, when they are once divested of their Posts, can never recover them. These then become People, who being reduced to Despair, and who having nothing further to hope for or to fear, grow capable of any thing, and do great Mischief among the People. Such a one amongst them, at the Bottom, is an honest Man; he has Merit and Capacity: An unlucky Accident happens to him, for which he is broken. Thenceforward no more Employments to him, he is put under an everlasting Incapacity, and is a Man who, contrary to the Maxims of our Antients, is render'd desperate, and who consequently is exposed to the Temptation of being very wicked.

I think that these Officers, when they are cashier'd, which in my Opinion never ought to be done but for some grievous Faults and such as shew the Offender to be a bad Man, should have Opportunities and Means of repairing their Faults; at least, they should be left in a Condition to hope to recover their former Character. As the lower Officers of these great Tribunals of the Court are People that cannot be wanted, it has been thought expedient, in order that the Vacancies in their Posts may be supplied, to make a Regulation, that after so many Years of Service they should have Posts given them in the Provinces. There was good reason for this Regulation; but because these Officers for the most part are but poor, it was thought proper to determine that they should be laid under an Incapacity of rising above a certain Rank: so that tho' amongst them there might be found a Man of the first Merit, he could never arrive at great Posts or Dignities, tho' he had lived vested with an Office ever so long: I think Inconveniences attend this: for, in short, he who enters into Posts, at least in

(\*) A Degree of Literature.

(†) Cities of the second Order.

(‡) Cities of the third Order.



some measure, has an Eye to Honour and Distinction: If he is excluded from this, he has no other View from his Services and Labours but to amass Riches. Then it is natural for him to be in good Earnest about this, and it is to be fear'd that this, becoming the ruling Passion both of his Head and his Heart, will transport him to unwarrantable Excesses.

I say almost the same Thing of those People who, by advancing a certain Sum to the Royal Treasury, obtain such and such a Post, but always with this Proviso, that they can not rise higher. It is natural to think, that they will make as much of their Posts as they can: And then it is to be fear'd, that they sell Justice and make the People suffer. I wish that no Man were made Use of whom we are, if we may so speak, obliged to abandon, and who is thereby exposed to the Temptation of abandoning himself. It would therefore be proper that when a Man is put in inferior Posts, an open Way were left him for attaining to the highest, by his Capacity, Merit, and Services.

A Prince who has just Notions of Things, never believes himself fixed upon his Throne, but in the same Degree in which he sees his Subjects fix'd in the Love of Virtue, and a hearty Aversion to whatever is unjust and unreasonable. These People, who under our three famous Dynasties, never deviated from their Obedience and Duty, however great the Danger, or however strong the Temptation was, Were these People, I say, ever animated by the Hopes of Reward, or check'd by the Fear of Punishment? No. But their Heart being fixed in Virtue and the Love of Justice, they could never resolve upon any Thing glaringly inconsistent with these. Cold, Hunger, Ignominy, Death, in short, nothing could make them forget what they ow'd to their Prince. Behold the Reason why each of our three famous Dynasties subsisted so long! Under the following Dynasties Things were alter'd. The Subjects were then seen frequently to neglect their Duty for private Interest, to forget the Orders of their Sovereign upon the least Danger which they run: they made Use of Artifice and Deceit almost in every Thing; and thus they eluded the most rigorous Laws: In short, having a hearty Aversion for their Governors, they rejoiced in their Misfortunes. Then did Inundations or any other Calamity succeed? Did any Rebellion rise? The whole State was turned upside down, and the Emperor found himself without Subjects. All your Literati of different Ages inform us of the same Thing. Under our three famous Dynasties, say they, great Care was taken of what concerned the Instruction of the People. Publick Schools and frequent Exercises were instituted; and for this, the Rites were rigorously enforced. The proper Usages in assuming the Cap for the first Time, in Marriages and the Times both before and after Burials were observed. This was afterwards neglected, and for this Reason, the People at last blush'd at nothing. Such is the common Language of our Literati. For my Share, I remark, that at different Times, since those of our famous Dynasties, Men of Merit and Virtue being supported by the Authority of the Princes, have reviv'd these publick Schools, re-established these Exercises, and reinforced the Observance of these Rites. If therefore this is sufficient for the Conversion of the People, we ought to endeavour to revive the Manners of Antiquity. But we have seen, on the contrary, that the People, by becoming more polish'd, become likewise frequently more wicked, more cunning, more deceitful, more jealous, and more proud.

This makes me say, notwithstanding my too great want of Capacity, that such of our Literati, who talk thus, love Antiquity without thoroughly understanding it, and that they have not rightly dived into the great Secret; they knew in general, that Antiquity had a right Method for rendering the People virtuous by instructing them, but not distinguishing what was effectual for this Purpose, and upon what it was founded, they took up with fine Names, or at least, with fine Appearances. These Appearances are indeed useful; and without them, the Virtues, which is the solid Part, can scarce subsist long. But if the Prince and the Governors confine themselves to simple Appearances; their Flatterers and some superficial Literati will tell them, that Antiquity is reviving, when in reality there is no Change wrought upon the Morals, and the fine Name of the Restorer of Antiquity cannot be supported.

*Vu vang* no sooner became Emperor than he gave to the People great Largeesses of Corn and Money, thereby making all his Empire sensible that he was quite free from Avarice. He treated Men of Virtue and Merit with a great deal of Honour; thereby giving them to understand that he was neither proud nor passionate. He vested the Descendants of our ancient Princes with Principalities; and in this his Goodness was display'd. He caused *Fey hyen* and *Ngo lay* to be put to Death; by this his Justice appeared. In this Manner a Prince ought to act: In this Manner he ought to begin, if he wants to labour with Success, either in forming or reforming the Manners of the People. Every Body was the more charm'd with this Conduct in *Vu vang*, because his Predecessor *Chew* observed a Conduct quite contrary to this. *Vu vang* thereby gain'd all their Hearts. He revived Fidelity, Zeal, Disinterestedness, Modesty, and the Shame of bad Actions. After which, in order to enrich and adorn so beautiful a Foundation, succeeded the Regulation and Observance of the Rites, Music, Public Lessons and Schools, the Exercises of the Bow, solemn Feasts at appointed Times, the Ceremonies of Cap, Marriages, the Times before and after Burials. These outward Appearances struck the Eyes, and revived and cherish'd in the Heart the Sentiments of Virtue: and nothing was more charming than to see how each took a Pleasure in doing his Duty.

Ever since the Days of the *Tsin* and the *Han*, all the Stress has been commonly laid upon the Fear of the Laws, and the Rigour of the Officers. This has been made the Support of Government, without Princes troubling themselves much about inculcating the Love of Duty and



and Virtue. Thus, for upwards of a thousand Years, Craft, Interest, and Avarice have been gaining Ground in the Hearts of the People; till they have lost the Sense of Shame. When our Literati want to revive what they call Antiquity, by establishing certain Decorums of Ceremonies and Music, all they gain by this is, that the People seeing their Evolutions and Grimace, put their Hands upon their Mouths, and privately stifle their Laugh: or else they will look with Astonishment upon one another, and discover by their Looks that they are by no Means pleased with such Music. This being the Case can it be hoped they should by these Means be reclaimed to a Love for Virtue, and a Hatred of Vice? For my Share, I am of Opinion, that another Method should be followed. In order to inculcate upon them the Virtues, which are the essential Part, you must set them an Example as *Vu wang* did, and begin by those which it most concerns the People that the Prince should possess, and which it most concerns the Prince that his Subjects should have. For instance, if the People knows not what Fidelity and Honour signifies, how can Peace and good Order long subsist? If the People are quite ignorant of every thing that can be called Generosity, Equity, and Constancy, how can they become united in Dangers? In short, if in the most peaceable Times the Subjects only endeavour how to deceive the Vigilance of their Governors: If in the first Difficulty in which they see their Prince engaged, they are ready to abandon him; how can we flatter our selves with having the Secret of Antiquity for the Amendment of the People? since it is quite otherwise. We may say, on the contrary, that in this Situation of Affairs, if great Revolutions have not happened, it is by mere Chance and good Luck. But, would we inspire the People with Sincerity, Fidelity and Loyalty? the Secret for obtaining this is as follows: The Prince and Governor themselves must be exact in keeping their Word to the People. Would they inspire them with a noble Disinterestedness, and generous Equity? The best Way is for the Prince and the Government to discover no Avarice nor Rapaciousness.

Some Time ago, when there was an Intention to raise towards the West of the *Yellow River*, the Troops that were necessary on that Quarter, whole Families, and almost all the Persons capable to bear Arms were enlisted. In order to engage them to enlist, they were assur'd by public Manifestoes dispatch'd from Court, that Recourse was only had to them for that Time, and on a pressing Exigency, which could not otherwise be supplied so readily, that they should not be oblig'd to serve long, and that they should afterwards have full Liberty to return to their respective Employments. But instead of this, soon after, they were rigorously detained in the Service, and not a single Man of them dismissed.

In the Years named *Pau yuen* there were different Motions and Marches made by all the Troops. Occasion was taken from this to increase the Taxes a great deal. This, it was said, was only upon an Emergency, but a good many Years have since intervened, and these Taxes still subsist. When the People are treated thus, how can Honour and the Hatred of Deceit be inculcated on them? To exact from them much less than what you rigorously may, and to keep your Word with them even when it is difficult so to do, are essential Maxims to Governors; if it is said that these Things are impracticable in a State where Finances are established; my Answer is, that if any other Course is held, you will lose Ground instead of gaining.

Discourse of *Su shê* Brother to the *Su shê*, proving that a Prince ought to be acquainted with the different Characters of Men.

I HAVE elsewhere declared my Sentiments upon the Art of Governing; and shall not repeat what I have there mentioned. I shall only add, that a Prince who wants to succeed therein ought to apply himself to know the different Capacities and Characters of those he employs: Because, without this, all the rest will be useless. And, in order to render so necessary a Piece of Knowledge easy, I have here collected some Pourtraits different from one another.

Let us suppose, that at present, our Emperor has no body about his Person or in Employments, but Officers of acknowledged Wisdom, approved Probity, and such as are incapable of giving the Prince the least Uneasiness, by deviating from their Duty. It is however useful for him to know, and may be dangerous for him not to know, that there might be found others, and they too amongst Men of Merit, of a quite opposite Character. Some there are, whose ruling Passion is the Love of Glory. These aim only at Renown. Riches has no Charms for them; they may possess them, but their Relations use them. Does a Post present that they can easily procure? They are so far from endeavouring to obtain it, that they take a Pride in yielding it to another who is their Inferior. Not that they are averse from entering into Posts. For if their Prince places them in one, and treats them with Respect, according to the Rites, they are quite ravished. But if he treats them with less Distinction, being intirely insensible of the Motives of Interest and all that, they retire from Business. Is one of these kind of People in Post? Nothing is so temperate, nothing so disinterested; and all this in order to distinguish himself from, and raise himself above, the rest of Mankind. If the Prince, out of Esteem to him, shall endeavour to engage him with considerable Advantages, he is as it were ashamed and dissatisfied at his Heart.

Others grasp after Riches: Posts, with large Pensions annex, are their Delight. They carefully lay hold on all Occasions of enriching themselves, that they and their Families may live at Ease. If such enjoy Lands and Houses, they will perform great Services. But if a Prince, from a false Notion of their Character, shall pretend to engage them by the Distinctions of meer Honour, these Sort of People will never repay him, and they will be always discontented.



To be always in a Humour of over-bearing, is a considerable Failing. And yet there are People of that Character, who otherways have Merit and Capacity, whom if the Prince designs to employ, he ought to manage and to take the proper Measures for that Effect. Otherways they will be continually jangling and contending with others.

There are others who have a mutual Hatred for one another. A Prince ought to take care not to employ both these at once. One Man will sacrifice to his Vengeance, the Success of the most advantageous Enterprize. Another is inflexibly resolute and stiff; a Man of these Characters on some Occasions is necessary, and therefore a Prince ought to employ him: But do not pretend to make such Men bend, for they will first break, and that loses them. An other Man, on the contrary, is fearful: Do not offer Violence to his fear, for your Affairs will thereby suffer. He may be very serviceable to you when no Danger attends the Service. Thus it is, that a Prince ought to study the Characters of his Servants, in order to keep them attach'd to his Person, and to make Advantage of their Capacities.

But there is need of a still more particular Care, in discovering and preventing the bad Designs that may be a forming. They who think to make themselves the Head of a Party, are commonly Masters of the deepest Dissimulation: Their Motions are so subtle, that it is not easy to discern them. When they are really acting on the one Side, they appear intent upon the other: There is nothing with them, but false Attacks and Counter-marches. Men of this Character have been seen in Times past, whose real Views were, usurping the Authority of the Prince, and yet far from contradicting him in any thing, they served him with all the Complaisance and Assiduity imaginable, studying his Inclinations, and carefully procuring all the Occasions of gratifying them. Their Aim was, that the Prince being abandoned to his Pleasures, might abandon the Government to them. They then took that Opportunity, and unless the Prince had been much upon his Guard, they artfully seized the Authority which he had as it were deposited in their Hands. Such formerly was the Conduct of *Li lin fu*.

Besides, when these Sort of People are once possessed of Authority, all their Care is to contrive the Means of keeping themselves in it, least any one more able than themselves should supplant them, which they are in continual dread of. One of the Methods they commonly employ for this Effect, is to form and to foment different Parties in the State. Thereby they render themselves as it were necessary; while they who can hurt them, being employed in supporting themselves on other Quarters, these other in the mean time enjoy the Fruits of their Artifice. *Li lin fu* was a Man of this Character likewise.

It is not vicious and disorderly Princes alone, who have reason to be afraid of being thus surprized. Does a Prince love Men of Worth? Has he an Inclination and Esteem for Virtue? Mean Souls are not wanting who make a traffic of this. By what Means? By Vice in disguise, if they are not much on their Guard, appearing like Virtue, and Virtue when disfigured, having a Resemblance of Vice. A designing Man therefore, knowing that his Prince has a Value for Virtue, immediately makes open Profession of it. But if he practises it for some time, he is soon seen to prevaricate. When Occasion favours him, he passes into Villany; this was the Manner in which he celebrated Villain *Sbé byen*, behaved in his Time. When these Kind of Men have firmly united their Party, and when they are thoroughly acquainted with the weak Side of their Prince, they take all Advantages of it. They place him betwixt two Extreams, the one of which leads to their own Views, the other they well know is disagreeable to their Prince, and thus they as it were drive him in Spite of himself, into their own Designs. This was the Practice of Numbers of Villains in the former Ages, and in particular, of the ambitious and crafty *Li ki*, when, that she might ruin the Hereditary Prince of *Tsin*, she sought Permission from *Hyen kong* to retire.

An understanding Prince, who is thoroughly acquainted with these Characters, knows the Views which each proposes, by the first Steps they take, and resting well assur'd, that the more Pains they take to conceal them, the less justifiable they are, he is never more upon his Guard, than when he is in the dark as to the Motives both of their Words and Actions. Under the Government of our ancient Kings, none were seen in Posts but Men of the most approved Virtue, the others remained in Obscurity. Was this because amongst these last, not a Man sought to be advanced? Doubtless several did; but they no sooner appeared than they were seen through; so that being covered with Shame and Confusion, they condemned themselves to Obscurity. Happy I, if what I have seen laid down can in the least aid my Prince, in rightly distinguishing Men possesst of Virtue and Capacity, from those who have neither the one nor the other.

#### Another DISCOURSE of the same Sû ché.

AS a Man in Credit and Authority, has in some Measure a certain Resemblance of an ambitious Favorite, the Vulgar confounds these two Characters together; and the just Hatred of the one extends to the other. This is because the unthinking Many take up with exteriour Appearances, and never examine Things to the Bottom. Both the one and the other aim bold Strokes, which encroach, or seem to encroach, upon the Sovereign Authority. And this is the Reason why the Vulgar, being surprized by Appearances, stupidly confound them. As for me, I put a wide Difference betwixt these two Sorts of Men; and tho' I agree with every body, in thinking the Second the Pest of a State, yet I believe it, it is always good for a State never to be without a Person of the first Character. An honest Man, when in trust, if there is Occasion, more sincerely, and more freely than any one else, blames the Extravagance of an ambitious Favorite. And the Steps



he sometimes takes, are never such as those, by which an ambitious and ungrateful Minion authorises his Conduct. The Favorite who abuses his Credit, wants to usurp the Sovereign Authority, and to leave his Master nothing but the Name; how does he behave? When within Doors with his Prince, nothing, in Appearance, is more gentle, nothing more submissive. Whatever the Prince proposes is agreed to by the Minion, who is so far from opposing it, that he never is at a Loss for Reasons to support it. The Prince, deluded by his Cunning, grows fonder and fonder of him. Worthless as he is, he greedily listens to what he says: At last, he lets him engross his whole Confidence, and being contented with the Shadow, he abandons to this Favorite all the Substance of his Authority. Then it is, that the ingrateful Minion makes all the Empire sensible of the Degree of Favour to which he is raised. He boldly takes the Ballance in his Hand, and freely decides upon the Lives and Fortunes of his fellow Subjects. Rewards and Punishments come all from his Hands, as if there were no longer any Emperor. He humbles one, and raises another; none but his Creatures are in Posts, all the Officers great and small, are devoted to him, and proud to become his Confidants. Behold the Favorite now as the Master; and the Empire is sure to suffer; but the Evil is, as it were, past Remedy.

Let us now cast our Eyes upon the Conduct of one whom I call a Man of Credit and Authority. What a vast Difference is there betwixt this Character and the one I have just now described! If the Prince, as is sometimes the Case, from a Sally of Passion, shall unseasonably design to engage in some foolish Undertaking, he honestly opposes it; and in respectful, but strong Terms, lays before him his Reasons for dissuading him. If it happens that the Prince, without removing or regarding them, shall obstinately pursue the Dictates of his Passion, tho' evidently against his own Honour and the Good of the State; in that Case, he lets his Prince say on, and without minding the Orders which proceed from the Suggestions of his Passion, he follows the wisest Course, both for the Good of the State and the Honour of his Prince, who recovering from the Transport which dimm'd his Reason, is very well pleased that Things have been managed in that Manner. It is plain, that the Emperor ought to be the first mover of every thing, both at Court and over all the Empire. But the Good of the State likewise requires, that there should be at Court a Number of creditable Officers, who make it their Duty and Employment, incessantly to watch over the Public Good; and who having the Honour to approach the Prince, are incapable of a wretched abject Fawning which makes them truckle to his Passions; who being clothed with a Post, whose very Badges have somewhat formidable in them, instead of making a vain strong Parade, acquit themselves in such a Manner, that a respectful Dread restrains within the Bounds of their Duty, all their Inferiors; while at the same time, the Prince, Sovereign and Master as he is, perceives that he can't do every thing.

Thus behaves a Man, whom I call a Man in Authority; as his Conduct is plainly different from that of an ambitious Favorite, so are his Views. The one seeks to raise and to enrich himself: The other to advance the Good of the State and the Honour of the Prince. All the Empire surely cannot be mistaken in this. I then say, that as an ambitious Favorite is a Pest, so it greatly concerns a State, that it never should be without Men of Credit and Authority. We shall suppose, that there are in it no such Men: Behold, then the Prince abandoned to himself in his most violent Transports, and the most ticklish Juncture. How then can the State fail to suffer?

We shall suppose a Prince easy enough in hearing Remonstrances? What shall become of him, if he has not about him a Man of Weight, Credit and Authority, who will dare to expose himself to ruin, by opposing his Prince, or by making himself answerable for the Event of an important Affair? He will always find People, who, in order to give themselves Airs of Importance, will present to him frequent Remonstrances upon mere Trifles, the good or bad Success of which is of no Consequence. Does an Affair happen that concerns the Welfare, and even the very Being of a State. All these Gentlemen are dumb: Every one of them fearing, lest he should ruin himself. How disastrous is this for a State, and for a Prince who is at once its Master and Father.

Formerly, the Hereditary Prince of *Wey* assembled Soldiers, that he might take and dispatch out of the Way certain *Kyang chong*. King *Vu ti* in great Wrath, brought Troops into the Field against his Son. The two Armies met and fought, but very coldly; and the Hereditary Prince retir'd to a neighbouring Country. The King being still enraged, increased his Armies, and endeavoured to destroy the States that had sheltered the Prince. Had there been then at Court a Man of Credit and Authority, such as I have described; and had this Man boldly raised himself, opposed the King's Fury, had made the Son sensible of the Fault he had committed, and at the same time shewed the Father how much he had been to blame, the King would have found time to cool, and the Prince to have appeased his Anger, and then Matters would have been soon made up. But alas! Tho' every one sees what ought to be spoken and acted, no body dares to speak and act; then it is, that there is not a Man of Authority in the Kingdom.

From all this in my humble Opinion, I think, that we may conclude, that whoever has the Interest of the State really at Heart, ought to look upon it as a real Good, that there is in it some Man of such a Character, who by his great Authority and uncommon Credit, should keep all the Officers of the State in their Duty, and who in perilous Times, may for the Good of the State and the Prince, zealously undertake a bold Stroke, and support it, without ruining himself. I own, that in such Times as the present, in which all the Empire enjoys a profound Peace, such a Person may be (\*) dispensed with without any Inconvenience. But, besides that it is prudent to guard at a Distance against all unforeseen Misfortunes, such Persons are always useful in a State.

(\*) This Discourse is an Apology for some Person against whose Credit and Authority Murmurs had arisen.



Tyen nan song, after having made a very long Discourse to the Emperor Shin tsong, in which he gave him several Advices concerning Government, concludes in these Terms.

**T**H O' the Chew Family, after it came to the Possession of the Empire, was always distinguished by Virtue: Tho' *Ven wang* and *Vu wang*, by the same Method, laid the glorious Foundation of the Dynasty of that Name; yet it was under their Successor *Cbing wang*, that these fine Odes are made, which are called (§) *Ya* and *Song*. It was under the happy and flourishing Reign of this Prince, that amongst other Things these Odes declared. " *Whang tyen*, as a good Father, loves whatever is solidly virtuous: Wisdom and Virtue are his most acceptable Sacrifices: " The Design of the Poet is to inculcate upon *Cbing wang*, by these emphatical Expressions, all necessary Care that he might not degenerate. In effect, nothing is more essential than this is for a Prince; the more flourishing his Reign is, the more ought he to be afraid of himself: And his Subjects cannot give him a stronger Testimony of their Zeal, than to inspire him with this wise Dread. This was not practised under the *Chew* Dynasty only; for during the famous Reigns of the great *Yau* and *Shun*, the Prince and his great Officers were always mutually saying to one another; ' Let us watch, apply ourselves, and be attentive, a Day or two well or ill spent, may have great Consequences.' Permit me, Great Sir, that forgetting my own Insignificance, speaking with the same View that the ancient Book of Verses did, and congratulating you upon a Reign more glorious than any that was seen under the *Song* Dynasty, I may congratulate you yet more upon having understood this Truth: " That *Whang tyen*, like a good Father, loves whatever is solidly virtuous, and that Wisdom and Virtue are to him the most acceptable Sacrifices." What Matter of Joy is it for us to see, that this Persuasion renders you careful respectfully to follow the Views of *Whang tyen*, that it inspires you with a secret Dread lest you should deviate from them, that it makes you seek your own Perfection and your Peoples Happiness in every Object, and every Day to labour with new Ardour therein, and to disregard every thing that might put a Stop to it! It remains, that you should never be inconsistent with yourself: My Zeal makes me wish for this, and with this View it inspires me to call to your Remembrance this Passage in the Book of Verses.

In the first of the Years named *Ywen yew*, the extraordinary Inundations occasioned a great Barrenness over the Province of *Che kyang* and *Kyang nan*. Upon the Information given in by the Officers of these Provinces, the Emperor ordered a hundred (\*) *Wan* of Rice to be furnished out of the Granaries, and twenty *Wan* of *Derniers* out of his Treasury, for the Relief of the Poor. The Distribution and Management of this Bounty was, according to Custom, entrusted with certain Officers. These Orders were scarce issued out, when it was told to the Emperor, that the Officers of the Province had perhaps imposed upon him, by representing the Evil to be greater than it really was; besides, that there was Reason to fear, that the Charity would be misapplied; that it would be proper to depute some Commissaries from the Court, who might give Evidence how far the Calamities, occasioned by the Inundations, reach'd, and proportion the Quotas of the Charity according to the different Exigencies of the Sufferers. In consequence of this Advice, a Scheme was presented to his Majesty for that Effect. The Emperor remarking, that *Fan tsu yu* was not of the Number of those who had made these Remonstrances, tho' by his Employment he naturally ought to have been, put the Scheme into his Hands, and ordered him to give him his Advice thereupon. *Fan tsu yu*, having read it, sealed it up, and sent it back to the Emperor, with the following Discourse:

**G**REAT Sir, I find, that under the *Tang* Dynasty, in one of the Years named *Ta li*, the Inundations were so great in a certain Quarter, that all the Magistrates gave Accounts of them at the Court, except the Magistrate of *Wey mu*, who said, that his District had scarce suffered any thing. However it appeared from the Information of a (†) *Yu tse*, who was deputed for that purpose, that in the Territory of *Wey mu*, the Waters had overflowed upwards of 3000 (‡) King of Arable Ground. Upon this, the then Emperor venting many heavy Sighs; said, *This is strange: it is natural that a Magistrate, who is the Father of the People immediately committed to his Care, should exaggerate their Wants, that he may procure them Relief; but here is one who dissimulates them, surely he is void of all Compassion.* He then immediately degraded him from the Post he then held, and gave him one more inconsiderable.

Under the Reign of *Te tsong*, the Rivers *Kyang* and *Whay* having overflowed, did some Damage. *Lü che*, who then was Minister of State, begged of the Emperor, that he would give some supply to the Places that had suffered. The Emperor having read his Petition, appeared not very inclinable to grant it. If, said he, on these Advices, I should, upon every Damage a Country suffers, be so simple, as to order the Inhabitants Largesses, there is Reason to fear, that I may be imposed upon, and frequently deceived by false Reports. *Lü che*, not at all discouraged by this Answer, still solicited the Prince, and amongst other Things said to him; Sir, Your Majesty's Fears have very little Foundation, for Flattery is the Vice of the Time. Do the Officers of your Provinces touch in their Memorials on any Points, which they think will be agreeable to you, they exaggerate them, and seem never to be weary of insisting upon them. Are they about to give any Advice that may trouble you? They do it in a very cursory Manner, and instead of aggravating the Evil, diminish it as much as they can: And it too often happens, that by these Advices artfully delivered,

(§) The Titles of two Chapters in the *Shi king*, or Book of Verses.

(\*) A *Wan* is 10,000 *Tan*. A *Tan* is 100, or a 125 Pound

Weight.

(†) A Doctor, whose Station obliges him to be about Court.

(‡) The Name of a Measure.



vered, false Measures are taken. But what is all this clutter about? a moderate Expence which will win you the Hearts of your Subjects. Is it proper, by an excessive Precaution, to hazard the cooling of their Affection to you? Tjong then agreed to the Arguments.

In the seventh of the Years named *Ywen* to the Emperor *Hyen tjong* addressing himself to his Ministers said: 'You are always representing to me that last Year the Countries of *Che* and *Whey* have suffered a great deal, first, from the Overflowings of the Water, then by a long Drought; and yet a *Yu tse*, who has come from thence, says, that the Damage is but inconsiderable. Which shall I then believe? and what Side shall I take?' *Li kyang* then taking the Discourse in Hand, answered thus in the Name of the rest.

'Sir, We have all the Informations of the Magistrates of these two Countries; when they are attentively read there is no Man but perceives, that he who gives them trembles for himself, lest that the Court should impute to him, the Sufferings of the People. What Appearance is there that Men, in these Dispositions, would dare to incur your Displeasure by false Advice? It is more natural to believe that this *Yu tse*, whom your Majesty mentions, has talked like a flattering Courtier, whatever he thought would please you. I want to know who this *Yu tse* is, that he may be brought to Justice, and punished according to our Laws. You are in the Right of it, replies the Emperor, Men are the Wealth of a State; and they ought to be relieved as soon as it is known that they suffer. Suspensions are unreasonable on these Occasions. I was not aware of what I objected on this Head.' Orders were then issued out for relieving the Countries that had suffer'd.

Yes, Great Sir, that which our ancient and wise Kings and Princes dreaded, was, least some of their Officers should prevent their being acquainted with the Miseries of the People: That others, in order to save the Finances, should only half relieve them, or for want of Capacity should not do it effectually. This made these two excellent Ministers *Lü che* and *Li kyang* always to speak out. At present, when the two great Provinces of your Empire, who furnish more to the Expences of your Court, and Payment of your Troops than any other, are afflicted with an extreme Famine, will you not fly to relieve them? Behold a great Number of your good Subjects, like so many Children without a Nurse, reduced to Extremity, sending up lamentable Cries, or else being too weak to send them up, wait with open Mouths for what may a little prolong their miserable Life. You are their Father and Mother; and can you be insensible to their Miseries? Will you, by a mistaken Frugality, deny them Relief? My Colleagues say, that a hundred *Wan* of Rice, and twenty *Wan* of Derniers are a great deal, and that if the Magistrates shall, according to the Proportions laid out by the Commissaries, faithfully employ it in distributing (\*) Rice Gruel among the Poor, the Famine, tho' it were as great as is represented, may be supplied by this Relief. For my Share I maintain, that of all the Methods of relieving the Necessities of the Poor, that of distributing Rice in this Manner, is the least proper and effectual. Besides other Inconveniences, the Poor must be assembled. From these Assemblies arise contagious Distempers, which increase the Calamity. No! when a Prince is really touch'd with the People's Sufferings, this Method is never taken, and he never relieves them by Halves.

My Colleagues say further, that it is the Custom of the People to exaggerate their Losses and Misfortunes. I own, that in certain Years some Irregularities in the Seasons may have given Rise to Cheats; and disingenuous People have taken that Occasion to aggravate their pretended Losses. But this can never be presumed in the present Case, which is not that of a Year indifferently good or bad, or a Barrenness that is doubtful. It is the greatest that has ever been seen; the People being obliged to quit their Dwellings, wander from one Place to another, reduced to Beggary, and expecting Death alone: in Circumstances such as these, to suspect that the Wretched are counterfeiting, and to doubt of their Misery, is a Proof of great Hardheartedness.

Your Majesty is petition'd to name Commissaries from Court, who should repair to the Spot, and cause the Arable Ground to be measured: going thorough the Cities and Villages, and counting the dead Persons, and the ruined Houses: that from their Report you may judge of the Truth of the Information that has been given you, that the Magistrates who have imposed upon you may be punished, and that the Relief may be proportioned more justly, according to the Wants of every Country.

I can say from my own Knowledge, that it is a publick and a notorious Fact, that from the first Moon to the sixth, there has been constant Rains in these Places; these excessive Rains have made the Lake *Tay* to overflow; the Overflowing of this Lake have laid *San Yew* and other Cities under Water; the Fields have in such a Manner, and for so long a Time been covered with the Water, that they have not been able for to sow their Rice; the Houses in the Villages have been seen either sunk under, or floating above, the Water; the Husbandmen have sold their Cattle, and are dispersed abroad a begging. I say, that these Calamities are notorious.

I must add that your Majesty being informed of this ought, in order to alleviate it, to shew the same Zeal as you would do in extinguishing a burning, or in assisting Persons who are drowning. Judge if the Suggestions of my Colleagues agree to these Circumstances. Their Methods are very difficult in the Practice, subject to many Inconveniencies, and at the Bottom proper

(\*) A little Rice steeped in a good deal of Water, and reduc'd to a kind of Gruel.

(†) Another Author, on a like Occasion, says, It is better to

bestow more than is sufficient, and to give to the Husbandmen necessaries to support themselves, than they may not abandon the Cultivation of the Grounds.



to destroy innocent People. Besides, as the Design of these Enquiries must be known, and that there are Commissaries appointed for that Effect, the Officers of the Provinces will take the Alarm; and every one of them fearing some troublesome Accident to himself, will provide for his own Safety, take as small Concern as he can in the publick Calamities, and leave the People to perish.

After some Examples drawn from History, *Fantfil yu* continues in these Terms:

SIR, Your Liberalities are divided; three Sorts of Officers being entrusted with them. It is going too far if your Majesty, according to the Project laid before you, should multiply your Precautions, and thereby seem to regret the Bounty you have ordered: This would look as if you undervalued the Lives of Men; and your Subjects will never again dare to have Recourse to you. All that your Ancestors feared on such Occasions was, least the People should not be relieved with sufficient Speed and Liberality. And when they sent Commissaries and Inspectors, it was not to check and intimidate the ordinary Officers, but to embolden them. In effect, these Officers shew a good deal of Difficulty to part with the Corns and the Money for which they are accountable. For this, and for many other Reasons they commonly, by their Representations, rather diminish than encrease the common Calamities. But granting there had been some Misrepresentations, they must have been very few, and must have been some time or other discover'd. The People blab, the Officers are Spies upon one another, the Censors must be acquainted with it, and the Court will have its Information from the Censors. Thus your Majesty will have Time enough to punish the Guilty. In the present Situation my Advice is, that without being very anxious about the little Faults that your Officers have committed, you should apply your whole Care to the Relief of your suffering People. From these Considerations it is, that having examined the Project that has been suggested to you, I have sent it back sealed, begging that your Majesty would suppress it.

*Discourse of Wan ling against the bad Sense in which the Sectaries interpret the Expression Ming.*

IT is said in the (†) *Lun yu* that *Confucius* seldom made Use of the Expression *Ming*. This is a judicious and true Remark: On the contrary, when the Western Barbarians introduced the Sect of *Fo* into our *China*, the Expressions *Sing* and *Ming* were frequently and improperly used. It is true, that before the Entrance of that Sect, they had begun to reason upon what is called (‡) *Sing*, or the Nature of Man. *Mong tse* having said that it was good, *Syan tse* affirmed the contrary: And this Opposition served to clear up the Opinion of *Mong tse*, which was agreed to. In latter Times, the Dispute about what is called *Tsing*, or *Nature*, was revived. It continued long, and some designing Men, that they might amuse themselves, have embroil'd the Argument by subtly introducing into their Discourses, the Principles of the Sect of *Fo*. Whatever is solid in these Disquisitions comes to much the same Thing that was the Opinion of *Mong tse*, which they embraced, and which is yet their Rule.

As for what regards the Expression (\*) *Ming*, the more tender our Philosophers are in using it, the more bold the Sectaries have been in adapting and corrupting it. The Sect of *Fo*, whose Aim was to impose upon the World, hath made Life and Death to depend upon what they call *Ming*, without explaining the Word. The Sect of *Astrologers* improving upon the Sect of *Fo*, makes long or short Life, Riches or Poverty, Honour or Disgrace to depend on certain Combinations of five Elements, on certain Motions and certain Situations of the Stars, and out of these, they make what they call *Ming* or *Destiny*. The ignorant Vulgar have not Knowledge enough to confute them. Being passionately fond of the Riches and Honours of this World, they see that they do not always follow Merit and Virtue. In Hopes of attaining to them by another Way, they stupidly give into these Errors, which doubtless they would not do, if they knew how to confute the false Sense that is given to the Expression *Ming*.

*Shun* from a private Man became Emperor. Thus he rose from the lowest to the highest Degree of Honour. It seemed as if he had been transported thither all of a sudden, and without making one Step towards it. Yet the Truth is, that he was raised to it by his Virtue. Let us go back to the Times of *Yau*. Let us suppose that *Shun* was without Wisdom and without Virtue. Would this *Ming*, of which our Sectaries speak, have been equally effectual in raising *Shun* to the Throne? *Yau* by naming *Shun* to succeed him, excluded his own Son *Tan-chu*. Why was *Tan-chu* excluded? Was it because he wanted Virtue, or merely for want of what they call *Ming*? *Shun* was already known, valued, and half placed on the Throne, yet he sought to retire. Will our Sectaries dare to say that he was less understanding than them in what they call *Ming* or *Destiny*? Sure they will not: On the other hand, if it is allowed that *Shun*, according to their Principles, foresaw that his *Destiny* was to reign, it must thence follow that his seeking to retire was all a Sham and Hypocrisy. Who dare either think or say this? To calculate the Revolutions of the Stars is an Art which begun with our (§) *I King*, of which we own *Fo hi* to have been the Author. It is undeniable that amongst all our ancient Princes *Yen yang* understood this Book best. I must ask

(†) The Name of a Book.

(‡) *Sing* is an Expression at least as comprehensive, and of almost the same Signification as the English Word *Nature*.

(\*) *Ming*. This Expression signifies Order, Command, a Superior

Will, likewise, Life, as *Chi ming*, To give ones Life for &c. &c. It also corruptedly signifies, *Destiny*, *Fate*.

(§) An ancient Book.



ask of our Astrologers whether or not *Ven wang* knew that which they pretend to find out in their Art, or if ever he was acquainted with what they call Destiny (*Ming*)? If they deny that he was; what an Insolence is it in them to prefer themselves to that wise Prince! If they say he was; why did *Ven wang* bewail his Fate and mourn in the Prison in which the Tyrant *Cheu* confined him? (†) Since the times of *Ven wang*, who has dived farther into the *I King* than *Confucius*? Will they pretend to understand it better than he did? And yet if *Confucius* understood what they pretend to understand, why did he to an extreme old Age travel over the (\*) Seventy-two Kingdoms? We therefore either must absolutely neglect that which the Sectaries contend for, and their Abuse of the Word *Ming*, or we must acknowledge *Ven wang* and *Confucius* to be far inferior to them; and this would be a great (†) Absurdity.

A second Error in their System is; If a Man dies, it is his *Ming* or Destiny. His Death is therefore to be attributed to his *Ming*, and to no other Cause: By this way of Reasoning we must conclude that it was not *Kyê* and *Cheu* who put *Long pong* and *Pi kau* to a cruel and unjust Death. It was the Destiny of these two great Men. We may likewise conclude, that tho' the miserable Tyrants *Kyê* and *Cheu* had practised all the Virtues, yet they could not have fail'd to have perish'd miserably, and consequently it would have been wrong to have exhorted them to Virtue in order to have preserv'd their Crown and Life. It is lucky that all the World is not wedded to our Sectaries, even they who consult or hear them have not much Trust to repose in what they say. But if this Error should unhappily prevail, and constantly pass for Truth, behold what must be the absurd Consequences of it.

Has a Judge wittingly either acquitted a guilty, or condemn'd an innocent Person: If this Judge is prosecuted that he may be punished according to Law, he has no more to do but to oppose to the Laws this *Ming* or Destiny these Sectaries talk of. Oppression is to be no more detested in the Great: Merit, no more to be praised in *Tau* and *Shun*, and Tyranny no more to be blam'd in *Kyê* and *Cheu*. Each has his respective *Ming* which directs him; alas, what can be more absurd! I ask of our Astrologers, if *Tau* and *Shun* had been born at the time in which *Kyê* and *Cheu* were born, would the two first have resembled the two last in Wickedness and Cruelty? On the contrary, if *Kyê* and *Cheu* had been born when *Tau* and *Shun* were born, would that have render'd them good and virtuous? Will they dare to advance such an Absurdity? And if they dare not, in what will they make this pretended *Ming* or *Destiny*, upon which depends the Life and Death of Men, the Prosperity and Ruin of States, to consist?

Let us again suppose that all the World should give full and entire Credit to the Discourse of these Quacks, a Son without once moving, sees his Father in the Hands of a Rebel who is ready to cut his Throat: 'The *Ming* or *Destiny* of my Father, says he, is either to die this Death, or not.' The Man who sees his Prince ready to be slain may say the same thing. And if they act otherwise, it may be said upon our Supposition that their conduct opposes a self-evident Truth universally received, and consequently they are to blame. What a detestable Consequence is this?

As for me I distinguish two sorts of *Ming*: that of the Sectaries, to which they are pleased to annex our Fate independently of ourselves: This is neither a true one, nor is it possible to be known. The other *Ming*, which depends upon ourselves, is that in which we ought to be instructed, and is useful and even necessary. For Instance, in a quiet well-governed Empire, I support and advance myself by my good Conduct and my Virtue. My *Ming* then is to be in Honour and in Plenty, but this *Ming* is not quite independent of me. The State on the contrary is disturbed and ill governed. I bravely support oppress'd Virtue and Wisdom. It costs me my Fortune. I obstinately live, and die in Poverty; then it is that my *Ming* depends upon me. Every Man who is born must die; Death comes sooner or later: To live in Affluence or Honour, or to live in Poverty and Oblivion, is always *Ming*: Be it so; but Life or Death may be happy or unhappy. I wish neither to live nor to die unhappily: This is what I am chiefly careful of: It is my Duty, and it is the only *Ming*, about which I ought to be in Pain.

It is the same with regard to Riches, Honours, Poverty, and Obscurity. These may happen either by good or bad Means. To what are all my Cares directed? that these may never be the Fruits of a Crime, or of an abject Complaisance. This is my Duty, and is the only *Ming*, on which I shall value myself on being acquainted with. A good Son preserves his Life, that he may serve his Father; and this is both his Duty and his *Ming*. A loyal zealous Subject hazards his Life for his Prince: This is always his *Ming* and his Duty. If we extend this to different Accidents and Circumstances, there is no Man alive but may know the *Ming* he ought to follow. This, according to our Sages, is rightly to understand the *Ming*: and it is in this Sense, that *Confucius* speaks when he uses this Expression. *Mi tse twan* one Day addressing himself to (†) *Tse lu*. If your Master, said he to him, will be my Patron, the King of *Wey* will chuse me for one of his Prime Ministers. *Tse lu* laying this Proposition before *Confucius*, all his Answer was *I have a Ming*, (meaning his Duty) and my *Ming* never will suffer me to be instrumental in promoting a Sycophant, who is without Merit or Virtue. It was almost in the same Sense that *Confucius* used the Expression *Ming* at the Death of (||) *Ten tse* and *Pen yew*. He bewail'd that by their being snatched away so young, they had no Opportunity of practising all the Virtues of which he knew they were capable. As for *Mong tse*, he expresses his Opinion very distinctly as follows: 'A Man understands the *Ming*, says he, very

(†) His Son was going to be made Emperor.

(\*) That is, all the Empire.

(†) Especially if we consider, that to be blind, and incapable to gain their Bread otherwise, is enough to set them up as Pro-

fessors in the Art of foretelling Destinies.

(†) A Disciple of *Confucius*.

(||) Two Disciples of *Confucius*.



'very ill, if he designedly shall expose himself under a Wall that is ready to tumble; a Man who thoroughly knows this Matter, is never guilty of such Imprudence. A Villain, says he, in another Passage, has deserved by his Crimes to die in Irons, or under the Hands of the Executioner: Accordingly he does die: Was this his true *Ming*? By no Means". The Opinion of these great Men very rightly defines what is *Ming*.

The Emperor *Kang hi's* Remark.] The Beauty of this Discourse consists in its being clear, easily understood, and proper both to instruct and reclaim such Sectaries as had been seduced.

*In the third of the Years named Ywen fû, Shau shwe chi in the Preamble to a long Discourse, which he presented to the Emperor sealed, says amongst other Things.*

WHEN our antient and wise Princes enjoy'd a long Prosperity, in which they met with nothing that was either disastrous or threatening; then being more affrighted than ever, they grew sad and cried out, 'Alas! I see *Tyen* has forgot me.' Your Majesty, in Imitation of these Princes, has published an Ordinance full of Wisdom and Goodness, which proves the Extent of your Vigilance and Care in fulfilling your Duties. You cannot act more conformably to the Designs of *Tyen*.

*Li kang*, in a Discourse presented to the Emperor, after some particular Advices, gives him two general Ones, in these Terms: 'Do every thing, says he, that Man can do, and inwardly preserve a respectful Dread towards *Tyen*: When Man, on his Side, does all that he can, it is natural for (†) *Tyen li* to answer his Cares.' Thus, the greatest Princes, such as those who were either the Restorer or Founder of Dynasties, have done all that was in their Power; and when they have succeeded, have attributed the Success to *Tyen*. At present, the (‡) Enemy scarce appears, when we shamefully leave them Masters of the Field of Battle. To neglect thus all that depends on us, and to rely upon *Tyen* for our Success, as if *Tyen* were obliged to favour us, is unreasonable. I therefore beg that you would instantly give the proper Orders to your Ministers and great Officers. Encourage them by your Words and Actions; act in Concert with them as far as you can. After which, you may humbly but bamelessly wait for the Determination of *Tyen*: and there is Room to hope that we can both repair the Affronts we have received, and the Damage we have sustained.

But, as I said before, we ought always to reserve a respectful Dread towards *Tyen*. In Effect, *Tyen* is to Kings, as a Father equally tender and severe. His Affection for them is very great, but at the same time not greater than his Care in watching over their Conduct. Therefore every wise Prince is attentive to the Prohibitions of *Tyen*; at the least Hint of an Advice that comes from him, he recollects, examines, and labours to correct himself, to become more perfect, and to cherish in his Heart that respectful filial Dread. For several Years, the Irregularity of the Seasons has been great, and Earthquakes with other frightful Phenomena have been frequent. The Intention of *Tyen* in this, has been to rouse you: These are so many Marks of his loving you, and of his designing to assist you. It lies in your Majesty's Power to answer him by pure and upright Intentions, and by a wise and resolute Conduct. Then these dismal Calamities, and these frightful Presages will be changed unto you for Good.

#### A Discourse of Fan sun upon Repentance.

AN ancient Tradition says; *To day repent of the Faults of Yesterday, and towards the end of every Moon of those committed since its Beginning.* Oh! what a wise Saying was that, and what right Measures did our Ancients take to become wise and perfect? at least in being a (†) *Yau* or a *Shun* who could do every thing so perfectly, that they never committed any Fault, But if any one commits a Fault, if he effectually and sincerely repents of it, that Fault is done away. Therefore among our ancient Sages, even those of the first Order, there never was one but trod in these Paths.

*Fan sun* proves this by Examples drawn from Antiquity, to which, as corroborative Proofs, he adds some Texts of the antient (†) *King*, and then concludes his Discourse thus:

Repentance, says he, implies Transgressions; but by means of that Repentance those Transgressions are every Day diminished, and if there is a Method of arriving at an unerring State, it is this. Ought then this Exercise to be either neglected by, or to grow irksome, to us? But I do not confine the Repentance I recommend to our retracting or correcting what we have said or done amiss. It should extend to our most retired Thoughts and Affections, let an Affection, be it ever so little amiss, arise. Repentance ought immediately to follow it, and this Repentance will prevent its ever proceeding to Words or Actions. To commit Faults, and not to acknowledge them is Blindness; to acknowledge them without correcting them is Folly; to design to correct them, and yet to have but half the Will to do it, that you may spare, or in a manner sooth yourself, is Cowardice. Nothing is more contrary to true Repentance than these Vices.

(†) *Li* signifies Reason.

(‡) This is spoken of the *Tartars*, who at last extinguish'd the *Seeq* Dynasty.

(\*) In the Original this is expressed in six Letters.

(†) He seems to have excepted *Yau* and *Shun*; but the Ap-

plication here is general; which proves, that instead of the Words, *at least in being a Yau and a Shun*, we ought, if we would make just and consistent Sense of it, to read, *Even tho' he were a Yau or a Shun*, but I have put it as it is in the Text.



When the Sun or Moon is eclipsed, the Eclipse, whether total or partial, is never of long Continuance, and the Moment it ends, these Stars immediately appear in their genuine Lustre. Sins are the Eclipses of Mans Life: And the Eclipse is over the precise Moment in which he repents as he ought. He then recovers his Lustre in the same Manner as these two Luminaries recover theirs. But there happens in Man the very Reverse of what happens in the Heavens. His Eclipse continues as long, as, by his Attachment to his Passions, he is destitute of effectual true Repentance. What then is more important than a right Repentance? And what ought to disgust or discourage us in so useful an Exercise?

In the 32 of the Years named *Sbau shing*, (A) *Hyau tsong* mounting the Throne, ordered a Declaration to be published, recommending, that Advices and Memorials might be freely and instantly presented to him. *Cbu bi*, who then held a Post in the Provinces, addrest a long Discourse to the Emperor, and amongst other Things told him as follows.

The Order of *Tyen* who loves and protects you, is just publish'd and put in Force (\*); nothing yet can cool the Zeal and Attachment of your Subjects. To judge by the Encomiums bestow'd on you, with which the High-ways resound, something extraordinary is expected from your Majesty. Your Subjects look upon you not only as a good Master, but as a Prince, who will do Honour to your Dynasty, recover the Lands usurped by the Barbarians, cure the Miseries of your Suffering People, and revenge the Insults which your Ancestors have received. In what a Manner ought not you to behave, successfully to answer so high Expectations? Upon this depends not only the Glory of your Reign, but the Peace of your State, the Honour of your Dynasty, and the Safety of your Family.

As yet, we have not perceived in your Person and Government, the Faults and Defects of which thro' Modesty, you accuse yourself. But I dare to assure you, that in vain you hope to meet with Success, without two essential Points, which I take the Liberty immediately to recommend to your Consideration. The First is, constantly to study, and to make the Maxims of our ancient Kings familiar to you. The Second is, instantly to renounce, in the most resolute Manner, all Treaties with the Barbarians. These two are important Points, and worthy of your Attention. Without the First, a good many Faults will insensibly escape you. Without the Second, the Government, in the present Situation of Things, must be very defective; and neither of these Maxims can be neglected, without very dangerous Consequences.

That I may more distinctly explain my Thoughts upon this Point, allow me to recall to your Mind, the Times of *Yau*, *Sbun* and *Yu*. You well know, that these Emperors transmitted down to one another, both their Maxims and their Crown. The Maxim they most frequently repeated, was, 'Nothing is more dangerous than the (+) Heart of Man and its Passions;' Nothing is more delicate, (‡) than simple upright Reason. The constant Refinement of it, and giving it an absolute Sway is, the only way to persevere unvariably in the *Just Mean*. These great Princes were naturally wise, and consequently had less Occasion for Study and Application. Yet the whole Topicks of their Discourse, were the Refinement of their Reason, the giving it an absolute Sway, and carefully treading in the *Just Mean*. So true it is, that even they who are undoubtedly born wise, have yet need of Study and Application.

Tho' the great Distance betwixt your Majesty and me, deprives me of the Happiness of seeing how nearly you resemble these great Princes in the amiable great Qualifications which you possess, yet I have heard them very advantageously spoken of. But the Voice of the Public likewise informs me, that in the first Years of your Reign, instead of applying yourself to Business, your whole Time was employed in hearing or repeating certain Verses, and some smooth flowing Pieces of Flattery. 'Tis true, that for some Years past, you have given up these frivolous Amusements, you have appeared to be in search of something more solid, and have expressed a Desire of acquiring real Wisdom: But it is said, you have sought for them in the Books of the Sectaries. This is the common Talk in the Country, tho' I know not what Truth is in it.

But permit me to tell you that, if this is true, you take very wrong Measures to answer rightly the Measures of *Tyen*, and to imitate *Yau* and *Sbun*. No! As the Art of governing right is neither to be learned in Sonets and empty Discourses, nor from Dissertations upon (§) the *Vacuum Inanity*, *Quiescence*, and *Rest*. Our ancient wise Princes who succeeded best in that noble Art, applied to acquire thorough just Notions of Things, to improve their Understandings, and to be in a Condition always to pursue the best Measures. A Prince, who is acquainted with this Method, frequently revolves, and attentively examines, the Scope and the Incidents of our ancient History. That he may form a right Judgment of Things, the Principles of Reason and Equity are always before his Eyes. He commits no Mistakes of this Kind. Thereby his Views are dilated, rectified and perfected: His Heart is preserved in the *just* and upright *Mean*; and in short, he finds himself capable to govern with the (||) greatest Ease.

On the contrary, if a Prince is without Application, or if, while he applies, he follows any other Method: Tho' otherways he had the most excellent Genius, or happy Dispositions to Virtue, yet his Understanding will never clearly go to the Bottom of Things; nor will he ever know

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how

(A) In *P. Fouquet's* Chronological Table these Years are called *Chau hing* (which I take to be the true Reading) and the whole 32 included in *Kau tsung's* Reign; that of *Kyau tsong* beginning with the first of the Years *Long hing*.

(\*) That is to say, *You have just mounted the Throne*.

(†) The Chinese literally says *Yin sin*, that is to say, *The Heart of Man*.

(‡) The Chinese says *Tau sin*, the Heart of *Tau*. But *Tau* in this Passage and many others, signifies, *Pure and just Reason*: *Yin sin* opposed to *Tau sin*, denotes the Passions natural to the Heart of Man.

(§) He points at the Sects of *Tau* and *Fo*.

(||) Literally it is *as cool as* 1, *as to count one and two, or to distinguish White from Black*.



how to distinguish betwixt what is really good, and what is good only in Appearance, or the Substance from the Shadow: In short, he will be apt to commit a thousand Blunders. Tho' perhaps he may not fall into those of the most fatal Consequences, yet he never can become a great Emperor. Is then the giving up of this glorious Character, and being contented with a poor Mediocrity in Reputation, so meagre a Trifle? Doubtless not: And we may here apply that Passage of the *I King*, which says; *That an Error which is but slight in Appearance, is attended with strange Irregularities.*

As to the second Point I touched upon, it is certain, that no solid Peace is to be hoped for betwixt us and the *Kin* (B). Reason makes this Truth plain, it is self evident, and universally known; and if there is any who argue for Peace with them, the Manner in which they reason, is doubtless this. Our Affairs are not at present in such a flourishing Situation, as to undertake to recover by Force what the *Kin* have usurped from us. We even hazard something in continuing the War, by acting upon the Defensive. It is therefore better for us to take Advantage of the Step which the *Kin* have made in coming to offer us Presents, to encourage them on our Part, to send an Embassy to them, and civilly to demand a Restitution of our Lands according to the ancient Boundaries, for this Demonstration of Weakness on our Part by flattering their Pride, and perhaps inspiring them with Security, and consequently with Negligence, they will be less eager in attacking us, and less vigilant in guarding themselves. In the mean time, we will be taking Advantage of the Juncture, and will more easily dispose ourselves to push some great Enterprize.

Besides, who knows, but that there is a Possibility that *Tyen*, by a happy Event in our Favour, may revive in these Barbarians some Sentiments of Equity, and induce them to restore to us our Lands, without our being at the Expence of one Man's Life; why then don't we try this Way? What Harm will there be in the Experiment? This is the Method in which they who are of Opinion that we should enter into Treaty with the Barbarians, reason.

For my Share, I see neither Justice nor Reason in this Way of arguing. I don't perceive one Advantage from it, but many Inconveniencies. Our Affairs, say some, are not in a good Situation. That is true; but why? Because we are always speaking of Treaties of Peace; and till such Time as we are in earnest to talk no more, our Affairs will never be better. Success in War depends on a determined Resolution of conquering or dying. Is any other Expedient propos'd, or is a middle Way betwixt Conquest and Defeat discovered? It is pursued without any Difficulty. Reason may well oppose this, but the Attack becomes weaker, and the Defence less resolute, for Nature, on these Occasions, weakens Reason and Virtue. Yes! I say again, that while these wretched Praters for Peace continue, your Majesty must be always uncertain and unsteady in your Councils; your Ministers too being irresolute, will do their Duty only for Form-sake; and your Generals, with their Subalterns, will no longer be eager to signalise themselves. It will the same in Proportion with the Magistrates all over the Empire. How then can our Affairs be re-established, the Empire strengthened, our Lands recovered, and our Frontiers secured? We impose upon ourselves in even hoping for this.

We deceive ourselves as much in pretending to amuse the *Kin* by a vain Ceremony. They have neither Charity nor Justice with Regard to us: But they supply it with Craft and Malice. If they really have a Design to attack us, and if they perceive themselves to be in a State to subdue us, they will not suffer themselves to be blinded so far by empty Ceremony, as to give up their Project, and far less that which they now possess. But should we make the Step which is proposed, it would not have the pretended Effect by amusing them; but it would shew our own Weakness. It would be to instruct them in our Situation; it would be to expose ourselves to them, and to convince them that we have neither Skill nor Courage, and to render them more bold in undertaking any thing against us. If, after such a Step, the *Kin* shall for some time be quiet, we will applaud ourselves, and we will hug ourselves in our Indolence: And as ten Years and more are already past, without our doing any thing for retrieving our Affairs, ten Years and more may pass in the same Manner, if the *Kin* give us Leave. A Conduct like this, in my Opinion, instead of deceiving the Enemy, deceives ourselves. It urges on our own Destruction; and I am astonished that there should be Persons about your Court, capable to give you such Advice.

By this Way of proceeding, we leave ourselves as it were at the Discretion of the *Kin*. When they shall perceive themselves weakened and in danger from us, they will have nothing to do but to talk of Peace: Thus, instead of taking Advantage of their Weakness to recover our Right, we must make the first Advances to them: And under the Pretence of Alliance, they will receive from us large Sums every Year. Do they find themselves strong? No Treaty will then bind them, and they will make Use of the first Opportunity of invading our Territories. They who give you these Advices, have nothing in View, but to shun an open Rupture with the *Kin*. They don't consider that this damps the Zeal, and quells the Courage of your Subjects; that it encourages your Enemies, and in many Respects hurts the State.

For part thirty or forty Years, these Barbarians, in order to ruin us, have taken Advantage of the foolish Desire that we always shewed to treat of Peace. Is not this plain enough to us? Is it not the greatest Blindness to propose Measures that have been so fatal to our Empire? To desire the *Kin* civilly to restore what they have taken, is a thing equally ridiculous and needless. The Lands which they have invaded, are our Right, why should we refer it to the Discretion of the Barbarians to restore them or not? Let us measure our Forces, and try to retake them. In Case we should succeed, they will no longer be our Masters. But if we think that we are not yet able

[n] A Tartar Nation. [They were the Ancestors of the Manchus, see p. 211.]



to recover them, why should we demand them of the Enemy without any Appearance of obtaining them, and thereby make an Acknowledgment of our own Weakness and their Superiority?

Let us in the mean time suppose, that the *Kin* shall be induced by the Proposal we make them, to restore our Lands; but we must surely pay dear for the Terms on which we purchase such a Favour. We may therefore judge by what (\*) is past, that so far as depends upon them, the Peace will be of no long Duration. But when it shall absolutely happen, that without exacting too much of us, the *Kin* shall determine to grant us the Favour absolutely, and without repenting of it; or if we shall be in a Condition to render their Repentance useless, the Advantage that will then accrue, will not prevent the Shame that must be reflected upon the illustrious Dynasty of the *Song*, in not being able, by themselves, to recover the Dominion of their ancient Princes, in partly holding it from the Hands of its most inveterate Enemies, and in going, in a Manner, a begging from the Barbarians. For my Share, when Things turn out in that Shape, I can't hinder myself from blushing for your Majesty.

*Chu hi having been proposed to fill a considerable Post in the Province Ché kyang, he was nominated to it by the Emperor, who called him to Court, and invited him to leave him some good Advices, before he departed; Whereupon Chu hi made several Discourses, one of which is as follows.*

**S**IR: the Government of States depends chiefly upon the Hearts of their Princes. But the Hearts of Princes may of themselves be swayed, either by Reason or by Passion; and the Difference betwixt these two Rulers, forms the Difference betwixt Interest and Equity, betwixt Cunning and Honesty, and betwixt Vice and Virtue. The Reason which a Man receives from *Tyen*, is the same with Regard to his Heart, as what Health is with Regard to his Body. Does Reason sway the Heart? All is regular, all is Honesty, Equity and Virtue. On the contrary, Passions are the Diseases of the Heart; Do they predominate? All is Confusion, all is Interest, Cunning and Vice. Where Virtue prevails, at the same time a Joy prevails equally gentle and pure, which renders the Possessor every Day more happy. Vice, on the contrary, is attended with remorseless Pangs, which daily loads the wretched Sinner with fresh Misery. The Regularity and Safety of Empires, their Decay and their Ruin, are all different Effects of these different Causes. But however different these Effects appear, they have one thing in common, which is; That a good or a bad Way of thinking, is the Principle of both. This is implied by *Yau, Shun and Tü*, in these Words, *Nothing is more dangerous than the Passions, and nothing more delicate than Reason*. It is, by preserving this Reason, untainted; and by giving it an absolute Sway, that the *Just Mean* is preserved..... *Chu hi* then proceeds to say, that he is surprized to see the Reign of a Prince, who at the Age of Maturity mounted the Throne, and graced it with the most amiable Qualifications, so unsuccessful; he says, that he has searched for the Cause of this, and that he believes he has found it. It is, says he roundly to his Prince, because in the Choice of your Officers, you don't follow Reason and Equity. You are even afraid to put in Posts Men of Honesty and Resolution. But why? Because Men of that Character would vigorously oppose these domestic Favorites who embroil every thing, and to whom in your Youth, you were too much exposed by your good Nature. *Chu hi* having through all his Discourse, which is very long, spoken pretty much in the same Strain, ends it, by begging Pardon and apologizing for his Liberty in a few Words. Protesting that his sole Motive was his Zeal for the State, and for the Glory of his Prince.

A Gloss says, that the Emperor received this Discourse very well; but it does not inform us if he amended by it.

*In the fifth of the Years named Chau hing, Chu hi was called to Court, where he had the honourable Employment of reading and explaining to the Emperor, the Books called King. He made his Compliments of Thanks in writing as usual, wherein, after praising the Prince's Thirst for Knowledge, and modestly owning his own Insufficiency, he proceeds in the following Terms.*

**I**THEREFORE was seized with Dread, when your Orders were signified to me, nor durst I accept of the Honour you did me. I afterwards reflected on these well known Truths, that Man receives from *Tyen*, a Nature capable of all the Virtues: That he can, not only know and distinguish the different Duties of Prince and Subject, of Father and Son, &c. but he can even judge and determine, of what is proper or improper in different Affairs, and the different Situations of Life. But tho' he is capable of so many things, that he is at the same time subjected to be altered by the Impressions of Matter, and to be touched with the Objects of Sense: That it is naturally to be feared, lest his Reason being neglected, it should by degrees become so far dimmed, that he may fall into a fatal Blindness with Regard to his Duties, and continue therein all his Life: That consequently, Study and Application are as necessary to the Great as to the Small: That in order to assist you in this Exercise, a great deal of Eloquence and Politeness is not necessary.

After having made these Reflections, it appear'd to me, that as I have bestowed a great deal of Time in the Study of our *King*, I may be useful to you, were it only by putting you upon the Method which I have followed. It is in a few Words as follows. The main Point in this Affair, is, to penetrate into the Bottom and Reason of every thing. In this our Books are a great Assistance to us, and it is with this View that we ought to read them. But there is a Method of doing it with Advantage. When a Man understands a Passage he ought, before he proceed farther, thoroughly to comprehend and to discover, what is most pure and perfect therein, and to let nothing escape him that

(\*) In the 9th of the Years named *Chau hing*, the *Kin* restored to the *Ching* three Provinces which they had subdued a Year after they retook them. [It is *Chau hing* in the Original, where it ought to have been *Tchoo hing*.]



that he can extract from it. But we never can succeed in this, without preserving ourselves in a constant and a respectful Attention, which is not easy to do, and must be the Fruit of a determined Resolution, &c.

*Chubi* returns then to his first Proposition, and extends it: But he lays the principal Stress upon the Importance, and the Necessity of that respectful Attention which he expresses by the single Word (\*) *King*.

As for what I have already said, namely, that upon the reading of each Passage, we ought to endeavour to attain to that which is most perfect; it is plain this depends upon (†) *Sin*. But what is this *Sin* of Man? It is a Being which is most (‡) *Hin*, most (§) *Ling* and most *Skin*; of an Excellence which we cannot intirely comprehend; which ought to predominate in each of us, as well in our personal Motions as in our civil Actions; and consequently its Presence with us, and our Attention to it, is every Moment necessary. In effect, if the *Sin* of a Man shall escape, and as it were, rove after the sensible Objects with which the Body is surrounded; his Person and Conduct is immediately sensible of the Absence of that Master. In vain then will a Man have his Body bent, and his Eyes fixed upon a Book. As he is heedless of himself, how can he be in a Condition to meditate upon the Words of our ancient Sages, to examine the different Circumstances in every Action and in every Affair, to draw from this, Directions for his Duties, and practical Conclusions for his Conduct? *The wise Man*, says Confucius, *will not be long wise, if he has not Attention and Application. The Study and Application which I recommend, says Mong tse in what do they principally consist? In a Man's rightly retaining and fixing his Sin.* Does a Man in this Manner preserve his *Sin*, without suffering himself to be distracted by sensible Objects, or troubled by the Passions which they excite? Then, whether he reads or meditates upon what he has read, few Things will escape him. And if he arrives so far as to preserve this Disposition in the Commerce of the World, it will be inviolated amidst the Hurry of Business, and the Diversity of Objects. He will know on all Occasions how to pursue right Measures, and never to deviate from his Duty. This is my Meaning, when I say, that in order to read our *King* with all possible Advantage, a Man must possess a respectful Attention, and a most determined Resolution.

*Lyang ke kya having become Minister of State under the Emperor Hyau t'ong, did all he could to engage Chu hi in the Ministry; Chu hi always excused himself. One Day as Lyang ke kya, by a Letter, press'd him more than ever, Chu hi returned the following Answer.*

I HAVE respectfully read the Letter which (||) you have done me the Honour to write to me. A Virtue midling and weak like mine, seeks Protection in Retirement. It is a great Honour for me, that a Man of your Quality, especially one whose Understanding and Honesty are so eminent, should deign to express so much Concern in my Favours. Tho' you are always incapable to act from any other Principles but those of the Public Good, yet there is not a Shadow of Suspicion that you are influenced by any Motive of private Interest on this Occasion, since you can reap none at my Hands. Therefore I have looked upon your Endeavours, purely as the Effects of a favourable Opinion you entertain for me, who has not deserved it.

After so many Instances on your Part, and especially after your last Letter, I doubtless should be prevailed upon, to endeavour to serve the State according to the best of my Abilities, had I a Motive less weak than the one which detains me in my Retirement. You know it is, that I may thereby secure and preserve entire, the Stock of Honesty and Virtue I now possess. This is the Reason that will not permit me to enter into Posts at present. I think it is better for me even not to say any thing as to the Points you have touched upon, which all relate to Government. Give me leave to confine myself to the putting you in Mind of a Saying of *Vang tong*: *One thing, my Prince, I conjure you to observe, said he, which is, to be very regular yourself, that you may regulate the State well.* The Sense of this Saying, simple and common as it is, is very extensive. I presume to entreat you to attend to it. The Obligations of a Minister, are to invite and to promote Men of Capacity and Merit, to pardon nothing in himself, and being charged with the whole Weight of Government, to acquit himself so well, that nothing he does can be amended, to make the Prince an accomplished Sovereign, and the People virtuous Subjects. Every thing is possible to one who is possessed of all these Perfections. But is a Minister deficient in any Point? And is that Defect but slight? It is always a Stain on his Character; it is a Breach which, widening by little and little, weakens his Virtue and exposes his Reputation. Then sensible of the Occasions he has of being corrected, and being employed in warding off the Reproaches

(\*) *King*: Respect, Respectful Attention, to be attentive with Respect, to respect, to honour, &c.

(†) *Sin*. Hitherto I have translated this Character whenever I met with it, by the Word *Heart*, because, in Effect, this Word in the *Chinese*, as well as in our Language, signifies, according to the different Occasions; of employing it, either that Part of the Body by which the other Parts are put in Motion, or Affections of the Will. But here, as in other Places, it is plain, that this Character extends farther, and signifies *the Soul, the Mind*. I have, however, chosen, not to translate this and some other Words in the Text: For instance, the Word *Niu*, which according to the *Chinese* Definition of it, signifies what is excellent, but difficult to be fathom'd, and thoroughly comprehended: *Mien cul pu ka*

*se*, and which is used in speaking of the Spirits, of whom they relate Apparitions, &c. and which they honour, either religiously or civilly. Likewise of the Emperors, when they would praise his Penetration and sublime Wisdom.

(‡) *Hin*, signifies subtle, imperceptible, empty, and is used the last Sense, both in Physics and Morality, especially with the Character *Sin*: So that *Hin Sin*, in the common received Use, signifies, *Without Prejudice*, as for example, *Hin Sin*, is to hear it without any Prejudice either of the Heart or Mind.

(§) *Ling*, both by the Dictionaries and Use, signifies Intelligence, Providence, an occult Power, of assisting and acting.

(||) The *Chinese* Expression is literally: *The Instructions which you have had the Goodness to give me.*



proaches he is conscious he deserves, is there any Room to hope that he can ever succeed in rendering his Prince an accomplished Sovereign, and the Empire a happy State? The Heart of *Tyen* is not yet appeased, and the People are exhausted. *Cbina* is not yet restored to that flourishing Condition that can make her respected; and she has more Reason than ever, to dread the Ambition of the Barbarians. Think I beseech you of this; endeavour effectually to provide against it, and cease to think of me. The Favour with which I beg you would crown your former Favours bestowed on me, is, that you would excuse the Liberty which, without being in Post myself, I have used in speaking to a Man of your Rank.

*Yu yun wen, Minister of State under the Emperor Hyau tsong, being about to make War, that he might recover the Losses he had sustained, wanted the Advice of Chang shê, and sent him several obliging Messages by different People. All the Answer Chang shê returned was, to go to the Emperor in Person, and present the following Discourse.*

**S**IR; What do you think was the Reason, why our ancient Emperors reigned so gloriously? Why did every thing succeed to their Wish? Because by their solid and perfect Virtue, they touched the Hearts both of Men and *Tyen*, and were always consistent with themselves. At present, notwithstanding the Pains your Majesty and your Ministers are at, no body successfully executes the Projects which you form. Be advised by me, reenter into yourself, and carefully examine all your Words, your Actions, and above all, your Thoughts. Examine if there is not some crooked Intention, some private Interest, or some lurking Passion which spoils all. If you discover any such thing, instantly correct it, in order that this Obstacle being removed, and your Heart being returned to the (A) just and true Mean, in which Virtue consists, you may easily distinguish, and constantly pursue the most real Good and the most perfect Bliss. If you act thus, both *Tyen* and Men will answer you on their Parts, and will even anticipate your Wishes. That which at Present employs you, is the Desire of recovering certain Lands belonging to *Cbina*. You must first gain the Hearts of your People; but you can't do this by loading them with Services, and over-burthening them with Taxes. If you are tender of their Persons, and spare their Purse, you may succeed. In the present Situation of Affairs, you cannot succeed otherways, than by repressing all your Passions, and giving to your Subjects unsuspected Proofs and evident Examples of the most perfect Equity. What presses most, is, how you are to begin, and what Times and Moments must be chosen; but as this is a Matter upon which I dare not presume to enter, I commit the Consideration of it to your Majesty.

*Tsay shin, otherways called Tsay kyew song, from the Place to which he retired to study, was the Disciple of Shu hi, with whom he lived a long Time. Chu hi, towards the End of his Days, having some Thoughts of making a Commentary upon the Shu king, which should be an Abridgment of several others he had already composed, and not being able to undertake it himself, he entrusted it to Tsay shin, who undertook it and finished it ten Years after the Death of Chu hi. When it was printing, he put a Preface before it, which was thought worthy to be inserted into the Imperial Collection, from which I have extracted these Pieces. I shall now translate it, were it only to shew that the Chinese Notions in this Point, is not very different from our own, at least, when the Author of the Preface is at the same time the Author of the Book.*

**I**N the Winter of one of these Years named *King ywen*, designed by *I wi* upon the Sexaginary Cycle, my Master, (†) *Wen kong*, ordered me to compose a Commentary upon the *Shu king*. Next Year he died. I laboured at that Book for ten Years; and altho' it was not very large, I could not finish it sooner. Thus it must be owned, that a Commentary upon the *Shu king* is no easy Task. The Government of our two *Ti* and our three *Vang*, was properly the Subject of this Book; it contains an Abridgment of their Maxims and their Conduct. It is sufficient to say this. We can easily comprehend, that to penetrate into the Bottom of this Treasure, and to exhaust its Riches, is a long and a tedious Work, and one cannot succeed even indifferently in it, without a vast deal of Labour and Application. From these ancient Times to ours, a good many Ages have passed; and altho' I had been obliged by this Work, only to have displayed an Antiquity so remote, it is easy to conceive the Difficulty of my Task.

One Reflection has encouraged me, notwithstanding this Difficulty, and made me hope for Success in my Undertaking. That fine Government of our two *Ti* and our three *Vang*, say I to myself, upon what was it founded? Upon right and pure Reason. Where did they get this Reason? They found it in their own (‡) Hearts; and every one may find the same there. Hence I conclude, that in order to speak with any Justness upon that beautiful Government, to discover its true Principles, and faithfully to explain the Sentiments and Maxims of these great Princes, it is sufficient for me to know the Heart of Man. With this Help, applying myself to the Work, I have found, that under *Tau*, *Shun* and *Yu*, the fundamental Maxim of Government was reduced to these four Words, (§) *Tsing, I, che, chong*. Under other Reigns, the great Lessons

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most

(A) *Est Modus in Rebus, sunt certi denique FINES, QUOS ULTRA CITRAQUE nequit consistere VIRTUS.* Horat;

(†) A Title of Honour given to *Chu hi* after his Death.

(‡) The Chinese Expression is *Sin*, and has here the same Signification which we have remarked above, in a Piece of *Che hi*.

(§) *Tsing*, pure, excellent, to purify, to perfect; *I*, signifies one, the only, pure, simple; *Che*, to take, and keep firm. *Chong*, the upright just Mean. We have here an abridged Citation of a Text which is before translated; if we have a Mind, we may translate these four Chinese Words, by our four English Words. viz. Purely, Simply, Keep, the Mean.



most frequently inculcated, was conceived in these Terms, (\*) *Kyen chong*, *Kyen* (†) *hi*, that is to say, establish yourself in the *True Mean*, train yourself up to what is most perfect.

I have remarked, that the Observation of these fundamental Maxims, and others thereon depending, is sometimes called (‡) *Ti*, sometimes (§) *Iin*, in some Passages (||) *King*, and in others, (¶) *Cbing*. But I can easily perceive that the same thing was understood under these different Terms, and that all these Expressions in different Views, represented the Excellence of the Heart of Man, when inhabited by Reason. It is in order to express from whence this Heart proceeds, to inspire it with Respect by its Approach to its Original, that the same Book so frequently uses the Expression *Tyen*. It likewise very often makes Mention of the People; this is in order to make the Prince's Heart sensible, that he owes them his Cares and Tenderness. Is the Prince's Heart upright? Then its first Cares, and as it were its first Fruits, are the Rites, Music, and whatever can contribute to the Instruction of the People. From the same Soil, proceed the Laws, Arts, and Politeness, which give a new Lustre to the others. Then soon follows good Order in Families, a beautiful Government in every State, and a profound Tranquillity over all the Empire. Every thing is possible to a Heart, where pure genuine Reason has the absolute Sway: Such always were the Hearts of our two *Ti* and our three *Vang*, and such, after strong Efforts, became the Heart of *Tay kya* and of *Cbing vang*. The Heart of *Kye* and *Cheu* was quite different, because they neglected and abandoned it. Thence proceeded the Difference which we perceive in the *Sbu king*, betwixt their two Reigns. If therefore a Prince in this Age, would aspire to revive the fine Government of our two *Ti* and our three *Vang*, he must follow their Method and like them, take for his Guide the most refined Reason; like them too, finding it in his own Heart, he ought to give it absolute Power there. In which the following Book can greatly assist him.

After having by myself, for a long Time meditated on the Text, I never have determined any Sense of a disputed Passage, without attentively and critically reading all that was said on the Subject, and digesting it with Deliberation, I then commonly determine it, so as to endeavour to agree with most of the Interpretations. In the Passages where the Sense is more concealed, and the Expression more obscure, I have almost always adher'd to the general Opinion, tho' I have endeavoured to express it in other Terms. I only own, that having undertaken this Commentary purely in Obedience to the Commands of my Master, who formed the Plan of it himself, I have always preferred his Opinion, when he has delivered it on any Passage. He revised my Commentary on the (\*) two *Tyen* and the (†) *Yu mo* and I still preserve his Manuscript Corrections. Alas! Why was he not in a Condition, in the same Manner, to have revised the whole Work! I have divided all the *Sbu king* and my own Commentary, into six Volumes. The Text of that Book, according to the Difference of the Dynasties, is of a different Style one Place from another, but thorough all Dynasties, the Government of good Princes is still the same. Their Hearts is seen in this Book, in the same Manner as the Skill and Style of a Painter is seen in his Piece. But a Man must, in order to judge justly both of the one and the other in their Kinds, peruse them with a critical and a careful Eye. I am not so vain, as to think that I have explained all the Beauties of these Images, which the *Sbu king* gives us in Miniature. I however hope, that my Explanation, which discovers the principal Beauties of it, will not be useless.

*In the third of the Years named (A) Kya ting, Ching te syew presented the following Remonstrance to Ning t'ong, who was then on the Throne.*

**I**T is a common and a true Saying, that there is in the Universe a Particle of unextinguished Reason rooted in the Heart of Man, which being at all times the same, is the Cause of certain things being universally condemned at least inwardly, and of others being universally approved. Ever since the World has existed, there has been in it a good deal of Disorder. It has increased to such a Height in some Reigns, that the Laws have been without Force, and the Wicked have without Dread or Shame ventured on every thing. Thus, Corruption has been the Cause why, in Reality, private Passions at last became the Springs of Government. But this Corruption never extinguishes, at least in a great many, the Light of Reason which condemns this Disorder. "These Sentiments, which are as it were common and universal to all Mankind, are, says *Lew ngan shi* very well, the Rays of that Light and natural Reason, which is communicated to us "from *Tyen*:" It is never extinguished, and whoever opens his Eyes must perceive it. This Reason always subsists, and we have no more to do but to hear her when she speaks, especially when it is through the Voice of all, or almost all, Mankind.

In the Years named *Hi ning*, *Wang ngan shé*, becoming Minister of State, made a certain new Regulation, and as it was a very injurious one, all the World cried out against it. *Wang ngan shé*, whose Regulation was accommodated to the Princes Avarice, had Credit enough with him, to cause several of them, who had made Remonstrances to them, to be broken; but he could neither stop the Mouths of them nor of others, his Conduct being constantly disapproved of.

In the Years named *Sbau hing*, there was a Talk of a Peace and Alliance with the *Kin*. Experience of past Times taught us, that there was no depending upon these Treaties, and that they were pernicious in many Respects. The greatest Part of those who composed the Council,

were

(\*) *Kyen*: To raise, to establish, to fix. *Chong*, the Just Mean; the second *Kyen* is the same with the first.

(†) *Ki*, the highest Degree in every Kind; Literally, raise the Middle, raise the most perfect.

(‡) *Ti*, Virtuous in general.

(§) *Tia*, Goodness, Charity; sometimes Virtue in general.

(||) *King*, Respect, Respectful, Attention.

(¶) *Cbing*, Sincerity, Uprightness, Solidity, Perfection.

(\*) This is what the *Sbu king* contain, about the Reigns of *Tai* and *Sbau*, who are the two *Ti*.

(†) The Title of a Chapter in the *Sbu king*.

(‡) These Years are called *Ky ting* in *P. Fatigue's* Table; the third of which fall, in the 16th Year of the Reign of *Ning t'ong*, called *Hing t'ong* in the French.



were against this Peace: *Tsin wey*, the Author of the Advice that was rejected, had Interest enough so far to abuse the Authority of his Prince, whom for a long time he had absolutely managed, as to cause some in the Opposition to be put to Death: But he could not prevent all the Empire from equally disapproving of his Project and his Vengeance. It was to no Purpose to protest against the Regulation of *Wan ngan shé*, for the Avarice of the Prince authorized it: This Prince therefore completed the Ruin of his People. In vain were Representations made against the pretended Peace with the *Kin*, for *Tsin wey* carried it against so many Opinions: All the Advantage that accrued by it was, to render these Barbarians more fierce and more bold in injuring us afterwards; so true it is, that Reason commonly speaks by the Voice of the People, and it is of the greatest Importance to regard it.

Do not let us seek for Examples in Times past, to prove this. In our Days, we have seen in Post, a *Han chi cheu*, of a mean Soul and a narrow Genius: Who being intoxicated by the Interest which he had found Means to gain with his Prince, decided every thing as he had a Mind; therefore all the World was in the Opposition. For some time, he had Power enough to give the Preference of Evil to Good, and to make his own Ideas or Interest prevail over Men of Sense and Integrity; but at length he died under the Punishments which he deserved in more Respects than one, and by his fatal End, the great Men, whose wise Advices he despised, were gloriously revenged. In effect, the Voice of the People is commonly the Voice of Reason, and Reason is the Voice of *Tyen*. Therefore as *Cbi cheu* despised *Tyen*, could this be done unpunished? Good Princes and good Ministers observe a different Conduct. The Respect which they have for *Tyen*, makes them regard the public Voice, and the general Sentiments; thereby they gain the Hearts of the People, and draw down the Assistance of *Tyen*. What have they then to fear? By the just Punishment of a worthless Favorite, you have taken a wide step towards the right Way: But I am afraid that Disease that has continued so long a time, is not yet thoroughly cured. You cannot guard yourself too much against a Relapse. Let me speak plain; you are now sensible how dangerous it is for a Prince to abandon himself too much to a Subject, either out of Favour or out of any other Motive, and to give an Ear to him alone. Persevere in your happy Recovery, found your Government not upon the Suggestions of one Man, who frequently is directed by a Cabal, or animated by Interest, but upon the Sentiments of the Public, or the Advice of the Majority. In the Resolutions which you are to take, sincerely and in good faith, as being in the Presence of *Shang ti*, endeavour to follow the most equitable Measures. *Tyen* and Men will then rejoice at this, and all the Empire will feel it. Maturely weigh what I have taken the Liberty to lay before you.

*The Emperor Kang hi's Remark.*] This Discourse is full of lively Expressions and shining Turns. Every thing in it does Honour to the wisest Antiquity.

*Extract of another Discourse of the same Ching te syew, to the Emperor Li t'ong.*

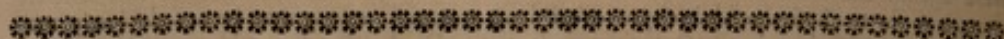
SIR, what is most important for a Prince, who like you, endeavours to govern well, is to gain the Heart of *Tyen* and the Heart of Man, and it is by gaining the Hearts of his Subjects, that a Sovereign gains that of *Tyen*. In the *I king*, in one of the Passages upon the Symbol named *Ta yew*, we read the following Words. *While Tyen protects him, he is happy, and every thing turns out to his Advantage.* Confucius, commenting upon this Text, says; *Who is it that Tyen protects, if it is not he who draws down his Protection by Respect and Submission? Who is it that Men aid, if it is not he who endears himself to them by his Uprightness and Equity?* In the first of the Years named *Twen yew*, while the Emperor *Ché ts'ong* and the Empress Dowager were reigning, the neighbouring Nations crowded from all Quarters, to put themselves under their Protection, because all the World, at that Time, were persuaded, that they who then ruled, proposed nothing but to fulfill the Designs of *Tyen*. *Sü shé*, speaking of the success of these Times, and laying open its Causes, borrows the Expression of Confucius, and says of that Prince and Princess; "They preserved Uprightness and pure Equity towards Men, and the most respectful Submission towards *Tyen*." But at what Price do you think can these Encomiums be purchased? You must, in all Affairs and upon all Occasions, endeavour worthily to fulfill the Designs of *Tyen*, and sincerely to seek the Welfare of the People. In your Person we have a Prince, naturally full of Goodness, and in other Respects, both very careful and very laborious. It would seem, as if under your Reign, we were again to see the glorious Years *Twen yew* to revive. Yet we see nothing but Irregularities in the Seasons, and frightful Appearances in the Heavens. At Court, and in your Armies, your most Loyal Officers are alarmed. In the Provinces, in the Cities, and in the Fields, all the People suffer and lament. This I own to you makes me afraid, least you inwardly use some Reserve, and that you have not exerted yourself as you ought to have done, in gaining the Hearts of Men, and thereby that of *Tyen*, &c.

In the rest of the Discourse, which is very long, he points out several Faults in the Government: Towards the End of it, he again quotes the Text of the *I king*, and assures his Prince, that if he does his best to cure these Evils, *Tyen* and Men will aid him, and that his Reign will not yield to the glorious Years *Twen yew*: He concludes by these Words. My Zeal is pure and sincere, but it has made my Expressions too bold; I am sensible of this, I acknowledge it, and I submissively wait for my Punishment.

*The Emperor Kang hi's Remark.*] The Author of this Discourse, exhorts his Prince to touch *Tyen*, by gaining the Hearts of Men. He reduces the Practice of all, to a perfect Equity and an inviolable Uprightness. This may be called, taking proper Measures for forming a Sovereign.

*Extraits*





# EXTRACTS

FROM A

*Compilation made under the Ming Dynasty, by one of the celebrated Literati, called Tang king chwen.*

*An Author speaking of the Game of the Chéfs, which is the Modish Diversion in China, says as follows.*

SOME People have said, that the Play of Chéfs was invented by the Emperor Yau, in order to instruct his Son in the Arts of Government and War: But nothing is more unlikely than this. The great Art of Yau consisted in the continual Practice of the five principal Virtues, the Use of which was as familiar to him, as the Use of Hands and Feet is to Mankind. It was Virtue, and not Arms, that he employed in reducing the most barbarous People.

The Art of War, of which the Chéfs is a Kind of a Representation, is the Art of hurting one another. Yau was far from giving his Son any such Lesson. The Play of the Chéfs doubtless did not begin, but since these unhappy Times, wherein all the Empire was desolated by Wars, it is an Invention very unworthy of the great Yau.

*From another Author, who declaims against a Fondness for that Play.*

A MAN who has a well disposed Heart ought to be ashamed, at a certain Age of having neither Reputation nor Merit. That he may shun this Confusion, he applies himself in his Youth, and makes continual Efforts. Does he succeed, and obtain the Degrees which he proposes as the End of his Labours? He is so far from relaxing, that the Fear of not holding on as he set out, makes him redouble his Application. This is the Conduct that so many great Men of past Ages have observed; they persevered with an invincible Constancy in the Study of our King, even to an advanced Age. Thus some of them have always lived in Honour, and others, after many laborious Years, have at last reaped the Fruits of them, and attained to the highest Posts.

In our Age, Alas! How many leaving the Study of the King, make the Chéfs their whole Business, and abandon themselves to it with so much Eagerness, that they neglect every thing else, even to eat and drink. Does Day-light fail them? They light up Candles, and play on; sometimes even at Day break, the Game is not ended. This Amusement exhausts both the Body and the Mind, and they think of nothing else. Does Business interpose, it is neglected, and the Chéfs is minded; doe Guests come? They are slighted. Nor can you prevail upon one of these Gamesters, to interrupt their trifling Combats, for the greatest ceremonial Banquet, or the most solemn and delectable Music. In short, at this Game as at all others, a Man may lose even his Cloaths; at least, he is in a continual Vexation, Trouble, and Fretting: And why? That he may remain Master of the Field of a Battle, which is no better than a Board, and to gain a kind of Victory, by which, the Conqueror obtains neither Titles, Appointments, nor Lands.

I shall readily grant, that Skill is required in this; but it is a Skill equally useless to public Welfare and to private Families. It is a Road that leads to nothing. If I examine this Play to the Bottom, with Regard to the Art of War, I find nothing in it that is conformable to the Lessons left us by the most famous Masters. If I examine it with Regard to civil Government, I still find in it fewer of the Maxims of our Sages. The Skill required in that Play, is to surprize ones Adversary, to spread Snares for him, and to take Advantage of the Blunders he commits. Can Honour and Uprightness be inspired by these Means? To take, to destroy, and other such Terms, are the Language of these Gamesters. Is this the Way to inculcate Gentleness and Clemency? In short, it may be said of this Play as of others, that it is a trifling Amusement, and diverts useful Business. It is as if you should raise a Piece of Wood, or Stone, and amuse yourself by beating upon it, or fighting with it: I know no Difference betwixt them.

Every wise Man, if he is a private Man, minds his domestic Affairs, and to provide for the Necessities of his Family: If he is at Court, and in the Service of his Prince, then his Endeavours ought to be turned to the giving Proofs of his Zeal. He ought even for this, to neglect his private Concerns. How far should such a Man be from amusing himself with the Chéfs? These Maxims which are standing Rules, were never more seasonable then at present, when a new Dynasty is beginning. The Empire still feels her past Calamities. The principal Business of our Emperor, is, to seek out for brave Captains, and worthy Ministers. If he finds a Man who has the least Capacity, he gives him a Post, and puts him in a Condition to arrive to the highest Fortune. This ought to animate any Man who has a Grain of Spirit: Instead of murdering his Strength and his Time in vain Amusements, he should endeavour to serve the State, and thereby to merit a Place in History. This ought to be a Spur to a well disposed Heart.

A use-



A useless Skill gains you the Game, and you give your Antagonist a total Defeat. What Comparison is there betwixt this Childish Advantage and the Titles, Lands and Pensions, with which the Emperor, if you had a Mind, would reward your Services? Which Part think you is to be preferred; to conduct upon a Chess-board a parcel of wretched Pieces of Wood, or to march at the Head of as many thousand Men? What can you gain in Comparison of the Profit and Honour you may reap by a great Post? If such a Man had bestowed the Time he had spent in this Game upon the Study of our King, he might at this Day have been another (\*) *Yen tse*. If such another, who is equally intoxicated with that trifling Amusement, instead of wasting his Time upon it, had entered upon Government, we should have had in him a (†) *Lyang ping*; in short, had such another been as much fatigued in the Toils of Commerce as in those of the Chess, his Riches might have equalled those of (‡) *Inu*. At least, had he exchanged this Amusement for a continual Exercise of Arms, he might thereby have rendered himself useful to the State. How far are these Gamesters from being what they might have been?

## OF SOVEREIGN PRINCES.

*IWE IWE N* relates, that *Pin kong*, King of *Tsin*, one Day asked at *Se quang*; What Qualifications a Sovereign ought to possess? And that *Se quang* answered. Qualifications necessary in a Prince.

A Sovereign ought to be pure and calm, both within himself, and in the Eye of the World. He ought to have for his People the Love of a Father; to use his utmost Endeavour, that understanding virtuous Persons may be put in Posts, and to give a continual Attention to what is passing in the (§) Universe. He should shun giving too much Scope to the Abuses of the Age in which he lives, and rendering himself too dependant on his Ministers and Favorites. He composes an Order by himself which he ought to maintain, and from that high Station, to extend his Views as far as he can. Above all, to examine carefully and equitably to weigh, the Services done him, that each may have his due Reward. Such is the Idea I have formed of a Prince.

*Swen wang*, King of *Tsi*, one Day asked of *Yun wen*; What was the Rule of the greatest Importance for a Sovereign. *Yun wen's* Answer was, The Principal one, in my Opinion, is to act little, and always without hurry. A Sovereign, who does not give out too many Orders, is obeyed in what he does order. When there are few Laws, they are better observed, and this prevents a great many Crimes. To leave the World to judge a little for themselves, and to compassionate the Weakness of those who are governed, are Maxims of true Wisdom and eminent Virtue. A perfect Prince scarce acts at all; yet his State is in Order. This is the Idea which is given us by the *Shi king* and the *Shu king*. Essential Rule

The Emperor *Cbing wang*, in giving the Principality of *Lü* to *Pe kyu*, caused him to come into his own Presence, and gave him the following Instruction. You are now, said he to him, a Prince, but do you know what are the Duties of a Prince? One of the utmost Importance is: On the one Hand, Majesty is requisite, in order to command Respect from all those above whom your Rank has raised you. On the other Hand, the People ought to be left at Liberty, to give their Prince proper Advices, for this may prevent his committing many Mistakes. That you may reconcile these two Points, admit Remonstrances without any Difficulty, hear them, and read them at Leisure. Neither brow-beat nor threaten those who make them: But don't give into them too easily. Weigh their Contents maturely, that you may extract from them all that is of Use; let all be done with Gravity, that you may not forfeit the Respect you have a Right to, but at the same time, with Gentleness, that you may thereby gain the Hearts of your Officers. This I call, knowing how to reign. and Instructions for them.

## Of the Ministers of State, and Generals of Armies.

THERE has always been, says *Li te in* (||), a great Difference betwixt a Prince and his Ministers. These last have been always much inferior to the other. But antiently, there was no such prodigious Difference betwixt them, as is observed now. If we go so far back as the three famous Dynasties, we find Ministers to whom the Prince never sent Orders to wait upon him. *Cbing tang* shewed this Piece of Respect for *Iin*; *Kau tsong*, for *Pü yue*; and *Vü wang*, for *Chau kong*. These Princes treated those wise Men, at first, as Sages, and then as Ministers. Deference which Sovereigns formerly paid to their Ministers.

In less remote Antiquity, Things were altered, but not in an extreme Degree: The Princes continued to treat their Ministers with Civility, and certain Ceremonies were regulated and observed on this Head. What we read of *Kyen ebin* and *Pi kong*, in the *Shu king*; and what the *Shi king* relates of *Shin pü*, *Chong shan fü*, and some others, proves to us, that in these Times, Ministers were still on a good Footing. During the Times of Antiquity, the Prince and his Ministers were as the Head and Arms of the same Body, or as Father and Son, or Brothers of the same Family. All their Cares and Secrets were in common. They were equally affected with the Happiness or Misfortunes of the State; and indeed, if there is a sure and certain Way for a Sovereign to succeed in the greatest Enterprizes, and to distinguish himself from the Generality of Princes, it is to treat the Minister he makes Choice of, in this Manner. Altered.

This useful laudable Custom was in effect, lost under *Tsin shi wahang*, who wanted to engross all the Respect to himself; and far from thus respecting his Prime Ministers, he made it a Maxim

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(\*) The most famous of the Disciples of *Confucius*.

(†) The Name of a much esteemed Minister of State.

(‡) The *Crafter* of China.

(§) The Chinese says, *Tsen hua*, which literally signifies Under the Heavens. The Chinese thereby commonly understand their own Empire.

(||) He lived under the *Tang* Dynasty.



to treat them with Haughtiness. He went so far as to make them to be tryed as Malefactors, and to die under the Hands of Executioners: A Thing unheard of before that Prince. Under him, the Ministers were confounded with the meanest Officers, and he always treated them proudly. But if the civil obliging Behaviour, which our ancient Kings, from their Esteem for Wisdom and Virtue, used towards their Ministers, was no longer seen under that Prince, neither did the same Loyalty and Zeal any longer subsist among the Ministers.

In this, almost infinite, Distance, at which the Haughtiness of the Prince kept them, they always looked upon him as a formidable Master, whom they durst not presume to love: They still bore the Name of Ministers; but the continual Dread in which they lived, and their Care of providing for their own Safety, no longer left them at the Liberty necessary for fulfilling the Duties of their Functions. *Li sé*, in the Morning, was made Minister, and that same Night he lost his Life by the Hands of an Executioner. Who would not tremble after such an Example? Therefore they who were in Post, touched their Pensions, took care not to displease the Prince (that is to say, they took care to bubble him) and never minded any thing else.

Instances of  
Ministers be-  
punished.

Under the *Han* Dynasty, in the Time of *Kau tsü*, a Prince who otherways had great Merit, *Syau ho*, a Minister of State, was clapt into Irons. Under *Ven ti*, a Prince who was Goodness itself, *Cheu pü*, a Minister of State, was cited before the Tribunals, and confronted with a Minister of the lowest Rank. *King ti* put his first Minister *Cheu yu*, to Death. *Vü ti* capitally punished several of his, and the same thing happened in late Reigns more than once. Melancholy Events; and to be looked upon as so many Consequences of the wicked Example of *Tsin shi wbang*!

'Tis true, that since these Times, there have been some Princes who have behaved otherwise to their Ministers: But there has always subsisted so extravagant a Distance betwixt the one and the other, that the Access to the Prince was rendered too difficult; and this is still to be attributed to the unhappy Change begun under *Shi wbang*. As it was not to be expected that the Prince would put Things upon their former Footing, a great many Persons of Merit, who might have been capable of the first Employments, and even they who had been some time in Post, instead of appearing, retired, or sought to retire. Thereby, the Way was left open to People, whose Merit entirely consisted in Flattery; which pleased the Generality of Princes. How can these happy Reigns, which the Wisdom and Virtue of our Ancestors rendered famous and flourishing, be revived?

After the Death of *Vü vang*, the first Emperor of the *Cheu* Dynasty, *Cbing vang*, his Son being too young, *Cheu kong*, the younger Brother of *Vü vang*, was Regent. *Hong yu*, a famous learned Man, under the *Tang* Dynasty, proposes *Cheu kong* as a Pattern for the Princes of that Age.

Maxims of  
*Cheu kong*.

It is said of *Cheu kong*, that being at Table, it was very common for him three Times to interrupt his Repast, to do honour to a wise Man, and to serve him with Victuals. While he was in the Bath, if he saw any wise Men enter it, he did not finish his bathing, but immediately left it, that he might adjust their Hair to do them honour, and help them himself. It is said, that he has been seen to do this thirteen times in one Day. One thing is certain, that while he governed, his principal Care and his greatest Anxiety, was to do honour to wise Men; and there was then none in Posts but Men of Virtue and Capacity. Craft and Flattery, and much less Vice and Villany, had then no Footing. Therefore the Empire was quiet, and there was not the least Disturbance. The most barbarous of our Neighbours voluntarily submitted, the Strangers punctually paid their Taxes, and all that is called, the Rites, Music, Jurisprudence, and Government, these great Springs, upon which depend the Regulation and Happiness of States, were in their utmost Perfection; and Innocence and Integrity prevailed over all. There then appeared no disorders of the Seasons, nor Monsters of Nature; the Winds and Rains were regular, Animals and Vegetables thrived, and all the Fields were fertile.

In this high Degree of Glory and Happiness, wherein *Cheu kong* maintained the Empire, that great Man never relaxed in his Care to enquire after Sages. Was this because these Sages whom he sought after, surpassed him in Wisdom? Doubtless not. Was it because they were rare and hard to come at? Great Numbers of them were in Posts. What could some People have done more? Or why were they still sought after? Because he feared, least somewhat should escape his Care. He was, in Place of his Nephew, charged with rendering the Empire happy; and he wanted that he should not have the least thing wherewith he could reproach himself.

*Hong yu* then draws a Contrast betwixt his own Times and those of *Cheu kong*. I shall not translate it, because it would be repeating the same Terms, always tacking them with a Negative. These Repetitions are graceful in the *Chinese* Language, but they won't do in ours. He concludes that there was then more Occasion for seeking out and promoting wise Men, than was in the Days of *Cheu kong*; and exhorts the Governors in his Time, herein to imitate the Care of *Cheu kong*.

That Ministers and Officers of War, in the Concerns of the State, ought to forget all Injuries and private Animosities.

Concerning  
Officers of  
War.

*SYAU HO* and *Tsau tsan*, both of them Men of distinguished Merit, grew jealous of one another, and lived together in very bad Understanding: *Syau ho* had got the better, he was Prime Minister, and *Tsau tsan* lived retired. *Syau ho* fell dangerously ill, and the Emperor asked him, who he thought was the most proper Person for succeeding him, in Case he should die?

*Syau*



*Syau bo* readily answered; *Tsau tsan* is without controversy, the most capable of that Employment, nor ought you to think of any other. *Tsau tsan* was so well acquainted with the Character of *Syau bo*, that upon the News of his Sickness, he had taken Leave of his Family, and put every thing in Order, that he might repair to Court; so firmly was he persuaded that *Syau bo* would name him, notwithstanding the bad Terms they lived in. *Syau bo* actually died; and was succeeded by *Tsau tsan*, who followed his Plans and Views, and kept Things on a right Footing. This Conduct was remarked and praised by all the World; and the People even made Songs upon it.

*Qyo tsey* and *Li quang pi*, two Officers of War, both naturally fierce, were in bad Understanding with one another, and might have passed for Enemies. When the Rebellion of *Ngan lü shan* happened; *Tsey*, notwithstanding his natural Haughtiness and his Aversion for *Quang pi*, fought him out, and with Tears in his Eyes, begged of him to assist him in saving the State, gave him a Detachment of his Army, wrote to Court that he might be promoted, and that he should be given to him as a Second against the Rebels. The Court consented, and the Rebels were defeated. *Qyo tsey* died a little after; *Li quang pi* succeeded him in his Command of the Northern Forces, and did not alter the least Point of what had been established by *Qyo tsey*.

In every State, Men of very great Capacities are but rare; but nothing is more uncommon than a good General. Not that People are wanting who have Genius for War, but they are only known upon Occasions. The Rebellion of *Ngan lü shan*, gave *Qyo tsey* and *Li quang pi* Opportunities of making themselves known by saving the State. It was in the War of *Lyau tong*, that *Chin cho* was known for what he was, namely an excellent General.

Tho' in (\*) latter Times, Occasions have not been wanting, yet several Reigns have passed without one General of any Reputation appearing. Formerly, private Soldiers, and even Slaves, became excellent Captains; but at present, the Court and the whole Empire does not furnish a single one. Whence proceeds this? Is it not because Military Officers are too much pinched, and their Allowances too small? Is it not likewise because they are too much circumscribed? The King of *Chau* made *Li mü* General upon the Frontiers; but he gave him no limits as to his Expences, so that he not only had wherewithall to pay his Troops, but even to bestow upon them Gratuities and Rewards; for this Reason, *Li mü* did wonders. For my Share, I believe, that if Expences were less spared, and if the Officers had nothing to answer for, but the Success of what they are charged with; we should then soon have good Generals.

There are certain great Men, says *Li te yü*, of whom a Prince may reap great Advantages; but they are not to be governed as other Men. If a Prince would employ them, he ought chiefly to observe two Things; the first is, to deal pretty roundly with them; the other, to engage them by Favours. If he shews too much Respect for them, they become haughty, and put too great a Value on themselves. It is then dangerous to employ them. If, instead of real Favours, they receive from their Prince only Honours of Ceremony, they are seldom satisfied, they grow neglectful, and never perform great Services.

*Kau tsü*, the first of the *Han* Dynasty, of all our Emperors, best practised what I have advised. When the famous *King pü* wanted to salute him, and to offer him his Services and Allegiance; *Kau tsü* was carelessly sitting on his Bed, affected to wash his Face, and received *King pü* without much Form or Ceremony. *King pü* inwardly boiled with Rage, and repenting of the Step he had taken, was about to have killed himself. However, he went out without saying any thing; but as he was going away, he was by the Prince's Orders conveyed to a large handsome House, where he was every Day splendidly regal'd amidst a Crowd of People who were ordered to serve him, and attended with Officers of all Ranks, who were commanded to do him Honour. *King pü* was then satisfied, and the more ready to serve *Kau tsü*, in that the latter discovered very little Concern about him, when he received him.

Nothing is more important, says *Sau fuen*, than a right Choice of Ministers and Generals. Nothing is likewise more difficult for a Prince, than to fill these Posts worthily, and to reap from the Capacities of those that are put in Posts, the Advantages which he had a Right to expect from them. The Difficulty after all, is far the greatest with Regard to Military Officers. And it is still twice as great, if they who are in Posts are Men who have nothing but Bravery, without Wisdom and Virtue. With Respect to Prime Ministers, it is a sure Rule for a Prince to treat them very civilly, and according to the Rites. As for Military General Officers, there is no certain Rule: With Regard to such of them as are known to be equally wise and brave, virtuous and able, the best Way is to trust them, and to make them sensible that they are trusted. As for these who have only Bravery and Capacity for War, it is an Art to know how to gain them; and this Art requires a great deal of Prudence and Care.

The six Kinds of Animals who are called Domestic, were formerly as wild as any other. As the Tyger and the Leopard tear and bite, so the Horse and the Bull strike; the one with the Hoof, and the other with the Horn. If our first Kings had ordered, that Endeavours should be used to destroy all these Kinds without Distinction, we should have now had neither Horses nor Cows. But their Wisdom made them distinguish, among these Savage Animals, such of them as might be serviceable, and they took proper Methods for subduing and taming them. If Beasts are treated in this Manner, there is much better Reason to observe the same Conduct towards Men. If Princes see any Capacity in one of their Subjects, provided he is not more incorrigibly fierce than a Tyger, they use all the possible Means to bring his Talent to Perfection, and to render it usefull.

(\*) The Author lived under the *Song* Dynasty.



A Prince ought not to give up the Care of providing good Generals whatever Difficulty attends it.

Different  
kinds of  
Military  
Officers.

As I have said before, Military Officers may be divided into two Sorts; one that has an equal Share of Virtue and Wisdom, as of Bravery and Skill. Such were *Wey ho* and *Chau chong què* under the (\*) *Han*: *Li tsing* and *Li tsé* under the *Tang*. There are others, whose Merits entirely consist in their Valour and Skill of the Trade of War. Such were *Han sing*, *King pû* and *Pong ywé*, in the Times of the *Han*: *Su ve*, *Wan che*, *Hew king tsi* and *Shing yen tse* in the Time of the *Tang*. As there is no great Plenty of Men of the first Characters, when they are wanting, those of the Second must be employed; and tho' it may be troublesome for a Prince, yet he may do it with Success, if he takes proper Measures. These Sort of People must be gained by Liberality, and when they are consulted, they must be talked to in the Openness of Heart, without any Ceremony. On the one Hand, their Lands and Possessions must be encreased, nor must they want either for Entertainments or Concerts; or for any thing that pleases their Pallate. But on the other Hand, they must be kept within the Bounds of Respect with a Majestic Gravity. Our ancient Princes treated them thus, and they succeeded.

The Motives  
upon which  
they Act.

A Modern Politician perhaps may say, that it is Hope alone that animates Officers, that quickens their Invention, and renders them indefatigable and intrepid in Dangers: And that therefore it is a Point of Wisdom, not to treat them too well beforehand, but to let them wait for their Reward, that they may be animated to deserve it by their Services. To this I answer, that it is not true in Fact, That Hope is the only thing that animates Officers. They who have a Capacity only for War, may be divided into two Sorts: The first are they who distinguish themselves but indifferently, and whose Capacity is but midling. The second Kind rise much higher, and have extraordinary Capacities and admirable Abilities. Both the one and the other commonly have Views proportioned to their Capacities. It is according to this, and not according to a Maxim that frequently is mistaken, that a Prince ought to act, and to treat them differently according to their different Dispositions. A Man has an excellent Horse of extraordinary Mettle and Swiftnefs. He is carefully tended, and every thing he eats is nicely chosen; his Stable is kept very clean, and even the Water in which he bathes must come from a limpid Fountain. Does any Emergency happen? This Horse can make 100 Leagues at a Stretch. He perceives that this is required of him, and he performs it without once stumbling: It is not Hope that animates him, for it is impossible to treat him better after his Journey is ended, than before.

A Bird of Prey is bred up in another Manner. If he takes a Pheasant, a Sparrow is given to him as a Reward; does he take a Hare, he gets a Rat. The Bird thereby knowing that he receives but in Proportion as he hunts well, on that Account does his best, and catches more Game than he would do, had he nothing to hope for. Men of extraordinary Capacity, and who have great Views and extensive Projects answerable to their Capacity, I compare to an excellent Race-horse. Not to give them a large Reward beforehand, is, as if by making this Race-horse fast for a long time, you should require him to make 100 Leagues upon a Stretch, with a View of giving him a hearty belly-full afterwards. I compare the others whose Capacity is but midling, and consequently whose Hearts have a different Turn, to a Bird of Prey: When he is crammed he does no more Service. It is a Prince's Part exactly to study the Dispositions and Talents of his Servants, and thereby to take his Measures.

Manner in  
which *Kau ti*  
treated  
them.

*Han sing* no sooner came over to (†) *Kau ti*, than this last made him Captain General of his Armies. The first time *King pû* had kissed that Prince's Hands, was honoured, as he left the Audience, with the Title of *Vang*, and treated as such. *Pong ywé* was at once raised by the same Prince, to the Post of Minister of State. Yet these three Men had not then followed his Party; tho' they did him great Services afterwards, and push'd his Enemies very bravely. But while the contrary Party still subsisted, they were rich and bountiful by the Liberalities of *Kau ti*; and they even died before the *Han* were absolutely Masters of the Empire. Why did *Kau ti* behave thus towards them? Because he knew their Capacity and their Genius. He knew well that they were not Men who would engage themselves for a Trifle, or slacken their Endeavours when their Fortune was made. He acted quite otherways towards *Fan wéy*, *Tun kong* and *Quan ing*: Did they take a City from the Enemy, or gain a slight Advantage? They were raised but a few Degrees, and their Pay was encreased in Proportion to their Services. If they did nothing, their Situation was never altered. So that when *Kau ti*, by the Death of his Enemy, found himself absolute Master of the Empire, each of these two Men counted some Hundreds of Victories. *Kau ti* then made them (‡) *Hew*. Why did this Prince for so long time, bestow so moderate Rewards upon them, yet afterwards, on another Occasion, with so much Ease, grant them a Territory of 100 Leagues? Because he treated them according to their Views, which, like their Capacity, were but midling: He knew them to be People who would go thro' every thing in hopes of being advanced, and that they might be spoiled by anticipating their Rewards.

Maxims of  
War.

When an Army is raised, the safest Course is to give the Command of it to one General, who is to act as he see proper, and is to be entrusted with the Success. The best Courser in the World, if his Legs are entangled, will be beat by a Dray-Horse. Tho' a Man were a *Mong puen*, yet if his Arms and Legs are tied, he may be insulted by a Woman. In the same Manner to pinch a General, is putting an Obstacle to his Success, and taking away from him the Right of judging,

(\*) Names of different Imperial Dynasties.

*Han* Dynasty.

(†) The same who is called *Kau tsu*, the first Emperor of the

(‡) Name of a Dignity, such as that of Earl or Baron.



o that he can be capable of nothing that is great. A General is pinched three Ways. The first is, by tying him up to the Orders of the Court. The second is, by dividing his Army, and naming two Generals of equal Authority. The third is, by giving him Persons who have no Authority in the Army, as his Inspectors and Councillors, and yet pinning the General down to follow their Advice and Direction. In the first Case, the General, properly speaking, is no longer General, being but a Spring who is acted by a distant Power: Whence it happens, that acting too slowly, he is almost always without Success. In the second and third Cases, all commonly ends in his returning without doing any thing. For besides Suspensions and Distrusts arising, the very Difference of Notions and Opinions, keeps all in Suspence, till both Time and Opportunity is lost.

However, it is acknowledged on all Hands, that two things principally tend to render a General formidable to the Enemy. Great Activity, and a Character of having Resolution: By his Activity, he is always in a Condition to act either upon the Offensive or Defensive. And by his determined Resolution, he knows how to take his Measures when Occasion offers. Is it not therefore best to leave a General at Liberty, rather than to confine him in that Manner. The Proverb says very well, *Too many Shepherds to one Flock, serve only to disturb it: But if one Shepherd keeps it, it marches along with straying.* Anciently, when a Prince named a General, he said to him, touching his Chariot with his Hand, "Go along, you are now entrusted with my Troops distant from the Court, and it is your Business to command them absolutely." *Suen wang* having made *Sun tse* General of his Troops, caused *Ki* to be put to Death, tho' he tenderly loved him, for having shewn an Inclination to disturb *Sun tse* in the Exercise of his Commission. The King of *Wey*, that he might support *Tang tsin* who had the Command of his Forces, sacrificed the greatest Favorite he had. What Authority did not *Kau tsu* give to *Whay in* and his other Generals? If he had thought fit to have circumscribed them, he never had destroyed the opposite Party, nor been the peaceable Possessor of the Empire.

The Kings of *Yen* and *Chau* acted otherways; the one pinched *Lo i* by means of *Ki ky*; the other neglected the Advice of *Li mi* for that of *Chau ko*. These two Princes, paid dear for their Conduct. The best Way therefore, in my Opinion, is for a Prince who wants to be successful, to leave his General at full Liberty, and to reserve to himself only the Right of judging of the Merit of his Services. That all the Subaltern Officers may be sensible, that they have above them a sole General whom they ought to follow, and that that General may know that he is to be accountable to the Prince. To circumscribe him in one Respect or another, is to hinder him from succeeding; and if he should succeed, it is depriving him of Part of his Glory; but if he does not succeed, all the Blame falls upon him. Who can be satisfied with such a Condition of Life? Great Valour and great Capacity are required in a General; these rendering him both esteemed and respected, procure him the entire Submission both of the Officers and Subalterns. But in order to do this effectually, he must know how to gain their Hearts by his Goodness. When a General is thus qualified, an Army is then a Body, whose Members naturally all do their utmost Endeavours to serve the Head; or it is a Family of which the General is the Father, and the Officers are so many Brothers actuated by one common Inclination. Then he can be stopped by no Danger, and barred by no Difficulty: And he is sure of Success in whatever he undertakes. But at the same time, it must be owned, that it is not the Work of one Day for a General to attain to this, and there are few such Generals. But such, however, were several great Men of Antiquity. Such, for instance, was *Tang tsin*, General of the Army of *Tsi*. General as he was, yet was Lodging to be provided for his Men, Water to be procured, or Provisions to be got? He frequently put the first Hand to the Work: Sometimes in digging a Well, sometimes in rearing an Oven, and sometimes in erecting Baracks. Did any one stand in Need of Medicines? He administered them himself. In short, he lived like the common Soldiers, and therefore required that they should be expeditious and brave. If he saw any among them that were either cowardly or lazy, he gave them but three Days as a Tryal; and if in that Time they did not amend, he broke them absolutely. The Effects of this was, that his Soldiers, even the Sick, were not only always ready, but always eager, for the Fight. The confederate Troops of *Yen* and *Tsin*, who had attacked *Tsi*, soon retired and left *Tsi* in Peace.

Such likewise was the famous *U ki* in the Kingdom of *Whey*: After he was made General, he eat, without any Ceremony, with the lowest Officers, and even with the private Men. When he went to sleep, he would not allow so much as a Cloth to be spread for himself. He lived like the private Soldiers; and whatever he had more than them, he divided with the first Corners. Therefore his Men, tho' they had been weakened with (\*) Distempers, took a Pleasure in marching to Battle; and *Tsing*, who then carried all before him, never durst attack *U ki*. Besides, what do you think were the Motives that induced *Tang tsin* and *U ki* to behave thus? It was because they were persuaded, that in order to draw from the Officers and Soldiers all they could perform, they must attach them to themselves; and that the most infallible way for that, was to treat them with Goodness and Benevolence. If a General has only Troops that have been levied betwixt Morning and Night, by whom he is neither known nor loved, it commonly happens, that when they must come to Blows, these Troops no sooner see the Standards display'd and hear the Drums beat, than they go to Confusion and are routed.

*Hang sing* at the Head of such an Army gained a Victory, but he took care to chuse his Ground, so as that he had a large deep River in his Rear. Some Officers, when the Battle was

(\*) The Chinese says literally, *That they were so bad that they could swallow nothing but Liquids.*

Character a General ought to have.

An Instance of a great General.

Extraordinary Conduct of *Hang sing*.



over, discourting with the General, said to him: Till now, it has been always laid down to us as a Rule in Encampments, to have some Mountains or Rising Grounds, in our Rear and on our Right. On our Left and Front, a Water. You acted quite contrary to this, yet we have got the better. Is the Rule therefore good for nothing? It is very good, answers Han sing, and it generally should be followed, but it does not destroy another which you may likewise find in your Books. Sometimes the best way of saving ourselves, is to be exposed to the greatest Danger of perishing. My Troops are not composed of Veteran Soldiers, whom I have picked, and who are devoted to my Person; they are but patched up. The Necessity wherein they found themselves of either conquering or dying, made every Man fight for his Life. They probably had quitted their Ground, had I posted them otherways.

Han sing, notwithstanding his extraordinary Abilities, had no Hopes to obtain any thing of an Army which he had not time to attach to himself, but from Necessity. And indeed, who could have hoped it otherways? Mong shu, Wbey shang, and many others, were of the same way of thinking. Tho' they were generally esteemed by the Officers and Soldiers for their Capacity and Courage, they yet thought it necessary to engage them by their good Offices. By these they succeeded. At (\*) present, an Upstart General is not only put at the Head of raw Troops whom he is entirely unacquainted with, and they with him; but should this General, according to the Maxims of the great Men of Antiquity, apply himself to gain over his Men, instead of being commended for it, he is rendered suspected to his Prince: while this is the Method, how can great Generals be had, or how can they perform important Services?

### OF POLITICS.

The just distinction of Politics.

POLITICS, says Lyew (+) hyang, ought to be distinguished into two Sorts: The one sort every way honest and upright; the other, mean and blameful. The principal Design of the first, is, the Good of the People; and the Authors of the second, seek only to procure some private Advantage, or to gratify some Passion. The first always acts uprightly and sincerely; the other very often uses Deceit and Dissimulation. Upon this Rule it was, that the wise Emperor Tau examining his thirteen Officers, kept nine whom he employed, and rejected four whom he caused to be put to Death. The common Fate of the Villain is to ruin himself at last, and to die without Posterity; but the honest upright Man, leaves the Example and Memory of his Virtues as a Legacy to a numerous Issue. The first Principle therefore in Point of Politics, is to propose the Good of the State, and to seek it by all honest Means: This is a Principle from which we are never allowed to deviate, tho' the Empire itself, or a large Accession of Power to its Master, were the Prize.

Besides this first Maxim, which is the most important, there are likewise others that ought not to be neglected by a good Politic Prince. In the Height of Prosperity, to be modest, to know how to yeild when it is proper, to think of the Misfortunes that may happen, to apply a speedy Remedy to the least Disorder that appears, incessantly to watch, lest he should not fulfill all his Duties.

Apply'd to Examples.

While When kong was reigning in the States of Tsi, there were two other little States betwixt the Rivers Hyang and Wbay, of which the one was called Kyang, the other Whang. The King of Tsi, who was their most powerful Neighbour, wanted to attack them, which they knowing very well, they entertained an extreme Aversion for that Prince. It happened that When kong, King of Tsi, in order to support the Chew Family which was then almost gone to Ruin, formed an Alliance with several other Princes, which Alliance was proposed at Yang ko, and concluded at Qyan tse, where it was agreed upon to attack Tsi. The Petty States of Kyang and Whang, whether from their Esteem for When kong, or their Aversion for Tsi, sent their Deputies, and demanded to be admitted as Contracting Parties in that League. When this Affair came to be deliberated upon, Whan chong the Minister of When kong maintained, that they ought not to be admitted. These two Kingdoms, said he, are distant from Tsi, but they border upon Tsi, and are entirely at his Mercy, since he may attack them so suddenly, that it is impossible for you to save them. This would by no Means be for your Honour; and besides, Tsi will thereby become more powerful and formidable. When kong, notwithstanding his Minister's Opposition, admitted Kyang and Whang into the League: While Whan chong lived, no bad Consequences happened upon this Step; for his Wisdom provided against every thing. But as soon as he was dead, Tsi invaded Kyang and Whang. When kong was unable to save them; he passed, tho' groundlessly, for having no good Will to do it, and that he had broken his Faith with them. This Consideration greatly diminished his reputation in Honesty and Politics. The confederated Princes grew cold; he thereby was more weakened, and in a short time Tsi was not in a Condition to support itself. The first Step to its Decay, was the admitting the two little States, Kyang and Whang, into the League: Whan chong, like a good Politician, foresaw, and When kong ought to have foreseen, the bad Consequences of this.

In the Time of the Emperor Yang vang, Tay shu his younger Brother rebelled. After he had given the Emperor great Disturbance, he retired to the States of Chin. The Emperor wanted to penetrate into them that he might there surprize him, but his Army was too weak, and he was not in a condition of succeeding by himself. Tsiang and Tsin had Armies at that time in the Field; so the Emperor applied to these two Powers for Assistance. The Prince of Tsiang, who, beyond Comparison, was the most powerful of the two, instead of assisting the Emperor, sought

(\*) This Author lived under the Song Dynasty.

(+) He lived under the Han.



to profit by his Difficulties. When the Spring came, he encamped on the Banks of the Yellow River, and streightened the Emperor so, that he had almost taken him. Then the Petty Prince of *Tsin* not knowing what to do, consulted with *Ku yen* his Minister. "Sir, said *Ku yen* to him, "It is much better to support your Emperor, than to abandon him to a Prince who is his Tributary as well as yourself. Join your Emperor; not only Justice and Honour, but even your Interest, requires this. The Emperors treat those who are submissive to them, with Gentleness: "Tho' this Rule is not always infallible, yet on this Occasion it appears to me to be certain."

The Prince, who till then, had been in very good Terms with *Tsing*, and who was afraid to break with him, had some Difficulty to follow this Advice: He desired his Minister to examine it by the *Qya* and the Herb *Sbi*. *Ku yen* did so, and finding them both favourable, *Tsin* ordered his left Wing to advance to join the Emperor's Army; and with his Right, he besieged *Wen*, where the Fugitive *Tay shu* was: All this was done so suddenly, that *Tsing* could not prevent it. In the fourth Moon, *Tay shu* was punished for his Rebellion, and the Prince of *Tsin* came to Court to salute the Emperor, who caused him to eat at his own Table, and bestow'd on him the Territories of *Yan fu*, *Wen ywen* and *San mau*, which encreased his State more than a half. This gave that Prince so much Credit, that within three Years he engaged a good many other Princes to come to Court with him, and pay the Emperor their Homages. The Emperor then made him a Present of a Bow and a Quiver full of Arrows, and honoured him with the Title of *Pe*. When the Prince of *Tsing* was informed that *Tsin* assisted the Emperor, and that *Wen* was besieged, *Bebold*, said he, the Masterly Politics of *Ku yen*. In Effect, it was owing to the Councils of that Minister, that *Tsin*, from an inconsiderable, became a great, State.

*Yu* and *Hu* were two petty States in a pretty large Kingdom: Yet petty as they were, they preserved themselves, because in a Place where their Frontiers touch'd one another, there was a narrow Pass betwixt them and *Tsin*, which it was not easy to gain. *Hyen kong*, Prince of *Tsin*, who passionately wished to swallow up these two States, reasoned about it with *Syun si* his Minister, and asked him by what Means it might best be done. "Sir, answers *Syun si*, I see only "one Way, and I believe, if you follow it, you may succeed. That impregnable Pass which "covers both States, is entirely upon the Territories of *Yu*. When you have declared War "against *Hu*, send an Ambassador to *Yu* to demand a Passage for your Troops. But it is requisite, 1. That the Ambassador be a well chosen Person, and of a most engaging Deportment. "2. That he go with a modest humble Equipage. 3. That he carry along with him a fine Present, and especially, that precious Stone of so extraordinary Bigness, which you so much value. "That Stone, answered *Hyen kong*, is of a very great Value, and the finest and the most precious Jewel I have. If I were sure of attaining to my Ends by means of it, it were well. "But what if the Prince of *Yu*, after receiving my Present, shall laugh at me, and refuse my Request. There is no fear of that, replied *Syun si*: Your Request will either be granted, or "your Present will be refused: *Yu* dares not do otherwise: If he grants you a Passage, he will receive it. But in that Case, your Present will be well bestow'd. Besides, to send your fine "Jewel to *Yu* is, properly speaking, no other than to take it out of your own Cabinet, and to place it for some time in an outer Gallery.

"But then, replies *Hyen kong*, this Step will be quite needless. The Prince of *Yu* has with him *Kong chi ki*; he will understand our Drift, and persuade his Prince to refuse my Present. "Kong chi ki is a clear sighted Man. He is so, answered *Syun si*, but as he is but like other Men, he may suffer himself to be wrought upon at least for once; and as he is as complaisant and not so old as his Prince, it is to be supposed he is less resolute. His Complaisance may induce him to say nothing, or very little, on this Occasion; or at least, it is to be hoped, that he will not have the Resolution to make a very vigorous Opposition. Lastly, tho' he should do so, yet the Prince, as being older than him, and tempted by your Present, may perhaps receive it, contrary to the Advice of his Minister. It does not indeed require much Penetration to see into our Designs, but I know that the Prince of *Yu* has a very shallow Comprehension."

*Hyen kong*, according to the Advice of *Syun si*, sent off the Ambassador and the Present. The Prince of *Yu* was perfectly well pleased with such an Embassy; and being still more charmed with the Present, had already resolv'd within himself upon the Part he was to act; but did not fail to consult with *Kong chi ki*, at least, for Forms-sake. "Sir, said *Kong chi ki*, I own that nothing can be more obliging, than what the Ambassador of *Tsin* has told you; besides, his Present is very rich; but at the Bottom all this is very dangerous for your State. The Proverb says very well, "that when the Lips are chopt, (\*) the Teeth must infallibly suffer Cold. *Yu* and *Hu* are two little States, who mutually supporting one another, are hardly to be subdued; but if they abandon and betray one another, how can they subsist? *Hu* must perish first, but *Yu* will soon meet with the same Fate."

The Prince let his Minister talk on; received the Present of *Tsin*, and granted the Passage. *Hu* was first invaded, and four Years after *Hyen kong* fell upon *Yu*. *Syun si* went in Person to the Expedition against *Yu*, seized the Treasures of that Prince, recovered the precious Jewel, came back full Speed, and presenting it to *Hyen kong*. "Sir, said he to him, do you remember this Jewel? "Have I been deceived in my Conjectures? No, you have not, answered the Prince; behold my Jewel recovered, and my Horse well fatned." The Advice of *Syun si* was followed, and gained two

(\*) The Chinese Expression is, The Teeth of the Jawns are very long. In France to have long Teeth, in a Burlesque Sense, signifies to have Fasted, quite contrary to the Meaning in Chinese; which implies, I have acquired much.



two Kingdoms to the Prince. The Advice of *Kong shi ki* was neglected, and thereby became useless. Notwithstanding this different Success, my Opinion, both as to the one and the other, is this. They were both understanding Men. *Kong chi ki* was a Minister void of Blame, and *Syun si*, in more happy Times, would have been the same. It was a Loss, that he lived at a Time, when Wrong, by being common, was no longer hateful.

(\*) *Tsing* and *Chau* being at Variance, and each having assembled his Army, they came to Blows. *Chau* lost the Battle, and *Tsing* being victorious, besieged *Kan tú*; but his Troops being weakened with Fatigue, in a short time, he raised the Siege. The King of *Chau* having returned to his Capital, was inclined to send to his Enemy to treat with him; and to offer six Cities to make Peace. He took this Resolution by the Advice of *Chau ho*: And *Chau ho* himself was to manage the Affair. *Yu king* being informed of this, waited upon the King in order to dissuade him from it. "Permit me, Sir, said he to him, to ask for what Reason *Tsing* has raised the Siege of *Kan tú*, and has retired? Is it because he has all of a sudden entertained an other Opinion with Regard to you, and not being able to dethrone you, he has spared you out of Friendship? Or is it not rather because his Troops, tho' victorious, have suffered a great deal? Their Victory has cost them dear; and I doubt not but that the State, in which they found themselves, was the Cause of their Retreat. *Tsing* besieges one of your Cities, but not being able to take it, he retires: And you, working for him against yourself, want to give him six. He has no more to do but to attack you every Year for some Years to come, and you may continue to treat him in the same Manner, till you shall soon be without any Cities at all." The King having told this to *Chau*; he answered with an Air of Raillery, "Has *Yu king* numbered the Forces of *Tsing*? How does he know that he has gone away merely from Fatigue? But granting he has, if by refusing him a trifling Piece of Ground you make him return next Year, it will be a quite different Affair, for then you will not come off so cheap. He may, perhaps, even penetrate into the very Heart of your Kingdom. I consent, says the King, that you give up this Piece of Ground; but if I do this, will you answer for it, that *Tsing* will not afterwards attack me? I answer for it! Said *Chau ho*, no! I cannot, and I dare do it so much the less, because the other Neighbouring States, for instance, *Hú* and *Wbey*, have taken Care to gain *Tsing* by considerable Cessions. But I think it of great Importance for us to gain some Respite, and to open a Way for Negotiations. This is what I offer to bring about. Besides, as a Treaty has for some time subsisted betwixt these two Nations and *Tsing*, and the six Cities which you propose to offer him, is a Trifle in Comparison of what these States have granted; is it to be believed that he will spare them more than you? So that I will engage for nothing for the Future.

*Yu king* being informed of all this by the King: "Was not I in the Right, Sir? said he to him, *Ho* himself acknowledges, that if *Tsing* shall return, he perhaps may subdue even to the very Heart of your Kingdom. He acknowledges at the same time, that tho' these six Cities are given up, yet we cannot be absolutely sure that *Tsing* will leave us in quiet. To what purpose then should we give them up, if next Year he shall return, and we, to buy a little Respite, shall give him as many? Your State then must be reduced to nothing. Trust me, Sir; you should have nothing to do with Peace on such Terms. However briskly *Tsing* shall attack us, and however feebly we defend ourselves, his Conquests and our Losses can never amount in one Year to six Cities. Why give them up without striking one Blow? This is strengthening our Foes by weakning ourselves. Let me add, that this would be to encrease his insatiable Avarice, and to invite him to return. When he returns, you will either give him up the Territory, or not: If you do the first, I have already said, that you will soon be a King without a Kingdom. If you refuse to grant him what he demands, far from thinking himself obliged to you for what you now would offer him, he will take great Offence, and if he can, will make you feel his Resentment."

The King being uncertain and fluctuating betwixt the Advices of *Yu king* and that of *Chau ho*, *Lew wan*, who was executing a Commission towards *Tsing*, returned to Court. The King laid before him the whole Affair, and asked his Opinion. *Lew wan* having been corrupted by *Tsing*, said, that the best way was to give up these six Cities to *Tsing*. "Believe me, Sir, adds he, *Yu king*, who maintains the contrary, takes a partial View of the Affair: *Tsing* you know is victorious: All are dazzled with his Success and court his Friendship; should you exasperate him, the Neighbouring States will take Advantage of his Resentment against you, were it only that they make their Court to him at your Expences: And they will attack you on one Side, while he attacks you on the other. How can you then hold out? On the contrary, if you give up these six Cities to *Tsing*, every one will conclude, that you are upon good Terms together, and no one will move. It is therefore undoubtedly your wisest Course to yield them up."

*Yu king* was informed of all; so he immediately demanded an Audience. "Beware Sir, said he, *Lew wan* is certainly bribed by *Tsing*. To yield up six Cities, says he, will soften *Tsing*, and we will thereby prudently impose upon the other Princes. For my Share, I say that it is gratifying the Ambition of *Tsing*, and publishing your Weakness to all the Empire. But tho' I oppose this Cession so strongly, it is not but that I know that it is sometimes the wisest Course to yield up a Part of a Prince's Dominions, that the rest may be preserved. But that is

not

(\*) The Names of two Kingdoms which formed a Part of the Chinese Empire.



"not the present Case. I maintain, that to give up these six Cities to *Tsing*, is against your real Interest. Why don't you rather give them up to his Mortal Enemy *Tsi*? You will thereby put *Tsi* in a Condition to attack *Tsing* toward the West, with almost equal Forces. *Tsi* will readily accept this Proposal, and then you may be both of you revenged of *Tsing*; and all the World will own your Abilities. When *Hu* and *Whey* shall see, that instead of cowardly surrendering, like them, your Territories to *Tsing*, you put yourself in a Condition not to fear him, they will look upon you as an able Prince, and one who may prove useful to them; nay, they will privately assist you, that they may be in a Condition, if they can, to shake off from themselves the Yoke of *Tsing*. Thus, by one Stroke, you may engage to yourself, at least, three Kingdoms. *Tsing* will then talk in another Strain." The King relished this last Advice, and sent *Yu king* himself, to negotiate the Treaty at the Court of *Tsi*. The Negotiation proved successful, and the Designs of *Tsing* upon *Chau* went to Smoak; of such vast Importance is it for a Prince to have a Person who is at once an honest Man and a good Politician, to advise with.

## OF HEREDITARY PRINCES.

*CHANG TSE FANG* seeing the *Han* Dynasty well established, and the Empire in Peace, notwithstanding his being a (\*) *Hew*, retired, shut the Door against all the World, and scarce ever stirred abroad. The Emperor was then about to degrade the Hereditary Prince, that he might substitute in his Place another of his Sons, whom he had by one of his second Wives, named *Tsi*. He had many Obstacles to surmount, and Measures to keep, in this. So that the thing not being finally resolved upon, the Empress sought for some one, who might by his Councils, or otherways, assist her in preserving the Succession to her Son. *Chang tse fang* was mentioned to her as a Man of great Understanding and Interest. So the Queen instantly sent to him, *Lyu tse bew* and *Kyen ching*, to inform him of what was transacting, and to ask his Advice on an Affair of so much Importance to the Welfare of the Empire.

In the Condition in which you represent things, said *Chang tse fang*, to go and make a Harangue to the Emperor, perhaps that might hasten him to put the finishing Hand to what he now intends, or at best it would be quite needless. But an Expedient has come into my Head, which may be tried and may be successful: For I know *Kau ti*, and that he would be far from disturbing the Empire. I know four Men who have nothing to fear; (here he named them) and they are four venerable old Men, who seeing how much Men of Learning are undervalued, have retired to the Country, and never would accept of Posts. His Majesty, is acquainted with their Reputation, values their Integrity and Uprightness, and knows that no Treasures can corrupt them. The Hereditary Prince must write to them in a humble modest Manner; he must dispatch Chariots for them, and send to them some understanding Person to engage them to come to him. When they arrive, the Hereditary Prince must treat them as his Guests, and carefully keep them about his Person, so as that the Emperor may take Notice of it, and think that they and all others of their Character are devoted to the Prince.

The Empress took care punctually to execute every thing; the arrival of these four old Men brought others; and every Day there were seen with the Hereditary Prince, a great Number of grave Persons venerable by their Grey Hairs. The Emperor, who perceived this, and particularly remarked four whom the others respected, one Day took Occasion to ask of these four, who they were? Each of them telling his Name; What, is it you! said the Emperor, "I have often heard your Merit talked of, and have been often willing to give you Employments: But you have been obstinate to keep out of the Way; and now, when you have not been sought after, I see you attending my Son; what has brought this Change about? We will freely tell you, Sir, answered they, for why should we dissemble? We have kept ourselves retired, that we might not expose ourselves to the Contempt that is shown to Men of Learning; but understanding that your Heir was a Prince of a truly filial Piety, an universal Benevolence, a remarkable Affection for Men of Letters, and in short, a Prince for whom every Man of Virtue and Merit would willingly sacrifice his Life; we have left our Retirement, that we may come and spend the Remainder of our Days near him. That is well, replied the Emperor, continue to take care to instruct my Heir a-right": Upon this, the four old Men, after they had performed the ordinary Ceremonies, rose and went away. The Emperor following them with his Eyes, caused his Concubine *Tsi* to come to him; and pointing at the old Men; "You know, said he, what I intended to do for your Son, and it was all very right. But the Hereditary Prince, having these wise old Men in his Party, you must think no more about it." Such was the Success of the Advice which *Chang tse fang* gave the Empress in Favour of the Prince.

*Wbay*, the Son, and designed Successor of the Emperor *Whey ti*, lost his Mother when he was young. When he was of Age to enter upon the Management of Affairs, *Kya mye* gave the reigning Empress a very disadvantageous Impression of that young Prince. The Empress, who by no means loved the Hereditary Prince, easily believed every thing that was told her. But as she had not Grounds enough for procuring him to be degraded, she pretended to be suspicious that the Reports were false. She kept *Kya mye* a long time to examine him; and partly by Artifice, partly by Force, she fuddled him, and made him put in Writing, with a very malicious Turn which she likewise suggested, the Report he had made to her; then she carried that Writing to the Emperor. This Trick was at the Bottom too gross and palpable; for what Man

(\*) The Name of a Dignity like that of Earl, Marquis, &c.



would be so mad as freely to give a Writing under his Hand upon such an Occasion? Besides that, supposing *Kya myé* had not been forced to give this Writing, it ought to have been examined into, whether the Contents were really founded upon any Behaviour of the Hereditary Prince, or merely an idle Surmise.

The Emperor being a weak Prince, never reflected; and most of those who were then in Posts, were not more clear sighted in the Affair than himself. *Fey kú* was the only Man who thoroughly comprehended the Affair; but either from Fear or Interest, neglected to paint it in its proper Colours. *Whey ti* did not open his Eyes, so that the Hereditary Prince was degraded, and died without an Opportunity of vindicating himself. Could any thing be more deplorable than this? It being a Proof that tho' in civil Transactions there are no better Evidences than Writings and Subscriptions, yet after all, they are not entirely infallible. History gives us more Examples of this.

*Ing tsong* had scarce mounted the Throne, when a great Officer, who was in his Favour, wanting to ruin *Tsay yang*, whom he hated, informed the new Emperor, that *Tsay yang* had done all he could to dissuade *Jin tsong* from chusing him for his Successor. *Ing tsong* being enraged against *Tsay yang*, was about to have ruined him; but *Ngew yang*, who was then in Post, prevented him by the following seasonable Remonstrance.

"How do you know, Sir, said he to him, that *Tsay yang* has opposed you? Do you know it only by hearsay? Or have you any Writing under his Hand that confirms you in your Belief? Even tho' you had Proofs signed under his Hand, yet I would advise your Majesty not easily to give it entire Credit: The Histories of preceeding Ages teach us, that favorite Eunuchs have more than once abused the Credulity of Princes, in order to destroy Men of Worth by forged Writings. How much less ought simple Surmises and Hearsays to be relied upon?" *Ing tsong*, upon this Remonstrance, was appeased, and neglected the Accusation.

Under another Reign, *Ywen sú*, the Enemy of *Tseu hau*, with a Design to destroy him more surely, composed an insolent Remonstrance in the Name of *Tseu hau*, proper for exasperating the Emperor, to whom he conveyed it. Even under our own (\*) Dynasty, *She kyay* having composed Verses in Praise of *Fú pi*, wherein he had dropt some Raillery which fell upon a certain *Hyan tsú*; the latter, in order to be revenged of him, engaged a young Slave to counterfeit the Writing of *She kyay*. When this Slave was able to counterfeit it exactly, *Hyan tsú* made her write certain Letters in the Name of *She kyay*; hinting, as if *Tu pi* and *She kyay* were in a Conspiracy to raise a general Rebellion at the Court and in the Provinces. Under any Prince, less Understanding than *Ing tsong* was, these two great Men had died the most infamous Deaths. Alas! The older we grow, the more corrupted grows the World: And this detestable Villany of counterfeiting Writings, become likewise more common; it is pretty frequently practised at present, even in the most ordinary Affairs, and where the Interest is not great. How much more is it to be feared, least Ambition, Envy and Revenge should have Recourse to this Practice, in order to destroy the Innocent? I am glad to have an Opportunity of repeating these Facts, on Occasion of the Degradation of *Whey*, that I may inculcate all possible Precaution in so delicate a Point.

*Hyen kong*, the King of *Tsin*, had a Concubine, whose Name was *Li ki*, whom he passionately loved, and by whom he had a Son named *I yew*. *Li ki* formed a Design to make her Son succeed to the Throne; and for that End, to ruin the Queen's Son, whose Name was *Shin feng*, who was of a ripe Age, and had been the declared Heir of the Crown for many Years. As *Hyen kong* tenderly loved *Shin feng*, who on his Part acquitted himself in all the Duties of a good Son, *Li ki* thought, that while he was about the Court with the King his Father, she could never succeed in her Design. She therefore thought upon the Means of separating them; whereupon she opened herself to *Eul ú*, whom she had taken care beforehand to engage in her Party. *Li ki* and *Eul ú* knew *Hyen kong* to be a Prince greedy of Glory, ambitious and enterprising, so they resolved to propose to him the making of Conquests, which should serve for Provisions to his younger Children. *Eul ú* took it upon him to propose this to the King; and before he had finally determined himself, the Mother of *Eul ú* took care to make some Sonnets to be dispersed about, in which these Projects were applauded, by celebrating beforehand the Conquests of the young Prince.

*Hyen kong* whose Passion was flattered, gave into the Snare. He drew Troops into the Field, and sent the Hereditary Prince, as it were to take Possession of these Lands, which he look'd upon as already conquered. From that Time *Li ki* never doubted of the Success of her Project; and she discoursed with *Yew shi*, who was her Creature, about the Means of ruining *Shin feng*. If you please, said *Yew shi*, Calumny must do the Business; the handsomest neatest Things are the most easily spoilt, and the most innocent Persons are the least skilful in justifying themselves. *Shin feng*, whose Reputation has been hitherto so unblemished, will never be able to bear a Calumny, and he will certainly kill himself. *Li ki* relished this Advice very well; but being afraid, lest *Hyen kong* might be less apt to take Fire at a flying Report, which was only talked of without Doors; she thought the best Way was to calumniate *Shin feng* directly to his Father. *Li ki* therefore one Night came all in Tears, and told *Hyen kong* with a great Air of Concern, that she had received certain Information that *Shin feng* was plotting a Rebellion; and that his Majesty's Favours bestowed on her, were the Pretences he used for animating his Party. That therefore she begged Leave to die, or at least to retire, that she might remove every Pretext of that Rebellion. *Hyen kong*, haughty by Nature, and blinded by Love, far from giving way to this, resolved to ruin his Son *Shin feng* immediately, and assured *Li ki* of it, to comfort her. A

(\*) This Author lived under Song Dynasty.



As in reality *Sbin feng* gave him no handle, *Hyen kong*, in order to ruin him, abandoned his other Projects, declared War against *Yò*, and made *Sbin feng* his General. The Expedition, said *Hyen kong* to *Li ki*, is very dangerous; in all Probability he will fall in it, and then we shall get rid of him without any Noise. If he shall happen to come off victorious, it will be still time enough to punish him for rebelling against his King and Father; which I know well how to manage. *Li ki*, ravished with the promising Aspect of her Artifice, imparted her hopes to her Confidants, telling them withal that she had two Things still to fear; The first, lest the King should take the Affair to second Thoughts: The second was, lest that when *Sbin feng* died, the great Men should cause some other than her Son *I yá* to be declared the Successor. In order to guard against this second Inconveniency, it was thought proper, that some great Officer of War should be gained over to her Side. *Li ké*, who was a Man as wicked as he was bold, was thought of for this Purpose. *Yew shi*, who was charged with the Care of founding him, gave him to understand, that he was certainly informed that *Sbin feng* was ruined in the King's Affections, and that he must infallibly perish one way or other; that the Question in that Event lay, whom they ought to think of for Hereditary Prince; that considering the King's Passion for *Li ki*, there was no room to doubt, but that if it was left to his free Determination, he would nominate *I yá*: That if he [*Li ké*] would support this Nomination against all Opposition, the King would doubtless be grateful; and that *Li ki* on her Part, assured him, that if the thing succeeded, he should be a great Man about her Son. *Li ké* gave him his Word, that if *Sbin feng* should perish, of which he saw but little Probability, he would be for *I yá*, and that he was able to support him; that there was nothing now to do but to hasten the Fate of *Sbin feng*, that *Hyen kong* might not have time to repent, or to discover their Plots. Immediately, a Report of a Rebellion formed by *Sbin feng* was spread abroad; but that it was happily discovered. They likewise dispersed Songs, supposing the same thing, which made it to be believed by all the People, and confirmed the King himself in his Mistake. *Sbin feng* could not bear with the Calumny; and killed himself. *Chong eul*, the uterine Brother of *Sbin feng*, fearing a like Fate, left the Kingdom, and retired to the States of *Tsi*. In the mean time, *Hyen kong* died without naming any Successor, and *Ki tsi*, the Son of *Sbin feng*, who was yet an Infant, was declared King by the great Men of the Kingdom; but *Li ké* and his Party dispatch'd him, together with his Brother *Cho tse*; whereupon *I yá* the Son of *Li ki* mounted the Throne, but he never reigned in Peace. The Kingdom of *Tsin* was always in disorder, till at last *Chong eul*, the Brother of *Sbin feng*, after an Absence of twenty Years mounted the Throne, and was acknowledged lawful Sovereign. We may conclude, that nothing is more dangerous in a State, than a Woman with whom the Prince is too much in Love.

## OF REMONSTRANCES.

ALMOST all the Faults of a Sovereign, says *Lyew byang*, are of Consequence; they being also many Steps that lead him to his Ruin. When a Man is in Post, if he sees these Faults and yet is silent; he has very little concern for the Safety of his Prince, and he is not a zealous loyal Subject. But this Zeal must likewise be bounded: The common Rule on this Head is, that when a Man has three Times made Remonstrances on the same Point to no Purpose; his best Course is to lay down his Post and to retire: Otherwise, he exposes his own Life, which a reasonable Self-love ought to prevent. To be silent when a Prince commits Faults, is hazarding both the Prince and his State; and to speak boldly, frequently exposes ones self to Ruin. But true Zeal ought to induce us to expose our own Lives, rather than to leave both Prince and State in Danger for want of a wholesome Advice; tho' a Man does enough if he speaks frequently and to no Purpose (§). The Art of it lies in knowing the Prince perfectly well, in maturely weighing the Junctures that are more or less pressing, in taking advantage of all, in sheltering your self, if it is possible, without failing in your Duty to your Prince and your Country.

The same *Lyew byang* relates the following History. *Ling kong* reigning in the State of *Wey*, very much employ'd one *Mi tse twan* a Man void of all Merit and Virtue, and entrusted no part of the Government with the Wise and Virtuous *Kyu pe yá*. *Su tsiu* who was in Post, during all his Life, did his utmost to have the first banished, and the other promoted, but always to no Purpose. Finding his Death approaching, he called his Son, and spoke to him as follows. "I order you after my Death, not to perform the Ceremonies of Mourning in the ordinary Place; for I am not worthy of that Honour. I have not had the Skill to do my Prince the important Service of perswading him to banish *Mi tse twan*, and to promote *Kyu pe yá*. Take the Northern-Hall for the Place of the Ceremonies; that is enough for me." *Su tsiu* being dead, the Prince came to his (†) *Tyan*, and finding that they had chosen the Hall of the North, for the Place of the Ceremony, asked the Reason of it. The Son of *Su tsiu*, told him ingenuously what his Father had said to him upon his Deathbed. *Ling kong* striking the Ground with his Foot, changing his Countenance, and waking as it were from a profound Sleep, said with a Sigh: "My (‡) Master endeavour'd all his Life, but to no purpose, to give me a good Minister, and to engage me to banish a bad One. He has never desisted, and after his Death has found Means to repeat the Remonstrances, which he in vain made me during his Life. Be hold a constant Zeal!" Immediately, *Ling kong* ordered the Hall of Mourning to be changed according to the Rites, sent away *Mi tse twan*, and took home *Kyu pe yá*: All the Kingdom applauded

(§) Some Chinese Authors blame those who confine their Zeal for the Prince and State in this Manner.

(\*) The Name of the Ceremony for the Dead.

(†) He speaks thus in Honour of *Su tsiu*.



applauded and were glad of this Change, *Su tshü* had the Lordship of *Tshü yu*, and it was upon him, that this Exclamation of *Confucius* in the Book (\*) *Tü* fell; "Oh! What an admirable upright Man was *Tshü yu*."

*Kin kong* King of *Tshü*, had a fine Horse which he loved, and this Horse died by the fault of the Groom. The Prince being in great Rage, snatched a Lance and was going to run him through. But *Yen tse* who was present, turn'd aside the Blow, and instantly addressing himself to the Prince. "Sir, said he, that Man was very near being dead, before he knew the Heinousness of his Crime. I consent, answered *Kin kong*, that you make him sensible of it. "Then *Yen tse* taking the Lance and aiming it at the Criminal: Wretch, said he to him. Attentively hear your Crimes, which are as follows. First, you have been the Cause of the Death of a Horse; which your Prince committed to your special Care: Thereby, you deserve Death. In the second Place, you have been the Cause why my Prince, because you have lost his Horse, has fallen into such a Passion, that he would kill you with his own Hand. Behold a second capital Crime more grievous than the First. Lastly, All the Princes, and all the Neighbouring States will thereby know, that my Prince wants to take away a Man's Life to revenge the Death of a Horse; and thus his Reputation is ruined: And you Wretch have been the Occasion of all these Consequences. Do you rightly conceive your Fault. Let him go, let him go, cry'd the Prince, dont let me break in upon my Goodness, I pardon him."

The same Prince having one day drunk pretty freely, laid aside his Cap and Girdle, put himself into a negligent Dress, took a Musical Instrument into his Hand, and asked of those who were present, if it was allowable in a Virtuous Man to divert himself in that Manner. Every one answered; doubtless it was; why was it not? If it is so, said *Kin kong*, let the Horses be put to the Chariot, and *Yen tse* invited hither. *Yen tse* came upon the first Notice that was given him, but in his Habit of Ceremony as usual. *Kin kong* seeing *Yen tse* enter; "We are here," said he, quite free, diverting ourselves, and I have sent for you to share in our Diversions. *Yen tse* immediately reply'd; Your Pardon, Sir, I cannot do that, if I did, I must violate the Rites and I am prodigiously afraid of infringing them. It is look'd upon as a certain Maxim, that an Emperor who forgets himself so far as to offend in this Point; cannot long preserve the Empire. The same Thing in some measure may be said of all Kings and Princes, great Officers and Fathers of Families; the *Sbi king* mentions even Man in general, to whom it is more advantageous to die young, than to live in a Forgetfulness of the Rites. *Kin kong* blush'd and rose at these Words, and thanked *Yen tse*; I own, said he, that I am a Man without Virtue; but I have none but a parcel of Scoundrels for my Attendants. All these People whom you see, have a great share in my Fault, and I design to cause them to be put to Death as an Atonement for it. Sir, answered *Yen tse*, the part they have in your Crime, in my Opinion is very inconsiderable. When a Prince is attached to the Rites, none but they who have the same Attachment with him, approach him, the others soon retire. The Reverse of this naturally happens when the Sovereign forgets himself: Don't therefore take up with them: You are in the Right, said *Kin kong*; so he immediately put on a becoming Habit, drank three Cups to *Yen tse*, and conducted him back.

The King of *U*, being resolved to attack the States of *King*, publicly declared his Intention, adding withal, that he was so determined in it, that whoever should presume to remonstrate against it should be immediately put to Death. An Officer of his Household named *Shau i tse*, being persuaded of the Danger of that Expedition, sought for the Means to make the Prince sensible of it likewise. But as it was as much as his Life was worth to do it openly, he took another Method. In the Morning he went with his Bow into a Park, where he suffered all the Inconveniences of the falling Dew; and at the ordinary Hour, he presented himself with others before the Prince. On the third Day the Prince observ'd it, and asked how he came to be so wet. "Sir, answer'd he, I have been in the Park, where there was a Grasshopper, perch'd aloft upon a Tree, and being well fill'd with Dew, was singing very pleasantly. A (+) *Tang lang* was behind her, whom she did not observe, for if she had, she would have soon chang'd her Note. I observ'd this *Tang lang* which privately glided down, and drawing near the Grasshopper, already reckon'd her as his Prey, but she did not see him. Pretty near him upon the same Tree, there was a (§) Yellow Bird ready to dart upon the *Tang lang*. I observ'd this Bird likewise, who being quite intent upon his Prey, was lengthning his Neck to seize it, without perceiving that I was below, and that I was looking at him. While I was beholding all this, I said to myself; Poor Creatures, you are employ'd in the hopes of Prey, which presents to you, and you think yourself sure of it; but a Danger is still more near, and you don't perceive it. If you saw your own Situation, the Prey would be insipid to you, you would soon fly away, happy in saving yourself without it. I understand you, said the King, no more of the *King*, let us think of ourselves."

*Chwang wang*, King of *Tshü*, undertook to make a vast Terrass several stories high. This useless Work required a great Expence, and both Officers and People were harass'd with it: The great Officers of the Kingdom, made strong Representations to the Prince upon this Point, but they forfeited their Heads for their Zeal, the Prince having put seventy two of them to Death one after another. *Chu yu ki* an able Man, who had retired to the Country, having

(\*) The Name of a Book.

(†) An Insect which eats the Grasshoppers.

(§) He eats the *Tang lang*.



understood what past; while he was labouring his Ground, he entered into a Conversation with his Plough and said: "I design to go and see the King. What are you weary of Life? answered he, personating the Plough, a great many Men of Merit and Figure, who have already presumed to advise the King have gained nothing by it but a speedy Death: And what can you, who are a poor Husbandman pretend to: He then answered in this Manner; Had the Gentlemen in the Court apply'd themselves to Agriculture; they perhaps would have done better than my self: And if I shall advise the King, perhaps I may do better than them. He then left his Plough, and went to present himself before the King."

*Chwang wang*, seeing him enter, addressing himself to him, said; "Doubtless *Chu yu ki* is come to make a Remonstrance to me likewise. Who I, Sir, said he, not at all, I will take care of that: It is true I am not Ignorant of what is said; that Sovereigns ought to be just and merciful. It is likewise true, that it is commonly said, that as good Ground profitably receives the Streams which water it: And as no Wood but that which is well plan'd, can suffer to be examined by the Compass and Rule; in the same Manner, wise and virtuous Princes profit by Remonstrances; it is likewise true, that all the World says, that you have undertaken a Work, which oppresses great Numbers of your People. But what am I, that I should presume to make Remonstrances to you upon that Head? No I will take care of that: Immediately turning himself to the Officers that were present, and continuing to speak: "Notwithstanding my Ignorance, said he, I have heard it said, that the King of *Yu* forfeited his State for not regarding the Councils of *Kong chi ki*. *Chun* fell a Sacrifice to *Tju* in the same Manner. *Song* never could have subdued *Tjau*, if he had given any Credit to *Hi fu*, *Tj* made himself Master of the States of *Lyu*, because that *Lyu* neglected the wholesome Advices of *Tse mong*: *U* would have maintain'd himself against *Swe*, if that Prince had believed *Tse si*. To what can the Ruin of *Tjing* be attributed, but to his undervaluing the good Advice of *Kyen shu*; Lastly, let us go farther back, *Kye* put *Quang wbang pong* to Death, for making Remonstrances to him. *Kye* soon after perished himself, and *Tang* stepp'd into his Place. *Wang tse*, for the same Reason, met with the same Fate under *Chew*, which *Chew* afterwards lost both the Empire and his Life, and was succeeded by *Vu wang*. Under one of the Descendants of *Vu wang*, *Tu pe* a zealous Minister was rewarded for his Zeal by a cruel Death; from that time forward, that Illustrious Dynasty went to Decay; behold therefore three Emperors, and six other Princes, who, because they undervalued Virtue, and did not profit by Remonstrances, lost all, and ruined themselves.

When *Chu yu ki* had finished these Words, he went abruptly out, that he might thereby shun the Princes Anger. But *Chwang wang* caused one to run after him, and when he saw him return, "Draw near without Dread, said he to him, your Advices have made an Impression upon my Mind. All they who have hitherto ventured to make Remonstrances to me, have endeavoured only to exasperate me, without saying any thing to me that was moving; therefore it cost them their Lives. On the contrary, you, without saying any thing that is rude, have laid before me Examples which are as sensible as they are affecting; for which Reason I agree to them." Orders were then given, that the Terras should remain in the same Situation it was then in. Besides, *Chwang wang* caused it to be published, that he would thenceforth look upon them who gave him useful Advices, as Brothers. This Conversion brought about by a Husbandman, was very much celebrated, and the People of *Tju* made Songs upon it.

The Reason why Princes commonly don't love Remonstrances, is, a Love for their own Reputation, or some Passion which is too dear to them to quit; or perhaps, both these Causes united. No Prince is so wicked as entirely to renounce the Care of his Reputation. Even they who abandon themselves to the greatest Irregularities, would be very well pleased to have them concealed. Remonstrances make them sensible that their real Character is known, and therefore they hate them. This was formerly the Case of *Kye* and *Chew*; and since their Time has been the Case of others. Sometimes a Prince has a Passion which he perceives himself not at all disposed to curb; tho' he is sensible that it is known, and tho' he is acquainted with People's Thoughts about it, yet he does not care that he should be told of it. This is an important Truth. Such was *Hyen kong*, Prince of *Tsin*, who could not live without his second Wife *Li ki*. Such likewise was *Wen kong* Prince of *Tji*, who relished no Meats that did not come to him from *I in*. As for Remonstrance-Makers, there are two Sorts of them. The one Sort proposes to correct the Prince, so as to take care at the same time not to trouble the State, nor ruin themselves. With this View they carefully watch their Times, take their Measures, and use Terms that have nothing in them too strong. *Kau shu* behaved thus, that he might reconcile (\*) *Chwang kang* with the Queen his Mother. *Chang tang*, that he might inspire (†) *Wen shew* with an

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Affection

(\*) *Chwang kang* for some great Dissatisfaction had banished his Mother. That Prince who loved and esteemed *Kau shu*, caused him one Day to eat at his Table; and from the Honour and Friendship he had for him, presented him with some nice Bit. "Sir, answered *Kau shu* thanking him, I have an excellent Mother at home, allow me to keep it, that I may carry it to her. She never yet eat any thing that came from your Table." *Chwang kang* saw the Drift of *Kau shu*, and found himself affected; so he recalled the Queen-Mother from Banishment, and ever after lived with her in a good Understanding.

(†) *Wen shew* was a Prince who loved no body, not even his nearest Relations. *Chang tang* wanting to make the Prince sensible of this Fault, in the most proper Manner to reclaim him, presented him with a very fine Dog, and a yet finer Goose. That kind of Wild Goose, which in *Ching* is called *Yen*, is the Symbol of Alliance and Affection, and anciently was one of the Nuptial Presents. *Wen shew* received these two Animals, and shewed a great liking for them. *Chang tang* then took Occasion to make a Remonstrance to that Prince, which was well received, and had its due Effect.



Affection for his Relations. *Chang tse sang*, that he might support the Hereditary Prince against the Intrigues of the Concubine (\*) *Tsi*, and to rid (†) *Kau ti* of two other Faults.

Other Remonstrators, without considering Consequences, either with Regard to the State or their own Persons, think only how to gain a Name to themselves, and keep no Measures; they study Tropes and Figures, in order always to chuse the strongest and most striking. Such in their Time were (‡) *Li hyen yun*, and the great Censor *Lyew*. Whoever follows the Example of those, may indeed be very sure of gaining a Name in History, but he can never expect any Fruit from his Remonstrances, but to draw down upon himself the Wrath and Indignation of his Prince.

### OF GOVERNMENT.

**TSE TSAN**, Prime Minister of *Chin*, on his Death-Bed said to *Tay shü*. You will infallibly succeed me: And I desire, before I die, to give you an Advice. Gentleness and Indulgence may sometimes succeed, but it is only when it is supported by an eminent and approved Virtue; without this, the surest Way is to use some Severity. Fire is an active and violent Element, feared by every body; and for that very Reason occasions the Death of very few. But vast Numbers perish in the Water, which appears to yield easily, and has nothing in it that is formidable. Take Care; for it is a very difficult Task to govern by Gentleness alone.

Some Months after *Tse tsan* being dead, *Tay shü* succeeded him; and at first had not Courage enough to conquer his natural Temper so far, as to use Severity. But he soon saw that Gentleness alone spoilt all. Then calling to his Mind the Advice of *Tse tsan*, and acknowledging his Fault, O my Master! cried he, had I at first profited by your Councils, Things could never have come to this pass. But he then applied the Remedy, by altering his Conduct; and this Change succeeded with him.

In effect, says *Confucius* upon this Point, a Government of Gentleness alone, frequently renders the People insolent. They require Rigour to curb them; but Severity by itself oppresses and exasperates them. Gentleness ought likewise to be under proper Regulations. A just Mixture of both makes a State happy and peaceable. The two main Springs of Government, are Virtue and Resolution. Princes of the first Rate employ only the former; and are very sparing in the Use of the other. Others who are less perfect use them both, almost promiscuously. Lastly, there are Princes who lay great Stress upon Severity, and little upon Virtue.

Whatever Difference there is among these three Kinds of Government, we may say of them in general, that neither of them can succeed without these two Springs. The first encourages the People in the Practice of Good. The other punishes their Faults and prevents their relapsing. Princes, that they may animate their Subjects to Virtue, besides the Pattern which they themselves set, have several Ways to make their People sensible how much they value it. Thence proceed Rewards, of which there are several Kinds. They likewise have different Ways of testifying their Horror for Vice. Thence proceed Punishments. Nothing is of greater Consequence to a State, than this wise Mixture of Rewards and Punishments. The Faults of Princes in this Point, commonly have fatal Consequences. The *Szu king* says, I have often heard it repeated, that these two important Points ought entirely to employ a Sovereign.

Have you seen the (||) *Nu king* touched? You may then observe, that if too great a Motion is given to the large Strings, the little ones are useless, and the Harmony is incomplete: Thus it happens in the Government of a State.

A Reputation which is too quickly gained, and is too glaring in Point of Government, is neither very extensive, nor very lasting. Such a Man for a long time has constantly had a good Character in the Empire, but it has made no great Noise; and he has acquired it by little and little. This is likewise the Meaning of the Proverb; *A Horse that is ready to gallop when he leaves the Stable, is not one of those who can make 100 Leagues on a Stretch*. To have more Reputation than Merit, to obtain of the Prince Rewards of much greater Value than one's Services, are two things, which in my Opinion, are more to be feared than wished.

*Wen kong* King of *Tsi*, having taken *Quan cheng* for his Minister, one Day said to him: "My Ambition is to see my Government established in such a Manner, as that every one, even

(\*) Vid. P. 697.

(†) The Dynasty of *Tsin* being extinct, *Lyew pang*, who was afterwards Emperor, and surnamed *Kau ti*, disputing the Crown with some others, being defeated in an Engagement, found himself in such a Situation, that his Person might have fallen into the Hands of the Enemies if they had had a Mind. *Yang chi*, an Officer of the victorious Army, was of Opinion, that *Lyew pang* should be dispatched out of the Way. But *Ting kong*, another Officer of the same Army, secretly gave *Lyew pang* an Opportunity to escape, telling him withal, I let you escape, but if you come to be Emperor, as probably you will, I desire that you would make me a *Hou*. When *Lyew pang* became Master of the Empire, he wanted to have punished *Yang chi*, and to have rewarded *Ting kong*. "You don't consider, sir, said *Chang tse sang* to him: Give me leave to tell you, that *Yang chi* has shewed his Zeal and Loyalty for the Master he served, and you for that Reason would put him to Death; you ought to promote him: As for *Ting kong*, he has from interested Views betrayed his Party, and if you promote him, it will be an Invitation to your Subjects to imitate him on the like Occa-

sion. Were my Advice taken, *Ting kong* should have his Head cut off." *Kau ti* comprehended the Importance of this Advice, and followed it contrary to his Inclination.

(‡) Under the *Tang* Dynasty, an Emperor fell in Love with a Slave in the Palace, who afterwards became Empress. She laid hold of so many Opportunities of establishing her own Authority by his Favour, that after the Death of the Emperor she seized the Government, which she kept in Prejudice of the late Emperor's Son the Hereditary Prince, who was banished far from the Court, and made the petty Prince of *Li lie*. *Li hyen* and the Censor *Lyew*, presented her from time to time, the most bitter Remonstrances on this and other Points of her Conduct. The Censor *Lyew* went so far as to tell her flatly, that she having been once a mean Slave, is left become her to all in that Manner. She caused them both to be put to Death. But afterwards, more moderate and more reasonable Remonstrances made her recall the Prince and establish him anew, but without divesting herself of the Government. This Point of History has been touched upon elsewhere.

(||) An Instrument of Music.



" even of the lowest People, should be satisfied, and say, that every thing goes well. Do you believe that this can be attained to? Yes, answered *Quan chong*, I believe it may; but not in a Government which follows the Rules of true Wisdom: Why not? replied the King. For the same Reason, answered *Quan chong*, why a short bit of Rope is not sufficient to draw Water out of a deep Well. Even among understanding Men, there are different Orders, of which some are a great deal above others. By a much stronger Reason, the Multitude cannot reach the sublime Views of the truly Wise. Therefore it is not necessary that they should aim at that Pitch of Perfection. It is sufficient, and even convenient, that they be sensible that their Governors have Views infinitely superior to theirs. They are then more tractable and more submissive." To endeavour to lead the People by the Hand, and as it were to put the Morsel into their Mouths, is spoiling them. They must only be kept in order. Their Safety must be watched over, and they must be fed as a Shepherd feeds his Flock. People must be treated neither with Tyranny nor Severity. But then, Governors must not be afraid of conducting and regulating their Actions. It would be a dangerous Method, before an Ordinance is published, to run from Door to Door begging for Approbation. Governors examine what is convenient, and the Ordinance is issued for every one's Obedience in general. The Wise then approve of it, and the others obey it. This is sufficient, and it is certainly the best Method.

The same *When kong* being one Day a hunting, and chasing a Deer which he had wounded, met with a good old Man in an agreeable Valley. He asked the old Man how that Place was called? It is called, answered the other with a Smile, *the Valley of the simple old Man*. Whence did it get that Name, replied the King? From my self, answered the old Man. How! says the King? You have a promising Aspect, and seem to be far from being simple. The History, answers the old Man, since you want to know it, is as follows. My Cow brought forth a Calf, which being grown up, I sold, and bought a Foal. Upon which some of the Neighbours came and jeered me; *What, said they, has your Cow brought forth a Foal? never was such a thing before; the Monster must be destroyed*. Whereupon they seized and carried the Foal away; and I suffered them to do it. When this Story was heard, every body in the Village cried out, *O the Simpleton!* And for that Reason, this Place is called *the Valley of the simple old Man*. Why to you was, answered the King; why did you give up your Foal so?"

Next Morning when *When kong* returned, and *Quan chong* came to an Audience, the King told him this Adventure to divert him. But *Quan chong* with a serious and even a melancholy Air, took the Thing in another Sense. " Sir, said he to the Prince, This is no laughing Matter; the Country Man's Tale was a Lesson to you and to me. Were *Yau* reigning here, Reason and Justice would reign likewise. Nor would it be treated as a Trifle for a Man's Goods to be taken from him in such a Manner. If this old Man was patient, and suffered himself to be robbed of his Foal without complaining, it was not from Stupidity. He knew that he could obtain Justice only from the Tribunals: Let us retire, Sir, for some time, and seriously examine where the Source of this Evil is, that we may effectually cure it." *Confucius* thought this Saying of *Quan chong* so beautiful, that he recommended it to his Disciples not to forget it.

*Kang tse* reigning in the Principality of *Lü*; a Father and a Son mutually accused each other before a Judge. The Affair coming before the Prince, he pronounced that the Son must die. *Confucius* opposed this Sentence, saying, " That it was not then a Time to punish Crimes with the utmost Severity. These poor People, added he, have been long without Instruction, and consequently they understand very little about their Duties. The Son, doubtless has not comprehended the heinousness of the Crime of accusing his Father. This ought to be imputed to the Prince and the other Governors. If they did their Duties right, and especially if they were all virtuous, the People would never fall into such Faults. *Kang tse* being willing to defend his Judgment, replied; Filial Piety being universally acknowledged the fundamental Point of Government, to stop by the Death of one Man, the Disorders that violate this Duty, is not only allowable, but necessary. I say, Sir, answered *Confucius*, in the present Situation, it would be Cruelty. Procure to your People the Instruction that is needful; and to that add a good Example. Then you may punish with Rigour; and they that you punish will be sensible that they deserve their Punishment. This Wall is but a (\*) *fin* in Height: Yet there is not one Man in your whole Kingdom, who can all at once, without a Ladder, get to the Top of it. On the contrary, there is scarce any body, who by degrees, cannot get to the Top of that Mountain, which is 100 times higher than the Wall. In the State in which your People are at present, Charity and Justice, these two capital Virtues, and consequently all the others, are to them like a steep Wall. Is this a Time for imputing it as a Crime to any one, because he cannot get to the Top of that Wall? Give Time to the People, says the Shi king, and procure them the Means of being made sensible of their Blindness and their bad Habits."

The King of *Ssang* conversing with *Confucius* said to him; My Desires are to be at the Head of a good many Princes; to have my Court in good Order, and furnish'd with good Officers; to keep my People always satisfied and quiet; to see Men of Learning apply themselves to be useful to the State, and to have the Seasons well regulated. If you believe that all these Things are really possible, what do you think must I do to attain to them? *Confucius* answer'd, I have been in Company with several Princes who have asked Questions of me, but none of them ever asked me so many as you do. However, my Answer to you is, that I believe that all this is possible enough, in the following Manner; As for your first Article, it is sufficient

(\*) The Name of a Measure,



cient, in the Situation in which I see Things, to enter into an Alliance with your Neighbours heartily and sincerely. As for the second, you must be gentle and liberal, with regard to those who come near your Person. To obtain the third, you ought never to treat the Innocent ill, and you must punish the Guilty without Pardon. That you may bring the fourth about, you are to advance Men of Learning when they deserve it, and to let few of them be without Posts. To obtain the fifth, you must honour *Tyen* and the Spirits. You are in the right of it, said the King: there is nothing in all this but what is probable.

*Tong ngan yu* being nominated to be Intendant of the Territory of *Tjing yang*, begg'd of *Kyen lau* that he would give him in a few Words some important Lesson upon Government. *Kyen lau* answer'd him in three Words, *Zeal, Honour and Courage*. *Tong ngan yu* begg'd that he would be a little more explicit upon these Words. *Kyen lau* reply'd, *Zeal and Loyalty* for the Prince your Master; *Honour and Honesty* to maintain the Orders, you shall give, and the Persons you employ, and *Courage and Resolution* against the Wicked, of all Degrees and Ranks. 'Tis all right, said *Tong ngan yu*, and I am convinced of the Importance of what you have told me.

*Mi tse byen* intendant of the Territory of *Tan fu*, spent some part of his Life in practising upon his (\*) *Kin*, and to all Appearance gave himself no Trouble. In the mean time, every Thing was in Order, and Affairs never went better. *U ma ki* succeeded him. He preserv'd Order pretty well for some, but it was by being at a great deal of pains Night and Day. Afterwards, they both met together, and *U ma ki* said to *Mi tse byen*; when you was at *Tau fu*, you diverted yourself almost the whole Day, and you made you Post an Amusement; yet when you went away I found every Thing in very good order. As for me, I have been at a great deal of Pains, but all I can gain is to do no Harm. Whence, I beg of you, does this difference proceed? Because, answer'd *Mi tse byen* smiling, I used my own Powers very sparingly, and made the Powers of others act; but you act all by your own. In effect, the Country People comparing the one with the other, said, that *Mi tse byen* was an able Man, but that *U ma ki* did not come near him.

*Tse kong* being nominated the Magistrate of *Sin yang*, before he set out for his Government, came to take Leave of his Master *Confucius*, who told him with a pretty grave Air: Take care while you are in Post, that you be guilty neither of Violence, Oppression, Cruelty nor Theft. Who I? Said *Tse kong* in a Surprise; I, who have from my Childhood had you for my Master; can I be capable of such Enormities? Is it then possible that you can have so poor an Opinion of me? You don't comprehend my Meaning, answer'd *Confucius* with a franker Air. There are several Kinds of Violence and Oppression, Cruelty and Theft. Give the Posts that depend upon you, to Persons of Abilities and Virtues; But to set them aside by placing, or even permitting the Wicked and the Weak to fill them, is Violence. To suffer Men who have some Abilities, or even Virtues, if they get the upperhand, to oppress those who want them, or to act in that Manner yourself, is Oppression. Not to be exact and careful in instructing and directing your Inferiors, and yet to be subject to Passion and prompt to punish, is Cruelty. To ascribe the Good another does to yourself, and to deprive him of the Glory he has by it, is Theft. And this is a Theft, not so very rare among many who pass for Men of Honour. Do you believe that to be guilty of Theft, you must steal your Neighbour's Cloaths or Money? Think rightly upon what is said; "A good Magistrate respects the Laws, and ought to be the Guardian of them for the Peoples Advantage; but a bad one make them serve to oppress that very People." Nothing is more true. Thence proceeds Murmurs and Imprecations. Equity and Disinterestedness are two essential Points, and they are both the Duty and Safety of a Magistrate. To stifle the Good another does, or to conceal it, is wrong. But to discover or blaze abroad their Failings, is worse. Never did one lose, and he commonly gains, by enhancing the Value of the Good another does. On the contrary, nothing is gained; and generally every thing is lost, by publishing the Faults of another. Therefore the wise Man never speaks but with a great deal of Caution. Remark this, and be convinced, that a Man never gains any thing for himself by hurting his Neighbour.

*Yang chu* being one Day with the King of *Lyang*, was expatiating upon the Government of States, which he advanced and maintained to be a very easy Matter. Master, said the King to him, you have only a Wife and a Concubine, and I know you can't govern them. Yet, if we may believe you, the Government of a State would be a meer Trifle to you. Sir, answer'd *Yang chu*, that is all true, and is no way inconsistent. A single Shepherd with his Crook in his Hand guides 100 Sheep with Success: But if two (||) Shepherds should undertake to manage one, they would find Difficulty in it. But don't you know the common Proverb; *Great Instruments of Music are of no Value to Strollers: Great fishes are produced in great Waters*. A Man who fails of Success in small Affairs, may succeed in great ones.

*When kong* one Day asked his Minister *Quan chong*, what was most to be feared in a State? *Quan chong* answer'd: Sir, in my Opinion, nothing is to be more feared than what is called a Rat in a Statue. *When kong* not understanding the Allegory, *Quan chong* explained it to him. You know that in a good many Places, they erect Statues to the Genius of the Place. These Statues are of Wood; hollow within and coloured over without. If a Rat gets into one of these, it is driven out of it with great Difficulty. They dare not use Fire for fear of consuming the Wood, and Water would wash off the Colours. Thus the Respect they have for the Statue, protects the Rat. Men without Merit and Virtue, who have the Princes Favour, are very much like

(\*) An Instrument of Music.

(||) He hints as if his Wife wanted to govern his Concubine in the same manner.



like this Rat. They spoil every thing. People see and bewail it, but no body knows how to help it.

*Ki tse*, in one of his Travels, passed thro' the Kingdom of *Tsin*, and had scarce put his Foot ashore, when he cried out with a Sigh; How great is the Oppression of this Kingdom! When he entered into its Capital, he cried out in the same Tone; How much is this Kingdom drained! Then seeing the King and his Court, he said; Alas! Rebellion and Trouble are not far from this Kingdom: His Attendants hearing these Exclamations, said to him; You are but just come into the Kingdom of *Tsin*, how then can you pronounce upon all this in so decisive a Manner? I will tell you how, answered *Ki tse*. When I entered the Kingdom, I saw a great deal of Ground lying idle, and the rest of it very ill cultivated; and at the same time I observed, that the Inhabitants, in many Places, were employ'd in very useless Works. Thence I concluded that the People were oppress'd with Averages. When I entered the Capital, I remarked that all the new Buildings were tottering, but the old ones were very firm. On this Account, I said, that the Kingdom was drained. When I came to Court, I observed that the Prince seem'd to have got Eyes only to stare about him on all Sides; nor did he ever open his Mouth to ask the least Question. At the same time, I observed a great deal of Haughtiness and Pride among his great Officers, while they were dumb with Regard to every thing that concern'd the common Good; and not one of them attempted to give the King any Advice. This makes me conclude, that Rebellion and Trouble is not far off.

In this Compilation of *Tang king chwen*, after the Head of Government, there is a Title upon Queens; under which Denomination are comprehended the Wives and Concubines of Emperors and Kings. While he is running over their History, he attempts to prove that the Women have had a great Share in the Ruin of all the Dynasties. *Tang king chwen* employs full thirty Pages upon this Article. But the Passages of History are only cited, for which Reason they are not translated.

Towards the End, he says, that *Tay tsong*, the second Emperor of the *Tang* Dynasty, partly to save Expences, partly from Compassion, after having made Choice of some Women in his Palace, dismissed the others, and suffered them to marry. He proportionally diminished the Number of the Eunuchs of the Palace, so that at one time, upwards of 3000 Persons left the Palace.

*Tang king chwen* cites *Chang pong ki*, who having enquired at what Time little Shoes and small Feet, such as the Chinese Women have, began, pretends that this Usage is not of the first Antiquity. He draws his chief Proof from the Silence of some Verses and Songs made in the Times of the first six Dynasties, about Womens little Feet, and little turn'd up Shoes; tho' in that Detail, we find an Account of all that is thought to make the Fair more graceful.

#### Of the Daughters of Emperors.

**TAY TSONG**, the second Emperor of the *Tang* Dynasty, bestowed one of his Daughters in Marriage upon *Wang quey*, who was then President of the Court of Rites. When *Wang quey* received that Princess at his House, he said to her; The Rites prescribe to a Daughter in Law, the Manner in which she is to present herself, before her Father and Mother in Law. 'Tis true, that in later Times wherein most of the best Usages have insensibly decayed, Princesses when they have been married, have not been obliged to observe this Usage; but we have now a very understanding Emperor, who knows of what Importance it is that the Rites should be observed, and whose Pleasure it is that they be not neglected. Therefore, Madam, I hope you will not take it amiss if we receive you as a Daughter in Law ought to be received, it not being out of any Pride or private Vanity that we receive you in this Manner, but from our Zeal for the Observance of the Rites, upon which depends the Good of Families and States. He and his Wife then immediately took the upper Part of the Hall, and when they were both seated, the Royal Daughter in Law, with a Napkin over her Arm, first served them with Water wherein they might wash, then with Victuals to eat, and then they retired. This being told to *Tay tsong*, he very much approved of it, and ordered that for the future, all Princesses, when they were married, should do the same.

*Hyau vu*, an Emperor of the *Song* Dynasty, knowing that Princesses rendered themselves insupportable in the Families into which they married, sought the Means of curing this, and fell amongst others, upon one pretty extraordinary Method. Being resolved that one of his Daughters should marry *Kyang min*, the Son of *Kyong skin*, whose Virtues and Services had raised him to the highest Dignities, he secretly ordered a strong Representation to be drawn up in the Name of *Kyang min*, containing a full and particular Account of the Conduct of these Princesses; and in the Conclusion, he begged Leave to be excused from taking a Woman, such as he had drawn the Picture of, for his Wife. The Writing being actually drawn up, was presented to the Emperor, and is as follows, according to the Account we have of it from *Tang king chwen*.

Sir; your Majesty has been so good as to (\*) appoint the Princess *Ling hay* to be my Wife. This is an extraordinary Favour which I had little Reason to hope for. Yet I cannot but own, that I received that Order with as much Trouble and Uneasiness, as Respect and Gratitude. My own Unworthiness, and yet more, the Meanness of my Birth, remov'd me far from so high an Alliance. An ordinary Woman, and not a Princess, is a proper match for me. Men like me, tho' we are not very rich, scarce assumed the Bonnet when we are married, we come off with some trifling Presents; and there are none so poor as to have any Difficulty in engaging in



an honest suitable Match, with whom they can live happy and contented. On the contrary, I reflect that they who marry Princesses, live, for the most Part, in Uneasiness and Vexation. For which Reason, tho' I have a due Sense of the Honour your Majesty designs to do me, I am so far from being satisfied with it, that if I can't avoid it, I believe the Thoughts of it will be my Death. Pardon, Great Sir, my Openness and Simplicity. I am authorised in thinking and talking in this Manner, by many Examples which History furnishes. Under the *Tsin, Wang tun, When wen* and *Chin chang*, each espoused a Princess, and they were all of them Men descended of very ancient Families, equally noble and powerful; and besides that, they were Men of very fine Parts and approved Merit. But what were the Effects of their Alliances? *Wang tun* and *When wen*, who before were the bravest and the most esteemed young Men about the Court, degenerated under the Shade of that Favour which this Marriage procured them, living in an Indolence mis-becoming their Quality, and dying despised. As for *Chin chang*, the Yoke appeared so weighty to him, that he counterfeited Madness, in order to be delivered from it. Since that Time, *Tse king* was seen to burn his Feet, that he might shun such a Match. *Wang yen*, notwithstanding his Delicacy, threw himself a-cross the Snow, that he might shun the Woman with whom he was coupled. *Ho li*, who was equal to *Long kong* in Beauty, threw himself in Despair into a Well. *Lye chwang* anointed his Eyes designedly, till he almost became blind; *In chong* exposed himself to, and with Difficulty escaped, the severest Punishments. Not that they wanted Sense and Resolution: But they were oppressed by the Quality and Authority of their Princesses: They could not carry their Complaints before the Emperor; the Door being there shut against them: They then were left to feed upon the most cruel Vexation; and their Condition was a great deal worse than that of the meanest Slave.

A lively  
Picture of a  
fine Lady.

Coming and going, the paying and receiving Visits to and from Friends, are Liberties common to every honest Man. But does he marry a Princess? Madam comes and goes as she pleases, and there is no Time appointed for her Return: Nor any Regularity in the Family. The Husband must give up all Acquaintance with his Friends, and almost all Correspondence with his Relations. Sometimes a Princess a little better natured, shall take it in her Head not to treat him quite so ill: Then, first an old Nurse knits her Brows, and then a Bonze; and both represent to Madam, that she does not know how to keep her Rank, and that she will spoil all: Besides, she has a Parcel of vile Eunuchs for her Attendants, who have neither Wit, Dexterity, nor Politeness; who do every thing at Random, who blunder backwards and forwards without minding what they say. Such is the Lady's Privy Counsel. The Nurse pretends that her Age gives her a Right, mortally to hate every one that encroaches upon the Credit she has. The Bonze acts the wise Woman, and tells so many future Events, that it is impossible but some of them should happen by Chance. To these two constant Companions, there is commonly added some old Female Fortune-teller, especially towards the End of a Meal, who rivets all that the others have said. The poor Husband must all this Time have Patience, and think himself happy if he does not suffer worse.

One of his great Difficulties is, how to contrive, so as to see Madam either frequently or seldom. He does not know how to behave, so as to satisfy the Whims of his Princess. Does he frequently come to her? He is refused Admittance: Is he admitted? He cannot leave her when he pleases. Does he leave Madam without her Leave? She believes herself despised, and she becomes furious. Does he take Leave of her after he has seen her? *He is gone*, says she, *to see some other Woman*. As for Madam, she goes and comes when she pleases; sometimes early in the Night; sometimes at Day-break; sometimes she spends the Night in playing upon Instruments; sometimes she sits the whole Day with her Arms a-cross, poring upon a Book: Her Life, properly speaking, is but one continued Chain of Whims. Our Rites do not forbid us to have some Concubines; and this is not constructed to be any Injury to the Wife. But if this Wife be a Princess, we must not think of such a thing; for then she will believe herself to be injured, and will not be able to bear it. At the least Rumour, at the least Appearance, at the least Suspicion, some brazen-faced Slave comes out of Madam's Apartment, to be a Spy upon her Husband. If he receives a Visit, or if the Conversation continues for a little time, some old Evesdrop carry all to Madam. These are strange Suspensions.

Lastly, that which renders these Princesses who are married more unsupportable is, that they pay a great many Visits. The Conversation in these Visits always falls upon the Husbands. His Extraction, his Manners, his Conduct, and every thing is brought above-board there. They then read Lectures of Haughtiness and Jealousy to one another: And tho' some of them at first, may have better Sense and more good Nature than others, yet she soon becomes as bad as the rest. Therefore, they who hitherto have espoused Princesses, are very fond of getting rid of them. And they who could not shun it, always have been very unfortunate. The poor *Wang tsau* was a melancholy Instance of this. Tho' this great Man was equally learned and brave, yet he was basely given up to the Tribunals, and suffered a shameful Death for a Trifle. *Tou mwan* died in the Flower of his Age of meer Vexation; and so many others have met with the same Fate, that it would be endless to recount them.

Besides, when we take a Wife, our principal Design is to have Children. Nothing is more obstructive to this End, than an outrageous Jealousy: And it has been seen by Experience, that he who marries a Princess, besides a great deal of other Vexation, commonly has the additional one of dying without Posterity. And what am I, that I should flatter myself with shunning these Misfortunes? I will therefore take care not to expose my Person and my Family; for almost



most all who have suffered this Yoke, have sunk under it. If some of them have silently submitted to it, and patiently suffered it, it was because by Reason of the Dispositions of the Court, they neither could, nor durst, excuse themselves at first, nor complain afterwards. As for me, I have the Happiness to live under an understanding, just, and gentle Prince, who has no other Rule for his Actions than pure upright Reason, and who is possessed by no Prejudices, therefore I unload my Breast to him.

By your Majesty's Favours, my Family is sufficiently raised; therefore my principal Care ought to be to preserve it in that Situation, and to prevent its Ruin. This is what I presume to hope I shall be able to do in so auspicious a Reign. But, if following the Stream of Custom, I aspire to greater Posts, and higher Dignities, I shall attempt to attain to them only by my Disinterestedness, my Capacity, my Application, and my Services: I own to you freely, Great Sir, that it would be by no Means to my Taste, to owe them to the Alliance with which you design to honour me. Besides, my View, in laying before you my Perplexity, was, not only to discover to you my real Sentiments, and to provide for my own Safety, but likewise to let you the better understand the Misfortunes, which such Alliances occasion in other Families: I beg of your Majesty to examine my Reasons, but above all things, to excuse me. Leave, I beseech you, leave the smaller Birds gaily to flutter about with their Equals. Leave the Worms peaceably to multiply their Species; and honourable as this Alliance is for me, be pleased to deign to revoke it. But if your Majesty refuses to hear my humble Request, I will rather cut off my Hairs; I will rather mangle myself, and then fly beyond Seas.

The Emperor having read this Writing which was drawn up to him by his own Order, publicly made Use of it to reprimand the Princesses, and privately to divert himself.

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*Of Eunuchs and others, who abuse the Authority which the Favour of the Prince gives them.*

*A Discourse of Ngew yang syew, a celebrated Author under the Song Dynasty.*

**I**N all Ages, Eunuchs who have had Power, have been look'd upon as the Pests of a State. Character of Eunuchs. They are still more to be feared than Women; and that is saying a great deal. They are insinuating, artful, and patient; they know how to give certain Proofs of their Virtue very dexterously in Matters that don't cost them much, that they may court the Esteem of the Prince. They make Advantage of certain seasonable Occasions, which of themselves are of no Consequence, to make a shew to their Master of their Attachment and Loyalty, that they may gain his Confidence. Do they gain it? They take care to pay themselves for their Trouble: They manage the Prince as they please, either by raising up empty Phantoms to fright him, or by suggesting delusive Hopes to sooth him. The Prince may well have at his Court Men of Capacity, Virtue and Zeal, but he looks upon them as Strangers in Comparison of the Eunuchs, who are always near his Person in the Heart of the Palace; he places his whole Confidence in them, and they well know how to use it, so as to encrease their own Power: The Officers without Doors are of no greater Value, than the Eunuchs have a Mind to put upon them. Then Men of Merit either retire or grow cold, and the poor Prince remains alone in the Hands of his Eunuchs, to whom he has abandoned himself. These Wretches frighten him every Moment, and rendering themselves necessary, they more and more strengthen their Authority, or rather, their Tyranny.

But if the Prince at last opens his Eyes, and seeks the Support of his Officers without Doors, these last know not how then to behave. To temporize and to use Precautions, is letting the Evil encrease. To show a Spirit, to apply a speedy and a vigorous Cure, is hazarding, or rather ruining, all, the Prince himself being no better than a Hostage. When Things come to this pass, the most clear sighted cannot see very far: No View presents to them, but what appears dangerous, and as it were impracticable: If, at all Hazards, they attempt some Enterprize, they commonly miscarry, and ruin the Prince, the State, and themselves. The least Evil that happens, is, that they themselves perish, and by their Death, give occasion to some ambitious Person to take Advantage of that Juncture, for laying the Foundations of his own Power, involving the Sovereign in the Cause of the Eunuchs, gaining the Hearts of the People, and extirpating these Scoundrels: A Prince's Passion for Women is very dangerous for a State, which must infallibly be destroyed if the Passion is not cured. But if the Prince repents of it, the Evil is not without Remedy. On the contrary, if by an extraordinary Confidence he imprudently abandons himself to his Eunuchs, in vain would he retract, for he no longer can do that without perishing. The History of the *Tang* proves this effectually. For which Reason, I said at first, that powerful Eunuchs are yet more to be feared than Women. Can a Prince be too much upon his Guard?

*Tang king chwen* afterwards mentions five or six other Discourses upon this Subject: But they repeat almost the same thing. The Conclusion of one of these Discourses, is, that the Eunuchs



are necessary in a Palace; that they have had a Place there in the earliest Times, and that they cannot be dispensed with: But that they ought to be kept short by the Head, their Faults punctually punished, and the Government of them entrusted to some Officer of Weight; that a Prince above all, ought to take care to give them no Share in the Government of the State, far less to put them in Posts; and this Piece of Conduct the reigning Emperor exactly observes.

*Discourse of Sù ché, who lived under the Sòng Dynasty.*

Of wicked  
Favorites and  
Ministers.

**T**O know to set a Prince right without disturbing the Peace of the State, is the Master-Piece of a Loyal wife Man; there have been unhappy Times, wherein a weak Prince has taken up with worthless Favorites, and made them the Trustees of all his Authority. Then all the Officers of Virtue and Loyalty in the State, seeing that every thing was disordered by these Villains, from a Zeal to their Prince and their Country, wanted to rid themselves as soon as they could of these Pests. But they, whose Destruction they wished for, were careful to take proper Precautions against them: The Prince was on their Side, and they were safe by the Danger of attacking them. They who are bold enough to do this, either miscarry, or are infallibly ruined: Or else they succeed, and by their Success displease their Sovereign, and throw the State into Troubles, which are frequently the Preludes of its Destruction. Therefore in the *Chun tssu* such Persons are treated as Rebels, who, without the Knowledge of the Prince, caused Men, tho' otherways deserving Death, to be put to Death.

In effect, a wife Man, however great his Grief may be to see the Authority of the Prince usurped by worthless wicked Subjects who have surprized him, and however warm his Zeal may be to remedy the Evil which draws along with it so many others, ought to restrain himself: And before he undertakes any thing, to lay down his Measures so well, that both his Prince and Country may thank them: What Success can attend, or how can I promise myself any, by rooting out those whom the Prince loves, and whom he thinks are so far from being guilty, that he owes them a great deal? Is not this vesting myself with the Prerogative of my Sovereign? Must I not be odious to him? Can I appear before him? Will he receive my Homages? Will he hear my Excuses? That indeed would be a Prodigy without an Example.

These worthless Favorites are in an Empire almost the same, as what certain noxious Tumours are in Human Bodies, which reach as far sometimes as the Throat. These Tumours, tho' very troublesome, are too near the Windpipe to admit of being cut off. And if any, thro' Impatience, shall cause them to be cut off, Death unavoidably follows. An Impatience such as this, occasioned the Ruin of the *Han* and the *Tang*. From the Time of the Emperor *Wên ling* to that of the Emperor *Hien ti*, the Empire was governed, or rather mis-governed by the Eunuchs. None filled the Posts in the State but mean Souls, or their Creatures. Men of Merit and Virtue were happy, if, by retiring, they could be sheltered from the Storms of Persecution which then poured upon them from all Quarters. All the Empire groaned with Grief, and trembled with Indignation. At last, some Persons deliberating upon the Means of remedying these Evils, concluded, that the Eunuchs being the Authors of them, there was a Necessity of destroying them, and that then all would be well. *Tew wù* and *Ho tsin* undertook to do this, but without Success; and they lost their Lives. *Twen chau* next attempted it, and succeeded. But this threw the Empire into Convulsions, and occasioned it to change its Master; and thereby ended the *Han* Dynasty.

The same thing happened under the *Tang*. The last Emperors of that Dynasty gave themselves up to the Eunuchs, who turned the State upside down; and every Man who had the least Spark of Loyalty, was sensibly affected with this. But *Li shun*, *Ching chin*, and some others, had the greatest Share of Impatience and Boldness. They entered into a Conspiracy to extirpate the Eunuchs, in which they failed and perished. At another Juncture, *Tsui cheng* laid his Measures better down, and succeeded: But his Success ruined the *Tang*, and was fatal to the State. These were malignant Swellings in a Part which had too near a Connexion with the Vitals, to be cut off without Danger. However they were cut off, and Death ensued: or to speak without a Figure, the Sovereign Authority was violated by extirpating these Favorites against the Prince's Will; and all that the Conquerors gained, was to perish with that State which they hoped to have saved. Subjects, who are really zealous and loyal, ought never to carry Things this Length. *Tew wù* and *Ho tsin*, having miscarried and lost their Lives, their Misfortunes was bewailed. For my Share, I judge otherways; they were happy in not succeeding; for if they had succeeded, their Fate had been as certain, and the Empire must have suffered a great deal more. Have I not then Reason to say, that to know how to correct a Prince without endangering the Peace of a State, is the Master-piece of a loyal wife Man.

*Another (A) Discourse of the same Author*

**A**CCORDING to what I have already laid down, when bad Men are possessed of the Prince's Favour, and share in his Authority, he who undertakes to destroy them, is sure to perish, if his Design shall mis-give; or if he succeeds, he thereby occasions the Ruin of the Prince, and the Confusion of the State. At this Rate, some People may say, the Confusion however great, is absolutely incurable. Must we for that Reason, suffer these Villains peaceably to enjoy

(A) This Discourse is a Consequence, or rather a Continuation of the Preceding.



the Fruits of their Wickedness, never think of banishing or destroying them, and coldly see the Destruction of the Prince and State approaching, for fear of disoblighing the one, or disturbing the other. But this is not my Meaning, therefore I must explain it. It is commonly said that a Man when hard beset, is a quite different Man from what he was formerly. It is a Maxim of War, that an Army ought not to be cooped up in such a Manner as to have no Means of escaping, and that regular Troops have no occasion to put themselves in Danger by running after Robbers. This is founded upon a reasonable Fear, lest Men in Despair should make their utmost Effort, and thereby either gain their Point, or make their Loss equal. (\*) *U* and *Yue*, when in a Bark together and exposed to be Ship-wreck'd, will mutually help one another to ride out the Tempest, as if they were good Friends. These worthless and wicked Subjects who abuse their Credit and Favour, know very well that they are hated and detested. They likewise know, that if the Prince could be informed of the Abuse they make of the Authority with which he entrusts them, he would never be prevailed upon to pardon them. This renders them incessantly careful to prevent a Blow that would be so fatal to their Interest. On the other Hand, Men of Merit mortally hating these worthless Favorites, under whom they are however obliged to submit, form a Conspiracy, and secretly animate and encourage one another, till it is upon the Point of breaking out. So that we may truly say, that, as many Troubles in a State proceed originally from the former, so the latter, by the Measures they take, are the most immediate Causes of them. These are within Doors and about the Prince's Person; those are without, and never come near him. They may therefore be compared, the one to a Landlord, the other to a Stranger. The Stranger ought to follow, and not to anticipate the Steps of the Person with whom he lodges. But this is the Failing of zealous Persons. The former have this Advantage, that acting in the Prince's Name, when they ordain any thing, they speak in clear and consistent Terms, and the People naturally respect the Will of the Prince. On the contrary, the Zeal of the latter has a certain Air of Rebellion, and it is not easy for them to gain Obedience. For which Reason, we have seen at different Times, many, who having unseasonably declared themselves, were immediately deserted by their Party, and miserably perished.

They who have an equal Share of Wisdom and Zeal, follow a better Method. If their Merit and Rank give them the least Access to their Prince's Person, they dexterously take Advantage of it to insinuate themselves into his Favour, but without Noise or Bustle. At the same time, that they court the Prince's good Graces, they take great care to do nothing that may give Umbrage to his Favorites. They wink at their Faults, they occasionally express Complaisance for them, and approve of the Designs which they know will be agreeable to them, and which are indifferent in themselves. In short, they manage so, as never to be suspected by them, and shun being the Objects of their Artifices and Resentment. They continue upon this Footing, till these Wretches, being blinded by their Fortune, or intoxicated by some Passion, reel to the very Brink of the Precipice, into which the least Push infallibly plunges them: Wise Men are then as watchful in improving, as they were patient in waiting for this Opportunity. They seize it without the least Disaster happening; and they owe their happy Success to the Moderation of their Zeal, in knowing how to reserve themselves for a favourable Juncture.

It is usually said, that the calm dispassionate wise Man, knows how to execute what he undertakes for the Good of his Country; and in effect, it is thus he ought to behave. For when the Wicked are attacked and but slightly pushed, they unite for their mutual Self-defence; but if they are let alone, they disunite. Each of them acts for himself, and either betray themselves mutually, or clash with one another. Then it is easy to lend the Prince a helping Hand to extricate himself; to pursue other Measures is quite mistaking the Point.

Parallel between the two short Dynasties of *Tsin* and *Sui*.

THE illustrious Dynasty of the *Chow* having fallen into Decay, these unhappy and cursed Times, that are called the *Times of War*, succeeded. They ended only with *Tsin shi wang*, who having subdued the other Princes, assumed the Title of Emperor, and founded the *Tsin* Dynasty. In the same Manner, tho' the *Tsin* Dynasty was extinguished a long time after, yet it contained as it were two Empires; the one towards the South, the other towards the North: And these remained till the Times of *Sui wen ti*, who reunited them both, and then begun the *Sui* Dynasty. *Tsin shi wang* and *Sui wen ti* were Princes, who had more than ordinary Abilities, Bravery, Capacity and Spirit. Their first setting out, has somewhat in it more dazzling than any that have been since seen. If one reads their military Expeditions, he will see with what Care they fix'd their Court in an advantageous Place, and erected strong Fortifications for their Defence. He will likewise see, that after they became Masters of the Empire, they took not the least care to perpetuate the Government in their Families, who lost it in the second Generation. Whence proceeded this? Because they deviated from all the Rules of Antiquity. First, instead of confining themselves to a general Inspection, which alone is worthy of a Sovereign, they wanted to govern every thing immediately by themselves. In the second Place, they founded their Government upon Severity and Punishments, and not upon the Laws and Virtue. In the third Place, they deprived themselves of what might have been their most firm Support. Lastly, they entrusted the Education of their Heir to Men very unfit for that Office, and with-

(\*) Two People always at Variance. The Sense of the Proverb is, that in Times of common Danger, even Enemies aid one another.



out any Attachment either to their Persons or their Families: It is but too ordinary for (\*) Sovereigns to devolve upon another, all the thorny Part of Government, to want Application, and to abandon themselves to their Pleasures. When the Prince at the Head of a State is of this Character, the whole Body feels it: And it is thereby that great Empires are commonly ruined.

The two Princes of whom I speak here, are an Exception in this Kind, for they began their own Ruin in a quite different Manner. Being always afraid lest some body after their Example, should make themselves Master; in order to avoid this Misfortune, they wanted to regulate every thing, even the meanest Trifle, by themselves. Their Ministers and their other Officers had no part in the Government: They made out some Dispatches, and that was all their Employment. Being always treated haughtily, if they happened to displease their Prince, they were immediately punished in a severe and shameful Manner. For this Reason, they were at very little Pains about any thing, besides their own Safety. They touched their Pensions, and managed in the best Manner they could, that they might avoid disobliging the Prince, and thereby keep him in Ignorance of the most important Affairs.

Our ancient Way of Governing was founded on Virtue; even such among them as opened their Way to the Throne by their Swords, when they were seated there, governed according to the Laws and Justice, with Gentleness and Moderation. This charming Way of Governing, so much gained them the Hearts of the People, that they were always found tractable, and susceptible of Instruction. Thence proceed Peace, Unanimity, Loyalty, and Reformation of Manners. It was this Manner of Governing, which preserved the Empire so long in our three first Dynasties.

The two Princes, of whom I speak, left this Path: Being always restless, from an extravagant Fear of losing that which cost them so dear, they altered the Law according to their own Notions: There was nothing then but Suspensions, Searches and Rigors. *Sbi wbang*, especially, was so cruel, that he rendered himself detestable; so that at the first Signal given by certain *Chin*, the Rebellion grew general, and an End was soon put to the *Tsin* Dynasty.

*Swi ven ti*, tho' he was not so cruel, yet he trod in the Steps of *Sbi wbang*, and forfeited all in the same Manner. Had these Princes, when they became Sovereigns, each in his respective time, governed with Justice and Gentleness, according to the ancient Methods, they had endeared their Subjects to them; so that if their Descendants had met with some small Opposition, yet they would have been supported with greater Numbers, and could not have been so suddenly ruined. We find in Antiquity, that the Head of a Family, as soon as he is seated in the Throne, divides, as it were, the Empire with his Relations. He assigns them Territories, of which he makes them (†) the *Vang* or the *Hew*. And these serve as so many Ramparts to fortify the reigning Family. This was the Reason why the *Shang* and the *Cheu* Dynasties continued so long upon the Throne. *Sbi wbang* observed a quite different Method. The *Cheu* Dynasty being upon its Decline, and the fine Government of the first Emperors being no longer in Force, the Tributary Princes, without Regard to the Emperor, were naturally often at War with one another, and this gave the finishing Stroke to the Ruin of that Dynasty. *Sbi wbang* becoming absolute Master, minded nothing but their Divisions; and for fear of falling into the like Inconveniency, made neither a *Vang* nor a *Hew*; his nearest Relations remaining private Men: So that when Rebellions happened, he found none whose Interest it was to support him. For which Reason, this Dynasty, which began with so much Lustre, was ruined in a very few Years. *Swi ven ti* acted in his Time, in the same Manner as *Sbi wbang* did, and therefore his House met with the same Fate.

Lastly, as it is a main Point, that there should be a right Choice of those to whom the Heir of the Crown is entrusted, there cannot too great Care be taken in making Choice of worthy Persons for that Office. *Vu vang* chose *Cheu kong* for his Son *Cbing vang*. *Vu ti* chose *Ho quang* for *Chau ti*; this Choice was wise and successful. But it happened otherways with *Sbi wbang*. His eldest Son *Fu fu*, having one Day taken the Liberty to make a Remonstrance to him, tho' it was in very respectful just Terms, yet it put *Sbi wbang* into such a Passion, that he banished the Prince a great way to the North. *Sbi wbang* being soon after attacked on all Hands, he recalled his Son, when he was almost over-powered; but he did ill in entrusting him to *Chau kau*. This faithless Subject had no View but private Interest, and plotted with *Li se*. *Fu fu* did not succeed his Father, the Crown going to *Eul shi* who completed the Ruin of all. *Tong*, the eldest Son of *Swi ven ti* met with the same Fate. His Father, upon some Reports that were made to him, kept him a long time in Prison. When he was dying he let him free, and trusted to the Traytor *Quang*, who kept, to outward Appearances, better Measures with *Tong* than he had done with *Fu fu*; but in the main likewise betrayed him to the opposite Party. There were upwards of 1000 Years betwixt the *Tsin* and the *Swi*, but making Allowance for the Distance of Time, they were alike in every thing else. The *Han* Dynasty succeeded that of the *Tsin*, and had more than twenty Emperors, who, in all, reigned upwards of 400 Years. The Dynasty of the *Tang* followed that of the *Swi*, and counted twenty Emperors of its own, who reigned upwards of two hundred and eighty nine Years. So that we may in some measure, say with Justice, that the *Tsin* and the *Swi* were the Forerunners of the *Han* and the *Tang*; these last having continued so long, and the first perished so soon.

(\*) He resumes these four Points, and enlarges a little upon them. (†) Names of Dignities.



Present Prosperity or Adversity, have their Causes in preceeding Times. When I read the History of *Tsi*, and see the flourishing Condition of that State, while *Yuan chong* was Minister under *When kong*, I am far from attributing all the Glory to *Yuan chong*; for I ascribe it in a good Measure to (\*) *Pau shu* who had been for some time dead. When soon after, I find the same State ruined by *Sba tau*, *I yu* and *Kay sang*, I attribute the Misfortune not so much to these three Ministers, as to their Predecessor *Yuan chong*. How happened this? In the following Manner. When *Shun* managed the Empire under *Yau*, he caused the four bad Men who wanted to make a Figure, to be banished. *Confucius*, when he was Minister in the Kingdom of *Lü*, gave the Kingdom a speedy Riddance of *Chau ching* a very dangerous Man. If *Yuan chong*, had herein imitated (+) *Shun* and *Confucius*, *When kong* would never have employed these three Men, and they never then would have been capable to have done any Harm. Behold one Reason for attributing in a great Measure the Disorders, which they occasioned, to *Yuan chong*. But there are still other Reasons; for I find in History, that when *Yuan chong* was sick, his Prince asked him whom he thought was most proper to succeed him in Case he died? When I first read that Passage of History, I expected that *Yuan chong* would have pointed out the Man of the greatest Capacity and Virtue in the Kingdom, but he did no such thing. *Yuan chong* indeed told the Prince, that *Kay sang*, *I yu* and *Sba tau*, were Men very incapable of such an Employment, and even unworthy to approach his Person. But alas! Ought not *Yuan chong*, who had lived so many Years with *When kong*, to have thoroughly known him? Did not he know his Propensity to Pleasures? Did not he know that these three Men were the Ministers of his Debauches? Did he not know that they would long before that Time have been in the highest Posts, had not he himself for a long time, been resolute in keeping them out? Ought he not to have foreseen what was to happen after his Death, if greater Obstacles were not thrown in the Way? Yes, I am not afraid to say, that *Yuan chong* ruined *Tsi*; and if it was not from his failing to imitate *Confucius* and *Shun* during his Life, it was at least for having failed to name a faithful Minister to succeed him after his Death.

In effect, the greatest Misfortune of *Tsi*, was not its having these very three wicked Men, but its no longer having a *Yuan chong*. While he lived, they had no Authority, notwithstanding the Favour they possessed. *Yuan chong*, when he was dying, told his Prince, that he ought never to put them in Posts; but this was not the main Point. For we shall suppose, that *When kong*, out of the Regard he had to this Advice, had actually left them without any Posts; were they the only bad Men in the World? Could not *When kong* have made another bad Choice? The important Matter was, that *Yuan chong* ought to have laid hold on the Occasion which the Prince furnished him, to promote some able Man: If he had left another like himself, to the State, he had acted to Purpose: And in that Case he might very well have been silent, as to what he said in vain about these three Men.

Of five (†) *Pa* famous in History, the two most powerful without Contradiction, were *When kong* Prince of *Tsi*, and *Wen kong* Prince of *Tsin*. This last had nothing superior to the first; and the Ministers he chose undoubtedly were inferior to *Yuan chong*. *Tsi*, tis true, had the Misfortune to have *Ling kong*, a cruel Prince. But *Wen kong* was succeeded by *Hiau kong* a Prince excessively good, and whose extreme Indulgence was at least as fatal as the Cruelty of *Ling kong*. And yet, after the Death of *Wen kong*, none of the Tributary Princes durst stir. *Tsin* kept them within the Bounds of Respect and Submission for near 100 Years longer. *Tsi*, on the contrary, was ruined immediately after the Death of *When kong*. What occasioned the Difference? Because *Tsin*, after the Death of *Wen kong*, had still wise Ministers; who, notwithstanding the Degeneracy of the Princes, kept Things on a good Footing: *Tsi*, on the contrary, had not one. Was this then, because after the Death of *Yuan chong*, there was not a Man in the Empire capable to govern. Who can believe that? The Reason was, that such a Man was not obliged to appear. *Se tsiu*, not being able during his Life, to get *Mi tse twan* banished, nor *Kyu pè yü* promoted; when dying, found Means that it should be brought about after his Death. *Syau lo*, when upon his Death-bed, recommended *Tsau tsü* to be his Successor, tho' they were Enemies. These may well be called, faithful, zealous Ministers. They knew that the Happiness or Unhappiness of a State, depends upon the Man who is at the Head of it. They would have been unwilling to have died, if the State was thereby to suffer. Their Care, at their latest Breath, was to provide in it a good Minister. Did *Yuan chong* die thus?

#### DISCOURSE of Sù ché

WHEN a Person is either to bestow, or to receive a Favour, the wise Man has more Considerations than one. In the first Case, he does not satisfy himself with saying, I can do such a Man a Piece of Service, therefore I will do it. He examines if the thing befits the Person who is to receive it, and if it does not, he goes no further, notwithstanding all the Honour he might reap from it. I can procure such an Employment for such a Person, says a wife Man, and he is a very capable Person, therefore let me do it. I can do such and such a thing for such a Man, but that Man would do wrong to accept of it, therefore I will think no more of it. If the wife Man is to receive a Favour, he reasons in the same Manner. Such an Advantage, says

(\*) He had made *Yuan chong* to appear, and to be put into Post.

(†) That is to say, Had he engaged the Prince to have rid himself of these three bad Men.

(‡) This Title has been given to certain Princes, who without being Emperors, caused certain Forms of Respect and Submission to be paid them, by their Power, not by their Virtue.



says he, will accrue from it, and I do not think myself entirely unworthy; for my Share, I see nothing that should hinder me from accepting of it: But I see otherways clearly, that he who procures it to me, is in the Wrong in procuring it, therefore I refuse to accept of it. To act in another Manner, is in some Measure to co-operate with another Man's Faults: At least, it is very little minding the Ill which others do: To aim, if I may so speak, to be the only wise Man in the World, is, in effect, ceasing to be wise at all. It is easy upon these Maxims, to decide which of the two are in the Right of it, and whither *Lyew ki* or *Ting bong* were the wisest. At the Time that the Emperors of the *Han* Dynasty kept their Court in the East, *Lyew ki*, the Tributary Prince, gave up his Estate to his younger Brother *Lyew king*. The Cession was published, accepted, and ratified; *Lyew ki* always persisting in his Design, notwithstanding all the Representations that were made him upon the Weakness of his Brother *Lyew king*.

*Ting bong*, another Prince of the same Rank, formed likewise a Design of making such an Abdication; and that he might meet with no Obstacle, he feigned himself to be an Idiot. But *Pau tsing*, one of his intimate Friends, soon perceived his Madness not to be real. Upon this, he made such reasonable Remonstrances to his Friend, that *Ting bong*, who at first thought he had been doing a fine Action, easily saw that he was doing a very bad one. Upon this he appeared the same Man that he had always been, and talked no more of abdicating. His Readiness and his Courage to retract, are very laudable, and besides that, are a Proof, that Vanity, was no Motive of what he intended to do: But that he really thought that he was doing right. Thus it was that *Fan*, one of the famous Literati reasoned, when he concluded in Favour of *Ting*, and preferred him to *Lyew ki*.

*Tay pe* and *Pe i* are Objections under the Dynasty *Chew*. They yielded their Estates to their younger Brothers, and by that Abdication they rendered themselves famous. He answers, that *Tay pe* and *Pe i* being the first who set that fine Example, it is no Wonder that they, in their Age, struck the World very much: That *Tay pe* and *Pe i* being otherways very well known, the Cession which they made, could be attributed only to their Virtue: But we have since seen Men without Virtue, who with a stupid Ambition have become famous like these two great Men, by blundering foolishly into this Road. Such was *Lyew ki*, adds *Fan*: He got himself a Name in his own Time by his Renunciation, but it was at the Expence of the State and his Brother, who could not govern without Confusion. The Motive of *Ting bong*, on the contrary, when he wanted to abdicate the Crown, says the same *Fan*, was not the meer Ambition of acquiring a Name, for he thought that he was doing a glorious Action, and at the same time, promoting the Happiness of his Brother and his State. It was proved to him, that his Renunciation was inconsistent with the Good of both; and immediately he retracted and fell back into the beaten Path. *Ting bong* doubtless is to be preferred; and it is unjust to compare him with *Lyew ki*. Such is the Decision of *Fan*; and in my Opinion, it is a right one: But as he might have a little illustrated the Equity of it, it will not be amiss if I do it for him.

Our ancient Kings, by establishing the Custom and making it a Law, that their eldest Son should succeed them, did not act at Random, or from meer Inclination: Their Design was, that the Stock of their Family should be always well distinguished, that thereby they might prevent Troubles. Every Emperor, every Tributary Prince, acknowledged a first Prince of his Race, from whom he held the Crown. The Emperor durst not, as he had a Mind, give to this or t'other Man, the Empire he held of his Ancestors. This is a received Maxim. Doubtless *Lyew ki* and *Ting bong* did not make themselves Princes: They were born in that high Rank, and received from their Ancestors the Empire which they wanted to abdicate. But to give a State which a Prince has from his Fathers, to those who have no Right to it, is wrong. *Tay pe* and *Pe i*, tis true, did it; but as they did it in very extraordinary Circumstances, theirs is not an Example to be followed; and *Lyew ki* was wrong in several Respects. He put too little a Value upon a State he had received from his Ancestors; and that was the Cause of his Brothers suffering a great deal. In short, he violated the Laws that were received, and wisely established, for the Quiet of States.

Therefore to judge rightly, and according to the Rites, the Fault of *Lyew ki* was great. What might mitigate it a little, is, that under the *Han* Dynasty, when he lived, a good many People took that Method to gain themselves a Name. The Infection began under the Western *Han*, by *Wey boen chin*, who being made *Hew*, yielded the Honour to one of his Brothers. The then reigning Emperor looked upon this Action as a Point of eminent Virtue; and all the Empire, in Imitation of the Prince, applauded him. This Notion prevailed so much, that no Man, tho' otherways wise and virtuous, was esteemed, if he did not perform some Action or other of that Kind. But if this Notion, by being common, a little alleviates the Fault of *Lyew ki*, we ought by so much the more to esteem *Ting bong*, who, without suffering himself to be carried away by the Torrent, knew how to persevere in the right Path. For my Share, the more I consider, the more I admire him.

There was, in the Kingdom of *Tsi*, a Man of great Merit, whose Name was *Shin min*: That he might acquit himself of the Duties of a good Son, he lived single, and was very diligent about his Father. This made him to be still more esteemed; and the Prince received so favourable a Notion of him, that he wanted to make him one of his Ministers; but *Shin min* declined it, and his Father asked him why he did so. Because, answered he, I am afraid I shall then cease to be a dutiful Son. But, says the Father, do you consider that when you touch the Salary of a Minister, I shall be in better Circumstances than ever; and you, by fulfilling the Duties of your

Mistaken  
Selfdenial.

Whence it  
a Role.



your Post, will reflect an honour upon me likewise; so that it is our mutual Advantage that you should accept of the Post, and I desire that you would. *Sbin min* obeyed, and beheld him a Minister. Within three Years *Pe kong* rebelled, and *Se ma tse*, who was sent to oppose him, was defeated and killed. *Sbin min* run to stop the Progress of the Enemy; but his Father, to keep him at home, said to him, Why should you thus leave me, to meet with a certain Death? A Man in my Station, answers *Sbin min*, owes himself to his Prince, and owes only his Salary to his Father and Mother. It was your Pleasure that I should serve the Prince; and I sacrifice my Life for him. After this, he marched at the Head of a Body of Troops, and hemmed in the Enemy. *Pe kong* who knew *Sbin min*, said then to one of his Officers named *Sbe ki*; We are now in a very bad Situation: *Sbin min* is able and brave, and keeps us fairly blocked up here. How shall we behave? Behold an Expedient, said *Sbe ki*; *Sbin min*, you know, is famous for his filial Piety, we must make sure of his Father's Person. The Son then to relieve his Father, will give an Ear to the advantageous Proposals you make him. *Pe kong* immediately sent off People, who very dexterously seized the Father, and then sent this Message to *Sbin min*; We will divide *Tsu* betwixt us, if you are satisfied, it is well; if not, I have your Father in my Hands, and he shall be put to Death. *Sbin min* answered, dissolving in Tears; At first I was a dutiful Son, but now I am a faithful Minister: Since at this Juncture, I cannot at once discharge two Duties, let me serve my Prince; my Loyalty requires that I should do for him all that I can. He then attacked the Rebels, defeated them, killed *Pe kong*, but lost his Father. The Prince wanted to reward his Minister with a Present of 100 Pounds of Gold; but *Sbin min* refused it, saying, Not to hazard all in the Service of one's Prince, is failing in the Duty of a good Subject, and much more in that of a faithful Minister. But to occasion the Death of one's Father by serving the Prince and the State, is failing in the Duty of a good Son. Since therefore I could not reconcile these two Duties together, with what Face can I appear amongst Men? When he had finished these Words, he killed himself.

*Tang king chwen* relates other Histories of these Kinds of Heroes, who in this Manner put themselves to Death, that they might not survive a pretended Dishonour: And he is satisfied with saying once for all: In my Opinion, a Man is not to put himself to Death if he has nothing to reproach himself with. There have been found in all Times, says *Song ki*, People who have thought fit to retire. But they may be divided into very different Kinds. I reduce them all to four, namely, three good, and one bad.

The first are they who have always lived retired, and possess a Virtue so extraordinary, that nothing can conceal them. Yes! There have been seen some Men, who tho' buried amidst Mountains and Deserts, yet were generally known and respected by all the World on account of their Virtue. The Honours which they fly from, pursue them; and the most powerful Princes of their Time, endeavour, if we may so speak, to give them Marks of their Esteem.

The second are they, who after having appeared in the World, and even filled Posts, perceiving the Difficulty of supporting or promoting themselves without palliating and a little favouring the Errors and Corruptions of the Age, have divested themselves of their Posts, and retired from the View of their Prince; but leaving him and all the World in so good an Opinion of their Merit and Virtue, that they have been always regretted.

The third Kind are they, who being naturally fearful, and not believing that they have the Capacity requisite for succeeding in Posts, live retired in their own Country; but behave in such a Manner there, that far from making themselves despised by their Retirement, it is look'd on as the Effect of their Wisdom and Virtue. The first of these three Orders is much preferable to the other two: And it is upon that alone which *Confucius* bestows Encomiums.

Besides these three Orders, of which each has its own Merit, there is a fourth Kind of People, who being equally crafty and interested, want to pass for Men of Virtue by affecting Retirement; tho' they would be very angry, were they indulged in what they affect. Their View is to draw the Eyes of all the World upon the real Capacity they possess; to make themselves as it were sought after, and thereby to shorten their Way to Employments. But does their Cunning succeed, and are they in Post? They soon drop the specious Mask of Disinterestedness. I have exposed these different Characters that no-body may mistake them, or value any thing of that kind, but that which is valuable.

A short (\*) Discourse upon Silence, composed by Wang yong ming, who relates it, together with the Occasion of his delivering it, to Lyang chong yong.

**LYANG CHONG YONG** was a Person, who joined to an uncommon Capacity noble and generous Inclinations: Scarce was he made (†) *Tseng tse*, when he found himself stimulated by a laudable Ardor of signalizing himself in some important Post. One Day, as he was revolving these Thoughts in his own Breast, reflecting with himself all of a sudden: I am in the Wrong, said he; it is too soon for me to pretend to govern others. How can I succeed in that, having not yet learned how to govern myself? After this Reflection, he studied more than ever to know himself. He applied himself to find out, as much as he could, if he had any vicious

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(\*) This and the following Discourse is not taken from the Compilation of *Zang king chwen*, but from the Works of

*Wang yong ming*, who lived under the *Ming* Dynasty.  
(†) A Degree of Literature.



Byass, and he then began to correct a Fault which he found in himself; namely, that of speaking too much. We meet with a Bonzary of these Days; called, *The Bonzary of Silence*.

*Chong yong* took occasion to ask me for some Instructions as to the Manner of being seasonably silent. I answered, I myself have the Failing of being too great a Talker. I therefore am well enough qualified to give Lectures of Silence to others. I have remarked that this Fault proceeds either from Vanity, Heedlessness, or Lightness. I here call Vanity, the Passion of making a shining Figure. I call Heedlessness and Lightness, too great an Easiness in suffering ones Heart to rove from that *Just Mean* which it ought to preserve in every thing. Behold what I have remarked by my own proper Experience. But besides that, our Ancients have left us fine Maxims upon this Head, which are found diffused thorough their Books.

An Abridgment of these Principles is as follows.

They begin with finding Fault with four Kinds of Silence, or Taciturnity. To be silent, when there are any Doubts of Consequence, or not to join in the clearing them up; or what is worse, voluntarily to continue in gross Ignorance, rather than to instruct ones self by Speech, is called Brutality, and Stupidity. To be silent from a wretched Complaisance, or merely to gain the Favour of the Great, is Interest and Flattery. To be silent, in order to conceal ones Faults, under the Mask of being reserved, is Pride. In short, under a modest Silence and a simple Air, to conceal a bad Design, is Hypocrisy. All this is not Silence, or it is a criminal Silence: But there is likewise a laudable Silence, which may proceed from good Motives, and has good Effects.

The wise Man, says *Confucius*, always speaks with Bashfulness and Modesty, as if he were conscious of some Defect in his Words and Actions. In the most remote Antiquity, a Man who had no Reserve in his Words, past for one who had but little in his Actions, and incapable to fill great Posts. Therefore Bashfulness, Modesty, and Reserve, are, as it were, the first Lessons of that which we call Silence, or the Art of holding one's Tongue. The wise Man, says *Confucius* again, loves to be silent: At least, he does not love to speak a great deal, because he is employed in the Care of doing well; and the Love which he has for Silence, is continually, and as it were naturally, begotten by his constant Application to watch over his Actions. If therefore, virtuous Men commonly speak little, it is not that they make their Virtue to consist in the Fewness of their Words, nor that they are silent merely for the sake of Silence: They have a much more sublime End: They look upon Silence as an excellent Way of acquiring and preserving Virtue. To meditate seriously, says *Confucius*, upon some important Truth, is the Way to acquire Knowledge. The least Advantage we reap by it, is, that we shun the gross Faults, into which the Generality of Mankind fall at every step they make. In order to succeed in any Enterprize, quietly to think a long time upon it, is justly termed Wisdom and Prudence. But above all, in order to discover our vicious Inclinations, and the Artifices of Self-love, there is no better Secret, than to examine ourselves in Secrecy and Retirement. *Yen tse* made such a Progress in this Method, that tho' he scarce spoke to any body, yet he attracted the Esteem and Confidence of all the World by his Virtue. Behold therefore to what a Pitch a Man may attain by practising this Virtue, of which we have a Pattern in *Tyen*. *Tyen* never speaks a Word, nor has he occasion to speak. The four Seasons regularly succeed one another; the Vegetables grow at their stated Seasons, wherefore then should he speak? His Silence is Eloquence itself, therefore among Men, the Sages of the first rate alone, are able to imitate this beautiful Pattern.

*Lyang chong yong* very well understood and profited by this Discourse.

*Another Discourse of the same Author, upon the Death of Whang hyang fu, Father of one of his Disciples.*

**I**N the Territory of (\*) *Chau*, there lived one of the Literati, an honest Man; the Name of his Family was *Whang*, his own Name *Ong pau*; and he lived in the Lordship of *Hyeu fu*. He had a Son named *Mong sing*. This Son came several hundred Leagues, that he might become my Disciple. At the End of some Months, in which he had studied very hard, he took Leave of me for a little time, that he might go and see his Father; and after two or three Months Absence, I saw him return full of new Ardour. When some other Months were over, he wanted to go and see his Father again; and he did so, and returned several times in the Space of a few Years.

*Mong sing* was a young Man who had very good Qualifications. To a Heart full of Uprightness and Probity, he joined the most engaging and polite Manners. Above all, he was a dutiful Son; but he was of a very delicate Complexion, and incapable to support great Fatigues. For which Reason, the less he feared these Comings and Goings, the more I was afraid for him.

I therefore one Day took him aside, and said to him, My dear Scholar, you surely are very sensible, that it is too fatiguing for you to make such frequent and long Journeys. You may spare yourself the Trouble; for the Duty you owe to your Father, is a lawful Reason why you should continue at Home: Take my Advice, and remain here; and as Occasion presents, put in Practice what you learn at my School.

*Mong sing* immediately falling upon his Knees, answered me in these Terms. Master, said he, you know not my Father; tho' he was educated upon the Sea-coast, in a pretty Savage Country, yet,

(\*) In the Works of *Wang yong ming*, this Discourse is found under the Title *Hyo wen*, or a Composition for the Ceremony *Tse*. This is a kind of a Funeral Sermon.



yet, from his Childhood, he has had a great Esteem for the Doctrine of our ancient Sages. He has for some time, diligently sought one who might be a Guide to him in this Study, but he never could have the Happiness to meet with what he sought after. Sometime ago, by Means of *Syu, Yung*, and some others, who had been your Disciples, my Father was made acquainted with, and received some Tincture of, your Doctrine. I cannot express to you the Esteem he had of it; but you may in some measure judge of it, by what I am going to tell you.

My Father no sooner knew of your Doctrine, than exhorting me to pursue it, My Son, says he, you see I am old: I do not recommend to you the acquiring of Riches, or thrusting yourself into Posts; what I exhort you to, is to advance in Virtue, and to profit under so good a Master, like these Sages who have already left his School. I don't pretend to be an Obstacle to your Advancement: Nor, that on account of my old Age, you should give up so great an Advantage. Tho' your Absence should reduce me to eat only Rice-gruel, and to drink Water; tho' it should even expose me to lie unburied when I am dead, yet should I be satisfied to live and to die in this Manner, that I may procure to you the Means of acquiring true Wisdom. It was in Pursuance of these Instructions of my Father, that I first came to be of the Number of your Disciples; and for that Effect, I travelled some hundred Leagues. Always when I returned to see my Father, in vain did I entreat him to suffer me to continue with him at least three Months; for he would never agree to that. He would not even suffer me to continue for one Month; he always took care at the End of some Days, to have every thing ready for my Journey, pressing his Domestic for that purpose, and exhorting myself to set out: When filial Affection drew Tears into my Eyes, and when in this Condition I presented myself before him, to conjure him to suffer me to serve him some time longer: He answered, my Tears, by beginning his Exhortations anew, and sometimes reproaching me that I had the Heart of a Girl. Yet I see, added he, beginning himself to be affected, that your Intention is good, and that you want to prove to me that you are a good Son, but you go the wrong Way to work. Do that which I would have you do, notwithstanding my Tendernefs; and do not aggravate my Grief. This, in Truth, is the Way in which my Father treated me: And I own frankly to you, that notwithstanding my Desire to profit by your Instructions, it was not my Fault, but that I had stayed longer with him: And if every Time I returned so soon, it was in Obedience to my Father's Commands: For how could I disobey him?

At this Discourse I could not hinder myself from crying out, How wise is *Wbang byen sü*! He indeed is a good Father: How affectionate, and how obedient is *Mong sang*! He verily is a good Son: Take Courage then, cried I, my dear Disciple, and endeavour perfectly to answer the Zeal of so wise a Father. Alas! Towards the Beginning of the fourth Moon of this Year, an Express has brought us the melancholy News of the Death of *Wbang byen sü*. How great is this Loss! True Wisdom has been long neglected. Nothing is more rare, than Men who truly esteem or seriously practise it: They who make the Study of Wisdom all their Business, are so seldom found, that among the Generality of Mankind, they are look'd upon as so many Prodiges. The Name of a wise Man is yet in Vogue, and the World is full of Persons who affect it: But the Name is all they desire: Their Ambition, their Cares, their Actions, and even their Instructions to their Children, proceed all from Vanity and Interest: And if they talk of Wisdom, it is not because they aspire to it, but from mere Show and Ostentation. Among ten who talk of it; nine let it go no farther than their Lips. Above all, at present, it is a very rare thing to find Fathers so wise, as to prefer the Care of their Children's advancing in the Way of true Wisdom, to all the Motives of Interest and natural Affection. *Wbang byen sü*, whose Death I have heard of, knew how to do this, notwithstanding the Torrent. Alas! What a Loss is he to the World: Since the Distance of Place hinders me from weeping over his Bier, and testifying how much his Death afflicts me, I desire in some measure to make up for that by this Writing. Moreover, by publishing the Zeal of *Wbang byen sü* for the Advancement of his Son in the Paths of Wisdom; my View is, not only to testify to the World the Esteem which his Zeal has given me for his Person, and the Grief I have for his Death, but likewise to propose him to all the Empire as a beautiful Pattern of a truly paternal Love, and to animate his Son, my Disciple, worthily to answer the Intentions of so wise a Father.

The same Author answers a Question made him by his Friend *Wang yong ming*, who wrote to him once in these Terms. I see People who reason a great deal upon what *Confucius* and *Yen tse* understood by the Expression (\*) *Lo*: May I presume to beg that you would write me your Thoughts upon this Head? Is this Pleasure, this Joy, mentioned by *Confucius* and *Yen tse*, the same thing with that Emotion of Heart, which is look'd upon as one of the seven Affections, of which it is capable, and which commonly is called Joy: If *Confucius* meant nothing but that, it would seem to me, that this Joy is not peculiar to the wise Man alone, since the most ordinary People are equally susceptible of it. If he means a quite different Joy, much more pure and solid, and such as the wise Man is said to preserve amidst the most melancholy and terrible Events, another Difficulty starts; for *Confucius*, and many others after him, says likewise, that the wise Man ought to be incessantly upon his Guard, and under a continual Dread and Concern: And it would seem to me, as if this were much fitter to occasion Sadness than Pleasure.

The Answer of *Wang yong ming*, was as follows:

The Joy, of which *Confucius* speaks, is the Sensation of the Heart, in enjoying the Pleasure of possessing itself. Therefore tho' the Pleasure, mentioned by *Confucius*, is likewise comprehended

\* *Lo*, signifies Joy, Satisfaction, Pleasure.



hended under that kind of Joy, which is reckoned to be one of the Seven Affections, yet it ought not to be confounded with any other Species of Pleasure, ranged under the same Denomination. This Answer likewise obviates your second Difficulty; for tho' in some Sense it is true, that this Joy, in a certain Measure, is common to all Mankind, yet we may properly say, that it is more peculiar to the Wife.

'Tis true, all Men have a Heart. But the Wife alone are Masters of that Heart. This Pleasure of a Heart, of which one is Master, is known to them alone: The rest are all capable of this Knowledge, but they neither possess nor taste it: They run eagerly after what is inconsistent with it; being blind, and involving themselves more and more in their Difficulties. Not, but that all Mankind may aspire to this Joy. But they must shut their Eyes to every thing else: They must turn them inwards: They must take care to recall their own Hearts to its natural Uprightness, and then will they share in that solid pure Joy. This is all the Answer which at present I have to give you; but give me leave to tell you, that I am a little surprized that you should ask further Questions of me upon this Head, since, during the Conversations which we have had together, you might long since have had all the necessary Information: To amuse yourself still in making Enquiries about this, is just like the Man, who when riding upon an (\*) Ass, was searching for him on all Sides.

*Kau shen fū* having come from *Whang chew*, a City of (†) *Hu quang*, to make himself a Disciple of *Wang yong ming*; as he was about to return at the End of a Year, he took *Wang yong ming* aside, and said to him; Master, I have had the good Fortune to hear your important Doctrine, upon what is called *Firm Resolution*. I believe, that I thoroughly understand it, and am able to direct my Conduct accordingly. But as I am now ready to go far from you, I beg that you would give me a Word of Instruction, of which I may preserve the Remembrance Day and Night. *Wang yong ming* made him this Answer.

In the Study of Wisdom, the Practice of the Husbandmen must be imitated. They indeed begin by carefully chusing the Seed, and committing it to the Ground in due Season; but they do not end here; They then carefully labour the Ground; they kill the Insects; they pluck up the noxious Herbs; they water it where it has need; they labour all Day in the Cultivation of their Field; and frequently in the Night-time, their Mind is employed in these Thoughts. Not, that by their Cares and Fatigues, they hope that their little Crop, tho' the Seed was well chosen and seasonably sown, should be of any great Consequence in the Autumn. You ought now to understand my Meaning; but if you want that I should make it plainer, I must tell you that this *firm Resolution* of which you so much speak, and which you flatter yourself with possessing, is as the Seed of the Husbandman. Study, Thinking, Reasoning, and putting all in Practice, are Things as necessary in Point of Philosophy, as plowing, dunging, and harrowing are in the Affair of Agriculture. A Heart in whom this Resolution is wanting, is a Field in which nothing good is sown, and in which, consequently nothing but Weeds can grow. A Heart who has this Resolution, and who stops there, is a well sown Field, the Culture of which is afterwards neglected: The good Seed that has been there sown, has been choak'd by the Weeds. I cannot so far dissemble with you, as not to tell you, you are in a Situation something like this.

*An Answer of Wang yong ming to two of his Scholars.*

**Q**UEN KI is a Man of a great deal of Knowledge, in whom I always have found a great Thirst for true Wisdom. I am charmed to understand that you frequently converse with him; this must turn out to your Advantage. My Answer to what you propose to me, with Regard to him, is as follows. Doubtless, a Man may seek some Post or Pension, especially when otherways he has no Estate; and if without them he cannot provide for his aged Parents, consequently, it is lawful for a Man to take his Degrees, to appear in the World, and to make his Capacity known. For it is absurd, for a Man who aspires to Posts, to depend entirely upon *Tyen*, without his using any of the human obvious Measures for attaining to it. But he must take care; first, never to deviate from the high Road of Reason, neither in the Designs he has in View, or in the Method of pursuing these Designs. In the second Place, a Man must never suffer himself to be affected with good, or disconcerted with bad Fortune. He who is steady in these two Points, may consistently, with the Character of a wise Man, procure and fill Posts. But if he wants these, especially the former, in vain does he renounce Degrees, Posts, and all that: In vain, does he talk of Virtue from Sun to Sun; all is Vanity. Therefore our Ancients have made it pass into a Proverb: *It is not a great Evil to quit the Trade of Philosophy: The Point is, not to quit the Love of true Wisdom, and the Resolution of still pressing towards it:* Upon which we must remark, that by its being said, that we never ought to quit this Resolution, it is supposed that we already possess it. Upon this Head it is, that every Man ought to examine himself. The more I perceive the good Qualities which you have, the more I perceive myself inclinable to press you not to render them useless.

My dear Disciple, you are to remember, that by how much the more rare it is to have so happy natural Dispositions as you enjoy, the more easy it is for you to corrupt and abuse them. It is no small Advantage to find a sound Director in the Paths of Wisdom; but know that by how much

(\*) The Chinese says in four short Words, *Ki hui mi lin*, that is to say: *To ride an Ass, to seek an Ass*. This is literally the French Proverb, which, notwithstanding its Meanness, forms the

Conclusion of a very refined Character of Morality

(†) One of the Provinces of China.



much the more Difficulty it is to meet with a Man who can instruct us in them, so much the more easy and common it is for us to stray from them, even after they are known to us: Every Man who has a Mind, cannot arrive at that ripe and vigorous Age in which at present you are: But as this does not depend on Man, know likewise, that it is no more in his Power to hinder these fine Years from passing rapidly away. In short, it is as easy for one to suffer himself to be carried away by the Torrent of the Age, as it is difficult to resist it. Weigh all this, my dear Disciples, and let these Considerations animate you to make new Efforts.

*The same Author exhorts his Disciples, to hold frequent Conferences in his Absence.*

THE Plants that are most easy to rear, do not fail to die if they have ten Days of nipping Cold, for one of a mild Sun. When I come hither, you endeavour as much as you can to assemble yourselves; not one of you fails to be present at the Conferences that are held; and at these Conferences each of you shews the keenest Desire for Improvement. This gives me a real Pleasure. But I now come hither but very seldom; when I come, I stay but a few Days; and all that I can do is to assemble you three or four times. As soon as I leave you, the Conferences are broken up. Each of you then keeps at home, and the Interval passes without your seeing one another; this is upwards of ten Days of Cold for one of Warmth: How then can Wisdom, which is a Plant so difficult to rear, flourish among you?

I therefore exhort you not to confine your Assemblies thus, to the Time in which I am amongst you. Every five Days, if it is possible, at least every eight Days, you ought, setting aside all other Business, to assemble yourselves once to discourse upon Virtue, and to animate yourselves to the Practice of it. This is an excellent Method for entirely disengaging yourselves from all the Enticements of the Age, and for making a great Progress in a short time, in the true Doctrine, which, at the Bottom, is nothing else but Charity and Justice.

It is a common and a true Saying, that if a Man would make a cheap and a ready Bargain, he must go to Market. Is he to rear a large Building or some other considerable Work? his best Way for succeeding, is to hold a general Consultation beforehand. Assemble yourselves therefore frequently, but carry into these Assemblies neither Passion nor Prejudice. Shew a Friendship and Respect for one another, and know that, in a Commerce such as yours is, he who yields most to others, gains most for himself. If it sometimes happens that you disagree upon any Point, it is then, that without any Heat, or without giving Way to that unhappy Desire which each has of over-bearing his Neighbour, you ought to recollect yourselves more carefully, and to seek out the simple Truth. But if any one, either from Vanity or Jealousy, shall be obstinate in having the upperhand; these frequent Conferences, which of themselves are so advantageous, thereby become quite useless. Reflect seriously on this.

One Day as *Wang yong ming* (\*) was passing through the Piazzas with some of his Disciples, two Porters, for some Reason I am ignorant of, fell a quarrelling. You have neither Reason nor Conscience, said the one. Nay, you have neither of them, answers the other. You are a Rogue, said the first: Your Heart is full of Craft, replies the second. You, says the other, have banished from yours, all manner of Honesty and Probity. *Wang yong ming* then addressing himself to his Disciples, Do you hear these Porters, said he; they are talking Philosophy? What Philosophy, answered one of his Disciples? I hear them only scolding and bawling. What, don't you understand, said *Wang yong ming*, that what they are every Moment repeating, are the Words, Reason, Conscience, Heart, Uprightness? If this is not Philosophy, what then is Philosophy? Then let it be Philosophy, said the Disciple; but while they are philosophizing, why should they bawl and scold one another so? Do you ask why, answers *Wang yong ming*? It is because each of these two Men sees the Defects of his Neighbour, but never reflects upon his own. How many People are like them?

The great Disease of Mankind, says *Wang yong ming*, is Pride. Is a Son proud? He fails in his Respect to his Parents. Is a Subject proud? He is no longer Loyal to his Prince. Has a Father this Failing? He forgets the Paternal Affections. Is a Friend tainted with this Vice? His Friendship is no longer faithful and constant. The principal Failing of *Syang* the Brother of *Shun*, and of *Tan chu* the Son of *Tau*, whom History represents as being so vicious, was Pride. The other Failings which they had, were the Fruits of that evil Tree. Ye who would aspire to be wise, if ye want to be really so, must never depart one Moment from that Celestial Reason which is natural to, and forms, as it were, the Essence of, your Soul. This Reason is most pure and most refined in itself. Ye must suffer nothing to alter its Purity. But what must be done for this Effect? No *Self*, and that is all. I say none, even in the most retired Corner of the Heart, for if it shall lurk there, it will again quicken, and shoot forth into Pride. How did our wise Ancients recommend themselves so much by their Virtue? It was by destroying *Self*; for when *Self* is destroyed, humility becomes habitual. But Humility is the Foundation of all Virtues; as Pride, on the contrary, is the Root of all Vices.

In another Passage, the same Author treating of this Subject, and repeating the same Things with some Variation, says; The most universal and dangerous Evil at present, is Pride. This is as the poisoned Source from which all Disorders proceed. A Man is the Slave of Pride, and for that Reason, thinks himself the Lord of others. He approves of what he himself does, and will yield to no body. If a Man is abandoned to that dangerous Vice, he can neither be a dutiful Son, an affectionate Brother, nor a loyal Subject. The inflexible Severity of *Syang*, towards

(\*) In the French it is some time written *Onang yang min*.



his Brother *Shun*, and the incorrigible Licentiousness of *Tan chu* the Son of *Yau*, were all so many Slips of this vicious Stock. If you would enter into the Ways of Wisdom, begin by plucking up from your Heart the smallest Root of so dangerous a Vice. Otherways you can never make any Progress. Moreover, it is with Pride as with other Diseases; it is never cured but by its Opposite, which is Humility: But don't deceive yourselves, the Humility which I prescribe against Pride, consists not in merely assuming an Air, outwardly humble and reserved: It ought to be in the Heart, and it consists in being inwardly full of Attention, Moderation, Reserve, and Resignation to others: In putting no great Value upon one's own Capacity, but willingly making the best of another's: In short, in a Man's being divested of *Self*. Whoever is humble in this manner, cannot fail to be a good Son, Brother, and Subject. This Virtue made *Yau* and *Shun* so perfect; they possessing it in its utmost Purity and Extent. In all Encomiums upon these Princes, it is always this Virtue that is praised under different Denominations. Therefore ye who aspire to be Sages, labour to acquire it. But do not deceive yourselves, for it is no easy Matter. It will cost you great Struggles; and above all things, you must have a strict Watch over yourselves.

*Wang yang ming* being at *Long chang*, a great Number of Literati became his Disciples. That he might satisfy the Desire which they had to profit under his Direction, he gave them the four following Lessons. Each of you, said he, ought to have, first, a sincere Resolution to aspire to true Wisdom: Secondly, a continual Care, in Reality and in Practice, to take the true Means of acquiring it: Thirdly, an ardent and a courageous Zeal against your own Failings: Fourthly, a wise and moderate Zeal in favour of your Neighbours. I say, that above all things, a sincere Resolution is required: In effect, if, without such a Resolution, no Man can succeed in any thing, even the most mechanical Arts, can he ever hope to succeed in the Study of Wisdom? Why are so many People seen, who, notwithstanding their Profession of aspiring to true Wisdom, spend whole Years, and almost all their Lives, without making any Progress in it? There can be no other Cause than this; That they never form a sincere Resolution on this Head. For it is a certain Truth, that he who has an earnest Desire to become wise, succeeds in it by little and little: And if a Man is firmly resolved to labour constantly in it, he may attain even to the highest Degree of Perfection. On the contrary, as a Ship without a Rudder, tossed by the Winds and carried by the Tide; as a high mettled Horse left to himself, and galloping unchecked from Place to Place, such is the Man who is void of the Resolution I require. Some have said very well: If the Pursuit of Virtue should expose a Man to the Indignation of his Father and Mother, to the Reproaches of his Brethren and Relations, to the Hatred and Contempt of his Neighbours, then they who want Resolution for this extremely difficult Attempt, might plead some Excuse. But on the contrary, if, embracing what is right, is an infallible Way for deserving and securing the Tenderness of a Father and Mother, the Confidence of Relations, with the Esteem and Good-will of Neighbours, what Excuse can they have, who are afraid to venture on this Resolution? If, by deserting Virtue, and enlisting in the Cause of Vice, a Man should become dear to his Father and Mother, agreeable to his Relations, and respected by his Neighbours, it would be more excusable, should he seem to incline to the Side of Vice. But if the contrary is true, as it certainly is, Why should we buy the Unhappiness of being wicked at such a Price, and labour so earnestly to prefer Vice to Virtue? Weigh what I have now told you, and you will not only comprehend, that when a Man aspires to Wisdom, he must above all things seek a sincere Resolution; but you will likewise see, that this Resolution is not so difficult to take, as People imagine: And that nothing is more reasonable.

In the Second Place, I demand a continual Attention in Point of Practice, because, that in effect, without this, a Man must soon be inconsistent with himself: And the Resolution he puts on, tho' perhaps it may be sincere, yet never can be firm and constant. Therefore, in the Judgment which I form of my Followers, I do not give the Preference to those who have the most Wit and Penetration, but to those, whom a continual Watch over themselves have rendered more reserved and more humble. There are some, who being void of Wisdom and Virtue, puff themselves up, that they may appear to be filled with both: And who, not perceiving in themselves a Resolution sufficient for being solidly virtuous, harbour a secret Envy against those who really are so: Who are as full of Pride as they are destitute of Virtue: Who inwardly prefer themselves to others, and who, by vain Discourses, impose upon the World, and endeavour to procure Esteem for themselves. If any one amongst you is found to be of this Character, tho', in other Respects he should be Master of a very extraordinary Understanding, yet for all that, would he not be the Object of your Indignation and Contempt? On the contrary, there are some Persons, who being full of Modesty and a Praise-worthy Reserve, for fear of acting inconsistently with themselves, keep up to their first Resolution, by a constant Practice of Virtue, by great Care, and an equal Application to be instructed: Who sincerely acknowledge their own Faults, readily do Justice to their Neighbour's Virtues, and endeavour to correct themselves by the good Patterns that are set before them: Inwardly, they are full of Regard and Submission towards their Superiors, together with Benevolence and Uprightness towards their Equals: Outwardly, their Behaviour is easy, and at the same time, never deviates from a modest Gravity. If any one amongst you possesses these Qualifications, tho' perhaps he has no great Share of natural Understanding, which of you can refuse him your Esteem and Friendship? Doubtless, each will more willingly prize him, the more sincerely he is seen to humble himself. Weigh what I have now told you, and it will be sufficient to let you understand the Necessity and Practice of that Attention which I require.



In the third Place, I say, that a Man must have an ardent and courageous Zeal against his own Failings. To be guilty of Faults both of Omission and Commission, is, what the wisest are not exempted from. But as they know how to correct them, they, on that Account, don't forfeit the Character of being wise. Every Man ought to examine, if there is any thing in his Conduct contrary to Temperance or Modesty. If he renders to his Superiors and his Equals all their Due: If, for instance, he fulfils all the Duties of a dutiful Son and a faithful Friend: If nothing escapes him that favours the Corruption of the Age, which, at present, promotes over all, universal Deceit and Unjustice: For altho' you are not Men who will plunge yourself with Pleasure into these Disorders, yet it may happen, that some of you being destitute of the Advantages reapt from the Conversation of a good Master, and a virtuous Friend, may heedlessly fall into Faults of this Nature. Examine yourselves upon this Point with the utmost Exactness, and revolving every one of you your own Actions, if you find any such thing, you must speedily retract it by a sincere Repentance; but without, suffering yourselves to be cast down or to cool: Have you till this Period of Time been a wicked Man? Have you for a long time practised the shameful Trade of a Robber? Yet you may from this Day forward wipe out the old Stains, and become wise and virtuous. But if a Man, in whom such a Change is wrought, shall make this Reflection; "Having lived as I hitherto have done, should I henceforward live well, my Conversion will be look'd upon as a Trick, and my Virtue as Hypocrisy: The World, far from entertaining a better Opinion of me, will thereby harbour the strongest Suspicions against me, and I shall draw upon myself fresh Reproach. If this Man, after such a Reflection, should bravely say to himself: "Let the World make what Judgment it pleases of my Change, it is sincere, and it shall be constant: And I am sincerely satisfied to live and to die in Humiliation. O how much would I esteem such a Courage!

I say, in the fourth Place, that a Man ought to have a wise and moderate Zeal with Regard to his Neighbour's Failings. By this I do not at all pretend to prevent you, from assisting your Neighbour to become virtuous. Tho' we owe our first Cares to our own private Perfection, yet we cannot neglect taking some Concern in that of our Friends, without failing in one of the most essential Duties of true Friendship. But if we are to reprove others, there is a Way to do it with Advantage to them. The Advice you give, must not only always proceed from a sincere Friendship, but it must be delivered in mild civil Terms, so as to sweeten all the disagreeable Part of the Rebuke. In this we must exert all the Tendernefs with which Friendship can inspire us, and seasonably draw different Pictures of the Virtues, setting them in the most amiable Light: And painting Vice so, as that its Deformity may strike with Horror; yet all this in such a Manner, as to touch the Heart, without ruffling the Passions. If we act otherways, if we apply too rough a Hand to a sensible Part, without allowing a Man time to guard against the Confusion arising from the Surprise, in vain shall we afterwards endeavour to recompose this exasperated Mind, which starts too far aside at first, and is ever after in Danger of remaining incorrigible.

For which Reason, in my Opinion, when we go about to correct a Fault in any one, the most effectual and the surest Way, is not that of Words: And tho' we may take that Method amongst ourselves, yet I would lay no great Stress upon it with Regard to others. I look upon every Man who attacks my Failings, as my Master: With this View, I receive with Pleasure and Thanks, the Advice that is given me. I am sensible how little Progress I have made in the Paths of true Wisdom. Alas! I have already lost a great many of my Teeth, and I am half deaf. That I may answer the Ardour which I see in you, I pass whole Nights in meditating. Notwithstanding my Age and Application, I am by no means exempt from Vice: Why should I be surprized, if I am not found to be faultless? It is said, that it is the Duty of a Scholar to conceal the Faults of his Master: But, if by this it is meant, that it is not lawful for a Disciple to correct his Master, this Maxim is not true: Or at least, all the Truth that is in it, is, that the Disciple ought not, in correcting his Master, to use either too much Freedom, or too abject a Dissimulation: Do you all assist me in bringing the Good I have about me to Perfection, and in entirely rooting out whatever is faulty, that thus we may mutually help one another in our Progress: Let us begin with exercising, with Regard to one another, the Zeal which we ought to have for the Perfection of our Neighbour.

*Letter of Exhortation from the same Wang yong ming, to his Disciples.*

**M**Y dear Disciples, in all the Letters that I have received from you, which have been a good many, ye all express a great deal of Repentance for what is past, and a great deal of Resolution for what is to come. This gives me an unexpressible Joy and Comfort, but I would feel a great deal more, if I were sure that these are not empty Discourses, and that they are your real Sentiments. What I wish above all things, is, that each of you may see the most secret Intricacies of his own Heart, as plainly as he sees the most sensible Objects at Noon-Day. This is of the utmost Importance. For how can a Man correct his own Faults and Failings, if he does not see them. On the contrary, a Man who is always watchful over his own Faults, that he may instantly correct them, soon becomes Master of his own Heart. Where is the Man who is blameless? I dare affirm, there is none. And he who knows how to correct his Faults aright, is the Man who is the most perfect. *Kyu pe yá*, in his Time, was lookt upon as a wise Man, and yet it happened that all his Application was directed to commit but a few Faults; nor could

he



he succeed, even in this. *Ching tang* and *Confucius* very justly were look'd upon as Sages of the first Order, yet their principal Maxim was, incessantly to labour to correct themselves; and they judged this Care to be necessary to prevent their falling into considerable Faults. I hear it pretty frequently said, *How can one be faultless, unless he were a Yau or a Shun?* But tho' this Saying is become proverbial, yet I do not think it is exactly true. These Words do not give us an Idea of *Yau* and *Shun*, such as indeed they were, and as they knew themselves to be. If these two wise Kings had given themselves out as Men exempted from every Failing, they thereby would have less deserved the Epithet of Wise. But they were far from this Way of thinking. And this is easy to be proved from a Maxim of theirs, handed down to us in the *Shu king*. *On the one Hand, the Heart of Man is full of Weakness and a Propensity to Evil. On the other Hand, true Good, which forms as it were the Center of Reason, consists in an almost indivisible Point. A pure simple Intention is necessary to preserve us always in the Just Mean.*

We see, by this Passage of the *Shu king*, what Opinion these great Men entertained of themselves. They doubtless looked upon themselves to be Men; which made them pronounce in general, that the Heart of Man is full of Weakness: That it is difficult to keep it in the *Just Mean*: And that we must make strong Endeavours to preserve ourselves in the requisite Purity and Simplicity. In short, we see that all the wise Men of Antiquity, far from thinking themselves free from Faults, have look'd upon the Care of correcting themselves as one of their principal Duties. If some by this way, have made such Progress as to commit none, it was not because their Hearts were formed in another Manner than those of other Men, and not subject to the same Weaknesses; but because, by curbing themselves, by watching with incessant Care over their most secret Motions, and especially by looking upon themselves as being full of Faults, they at last attained to be faultless. I see it clearly, my dear Disciple, that this is the Path in which we ought to tread. But I see it too late, my ancient Habits have left the same Weakness in my Heart, as an inveterate Disease occasions in the Human Body.

For this Reason, I earnestly exhort you, incessantly to be upon your Guard, and not to expose yourselves to the same Difficulties as I have done, by letting your Failings grow into Habits. If, while you are yet young, while your Spirits are active, and your Imagination warm; if before the Inconveniences of Age, and the Cares of a Family have engrossed your Heart; you labour earnestly; your Progress will be great, and your Difficulties but small: But if you shall delay it, besides the daily Encrease of the Cares of this Life, old Age must damp your Understanding, and impair your Vigor. If there are Instances of some Persons who have thus delayed it, and yet have afterwards attained to true Wisdom, this could not have done without very extraordinary Efforts, especially, if it happened after they were forty or fifty Years of Age. After this Period of Life, the Desires of Reformation that we form, are commonly as unsuccessful as those of a Man who would stop the Sun upon our Horizon, when he sees it setting, and conveying its Light from our Eyes. This therefore was understood by *Confucius*, when he said, that at forty or fifty Years of Age, a Man no longer keeps his Understanding. These Words are remarkable, and seem to imply an Exaggeration, yet they contain a very sensible Truth, and a Truth which the same *Confucius* elsewhere expresses in more simple Terms. It is not, says he, but after many Struggles that we arrive at true Wisdom: If we do not labour early, how can we support them in old Age, whose inseparable Attendant is Weakness? Alas! I who tell you this, and who begun this Pursuit too late, have but too great Experience of the Truth of these Words. This induces me to press you to make the best of your Time, that you may not be exposed to a useless Repentance.

The same *Wang yong ming* being at home in the Province of the *Ché kyang*, one Year in a very dry Summer, the (\*) *Chi fu* of the Place wrote to him, to ask him if there was any Secret to procure the Rain to fall, or if he knew any Man who had such a Secret. *Wang yong ming* returned him a verbal Answer to his first Letter. Next Day, the *Chi fu* wrote another more pressing.

To this second Letter, *Wang yong ming* made the following Answer.

Yesterday, two of your Officers, *Yang* and *Li*, presented to me a (†) Letter, which you did me the Honour to write me. I found that it demanded of me a Secret for making the Rain to fall. Never was there a Man more surprized and confounded, than I was at this. My Surprise and Confusion encreased a great deal, when this Morning I received by the Hands of *Shin tsyè*, your second Letter, which is still more pressing than your first. The Ways of *Tyen* are dark; our Understanding traces them in vain; and who am I, that I should value myself upon penetrating into them, and seeing them distinctly? Yet, you discover so much Compassion for the People, that I cannot reasonably forbear telling you my Thoughts upon that Point. I have prayed for a long time, answered *Confucius*, upon an Occasion which you know of. In effect, the Prayer of a wise Man does not precisely consist in reciting some Forms of Prayer in Time of Need, but in a regular Conduct which he takes care to observe. It is some Years since you was born in the Country of (‡) *Ywé*: Have you not taken care before hand to pray, that as far as you can you may prevent or soften the Miseries of the People, and render them happy and content? Have you delayed it till this time? Doubtless not. Yet the Rain does not fall according to your Wishes: that is true; but what better Way is there for obtaining it?

(\*) Or, Governor.

(†) The Chinese literally has it, Your honourable Instructions.

(‡) The ancient Name of a Country, now the Province of *Ché kyang*.



Anciently, in great Droughts, the Princes abridged their Tables and their Diversions, (\*) enlarged their Prisons, diminished their Imposts, carefully regulated the Ceremonies a-new, and relieved by their Charity, those whom Sickness and Poverty oppressed with Sorrow. Then they caused the Assistance of *Shan*, *Chwen* and (†) *Sbe tsi*, to be implored by all; and they themselves implored it in Favour of the People. I find recorded in the ancient Books, the Ceremony *Tsi*, in honour of *Tyen*, to beg for Rain. I find that the Princes making a severe Scrutiny into their own Conduct, attributed to themselves all the public Calamities. I find that these very Princes in acknowledging their Faults, begged for time to correct them. The (‡) *Li ki*, the *Chun tsiu*, and the Annals named *Se ki*, have great Numbers of Examples in this kind. This is what I am taught by Antiquity. I do not find that it was then believed, that a few whimsical Characters, and some imprecating Ejaculations upon the Water, could obtain Rain. If in following Ages, there were found some (||) *Tau tse*, who we are assured could create Rain whenever there was Occasion: We are to believe that they were Men of a pure blameless Life, and a solid constant Virtue: That tho' they did not exactly conform to the true Practice of the Empire, yet for all that, they were very notable, and very extraordinary Men: And that thereby they might command Rain.

But where is the Evidence upon which the Credibility of Things of this kind rests? Upon romantic Histories and Tales. Our *King* and other Canonical Books mention no such thing; and all Men of Sense, look upon what is said on this head, as amusing Stories. Far less ought we to attribute any such Virtue to the present *Tau tse*. They are a Parcel of vile Scoundrels, as despicable as the Mountebanks at Fairs, who disperse all kind of Impertinences from their Stages. Can People of this kind, have Thunder, Lightning, Winds, Rain, and other Changes of the Air, at their disposal? How incredible is that?

My Advice to you is, that setting aside all Affairs that may obstruct it another time, you examine yourself a-part, deny yourself and every one about you, in all Expences and Luxuries; exactly repair the Wrongs that you may have done; and then with pure upright Intentions, with sincere Sentiments of Penitence and Grief, invoke *Shan*, *Chwen*, *Sbe*, in Name, and in Favours of the People of your eight (§) *Hyen*. As for the Prayers and pretended Secrets of the *Tau tse*, if the People of their own accord employ them, be you satisfied with letting them alone, and not prohibiting them: But lay no Stress on them yourself, and never discover any Value for them.

What you may depend upon is, that if in your ordinary Conduct, you have nothing wherewith you can accuse yourself before (•) *Shin ning*; if on the present Occasions, you redouble your Watch over yourself, and at the Head of your Colleagues and Subalterns, pray with an upright and a pure Intention; tho' the Drought were equally fatal to me, let Share of Virtue be ever so small, I don't make any Difference betwixt my Interests, and those of the People. If I really had any Secret for procuring the desired Rain, could I be so hard-hearted as to see them afflicted without relieving them? Would I have put you to the Trouble of sending two Messages to me on this Head? Had I done this, I must have been a Brute. Lastly, I promise you, that in a Day or two, I will go to the Suburbs of the South, to second, by my Prayers, your Compassion for the People. If you take my Advice, you will confine yourself to hearty sincere Prayers, without giving into these Errors, and without having it in your View to gain a (‡) Name to yourself. *Tyen*, misd as he is above us, is never insensible to a sincere and perfect Virtue.

The Person who has printed this Book, adds by Way of Note. In public Calamities, in Inundations, or Droughts, this is the Way in which we are to act. We, in this Manner, are to do all that depends on us. To lay Stress upon the pretended Secrets of the *Tau tse*, or to discover any Value for them, is great Blindness.

(\*) *Sang* enlarged the Innocent, and those who were less guilty.

(†) Literally it is; Mountains, Rivers, Territories, and Dominions of each Prince: That is to say, the Tutelary Spirits of the Country. This is an ordinary Figure among the *Chingse*.

(‡) These two Books mention the Ceremony *Tu*, in order to obtain Rain. The *Li ki* says, that it was address'd to *Ti*. The ancient Books sometimes mention *Shang ti*; sometimes only *Ti*. As we indifferently say, *Offer to the Lord*, or *Offer to the most high Lord*.

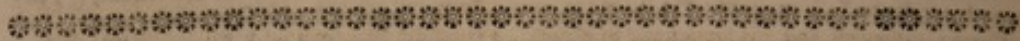
(§) Ministers of the Sect of *Tau*.

(•) The City of the first Order, of which this Mandarin was the first Officer, had in its Jurisdiction, eight Cities of the third Order.

(•) *Shin* signifies Spirit, spiritual, excellent, impenetrable: *Ming*; Intelligence, Knowledge, clear Penetration, &c. I leave the Reader to determine the Sense of this Expression, by what goes before, and what follows.

(‡) That is to say, To gain the Reputation of being a compassionate Man, and tender of the People's Sufferings.





## L Y E (\*) N Y U, or, the Illustrious Women.

**M**ONG KO being of an Age fit for Study, was sent by his Mother to School. One Day, as he returned from it, she asked him, dividing her Thread, how far he had advanced in his Studies, and what he had learned? The Child ingenuously answering, that he had yet learned nothing, she immediately took a Knife and cut a Piece of Work which she had in the Loom. The Boy trembling, asked why she had done that. My Son, said she, you, by learning nothing, have done the same thing, and worse. When a Man would become wife, and render himself illustrious, he must apply in good earnest, and profit by what he hears. This is the only Means of living peaceably at home, and of entering into public Posts, without hazarding any thing. If you neglect Study, as you do, you will be only a Wretch, exposed to all the Miseries of the meanest Conditions of Life. If you undervalue Wisdom, and thus lose the Time appointed for acquiring it, it were better for you to betake yourself to the Trade of a Porter, or any other Business that can make you live. If a Woman can do nothing, and a Man has learned in his Youth to do nothing, they must either steal, or become Slaves. This is commonly said, and nothing is more true.

An example  
of Conjugal  
Chastity.

Mong ko was struck with the Action and Words of his Mother. He took *Tse se* for his Master, and improved so well under him, that he became a great Philosopher, and the most eminent Man of his Age. One Day, entering into an inner Chamber wherein his Wife was, he found her not very decently dressed. Upon this he was startled, retired hastily, and it was some time before he saw her. His Wife went to her Mother in Law, and as it were taking Leave of her; it is a common Saying, said she to her, that when a Wife is retired in her Chamber, the Husband seldom or never intrudes thither, during the Day-time. When I last was in my Chamber, my Husband surprized me a little negligently dressed, and seemed to be much disobliged at it. I see that he looks upon me as a Stranger. A Woman cannot decently live any time in a strange House. I am therefore come to bid you farewell, that I may return to my Mother's House.

The Mother of Mong ko immediately called him, and said to him: Son, when a Man enters into a House, he ought to inform himself if any body is within, he should give Notice of his being there, by a Servant, or least he should raise his Voice, that he may be heard before he enters. You know that this is usual: And indeed it is the Way to find the Hall in Order after you enter it. As for all other Apartments, when the Door is opened to a Man, he ought to have his Eyes on the Ground. You have been deficient in this, my Son, and thereby discovered an Ignorance of the Rites. After this, how will it become you to be rigid towards others. (+) Mong ko received this Reprimand humbly and thankfully, and then was reconciled with his Wife.

A long time after, Mong tse being at the Court of *Tsi*, he appeared a little melancholy. When his Mother asked him the Reason, he declined giving her a positive Answer. Another Day as he was wrapt up in Thought, he handled his Staff, and fell a sighing: His Mother perceived it, and said to him: My Son, you lately appeared melancholy to me, and dissembled the Cause. To Day you sigh, when you are handling your Staff. What is the Matter? Mother, answered Mong tse, I have heard that a wise Man ought not to aspire to Posts and Rewards, but by honest Means. And that when Princes will not hear us, we ought not to lavish our Advices upon them: And that if they hear us without profiting by us, we ought not to frequent their Court. I see that the true Doctrine is neglected here. I want to retire, but I see you are now aged. This gives me a great deal of Trouble, and is the Subject of my Uneasiness and Grief.

The Duty of a Wife, answers the Mother, is to provide Victuals, to sew, and to take care of the Inside of the House. The Outside is not her Province. When we are Girls, we are subjected to a Father and Mother. When we are married, we depend upon our Husbands, and we ought to follow them whither they please to carry us. Lastly, when we are Widows, and when our Sons are advanced in Years, we ought to follow them as we once did our Husbands. This is what the Rites prescribe with Regard to our Sex. I am aged, it is true, but no matter for that. Do your Duty, my Son; I shall be no Obstacle to you: I know how to do mine too.

King kyang a young Lady of Quality was married to *Mu pe*, who held the Rank of *Ta fu* at the Court of *Lü*: She had a Son whose Name was *Wen pe*. When *Mu pe* died, King kyang finding herself charged with the Education of her Son, took care to make him study a good deal; when his Studies were over, and he returned Home, she had a watchful Eye over his Conduct, and observed more than once, that they who came to see *Wen pe* treated him with a great deal of Ceremony. From whence she concluded that her Son keeping Company only with those who were his Inferiors, both in Age and other Respects, he would look upon himself as standing no longer in need of Instruction.

(\*) *Lye*, Illustrious; *Nyu*, Women. Perhaps it may be thought, that what is contained in this Collection, does not answer so pompous a Title. We are to conclude one of these two things: Either, that the *Chinese* are not very scrupulous whether the Title of a Book is just or not, or that certain

Things are a great deal more raised in their Ideas, than they are in ours; which is indeed true enough.

(+) *Mong* was the Name of the Family, *Ko* was his Sur-name, or, as the *Chinese* calls it, his little Name. *Tse* is an honourable Manner of naming any one.



One Day, when the Company was retired, she called him to her, to give him a Reprimand. Formerly, said she to him, when (\*) *Vu vang* was going out of the Hall of Audience, one of his Garters unloosed, and his Stocking fell down. While he was looking about him, he could not see one Person whom he thought he had (†) a Right to desire to tie his Stocking up. Upon which he stooped and did it himself. *Wen kong* always had three good Friends at his Side. He maintained five Officers for observing his Faults, and for reprehending him; and not a Day passed over his Head, without hearing thirty Persons telling him of his Failings. *Chew kong*, at an Entertainment, three times presented the most exquisite Meats to the old Men. He dressed their Hair himself; and when the Duties of his Function obliged him to make Visits, he visited upwards of seventy poor old Men, who lived in the most obscure Streets. The three great Men I have mentioned were Princes, and yet you see how humble they were: But it was with Regard to People more aged than themselves, for they commonly admitted no other into their Presence. Thereby it was, in a Manner, more easy for them to forget the Pre-eminence which their Rank and Dignity gave them, and every Day to make a sensible Progress in Virtue. But you, my Son, take a quite contrary Way, you who are young, and without a Post. Yes, I see all your Acquaintances yield to you in every thing, and look upon you as their Superior: They are doubtless young Persons, and as backward in the World as you: What Advantage then can you reap from these Acquaintances?

*Wen pe* received this Reprimand with Thankfulness, owned himself to have been in the Wrong, and amended his conduct: He contracted an Intimacy with grave Persons, whom he look'd upon as his Masters. He was commonly seen in Company with venerable old Men; he served them as their Guide and Support as they walked along, and even waited on them at Table. *King kyang* upon this felt a real Joy. Behold now, said she, my Son forms himself, and is become a Man.

When *Wen pe* began to enter into the Government, *King kyang* made him a short Discourse, in which by Similies, all drawn from the Art of making Stuffs, in which she employed herself, she laid before him the Qualifications of such as ought to fill the principal Posts in a Kingdom. Sometime after, *Wen pe* returning to the Palace, went to salute his Mother, and he found her parcelling out her Thread. *Wen pe* testified some Concern, lest that Trade should do some Dishonour to his Family, and it might be suspected, as if he did not treat her very well. *King kyang* sending forth a great Sigh, these, cried she, are the false Notions, by which this, once so flourishing, Kingdom is now ruin'd. What! my Son, can you, who have studied so much, and who are now clothed with Authority, be ignorant? I have many things to acquaint you with; hear them attentively. The wise Kings of Antiquity, industriously sought for the poorest Grounds, whereon they might settle their Subjects. One of their greatest Secrets in the Art of Governing, was, to employ the People in laborious, and even fatiguing, Works; and they were certainly in the right. Fatigue and Labour renders a Man careful and virtuous, but Idleness and Luxury beget and cherish Vice. The Inhabitants of fat fertile Soils, are commonly very lazy and voluptuous; but they whose Ground are poor, are Men of Industry and Virtue.

Besides, you are not to imagine, that in wise Antiquity, Labour and Industry were appointed only for the People. How much did our Emperors themselves work? They regulated their Finances, examined their Magistrates, and the Reports made to them by the several Magistrates. They had the Necessities of the People to watch over; and they provided for them as good Masters and Pastors. They regulated the Punishments, and the last appeal always lay to them, with Regard to the Chastisements of Criminals. They had the public Ceremonies to perform at stated Times, and to prepare them for several Days beforehand. Even an Emperor was not suffered to repose or to divert himself, unless every thing was in order. The very same Rule was observed with Regard to the Tributary Princes. They passed the Morning in acquitting themselves of the Duty and Service they owed to the Emperor, according to the Orders they had received. They employed the Middle of the Day, in what regarded the Government of their private State, and the Evening, in examining Criminal Affairs. In the Night-time, they regulated their Workmen and daily Labourers. The great Men of the Empire, then spent the Morning in the Affairs that belonged to their own Sphere. Towards Noon, they consulted in common about what concerned the Government of the State. In the Evening, they drew up a Memorial of the Things which they were to regulate next Day. And the Night-time was employed in the Cares of their own private Affairs. It was the same in Proportion with all Conditions, above that of the meanest People.

To go from Men to Women; Are you ignorant that the Queens wrought with their own Hands, these violet-coloured Ornaments which hung at our Emperor's Cap? That these red Borders, which distinguished the Princes and the Dukes, were wrought by their Wives: That the large fine Belts worn by the great Men, and their Habits of Ceremony, were wrought by the Wives of the very Persons who wore them? There was a much stronger Reason, why the Women of an inferior Condition wrought their own Husbands Cloaths with their own Hands. Their Labour was not confined to this. These Kinds of Stuffs and Works were offered to Princes, either out of Duty, when they who offered them were their Subjects; or in Presents, when they were not. In short, it was a Crime both for Women and Men to lead a lazy Life. Such were the Customs of our Ancestors: and the Maxims of our ancient Kings, which have been transmitted to us, and according to which, great Men ought to labour, both with their Hands

Industry of  
the Ancient  
Chinese.

Extended to  
all Ranks.

(\*) He was Emperor.

(†) Because he had no-body with him but Men, whom he

respected for their great Age and Merit.



and their Head, were then inviolably practised. We are not to forget these wife Maxims and these laudable Customs.

Reflect, my Son, that I am a Widow, and that you are but lately put into Post. Are then Laziness and Pride becoming in you? For my Share, I endeavour to have nothing to reproach myself with on this Head; and you seem to take that amiss. What can a Prince hope from a Man that has such Dispositions? I am much afraid, lest my Husband has in you, left me a Son unworthy of such a Father, and lest his Posterity should end in your Person. In effect, *Wen pé*, a little time after, died without Children. *King kyang*, during her time of Mourning, bewailed her Husband in the Morning, and her Son at Night.

*Ki kang*, the Brother of *Mu pé*, an Uncle of *Wen pé*, was the Head of his Family, and therefore *King kyang*, according to the Custom, was to go to his House. He therefore went to invite her thither, and talked to her with a great deal of Respect. *King kyang* followed him with Silence. When she came to the House of *Ki kang*, without speaking a Word, she entered into the Apartment that was appointed for her. Afterwards, tho' *Ki kang* treated her always as a Mother, yet she spoke very seldom to him, and always in her Apartment, and at a good Distance. *Confucius*, to whom this Conduct was related, praised *King kyang* very much, for her exact Observance of the Rites.

Heroic Spirit  
in a Mother.

When *Tsé* and *Tsin* were at War with one another, the King of *Tsé* raised an Army, the Command of which he gave to *Tsé fa*. The General falling short in Provisions, dispatched a Courier to inform the King of this. He at the same time took that Opportunity of being remembered to his Mother. The Courier repairing to her, How is all with the Army, said she; are the poor Soldiers well? Madam, answered the Messenger, Provisions are fallen scarce among them. Every Soldier, it is true, has hitherto had his Proportion of Pease, but it has been Scanty, and by Tale. And how does your General live, replied she? Madam, said the Messenger, he feels the Famine likewise; every Morning and Night, he has only some Herbs and some very sorry Food, together with a little black Rice. The Conversation went no further; but some time after, when *Tsé fa* returned victorious, his Mother shut the Gate of her House against him.

*Tsé fa* being much surprized with this bad Reception, begged some Persons of his Acquaintance, to ask the Reason of it of his Mother. Is my Son, answered she, ignorant of what the King of *Tsé* formerly did in a War against *U*? Does he not know, that when that Prince on his March received a Present of Wine, he gave it to his Soldiers to drink? That he did the same with a Bag of dry roasted Rice which he received on another Occasion, and that he reserved none either of the Wine or the Rice to himself. How could my Son be so hard hearted as to eat Morning and Night, what was drest for him, without sharing it with the Soldiers, who were reduced to a few Pease a Day? *Tsé fa*, victorious as he is, is, in my Eyes, a despicable General; and I don't look upon him as my Son. All this was reported to *Tsé fa*, who acknowledged his Fault, asked Pardon of his Mother, thanked her for her Instruction; and the Gate was then opened.

Scrupulous  
exactness in a  
Widow.

A Widow of the Kingdom of *Lü*, having prepared every thing at home for the Feast of the New Year, and the last Day of the Old, called her nine Sons to her, and spoke to them in this Manner. My Sons, I know that a Widow ought to keep within the House of her deceased Husband, according to the Rites. But when I reflect, that in my Father's Family there is no Person come to the Age of Discretion, doubtless at this solemn Time, the Ceremonies will be neglected, or but very ill performed; I hope you will not take it amiss, if I go thither this Day. Whatever you please, Mother, said the nine Sons upon their Knees. You ought to know, answered she, that we Women are not Mistresses of ourselves. In our Youth, we are under the Authority of our Father and our Mother. In our riper Age, we are in the Power of our Husbands, in our old Age and Widow-hood, we ought to follow our Children, and in many Respects, to be dependant upon them. My Sons are very well pleased, that this Day I shall repair to my Father's House: This is a little Liberty which I take, and not strictly agreeable to the Rigor of the Rites. But I do it to put Things in Order, in a Place, where probably there would be no Order otherways. This Day, redouble your Vigilance, keep the Door well shut, for I shall not return till it is dark.

Immediately she set out, being accompanied with an old Domestic who had been sent to invite her. When she came thither, she made all the haste she could to put every thing in good Order; and the Day beginning to lower, she thought that it was late. Upon this, she set out on her Return homewards: But before she got thither, the Sky clearing up, she found she had been deceived by the Darkeness of the Day, and that it was not so late as she imagined. She therefore resolved to wait in a retired Place near her House, in to which she entered when it was Night: A Noble-man, who had seen her from a Terrace, found something in this Way of doing, that was extraordinary: He had the Curiosity to cause her to be followed; and he found some Pretence to examine what had past in her House. Those to whom he had entrusted this Commission, informed him that it was an honourable Family, and that every thing was in Order, and even according to the Observation of their Rites.

This Noble-man calling for the Widow, said to her; Such a Day, coming from the Northwards, you stopt a considerable Time in such a Place without the Walls, and did not enter into your House till Night fell: I thought this a pretty extraordinary Thing, and am curious to know what could induce you to act in this Manner. Sir, answers the Widow, it is long since I lost my Husband, who left me with five Sons. Towards the End of the Year, having put every thing in Order



Order for the New Year, with the Consent of my Sons, I paid a Visit to my Father's House. When I left them, I said to my Sons and to my Daughters in Law, that I would not come back till Night fell. Partly from Mistake, and partly lest I should meet with some rude Companion, as you know there are many such at a Time like this: I left my Father's House too soon. I found this when I was upon the Road; and not being willing to arrive before the Time which I had fix'd for my Return, (\*) I waited in that remote Place, till the Hour should come in which I promised to return. This Noble-man praised her very much, and honoured her with the Title of (†) *Mü*.

*Mang lä*, a Subject of the Kingdom of *Whey*, married the Daughter of *Meng yang* his Country Man, in a second Marriage. He had five Sons by his first Wife, and three by his second. The five Sons of the first Marriage, could not endure their Step-mother. And tho' she treated them very well, and shewed them all the Tenderneſs imaginable, yet she could not win them over. Being afraid, lest it might be the Fault of her own Sons, she ſeperated them entirely; ſo that they had nothing in common, either with Regard to their Lodging, their Cloaths, or their Viſuals: Yet all was to no Purpoſe; the five Sons of the first Bed, continued to expreſs a great deal of Aversion for their Step-mother. It happened, that the third of theſe five Brothers was made Priſoner, for having neglected his Prince's Orders; and was capitally convicted. The Mother appeared inſoluble, and omitted nothing that could ſoften the Rigors of his Priſon; and beſides that, ſhe did every thing to prevent his being condemned. A great many People ſeemed ſurprized, that ſhe ſhould give herſelf ſo much Uneaſineſs about a young Man, who had expreſt ſo much Aversion for her.

No Matter, ſaid ſhe to them, I look upon him as my own Son, and will do to the laſt, all for him that lies in my Power. Where is the Merit and Virtue of loving one's own Children? Or where is the Mother who does not love them? But I cannot confine myſelf to that. The Father of theſe young Men, ſeeing them deprived of their Mother, eſpouſed me, that I might ſupply her Place to them. Wherefore I ought to look upon myſelf as their Mother. And can one be a Mother without Affection? If the Affection I have for my own Children, ſhould make me neglect theſe, I ſhould be unjuſt. What has a Woman, void of Juſtice and Affection, to do with Life? Tho' he entertained the greateſt Aversion for me, yet his Hatred and diſobliging Manners, could not free me from the Duty I owe him. The Anſwers of this Woman became public, and the King being informed of them, pardoned her Son, from the Regard he had for ſuch a Mother. Ever after that time, not only this rebellious Son, but his Brothers were as full of Reſpect and Submiſſion for their Step-mother, as her own Sons were; and ſhe inſtructed them ſo well, that they honourably filled the firſt Poſts of the Kingdom.

*Tyen tſi tſe*, the Miniſter of the Kingdom of *Tſi*, raiſed a pretty moderate Sum from his Dependants, and came to put it in his Mother's Hands. Son, ſaid ſhe, you have been but three Years in Poſt, and I know how much both your Salary, and the Expences you muſt lay out, amount to. How then have you raiſed the Sum which you have now brought to me? Mother, answered *Tſi tſe*, I own to you freely, that I have received it from the Subaltern Officers. Son, replies the Mother immediately, a good Miniſter ought to ſerve his Prince affectionately and diſintereſtedly; at leaſt, he ought to keep his Hands clean, and to uſe no dirty Ways of enriching himſelf. If any ſuch thing comes into his Head, he ought immediately to reject it. In ſhort, he ought to avoid even the Suſpicion of being eaſy in taking Money which does not come by honeſt Means: To be really as diſintereſted as he would wiſh to appear to be in the Eyes of the World, and thereby to give Authority to his Words. The Prince has done you the Honour to put you in Poſt; your Salary is conſiderable, and you ought to answer his Favours by a blameleſs Conduct. Know, my Son, that the Duties of a Subject, and more eſpecially of a Prince's Miniſter, are not leſs inviolable than thoſe of a Son to a Father. He owes to the Prince his Maſter, a ſincere Affection, an ardent Zeal, and an unſhaken Loyalty. He ought to give Proofs of all theſe Virtues, even at the Hazard of his Life, if there is Occaſion. And as theſe dangerous Occaſions don't often preſent, he at leaſt ought to diſtinguiſh himſelf by a conſtant Uprightneſs and a perfect Diſintereſtedneſs. Beſides the other Advantages of this Conduct, it is the only Way to be ſheltered from the Storms of State. By taking another Road, you become a bad Miniſter, and how then can you be a dutiful Son. Hence, fly from my Preſence; I diſown you as a Son; you may do what you have a Mind with that Money, but what is ill purchaſed, ſhall never enter into my Houſe.

*Tyen tſi tſe* retired full of Confuſion and Repentance. He returned the Money to thoſe from whom he had taken it; went and accused himſelf before the Throne of his Prince, begging for the Chaiſtifiement he deſerved. *Swen wang*, who was then King of *Tſi*, was charmed with the Virtue of this Woman. He cauſed a large Sum to be given her out of his Treafury, pardoned *Tyen tſi tſe*, and kept him in his Poſt.

*Kyang*, the Daughter of the King of *Tſi*, was married unto *Swen wang*, one of the Emperors of the *Chew* Dynaſty. This Princeſs was equally witty and virtuous; never was there found any thing blameable in her Words and Actions: But ſhe was grieved to ſee the Prince plunged

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(\*) They might have ſuſpected, that ſhe deſigned to have impoſed upon them, and to have ſurprized them: and this might have diminiſhed their Confidence in, and Affection for her.

(†) *Mü* ſignifies Mother, and likewiſe Maſter or Miſtreſs, ſo that according to the *Chieſe* Idiom, it may ſignify Mother; Miſtreſs, or Miſtreſs of Mother. The firſt is the moſt natural.

An Inſtance  
of Gene-  
roſity in a  
Step mother;

Of ſtriſt  
honneſty in a  
Mother;

And of vir-  
tuous Pru-  
dence in a  
Wiſe.



in an Indolence and a Laziness, unworthy of himself. He went to Bed pretty early every Night, and slept very late next Morning. Behold the Expedient she took to reclaim him.

One Day she laid aside her Earrings, Bodkins, and other Ornaments of her Head; and placing herself a-part upon an Alcove in the Posture of a Criminal, she talked to the Prince in these Terms by the Mouth of a Servant; Sir, I had the Honour to be your Servant; and I have known for a long time, that I have no Merit in any Respect: But there is one thing that I have not remarked till now, and that is, that to all Appearance I am a Rake. It is doubtless on my Account, that contrary to the Rites, your Majesty appears every Day so late, and that you are look'd upon as a Prince who prefers your Pleasure to your Duty. This Character does you so much the more harm, as Pleasure in all Ages, has been look'd upon as the Source of great Numbers of Disorders. This Evil, whatever it is, doubtless proceeds from me. Put a Stop to it, I beg of you immediately, and vindicate your own Character, by punishing the Guilty.

*Swen vang* then reflecting with himself, Rise, said he to his Wife, resume your Ornaments and your Dignity. It is true, that my Virtue comes far short of my Character: But the Fault is entirely mine, and no way yours. From that time forward, *Swen vang* applied himself seriously to the Affairs of his State. He gave Audiences early in the Morning, even to the Evening, and gained the Character of being a great Prince.

An Example  
of Heroic  
Resolution in  
a Lady.

*Shin feng*, the eldest Son of *Hyen kong*, the King of *Tsin*, was traduced to his Father by the Concubine *Li ki*; and not being able to bear so black a Calumny, he put himself to Death. *Chong eul*, the Brother of *Shin feng*, and like him, the Son of a King, was afraid of having the same Villany practised upon him: So he immediately left the Kingdom with a Band of well chosen Men, the Principal of whom was *Kyew fan*. They all retired to the Kingdom of *Tsi*, where *When kong*, who was Prince of that Country, received *Chong eul* very willingly: He gave him an Equipage of twenty Chariots, an honourable Treatment, and *Tsi kyang*, a Princess of the Blood, for his Wife. *Chong eul* being very well satisfied with his Fate, laid his Account with spending the Remainder of his Life in this Manner, and willingly renounced all his Pretensions to the Crown of *Tsin*. *Kyew fan* could not relish this Indifference of his Prince, to a Kingdom to which he was the rightful Heir, and so much the less, because, since his Banishment, and the Death of his Father *Hyen kong*, which happened soon after, that Kingdom had changed several Masters, and was then in Confusion. One Day, as *Kyew fan*, and others of the Retinue of *Chong eul*, were discoursing a-part on this Head, they concluded, that the Prince must absolutely quit his Retreat, and return to take Possession of his Kingdom. A young Female Slave overheard the Conversation, and related it all to *Tsi kyang*, who immediately caused this Slave to be put to Death, and went to her Husband *Chong eul*. Prince, says she to him, all they who are of your Party take it much a mis, that you should confine yourself to live here. They are all of Opinion, that you ought to quit *Tsi*, that you may assert your undoubted Right to the Crown of *Tsin*. Yesterday, as they were deliberating upon the Means of engaging you to take this generous Resolution, a young Slave overheard them, and came and told me all. Being afraid, lest she should speak of it to some body else, and thereby create an Obstacle to the Design, I have taken care that she shall live no longer. The Secret is now safe, and you may set out without any Noise. This is the Advice of your faithful Servants, follow it immediately; and return into *Tsin*, which since you left it, has never enjoyed a Moment of Peace. That Kingdom belongs to you; put yourself in a Way to recover it, and doubtless you will have the Assistance of (\*) *Sbang ti*.

Not answered the Prince, I will not leave this Place; I design to live and to die here. The Princess redoubled her Instances, and endeavoured by several Examples to inspire her Husband with a Passion for Rule, and the Hopes of recovering his Kingdom. But seeing all was in vain, she talked over the Affair with *Kyew fan*; and they both agreed that they should fuddle the Prince, and that while he was drunk, his Attendants should carry him away on the Road to *Tsin*. The thing was executed accordingly. *Chong eul* awaking from his Drunkenness, in the first Emotions of his Anger, snatched a Lance, with which he would have pierced *Kyew fan*, who put aside the Blow. Then *Chong eul* seeing himself engaged, and besides having a Kindness for *Kyew fan*, said to him. If this Enterprize succeed, it is well, I will pardon you; but if it does not succeed, I will (+) hate you mortally. They set out, they advanced, and they arrived at *Tsin*. *Mu kong* furnish'd the Prince *Chong eul* with Troops: He entered the Territories of *Tsin*; and as soon as his Arrival was heard of, they killed *Whay kong*, who had been made King, and bestowed the Crown upon the Prince, who took the Name of *When kong*. *Tsi kyang* at the same time was declared Queen, and an Embassy was sent for her to the States of *Tsi*, with all the Honours due to her Dignity.

Uncommon  
Virtue.

*Ta tse*, the Minister of the Kingdom of *Tau*, was a great deal more anxious about his own, than about his Prince's Interest, or gaining a right Character. His Wife made many Remonstrances to him upon this Head, but he laugh'd at them all. He continued in Post for five Years, at the End of which, being well fatned with the Blood of the People, he divested himself of his Post, that he might go and peaceably enjoy his Riches. They were so great when he went away, that he had in his Train 100 Chariots: While he was yet in Post, every one of his Family killed a prodigious Number of Oxen, that they might compliment him. His Wife, in the midst of these Rejoycings, always wept, tenderly embracing her Son. The Mother of *Ta tse* was enraged at her Daughter in Law's Way of acting: How ridiculous are you, said she; why will you disturb the Feast thus? What an ill-omen'd Bird are you.

(\*) *Sbang*, signifies, Supreme: *Ti*, Emperor, Emperor, Lord.

(+) Literally it is: I could have the Heart to eat your Flesh.



I have Reason to weep, answered the Daughter in Law: So much Grandeur, so many Riches, without Merit and without Virtue, threaten this poor Infant with many great Misfortunes. *Tsi wen*, formerly Minister of the Kingdom of *Tsi*, enriched the State, and neglected to enrich himself. While alive, he was honoured by the Prince, and adored by the People: When dead, his Posterity was loaded with Honours and Wealth, and his Reputation was always the same. Alas! How little does my Husband resemble him! The Lustre of present Greatness, and the Passion of heaping up Riches, wholly employ him; nor does the Future in the least trouble him. It is said, that in the Mountains of the South there is a Leopard, who, notwithstanding his Voraciousness, in a rainy Season, will live seven Days without any Food, rather than by going abroad spoil the Lustre of his Skin. The more fat Dogs and Swine are, the nearer their Days are to an End. The Miseries of the State are yet greater than my Husband's Riches. He wanted the Art, while he was plundering the People, to win their Love. To me, he seems to be near great Misfortunes. Would to God, I and my dear Babe were well rid of them.

This Discourse put the Mother of *Ta tse* into such a Passion, that she drove away her Daughter in Law, who retired with her Child to her own Mother. That very Year in which *Ta tse* had laid down his Post, he and his Servants were unhappily assassinated by a Company of Robbers, who carried away all his Riches. They killed every one about the House, except the Mother of *Ta tse*. Her Daughter in Law immediately returned to her, that she might serve her in her old Age. Every one praised the Foresight of the Daughter in Law, and the Wisdom she had discovered in preferring Virtue to Riches. People were ravished to see, that after she had saved her own Life, and that of her Son, by her Resolution and her Foresight, that she should repair by her Affiduity in serving her Mother in Law, all that was blamable in her Manner of retiring.

*Yen tse*, the first Minister of *Tsi*, was a Man of a very short Stature, but he had amongst his Domestic, a Giant eight Foot high. The Wife of this Domestic, who likewise served *Yen tse*, was curious to see the Equipage, one Day, as that Minister went abroad in Ceremony. She remarked, that her Husband made his Horse curvett, reared himself in the Stirrups; in short, assumed great Airs, and seemed to be very proud of his vast Height. When the Cavalcade was returned, the Wife of this Giant taking him a-part, school'd him in this Manner. You are, it is true, a poor Man, but you deserve to be poor all your Life long. The Husband being surprized at this unexpected Compliment, asked her what she meant. Behold, said she, your Master: He is scarce three Foot high, and yet he fills the highest Post in the Kingdom, and acquits himself of it in such a Manner, as to procure his Prince a great deal of Glory, without adding one Inch to his own Stature: I looked at him this Morning with all his Retinue, I admired his humble, modest, thoughtful, and almost fearful Air. On the contrary, I observed that you, who tho' you are about eight Foot high, are at best, but a Slave, gave yourself Airs of Importance, and was quite full of yourself. I blush'd for you, and I immediately retired. This Man received her Reprimand very well, express'd a Resolution to amend, and asked his Wife in what Manner he should behave. Imitate, answered she, imitate your Master *Yen tse*: Happy, if you can contain as much Wisdom and Virtue in your Stature of eight Foot, as he does in that little Body: Serve him as he serves his Prince: If you love to distinguish yourself, it ought to be in that Manner. It is a common and a true Saying, that Virtue can crown the meanest with Glory: And this Glory is a great deal more solid than that of those, whom some accidental Advantages render haughty and proud.

The Husband profited so well by this Lecture, that he was quite a new Man. No body could be more humble, more modest, more diligent in his Service, more zealous for his Master, or more exact in fulfilling his Duties, than he was. *Yen tse* was struck with this Change, and asked how it came about. The Servant answered, that it was by means of his Wife, and told him the Method she had taken. *Yen tse* praised the Wisdom of the Wife, and the Docility of the Husband. He valued a Man who was capable of making a constant firm Resolution so readily; and gave him a Post, of which he acquitted himself so well, that he was promoted, and at last became a great Officer.

*Tsye yu* was a Native of the Kingdom of *Tsi*, and lived by the Labour of his Hands, but under a mean Appearance, concealed a profound Wisdom. The King, who valued Virtue, and knew how much this Subject possess'd, wanted to employ him; and sent him two Messengers for that Purpose, together with two Chariots loaded with Presents, and an Order to tell him, that the King desired that he would accept of these Presents; with the Government, and general Intendancy of that Part of his State that lies to the South of the River *Wbay*. *Tsye yu* smiled at this Compliment, but without speaking a Word, and the Messenger was obliged to return with the Presents, not being able to get any other Answer.

The Wife of *Tsye yu* was then from home, and when she returned to her House, she observed the Tracks of Chariots, which could not be far from the Gate. How! my Husband, says she entering into the House, have you forgot that Virtue and Disinterestedness, which hitherto was all your Pleasure? Chariots have come to our Door, and they have pass'd no further. Doubtless they were loaded, for the Tracks of them are very deep: How came all this, I pray you? The King, answered *Tsye yu*, not knowing my Character, and thinking that I was of some Value, wanted to give me the Government of a Part of his Kingdom. He sent a Man on purpose with two Chariots loaded with Presents, to invite me to accept of this Post. You ought to refuse both the Presents and the Post, answered the Wife.

*Tsye yu*

Example of  
a Wife's love  
of Retirement.



*Tjje yu* wanting to know if his Wife spoke sincerely, said to her; We all act under the Influence of a natural Inclination for Honours and Riches. Why should we not accept of them when they come in our Way? And why should you blame me for not being insensible of the King's Favours? Alas! answered the Wife in Tears, Justice, Honesty, Innocence, and to say all in one Word, Virtue is much safer in a retired Life and a decent Poverty, than amidst the Hurry of Business and the Enticements of Riches. Was it wise in you to make so dangerous an Exchange? We have now long lived together; your Labour has furnished us with Food, and mine with Rayment; and thus we have suffered neither Hunger nor Cold. What can be more charming than a Life thus equally innocent and peaceful? Ought you not to have persevered in it? Perhaps you have not considered the Dependence and Slavery that is inseparable from these Presents and Posts: With Respect to Virtue, they deprive a Man of Part of his Liberty; in other Respects, they are often incompatible with perfect Honesty and exact Equity.

*Tjje yu* then being satisfy'd with his Wife; You may be easy, reply'd he, I have neither accepted of Post nor Present; I congratulate you upon it, answer'd the Wife; but somewhat is still left undone, for it is not quite right to be a Member of a State, and to refuse to serve the Prince, when he desires our Services: Let us retire and live elsewhere. They then pack'd up their little Furniture, chang'd their Names on the Road, that they might not be known, and removed into another Country. They who were afterwards acquainted with what *Tjje yu* did, praised his Disinterestedness: But above all, they bestow'd vast Encomiums on his Wife; who without yielding to her Husband in any thing, discover'd a greater Foresight, and more elevated Sentiments.

Another.

*Lay tse*, having early retired from all the Trouble of the World, led a peaceable Life with his Wife, in a solitary Retreat. The Walls of his House were composed of Reeds, and the Roof of Thatch; a Bed of plain Boards, and a Matt of Straw, were all the Furniture of his Chamber; and a coarse Stuff served to cloath both his Wife and him. Their ordinary Food was Pease, which they sowed and reaped with their own Hands. It happened, that at the Court of *Tjü*, as they were talking of the antient Sages, someone mentioned *Lay tse* as being equal to any one of them in Virtue: Upon this, the King was desirous to have him at his Court; and to send him Presents to invite him thither, but his Majesty being given to understand, that probably *Lay tse* would not come, he resolv'd to go in Person, and to find him out. When he came to his Hutt, he found him making Baskets for carrying Earth. I am, said the King humbly to him, a Man without Understanding, and without Wisdom. Yet I am charged with the Weight of a State, which I have received from my Ancestors; help me to support it, I have come hither to invite you. No, Sir, answered *Lay tse*, I am a Husbandman, and a Clown entirely unworthy of the Honour, and still more incapable of the Employment, which your Majesty is pleas'd to offer me; I am young, and almost helpless, said the King, renewing his Instances; you can form me to Virtue: I sincerely want to improve by your Understanding and your Example: *Lay tse* appeared to be satisfied, and the King retired.

The Wife of *Lay tse* being return'd from gather'd some Wood for Fuel: What did this Man want, said she, what is the Meaning of these Chariots whose Tracts I see? It is the King himself in Person, answered *Lay tse*, who is come to press me to take the Government of the State under him. And have you consented to this, replies the Wife? How could I refuse it, answers the Husband? As for my share, answers the Wife, I know the Proverb which says, *he who eats another Man's Bread, submits himself to suffer his Blows*. This may be well applied to those who are about a Prince's Person: To day, they are in Credit and Opulence, to morrow, disgraced and punished: And all this according to the Whims of their Masters. You are then going to put yourself in the Power of another? I wish that you never have much cause to repent this, tho' I much fear you shall. As for me, I declare that I never will expose my self to these Dangers: My Liberty is too dear to me, that I should thus part with it, suffer me to leave you; upon this, she went out and proceeded on the Road. Her Husband cried out to her to return, and told her, that he had not yet determin'd himself; She would not deign so much as to look back: But going at one stretch towards the South of the River *Kyang*, there she stopp'd. Then finding some Uneasiness within her with regard to the Manner in which she was to live, she answer'd herself in these Terms. The Birds and other Animals, every Year let fall more Feathers and Hairs, than will be sufficient to serve me for Cloaths; and there is more Corn and Fruit left in the Fields, than will be sufficient to nourish me.

*Lay tse*, being touched with the Discourse and Example of his Wife, followed her, notwithstanding his Engagement, to the South of *Kyang*, a great many People followed them, and transported their Families thither: In less than a Year he formed a new Village, which in three Years grew to be a large Town.

Another.

The King of *Tjü*, having heard the Wisdom and Virtue of *Tu leng tse chong* much praised; wanted to make him his Minister, and sent off a Man to him from his Court, to make him this proposal. *Tu leng tse chong* having heard him, begged the Messenger to wait for a Moment, and that he would then come and give him an Answer. He then went into the Inner-part of his House and addressing himself to his Wife: The King, says he to her, wants to make me one of his Ministers; what is your Opinion of this Proposal? If I consent, to morrow we shall be attended with a numerous Retinue, and we shall have a pompous Equipage: Our Tables shall be well served, and every other thing in Proportion: I say again, what is your Opinion? For many Years,



Years, answered the Wife, we have gained our Livelihood by a little Trade that we have carried on, and we have wanted for none of the Necessaries of Life. Yet you have had leisure enough for Reading, and from time to time to enjoy this fine Air: Even when you work, you are never without your Books on one side of you; your *Kin* on the other, and a placid Joy in the Middle. The Equipage of which you speak, to me is but an empty Pomp; as to the Table, it may be set out with exquisite Dainties, which at present you want: But is that worth your charging yourself with so many Cares? If you accept what is offered you, you must at the same time renounce that calm Joy which you taste at present; and you will be happy, if in the present Situation of Things, you escape a fatal Death.

*Tse chong* then came out and told the Messenger, that he could not accept of the Honour he did him, and that he begged the King would pitch upon some body else to fill that Dignity; he then packed up his Furniture, that he might retire elsewhere with his Wife; and in order to be more concealed, he changed his first Trade into that of a Gardener.

*Chong eul*, the second Son of *Hyen kong* the King of *Tsin*, left the Kingdom, that he might avoid the Artifices of the Concubine *Li ki*, who had already by her Calumnies ruined his elder Brother *Shin feng*. When he was retiring to the Kingdom of *Tsi*, he passed through the State of *Tsau*. The King of that Country, far from doing honour to *Chong eul*, kept himself at a Distance in a retired Place, from whence, thro' a transparent Curtain, he could distinctly see *Chong eul* and his Retinue, as they passed along. The Prince was not singular in his Curiosity, for the Ladies of the Place had the same. One of them, the Wife of *Hi fu ki*, a great Man in the Kingdom, having seen *Chong eul* pass by, and considered the Aspect of those who attended him, called for her Husband with some Earnestness, and said to him; This fugitive Prince is so young, that no Judgment can yet be formed of his Character. But his Retinue is composed of a chosen Band. Above all, there are three who seem to me of distinguished Merit, and they probably are Noblemen of that Kingdom: I am much deceived, if these People don't find the means of establishing the Prince in his Throne, to which when he shall arrive, he doubtless will resent the good or bad Treatment of the States, thro' which he passes, in this his Retreat. Our Prince, who uses him so haughtily, will be the first that feels his Resentment; and in that Case, you must be involved in his Misfortune. One of our vulgar Proverbs says; *If you want to know how the Son will turn out, look upon the Father or the Tutor*. Another Proverb says; *One may know a great Man by seeing his Attendants, tho' he does not see himself*. By these Rules we may judge, that this fugitive Prince will one Day be a great King, and in a Condition to revenge the Affronts he now receives. Take my Advice, and pay your Court to him.

*Fu ki* believed his Wife; and having no time to prepare any thing else, made the Prince a Present of excellent Wine: And to enhance the Present, he placed a Diamond of vast Value upon the Vessel. *Chong eul* received the Wine, and returned to him the Diamond. When he was restored to his Father's Throne, the first Enterprize he undertook, was to ravage *Tsau*, that he might revenge the Neglect which the Prince of that Country had shewn to his Person. But he took care to give a Protection to *Fu ki*; prohibiting any one not only from doing him any Insult, but from even passing the Bounds of his Enclosure. Every one endeavoured to carry what they held dearest, to his House; some their Fathers, some their Mothers; and all who fled thither were safe. The Orders of the King of *Tsin*, in this, were so punctually obey'd, that there was a public Market at the Gate, where Goods were quietly bought and sold, as in Time of Peace. *Fu ki* gave his Wife the Honour of the wise Course he had taken, and she received great Encomiums.

*Shu ngau*, while an Infant, one Day, as he was walking, met a two headed Serpent, which he killed and buried. When he returned home, he went a crying to his Mother. What makes you cry Child, said the Mother? Because, answered the Boy, I have heard it said, that whoever sees a Serpent with two Heads, dies. I happened on one to Day, as I was walking abroad. What became of the Serpent, said the Mother? I killed it, replied the Child; and least any one should be so misfortunate after me, as to see the same Object, I buried it. Don't cry Child, answer'd she, the Sight of that Serpent will never kill you: The Motive which made you bury it, defeats all the malignant Qualities that were in it. There is no Misfortune but what Charity can avert. *Tyen*, tho' raised far above us, hears and sees all that passes here below. Does not the *Shu king* say? "*Whang tyen* protects Virtue wherever it is, without Acceptation of Persons." Do not cry, my Child, you may be easy; you will live and arrive at a high Rank. In effect, *Shu ngau* became afterwards one of the first Officers of his Country *Tsin*. This Prediction which was verif'd in the Event, did great honour to his Mother; and she was looked upon, as one very well versed in the Ways of *Tyen*.

*Pé tsong*, by his Wit, arrived early at the highest Posts in the Court of *Tsin*: But he carried about him a Failing which is dangerous every where, and still more dangerous at a Court, than elsewhere. From an Excess of Honesty, he refused every thing that was advanced, if he saw the least Glimpse of Falshood in it: And he did this with so little Caution, that he frequently covered People with Confusion. His Wife, who knew his Failing, was incessantly exhorting him to correct it. Husband, said she to him, it is commonly said, that People have a natural Inclination for their Prince, even before he does them any good. But it is likewise said, that a Robber has a natural Aversion for the Person he robs, even tho' that Person has done him no harm. This proceeds from the People always expecting Good at the Hand of their Prince, and the

Character of  
indiscreet ho-  
nesty in a  
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And of vir-  
tuous Pru-  
dence in a  
Wife.



the Robber is always expecting Harm from the Person whom he robs. I conjure you to apply this Reflection to yourself, and be persuaded if there are some who love Honesty wherever it is found, there are many more who hate it, because they fear it. Your Honesty is feared at least by every Man, who is not equally honest himself. You know there are a great Number of these: And they are so many Enemies which you have, who will make you sooner or later feel the Effects of their Hatred: You ought to take a little more care of your Behaviour towards them.

Notwithstanding the wife Advices of his Wife, *Pé tsong* marched on at his ordinary Pace. One Day as he returned from the Palace, he appeared more gay than usual. I think, said his Wife to him, that I see in your Face, a Joy and Satisfaction which I have not before observed. May I know the Cause? To Day, replied *Pé tsong* hugging himself, I was at Court with a great many Officers of my Rank. The Conversation, in which I had a good Share, lasted for a long time, and all of them unanimously did me the honour to compare me to the Philosopher *Yang tse*.

For my Share, answered his Wife, I have sometimes heard Persons who speak little, and who do every thing in a simple Manner, compar'd to certain Trees who have but little Beauty, but whose Fruits are excellent. I should love a Comparison of that Kind much better for you, than the one you are so vain of. For as they compare you to *Yang tse*, *Yang tse* himself may be compared to a fair Tree without any Fruit. *Yang tse*, it is said, speaks a great deal, without taking much care about what he says. And this proves very troublesome to him in its Consequences. In this Respect, the Comparison holds just enough, but I don't see any Reason why you should be vain of it.

Is not this, answered *Pé tsong*, the same Tune always thrumm'd over and over again? You adapt every thing to your own Notions. I want to reclaim you in good earnest; and the Method I design to pursue, is this. I will give an Entertainment here to my Collegues, and before the Entertainment, we will enter into a Conversation. You shall, from your inner Apartment, hear all that passes, and you shall own yourself to be in the wrong. With all my Heart, said the Wife, I am satisfied. The Day was then fixed, and they had a long Conversation, which was followed by a much longer Entertainment. *Pé tsong* being, as usual, full of his Success, after he had seen his Company go away, went to his Wife, that he might have her Opinion of the Matter. The Wife saw the Humour her Husband was in, and knew that it would be in vain to endeavour at that time to disabuse him. She therefore resolv'd to dissemble and seemingly to agree with him; I own indeed, says she, that your Companions esteem you, and give you the Preference with Pleasure. However, being very firmly persuaded, that her Husband had every thing to fear from the Enemies he had made, she took another Way, without his perceiving it, to withdraw him from their Vengeance: And for this Purpose, took Advantage of the good Humour in which she had put her Husband, by seeming to be of his way of thinking.

After all, adds she, these Praises which they bestow upon you, however sincere they may be, ought never to render you blind to the present State of Affairs. The Kingdom is threatened with great Confusion. Do you take your Measures so as not to be ruined in it? You know very well that the Royal Family is divided, and that the Division encreases every Day. In such junctures as these, the safest Way is to retire elsewhere without any Noise: But this can never be done so long as you are in Post. Therefore let the Storm which threatens us, be never so dreadful, we ought to wait for it with Courage, but without being (\*) lulled asleep ourselves. The Division amongst the Princes is so great, that the worst Part we can act, is that of joining with no Party. *Chew li* is a Prince of great Merit; and he either will get the better, or at least he will find some Resource. For my Share, if my Advice is taken, you will join yourself with these who are at the Head of his Party, and engage yourself with him.

*Pé tsong* having mused upon this for some time; you are in the Right of it, said he to his Wife. In Consequence of this Advice, he united himself strictly with *Pi yang*, the Head of the Party of *Chew li*, at the very time that the Enemies of *Pé tsong* were about to ruin him by a Calumny, which certainly would have cost him his Head. The Division in the Royal Family broke out soon after. *Pi yang* conveyed *Chew li* out of the Kingdom: And *Pé tsong* joining them, shunned the Blow which he was about to have received, before he was aware. They who were acquainted with this Conduct, praised the Wisdom and Foresight of the Wife of *Pé tsong*.

*Ling kong*, the King of *Wey*, one time discoursing with his Queen, pretty early in the Night, they heard a great Noise of Horses and Chariots, which came from the East: When this Cavalcade drew near the Palace, the Noise ceased all of a sudden, and sometime after began towards the West. Whence can this happen, said the King by way of discourse? Doubtless, answered the Queen, it is *Ti pe yü*. How do you know that, said the King, so as to be positive of it? I know, replied the Queen, that the Rite requires every Man to alight before the Gate of the Palace: And they who carry their Respect as far as it can be carried, order Matters so with their Retinue, as that they make very little or no Noise, when they pass by the Gate. I likewise know, that a good Subject with Regard to his Prince, like a good Son with Regard to his Parents, does not serve him in Appearance only, but discharges his Duty when it is dark, as well as when it is broad Day. But I know none but *Ti pe yü* in your Kingdom, who has this Exactness: For which Reason, I assure you it is he that has passed. The King being curious

to

(\*) She thought that if the Prince left the Kingdom, as he actually did, her Husband, by following him, would be sheltered from the Vengeance of his Enemies.



to know the Truth, left the Queen for a Moment, informed himself who it was that had past by, and found that it was actually *Ti pe yá*.

However, returning to the Room in which the Queen was; Madam, said he smiling, I am puzzled, but you have not hit upon the Matter. The Queen then filling out a Bumper, and presenting it to the King, Since I am deceived, said she, you ought to be joyful. Why joyful, said the King? Because, answered the Queen, only one *Ti pe yá* hath hitherto appeared in your Kingdom: And you have discovered another as punctual as he is. On this Account, I wish you Joy. The Knowledge of this is worth all the Pains you have been at: For upon the Virtue of your Officers, depends the Happiness of your State. This Answer at once surprized and pleased the King. He discovered his Satisfaction to the Queen, and told her that there was indeed no other *Ti pe yá*. You guessed right, continued he, for it was he who passed by. The thing took Air, and did honour to the Queen.

*Ling kong*, the King of *Tsi*, at first married *Sbing ki* of the Kingdom of *Lú*. By her he had a Son named *Quang*, whom he designed should be his Successor. *Sbing ki* being dead, *Ling kong* took two Daughters of the Prince of *Song*; the elder *Chong tse*, as his Wife; the younger *Yong tse*, as his Concubine. *Yong tse* endeavoured to set aside *Quang* from the Succession, and to substitute in his Room *Tsú*, the Son of Queen *Chong tse*, her Sister. *Yong tse* actually succeeded in persuading *Ling kong* to agree to this Change, but the Queen *Chong tse* endeavoured to dissuade him from it, by representing that it was contrary to Custom, and that these Experiments had always fatal Consequences. *Quang*, said she, is the elder, he is appointed to succeed, and why should he be degraded without any Reason? This is deliberately seeking for Misfortunes. If I repent of it, answered the King, that is my Business. *Chong tse* in vain opposed it after this, and was ridiculed, as opposing the Advancement of her own Son. *Ling kong* pushed on by the intriguing *Yong tse*, declared *Quang* to be degraded from his Rank, appointed *Tu* to succeed him, and gave him *Kau lyew* for his Governor. Some time after, when *Ling kong* fell sick, and was at the Point of Death, *Kau lyew* made some Steps to prepare the Subjects for the advancement of *Tu*, but did not meet with the desired Success, for the Eyes of *Ling kong* were scarcely closed, when *Tsui shu* cut the Throat of *Kau lyew*, and placed *Quang* upon the Throne. It was then seen, that the Queen *Chong tse* was in the Right; and every one praised her Equity and Wisdom.

*Kong shing tse pi*, of the Kingdom of *Lú*, having inter'd his elder Brother, was touched, and even wearied out with the Lamentations of his Sister in Law. Presenting himself before the Gate of the Widow's Apartment, with a design to comfort her, he told her by way of Compliment, that she ought to moderate her Affliction, for he would take care that she should be again happily married. However, he let several Years pass without minding his Promise. The King of *Sá* having offered to make him one of his Ministers, he consulted with his Sister in Law, if he should accept of it or not. No! answered she, you ought not. But why ought I not, replies *Tse pi*? Do you ask why, said she? My Husband was scarce buried, when you came and told me by way of Comfort, That you would marry me again. This was ridiculously unseasonable, and a flagrant Violation of the Rites. My Mourning has been over for several Years, and you have neither done nor said any thing, in order to know my present Disposition. This is not acting like a Man of Sense. Can a Man who is capable of these Kind of Faults, sustain with Honour, the Post of a Minister? For my Share, I think he cannot.

If you wanted to be married again, answered *Tse pi*, why did you not tell me so yourself? A Woman ought never to make these Kind of Advances, answered the Widow: They upon whom she depends, ought to make them for her. Besides, what I have said, does not proceed from the Desire I have to a second Marriage, for it has always been my Aversion. It is only to make you sensible, how incapable you are of the Post that is offered you. A Man, who pretends to judge of Colours with his Eyes shut, must be deceived. Is not this true? I tell you Sir, the Cases are parallel. If a Man like you, who does not understand even the most common Things of Life, should pretend to be a Minister of State, he cannot fail to draw down upon himself the Curses of Men, and the Chastisement of *Tyen*. Beware of this, and take my Advice, not to accept of the Post.

*Tse pi* did not mind his Sister in Law, whom he heard only by way of Amusement. He accepted of the Post of Minister, and before the Year was expired, he died under the Hands of an Executioner. When he was dying, he did Justice to the Zeal and the Wisdom of his Sister in Law, whose Advice he had looked upon as a Piece of Female Revenge.

*Ngay vang*, King of *Wey*, seeing the Hereditary Prince at an Age of having Children, caused young Ladies to be sought out, who might be raised to the Rank of his Wives. Amongst those who were brought to Court, there was one that pleased *Ngay vang*, who sent the others to the Palace of the Hereditary Prince, and caused her to enter into his own. *Tu eul*, a Lord of the Court, told this Fact to his Mother. That is impossible, said she, it is a strange Disorder. You ought to oppose it strenuously. Alas! The Kingdom has powerful Enemies, whose Forces are vastly superior to hers. A perfect Virtue may supply some Deficiency in Point of Strength; this has frequently happened: But what must become of a State, whose Prince is destitute both of Strength and Virtue? The poor Prince does not perceive, for want of Understanding, he does not perceive the Wrong he does. You, and your Colleagues, ought to make him sensible of it. The Interest of your Families being joined to the Welfare of the State, you have a double Obligation upon you, to admonish him, that you may prevent, as much as lies in your Power, the Consequences

Love of Justice in a Queen.

A Widow's Zeal for her Prince's Honour.



Consequences of such an Injustice. If others are too cowardly to speak out, you, my Son, ought not to be wanting in your Duty. Speak out, this is a Duty you owe to the Prince, of whom you are a Servant, and to the State of which you are a Member.

*Yu cul*, animated by his Mother's Words, sought a favourable Opportunity of discoursing with the Prince. But before it presented, he was sent to the Court of *Tsi*, upon a pressing Negotiation. His Mother seeing that her Son had left the Court, without being able to speak with the Prince, caused herself to be carried to the Gate of the Palace. There she lifted aloft a Petition as usual, the Contents of which were, *The Widow of Kyo yo has somewhat at Heart, which troubles her. She wants to communicate it to his Majesty.* The King ordered she should be introduced to his Presence. As soon as she entered, addressing herself to the King, Sir, said she, your Servant has always heard the exact Observance of the Rites, especially of those due from Man to Woman, reckoned among those things that are of the greatest Importance to the Good of a State. Our Sex has commonly more Softness than Resolution. Doubtless on that Account it is, that the Rites ordain, that Maidens should be early married. Fifteen Years of Age is the common Time of betrothing, and twenty, of consummating the Marriage. But according to these same Rites, when a Maiden receives the Presents that are made her, she is looked upon as the Spouse of him, on whose Account she accepts them. There are certain Ceremonies to be observed on this Head; and in all Times, our wisest Princes have given the Pattern; Experience, having often shewn us that thereon depends the Happiness and the Unhappiness of States. As much as *Ton shan* contributed to establish the *Hya* Dynasty, so much did *Mo bi* promote its Ruin. We may say the same thing of *Sin* and *Tan ki*, with Regard to the *Shang* Dynasty: And of *Tay tse* and *Pau tse*, with Regard to the *Chew* Dynasty. Yet you, Sir, contrary to the Rites, take to yourself a Wife who was destined for your Heir; and without remembering that your Kingdom is surrounded with powerful Neighbours, and cannot subsist if the least Confusion happen, you yourself are introducing a Disorder.

The King having attentively heard this Remonstrance: *I am in the Wrong*, said he: And immediately he caused the Woman he designed to keep for himself, to remove to the Apartment where the Wives of the Hereditary Prince were. He gave a considerable Present to this Widow, who alone had the Courage to admonish him. And when *Yu cul* had returned from executing his Commission, he advanced him from the Regard he had to his Mother. Ever after that time, *Ngay yang* applied himself a great deal more to, and was more exact in, all his Duties. He established such Order in his Household and in his Kingdom, that his Neighbours, tho' powerful, and very ill affected towards him, durst never attack him. This Action did a great deal of honour to the virtuous Mother of *Yu cul*.

A young Woman of *Shin*, was promised to a young Man of *Fong*. When they were both marriageable, the young Man and his Relations came to demand the young Lady, but without making the regulated Presents, or observing the Ceremonies; so that the betrothed Spouse refused to leave her Father's House. As they were pressing her to get over these Formalities. It is a common Saying, answered she, *That a good Beginning is of Importance in all Undertakings; and that a Fault which at first appears slight, may have fatal Consequences.* What holds true, continued she, in every thing, can it prove false in Marriage? Were not the Duties betwixt Man and Wife, the first that subsisted among Mankind? And are they not the most important of all the Duties of civil Life? Besides, the End of Marriage is to support Families, and as much as possible, to perpetuate the Honours prescribed by the Rites to our Ancestors, by giving them Posterity. But it is a common and a true Saying, *That the Water, whose Spring is muddy, can never have a clear Stream.* Therefore I never shall marry against the Rites. A Law-suit was then commenced, and she suffered a great deal, but she continued obstinate, in saying, that she would rather part with her Life, than give her Consent. So she lived a Maid all her Life.

*Pe i*, the Daughter of *Swen kong*, King of *Lü*, was promised to *Kong quang*, the Prince of *Song*. The time appointed for the Nuptials being come, *Kong quang* did not himself come to take away *Pe i*, and was satisfied with sending a Nobleman as his Proxy. But *Pe i* refused to go along with him; tho' at last, in Obedience to her Father and Mother, she consented. At the End of three Months, the Prince of *Song* having performed the usual Ceremonies, of seeing his new Spouse in the Hall of his Ancestors, he wanted to consummate the Marriage. But *Pe i* refused to allow him, because he had not observed the Rites in fetching her away. In order to induce her to consent, he was obliged to procure a pressing Order from the King her Father, and the Queen her Mother. Ten Years after, she became a Widow. In this State of Life, as before, she preserved always an extreme Attachment to the Rites.

One Night her Palace being on Fire; Save yourself, Madam, cried one, the Fire gains Ground. According to the Rites, answered she, a Woman in my Condition, ought not to appear even in her Hall, without two of her Maids of Honour. I wait for them, and then I will remove: The one came, but the other did not appear. They cried to the Princess again, to save herself, but she would not consent till the last Extremity: All the Princes of that Age, praised and admired her Constancy.

A Lady of *Song*, being married to a Native of *Tjay*, the Husband was seized with a dangerous Disease. The Mother of the Wife, wanted to recal her Daughter home to her. No! answered the young Lady, I look upon this Accident that has happen'd to my Husband, as happening to myself. Besides, it is usual for a Woman to live and die in the same House where she



has been once placed. I will take care not to remove, for a troublesome Distemper with which my Husband is unhappily seized. When our Relations are sick, if the Physicians prescribe for them the Herb *Few* and the Herb *I*, we immediately go to gather them; and however noxious the Smell of these Herbs are, we fill our Hands with them, and put them into our Bosom if it is needful, in order to extract from them the Juice: Ought I to do less for my Husband? Every one praised this young Woman; and her Mother made what she said upon the Herbs *Few* and *I*, the Subject of an Ode which she composed in her Praises.

*Mong i*, the Daughter of *Wba*, was promised to *Hyau kong*, the Prince of *Tsi*. This Prince frequently endeavoured to get the Bride home without so many Ceremonies, but she would never consent to this. As *Hyau kong* delay'd making the nuptial Presents, and doing the usual Ceremonies, he was nick-named *the Chaste*. This hastened him to defray the Expences of his Nuptials; and he came according to the Rites, in Person, to carry *Mong i* from the House of her Father *Wba*. *Mong i* being informed three times, that *Hyau kong* was come in Person, suffered herself to be conducted to her Spouse's House. When she came thither, every thing passed according to the Rites, and her Delicacy had Reason to be satisfied.

But some Years after, *Hyau kong* going to *Lyang sye*, wanted *Mong i* to go along with him; the Chariot which carried her over-turned, and broke in Pieces, yet *Mong i* was not wounded. *Hyau kong* immediately sent off one of the best Chariots in his Equipage, to conduct her back to *Tsi*, for fear of some other Accident happening to her. But this Chariot not being a Woman's, *Mong i* would not go into it; and speaking through the Curtain which she had drawn up, to the Officer, who was sent to her by the King: A Woman of my Rank, said she, never appears, even in a Hall, without her two Maids of Honour. Does she pass from one Apartment into another? She must let the Noise, which she makes on purpose with the Ornaments of her Cloaths, to be heard. Tho' she seldom goes abroad; yet when she does, the Rites prescribe what shall be her Cloaths, and what her Equipage. All this is wisely established, both for preserving exterior Appearances, as for keeping the Mind and the Heart upright. But this Chariot that is brought me, is not in Order, and I cannot use it. To stay longer here, is still worse. Death is the speediest Course, and I will rather die than do any thing against the Rites. The Officer galloped back, to report this Discourse to the King. A suitable Chariot was immediately fitted up, in which *Mong i* returned to *Tsi*.

*Chau vang*, King of *Tsi*, going abroad in a Voyage of Pleasure, carried along with him one of his Wives, a Daughter of the King of *Tsi*. One Day, as he left her in a pretty agreeable little Island, on the Banks of the great River *Kyang*, he received News, that the Water had risen very high, all of a sudden. Upon this, he immediately dispatched some Lords, to bring the Princess from the Place she was then in. These Lords rode in Post-haste to the Princess, to desire her to make all the haste she could out of the Island, and to repair to the Place where the King was, and whether they had Orders to conduct her. When the King calls for me, answered she, he gives his Seal to them whom he sends off. Have you the Seal? The Fear, least the Waters should overtake you, answered they, made us set out in haste, and neglect that Precaution. Then you must return, answered she, for I won't follow you without it. As they represented to her, that the Rise of the Water was very sudden, and in all Appearance would be very great; if they should return for the Seal, it would be impossible for them to return in time. I see plainly, answered she, that by following you, I save my Life, and by remaining here, I perish. But to pass over a Matter of such Importance, that I may escape Death, would be to fail in Fidelity and Courage at the same time. It is much better for me to die. They then set out in haste to get the Seal; but notwithstanding all the Diligence they used, the Island was laid under Water when they returned, and the Princess, with all her Attendants were drowned. The King regretted her mightily, but he yet more praised her Fidelity and Constancy.

*Pe kong*, King of *Tsi*, being dead, the King of *U* being informed of the Wisdom, Virtue, and Beauty of his Widow, sent off a Nobleman to her with a large Sum, two Diamonds of a vast value, and thirty Chariots well equipt, to court her for his Wife. In the Life-time of my Spouse, said she, while he was acting abroad, I did my best to regulate the Inside of his House; I likewise was employed with his other Wives, in the Works that are proper for our Sex. At present, having lost my Husband, I design to pass the Remainder of the Days that *Tyen* shall give me, near his Tomb. I know the Value of the Rank which your Master offers me: His Presents to invite me, are magnificent, but I cannot accept of the Honour he offers me, without rendering myself unworthy of it; for it would make me forget my deceased Husband, whom I want to honour in Death as I used to do in Life. The Grief of having lost him, ought to have deprived me of Life; and it is failing in Point of Affection, that I have been able to survive him: I often reproach myself for it, but I will take care not to forget myself so far, as to marry another. Carry back your King's Presents, and retire yourself. The King of *U*, praised the Resolution of this Princess, and honoured her with the Name of (\*) *Chin ki*.

*Ling vang*, the King of *Wey*, died without leaving Children by the Queen his Wife, but left a Son by another of his Wives of the second Order, who was immediately declared King. This Promotion made no Alteration in the Mother, who knew how to preserve her Rank. She honoured and served the Queen Dowager, without in the least relaxing in her Cares. And the young King, after his Mother's Example, did the same. At the End of eight Years, the Queen

(\*) *Chin*, signifies Chaste; *Ki*, a Queen, famous in first Antiquity.

A Queen dies to satisfy an obdurate Ob-servance of the Rites.

Race instance of Humility in the Wife, and Concubine of a King. taking



taking the Mother of this Prince aside, said to her: I am charmed, both with the Manner in which you treat me, and the Care with which you inculcate on the Prince your Son, the same Sentiments: Perhaps I have been in the Wrong to admit of your Services so long, at least, it is now time to return you Thanks. Your Son is on the Throne; and it is not convenient, that the Mother of a King should serve in the Quality of a second Wife. I am a Widow without Children. It is enough for me, if I am suffered to pass the Remainder of my Days quietly here. I am positively resolved to quit this Apartment of Honour, to yield it to you, and never enter into it but at certain times, that I may have the Happiness to see you.

What are you telling me, answered the Mother of the young King? Give me Leave to say, that you have not thought well of the Affair; the King your Spouse, and my Master, had the Misfortune to die young: A hard Fate for a Prince! He was not so happy as to have a Son by his Wife; he had only one by me, who was but his Servant: This was another Matter of Grief to him when he was dying. What! would you give him a third after his Death, by degrading his Wife, to honour his Servant? Do you reflect upon this? It is a common and a true Saying, that the Zeal of a good Subject, and the Piety of a dutiful Son, ought never to relax with the Number of Years. It is as little allowable for me to be weary of the Rank which I hold with Regard to you. It is my Duty to honour and to serve you. If there is any Honour in having given a Successor to your Husband, this Honour cannot free me from what I owe you, as his Wife.

Do not let us talk more, answers the Queen, of what you and I were under the late King, my Husband. His, and your Son, is now upon the Throne: Therefore, notwithstanding the Frankness with which you offer to pay me Honours and Services, I cannot accept of them, without doing a Kind of Injury to the Prince, in the Person of his Mother.

The Concubine made no Reply: But going to the King her Son, Sir, said she, I have always heard, that a wise Man ought never to suffer any thing that is irregular: Regularity, in my Opinion, partly consists, in maintaining the ancient Rites, so as that every one may keep their proper Rank. Yet the Queen Consort of your Father, wants to quit her own Apartment, and presses me to take upon me the Rank which she holds at Court. This is pressing me to act irregularly: But I will rather die than do it: And as I see the Queen cannot be moved by my Remonstrances, I will move her by my Death. When she had spoken thus, she put herself in a Posture to give herself a mortal Blow, but she was prevented. The King then dissolving into Tears, endeavoured to appease her, but she would not consent to live, till the Queen, being informed of her Resolution, promised her, but with regret, to preserve her own Rank, and to allow her to serve and honour her, as formerly. All the World was surprized and charmed, to see how forward these two Women were to pay a mutual Deference, the one to the other. This deserves the Name of Wisdom, and of a Virtue worthy the Encomiums of all Ages.

Surprising  
Effect of  
Chastity.

A young Lady of singular Beauty, and of approved Merit, lost her Husband when she was very young. The richest Men in the Kingdom courted her very earnestly, but all in vain. The King himself hearing of her Virtue and Beauty, courted her in form, and sent to her a great Officer, with the ordinary Presents. Her Answer was as follows: My Husband, tis true, soon left me a Widow, but I never will have another. I have wished to have followed him, but he has left me a Son whom I must educate. Many have courted me, but all in vain; and when I thought myself delivered from their Importunities, the King himself renews them. Is it possible still to doubt, whether I will forget my deceased Husband, so far as to take another, and to sacrifice my Duty to a splendid Fortune? I want to prove in good earnest, that I am not capable of so much Meanness, and to undeceive every one, who does not know my Sentiments upon this Head.

After she had spoken in this Manner, she took a Mirror in one Hand, and a Razor in the other, and cut off her own Nose. Now, says she, I am punished, for having suffered so many People to doubt of my Resolution. Carry this Answer to the King, That if I do not put myself to Death, it is because I have not Courage to leave my Son at so tender an Age. What I have done, is sufficient. It was doubtless for my Beauty, that the King courted me. Tell him, that my Face is now only the Figure of Deformity and Ugliness, and then he will easily desist. The Officer related to the King what he had seen. The Prince praised the Resolution of the young Widow, gave her the Title of *Kau king*, and decreed her other Honours.

A young Officer of *Chin*, married a Girl of sixteen Years of Age; but a War suddenly breaking out soon after, he was obliged to serve in the Campaign. Before he left his Wife, he said to her: It is uncertain whether I shall live or die. How can I be sure that I shall escape the Dangers of this War? I leave you my Mother in Law, who has no other Child but me; in case I die, what shall become of her? Do you promise me, that you will take care of her? Yes, answers the Wife, I do promise.

A faithful  
Widow.

The Officer having actually died in the War, the young Widow took very great care of her Mother in Law, working Night and Day with her own Hands, that she might want for nothing. The three Years of Mourning being over, as she was young and childless, her Father and Mother wanted to bring her back to their House, that they might marry her a second Time, but she rejected the Proposal with great Resolution. Faithfulness and Justice, said she to them, are our principal Duties; when you married me, you yourselves recommended nothing to me, so much as Affection and Obedience to my Husband. But you know that that dear Man when he went to the War, where he lost his Life, express'd to me the Uneasiness his Piety gave him, with  
Regard



Regard to what should become of his Mother in case she lost him; and asked me if I would promise him to take care of her. This I promised; but besides my promise, there is a Duty incumbent on a Daughter in Law, to serve her Mother in Law. My Husband's Death, far from freeing me from this Duty, puts me under fresh Obligations to perform it. Not to discharge it would render me guilty of Unfaithfulness and Injustice, my dearest Husband will pass for an undutiful Son, who had neglected to provide effectually for the Support of his Mother, and who lightly trusted to a faithful Wife. Let me die rather than expose my Husband or my self to such Reproaches.

The Father and the Mother, seeing the Daughter resolute, spoke no more of marrying her a second Time. The Mother in Law liv'd 28 Years longer, she supplying her Necessities, and diligently serving her, to her last Breath. And after her Death, she paid her the last Duties, and omitted nothing with Regard to the appointed Ceremonies. The Constancy, Faithfulness, and Diligence of this Widow in serving her Mother in Law, procured her a great deal of Esteem. The Magistrate of *Whay yang* related them at Court, and the then reigning Emperor, sent her forty Pounds Weight of Gold, gave her the Title of (\*) *Hyau sú*, and decreed her other Honours.

*Vú vong* King of *Lú*, having gone to pay his Homages to the Emperor *Suen gang*, caused his eldest Son *Ko*, and his second Son *Hi*, to attend him. *Suen gang* had no great Notion of the elder of these two Brothers, but took a great liking for the younger, so that he appointed him Successor to the King his Father. In effect, when *Vú kong* died, *Hi* mounted his Throne, and reigned under the Name of *I kong*. He had a Son who was afterwards King, and named *Hyau kong*, but his Name in his infancy was *Ching*. This Child being yet in his Cradle, *Pé yu* the Son of (A) *Ko*, formed a Faction in the Kingdom, kill'd his Uncle *I kong* who was then reigning, caused himself be proclaimed King by his Party, and broke into the Palace; that he might dispatch the little *Ching*.

At the first Noise of this Assault, the Governess of the young Prince stript him of his Cloaths, A Loyal and put them upon her own Child, whom she laid in the Royal Cradle. The Rebels kill'd this Child, and being persuaded that it was Prince *Ching*, neglected the Rest, so that the Governess escaped with the young Prince in her Arms. She scarce got out of the Palace when she met one of the great Lords of the Kingdom; who was Uncle by the Mother's side to the young Prince. Governess, said this Lord to her a-part, is my Nephew *Ching* dead? No! Sir, said she, here he is, I have put my own Son into the Prince's Cradle, and they have Murdered the One instead of the Other. This Nobleman then gave the Governess an Opportunity to escape safely with the Prince: He remained concealed for eleven Years; at the end of which, all the great Men of *Lú* unanimously address the Emperor that *Pé yu* should be put to Death; and the young Prince raised to the Throne of his Father. The Emperor's Consent being obtained *Ching* was acknowledged King of *Lú*. When his Accession to the Throne was celebrated, the Governess, who had saved his Life at the expence of her own Blood, was not forgotten.

After *Ching wang* King of *Tsé* had mounted the Throne, he placed himself upon an Eminence, where he might see all the Women who were appointed to Lodge in his Palace pass by. Every one raised their Eyes to him, some more, and some less boldly, that they might look at the Prince as they passed. One Woman named *Tsé vú*, always kept her Eyes upon the Ground and modestly passed by without giving the least sign of Curiosity or Uneasiness. *Ching wang* being struck with this Modesty, and wanting to amuse himself a little; Young Beauty, who are passing by, said he, I beg you would give me one Glance. *Tsé vú* did not seem to hear him but went on, her Eyes being still fix'd on the Ground: *Ching wang* would not rest here; One Glance, said he, and I will make you my Wife; but *Tsé vú* never raised her Eyes. The Prince added, that he would give her a certain Sum of Money, and raise her Family. His Promises never moved her: At last *Ching wang* came down from the Eminence, that he might approach and talk more conveniently to her. What, said he, I offer to make you my Wife, together with other Advantages, if you will look at me as you go by, yet you obstinately refuse to do it. Do you then put so high a Price upon your Looks.

Great Sir, answer'd *Tsé vú* gravely, Bashfulness and Modesty are the Ornaments of our Sex; I thought it was against Decency, and against my Duty, to raise my Eyes to look at you on the Eminence whereon you was placed. This at first made me keep my Eyes on the Ground: If I had raised them afterwards on the magnificent Promises you were pleased to make me, I then had acted from Ambition and Interest, and sacrificed my Duty to these two Passions, and thereby render'd myself unworthy the Honour you did me. These are my Excuses, and the Motives of my Conduct. *Ching wang*, being charmed with her Answer, took her for his Wife.

*Tsé* declared War against *Lú*. The Army of *Tsé* encamping on the Frontiers of *Lú*, the Centinels saw a Woman, who was holding one Child in her Arms, and dragging another after her by the Hand, flying towards the Mountains. Some Soldiers running after her, she quitted the Child she was carrying, took up the other and redoubled her Pace. The Child whom she had quitted, followed at a Distance, and cried so pitifully that it was enough to melt the Hearts of the Soldiers; the Woman however fled without once looking back. The General of the Army of *Tsé* who was hard by, ask'd the Child, whom they took up, if the Woman who fled was his Mother. The Child answer'd that she was. They then ask'd, if the Child whom the Mother carry'd away was his elder or younger Brother. The Child reply'd that he was no Brother

(\*) *Hyau* filial Piety. *Fá* a Woman who is, or has been Married. (A) It is *Kia* in the French.



Brother of his. The General's Curiosity was raised; and he ordered two Horsemen to gallop after the Woman full Speed, and to bring her back, which was immediately done.

When she came up; Whose is that Child, said the General to her, whom you carry in your Arms; and whose is the Child whom you dropt when you fled? The Child I carry, answer'd she, is the Child of my elder Brother, and the Child I left behind me is my own Son; finding myself closely pursued and despairing to be able to save both, I quitted my own Child. How! said the General, can any thing be dearer to a Mother than her own Child? Did you quit your own, to save your Brother's Son. My Lord, answer'd the Woman, I thought it was my Duty to sacrifice my Tendernefs, and my private Interest, to the common good of my Family. If by following another Course, I had escaped from your Soldiers, and saved my Son, by quitting my Brother's Child, I must have been look'd upon as an interested Person: And then adieu to my Reputation. Our Prince and all his Subjects have a mortal Hatred of all Self-interest.

Upon this Answer; the General caused the Van of his Army, which was then advancing, to halt: told the Woman that she might return Home with her Son and her Nephew; and immediatly dispatched an Officer to the Court of *Tsi*, with this Letter to his Prince.

"Your Majesty has committed to me the Conquest of *Lü*: But I take the Liberty, to represent to you, before I engage my self farther in that Enterprize: That it is not time to undertake it. Even the Country-women of this Kingdom know and observe the Maxim of sacrificing all private Interest to the publick Good; what kind of Men therefore must the great Men of the Kingdom, and the Officers of War, be? The Officer whom I send with this, will relate to your Majesty an Adventure which proves what I had the Honour to write to you."

Upon this Letter and the Recital of the Story, an Order came for the Army to retire. The King of *Lü* being informed of what past, made handsome Presents to this Woman, and gave her the Surname of (\*) *Iney*. The Chinese Historian has here the following Exclamation; Behold the force of perfect Disinterestedness, it having saved, by means of a Country Woman, a whole Kingdom.

A generous  
Mother.

Under the Reign of *Sweng wang*, as the Horse Guards were scouring the Country, they met with the Body of a Man newly slain, and at some Paces from the Body, two Brothers, whom they took to be the Authors of the Murder. The Affair coming to be examined into, it was found that the Deceased had receiv'd but one Wound; from whence they concluded, that he had not been struck at all by one of the two Brothers. The Question then was, which of them had given him his mortal Wound. This was a difficult Point to clear up; for the elder Brother said, 'Twas I. The younger on the contrary maintained, that his elder Brother was innocent, and that he alone was Guilty. The inferior Tribunals carried the Affair before the Minister who made his Report to the Emperor.

To set both free, said the Prince, would be to pardon the Murderer and to countenance a Crime. To condemn them both to Death, would be against the Law, since it appears from the Wound that one of them is innocent: A Thought is come into my head; their Mother must know them better than any body else. One of them must die, but which of them, is the Question. This is the Point, for which we must have recourse to their Mother. The Minister having caused the Mother to be called; One of your Sons, said he, has killed a Man and his Guilt must be expiated by his Death; each of them excuses his Brother and takes the Crime upon himself. The Affair has been brought before the Prince, who has pronounced Sentence of Death against one of them, but has referred it to you which of the two shall die.

The poor Woman dissolving into Tears; If there is a Necessity, says she, that one of them must die, let it be the younger. The Minister having caused her to put her answer in Writing, did not fail to testify his Surprise how she came to prefer the elder; contrary to the usual Custom of Women, who generally love their youngest Children best. He therefore told her that he was curious to know why she behaved in that Manner.

My Lord answered she, of these two Brothers, the younger only is my Son, the elder being of a former Wife; but I promised to my deceased Husband, that I would look upon him as my own Son, and hitherto I have been as good as my Word. But to save the younger and not the elder would be to break that Word; and to listen only to the Dictates of interested Tendernefs. The Choice I have made, tho' I think it is a right one, has cost me dear. These last Words were interrupted with Sighs and Sobs. The Minister himself could scarce refrain from Tears, and went away to make his Report to the King, who, in Consideration of the Mother, whose Virtue and generous Disinterestedness he highly praised, pardoned both the Brothers.

A Murder  
Prudently  
prevented by  
a serving  
Maid.

One of the Country Literati having a Post at Court, left his Wife at home. A Neighbour of his laid hold on this Occasion to enter into a Criminal Correspondence with her; but knowing that her Husband was expected every Hour back, he seem'd to fear least the Intrigue should be discovered at his Return, and he express his Repentment by some fatal Blow. I will take care of that, answer'd the Wife, for I design to prepare a poisoned Wine, of which I will make him drink. The Husband returned in a few Days, and his Wife talked to him thus. You have been much fatigued, and you must rest yourself, I have got some Wine for you, there is not much of it, but it is excellent in its kind. Bring that Flaggon, continued she to her Maid, and let my Husband taste a little of that Wine. The Servant was much puzzled what to do, she

(\*) *I*, signifies Disinterestedness, a disinterested Person; *Ney*, the generous Sister, youngest Sister, as if we should say, a disinterested Sister, or



she knew that the Wine was poisoned, she had not the Heart to dispatch her Master, nor would she discover her Mistress's Crime. At last she fell on an Expedient which was, to let the Flaggon fall on purpose, and the Wine to run about the Floor. Her Master who was naturally passionate and ignorant of the Service she had done him, used her very ill several Days after; and her Mistress, fearing lest she should discover her, found several Pretexes to beat her cruelly, designing to kill her, by her Blows.

While all this was doing, the Husband being inform'd by one of his Brothers, about his Wife's Conduct, and the Poison which she was said to have prepared for him, began to reflect upon what pass'd in his House, when he returned home, and to look on it as a strong Proof of the Truth of the Information. He caus'd his Wife to be beaten to Death with those very Rods, which she had employ'd to murder her Maid. He then ask'd the Girl why she had not discovered the Truth rather than to suffer her self to be used so ill. I took care not to do that, answer'd she, for thereby my Mistress must have lost both her Life and her Character, and I chose to die my self rather than that should happen. Her Master, partly from Esteem and partly out of Gratitude for having saved his Life, wanted to take her for his Wife, but she would not consent. My Mistress dy'd shamefully, said she, and I ought not to survive her; how dare I presume to take her Place? No! I will rather kill myself. He Master was then satisfied with making her considerable Presents, and endeavouring to marry her agreeably. When the Thing was known in the Neighbourhood, a great Number courted her for Marriage.

A rich Man named *Cbu yay* having lost his Wife, who left him only a Daughter very young, married again. Having some very fine Pearls, he gave them to his second Wife, who made them into Bracelets, and six Years after *Cbu yay* dy'd in a strange Country. His Wife in the Excess of her Grief and Lamentation, threw aside her Bracelets of Pearls, which a young Girl of nine Years of Age, her Daughter by a former Husband, took up from the Ground, and without any bodies Knowledge put them into a Box, in which her Mother kept her looking Glass, and other little Affairs which she did not use during the time of her Mourning. When her Brothers and other Friends heard of her Husband's Death, they visited the Widow, and then they were all to set out in search of the Body of the Deceas'd; that they might carry it to the Burying-place of his Ancestors. When they were on their Journey, they came to a Custom-House, where it was Death to every Person in whose Possession any Pearls should be found. The Box [which it seems the Widow had carried a long with her] being search'd, the Pearl Bracelets were found in it. The Crime is evident, said the Officer of the Customs, we must now know who is the Criminal. (\*) *Tju* being afraid for her Mother in Law to whom the Box belonged, addressing her self to the Officer, It is I, said she, who ought to be punished, you need seek for no other Criminal. How can that be, said the Officer who was obliged to make a verbal Tryal of it. When my Father dy'd, answer'd *Tju*, my Mother in Law threw the Bracelets away, and I thinking they were of Value, gathered them up and put them into this Box without her Knowledge. The Declaration of *Tju* was reported to the Mother in Law, who immediately came running to know how Matters stood. Yes, my Mother, said the Girl, you threw away these Bracelets, and with your Knowledge, I gathered them up and put them into this Box. They are now seized at this Custom-house, for which Crime the Law inflicts the Pains of Death, and I ought to suffer. *Tju* was so confident in what she asserted, that her Mother in Law almost believ'd she spoke the Truth.

However, thro' Tenderness and Compassion, she interrupted the Officer who had taken the Evidence of *Tju*. Sir, said she, I beg you would hear me; My Daughter is not guilty, and you are not to regard what she says. The Bracelets belong to me, and not to her: When my Husband died, I put them into this Box: Grief, Cares, and Fatigues, made me forget where they were, so that I am guilty, and ought to be punished. No, answered the Daughter resolutely, it was I who locked up the Bracelets: It was I, replied the Mother; my Daughter speaks only thus out of Affection for me, and to save me at the Expence of her own Life. My Lord, answered the Girl, My Mother, out of Compassion for me, has taken upon herself a Crime, of which she is not guilty, and exposes her own, to save my Life. In short, neither being able to vanquish the other in this generous Combat, they embraced one another mutually, endeavouring to get the better by their Sighs and Tears. All the Relations were in Tears at this Sight, the most indifferent Spectators could not forbear weeping, and even the Commissary of the Custom-House, let the Papers drop from his Hands.

The President of this Tribunal himself said weeping, Behold, an amiable Generosity of a Mother and a Daughter. Their Dispute is which shall die. As for me, I will suffer Death myself, if there is Occasion, rather than condemn either the one or the other. He then threw the Pearls on the Ground, sent off the whole Company, and ranked this Crime among those whose Authors are unknown. The Company held on in their Journey; and some time after it was known, that the Girl of nine Years of Age had locked up the Pearls, without any one's Knowledge. Thereby the generous Affection of the *Tju*, and her Mother in Law, was the more valued.

The above Examples are translated from an ancient Collection, whose Author lived 2000 Years ago.

(\*) This was the Name of the young Girl, who was then thirteen Years of Age.



If we were to peruse the particular Histories of their Cities, we might find many more ; for, as I have mentioned elsewhere, the Custom in *China*, is for each City to print the History and Annals of its own District.

These Histories are divided into different Chapters, according to their different Contents. The first exhibits a Map of the Place, with its Situation after their Fashion ; another enumerates the Commodities produced by their Country : And a third, points out the Tribute that is paid to the Emperor. The fourth, the Number of Families it contains. The fifth, the ancient Monuments, if there are any such, in the District : And the last Chapters, the illustrious Men or Women, distinguished by their extraordinary Merit, or any shining Instance of Virtue.

The great Number of these pretended Heroines, which they mention, are young Widows, who put themselves to Death to avoid a second Marriage, to whom they were to be forced.

We likewise see Examples of many others, who were distinguished by their filial Piety, by their Modesty, and by the Constancy with which they suffered Death even in the Flames, rather than to run the least Risque of being dishonoured.

As all we propose, in relating these different Histories, is to give the Reader a Knowledge of the Manner and Learning of the *Chinese* Nation, and of the Heroism attributed to the Fair Sex, we thought it best to confine ourselves to these few Examples, and the rather so, because in the Books which we have mentioned, the Stories are much of the same kind, and generally told in a dry tedious Manner.







OF THE

# RELIGION

OF THE

## CHINESE.

**T**H E R E are three principal Sects in the Empire of *China*: 1. The Sect of the Learned, who follow the Doctrine of the antient Books, and look upon *Confucius* as their Master: 2. That of the Disciples of *Lau kyun*, which is nothing but a Mixture of Extravagances and Impieties: And 3. That of Idolaters, who worship a God called *Fo* or *Foe*, whose Opinions were brought from the *Indies* into *China*, about 32 Years after the Crucifixion of *Christ*.

Three Religions among the Chinese.

Of these Sects, the first only make Profession of a regular Study, in order to advance themselves to the Degrees and Dignities of the Empire, by means of Merit, Wit, and Learning, proper for the Conduct of Life, and the Government of the Empire.

The second has degenerated into a kind of Magic and Enchantment; for the Disciples of this Sect pretend to the Art of making Gold, and of rendering Persons immortal.

The third is nothing but a Heap of Fables and Superstitions, derived from the *Indians*, and maintained by the Bonzas, who deceive the People under a false Appearance of Piety: They have introduced the Belief of the Metempsychosis, or Transmigration of Souls from one Body to another, which they promise shall be more or less for their Advantage in proportion to the Liberality that is shewn to themselves.

That I may give some Information concerning these different Sects, I shall follow the Order of Time in which they took their Rise, and observe their Progress successively amongst the People. In doing which, I shall relate nothing but what is taken from the *Chinese* History, or the Memoirs of Persons of Judgment and Sincerity, who are well versed in the Language and Learning of *China*, where they have spent most Part of their Lives. Nor shall I act any other Part than merely that of an Historian, who confines himself to plain Facts; without entering into Discussions, which have already afforded Matter for so many Volumes, and occasioned Divisions, the Consequences whereof have been too fatal to the Propagation of the [ *Romish* ] Faith in this vast Empire.

### *Of the Worship of the Antient Chinese.*

**I**T is a common Opinion, and universally received, amongst those who have searched after the Original of this antient Empire, that the Sons of *Noah* having dispersed themselves over the Eastern Parts of *Asia*, some of his Descendants penetrated into *China*, about 200 Years after the Deluge, and there founded this vast Monarchy; that these first Planters, instructed by a Tradition so nearly handed, concerning the Grandeur and Power of the Supreme Being, taught their Children, and through them their numerous Posterity, to fear and

Origin of the established Religion.



and honour the Sovereign Lord of the Universe, and to live according to the Principles of the Law of Nature, engraven in their Hearts.

Chinese Canonical Books.

Of this, we find Traces in those ancient and valuable Books, which the *Chinese* call, by way of Eminence, *The five Volumes*; being the Canonical, or Classical Books of the highest Rank, which they look upon as the Source of all their Science and Morality.

However, these Books are not professed Treatises of Religion purposely made to instruct the People; for they only contain Part of their History. The Authors do not attempt to prove what they advance, but only draw natural Consequences from Principles already allowed, considering those Opinions as fundamental Truths, on which all the rest are built. For which Reason, by the Doctrine contained in these Books, we are best able to discover the System of Religion among the *Chinese*, and what was the real Object of their Worship.

Their Drift political.

Upon a general View it appears, that the Drift of these Classical Books was to maintain Peace and Tranquillity in the State, by a Regulation of Manners, and an exact Obedience to the Laws: And that to attain this End, the ancient *Chinese* judged two Things necessary to be observed: *viz.* The Duties of Religion, and the Rules of good Government.

Chinese worship Shang ti, or Tien.

The chief Object of their Worship was the Supreme Being, the Lord and Sovereign Principle of all Things; whom they adored under the Name either of *Shang ti*, that is *Supreme Emperor*, or *Tien*, which with the *Chinese* signifies the same Thing: *Tien*, say the Interpreters, is the Spirit that presides in Heaven, because Heaven is the most excellent Work produced by this first Cause. It is taken also for the material Heavens; the Sense being to be determined by the Subject to which it is applied: The *Chinese* say, that the Father is the *Tien* of the Family; the Viceroy, the *Tien* of the Province; and the Emperor, the *Tien* of the Kingdom, &c. They likewise honoured, but with a subordinate Worship, inferior Spirits, depending on the Supreme Being; which, according to them, preside over Cities, Rivers, Mountains, &c.

If from the Beginning of the Monarchy they applied themselves to Astronomy, their View in observing the Stars was only to be acquainted with their Motions, and to account for the Appearances of the visible *Tien*, or Heaven. We do not find that in those early Times they endeavour'd to get a thorough Knowledge of the Course and Secrets of Nature: Such over curious Enquiries have been expressly forbidden, for fear of giving Rise in so volatile and active a People to dangerous Opinions, and such Systems as would be inconsistent with the Repose of the Government, and the public Tranquillity.

Basis of their Politics.

As for their Politics, which consisted in maintaining Regularity and Purity of Manners, they reduced them to this simple Maxim: *That those who command should imitate the Conduct of Tien, by treating their Inferiors as their Children; and those who obey, ought to look upon their Superiors as their Fathers.*

If Shang ti, or Tien, be an intelligent Being.

But did they regard this *Shang ti*, or *Tien*, who was the Object of their Worship, as an Intelligent Being, as the Lord and Creator of Heaven, Earth, and all Things? Is it not likely, that their Vows and Homage were addressed to the visible material Heaven; or, at least, to a Celestial *Virtue*, void of Understanding, and inseparable from Heaven itself? But this I shall leave to the Judgment of the Reader, and content myself with relating some Passages from the Classical Books.

Account of Tien and his Attributes, from the *Shu King*.

It appears, particularly from one of their Canonical Books, called *Shu King*, That this *Tien*, this first Being, the Object of Public Worship, is the Principle of all Things; the Father of the People, solely Independent, Almighty, who knows the most hidden Things, even the Secrets of the Heart; that he watches over the Government of the Universe, so that no Event happens but by his Orders; that he is holy, without Partiality, and is affected only with the Virtue of Mankind; superlatively Just, punishing Wickedness in the most signal Manner, even in Kings, whom he deposeth, setting up others in their Room, according to his Will and Pleasure: That public Calamities are the Warnings which he gives for the Reformation of Manners, which Calamities are followed by Acts of Mercy and Goodness; as for Instance, when a furious Storm has made Havock with the Harvest and the Trees, immediately after, an illustrious Innocent, some Prince *Chew kong*, is recalled from Banishment, justified against Slander, and restored to his former Dignity.

The World not governed by Chance, or a general Providence.

We read in the aforesaid Book the solemn Vows which they make to the Supreme Being, for obtaining Rain after a tedious Drought; or for the Recovery of a worthy Emperor, whose Life is despaired of: Which Vows, as the History relates, are generally heard. 'Tis there also acknowledged that when an impious Emperor has been struck with Lightning, it is not the mere Effect of Chance, but the visible Punishment of Heaven, and altogether extraordinary with regard to the Circumstance.

The Variety of Events are not only attributed to *Tien* at the Time they happen; they speak of them not only on such Occasions when Vice is suppressed and punished, but suppose that there will come a Day of Punishment, which is denounced even while the Wicked glory in their Prosperity. It appears from the Discourses of the first Sages of the Nation, that their Minds were influenced by the Persuasion (whether true or false it matters not) that *Tien*, by Prodigious or extraordinary Appearances, gives Notice of approaching Miseries, wherewith the State is threatened, that Men may reform their Manners, as the surest Way to appease the impending Wrath of Heaven.

It is reported of the Emperor *Chew*, that he rejected all the good Thoughts inspired by *Tien*; that he made no Account of the Prodigious, by which *Tien* gave him Notice of his Ruin, if he

did



did not reform his Life: And when Mention is made of the Emperor *Kyê*, they say; If he had changed his Conduct after the Calamities sent from on high, Heaven would not have deprived him of the Empire.

It is there recorded, that two great Emperors, who were the Founders of two powerful Dynasties, and admired by Posterity for their rare Virtues, had a great Conflict in their own Minds, when it was proposed to them to ascend the Throne. On the one Side they were solicited by the Grandees of the Empire, as well as by the People; and perhaps even by the secret Motions of Ambition, hard to be distinguished from those of a more plausible Kind: On the other Side, they were withheld by the Duty and Fidelity which a Subject owes to his Prince, notwithstanding he may be very much, and that deservedly, hated. This Principle inculcated and pursued.

This inward Conflict and Uncertainty that disturbed their Minds, proceeded from the Fear of displeasing *Shang ti*, either by taking up Arms, as they were urged, or by refusing to take them up, in order to free the People from the Oppression under which they groaned, and put a Stop to an Inundation of Crimes: By this Proceeding, they acknowledged their Dependence to be on a Master who forbids Disloyalty, hates Tyranny, loves the People as a Father, and protects the Oppressed.

Almost every Page of the Canonical Books, and especially the *Schu king*, continues to inculcate this just Dread, as the most proper Curb for the Passions, and the most effectual Remedy against Vice. There likewise we see what Idea these Princes had formed of the Justice, Holiness, and Goodness of the Supreme Lord. In the Times of public Calamities, they were not satisfied with only addressing their Vows to *Tyen*, and offering Sacrifices, but they applied themselves carefully to inquire into their most minute and secret Faults, which might possibly have drawn down this Punishment from *Tyen*: They examined if they were not too expensive in their Habits, too luxurious in their Tables, too magnificent in their Equipage and Palaces; all which they resolved to reform.

One of these Princes acknowledges sincerely, that he had not pursued the salutary Thoughts inspired by *Tyen*. Another Reproaches himself for want of due Application to the Affairs of Government, and for having too much Fondness for innocent Amusements: He considers these Faults as sufficient to draw down on him the Anger of *Tyen*; and in a humble Manner, confesses them to be the Source of public Calamities. In the Canonical Book called *Cbun tsyû*, the Misfortunes of a Prince are spoken of as so many Punishments of *Tyen*, who, to make the Chastisement still greater, rendered him insensible of his Disgrace. The *Schu king* speaks often of a Master who presides over the Government of Empires and Kingdoms; who has an absolute Dominion over the Wills of Mankind, in order to conduct them to his own wise and just Ends; in short, who rewards and punishes Men by means of one another, without any Detriment to their Liberty.

This Persuasion was so common, that Princes, naturally jealous of their own Glory, never in the least attributed the Success of their wise Government to themselves, but referred it to the Supreme Lord, who governs the Universe; this appears from the single Instance of the Emperor *Sven wang*. He told the Grandees of his Court, that all the wise Ministers, who had been so useful to the State from the Foundation of the Monarchy to his Time, were so many precious Gifts granted by *Tyen*, in Regard to the Virtue of the Princes, and the Necessities of the People. Other Instances.

Almost from the Beginning of the Monarchy, it was appointed that the Emperor soon after his Exaltation, should humble himself so far as to plough a few Furrows, and that the Produce of his Tillage should be offered by him in sacrifice to *Tyen*. The *Schu king* relates, that the same Emperor before spoken of, having neglected this Ceremony, attributes the public Calamities thereto; and all the Grandees of his Court talked to him in the same Language.

The Emperors, *Yau*, *Shun*, *Ching tang*, &c. are often mentioned in the Classical Books, as Patterns of Imitation; and it is a Maxim perpetually in their Mouths, that the most wicked Man, if he makes Use of the Assistance which *Tyen* offers him, may attain to the Virtue of those Heroes.

These wise Emperors are represented in the same Book, in a suppliant Posture before *Shang ti*, deprecating the Evils wherewith their Descendants were threatened. An Emperor of their Race, declares, that his illustrious Ancestors, notwithstanding their extraordinary Talents, could never have governed the Empire as they had done, without the Assistance of Sage Ministers, whom *Tyen* had given them.

It is farther worth observing, that they attribute nothing to *Shang ti* but what is seemly, and becoming the Sovereign of the Universe. They ascribe to him Power, Providence, Knowledge, Justice, Goodness, and Clemency; they call him their Father and Lord; they honour him with Worship and Sacrifices worthy of the Supreme Being, and by the Practice of every Virtue. They likewise affirm, that all outward Adoration must fail in pleasing *Tyen*, if it does not proceed from the Heart, and is not animated by the inward Sentiments. Their Ideas of Shang ti.

It is said in the *Schu king*, that *Shang ti* is of infinite Understanding; that he sees from the Top of Heaven what is doing here below; that he makes Use of our Parents to bestow on us the animal and material Part, but that he himself gives an understanding Soul, capable of Reflection, which distinguishes us from Brutes; that he so loveth Virtue, that to offer him Sacrifice, it is not sufficient for the Emperor, to whom this Function belongs, to join the Priesthood to the Royal Dignity, but it is moreover necessary, that he should be either upright or penitent, and that preparatory thereto, he should expiate his Faults with Fasting and Tears; that we cannot fathom the Depth of his Designs and Counsels, and yet ought not to believe that he is too exalted to mind what passes here; that he himself examines all our Actions, and has erected a Tribunal in our own Consciences, whereby we are judged.



Emperor the  
chief Pontif  
or high  
Priest.

The Emperors have always thought themselves chiefly obliged to observe the primitive Rites, the solemn Functions of which belong to them alone, as being the Heads of the Nation: Thus they are Emperors to govern, Masters to teach, and Priests to sacrifice; to the End, that the Imperial Majesty humbling himself in presence of his Court, by the Sacrifices which he offers in the Name of the Empire to the Master of the World, the Sovereign Authority of the Supreme Being may still shine more resplendent, and exalted above any Equal. To this purpose we find it both in the *I king* and *Sbu king*.

None else  
allowed to  
Sacrifice to  
*Shang ti*.

The Emperor is there say'd to be the only Person who is allowed publicly to render this solemn homage to *Shang ti*. *Shang ti* has adopted him for his Son, and appointed him the principal Heir of his Grandeur on Earth; he arms him with his Authority, charges him with his Orders, and heaps Benefits upon him. To sacrifice to the first Being of the Universe requires no less than the most exalted Person in the Empire. It is necessary that he should descend from his Throne, and humble himself in presence of *Shang ti*, that he might thus draw down the blessings of Heaven on his People, and cause their Vows to ascend thither. This Worship and Sacrifice have continued in being for a great many Ages; and the *Chinese* History takes care to inform us with how much zeal the Emperors of each Dynasty honoured the supreme Lord of the World. I shall go on with relating what we learn on this Head from the Classical Books.

Zeal of the  
first Empe-  
rors in per-  
forming this  
Rite.

*Fo bi*, who is supposed to have been Contemporary with *Phaleg*, was one the Heads of the Colony which came to settle in this extreme part of the East, and is acknowledged for the Founder of the *Chinese* Monarchy (A). He had nothing more at Heart than to give public Marks of a religious Veneration for the first Being. He bred in a domestic Park, six sorts of Animals to serve as Victims in his Sacrifices, which he solemnly offered twice a Year at the two Solstices, at what time the Tribunals as well as the Shops were shut up: Nor were the People even permitted on those Days to undertake any Journey; they were to think of nothing else but joining with the Prince to honour *Shang ti*. The Book entitled *Li ki*, call these two Solemnities, *The Festivals of Gratitude to Tyen*.

*Shin nong*, who succeeded *Fo bi*, not content with the two solstitial Sacrifices, appointed two others at the Equinoxes: The first in Spring, to influence *Shang ti* in favour of Agriculture, the other in Autumn, after the Harvest, the Tithe of which he ordered to be gathered, and offered the first Fruits to *Shang ti*. And as *Fo bi* had brought up six sorts of Animals for sacrificial Uses, *Shin nong*, out of a pious Emulation, with his own Hands cultivated the Field which furnished the Corn and Fruits for the same Sacrifices.

*Whang ti*, who succeeded *Shin nong*, shewed greater Zeal than his Predecessor; for to prevent being hindered by bad Weather, from making the usual Sacrifices in the open Field, he built a large Temple, wherein they might be offered under Shelter in all Seasons, and the People instructed in their principal Duties.

The Empress *Lwi tsi*, Wife of *Whang ti*, undertook to breed Silk-worms, and make silken Ornaments befitting those Solemnities. Without the South-gate was a vast Inclosure of arable Land, which furnished the Corn, Rice, and other Fruits appointed for the Sacrifices; and without the North-gate was another great Inclosure full of Mulberry-trees, wherein were nourished abundance of Silk-worms. The same Day that the Emperor went to till the Ground with his principal Courtiers, the Princess repaired to her Mulberry Grove with the Ladies of her Court, encouraging them by her Example to make Silks and Embroidered Works, which she set a-part for Religious Uses.

None but  
devout Men  
elected Em-  
perors.

The Empire becoming Elective, none were raised to the Throne but the Sons of Kings distinguished for their Wisdom, or wise Men who were Associates in the Government: But the Choice fell only upon such as performed the Duties of Religion with the greatest Veneration. It is an Honour to the Throne, (says the *Sbu king*) that he whom *Shang ti* associates to himself to govern Mankind, should represent his Virtues on Earth, and be the most perfect Image of them.

This Motive alone induced *Whang ti* to consent, that his Son should succeed him with the Title of *Sbau hau*, that is to say, young *Fo bi*; because from his Infancy he had been a zealous Imitator of the Virtues of the first Founder of the Empire, *Tay hau Fo bi*.

The Sequel made it appear that they were not deceived in their Choice: For he increased the Pomp and Solemnity of the Sacrifice offered to *Shang ti*, by harmonious Concerts of Music. His Reign was peaceable and quiet; only the last Years of it were disturb'd by the Conspiracy of nine *Cbu bew* or feudatory Princes, who endeavour'd to destroy that beautiful System of Subordination established by the first Kings, both in religious Worship and the Government of the State.

Attempt to  
introduce the  
Worship of  
Spirits or  
Angels.

Their Design being to substitute the fear of Spirits in place of the fear of *Shang ti*, they had recourse to Magic and Enchantments. They disturbed Houses with evil Spirits, and so terrified the People with their Delusions, that assembling in the Temple on the solemn Days when the Emperor sacrificed, they made it resound with their Clamours, tumultuously requiring that Sacrifice should likewise be offered to these Spirits (B). The Emperor dy'd during these Troubles, and tho' he left four Sons, *Chwen hys*, Nephew of *Whang ti*, was chosen for his Successor.

(A) The *Chinese* themselves are not very certain as to the Time when this Prince lived, the Canonical History beginning with the Emperor *Yau*. We may add that the Author's making him a Contemporary of *Phaleg*, and the Head of a Colony of

the *Noakides* is all a *Chimera*, see before p. 237.

(B) We see here very early the evil effects of the Doctrine of Guardian Angels, which is productive of Idolatry.



This Prince began with extirpating the Race of the nine Enchanters, who were the principal Authors of the Tumult; he appeased the Minds of the People, and restored Order in the Sacrifices. Having reflected on the Inconvenience of assembling an active restless People in the same Place where the Emperor came to sacrifice, he separated the Place of Instruction from that of Sacrifices, and established two great Mandarins, chose from among the Sons of the deceased Emperor, as Presidents; one of whom was charged with the whole Ceremonial, and the other took care of the Instruction of the People. He also settled Rules for choosing the Victims, ordering that they should neither be lame, nor defective, nor of any other Animals but the six Kinds appointed by *Fo hi*: Likewise that they should be well fed, and of a Colour agreeable to the four Seasons wherein the Sacrifices were made. In a word, he regulated their Age and Size.

*Ti ko*, Nephew of *Chwen huo*, was raised to the Throne by the Suffrages of all the Orders of the State; and was addicted no less than his Uncle to the Worship of *Shang ti*, and the religious Observation of the Ceremonies. It is related in the Annals of this Prince, authorized by the *King*, that the Empress *Twen kyang*, who was barren, accompanying the Emperor to a solemn Sacrifice, prayed to *Shang ti* for Children with so much Fervency, that she conceived almost at the same Time; and ten Months after brought forth a Son, called *Hew tse*, who was the Ancestor of a glorious Posterity, dignified with a great number of Emperors.

It seems surprising that so prudent a Prince as *Ti ko* should choose for Successor, neither this miraculous Infant, nor *Tau*, whom he had by his second Queen *Kim tsu*, nor *Ki lyé*, Son of the third Queen *Kyen tsé*, but should prefer to these young Princes, already so eminent for their Virtues, his Son *Chi*, by his fourth Queen *Chang ti*, in whom there was no Quality worthy of the Throne: But he did not reign long.

It is said in the Book intitled *Kang kyen* (A), that the Providence of *Shang ti* watched over the Welfare of the State; and that the People, by his Appointment, unanimously deposed this wicked Prince, to place in his stead the virtuous *Tau*, who joined the Quality of Legislator to that of Emperor, and became a Pattern for all his Successors. The *King* relates, that he could never have brought the Sciences to their utmost Perfection, within the first sixty Years of his Reign, if it had not been for the extraordinary Assistance of *Tyen*.

In the six Years of his Reign, the People being greatly multiplied, and the most beautiful Plains quite covered with Water, (supposed by some [Europeans] to be the Remains of the Deluge) the great *Tu* applied himself to drain off the Water into the Sea, to raise the sunk Lands, and divide them among the People.

Nine Years after, this great Emperor resolving to associate with him in the Empire some wise Person fit to succeed him: "As I perceive no Merit in my nine Sons, (said he to his Ministers) do you therefore find me out a Man, no matter of what Family, provided he is truly Wise, and of known Virtue." Hereupon they mention'd a young Peasant named *Shun*, who, tho' he continually received ill usage from his Parents and eldest Brother, still behaved with the greatest Respect towards them, and bore their injurious Treatment with unconquerable Patience and Meekness. *This is the Man I want*, said *Tau*, *he only is able to preserve Order and Peace in the Imperial Family, and regulate all the Families of this vast Empire after that Model*. Having proved him yet three Years longer, he afterwards made him his Son-in-law, associated him in the Empire, and appointed him his sole Heir, to the Exclusion of all the Princes of his Blood, and even in Opposition to all the Remonstrances of *Shun* himself, who did not think himself qualified for being at the Head of so great an Empire.

When he was in Possession of the Throne, the first thing he did, says the *Shu king*, was to pay his solemn Homage to *Shang ti*; after which he enacted those wise Laws, whereon the Government of the Empire is founded. He created Mandarins, and gave excellent Precepts relating to the five principal Duties, of the King and the Subject, Father and Children, Husband and Wife, elder and younger Brothers, and of Friends among themselves: Insomuch that, from the Greatest to the Least, every one immediately knew whether he was to command or obey.

His Example gave great Weight to his Precepts; for all Persons who saw his respectful Submission to *Tau*, whom he looked upon as his Father and Master, were inclined to put in Execution such wise Laws. *Shang ti*, says the *Shu king*, seemed to have made himself *Shun's* Colleague, and to have given him the sole Direction of his Omnipotence, in order to bring about his Designs. *Tau* dyed universally lamented 28 Years after the Adoption of *Shun*, who now reigning alone, divided the Offices among several wise Men whose Capacity he had made trial of. After the Example of *Tau*, he chose no Successor in his own Family, but appointed the Sage *Tu*, which Choice was generally approved of.

O amiable *Shun*! says the *Li ki*, Was there ever a better Prince? While he lived he had nothing at Heart but the public Good, and at his Death, instead of following the Dictates of paternal Affection, and placing his Son on the Throne, he consulted nothing but the Interest of his Subjects. He shewed that he was their true Father, by giving them in the Person of *Tu* another Prince like himself, and worthy of inheriting his Love for his People.

The Great *Tu* did not forget a Duty which he believed to be of the highest Nature; for the Worship of *Shang ti* never flourished more than in his Reign: He even took Care to prevent the Negligence that might cool the Zeal of his Posterity, by establishing Mandarins at Court, and in the Provinces, as so many Sages, whose Business was to represent to the Emperors their Obligation

(A) That is, *The General History*.



Obligation to worship *Shang ti*, and to give them, whenever it was necessary, useful Instructions concerning the Practice of the Nine Royal Virtues.

This Liberty which the Sages of the Empire enjoy'd of pointing out to the Prince his principal Duties, was interrupted in process of time under the Tyrant *Kyè*, an impious and voluptuous Prince, who admitted none into his Councils but young Libertines, ever forward to encourage his Disregard for Religion, and flatter him in his Crimes.

The several Orders of the State, no longer able to bear his Cruelty, and the Scandal of his pernicious Example, deposed him, being the last of the Family of the *Hya*, and placed in his room *Ching tang* the Grandson of *Whang ti*. The only Reason that is alledged for the Fall of the one, and Elevation of the other, is that *Kyè* was become a wicked Prince, and had forgotten the Oath which, on ascending the Throne, he took to continue the supreme Worship of *Shang ti*.

Veneration  
of *Shang ti*,  
promoted by  
*Ching tang*.

Religion being as it were the Foundation of the *Shang* Dynasty, *Ching tang* carried the Adoration and respectful Fear due to *Shang ti* much farther than his Predecessors had done, establishing Mandarins at Court and in the Provinces, with a Privilege of making him Remonstrances, in case he swerved ever so little from this Capital Duty.

The Emperor having offered several fruitless Sacrifices to appease the Wrath of Heaven, on account of a seven Years Famine, which had reduced the People to the greatest Misery, he resolved to offer himself as a Victim of Expiation: Accordingly he divested himself of his imperial Ensigns, and went with the great Lords of his Court to a Mountain, some distance from the City; where, with a bare Head and naked Feet, in the Posture of a Criminal, he prostrated himself nine Times before the supreme Master of the Universe.

"Lord! (said he) since all the Sacrifices that I have offered to implore thy Clemency have been in vain, it is doubtless I myself who have drawn down so many Miseries on my People. Dare I ask wherein I have incurred thy Displeasure? Is it owing to the Magnificence of my Palace, the Delicacies of my Table, or to the Number of my Concubines, which however the Laws allow me? I am resolved to repair all these Faults by my Modesty, Frugality, and Temperance; And if this is not sufficient, I offer myself as a Victim to thy Justice. Let me be punished, provided my People be spared: Let the Thunderbolt fall on my Head; provided that at the same time the Rain falls upon the Plains, and my Subjects be relieved from their Misery." His Prayers being heard, the Sky was covered with Clouds, which sending down Plenty of Rain on the Plains produced a plentiful Harvest.

The Happiness of this Family was in good measure owing to the great Number of Sages, who appeared at the same Time. Their principal Business was to attend the Emperor at the Sacrifices of *Shang ti*. Among these, the *Ko lau* (A), *I in*, distinguished himself in the Reigns of *Ching tang* and his Son *Tay kya*.

Declines under  
*Chew*.

Under the Tyrant *Chew* these Sages first began to be neglected: Their Remonstrances and Advice being rewarded with the most cruel Punishment, and often Death itself. In that Reign we meet with the incomparable Wisdom and Virtue of *Ven wang* and his Son *Vu wang*. All the Grandees of the Empire having conspired to dethrone *Chew*, and set *Ven wang* in his Place, this latter stedfastly opposed their pressing Sollicitations, contenting himself to possess the Virtues which constitute a great Monarch, without the Ambition to become one: He even made use of the Disposition he found them in towards himself, to bring them back to the Obedience which he thought was due to the Tyrant.

For nine Years that the State was in the greatest Confusion, all the Orders of *Chew* were issued by this virtuous Prince. By his Hands also he offered Sacrifices to *Shang ti*; for otherwise the feudatory Princes would have refused to assist thereat. On this Occasion the Book intitled *I king*, speaks elegantly in its enigmatic Style: That all the Oxen killed by *Chew* were not worth the meanest Offerings of *Ven wang*: because the former offered his Sacrifices with a Heart polluted with Crimes, whereas the better part of the latter's Offering consisted in the Purity of his Heart.

After the Death of *Ven wang*, it was unanimously resolved in an Assembly of the *Chew* bew, (or feudatory Princes) to dethrone the Tyrant, and that *Vu wang* should head the Enterprize. However he singly opposed that Resolution; at least he demanded Time to examine if it was really the Order of *Tyen*. He spent two Years in debating the Matter with himself, in which time his Mind was in a continual Uneasiness, not knowing what Part to choose, and fearing to incur the Wrath of *Tyen*, whether he accepted or refused the Commission.

In short, after many Conflicts within himself, he yielded to the Intreaties and Sollicitations of the whole Empire; and, says *Confucius*, he made but one Push, for in the first Battle the Tyrant being routed and abandoned by his Party fled to his Palace, where raising a funeral Pile out of the most valuable Things belonging to him, he set Fire to it, and so put an end to the Dynasty of the *Shang*. *Vu wang* by unanimous Consent was placed on the Throne, and quickly restored the Government to its former Condition.

It is true, the pretended Orders of Heaven, and Zeal for the public Good, which served to give a Colour to that Usurpation, have not justified this Prince in the Opinion of some later Writers. Although *Ching tang* and *Vu wang* have always passed for great Emperors and Patterns of Virtue, yet the famous *Chau kan tye* declares plainly that the Manner in which they ascended the Throne casts a Blemish on their Glory. He also gives much the Preference to *Shun*, *Ti*, *Ven wang* and *Chew kong*, who having been the Colleagues of Emperors, assumed nothing to themselves of the Government but the laborious Part.

(A) A Name common to the Ministers of State, whose Number is not limited to four, there being sometimes six or seven.



However that be, it appears by the Instances taken from the Classical Books, that from the Foundation of the Empire under *Fo hi*, thro' a long Series of Ages, the Supreme Being, commonly known by the Name of *Shang ti* and *Tyen*, was the Object of public Worship; and as it were the Soul, and *Primum Mobile*, of the Government of the Nation: That this Supreme Being was feared, honoured, revered; and that not only the People, but the Grandees of the Empire, and the Emperors themselves were sensible there was above them a Lord and Judge, who rewarded such as obeyed, and punished such as offended him. *Shang ti* had all their Acknowledgements.

Dependence of the Emperors and Princes on *Shang ti* and *Tyen*.

Of all natural Beings, sayd *Confucius* to his Disciple *Tseng tse*, none is more eminent than Man; of all the Actions of Men, none is more Praiseworthy than filial Piety; and among the Duties of filial Piety, the most indispensable is, respectfully to obey his Father's Orders: But to render him this Obedience, nothing was more effectual than to associate him with *Shang ti*, that is, to consider him as invested with the Majesty and Authority of the Most High.

*Chew kong*, the Brother of *Vu wang*, acknowledged that absolute Dependence, which the Emperors, as well as their Subjects, had on *Shang ti*. He tenderly loved the Emperor; and seeing him ready to die in the second Year of his Reign, he prostrated himself before the Supreme Majesty, to implore the Recovery of a Prince, whose Life was so necessary to the State. *It is thou Lord*, cried he, *who hast placed him on the Throne, and appointed him Father of the People. Is it thy Will to punish us by taking him away? If a Victim be indispensable, accept of my Life, which I offer thee in Sacrifice, provided thou sparest my Master, my King, and my Brother.*

Manner of their offering themselves in Sacrifice to *Shang ti*.

*Ching wang* imitated the Piety of his Father, and when on the Throne observed the same Veneration for the Sovereign Lord of the Universe. *How far soever I may be called above other Men*, says he in the *Shu king*, *yet I am no more than one of the least of Shang ti's Subjects. How can I dispense with paying him Homage?*

*Chew kong* was his Uncle, and had been his Tutor. The great Authority of so wise a Minister creating Jealousies, some Grandees carried their Envy and Ill-will to such a Pitch, that they obliged him to retire from Court, and banish himself into the Province of *Shan tong*. But a dreadful Storm, which happened at that Time a little before Harvest, having destroyed all the Produce of the Fields, *Ching wang* took it for granted, that *Tyen* was angry, and designed to avenge oppressed Innocence. He therefore ordered *Chew kong* to be recalled forthwith, and went himself to meet him, thereby to honour his Return. Stopping on the Road to make his Prayers to *Shang ti*, and represent the Necessities of the People, almost at the same instant there arose a Wind contrary to the former, which restored the largest Trees that had been bent down to their natural Condition, and there was a plentiful Harvest.

It is reported likewise in the *Shu king*, that three Princes of the Blood, who had seized on the Regency during the Minority of *Ching wang*, having revolted because he had put himself into the Hands of *Chew kong*, the Emperor took up Arms to reduce them, but first consulted *Shang ti*. *Tyen*, says he, *never favours the Arms of Princes, but when they make War for the Love of Peace.*

The same Spirit of Religion animated Prince *Kang wang*. *There seemed to be no other Emperor in China*, says the *Shi king*, *except Shang ti*. The Dread of the Supreme Being was alone sufficient to keep the People within the Bounds of their Duty. Honesty prevailed so much under the Government of this Prince and his Father, to whom he succeeded, that they had no Occasion to strike a Terror into their Subjects by the Rigour of Punishment. Criminals were only confined in Prison, out of which they were let in the Day-time to work at their Trade; and they returned of their own accord in the Evening, to lodge there at Night.

A single Passage out of the *Shi king* will inform us with what Sentiments of Gratitude and intire Confidence *Chau wang* used to address *Shang ti*. *Rejoyce, my People*, said he one Day to the Husbandmen; *Altho' the Spring is hardly at an End, you are going to reap the Produce of Autumn. Our Fields which were but newly sown, are already loaded with the richest Harvest. Thanks be to Shang ti, who puts us so soon in a Condition to enjoy his Gifts. For this reason I will not wait till the End of Autumn to present myself before him, and return him Thanks for such forward Crops.*

Thanksgiving.

*Mo wang*, his Son, followed the Examples of his Predecessors when he was upon the Throne; and as the People were no longer awed by the Fear of the Supreme Being, as they were in the Reigns of *Ching wang* and his Son, he considered himself as *Shang ti's* Minister of Justice, and exposed to the View of his Subjects the Punishments which their Crimes deserved. He says in the *Shu king*, that he is only the Minister of the Most High, to defend the Innocent from Oppression, and hinder the Strong from oppressing the Weak.

They consider themselves as the Ministers of *Shang ti*.

Religion preserved its exterior Form under the next four Emperors, *Kong wang*, *Te wang*, *Hyan wang* and *I wang*; But these Princes degenerated greatly from the Virtue of their Ancestors: *Like those Trees*, says the *Shu king*, *which continue to make a beautiful Appearance with their Leaves, but for want of Culture bear no more Fruit, and begin to degenerate.* Thus they became the Objects of Contempt, and the Subjects of a thousand satirical Songs. *Hyan wang* was so excessively fond of Horses, that to reward his chief Groom he made him Prince of *Tsin*; not dreaming, doubtless, that one of his Descendents would found the Family of *Tsin*, which succeeded on the Ruin of that of the *Chew*.

The Emperors degenerate.

*Li wang*, his Successor, was detested for his Pride and Tyranny. *The Silence of Shang ti*, says the *Shi king*, *was an Enigma; one would have sayed, that he slept, contrary to his Custom.* Every thing prospered with this wicked Prince; the People durst not fetch their Breath: The very Censors of the Empire, by their Office obliged to give him wholesome Advice, were the forwardest



to uphold him in his Crimes by their base Adulations. *Whence comes this*, cries the Author of the *Shi king*; *Is it that there is no more Justice in Heaven? Shall the Wicked peaceably enjoy the Fruit of his Crimes? Attend*, continues he, *and you shall see, that Shang ti never suspends the Efforts of his all-powerful Arm but to strike the harder Blow.*

In effect, the People revolting against *Li wang*, his Parents and Relations were cut in Pieces; the Tyrant escaped their Fury by flying and banishing himself. His Son *Swen wang* had met with the same Fate, if the faithful *Chau kong*, *Ko lau* of the Empire, had not made his own Son perfonate the Prince; and, by thus sacrificing him, saved the Life of the Heir to the Crown.

Shang ti omniscient.

Whereupon the *Shi king* makes this Reflection: *It is in vain to hide one's self in the dark; nothing is hidden from Shang ti: The Night is with him as clear as the Day: He penetrates into the most secret Corners, where the Malignity of Man's Heart would withdraw itself from his Sight: He is present every where, and darts his Light into the most obscure Windings of the most impenetrable Labyrinth, where one would attempt to conceal himself.*

On this Occasion, *Wey wu kong*, a venerable old Man 95 Years of Age, made an Ode, which he caused to be sung every Day at the inner Gate of his Palace. *In vain*, says he, *does human Force pretend to establish a State; if the Lord of Heaven does not lend a Hand to strengthen it, it tumbles at the first Shock. 'Tis a Water, which not far from its Spring loses itself in the first Sand it meets with in the Plain: 'Tis a Flower which is blown in the Morning, and withers at Night. A whole Nation is corrupted by the Example of a wicked King.*

Omnipotent.

*Swen wang* was more religious than his Father *Li wang*, nevertheless his Reign was perplexed with public Calamities. One Year of Drought layed waste the Empire; which this Prince lamented bitterly in the *Shi king*: *To behold these dried up Fields, how can a Heart chuse but be dried up with Sorrow? If Shang ti, who can do any thing, will not deign to cast an Eye of Pity on me, while I am making the Great Sacrifice to him for Rain; alas! what will become of my poor People, who must of necessity perish with Hunger? Would it not be better that the Wrath of Heaven should fall upon me alone, and my People be relieved?*

Chinese Philosophers preferred to the Greek and Roman.

I shall allege no farther Instance: It may suffice to have shewn from the Authority of the Canonical Books, that the Chinese Nation for the Space of 2000 Years together acknowledged, revered, and honoured with Sacrifices, a Supreme Being and Sovereign Lord of the Universe, under the Name of *Shang ti* or *Tyen*. If these antient Masters of the Chinese Doctrine be compared with the Heathen Sages, we shall find a great Difference between them: For the latter seem to have taught Virtue only to give themselves a Superiority over the rest of Mankind, which they had not on account of Fortune; besides, they dogmatized in so haughty and ostentatious a Manner, that it was evident they sought less the Discovery of the Truth, than to display their own Talents: Whereas the Masters of the Doctrine inculcated in the *King* (or Canonical Books) were Emperors and Prime Ministers, whose Virtues gave great Weight to their Instructions, who first observed themselves the same coercive Laws they established, and conveyed their Moral Precepts, not using Subtilties and Sophisms, but with a plain and simple Air in a practical Way, aiming at the shortest Method for the Reformation of Manners.

It seems that they would be doing an Injury to the antient Chinese, who followed the Law of Nature, which they received from their Fathers, to tax them with Irreligion, because they had not so clear and distinct a Knowledge of the Deity, as the Christian World have had since their Time: This would be to require too much of these People, since they could not be so well instructed as we are, by means of the Precepts of Christ.

Imperfect Notions of a future State and the Creation.

It is true, that tho' the Canonical Books, especially the *Shu king*, exhort Men to fear *Tyen*; and tho' they place the Souls of virtuous Men near *Shang ti*, yet it does not appear that they have spoken clearly of the everlasting Punishments in the Life to come. In like manner, tho' they affirm that the Supreme Being created all Things, yet they have not treated of it so distinctly, as to judge whether they mean a true Creation, that is, a Production of all Things out of Nothing. However, it must be confessed that, tho' they are silent as to this Point, they have not denied the Possibility thereof, nor, like certain Greek Philosophers, asserted that the Matter of which corporeal Beings are composed is eternal. We likewise do not find that they have treated explicitly concerning the State of the Soul; on the contrary, they seem to have only confused Notions of it, no way agreeable to the Truth: Yet it cannot be doubted but that they believed the Soul exists after its Separation from the Body, as well as the Certainty of Apparitions, of which that related by *Confucius* is an Instance.

Belief of Apparitions.

This Philosopher declared to his most familiar Disciples, that for several Years he had seen in a Dream the celebrated *Chew kong*, Son of *Ven wang*, to whom the Empire was indebted for so many excellent Instructions relating to Morality, and other Doctrines. And it is observable that the learned *Chu hi*, so famous under the Dynasty of the *Song*, being asked if *Confucius* spoke of a Dream, or a real Apparition, answered, without Hesitation, that he meant a real Apparition (A); however *Chew kong* had been dead 600 Years before. On this Occasion, I shall relate out of the Chinese History two other Passages, nearly of the same Nature, and no less extraordinary than the former. We read in the *Shu king*, that the Emperor *Kau tsong* having prayed fervently to (†) *Tyen*, in order to obtain a worthy Minister of State, fit for reforming the Manners of his Subjects,

(A) But this is no Proof that it was an Apparition, since *Confucius* only makes it a Dream. Indeed, some of the *Confucian* Sect, in consequence of their Notion of a particular Providence, have ran into some Extravagancies concerning Guardian Angels, De-

mons, Apparitions, &c.

(†) *Tyen* stands for *Shang ti*, and *Shang ti* for *Tyen*, when speaking of the Sovereign Being who hath created and governs Heaven and Earth.



Subjects, *Shang ti* appeared to him in a Dream, and shewed him the Person designed for him; By the Description of whose Face the Emperor had him searched for, and he was found among a Crowd of ordinary People: Yet this *Fu yue*, (for that was his Name) raised out of the Dust, as it were to sway the Empire, spake from the first, according to the Maxims of the ancient Sages; whence it is easy to judge that the Doctrine which he taught was commonly received all over the Nation.

Certain Historians since *Confucius*, relate a received Tradition concerning the Ruin of the Kingdom of *Tsau*, in the third Year of the Emperor *King wang*. One of the Lords of this Prince's Court saw in a Dream the Ancestors of that Family, who, after they had lamented the Degeneracy of their Descendants, said among themselves: *Our Race will certainly lose the Crown, and the Country of Tsau will no longer continue to be a particular Kingdom, as it has been for these 600 Years past. Such a Man by Name will murder the Prince, and cause this Revolution.*

This Lord was too much affected with this Vision, to take it for a mere Dream: But not finding any Person at the Court of *Tsau*, who bore the Name of the appointed Traitor, he was content to warn the Prince to beware of such a Man, whenever he saw him. The Prince made Use of the Council at first; but afterwards neglecting it, perhaps thro' Forgetfulness, a Man of that Name slew the last of the Kings of *Tsau*, which then became Part of the Kingdom of (A) *Song*.

It is observable, that in these ancient Books we find Proofs that the primitive *Chinese* had Knowledge of the Supreme Being, and payed him religious Worship for a long Series of Ages; nor can we perceive therein, the least Foot-step of idolatrous Worship. This will seem the less surprizing, when we reflect that Idolatry spread but slowly in the World; That according to *Eusebius*, it first began in *Assyria*, where there were no Images, till a long time after *Belus* who introduced them; that *China* had no Commerce with other Nations, and that the *Indies* lying between it and *Assyria*, rendered the Communication still more (B) difficult.

Had it been otherways, the *Chinese* History would not have failed to speak of it, in the same Manner as it takes Notice of the Time when the Image of *Fo* was brought into *China*, several Ages after *Confucius*. 'Tis true, that from the Time of that Philosopher, Magic, and divers other Errors had infected the Minds of many: It is also possible, that even before him there were Images, and a superstitious Worship to be found among the People in some Provinces: But this cannot be proved from their History; and it appears that the Learned, adhering to the Doctrine which they received from their Fore-fathers, had no Share therein.

That which has contributed greatly to the Preservation of the Religion of the early Ages in *China*, and preventing its being wholly destroyed, is, that there has been a supreme Tribunal established in the Empire, almost from the Time of its Foundation, with full Authority to condemn, or suppress any Superstitions that might arise; which is called, *The Tribunal of Rites*.

This Precaution of the *Chinese* would have proved effectual, was not the Mind of Man so very weak, and liable to be seduced; the strongest Dykes being only the Work of Men, cannot withstand very violent Inundations. We have observed elsewhere, that the whole Body of Philosophers in *China*, [have been] Idolaters contrary to their own Consciences, thro' fear of a People fond of Images (C), who were ungovernable, and had too much the Ascendant in public Affairs: Nevertheless, the ancient Doctrine of the *Chinese*, has always found Support from the Tribunal above mentioned, and does by the Assistance of its Degrees, still continue to be the prevailing Sect. The Missionaries, who read the Decrees of the Mandarins, composing this Tribunal, have observed, that tho' they sometimes in private practised certain Superstitions, yet when they assembled in a Body to deliberate about them they openly condemned them.

It is possible that by the same Means, the Belief of a first and Supreme Being has been so long preserved in *China*, such as we find it in the Classic Books; and it is certain, it has not been deformed as it was among the *Greeks* and *Romans*, by the Fictions of the Poets. *China*, for many Ages, was a Stranger to the Superstitions to be met with in other Nations, who having but a very gross and imperfect Idea of the Deity, have fallen by degrees to honour the Heroes of their Country with the Title of Gods. Whatever Veneration the *Chinese* have had for their greatest Emperors, they never payed Adoration to any but the Supreme Being; and tho' they have discovered their Esteem and Respect for the Memory of great Men, who have been distinguished by their Rank, their Virtues, and Services, yet they have rather chosen to preserve their Memory by Tablets inscribed with their Names and short Encomiums, than by Pictures or Images. Tablets of the same Kind are often hung up in honour of Magistrates, who have discharged their Trusts to the Satisfaction of the People, and are removed to another Government.

However, the Troubles that happened in the Empire, the civil Wars which divided it, and the Corruption of Manners, which became almost general, had entirely banished the ancient Doctrine: But *Confucius* revived it, by giving fresh Reputation to the ancient Books; especially the *Sbu king*, which he recommended as an exact Rule of Manners.

(A) How fond the Author is to propagate the Doctrine of Apparitions, on the Authority of Dreams or any idle Fiction.

(B) The Author seems to forget, that the Idolatry of *Fo* sprang up in that Part of *India* next to *China*, within 300 Years after *Belus*; and yet did not find Admittance into *China* for 1200 Years after, which is a much more surprizing Instance than the other.

(C) In the Original it is Idols: Where observe that the Ro-

mish Clergy give the Name of Idols to the Images of all Nations, tho' they use them only for sake of Remembrance, as the *Bonzas* do, if you will believe themselves. Whence it is plain, either that they maliciously bely other Religions, or really look on the Use of Images any way in Religion as Idolatry; and so distinguish between Images and Idols, in order to amuse the Ignorant, and cloak their own Impiety.

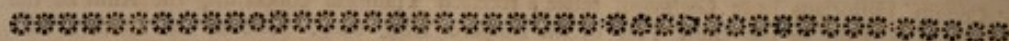
No Idolatry among the ancient *Chinese*.

Ancient Religion still the prevailing Sect.

Free from the Superstition of other Religions.



I have already spoken of the high Esteem this Philosopher was had in, who is still looked upon as the Doctor of the Empire; and yet in his Time, the Sect of *Tau tse* arose, whose Author came into the World about 52 Years before *Confucius*. The superstitious Doctrine which he taught, was agreeable for its Novelty; and however extravagant it might appear to reasonable Men, yet it was encouraged by some of the Emperors, besides a great Number of Followers, who brought it in Credit.



### Of the Sect of TAU TSE.

Author of  
this Sect.

**L AU KYUN**, (A) is the Name of the Philosopher who gave Rise to this new Sect; and if you credit his Disciples, his Birth was very extraordinary: For he lay fourscore Years in his Mother's Womb, and came into the World, by making his Way thro' her left Side, of which monstrous Child-Birth she died.

His Books.

His Books are still extant; but, as it is supposed, much altered by his Followers: Nevertheless, they contain several Maxims and Sentiments worthy of a Philosopher, concerning the moral Virtues, the avoiding Honours, the Contempt of Riches, and that happy Solitude of a Soul, which raising itself above terrestrial Things, believes that it has a Sufficiency in itself.

Amongst the Sentiments, there is one which he often repeated; especially when he spoke of the Production of the World: *Tay*, says he, [that is *the Law or Reason*] *both produced One, One hath produced Two, Two have produced Three, and Three have produced all Things* (B). By this he seems to have had some Knowledge of the Deity (C), but it was a very gross one.

His Morality  
of the Epicu-  
rean Kind.

The Morality of this Philosopher and his Disciples, nearly resembles that of the *Epicureans*; it consists in putting away vehement Desires and Passions, capable of disturbing the Peace and Tranquillity of the Soul. According to them, it ought to be every wise Man's Care to pass his Life free from Anxiety and Uneasiness; and to this End, never to reflect on what is past, nor be inquisitive after what is to come.

His Follow-  
ers Quietists

They affirm, that to be agitated with rustling Cares, to be busied about great Projects, to give one's self up to Ambition, Avarice, and other Passions, is to toil more for Posterity than themselves; and that it is Madness to purchase the Happiness of others, at the Expence of our own Repose and Felicity: That we should pursue our own Happiness with Moderation, and not abandon ourselves to over violent Desires; because, whatever we look upon as Happiness, ceases to be so, if it is accompanied with Trouble, Distaste and Inquietude, and the Peace of the Soul be ever so little disturbed.

Pretend to  
the Liquor of  
Immortality.

For which Reason, those belonging to this Sect, affect a Calm that suspends, as they say, all the Functions of the Soul: But as this Tranquillity must needs be disturbed by the Thoughts of Death, they boast of having found out a Liquor, by means whereof they may become immortal. They are addicted to Chymistry, and much infatuated with the Notion of the Philosopher's Stone. They are likewise fond of Magic; and are persuaded, that by the Assistance of the Demons whom they invoke, they can succeed in their Designs.

The Hope of escaping Death, induced a great Number of Mandarins to study this diabolical Art: The Women especially, being naturally curious, and exceeding fond of Life, madly gave into these Extravagancies. At length, certain credulous and superstitious Emperors, brought this impious Doctrine in vogue, and greatly multiplied the Number of its Followers.

Emperors in-  
fatuated with  
that Notion

The Emperor *Tsin shi whang ti*, that sworn Enemy to Learning and learned Men, was persuaded by these Impostors, that they had actually found the Liquor which made Men immortal, and was called *Chang feng yo* (D).

*Yu ti*, the sixth Emperor of the Dynasty of the *Han*, addicted himself wholly to the Study of magical Books, under a Leader of this Sect, named *Li shau kyun*. Some pretended it was out of Complaisance for the Empress, who embraced this new Philosophy, as being more favourable to her Passions than the Doctrine of the ancient Books, and of *Confucius*, which she detested.

It was not long before the Provinces were informed of the Emperor's Inclination, and the open Protection given by him to a Sect, which he had embraced himself. The Court was immediately filled with an innumerable Crowd of these false Doctors, who were famous for the Magic Art. That Prince about this Time, lost one of his Queens whom he doated on to Distraction; and being inconsolate for her Loss, one of these Impostors, by his Incantments, caused the deceased Queen to appear before the Emperor: And this Apparition with which he was surprized and terrified, more strongly attached him to the Impieties of this new Sect. He several times drank the Liquor of Immortality: But at last perceived he was as mortal as ever, and being at the Point of Death lamented too late his easy Credulity.

Support this  
Sect.

However, the new Sect suffered no Prejudice by the Emperor's Death, for it found Protectors in the Princes of the same Dynasty. Two of their most famous Doctors having been authorized to support the Worship which was payed to the Demon in a great Number of Temples already erected

(A) He is also called *Li lau kyun*, and commonly *Pe yang*, or *Lau tau* [P. Couplet. Scient. Sinens. proem. Declar. p. 24.] His Name was *Li*, and his Surname *En*; but as he came into the World with white Hair, he was called *Lau tai*, or the Infant old Man. These Circumstances we have by accident in another Place, of our Author, tho' they more properly come in here. [See the Novel relating to the Philosopher *Chewang tse* in the

second Vol.]

(B) The Chinese Words are *Tau feng yo*, *Yo feng tai*, *En feng fan*, *San feng wan* &c. see Couplet. ubi supra.

(C) By Deity, here the Author doubtless means the Trinity: so earnest he is to strain Things his own Way, tho' he seems ashamed to speak out.

(D) *Yo*, medicine; *Chang*, eternal; *Seng*, Life.



ed thro' the Empire; they distributed every where, and sold at a high Price little Images, representing the Crowd of Spirits and Men, whom they had ranked among their Gods, and named *Syen jin*, that is, *Immortals* (A). This Superstition encreased to such a Degree, that under the Emperors of the *Tang* Dynasty, they gave the Ministers of this Sect the honourable Title of *Tyen tse*, that is to say, *Heavenly Doctors*. The Founder of this Line erected a stately Temple to *Lau kyun*; and *Heven tsong*, the sixth Emperor of the same Dynasty, caused his Statue to be brought with great Pomp into the Palace.

The Successors of the Head of this Sect are always honoured with the Dignity of great Mandarins, and reside in a Town of the Province of *Kyang si*, where they have a magnificent Palace. Crowds of People flock thither from the neighbouring Provinces to procure Remedies for their Diseases, or to learn their Destiny, and what is to happen in the Course of their Lives: They receive of the *Tyen tse* a Billet filled with magical Characters, and go away well satisfied, without begrudging the Sum they pay for this singular Favour.

But the Doctors of this Sect gained Ground chiefly under the Dynasty of the *Song*, whose third Emperor *Chin tsong* was ridiculously led away with their Tricks and Forgeries. These Impostors having in a dark Night hung up a Book on the principal Gate of the Imperial City, filled with Characters, and magical Sentences for invoking Demons, gave out that it had fallen from Heaven: Whereupon the credulous Prince, out of his great Veneration, went on Foot to fetch it; and, after receiving it with the most profound Respect, carried it in triumph into his Palace, and enclosed it in a Gold Box, where he kept it with abundance of Care.

These *Tau tse* were the Persons who introduced the Multitude of Spirits, till then unknown, whom they worshipped as Deities independent of the Supreme Being, and honoured with the Name of *Shang ti*: They even deified some of the ancient Kings, and prayed to them.

*Whey tsong*, the eighth Emperor of the 15th Race of the *Song*, carried the Superstition to such a Pitch as to give the Name of *Shang ti*, or Supreme Lord, to a Doctor of this Sect called *Shang i* (B), who had acquired a great Reputation under the Dynasty of the *Han*. Till that Time, the Idolaters themselves had distinguished *Shang ti* from other Deities. Thus a famous *Ko lan*, who has written on this Subject, attributes the entire Ruin and Extinction of the *Song* to this (C) Impiety.

This abominable Sect got footing by degrees, partly thro' the Protection of the Princes above-mentioned, partly by flattering the Passions of the Grandees, partly by the Impressions of Wonder and Terror that it made on the Minds of the People. The Compacts of their Ministers with Demons, the Lots which they cast, and the surprizing Effects of their magical Arts (D) infatuated the Multitude, still extremely prejudiced in favour of these Impostors, who are generally called to heal Diseases, and exorcise (E) Demons.

They sacrifice to this Spirit of Darkness three Sorts of Victims, a Hog, a Fish, and a Fowl; they drive a Stake in the Earth, commonly such as serves to tell Fortunes by, and trace upon Paper odd Sorts of Figures, accompanying the Stroke of their Pencil with horrible Cries and Grimaces. They make a frightful Din with Kettles and little Drums: And sometimes, to punish the Crimes of the *Chinese*, God permits them to take effect. And tho' often they do not succeed, yet these Gentlemen know how to procure Respect and Authority by their Incantments, and the Assistance which the Demon gives them to deceive and seduce the poor deluded (F) People.

In *China*, great Numbers of profligate Fellows are sold to these Ministers of Iniquity, who follow the Trade of Divination. Tho' they have never seen the Person who consults them, they tell his Name, and all the Circumstances of his Family, in what Manner his House is situated, how many Children he has, their Names and Age; with a hundred other Particulars, which may be naturally enough supposed to be known to the Demons, and are strangely surprizing to weak and credulous Minds, such as the *Vulgar* among the *Chinese* often are.

Some of these Conjurors, after invoking the Demons, cause the Figures of the Chief of their Sect and of their Idols to appear in the Air. Formerly they could make a Pencil write of itself, without any body touching it, upon Paper or Sand, the Answers to Questions. They likewise cause all the People of any House to pass in review, in a large Vessel of Water; wherein they also shew the Changes that shall happen in the Empire, and the imaginary Dignities to which those shall be advanced who embrace their Sect. In short, they pronounce mysterious Words without any Meaning, and place Charms on Houses as well as Men's Persons (G): Nothing is more common than to hear such kind of Stories; and, tho' it is very likely that the greater Part of them are only Illusions, yet it is scarce credible that all should be so: Since many Effects ought in reality to be attributed to the Power of the (\*) Devil.

(A) Here the Author represents their Saints or Heroes as Gods, and, to countenance the Matter, mis-renders *Syen jin* Immortals, instead of immortal Men.

(B) And have not the Popes been called Gods by some of the *Romish* Doctors, which is equally impious?

(C) And yet both the Sect itself, as well as the Popes, are still in being, which shews such Conclusions to be groundless.

(D) Observe how this Author all along acknowledges the Power of Magic, as he does Apparitions, Witchcraft, the Power of Demons, &c. If he can see the *Chinese* Superstitions, how can he possibly avoid seeing his own?

(E) One Imposture naturally begets another; and why may not the Priests of *China* make gain of them as well as the Priests of *Rome*?

(F) Is not this exactly the Case also with the Priests and Laity of the Church of *Rome*?

(G) In the same manner as the *Romish* Priests sprinkle Houses and People with Holy Water, or give them Relics and *Agnus Dei's* to keep in their Closets, or wear about their Persons. With what Face can the Author condemn the *Chinese* for Superstitions, practised by himself?

(\*) The wiser sort of People in *China* say that these are false Reports spread by those Impostors; and that there is nothing real in them.—[R.M. The wise and honest sort of People in *Europe* will say the same, whatever the Jesuits would have them believe in order to keep up their Influence over the Ignorant.]



## Of the Sect of FO, or (A) FWE.

- Sect of Fo.** **F**OR the Space of 270 Years, the Emperors of the *Han* Dynasty possessed the Imperial Throne; and about 65 Years after the Birth of *Christ*, the Emperor *Ming ti* introduced a new Sect into *China*, which is still more dangerous than the former, and has made a much more rapid (a) Progress.
- Its Origin.** This Prince, on Occasion of a Dream which he had, called to Mind a Sentence, often in the Mouth of *Confucius*, viz. *That the Holy One was to be found in the West*. Upon this he sent Ambassadors into the *Indies* to discover who this Saint was, and search for the true Law which he taught: The Ambassadors believing they had found him among the Worshipers of the Idol *Fo*, or *Fave*, carried it into *China*, and with it the Fables, wherewith the *Indian* Books were filled, Superstitions, the Doctrine of the Metempsychosis, and Atheism.
- And Progress.** This Contagion which began in the Court soon got footing in the Provinces, and spread thro' all the Empire, wherein Magic and Impiety had made already but too much Havock.
- It is hard to say with certainty, in what Part of the *Indies* this Person appeared: But if the extraordinary Things that his Disciples relate of him are not so many Fables invented by them, I should be apt to believe, with St. *Francis Xavier*, that he was rather a Spirit than a real (c) Man.
- Miraculous Birth of Fo.** They relate that he was born in that Part of the *Indies* which the *Chinese* call *Shung yen Sho* (d); that his Father [named *In fan wang*] was the King of this Country, and his Mother called *Mo ye*; that she was delivered of him thro' her right Side (e), and died soon after he was born; that when she conceived, she almost constantly dreamed she had swallowed an Elephant (f); and that hence arose the Honours payed to white Elephants by the Kings of the *Indies*, who often make War upon each other to procure this Sort of Animal.
- They say, this Monster stood upright upon his Feet as soon as he came into the World, and walked seven Paces, pointing with one Hand to the Heaven, and the other to the Earth; nay, that he even spoke, and pronounced distinctly the following Words, *There is none, either in the Heaven or on the Earth, who ought to be adored, but I alone*.
- Transform'd to a God at 30.** At the Age of seventeen he married three Wives, and had a Son, called by the *Chinese*, *Mo how lo* (g); at nineteen he forsook his Wives, and Sons, and all earthly Cares, to retire into a solitary Place, under the Guidance of four Philosophers, called by the *Indians*, *Joghi*; at thirty, he was of a sudden transfused by the Divinity, and became (h) *Fo*, [or a Deity] called by the *Indians*, *Pagod*. Henceforward looking upon himself as a God, he minded nothing else but to propagate his Doctrine.
- Works Miracles.** As the Devil was always ready to lend him a helping Hand, by his Assistance he did the most wonderful Things; and by the Novelty of his Miracles filled the People with Dread, and procured their Veneration. The *Chinese* [of the Bonzian Sect] have described these Prodigies in several large Volumes, as well as represented them in Cuts.
- Prodigious Number of Disciples.** It is scarcely credible how many Disciples this chimerical God gained: For they reckon four-score thousand who were employ'd by him in infecting all the East with his impious Tenets. Among this great Number there were ten most distinguished for their Rank and Dignity, who published five thousand Volumes in honour of their Master. The *Chinese* call his Followers [or rather Priests] *Seng* and *Ho shang*; the Tartars, *Lamas*, or *La ma seng*; the Siamese, *Talapouts*; and the Japanese (or rather the Europeans) *Bonzas*.
- Dies at 79.** Yet this new God found himself mortal as well as other Men: For at the Age of 79 his Strength failing gave him Notice of his approaching End, and then, to crown all his Impieties, he disgorged all the Poison of Atheism.
- Teaches contrary Doctrines.** He declared to his Disciples, that till that Moment he had only spoken to them in Parables; that his Discourses were so many Enigmas; and that for 40 Years he had concealed the Truth under figurative and metaphorical Expressions; but that being about to leave them, he would communicate his real Sentiments, and reveal the Mystery of his Doctrine: *Learn then, sayed he to them, that there is no other Principle of all Things but Emptiness and Nothing: From Nothing all Things proceeded, and into Nothing all will return, and this is the End of all our Hopes*. But his Disciples adhered to what he first taught, and their Doctrine is directly opposite to Atheism.

(a) Called also *Fave kyau*.(b) *Coplet* says it has infected all the *Chinese* Books and Sects, excepting the *Mohammedan*. Proem. Declar. ubi sup. p. 27.(c) Could the *Bonzas* themselves believe any thing more stupid than these Jesuits, who yet are every Moment ridiculing the Stupidity of the *Bonzas*? Or rather is it possible that Jesuits can really be so stupid as to believe such ridiculous Nonsense?(d) In the Original *Chung yen cho* instead of *Tchang tien cho*; the Author having forgotten to accommodate the Name as it occurs in *Coplet*, (from whom the Extract seems to be taken) to the French Orthography.(e) On Occasion of his monstrous Birth, P. *Coplet* observes that this Saviour of Mankind, as his Followers call him, hadmore of the Nature of a Viper than a Man; and that the Name *Fo* (as he writes it) by being compounded of *Nen* and *Homo*, intimates as much.(f) *Coplet* has it, that the Mother dreamed a white Elephant passing down her Throat entered into her Womb; Whence she was reported to have conceived by an Elephant: But that others more rightly conjectured, that the Devil stealing some human Seed, got her with Child in the Shape of that Beast. (*Coplet* ubi sup. p. 28.)(g) According to *Coplet*, *Lo how lo*.(h) He was first named *She*, or *She lya*, (corruptly called *Shaka* by the Japanese) by which Name the whole Body of the *Bonzas* as well as their Religion is understood. *Coplet* ubi sup. p. 28.



However these last Words of the Impostor gave Rise to the famous Distinction, which is made in his Doctrine of *Exterior* and *Interior* whereof I shall speak hereafter. His Disciples did not fail to spread a great Number of Fables after his Death (A), and easily persuaded a simple and credulous People, that their Master had been born eight thousand Times; that his Soul had successively passed into different Animals; and that he had appeared in the Form of an Ape, a Dragon, an Elephant (B) &c. This was plainly done with a Design to establish the Worship of this false God under the Shape of various Animals (C): Accordingly these different Creatures, through which the Soul of Fo was fayed to have passed, were adored in several Places; the *Chinese* themselves built many Temples to all sorts of Idols, which multiplied exceedingly throughout the Empire.

Among the great Number of this chimerical Deity's Disciples, there was one named *Mo o kya* His beloved Disciple. more dear to him than all the Rest, whom he trusted with his greatest Secrets, and charged more particularly to propagate his Doctrine (D): He enjoyed him not to trouble himself with bringing Proofs and tedious Arguments to support his Tenets; but only to put at the Head of his Works, which he should publish, these few Words: *It is thus that I have Learned.*

This Fo in one of his Books, speaks of a Master more ancient than himself, called by the *Chinese*, *O mi to*, and corruptly by the *Japanese*, *Amida*; which other Monster appeared in the Kingdom of Bengal, and the *Bonzas* pretend that he attained to such a high degree of Sanctity, and had acquired such abundant Merit, that it is sufficient at present to invoke him to obtain Pardon for the greatest Crimes (E). On this account the *Chinese* of this Sect have continually in their Mouths these two Names, *O mi to*, *Fo* (F): thinking that the Invocation of these pretended Deities purifies them so effectually that they may afterwards give a Loose to all their Passions, being persuaded that it will cost them nothing but an easy Invocation to expiate their most enormous Crimes (G).

The last Words of Fo, when he was dying, gave rise to a Sect of Atheists among a few *Bonzas*: But the greater Part of them not able to shake off the Prejudices of their Education, persevered in the first Errors (H) their Master had taught.

Many endeavoured to reconcile the two Doctrines by the Distinction of the Exterior and the Interior: The first being more suitable to the Capacity of the People, prepared their Minds to receive the second, which was fit only for elevated Minds, and the better to be understood, they made use of the following Example.

The exterior Doctrine, say they, is with relation to the Interior, the same as the Center or Frame is to the Arch that is built upon it: For the Frame being only necessary to support the Stones while the Arch is building, becomes useless as soon as that is finished and is taken to pieces; in the same Manner the exterior Doctrine is layed aside as soon as the Interior is embraced.

As to the exterior Doctrine containing the Principles of the Morality which the *Bonzas* are very careful to inculcate, they say, there is great difference between Good and Evil; that after Death there will be Rewards for those who have done well, and Punishments for those who have done evil; that there are Places appointed for the Souls of both, wherein they are stationed according to their Merit; that the God Fo was born to save Mankind, and to bring back those to the way of Salvation who had strayed from it; that it was he who expiated their Sins, and procured them a happy new-birth in the other World; that there are five Precepts to be observed, the first not to kill any living Creature, the second not to take what belongs to others, the third prohibits Impurity, the fourth lying, and the fifth drinking of Wine.

But above all things they must not be wanting in the Practice of certain charitable Works which their Guides prescribe: "Use the *Bonzas* well, say they, and furnish them with every thing necessary for their Subsistence; build them Monasteries and Temples, that by their Prayers and the Penances they inflict on themselves for the Expiation of your Sins, they may deliver you from

(A) Our Author omits several very material Things related by others. P. Couplet tells us, that his Body was burned with odoriferous Wood, according to the Custom of the Country; and his Ashes, as they say, distributed among Men, Spirits and Dragons of the Sea; That one of his Teeth, was sent as a Present to the King of the Island of Ceylon, where it was worshipped, till *Constantine* the Duke of *Braganza's* Brother having taken it with other Spoil, burnt it and scattered the Ashes, refusing to release it for a vast Sum; and that the *Portuguese* Historians, in calling it the Tooth of an Ape, have not erred, since Fo is worshipped in *Ceylon* in the Figure of an Ape, as he is worshipped in other Places under various Forms and Names. [Couplet ubi sup. p. 29.] By this Passage it appears, that the Religion of the *Bonzas*, has a great Connection with that of the *Indians*, if it be not at bottom the very same: Yet the Missionaries take little or no Notice of this Conformity.

(B) P. Couplet says his last Appearance was in the Form of a white Elephant; tho' a little before he is fayed to have been begotten by a white Elephant.

(C) 'Tis true these *Asiatic* Priests, by this Means, have set up more numerous Objects of Worship than the European; but they have no breaden God among them, or any such monstrous Absurdity as Transubstantiation.

(D) But it does not appear that ever he thought of laying

Claim to a Supremacy on these Words: as the European Popes have done on Words not so strong.

(E) Here these *Asiatic* Catholics have gotten the Doctrine of Merits and Supererogation. And indeed the European Catholics seem to have copy'd almost all their Religion from them.

(F) This is like the Papists *Jesus-maria*.

(G) This answers to the Popish Confession, and Invocation of Saints at privileged Altars, &c. whereby the most atrocious Sins are pretended in like manner to be expiated and done away.

(H) This is very hard and partial Treatment of the *Bonzas*, who are here first condemned for being Atheists, and then for not being Atheists. But it is almost impossible for the Clergy of one Religion, to represent those of another Religion fairly. They are fearful lest other Religions represented fairly should appear better than their own, and therefore do all they can to blacken them. This Practice the *Romish* Clergy are guilty of most of all others, as they have most Occasion; and indeed were they to represent the Religion of the *Bonzas* truly, their Disciples would see very little difference between their own and it; and that their deceitful Guides teach the very same Errors, Impieties and Absurdities, which they condemn in others. Farther to disguise this Conformity, they have also given a very imperfect and confused Account of the Idolatrous Sects in *China*, and particularly this of the *Bonzas*.



"from the Punishments you are liable to (A). "At the Funeral Obsequies of your Relations burn Gilt and Silver-Paper, together with Garments and Silks; all which in the other World shall be changed into Gold, Silver, and real Garments: By this Means, your departed Kindred will be supply'd with the things they want, and have wherewithall to gratify the eighteen Guardians of the infernal Regions, who without these Bribes would be inexorable and treat them with great Rigour (B). If you neglect these Commands, you must expect nothing after Death but to be delivered over to the most cruel Torments: Your Soul, by a long Course of Transmigrations shall pass into the vilest Animals; and you shall appear again in the Form of a Mule, a Horse, a Dog, a Rat, or some other Creature still more contemptible."

It is hard to describe what an Influence the Dread of these Chimeras has on the Minds of the credulous and superstitious Chinese (C); which will appear from a Story related by P. le Comte, of a Passage that happened to himself when he lived in the Province of Shen si.

Story showing how they pull the Credulous.

"They called me, says he, one Day to baptize a sick Person, who was an old Man of seventy, and lived upon a small Pension given him by the Emperor. On entering his Room, he said to me, *I am obliged to you, my Father, for that you are going to deliver me from a grievous Punishment.* That is not all, replied I, Baptism not only delivers Persons from Hell, but conducts them to a Life of Blessedness. What Happiness must it be to go to Heaven, there to enjoy the presence of God everlastingly? *I do not well understand,* reply'd the sick Person, *what you say, and perhaps I have not sufficiently explained myself: You know that I have lived for a long time on the Emperor's Benevolence, and the Bonzas who are thoroughly acquainted with what passes in the next World, have assured me that out of Gratitude I shall be obliged to serve him after my Death, and that my Soul will infallibly pass into one of his Post-Horses to carry Dispatches of the Court into the Provinces. For this Reason they exhort me to perform my Duty well, when I have assumed my new Being; and to take Care not to stumble, nor wince, nor bite, nor hurt any body. Run fast, say they, eat little, and be patient; by which Means you will move the Compassion of the Gods who often convert a good Beast at length into a Man of Quality, and make him a considerable Mandarin: I must own, Father, that this thought shocks me, and I cannot call it to mind without trembling. I dream of it every Night, and sometimes in my sleep fancy myself harnessed, and ready to set out at the first lash of the Rider's whip. I then wake in a Sweat and half distracted, not knowing whether I am still a Man or a Horse. But alas! what will become of me, when it shall be no longer a Dream.*

"This then, my Father, is the Resolution that I am come to: *They say that those of your Religion are not subject to these Miseries; that the Men will always be Men, and shall be the same in the next World as they are in this: I beseech you therefore to receive me among you. I know that your Religion is hard to be observed (D); but if it was still more rigid I am ready to embrace it, and whatever it cost me I had rather be a Christian than become a Beast.* This Discourse and the present Condition of the sick Person moved my Compassion: But reflecting afterwards that God makes use of Simplicity and Ignorance to lead Men to the Truth (E), I took Occasion to convince him of his Errors, and to direct him in the way of Salvation. After I had given him Instructions a long time, at length he believed; and I had the Consolation to see him die, not only possessed of the most rational Sentiments, but with all the Marks of a good Christian."

The Transmigration useful for that end.

It is easy to conceive that since the Chinese are the Dupes of a Doctrine, so absurd and ridiculous as the Transmigration of Souls, the Bonzas who propagate it with great Zeal, draw no small Advantage from it. It is exceeding useful in carrying on all their deceitful Tricks, by which they extort Alms and enlarge their Revenues. Being sprung from the Dregs of the People, and bred from

(A) Can the Author be angry with the Bonzas for this, or think they do amiss? Do not the Romish Clergy inculcate the very same Doctrine, among the Laity of their Church?

(B) The Reader may observe from hence, and what follows, that the Bonzas break three at least of their five moral Precepts, by their impure Practices, and by inventing monstrous Lies, in order to rob others, in a specious sanctify'd way, of what belongs to them. It being absolutely necessary for every Religion to have the Appearance of Goodness, they have taken Care to teach the moral Doctrines; but as a due Observance of them is utterly inconsistent with their views of becoming rich and powerful, they have taken no less Care to set them aside by other Doctrines, which to the unthinking or major Part of Mankind, may appear equally good and necessary. And this is the very Course taken by the Church of Rome. They admit the Decalogue, but by their sanguinary Laws against Heretics (made to secure their Usurpations) they have first repealed the Command against Murder; whence have arisen their Crusades, Massacres, Persecutions, solemn Executions, Dragoonings, Confiscations, Banishments, &c. By decreeing no Faith is to be kept with Heretics, they dissolve one of the chief moral Bonds of Society; and by making it lawful to spoil Heretics, and seize their Possessions, they have abrogated the Command which forbids robbing and stealing; By the Doctrine of the deposing Power in the Pope, they violate the Obedience due to Sovereigns and overturn civil Government. Thus after admitting the moral Principles, which are of a universal Nature, they teach their Followers to violate them with Respect to all Mankind, excepting those of their own

Persuasion, who make but about one fifteenth of the whole. Then they give all the Encouragement imaginable to Immorality and Vice in their Adherents, by making the Method of obtaining Remission of the greatest Sins very easy, either in this Life by an Indulgence, a Prayer before an Image or on their Knees, or by a verbal Pardon; or else after this Life by Masses and Prayers for the Dead: To which I may add the making their Monasteries and Churches Sanctuaries for Villains of all kinds. To which infamous Doctrines set on Foot for the Interest of the Church are owing the frequent Assassinations, and numerous other Villanies, daily committed in Popish Countries: To them are owing those profligate Dispositions and wicked Practices, which render Papists so abominable in the Eyes of all the unbelieving Nations wherever they come.

(C) Why is it hard to conceive that the superstitious Chinese should be frighten'd with such Chimeras, when the Author knows the Laity of his own Religion are frighten'd in no less a Degree with the like Chimeras; such as Purgatory, no Salvation out of the Pal of their Church, Power of Demons, Witches, Sorcery &c.

(D) I suspect this whole Story; but am almost morally sure the Chinese could not utter these Words, his own Religion being much more rigid as to Penances, Fasting, &c. than the Romish: Which Austerities, instead of being a Mark of a true Church, are an infallible Sign of a false One.

(E) Observe how silly Ignorance, which is the Banian Maxim and the necessary Parent of Error, is here recommended as the Guide to Truth, and Mother of Devotion.



from their Infancy in an idle Profession, this Doctrine is proper to authorise the Frauds and Artifices, which they contrive to excite the Liberality of the People, whereof one may judge the better from the following Relation of *P. le Comte*.

"Two of these *Bonzas*, says he, one Day perceiving, in the Court-Yard of a rich Peasant, two or three large Ducks lying before the Door, began to sigh and weep bitterly. The good Woman, who perceived them from her Chamber, coming out to learn the Cause of their Grief: *We know*, sayd they, *that the Souls of our Fathers have passed into the Bodies of these Creatures; and the Apprehension we are under of your killing them, will certainly kill us with Grief. I own*, sayd the Woman, *that we had resolv'd to sell them, but since they are your Parents I promise to keep them.*"

This not being what the *Bonzas* wanted: "Perhaps, sayd they, your Husband will not be so charitable as yourself, and you may depend on it, that it will be fatal to us if any Accident happens to them."

"In short, after a great deal of Discourse, the honest Peasant was so moved with their counterfeit Grief, that she gave them the Ducks to bring up for some time, which they received with great Respect, making twenty several Prostrations before them: But that very Evening they made a Feast of them for their little Society."

In short the *Bonzas* are dispersed throughout the Empire, and brought up to this Trade from their infancy. These wretches (A), to continue their Sect, buy Children of seven or eight Years old, and make young *Bonzas* of them, instructing them in their Mysteries for fifteen or twenty Years to qualify them for the Office: But they are generally very ignorant, few of them understanding the Principles whereon their Doctrines are grounded.

As all the *Bonzas* are not of equal Eminence, there being different Degrees of them, some are employ'd in begging of Alms; others, who have acquired a Knowledge of Books, and speak politely, make it their Business to visit the Learned, and insinuate themselves into the good Graces of the Mandarins: But the Number of these is small. There are likewise among them venerable old Men, who preside over the Assemblies of Women: However these Assemblies are not very numerous, nor to be met with in many Places.

Tho' the *Bonzas* have not a regular Hierarchy, yet they have their Superiors, whom they call *Ta Ho shang*, that is, great *Bonzas*; and this Rank to which they are raised greatly adds to the Reputation they have acquired by their Age, their grave and modest Carriage, and by their Hypocrisy. There are Monasteries of these *Bonzas* to be found every where, but they are not all equally frequented by crowds of People.

In every Province there are certain Mountains with Idol-Temples thereon, which have greater Credit than the rest. To these they go very far in Pilgrimage, and the Pilgrims, as soon as they are at the Foot of the Mountain, kneel down and prostrate themselves at every Step they take in ascending up (B). They who cannot go on Pilgrimage, request some of their Friends to buy them a large printed Sheet, marked at one corner by the *Bonzas*, in the Middle of which is the Figure of the God *Fo*, with a vast Number of small Circles drawn round about it and on its Garments. The Devotees of both Sexes wear on their Neck or Arm a sort of Rosary, composed of a hundred middle-sized Beads, and eight large ones; on the Top is a large Bead resembling one of the little Snuff-Boxes shaped like Gourds. In turning these Beads between their Fingers, they pronounce these mysterious Words *O mi to fo*, the Signification of which they themselves don't understand (C): They make above a hundred Genuflexions, after which they draw one of these red Circles upon the Sheet of Paper.

They invite the *Bonzas*, from time to time, to come to their Houses to pray, and to seal and make authentic the Number of Circles which they have drawn. They carry them in a pompous Manner to Funerals in a little Box closely sealed up by the *Bonzas*: This they call *Lü in*, that is, a Passport for travelling from this Life to the next (D): This Passport is not obtained without paying several *Taels*; but, say they, we ought not to begrudge this expence, because we are sure of a happy Voyage.

Among the Temples of the false Gods (E), there are several famous for the Beauty and Largeness of their Structure, as well as for the strange Shapes of their Images; some are so monstrous, that the poor Chinese at the Sight of them fall prostrate, and knock their Forehead several times against the Ground out of Fear and Dread.

(A) Here the Monastic Life is confessed to be an idle Profession by a Monastic.

(B) How nearly do these resemble Popish Pilgrimages.

(C) This is contradicted by what has been already sayd, I have also observed that this answers to the *Jesu Maria* of Papists, and here we see the very Rosary, or Beads, in use with them, from whom in all likelihood the Papists took it.

(D) This answers to the Figure of the Cross, and other Trumpery put into the Coffins of deceased Papists; burying in the Habit of some Religious Order and the like: Which Privileges are not granted for nothing neither.

(E) I observed before [p. 647. Note A.] That the Missionaries to blacken the Sect of *Tau ts* represent their Saints, and Heroes as Gods. They do the same by those of the *Bonzas*, who yet make the very same Defence, when they are charged with Idolatry, as the Romanists of these latter times do. *The Lamas*, says a very intelligent Author, teach and practise the fundamental Rule of all rational Religion, which consists in honouring God, assisting nobly, and giving to every one what belongs to him. The Life which the *Lamas* as well as the *Kalmucks* lead proves incontestably the two last Points; and the Discourses which some Travellers worthy of Credit have had with them teaching Religion assure us, that they protest strenuously against adoring more than one God; That the *Dalay Lama* and *Küükhtü* are his Servants, with whom he communicates for the Instruction and Good of Men; That the Images which they honour are no more than Representations of the Divinity and just holy Men; and that they expose them to the View of People, only to put them in mind of their Duty towards God, and the Acts of Virtue which he is pleas'd they should perform. 'Tis true, I do not think this defence frees them from the Charge of Idolatry, which the Worship of Images necessarily includes: But I think it ought to stop the Mouths of the Missionaries, who, on their own Principles, cannot charge the Sectaries of *Fo* with Idolatry, without confessing themselves guilty of it. Wherefore to avoid the Retort they have misrepresented the *Bonzas*, and made Gods of their Saints and Images. \*Gen. Hist. of Turke, Moguls, &c. Vol. 2. p. 409.



Sanctified  
Outside of the  
Bonzas,

As the *Bonzas* have no other View than to get Money, and, whatever Reputation they may have acquired, are in reality nothing but the Dregs of the Empire, they are well acquainted with the Art of cringing before People. They affect Mildness, Complaisance, Humility, and a Modesty which deceive at first Sight; while the *Chinese* who look no farther than the Outside, take them for so many Saints: Especially when to this sanctified Appearance they join rigorous Fasting, and rising several times in a Night to worship *Fo*; seeming to sacrifice themselves in some sort for the public (A) Good.

And other  
Tricks to  
cheat the  
People.

That they may seem very meritorious in the Eyes of the Vulgar, and work them up to Compassion which disposes them to Liberality, they appear in the public Streets and Places, inflicting on themselves severe Penances. Some will fasten to their Neck and Feet thick Chains above thirty Foot long, which they drag thro' the Street with a great deal of Pain, and stopping at every Door: *You see, say they, how dear it costs us to expiate your Sins; cannot you afford us some trifling (B) Alms?*

You see others in the most frequented Places and where cross Streets meet, all over Blood by beating their Heads with a great Stone: But among these Kinds of Penances there is none more surprizing than that of a young *Bonza*, which is related by *P. le Comte* in the following Manner:

Story of a  
Knavish Men-  
dicant.

"I met one Day in the Middle of a Village, a young *Bonza* who was affable, mild, modest, and consequently a very proper Person for the Office of begging Charity. He stood upright in a close Chair stuck all over on the Inside with long sharp Nails, in such a Manner that he could not lean without being wounded; and was carried by two hired Porters very slowly into the Houses, where he besought the People to have Compassion on him.

"I am, sayd he, shut up in this Chair for the good of your Souls, and am resolved never to go out till all the Nails (which were above 2000) are bought. Every Nail is worth six Sols: But then there is not one of them but what will become a Fountain of Blessings in your Houses. If you buy any you will perform an Act of heroic Virtue, and you will give an Alms not to the Bonzas on whom you may bestow your Charity otherways, but to the God *Fo*, to whose Honour we intend to build a (C) Temple.

"I then passed near the Place where the *Bonza* was, who, as soon as he saw me, made me the same Compliment as he had done the rest. Whereupon I told him he was very unhappy to give himself so much useless Torment in this World; advising him to leave his Prison, and go to the Temple of the true God to be instructed in heavenly Truths, and submit to a Penance less severe and more (D) salutary.

Good Sneeer  
on the Jesuit

"He replied very mildly, and without the least Concern, that he was obliged to me for my Council, but much more so if I would buy a dozen of his Nails, which would certainly make me fortunate in my Journey. Here, sayd he, turning himself to one Side, take these which upon the Faith of a *Bonza* are the best in my Chair, because they give me the most Pain: However they are all of the same Price (E): He pronounced these Words with an Air and Action, which on any other Occasion would have made me laugh: But then his Delusion excited my Pity, and I was pierced with Grief at the Sight of this miserable Slave of the Devil, who suffered more to damn his Soul, than a *Romanist* is obliged to do to save his."

Bonzas infi-  
nuate them-  
selves into  
Families,

The same Motive of getting Alms causes these *Bonzas* to repair to the Houses of both Poor and Rich, the instant they are sent for. They go, as many as are desired, and stay as long as the Persons please; and when there is any Assembly of Women, (which happens very rarely, and is never practised unless in some few Places, as has been already observed) they bring with them a grand *Bonza*, who is distinguished from the rest by the Place that he takes, by the Respect the other *Bonzas* pay him, and by his Habit, which is worn only by those of his Rank.

Especially  
among the  
Women.

These Assemblies of the Ladies bring in a fine Revenue to the *Bonzas*, there being in every City several Societies, of ten, fifteen or twenty Women, who are commonly of a good Family and advanced in Years, or else Widows, and consequently have Money to dispose of. These they make Superiors [or Lady Abbesses] of the Society in their Turns for one Year; and it is generally at the Superior's House that the Assemblies are held: All the rest contributing a certain Sum of Money to defray the common Expences, necessary for keeping up Order.

Religious Fe-  
male Assem-  
blies.

On the Day when the Assembly is held, there comes a pretty aged *Bonza*, who is President, and sings the Anthems to *Fo*. The Devotees join their Voices, and after they have several times

cried

(A) This is the very Character of the *Papish* Priests, who by their hypocritical Outside, impose on the unthinking Multitude, who led wholly by Appearances never look deeper.

(B) Is not this in effect, the Practice of the Mendicant Friars in *Papish* Countries.

(C) This Contrivance is not so oppressive and scandalous as that of the Priests preaching up and selling (or rather of the People being forced to buy) Indulgencies in Spain, Portugal, &c. but will doubtless be altogether as effectual for the good of the Soul.

(D) We hear a great deal of these Millionaries Reproofs and Arguments used to the *Bonzas* against their Religion, but no Defence or Reply of theirs; as if they had nothing to say for themselves, or were very ignorant, as they are often represented. However, the contrary of this appears from the Relation of a *Romish* Gentleman, who in his Way to China, thro' the Country of the *Mongals* (or *Mongols*) having had an Opportunity of discursing with some of the *Lamas* about their Religion, began to reproach them for so cruelly deceiving the Vulgar, by making them believe the *Kütükhtü* and the *Dalay lama*, are immortal; a Quality which, he sayd, they could not be ignorant, did not belong to Hu-

man Creatures, such as they could not deny those two to be. But they knew so well how to turn the Reproach upon himself, by putting him in Mind of some delicate Doctrines of the *Roman Church* relating to the Infallibility and Supremacy of *Popes*, that he assured me, says my Author, whose Friend the Gentleman was, that he had Need of all his Skill to bring himself off with Honour. Which shews, continues he, that these People are not altogether so ignorant of the Religions of other Nations, as we are willing to believe. And as he is a Person of Merit, and a good *Roman Catholic*, to whom this Adventure happened, there is no Room to doubt the Truth of the Fact. I shall only add, that if they are not ignorant of other Religions, it is not probable they are ignorant of their own, tho' they are shy in divulging it, as the same Author observes. \* See Gen. Hist. of the *Turks*, *Moguls* and *Tatars*, Vol. 2. p. 489, 490, also p. 488.

(E) This is a curious Piece of Rallery from one idolatrous Priest to another: For the *Bonza* doubtless knew him to be a *Papish* Priest who traded with Relics, and such sort of Trumpery as well as himself.



cried *O mi to, Fo*, and beaten upon some small Kettles, they sit down to Table and regale themselves: But this is only the ordinary Ceremony.

On the more solemn Days, they adorn the House with several Images placed in Form by the *Bonzas*, and Numbers of grotesque Paintings representing in a hundred different Manners the Torments of Hell. The Prayers and Feasting last for seven Days; during which Time the grand *Bonza* is assisted by several *Bonzas*, who join in the Confort.

During these seven Days, their principal Care is to prepare and consecrate Treasures (A) for the other World. To this purpose they build a little Palace with Paper painted and gilt, omitting no Part belonging to a House: This they fill with a great Number of Pasteboard-boxes painted and varnished; containing Ingots of Gold or Silver, (that is to say of gilt Paper) whereof there are several Hundreds, designed to redeem them from the dreadful Punishments that *Yen vang*, or the King of Hell, inflicts on those who have nothing to give him. They put a Score by themselves, to bribe the Officers of the Tribunal of this King of Shadows; the rest, as well as the House, is for lodging, boarding, and buying some Employment in the other World. They shut all these little Boxes with Padlocks of Paper, and then lock the Doors of the Paper-house, keeping the Keys with great Care.

Consecrated  
Trifles to re-  
lieve the Soul  
after Death.

When the Person, who has been at this Expence, happens to die, they first burn the House, in a very serious Manner: Then they burn the Keys both of it and the little Chests, that she may be able to open them and take out the Gold and Silver, which is to be no longer mere Paper, but will be transmuted into fine Silver and Gold, against which tempting Metal *Yen vang* is not Proof, nothing being more easy than to corrupt (B) him.

This Hope, joined to that outward Show which attracts the Eyes, makes such an Impression upon the Minds of these poor *Chinese*, that nothing but an extraordinary Miracle of Grace can undeceive them (C). In a Word, this Exercise of Religion is perfectly free, for they celebrate the Feasts whenever they please; and you are sure always to have good Words from these Jugglers, who promise you long Life, great Honours for your Children, Abundance of Riches in this World, and above all Things contuminate Happiness in the next. Such are the Extravagancies with which they abuse the Credulity of the People: Whereby they have acquired so great an Ascendant over their Minds that Images are every where to be met with, which the blind *Chinese* invoke incessantly; especially in Times of Sickness, when they are to go any Journey, or when they are in (D) Danger.

Hope and  
outward Shew  
the Basis of  
false Religi-  
ons.

P. Fontaney in his Voyage from *Siam* to *China*, in a *Chinese* Vessel, was an Eye-witness of all their Ceremonies, which are no less ridiculous than superstitious. They had, says he, on the Poop of their Vessel, a small Image quite black with the Smoak of a Lamp, which burns continually in Honour of it (E); before they sat down to Dinner, they offered it some of the Victuals; and twice a Day they threw into the Sea little Gondolas made of Paper, to the End, that being employed in oversetting those small Boats, he might spare their own.

Superstitious  
Ceremonies  
for appeasing  
Storms at Sea.

But if, notwithstanding these Presents and Offerings, the Waves are agitated in an extraordinary manner by the Spirit which as they believe governs them, they then burn a great many Feathers, whose Smoak and bad Smell infect the Air; pretending by this means to lay the Tempest, and to drive the evil Demon far enough off: But at the Sight of a Mountain, in passing the Channel of *Cochin-china*, where they have built an Idol-temple, they out-did themselves in their Superstitions.

After they had offered Victuals, burnt Perfumes, lighted Wax-candles, thrown several Figures of gilt Paper into the Sea, and prostrated themselves an infinite Number of times (F), the Sailors prepared a small Vessel made of Boards, about four Foot long, with Masts, Shrouds, Sails, Streamers, Compass, Rudder, Boat, Cannons, Provisions, Merchandises, and every thing even to the Book of Accompts. They had disposed upon the Quarter-Deck, the Forecastle, and the Shrouds, as many small Figures of painted Paper as there were Men in the Vessel: They put this Machine upon a Raft, and lifting it up in a great deal of Form, carried it about the Vessel with the Sound of a Drum and Copper-Bason; the Procession being led by a Sailor habited like a *Bonza*, who fenced with a long Staff, and shouted as loud as possible: Then they let it down slowly into the Sea, and followed it with their Eyes till it was out of Sight, while the Sham *Bonza* going to the highest Part of the Stern continued his Shouts, and wished it a happy (G) Voyage.

A Naval Pro-  
cession.

(A) This, with Merits above mentioned, answers to the imaginary Treasure of the *Romish* Church.

(B) This stands in Place of Indulgences for delivering out the Treasure of the Church, and of Masses for the Dead. This is their Trick for getting Money, under Pretence of delivering the Souls from Purgatory. The Cheats of the *Bonzas* you see are exactly the same at Bottom, and all directed to the same Ends as those of the *Romish* Church; from which they differ only in the Contrivance and Manner of carrying them on.

(C) This is the very Case of the *Romish* Laity, who are as it were enchanted, by the great Security and Hope given them by their Religion, which likewise is calculated by its exterior Pomp to dazzle the Eyes, and work on the Affections instead of the Understandings of its votaries. So that as the same Causes produce the same Effects, the *Romish* Missionaries must expect the same Insatiation and Obduracy from the *Chinese* Laity of the Sect of *Fo*, that the Protestant Divines experience from the *Romish* Laity, who are, generally speaking, no less ignorant and bigoted in their Way than the Followers of *Fo*.

(D) This answers to the Papists ascribing the Power of Protection and healing Diseases to their Saints; whom they invoke for that Purpose, commonly at their Shrines, or before their Images in *Romish* Countries.

(E) Observe the Folly and Malice of these Missionaries, who cannot let so slight a Circumstance pass them, as the Blackness of the Image, altho' they know it cannot be blacker than the Face of the Lady of *Loretta* herself, occasioned by the very same Cause.

(F) The Parallel holds in almost every thing; this is like the Papists praying to their Saints, and throwing Reliques into the Sea to appease a Storm.

(G) This resembles the Racket made on Board a *Portuguese* Ship in a Storm, with their Patron St. *Anthony*; whom they whip and throw into the Sea, if at length he does not become propitious. But it seems the *Bonzas* have more Respect for their Saints than to treat them in so scurvy a Manner.



Religious As-  
semblies of  
Men.

As there are Assemblies of Women where the *Bonzas* preside, there are likewise Assemblies of Men, which they call *Chang chay* or *Fasters*: Every Assembly has its Superior, who is as it were Master of the rest, and has under him a great Number of Disciples called *Fu ti*, to whom they give the Name of *Tse fu*, which signifies *Doctor-Father*.

When they are industrious, and have gained any Reputation, they easily obtain this Office. They preserve in a Family some old Manuscript, handed down from Father to Son for several Generations: This Book is full of impious Prayers which no-body understands (A), and none but the Head of the Family can repeat. Sometimes these Prayers are followed with surprizing Effects; nor needs there any thing more to raise a Man to the Quality of *Tse fu*, and gain a great Number of Disciples.

Luxurious  
Fasting.

The Days on which the Assemblies are held all the Disciples have Notice to appear, and no Person dares stay away. The Superior being seated at the lower end of the Hall, towards the Middle, they all prostrate themselves before him, and then form two Ranks; one to the right, and the other to the left. When the Time is come, they recite these unintelligible and impious Prayers; after which they place themselves at the Table, and plunge themselves into all manner of Access: For nothing can be more pleasant than these *Chinese* Fasters. To say the Truth, they refrain all their Life-time from the Use of Flesh, Fish, Wine, Onions, Garlic, and every thing that heats the Blood; but they know how to make themselves amends with other Provisions, and especially by the Liberty of eating as often as they (B) please.

Fasting a rare  
Trick to get  
Money.

We are not to suppose that this Sort of Abstinence is any great Trouble to a *Chinese*; for there are great Numbers who do not profess the Art of Fasting, and yet are contented with Rice and Herbs for their Food, as not being able to purchase Flesh (C): Nor is it any Surprize that the Professors of this Sect should be so very strict with Respect to their Abstinence that nothing can prevail on them to break it, for it is an easy Trade to them, by which they gain considerable Revenues.

And a Cloak  
for all Vices

When once they have obtained the Degree of *Tse fu*, and gained a great Number of Disciples, the Contribution which each of them is obliged to pay on the Days of Meeting, amounts to a considerable Sum in a Year. Besides the Practice of Fasting, is an excellent Device for covering all the Irregularities of an infamous and libertine Life, and for acquiring a Reputation of Sanctity at a very small (D) Expence.

*Bonzas* Arts  
to keep their  
Followers  
staunch.

In short, there are no Stratagems nor ridiculous Inventions which these Ministers of Satan have not recourse to, in order to keep their Followers staunch in their Devotion to the God *Fo*, and to alienate them from the Preachers of the Gospel (E). One while they persuade them, that the Missionaries seek only to strengthen themselves by the Number of their Disciples, in order to execute Designs destructive to the State; that they gain their Disciples by Help of Money, and that they never want Money, as having the Art of counterfeiting it. Sometimes they make them believe, that the Missionaries pluck out the Eyes of their Profelites to make Telescopes of, for observing the Stars; at other times, they pretend that their Design in coming to *China* is to make Converts, which are scarce in *Europe*; that when once a Person who has gone over to them comes to die, there is no escaping out of their Hands; and that by means of certain Charms which they cast upon Souls, they force them to pass over into *Europe*: Behold, say they, what Dangers we are exposed to from them.

These Extravagancies pronounced with an Air of Confidence and Authority do not fail to impose on credulous Minds. However it must be confessed, they do not make much Impression on the better Sort (F): For, notwithstanding the sanctified Looks which the *Bonzas* put on, they are known for the most Part to lead debauched Lives; nor have they much Access to a certain sort of People, who think of nothing but indulging themselves, and whose Religion consists only in odd Superstitions, which every one follows according to his Fancy.

Interior Doc-  
trine of *Fo*.

But be this as it will, what has been mentioned hitherto relates only to the exterior Doctrine of *Fo*, accommodated to the Artifices which the *Bonzas* have contrived to impose on the Credulity of the People (G). As to the interior Doctrine, every one is not capable of comprehending its Mysteries,

(A) How then does he know they are impious? What Abundant Malice betrays him into.

(B) This looks invidious, and is only a bare Assertion of an Enemy. But supposing it fact, it is no more than what is practiced by the *Ramish* Priests themselves as well as the Laity; who regale themselves on fasting Days with the most delicious Things they are allowed to eat, besides drinking Wine and other heating Liquors, which the *Bonzas* abstain from.

(C) This is a pious way of running down the *Benzian* Fasting; for is it not the Case of the poor and ordinary sort of People in Popish Countries, especially *Spain*, *Portugal*, &c?

(D) I cannot but admire the Weakness of the Author in making these Discoveries and using Arguments, which not only may be turned on the Priests of his Religion, but have actually often been retorted on them by Protestant Divines. All that can be said, is, that he writes not for Protestants, but for Popish Bigots, who never make Use of their Senses.

(E) Is not this the very Practice of the Popish Clergy themselves? Don't they for this End keep the Bible out of the Hands of the Laity, persuade them that all are damned but those of their own Communion, and that Protestants allow Salvation in their Church; forbid them to read Protestant Books, or hear their Arguments, and tell a thousand monstrous and ridiculous Lies to inspire them with Hatred to their Persons as well as their Religion? The Motive to all this on both Sides, is the Fear of losing their Wealth and Power. But the greatest Security the

*Bonzas* can have against the Progress of Popery among them, is the great Conformity between the two Religions: For by the Change, their Followers see they will be just in the same Condition they were before; there being nothing of Novelty to induce them, excepting what arises from the Difference of a few Forms. Besides, they must naturally have a greater Respect for the Saints, Images, and Ceremonies of their own, than those of a foreign Manufacture.

(F) Nor do the *Ramish* Absurdities and Superstitions gain Credit with the better Sort: but such are called Heretics, and treated as Malefactors (by the sanctified Clergy of that Church) if they dare speak their Minds.

(G) On the whole, (notwithstanding the Account here given, is very imperfect, and otherways disguised by the Author, or those who have sent him the Memoirs) this exterior Doctrine improved by the imposing *Bonzas* is manifestly so like Christianity, as metamorphosed and cooked up by the *Ramish* Clergy, that I cannot but think one of them is copied from the other. The Jesuits indeed sensible of the Conformity, and not able to disguise it sufficiently, would have it thought to be a Corruption of Christianity, which they suggest once prevailed in *Tibet*, and other Parts whence the *Bonzas* came: But as it appears by their own Account, from the *Chinese* History, that the Religion of *Fo* was in those Countries a thousand Years before *Christ*, it may well be presumed they think the contrary, and that their own Religion was taken from thence, in all the similar Articles



Mysteries, not only the common People, but the Generality of the *Bonzas* themselves, being too stupid to partake thereof; for those who are initiated, must have a sublime Genius fit for attaining the highest Perfection.

This interior Doctrine, which the Masters of the Sect pretend to be the only true, and solid one, is the same that was taught by *Fo* in the last Moments of his Life, and which his Disciples, in whom he most confided, have taken care to explain and propagate. We need only mention this ridiculous System, to shew what Excess of Folly and Extravagance Mankind is capable of running into.

They teach that a *Vacuum*, or Nothing, is the Beginning and End of all Things; that from Nothing our first Parents had their Original, and to Nothing they returned after their Death; that the *Vacuum* is what constitutes our Being and Substance; that from this Nothing, and the Mixture of the Elements, all Things were produced, and to them shall return; that all Beings differ from one another only by their Shape and Qualities, in the same Manner as Snow, Ice, and Hail differ from each other; or as a Man, a Lion, or some other Creature made of the same Metal, differ from each other, which being melted down, lose their Shape and Qualities, but remain the same as to Substance.

Thus, say they, all Beings, as well animate as inanimate, tho' differing in their Form and Qualities, are only the same Thing flowing from the same Principle. This Principle is a most admirable Thing, exceeding pure, entirely free from Alteration, very fine, simple, and by its Simplicity, is the Perfection of all Beings: In short, it is very perfect, and constantly at rest, without either Energy, Power, or Understanding; nay more, its Essence consists in being void of Understanding, Action, or Desires. In order to live happy, we must continually strive by Meditation, and frequent Victories over our selves, to become like this Principle, and to this Purpose must accustom ourselves to do nothing, to wish for nothing, to be sensible of nothing, and to think of nothing. Vices, or Virtues, Rewards or Punishments, Providence and the Immortality of the Soul are quite out of the Question; all Holiness consists in ceasing to be, and in being swallowed by Nothing. The nearer one approaches to the Nature of a Stone, or the Trunk of a Tree, the more perfect he is; in short, it is in Indolence and Inactivity, in a Cessation of all Desires, in a Privation of every Motion of the Body, in an Annihilation of all the Faculties of the Soul, and in the general Suspension of all Thought, that Virtue and Happiness consist. When a Man has once attained this blessed State, all his Vicissitudes and Transmigrations being at an end, he has nothing to fear afterwards, because properly speaking he is nothing; or if he is any thing, he is happy; and to say every thing in one Word, he is perfectly like the God *Fo*.

This Doctrine is not without its Followers even at Court, where some Grandees embraced it: The Emperor *Kau tsong* was so bewitched with it, that he resigned the Empire to his adopted Son, that he might give himself up entirely to these stupid and senseless Meditations.

However, the greater Part of the Literati have opposed this Sect of the false Contemplatists, and among others a famous *Ko lau, Pwey ghey*, a Disciple of *Confucius*. They attacked it with all their Might, proving that this Apathy, or rather this monstrous Stupidity, of neither doing nor thinking of any thing, overturned all Morality and civil Society; that Man is superior to other Beings, only in that he thinks, reasons, applies himself to the Knowledge of Virtue, and practises it; that to aspire after this foolish Inactivity, is renouncing the most essential Duties, and abolishing the necessary Relation of Father and Son, Husband and Wife, Prince and Subject; that in short if this Doctrine was followed, it would reduce all the Members of a State to a Condition much inferior to that of Beasts.

Thus *China* is become a Prey to all Sorts of ridiculous and extravagant Opinions: And tho' the Literati oppose the above-mentioned Sects, and treat them as Heresies, altho' they have often inclined the Court to extirpate them throughout the Empire, yet they have hitherto been tolerated, either thro' Fear of exciting Commotions among the Commonality, who are strangely addicted to Images, or because they have had secret Favourers and Protectors among the Literati themselves; many of whom being sprung from the Dregs of the People, with Difficulty quit the Superstitions wherein they were brought up: So that all they ever do, is to condemn them in general as Heresies, which is put in Practice every Year at *Pe king*.

It is this monstrous Heap of Superstitions, Magic, Idolatry and Atheism, that, having very early infected the Minds of many of the Literati, has spawned a Sect which serves instead of Religion or Philosophy: For we cannot tell what to make of it, and it is well if they can themselves.

### Of the Sect of certain Literati of these later Times.

THE modern Doctors, who are Authors of a new Doctrine, by which they pretend to clear up whatever is obscure in the ancient Books, appeared under the nineteenth Family, or that of the *Song*, above a thousand Years after Idolatry had been brought into *China*. The Troubles that the different Sects, and the Wars caused in the Empire, entirely banished from it the Love of the Sciences, and introduced Ignorance and Corruption of Manners, which prevailed there for many Ages.

There were then not any Doctors capable of rousing Men's Minds from so general a Lethargy; but the Taste which the Imperial Family of the *Song* had for the ancient Books, and their



Esteem for Persons of Learning reviving by little and little an Emulation for Literature, There arose among the principal Mandarins, Men of Genius and Merit, who undertook to explain not only the ancient Canonical Books, but the Interpretation made thereon by *Confucius*, his Disciple *Mençius*, and other celebrated Writers.

Interpreters  
of the ancient  
Books.

These Interpreters, who gained a great Reputation, appeared about the Year of *Christ* 1070: The most famous were *Chu tse* and *Ching tse*, who published their Works under the Reign of the sixth Prince of the *Song*; *Chu bi* distinguished himself so greatly by his Capacity, that they honoured him with the Name of Prince of the Literati. Tho' these Authors have been in vogue for these 5 or 600 Years past, yet they are still look'd upon as modern, especially when compared with the ancient Interpreters, who lived fifteen Ages before them.

Ancient Doc-  
trine reduced  
into a Body.

In a Word, about the Year of our Lord, 1400, *Yong lo*, third Emperor of the 21st Race, or *Tay ming* Family, made Choice of forty two of the most able Doctors, whom he commanded to reduce the Doctrine, fit for the Learned to follow, into one Body; and to adhere chiefly to the Commentaries of *Chu tse* and *Ching tse*, who flourished under the *Song*.

But cor-  
rupted by the  
Compilers.

These Mandarins applied themselves to this Work; and besides interpreting the Canonical Books with those of *Confucius* and *Mençius*, they composed another containing twenty Volumes, and gave it the Title of *Sing li ta tswen*, that is, *Of Nature, or Natural Philosophy*. They followed, according to their Orders, the Doctrines of the two Writers above-mentioned, who lived but three Ages before; and that they might not seem to deviate from the Sense and Doctrine of the ancient Books which are so much esteemed in the Empire, they endeavoured by false Interpretations, and wresting the Meaning, to make them speak their own Sentiments.

The Authority of the Emperor, the Reputation of those Mandarins, their ingenious and polite Style, the new Method of handling the Subject, with their Vaunts of understanding the ancient Books, gave a Reputation to their Works, and many of the Literati were deluded thereby.

Their me-  
thod of pro-  
ceeding.

These new Doctors pretended, that what they taught was founded on the *I king*, the most ancient of the *Chinese* Books: But their Explanations were very obscure, and full of equivocal Expressions as well as Contradictions. They made Use of certain Terms, aiming to have it thought they still retained the old Doctrines, and yet in reality advancing a new Doctrine; seeming to speak like the Ancients with Relation to the Object of the primitive Worship, and at the same time giving to those Words such an impious Sense as destroys all sort of Worship. The following is a Sketch of their System, which is hard to make Sense of, and perhaps the Inventors did not well

Call the first  
principle *Tay*  
*ki*.

understand it themselves. They gave the first Principle of all Things, the Name of *Tay ki*; and as this Name, by the Confession of *Chu tse* himself whom they follow in their System, was known neither to *Fo bi*, the Author of the *I king* and Founder of the Monarchy, nor to *Yen wang*, or *Chew kong* his Son, its Interpreters, (who lived but 1700 Years after *Fo bi* according to the Opinion of many *Chinese*) they build on the Authority of *Confucius*.

Nevertheless *P. Couplet*, who was well versed in the Books of the *Chinese*, informs us that Prince of Philosophers mentions it but once; and that only in a short Appendix at the End of his Book, containing his Exposition of the *I king*; where he says: *That the Transmutation contains the Tay ki, and that the latter produce to Qualities, the Perfect and the Imperfect; that these two Qualities produce four Images; and that these four Images produce eight Figures.*

Excepting this single Text, there is not a Word of the *Tay ki*, either in the five Canonical Books called *U king* (\*), or in the four others of *Confucius* and *Mençius*; so that the 42 Doctors say, they are beholden to the two Expositors who wrote under the Family of the *Song*, for having discovered this profound and hidden Doctrine, which was unknown to all Antiquity.

What this  
*Tay ki* is.

Altho' they say, this *Tay ki* is something not to be expressed, that it is impossible to explain it, that it is separated from Imperfections and Matter, and that one cannot find a Name suitable to it, yet they endeavour to give such an Idea of it, as may authorise their Opinion. And as these two Words *Tay ki*, signifies Great Pole, or the Ridge of a House, they say, it is with respect to other Beings, what the Ridge is with respect to an Edifice; that it serves to unite together and preserve all the Parts of the Universe, just as the Ridge unites and supports all the Parts which compose the Roof of a House.

They compare it also to the Root of a Tree, and Axel-tree of a Waggon; they call it the Pivot on which the whole turns; the Basis, the Pillar, and the Foundation of all Things. It is not, say they, a chimerical Being like the *Vacuum* of the *Bonzas*, but it is a real Being which had Existence before all Things, and yet is not distinguishable from them: For it is the same thing with the Perfect and the Imperfect, the Heaven, the Earth, and the five Elements, inasmuch that every thing may in some Sense be called *Tay ki*.

A being im-  
movable and  
ignorant of  
its own Ope-  
rations.

They say likewise, that it ought to be considered as a thing immoveable and at rest; when it moves, it produces *Yang*, which is a perfect subtle active Matter, and in continual Motion; when at rest, it produces *Li*, a gross imperfect Matter, and without Motion: This is not unlike a Man who keeps himself at Rest, while he profoundly meditates upon a Subject, and proceeds from Rest to Motion when he has investigated what he meditated upon. From the Mixture of these two Sorts of Matter, arise the five Elements, which by their Union and Temperament form the Universe, and the Difference that is found among Bodies: Hence arise the continual Vicissitudes of the several Parts of the Universe, the Motion of the Stars, and the Immobility of the Earth, with the Fruitfulness or Sterility of the Plains. They add, that this Matter, or rather this Virtue diffused thro' Matter, produces, disposes in proper Order, and preserves all Parts of the Universe; That it is the Cause of all the Changes, and yet is ignorant of its own regular Operations.

However,

(\*) *U* signifies *five*, *King* stands for the Canonical Book.



However, nothing is more surprizing than to read of the Perfections that these modern Commentators attribute to their *Tay ki*: They give it infinite Extension and Immensity; it is, say they, a most pure and perfect Principle, without either Beginning or End; it is the Idea, the Model, and the Source of all Things, and the Essence of all other Beings: In short, in other Places, they consider it as an animated Being, and give it the Name of Soul and Spirit; they even speak as if they looked upon it as the supreme Understanding which produced all Things, Did they not disagree with themselves, and in endeavouring to reconcile their System with the ancient Books, fall into the most manifest Contradictions. Some Passages also of their Books, have induced the *Chinese* to raise Temples to *Tay ki*.

To the same Being which they call *Tay ki*, they likewise give the Name of *Li*: 'Tis this, say they farther, which joined to Matter is the Composition of all natural Bodies, which constitutes each particular Being, and distinguishes it from all others. Their Method of reasoning is as follows: You make out of a Piece of Wood a Stool or a Table; but the *Li* gives the Wood the Form of the Table or Stool, and when they are broken, the *Li* of neither subsists any longer.

They reason the same way with Respect to Morality: They call *Li* that which establishes the reciprocal Duty between the Prince and Subject, Father and Son, Husband and Wife; they give likewise the Name of *Li* to the Soul, because it informs the Body; and when it ceases to inform it, the *Li* is said to be destroyed; in the same Manner, say they, as frozen Water dissolved by Heat, loses the *Li* whereby it became Ice, and resumes its Fluidity and natural Being.

In short, when they have disputed in this perplexed and scarce intelligible Manner concerning the Nature of the *Tay ki* and *Li*, they necessarily fall into Atheism; in as much as they exclude every efficient supernatural Cause, and admit no other Principle than an inanimate Virtue united to Matter, to which they give the Name of *Li* or *Tay ki*.

But they find themselves most embarrassed, when they attempt to elude the numerous Passages in the ancient Books, which speak distinctly of Spirits, of Justice, of the Providence of a Supreme Being, and the Knowledge which he has of the Secrets of Men's Hearts, &c. likewise when they endeavour to reconcile them to their own gross Conceptions, they inevitably fall into fresh Contradictions, destroy in one Place what they establish in another, of which I shall produce a few Instances.

They teach distinctly that the Soul, by the Empire which it has over its Motions and Affections, may come to the Knowledge of the Supreme Soul, that Understanding which governs all Things; that likewise, the bare Consideration of that wonderful Manner by which the several Beings propagate themselves, each Species producing its Likeness, proves evidently that there is one great intelligent Being, which preserves, governs, and conducts all Things to their proper Ends in the most convenient Manner: They go so far, as to deny this Being to be either inanimate or material; they even affirm that it is a Spirit, that it contains the Excellence of all other Beings, and gives Being to every thing which subsists.

It is no Wonder these modern Commentators should torture their Wits to make their Opinions agree with the ancient Books, since the Principles which they admit were unknown to the ancient *Chinese*.

I have already observed, that their *Tay ki* is to be found neither in the *I king*, which consists only of a Table of 64 Figures, composed out of 84 Lines, some intire, some broken; nor in the Interpretations made of them 1700 Years after *Fo bi*; nor in the *Sbu king*, and the other Classical Books. In short, it occurs only, and that but once in a brief Appendix which *Confucius* has added to his Expositions of the *I king*. As for the *Li*, it is no where spoken of in the Sense given it by these new Commentators.

We see then the famous *Tay ki* has been hatched about 3000 Years after *Fo bi*; and 1600 after *Confucius*, who mentions it but once, and, as the most skilful Expositors affirm, meant nothing else by it than the first Matter.

However it must be allowed, that these Commentators have done a Service to the Empire in reviving a Taste for the ancient Books: But then they have done a World of Mischief to a great Number of the middling sort of Literati, who minding less to dive into the Meaning of those precious Monuments themselves, than to fill their Heads with the Notions of the new Commentators, seem to have embraced a kind of Atheism; to which they were before not a little byassed, as well by the Depravation of their Morals, as by the Superstitions wherein they were bred from their Infancy.

However, if we may credit the Testimonies of a great Number of Missionaries, who have spent the chief Part of their Lives in the Empire, and gained an exact Knowledge of the *Chinese* Affairs, as well by studying their Books, as conversing with the most eminent Literati, The truly Learned have not given into these mad Notions; but without regarding the extravagant Opinions of modern Commentators, adhere strictly to the Text of the ancient Books, according to a Maxim common among them: *Sin king pû Sin cbwen*, that is, *adhere to the Text, and never mind the (A) Commentary*.

In effect, it is to the Text and not the Gloss, that all the Literati have right to appeal: In the Text alone, the *Chinese* Doctrine is marked and fixed, and every thing which the modern Expositors have advanced is without Authority, so long as it appears to be repugnant to the Classic Books. These truly Learned adhering solely to the Text of these Books, have the same Idea of the Supreme Being as the ancient *Chinese*, and like them understand by the Words (B) *Shang ti* and *Tyen*

(A) This is the Protestant Rule also: But the *Papist* Clergy say to their People, adhere to the Interpretations of the Church, and never mind the Scripture or Text.

(B) Observe that it is not the truly Learned, but the Superstitious and Ignorant who fall into Errors.

Yet infinite, perfect eternal, and intelligent.

in what sense called *Li*.

They endeavour to elude the ancient Doctrines.

The *Tay ki* and *Li* new Inventions.

Many Literati infected with them,

But not the more learned Sort.

The Text not, the Exposition, of Authority.



Tyen (A), not the visible and material Heaven, or a celestial Virtue inanimate and destitute of Understanding, but the first Being, the Author and Principle of all other Beings, the Supreme Lord who disposes of all, who governs all, who enters into the Secrets of the Heart, and from whom nothing is hidden; who punishes Vice, and rewards Virtue, who exalts and casts down at his Pleasure, who ought to be honoured by the Practice of Virtue, &c.

Thus nothing is more common than to hear these Literati complain that the Innocence, Candor, and Simplicity of the primitive Ages is intirely forgotten; that the Learned neglect the ancient Monuments; that many of them are the Disciples of *Confucius* only in Name; and have no other View but to attain Employments and Dignities, and gain a Reputation by blinding the Eyes of the People with their vain Eloquence.

Mistake of  
several Mis-  
sonaries.

Nevertheless as there are Literati, who, by following the modern Commentators and explaining every thing by natural Causes, give way to Atheism and acknowledge no other first Principle than a blind and material Celestial Virtue, the Missionaries newly come to China, were induced to believe it was the common Opinion of the Learned. They agreed however that if the Emperor should explain the true Signification of the Words *Tyen* and *Shang ti*, by declaring that he understands by those Words, the Lord of Heaven, and not the material Heaven, their Doubts would vanish, and they would not wrong the Learned of that great Empire so much as to consider them as real Atheists. *It is absolutely necessary that the Emperor should speak*, says Mr. MAIGROT, *the Emperor must explain it*. They knew that the late Emperor *Kang hi* was well versed in the Chinese Books; that it belonged to him as Emperor to examine the Doctors; that he was the Head of the Religion and Doctrine of the Literati; that it was he who judged Sovereignly of the true Sense of the Laws, Ceremonies and Customs, in Quality of High Priest, Legislator, and Master of the Empire.

Emperor  
Kang hi's  
Explanation  
of *Shang ti*  
and *Tyen*.

They therefore resolved in 1700 to consult that Prince, in such a Manner, that he should not perceive their Drift in applying to him for his Explanation. Whereupon he declared by an Edict which was preserved in the Archives, inserted in the public Gazets, and spread all over the Empire: *That it was not to the visible and material Heaven that Sacrifices were offered, but only to the Lord and Master of Heaven, the Earth, and all Things; and that for the same Reason, the Tablet before which those Sacrifices were offered, bear this Inscription, to Shang ti, that is to say, to the Supreme Lord; that it is thro' Respect, that none dare call him by his proper Name; and that they use to invoke him by the Name of Supreme Heaven, Bountiful Heaven, and Universal Heaven; in the same Manner as when they speak with Reverence of the Emperor, they call him not by his own Name but say, the Steps of his Throne, the Supreme Court of his Palace; that these Names, tho' different as to the Terms, are yet the same, if Regard be had to the Signification. On another Occasion speaking in Public, he affirms, the learned Chinese say, like him, that the Principle of all Things is called Tyen, Heaven, in a noble and figurative Stile, just as the Emperor is called Chau ting from the Name of his Palace, which is the Place wherein the Imperial Majesty shines with greatest Splendor.*

They consulted likewise the Princes, the Grandees of the Empire, the chief Mandarins and principal Literati, and among others, the first President of the imperial Academy, composed of the

(A) Explanation of the PLAN of the TYEN TANG, Plate I.

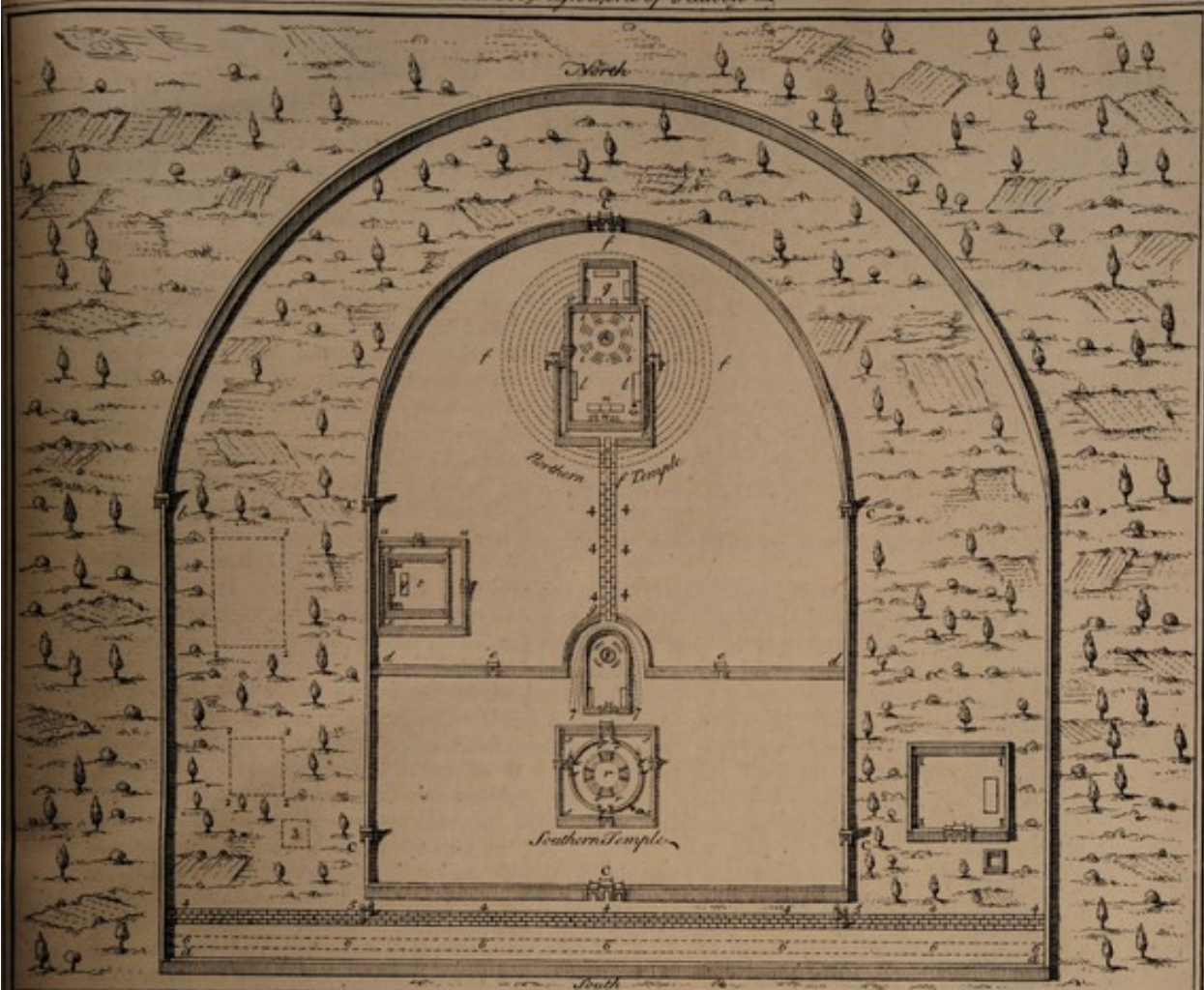
- a. OUTWARD Wall of about a League in Compass.
- b. Gate of the Inclosure, which has no other.
- c. Inner Wall with six Gates.
- d. Partition Wall dividing the inner Inclosure into two Parts, one to the North, the other to the South.
- e. Gate of Communication between the two Parts.
- f. Northern Temple standing in a round Grove of old Cypress Trees.
- g. The Royal Passage, flagged.
- h. Temple in Form of a Dome with a triple Roof, each of a different Colour; the upper of a Sky blew, the middlemost yellow, and the lowermost green.
- i. A round massive Pile of three Stories, with three Stair-cases of 28 Steps each.
- l. Halls on the Sides for the Music and sacred Vessels.
- m. Side Gates.
- n. Hall opening like a Gate, with a second Gate opposite to it.
- \*. Altar for the Sacrifice.
- o. Inner Wall of the northern Temple.
- p. Outer Wall of the northern Temple.
- q. Hall or Temple, where is kept the Tablet inscribed with the Name of *Wang tyen Shang ti*, or the Lord of Heaven. This Hall has an Inclosure of its own, with two Buildings and a Gate to the South.
- r. A round Massive (of three Stories with Stairs like the former) on whose Top a Tent is set up, where is placed the Tablet of *Shang ti*, before which the Emperor sacrifices.
- s. Two inclosed Courts: one round, the other square, with four Gates each.
- \*. Altar for the Sacrifices.
- t. *Choy kang*, or Palace of Retreat and Penance for the imperial Falt of three Days.
- u. The outer Wall with a Ditch and two Gates.
- x. The inner Wall.
- y. Emperors Apartment.
- z. Hot Baths for the Purifications.

1. Place where they lay up the Umbrellas, Banners, Ensigns, and a hundred kinds of Instruments, which accompany the Emperor in his solemn Procession.
2. Lodgings of the 500 Musicians, appointed for the Solemnity of the imperial Sacrifice.
3. Place for slaying and preparing the Victims.
4. A great paved Way.
5. Two triumphal Arches.
6. A Walk of old Cypress Trees.
7. Inclosure, where is kept the Tablet of *Shang ti* in the southern Temple. This Inclosure is in a Cypress Grove marked with Dots.
8. A round Hall erected on a Massive three Story high or the Temple where the said Tablet is kept all the Year.

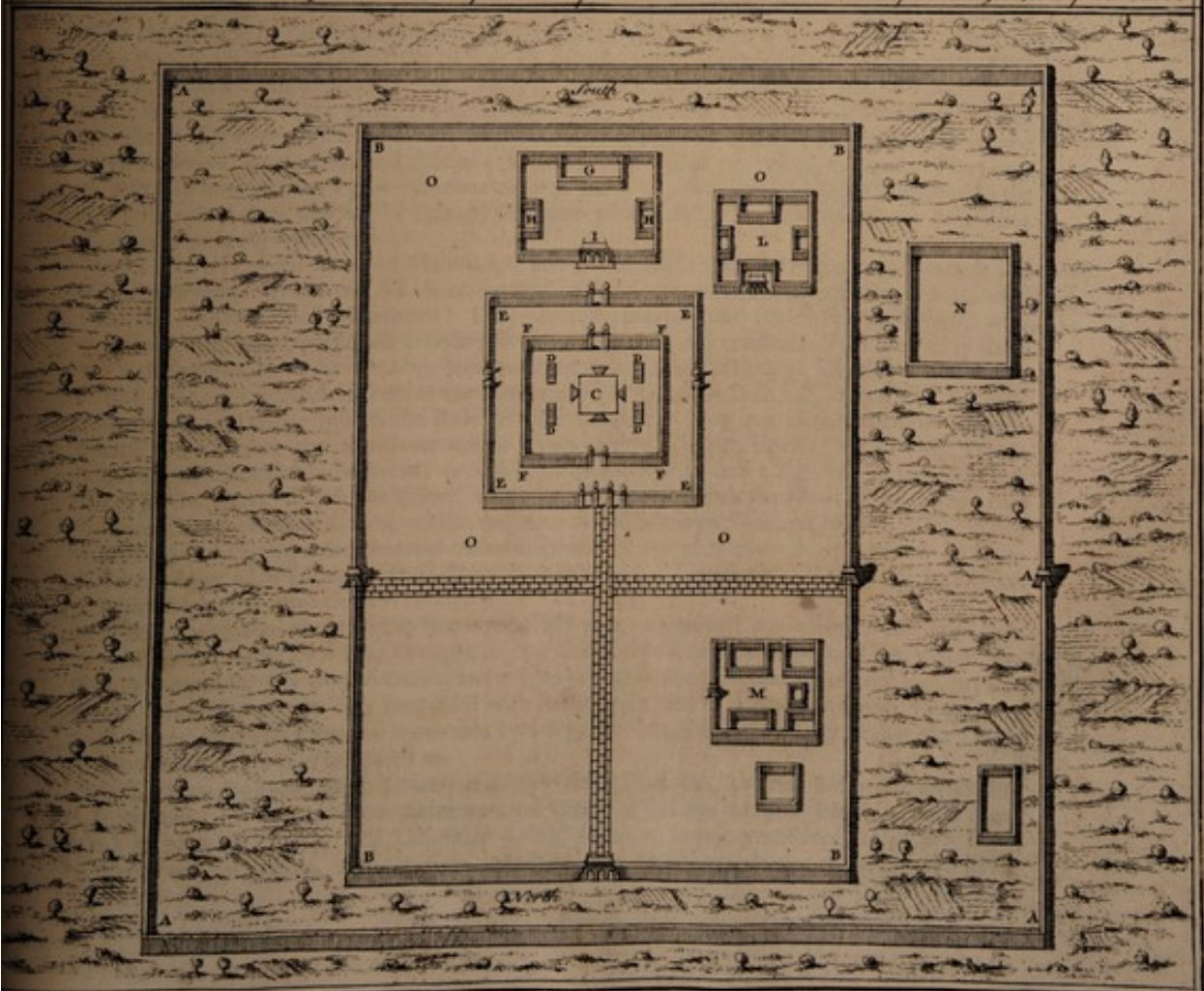
Explanation of the PLAN of the TI TANG, Plate II.

- A. OUTER Inclosure about 800 Paces in Compass, with one Gate on the West Side.
- B. Inner Inclosure having two Gates, one to the North, the other to the South.
- C. Square massive Pile, each Side not above 30 Feet in Length. The Entrance is by four Staircases of 5 or 6 Steps only. On the Day of Sacrifice, and never else, a square Tent is set up on the Top of this Massive there to place the Tablet of *Shang ti*, with this Inscription, *The Supreme Master of the Earth*.
- D. Little Stone Massives, ranged on the Sides of the great one, and dedicated to the Guardian *Gnats* of the Mountains, Rivers, &c.
- E. F. Two Courts with their Inclosures and Gates in Form of triumphal Arches, looking East, West, North and South.
- G. Hall or Temple, where the Tablet of *Shang ti* is kept the Year round.
- H. Side Halls belonging to the Temple.
- I. Gate of the Temple.
- L. *Shin kang*, or sacred Magazine, where all the Vessels and Instruments for the Use of the Sacrifices are kept.
- M. *Choy kang*, or the Palace of Retreat and Penance.
- N. Lodgings of the Mandarins, who take Care of the Temple.
- O. A square Grove of old Cypress Trees.

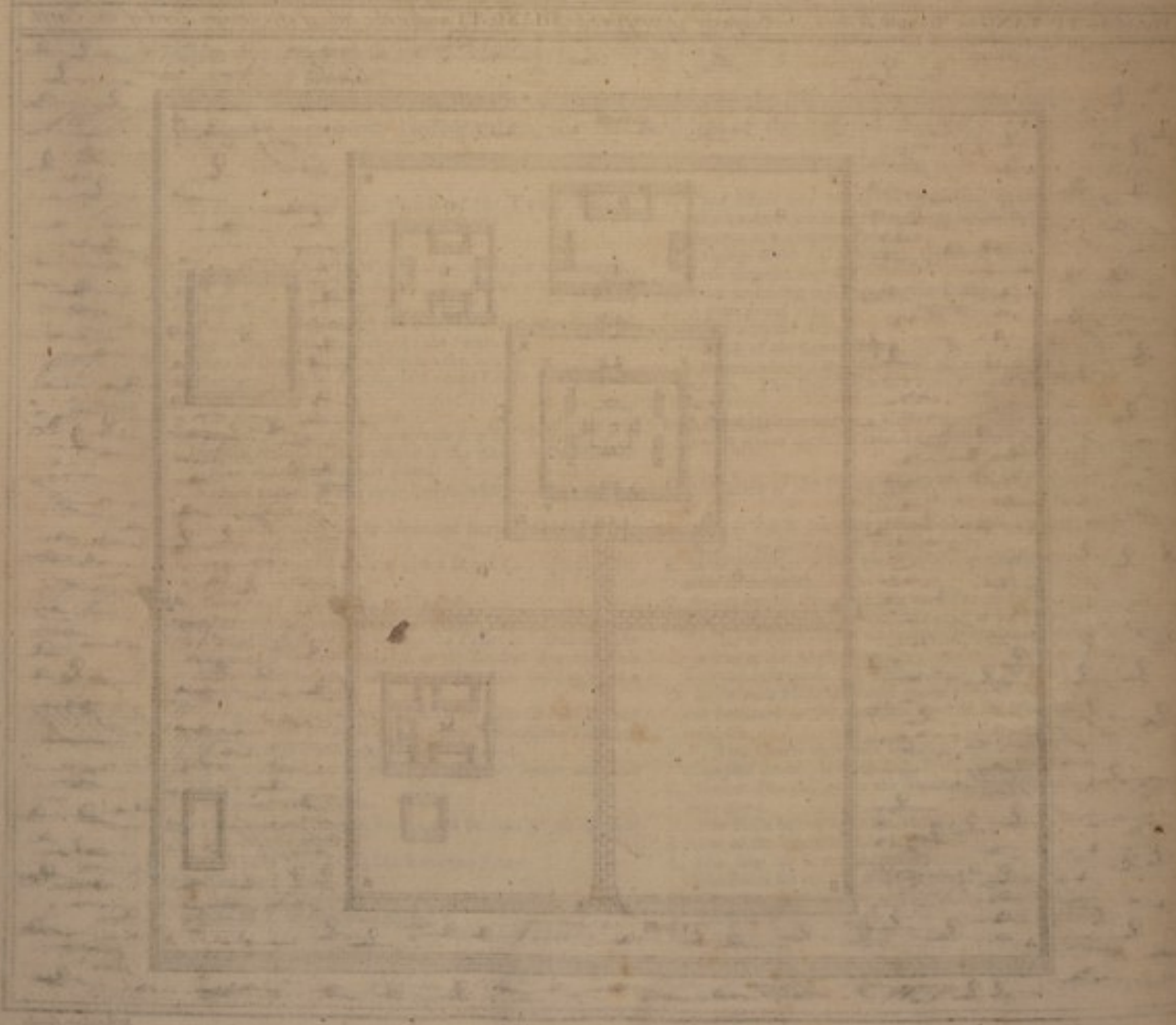
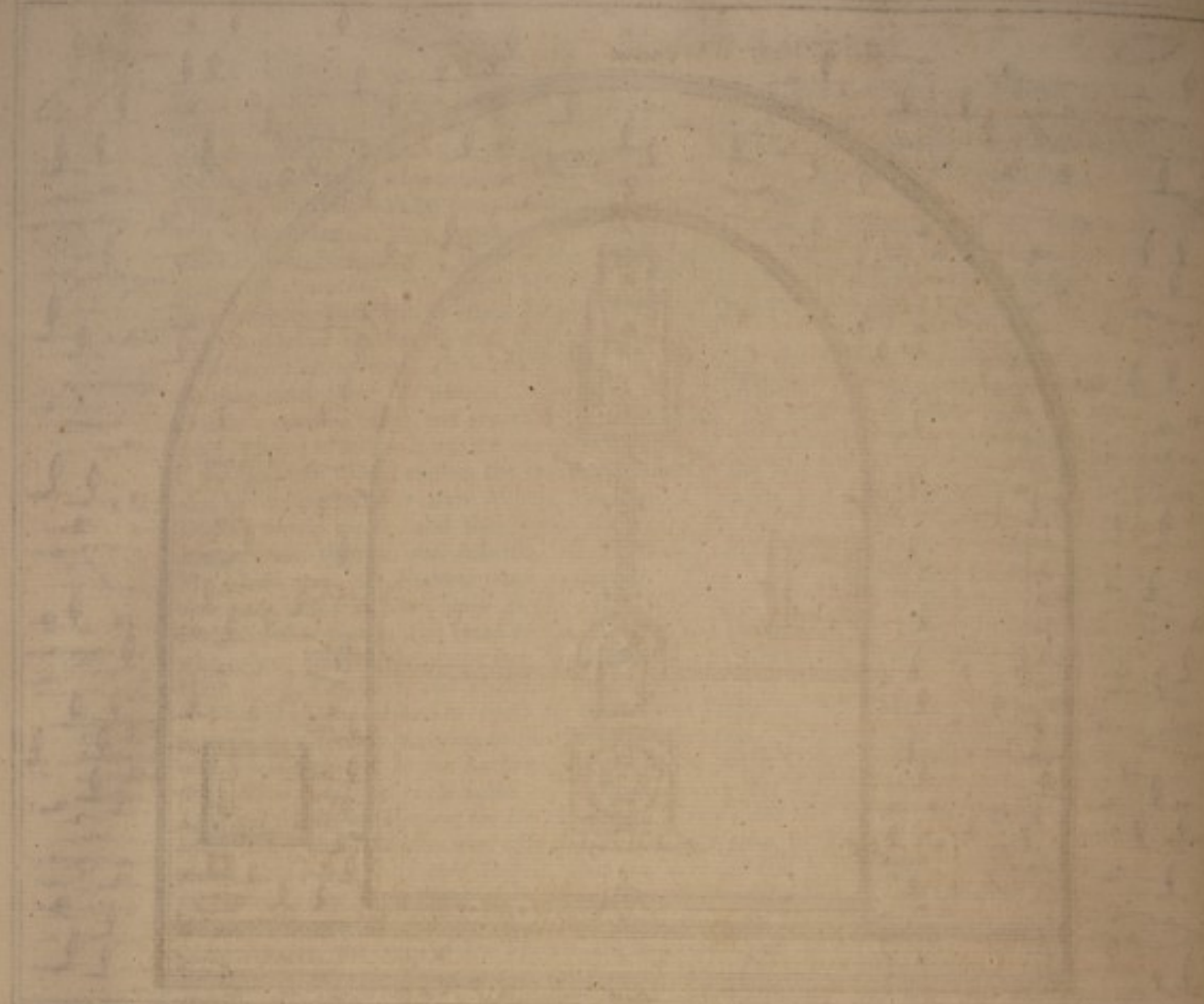




Plan of the TI-TANG or Temple Where the Emperor Sacrifices to SHANG-TI under the title of Sovereign Lord of the Earth









the most eminent Doctors, who are properly the Emperor's Literati. All appeared surprized to find there should be learned Men in Europe who believed that the Literati of China honoured a lifeless inanimate Being, such as the visible and material Heaven; and unanimously declared that in invoking *Tyen* or *Shang ti*, they invoked the Supreme Lord of Heaven, the Author and Principle of all Things, the Distributer of all Good, who sees every thing, who knows every thing, and whose Wisdom and Providence governs this Universe. *What!* cried some of them, do we think that every Family ought to have a Head, every City a Governor, every Province a Viceroy, and the whole Empire an independent absolute Master, and can we doubt that there is a first Intelligence, a Supreme Being, a Sovereign Lord of the Universe, who governs with Wisdom and Justice? Do not our ancient Books teach us this? And have we not learned it from our primitive Sages?

We may also know the Sentiments of the same Emperor by the three Inscriptions (\*), which he wrote with his own Hand, and gave the Jesuits of *Pe king* for the Church which they built near the Gate *Shun chi mwen*, and towards which in the Year 1705, he contributed by a Present of 10,000 Ounces of Silver. The Characters of the Inscription of the Frontispiece are two Chinese (†) Foot and a half high: Those of the Inscriptions on each Column are near one Foot high. *Tong ching*, who succeeded his Father *Kang hi*, had the same Idea of *Tyen*, with him and the Learned of his Empire; as appears from the Manner wherein he speaks in an Edict, published on the following Occasion.

This Prince, always attentive to the Necessities of his People, being informed that the dryness of the Season threatened one of his Provinces with a general Dearth, he immediately shut himself up in his Palace, fasted and prayed till he understood that Plenty of Rain had fallen; after which he published the above-mentioned Edict, wherein, testifying how much he was touched with the Miseries of his People, he ordered all the great Mandarins to inform him carefully whenever any Calamity afflicted their respective Districts, concluding with these Words: *There is between Tyen and Mankind an Intercourse of Faults and Punishments, of Prayers and Benefits. Do your Duty, and avoid committing Faults: For it is for your Sins that Tyen punishes us. When Tyen sends any Calamity let us watch over ourselves, mortify ourselves, correct ourselves and pray: 'Tis by praying and correcting ourselves that we mollify Tyen. I do not publish this Order as though I thought myself capable of moving Heaven, but I do it the better to persuade you that there is the Intercourse I have mentioned between Tyen and Men of Faults and Punishments, of Prayers and Benefits.*

But he explains himself still more clearly in an Instruction which he gives his People, on Occasion of a Request presented him by one of the first Officers of the Empire. A Superintendent of two Provinces wrote to the Emperor, that in all Places where Temples had been erected in Honour of the General of the Army *Lyew mong*, neither the Grasshoppers nor Worms did any Damage to the Plains, and that on the contrary the Territories where they had raised no Temple to him always suffered by their Ravages. Other great Mandarins having proposed to him several superstitious Expedients to obtain Rain or fair Weather in Time of Need, his Majesty gave the following Instruction by way of answer, which was published throughout the Empire, and fixed up in the Cities at the Corners of Streets with the Mandarin's Seal.

"With Regard to my giving Notice to some of the principal Officers of the Provinces to prevent the Damage which the Insects might occasion in the Plains, they have misunderstood the Intention of my Orders, and applied a Meaning which does not belong to them. They very wrongly imagine that I give into the ridiculous Error of those who put their Confidence in the Spirits called *Quey shen*, as if I believed that those pretended Spirits could relieve our Afflictions. This then is my Meaning:

"There is between *Tyen* and Mankind, a sure and infallible Correspondence as to Rewards and Punishments. When our Fields are ravaged, either by Inundations, Drought or Insects, what is the Cause of such Calamities? They proceed perhaps from the Emperor himself, who swerves from that Uprightness necessary for governing well, and constrains *Tyen* to employ those Chastisements, in order to oblige him to return to his Duty. Perhaps also they are owing to this, that the principal Officers of the Province, on which these Evils fall, do not seek the public Good, and make Justice the Rule of their Conduct. May not these Calamities likewise arise from hence, that the Governors of Cities neither act with Equity, nor give the People good Examples and Instructions; or else from hence, that in such a Province or Country they violate the Laws, despise the Usages, and live in Disorder? Then the Heart of Man being corrupted, that excellent Union, which ought to subsist between *Tyen* and him, is disturbed and broken; in Consequence whereof Adversities and Misfortunes pour down upon us in abundance. For Men failing of their Duty in this World, *Tyen* changes the gracious Inclination which he had towards them.

"Being persuaded that this Doctrine is infallibly true, as soon as I am informed that any Province suffers, either by a long Drought or excessive Rains, I immediately enter into myself, examine carefully my own Conduct, and resolve to rectify the Disorders introduced into my Palace. I remain all the Day long filled with Respect and Fear: I study to render *Tyen* Marks of Uprightness and Piety, in hopes that by a regular Course of Life I may change the Disposition which *Tyen* is in to punish us.

"'Tis your Business, great Officers who govern the Provinces, 'tis your Business to second my Intentions. It belongs to you Governors of Cities, it belongs to you People, Soldiers and others, of what Quality and Condition soever ye be, to acquit yourselves also of this Duty. Watch over yourselves, stand in Fear, examine your Condition, labour to perfect yourselves,

Vol. I.

8 E

"mutually

(\*) See the first Plate. Vol. 2.

(†) The Chinese Foot is somewhat larger than the Foot of the Chateau of Paris.



" mutually assist and exhort one another, reform your Manners, use your Endeavours, correct your Faults, repent of your Sins, follow the Path of Virtue, forsake that of Error, and rest assured that, if on our Parts we do all our Duties, *Tyen* will suffer himself to be mollified by our regular Conduct, and we shall draw down upon us his Peace and Protection. Scarcity and Affliction will disappear, while Plenty and Joy will succeed in their stead; and we shall have the Pleasure of seeing that renewed in our Days which was admired here, before under the happy Reign of the illustrious Prince *Cbing tang*.

Way to a  
void Calamities.

" For I cannot too often remind you, that to prevent Calamities, there is no surer way than to watch over yourselves, to stand in Fear, and labour to become perfect; you must examine your Conduct, correct your Faults, sincerely honour and revere *Tyen*: For it is by this Attention and this Reverence, that you must expect to touch and mollify him. When we bid you pray to and invoke the Spirits, what is our Intention thereby? 'Tis no more than to bespeak their Mediation, in order to lay before *Tyen* the Sincerity of our Veneration and Fervency of our Desires. To pretend then in any wise to rely on those Prayers and Invocations for removing from us Misfortunes and Afflictions so long as we neglect to perform our Duty, to watch over ourselves, and to keep our Hearts in the Respect and Fear proper to move *Tyen*, is to expect to meet with Water in the Brook after closing up its Spring; it is to quit that which is essential, to follow what is only incidental. How can you by such a Conduct hope to obtain the Accomplishment of your Wishes?

Man the Author of his own Misfortunes.

" Moreover consider that *Tyen* naturally delights to do good, to scatter his Favours, preserve and protect us. If he makes Use of Severity, 'tis the Man who draws it on himself. 'Tis he alone who is the Author of his own Misfortune. And what is most deplorable, the common People who are ignorant and incapable of Reflection, finding themselves afflicted either with excessive Rain or Drought, instead of entering into themselves, examining their own Conduct and correcting their wrong Steps, give themselves over to Grief and Despair; and thus adding Faults to Faults, and Crimes to Crimes, fill up the Measure of their own Unhappiness. For to proceed in such a manner, is to destroy more and more the Union which ought to subsist between *Tyen* and Mankind; it is in short, to constrain *Tyen* to discharge upon us his most dreadful Punishments. For my Part, I make no doubt, but the Dearth and other Calamities, which has afflicted us for several Years past, are owing to the Disorders that I speak of.

" Observe then once more what my Opinion is, I am really and entirely persuaded, that there is between *Tyen* and Mankind a reciprocal Union and perfect Correspondence. I am far from putting my Faith in those Spirits called *Quey shin*. 'Tis in order to instruct you, especially you the great Officers of the Crown and of the Provinces, that I have not disdained to take in Hand the Pen and explain clearly my Opinion, to the end that you may all conform yourselves to my Sentiments, which is the sole Aim of this Instruction."

The Existence of God and his attributes proved from the Classical Books.

Several Years ago *P. Favre*, in a Dispute which he had in Presence of 300 Literati, proved from several Passages of the Classical Books, the Existence of a God, his Justice, Goodness, Providence and other Perfections; nor did any of them offer to contradict the Interpretation which he put on their ancient Authors.

A great many Christians, in the Compositions which they are obliged to make for obtaining the Degrees, or keeping them when obtained, have followed the same Method; and instead of incurring the Raillery of the Learned, have met with the Praises and Rewards which they deserved. *Sbang king*, during the Time that he aspired to his Doctor's Degree, filled the Commentaries which he made on the *I king* with the like Principles and Maxims, whereby he merited the Approbation of the Learned.

Sect of Literati divided.

From what has been said it appears, that the Sect of the Literati, which is the established one, may properly be divided into two Classes.

Some adhere to the Commentaries.

The first are those who, paying little Regard to the Commentaries of the Moderns, stick closely to the Text of the Classical Books, and have the same Notion of the Supreme Being the Author of the Universe, as the old *Chinese*, that is, those who lived between the Time of *Po hi*, and the new Commentators.

Others to the Text of the Classics.

The second are those who, neglecting the Text, seek the Sense of the ancient Doctrine in the Glosses of the new Commentators, and adhering like them to a new Philosophy think to gain a Reputation by their confused and dark Notions; endeavouring to persuade People that they are able to explain every thing by material Causes: Whereto they attribute not only the Production but also the Government of the World, and even their Reason, and yet profess like the others a profound Veneration for the ancient Doctrine, and call themselves the Disciples of *Confucius*! But the true Disciples of *Confucius* study him at the Fountain Head, whereas the others seek for his Doctrine only in a small Brook turned out of its true Course, and fall it may be without design into the most frightful Mazes of Atheism.

Objections of certain Missionaries to their Proofs.

However this be, as I here only act the Part of an Historian in relating the Opinions of a great Number of Missionaries who have lived all their Lives in *China*, I ought not to conceal what some others, persuaded that all the Learned of this Empire are Atheists, oppose to these Testimonies of the Emperor and the principal Literati.

They say then, that the Emperor explained himself in that Manner, and the Literati gave their Testimonies merely thro' Politeness (\*) and Complaisance; that the Emperor's Declaration is conceived

(\*) Obsequia quadam comitate ad mentem potius interrogationum quam ex propria sententia respondere poterant. Obfer-

vationes Ep. Con. p. 134. *ibid.* pp. 123, 124. [It seems impossible the Emperor should dissemble in this Manner. Without doubt,



conceived in equivocal Terms, and is an ambiguous Oracle; in short that no Atheist would refuse to subscribe his Declaration: For tho' that Prince averred that it was not to the visible and material Heaven that he offered Sacrifice, but to the Lord and Creator of Heaven and Earth and all Things, he might mean the Root and Origin of all Beings, which is nothing else but the *Li*, or celestial Virtue inherent in Matter, which is, according to the *Chinese* Atheists, the Principal of all Things.

Besides, when we read in their Books, or hear the *Chinese* affirm, (\*) that Life and Death, Poverty and Riches, and all Events in general depend on *Tyen* or Heaven; that nothing is done but by his Orders, that he rewards the Good and punishes the Wicked, that he cannot be deceived, that he sees all Things, hears all Things, and knows all Things; that he penetrates the secret Recesses of the Heart, that he assists and comforts virtuous People; that his Heart is softened at their Calamities, that he is sensible of their Complaints, and is mollified by their Prayers; that he detests the Proud, abhors the Vicious, &c. All these Expressions, according to them, ought to be looked upon as metaphorical, by which they would have the People understand, that all Things happen as if in reality Heaven was an intelligent Being, rewarded Virtue, punished Vice, &c. (A).

In short, they pretend, that as the *Stoics* ascribed the Variety of Events to fatal Necessity, in like manner the *Chinese* Literati attribute to Heaven (that is, to a ruling Virtue in Heaven which influences all Things) Good and Evil, Rewards and Punishments, the Revolutions of States, and in a word all sorts of Events whether happy or unhappy that come to pass in the World; And that it is in this Sense they understand it when they say, that Heaven governs the Universe, rewards good Men, &c.

Having thus given an Account of the Opinions of skillful Persons, who living among the *Chinese* Literati have thoroughly studied the Doctrine of their Sect, as well as the Thoughts of others who cannot pretend to the same Advantage how good soever their Intentions may be in other Respects, I must not forget a particular sort of Literati very numerous in *China*, who have composed a System of their own from all the different Sects, and have endeavoured to reconcile all together.

As the Study of Letters is the Road to the highest Dignities, and as it is open to Persons of all Conditions, there must needs be many Literati who being of mean Extraction have been brought up in Idolatry; and when they became Mandarins, either thro' the Prejudice of their Education, or out of a polite Complaisance to the People and to maintain the public Tranquillity, seem to embrace the Opinions of the several different Sects, to which they are so much the rather inclined as the *Chinese* of all Ranks seldom look farther than the present Life. The Mandarins, who are the living Deities of the Country, have generally no other God but their Fortune; and as that is subject to several troublesome Turns, all their Care is employed to ward off such Misfortunes and to keep themselves safe in their Posts. The Students, who may be looked upon as the lesser Nobility, have nothing at Heart but a certain Honour, which consists in succeeding in their Examinations and attaining to the highest Degree. The Merchants think of nothing from Morning to Night but their Business; and the rest of the People are wholly employed in procuring a Livelihood, that is, a small Quantity of Rice and Pulse: In this Manner is the Time of the *Chinese* taken up, who scarce ever think of any thing else.

The Literati, of whom I am speaking, are as forward as the other Literati in declaiming against *I tū an*, that is, false Sects; but Experience shews that they are as much Slaves to *Fo* as the Vulgar themselves. Their Wives, who are strongly attached to Idols, usually have a kind of Altar in the most honourable Part of their Houses, whereon they place a Company of Images finely gilt; and here, whether out of Complaisance or otherways, these pretended Disciples of *Confucius* often bow the Knee. Tho' any of them should have Constancy enough to resist the Torrent, at least he will have much Difficulty to withstand the imaginary Methods made Use of for discovering what is to come. When any one of the Family lies a dying, he seldom fails to send for the *Bonzas* to burn gilt Papers and perform the other Ceremonies; unless he did this, instead of passing for a Philosopher, he would be looked on as a very wicked Man.

The extreme Ignorance of the *Chinese* greatly contributes to the Readiness wherewith their Doctors, as well as the Vulgar, give into the most ridiculous Superstitions: But this Ignorance has no Relation to their Skill in carrying on Business, for herein they generally exceed the *Europeans*; nor does it respect their Laws, for no People in the World have better, or are more easily governed; nor yet does it regard one kind of moral Philosophy, which consists of wise Maxims, whereof their Books are full if they would but put them in Practice: But their most skillful Doctors are ignorant of all other Parts of Philosophy, excepting a little of the moral; for they know not how to reason justly on the Effects of Nature, concerning their Souls, or the Supreme Being, with regard to which they seldom trouble their Heads; nor do they employ their Thoughts much about a future State, or the Necessity of Religion. However, there is no Nation in the World more addicted to study: But then they spend their younger Years in learning to read, and the Remainder of their Years is taken up either in the Duties of their Posts, or in composing elegant academical Discourses.

doubt, the true Followers of *Confucius* are free from Atheism, and perhaps those of the new Sect likewise. For those Missionaries who condemn the new Sect, may wrong them as much as those who condemn the old. In short, the Dispute between them in this single Article (one Part affirming one thing, and the other Part affirming directly the contrary) proves what I have already

observed, that they know not how to represent other Religions fairly, and are not much to be regarded in their Censures of them.]

(A) The Missionaries are so addicted themselves to equivocations and mental Reservations, that they cannot believe any body sincere. (\*) *Ubi Supr.* p. 111.

This



The Vulgar  
ascribe all na-  
tural effects  
to Demons or  
Spirits.

This gross Ignorance of Nature makes great Numbers attribute its most common Effects to some evil Genius: But this prevails chiefly among the common People, and especially the Women, who endeavour to appease it by impious and ridiculous Ceremonies. Sometimes this evil Genius is one of their Idols, or rather the Demon which inhabits it (A); Sometimes some high Mountain or great Tree, or an imaginary Dragon which they suppose to be in the Sky or at the bottom of the Sea; or else, which is still more extravagant, it shall be the Quintessence of some Animal, for instance, a Fox, an Ape, a Tortoise, a Frog, &c. This is what they call *Tsing*, or else *Tau quay*, or *Quay* singly, which signifies *Monster*, or some very supprising Thing.

Ridiculous  
Notions in-  
fused by their  
villainous  
Priests,

They affirm, that these Animals after they have lived a long Time have the Power of purifying their Essence, and of divesting themselves of whatever is gross and earthly; and this most subtle Part which remains, delights to disturb the Imagination of Men and Women. A Fox thus purified is terribly to be fear'd. When they are sick, and the Fever begins to make them rave, it is undoubtedly the Demon that torments them: Presently they send for the *Tau tse*, and it is inconceivable how many juggling Tricks they perform and what Din they make in the House.

It is thus the Demon deludes the People, and even the Smatterers among the Learned: But he makes Use chiefly of three Sorts of Inventions, which contribute greatly to keep them in Ignorance.

who propa-  
gate fortune-  
telling.

The first is what the *Chinese* call *Swan ming*, that is, telling of Fortunes. The Country is full of those People who calculate Nativities: They are generally blind, and go from House to House, playing on a kind of *Theorbo*, offering to tell one's Fortune for about a Half-penny. It is surprizing to hear the Extravagancies they utter concerning the eight Letters that compose the Year, the Day, the Month, and Hour of a Person's Birth, which for that Reason is called *Pa-tse*. They foretel in a general Manner the Misfortunes wherewith you are threatened; they commonly promise you Riches and Honours with great Success in Trade or Study; they will acquaint you with the Cause of your own Distemper, or that of your Children, and the Reason of your Father's and Mother's Death, which they always pretend is owing to some Image that has been offended and must be appeas'd, and a certain *Bonza* must be sent for, &c. If what they have foretold comes to pass by mere Chance then the People are confirmed in their Errors; but if their Predictions prove false, they are satisfied with saying: *That this Man did not understand his Business*, *Pu ling*.

Drawing of  
Lots,

The second Thing is drawing the Lots called *Pa qua* or *Ta qua*; which is to consult the Spirits often. There are several Ways of doing this, but the most common is to go before an Image and to burn certain Perfumes, knocking the Forehead several Times against the Ground. There is also near the Image a Box full of flat Sticks half a Foot long, inscribed with Enigmatic Characters which pass for so many Oracles: After making several Bows they let fall one at a venture, the Sense of whose Characters is explain'd by the *Bonza* who presides often at the Ceremony; or else they consult a large Writing which is stuck against the Wall, whereby they discover all the Conjunction. This is what they practise when they undertake any Business or are setting out on a Journey, when they are going to sell or buy any Thing, or are about marrying their Children, and upon a hundred other Occasions, in order to secure a lucky Day and happy Success.

And the  
*Feng shui* or  
lucky Posi-  
tion of  
Houses, &c.

But the third Contrivance is the most ridiculous of all, and what the *Chinese* are most infatuated with, they call it *Feng shui*, that is, *Wind and Water*, by which they mean the happy or unhappy Position of a House, and especially of a Burying-place. If by Chance a Neighbour builds a House in a Situation so contrary to yours that one of the Corners of his is opposite to the Side of yours, it is sufficient to make you believe that all is lost; it creates a Hatred that cannot be extinguish'd as long as the new House stands, and is even Grounds for a Prosecution before the Mandarin. But if this has no Effect, the only Remedy you have left is to set up a Dragon, or some other Monster, made of baked Clay, on the middle of your Roof; the Earthen Dragon must give a terrible Look towards the fatal Corner, which threatens you and opens a dreadful Mouth, as it were to swallow up the evil *Feng shui*, that is, the bad Air (\*), and then you will be a little more secure.

Insultation of  
a Mandarin.

This was the Method taken by the Governor of *Kyen chang* to defend himself against the Jesuit's Church, which is built upon an Eminence, and overlooks his Palace standing at the Foot of it. He had likewise the wise Precaution to turn the Apartments thereof a little sideways; and raised about two hundred Paces from the Church a kind of Building or Gatehouse three Stories high, to ward off the Influence of the *Tyen chu tang*, or, *Church of the Lord of Heaven*. By Misfortune this second Gate became the supposed Cause of the second Governor's Death: For this Mandarin having been troubled with a Defluxion of gross Humours in his Breast, and spit very white Phlegm, it was taken for granted, that this House of three Stories, whose Walls were very white, was the Occasion of his Disorder; whereupon they were immediately daubed over with black, in order to produce a contrary Effect: But this Expedient not succeeding, they imagined it was apply'd too late, and accordingly the Mandarin dyed. After which, upon a like Conceit, they were whitewashed again as at first.

(A) This Author makes Use of the Words Idol and Demon to delude his Readers, and make them imagin they are different from the Images and Saints of the Church of *Rome*, tho' they are exactly of the same Nature.

(\*) By this Word *Feng shui*, they understand not only a corrupt Air which causes Diseases, but also a kind of Curse which extends even to Posterity.



Many other such Chimeras might be related with regard to the Situation of a House, the Place for the Door, with the Day and Manner of building the Stove for dressing the Rice: But that wherein the *Fong shwi* triumphs most concerns the Sepulchres of the Dead. There are a sort of Impostors who make a Trade of finding out all the Mountains and Hills, which have a lucky Aspect; and when, after performing a great many juggling Tricks, they have fixed on some Place, no Sum of Money is thought too great for the Purchase of that happy Piece of Ground.

*Chinese bewitched with the Fong shwi.*

The *Chinese* look upon the *Fong shwi* as a Thing, in some Sense, more precious than Life itself, because they are persuaded that the Happiness or Unhappiness of Life depends upon this ridiculous Chimera. In short, if any Person has greater Talents and Capacity than others of the same Age, if he attains his Doctor's Degree early or is raised to a Mandarin, if he has several Children, or lives to a good old Age, all this is owing neither to his Wit, Skill, nor Probity, but it is because his House is happily situated; it is because the Sepulchre of his Ancestors has an admirable *Fong shwi*.

But to return to those Literati, who seeking to stifle in their Minds the Idea of a first Intelligence, the Author and Governor of all Things, have Recourse to Causes purely material to explain the Origin of all Beings: The Reader probably will not be displeased to hear one of these Philosophers reasoning while he explains his System concerning the Original of the World, his Physics or Doctrine of the Nature of Things, his Plan of Astronomy, the Principles of his Mechanics, his Opinion concerning souls, and his Rules of Morality.

*Reflections on the System of the Materialists.*

We shall see that he is equally in the wrong, whether he speaks as a Natural or a Moral Philosopher: We shall see how great is the Pride and Blindness of these imaginary learned Men, who, in the Principles and Conclusions of their System, agree so little among themselves, who either prove not at all, or in a very bad manner, the Things which stand most in need of Proof; there being neither Justness nor Solidity in the Conclusions which they draw from the Principles they lay down.

We shall see likewise that they do not want Subtlety to distinguish the true from the false, and with Difficulty admit any thing which is not supported by evident Reasons, while they would be believed upon their own Word, and to elude the Difficulties they are press'd with make Use of Chicanery set off with trifling Eloquence.

A modern Philosopher named *Chin*, is the Author of the following Tract, which is written in Form of a Dialogue, and was translated from the *Chinese* by *P. Dentrecolles*. This Dialogue, wherein the Philosopher explains his Sentiments concerning the Origin and State of the World, is the 12th Discourse; for his Work contains several others on Historical and Moral Subjects, which have no Relation to this.

*Translation of a Treatise written by one of them.*

### A DIALOGUE wherein Chin, a Modern Chinese Philosopher, declares his Opinion concerning the Origin and State of the World.

IN a certain delightful Place, were one beheld as in Perspective several fine Country Houses, a curious green Arbor was formed, in which several Persons assembled to enjoy the cool Breezes, and converse together during the Heats of the Summer. Chance having conducted a Stranger thither, they invited him to sit down; and as they judged him likely to contribute to the Pleasure of Conversation, they intreated him to stay a few Days with them, and gratify the earnest Desire they had to hear him Discourse. This he consented to without any Difficulty, and soon drew together a Crowd of Auditors, who were extremely pleased with the free and lively Manner in which he handled several Points of History and Morality.

*Dialogue. The Introduction.*

The Fame of these Assemblies having soon reached the adjacent Towns, a learned Man belonging to a neighbouring City, desirous of assisting at them, came to the Place, where he found a great Number of Persons together. As he entered the Arbor, one of the Company who perceived him rose up, and approaching the Stranger who sat in the Place of Honour: Sir, said he in his Ear, this venerable Person just come in, is very famous for his profound Erudition, and his Name is *Chin yü quey*: He is a brisk lively Man, bigotted to his own Opinions, and who in a Dispute will not submit to the most learned Persons in the Empire; he has spent his whole Life in study, and read all manner of Books; if he once begins to discourse of the Doctrine relating to the Heaven and the Earth his Mouth is like an unexhaustible River which glides swiftly along: I cannot imagine what could induce so great a Man to come hither.

At the same instant the Philosopher entred, and looking round at the Assembly saluted them with a gracious Air, moving both his Hands in a complaisant Manner: I am informed, Gentlemen, said he, that Assemblies are held here, wherein a Man of Learning whom I should be glad to call Friend entertains the Company; and I presume he would not hinder me to profit by his Knowledge.

At this Harangue the whole Assembly looked upon each other with some Surprise: For the Stranger was a Person of no great Capacity, all his Merit consisting in an agreeable manner of relating Matter of History; the rest were Men of no Learning, being Followers either of the Sect of *Fo* or *Lau*, and very much bigotted to their Images.



We are only assembled here, replied the Stranger, to pass a few Hours in Discourses, fitter to divert the Mind than instruct it; and you know that such Conversation commonly turns upon the History of the Times, or popular Morality, which sort of Entertainment cannot be agreeable to a Person of your Learning.

The Modern  
Sect not in  
Vogue at  
Court.

Sage old Man, replied the Philosopher, it is your Modesty that makes you talk in this Manner, and you seem to have too advantageous an Opinion of me. To say the Truth, I have spent all my Time in study, and even own that I have acquired some Share of Knowledge; but this very Knowledge is a Motive of Concern (\*) to me, when I consider that there is no Possibility of bringing into Vogue at Court, either the great Doctrine of *Tau, Shun, &c.* or the wise Instructions of so many illustrious Men of these later Times, such as the *Cheu*, the *Chin*, the *Chang* and the *Chu*. I am uneasy to find that these Instructions are not relished by my Friends who possess the chief Places in the Government, but on the contrary that the false Sects overwhelm the Empire; every body runs after the Dilution; nothing but Corruption and Darkness prevail, while the true literary Sect is as it were buried in shameful Oblivion.

How happy are we, replied the Stranger, to find a Person of your Reputation and Merit is willing to gratify our Desire of hearing you! Condescend then to take your Place here, and honour us with your learned Instructions: A great Soul like yours, which aspires to reform the World, should be always disposed to communicate its Discoveries; and our Understandings, narrow as they are, cannot resist the Truths which you will make known to us.

I am very ready to oblige you, replied the Philosopher; all I fear, is, that I shall fall short of your Expectations. At the same time he saluted the Company, and sitting down in the honourable Place which was appointed him, upon what Subject, said he, shall I entertain you? We are desirous, answered the Stranger in the Name of the rest, to be instructed as to what preceded the Heavens and the Earth.

What preceded the  
Formation of  
the World.

I consent to it, replied the Philosopher in a grave Tone, and therefore listen to what I shall say: Before the Heavens and the Earth were yet formed, there was in the midst of an immense Void nothing but an extremely confused Substance, *Wen jen i ki*. This Substance in its chaotic State was infinite and boundless, *Va ki*: That which was subtle and spirituous in this indefinite Mass, being as it were the Form, *Li ki*, and the Soul of the *Tay ki*, the first and supreme State of the Universe, was the very Principle of the Heavens and the Earth, or the Bud which disclosed them: By the same Means an infinite Number of Beings were produced.

The Universe how  
produced.

In short, every thing that came forth, ought to be placed in the Rank of Productions, whose Springs are astonishing. The World having once gained all its Parts, these sorts of Productions, which as to the Manner of them escape our Senses, grew very rare: For we generally see that the Species are propagated by ordinary and sensible Methods; an Example will express my Thoughts much clearer.

Wood produces Worms within itself, and Vermin are engendered on the Body of Man; these Productions are of those Sorts which we call wonderful, and whose Manner of Generation we are ignorant of. Were not the spirituous Particles of Sweat found on the Body of Man, and likewise in the Wood when it is corrupted, what could be the Origin of these Insects? (+) By the same Rule we may say, that what is found of a more subtle and vivifying Nature in the *Tay ki*

or

(\*) These Complaints of the Chinese Philosophers deserve to be taken Notice of: Had his System prevailed among the literary Sect, he had not complained as he does, that the principal Literati could not be persuaded to relish it.

(†) It appears from this Reasoning of the Chinese Philosopher, that he did not believe the Insects were engendered from Eggs, but from Corruption. But the Falacy of this Principle would clearly appear to him, was he to view with Microscopes the admirable Structure of these little Insects with respect to the Variety, Minuteness, and Propriety of their Organs.

Our Philosopher, like all those who endeavour to suppress the Knowledge of a first Cause, is so weak in his System, that to form it he lays down the most absurd and chimerical Principles, and would have his own Fictions pass for fundamental Truths; Whence one may see he had to do with very despicable Adversaries. Is this *Tay ki*, as he calls it, this shapeless Mass, this supreme Indefinite which preceded all finite Being, self-existent? Has this most subtle Part of the *Tay ki*, bestowed on itself the Motion which it gives to other Beings, or has it received the same from some other Being which was the first Mover? Could this fine Order of the Universe, this Disposition of its Parts always the same, these animated thinking rational Beings whose Actions are free, be the Effect of a blind Cause which acts by Chance, which prepares nothing, puts nothing in Order, and chooses nothing, is without Will and without Understanding? Yet his Principles establish these Doctrines, which none but a Man void both of Sense and Reason, would maintain. For on sight of a Palace, wherein Symmetry and Proportion as nicely observed, would any one offer to assert that the Stones assembled in that curious Order, and ranged themselves so as to form the different Apartments? That the Wall and the Wood-work erected themselves in order to support the Roof, which afterwards placed itself thereon? In a Word, that this Palace, furnished according to the most perfect Rules of Architecture, was the whimsical Effect of mere Chance? In reading a History or Poem fraught with the most remarkable Events, will any body say it is the fortuitous Concurrence of Characters, ranged by Chance in the Order necessary to describe such a Series of Events, and connect them together? A Child of these Years old would laugh at such Reasoning. These Works

of Art plainly shew, that they were raised by wise and industrious Operators. But what must we think of the Structure of this World, which comprizes the most astonishing Wonders? This suspended and immovable Earth which bears us; those Riches which annually spring out of its Bosom, to supply the various Wants of Mankind; that immense Arch of Heaven, which moves continually round this Globe, and covers us; those Abysses of Air and Water which encompass us; that spacious Reservoir of Water called the Ocean, which surrounds the Earth, and is so restrained within Bounds, that it never passes beyond them, but in its greatest Fury dashes its foaming Billows against the Shore; that Sun and those Stars which give us Light; and whose Motions are so constant and regular, that for so many Ages not the least Change has happened in them; those Animals of so many different Kinds; that natural Instinct which directs them to pursue what is for their Benefit, and avoid what is hurtful to them; the Manner in which they are renewed every Day by the Assistance of Food, and their Species propagated by Means of Generation; the Human Body, that Master-piece of Art, formed out of vile Matter, its several Parts and their Uses: That Soul which animates it, is intimately united with it, and sets all the Springs of it in Motion; which thinks, reasons, deliberates, forms distinct Images of Things destroyed as if they were still in being, preserves the Remembrance of what is past as if it was present; which is free, and determines to act just as it pleases. To say that all this can be explained by certain Combinations of a most feeble Matter, induced with an inherent animating Power, is to abuse Reason, and stifle the clearest Conventions: It is to shut ones Ears, and refuse to hear the Voice of all Creatures which are marked with the Seal of the Supreme Intelligent Being who made them, and are incessantly telling us that they are the Work of his Hands. Yet thus it is, that while all Creatures to the vilest Insects proclaim the Power of the Creator, we meet with pretended Philosophers, who wholly given up to frivolous Systems and lost in their own vain Thoughts, endeavour to root out of their Hearts the Opinion of a Deity; and raise Clouds to darken that pure Light which shines about them, in Spight of all their Attempts to extinguish it.



or the Supreme Indefinite, which immediately preceded all infinite Beings, was as it were the Bud from whence the Heavens and the Earth were produced: But that you may understand me thoroughly I will draw a Figure on Paper, which will lay the whole at one View before your Eyes.

A M A P of the Heavens and the Earth, at the Time of their F O R M A T I O N.



1. **T**HE Particles *Yang*, as the most pure, most subtile, and most light, fly off, rise up, flutter about and embrace the rest. 2. The Particles *In*, less pure, and by Consequence more heavy, subside, and by that Means unite together in the Middle. 3. All that which encompasses whatever is visible are Particles of the Universe so very small, that they have no sensible Figure, that is *Hyu ki*.

Explained by Gravitation.

But how do you understand, says one of the Company, that the *Yang*, that is the more subtile Particles, and the *In*, or the more gross Particles, should be separated from what you call *Tay ki*, the Sun and in Consequence of this Separation there should be formed a Sun, a Moon, and all the Stars? Planets.

I'll explain this to you, replied the Philosopher: The finest Matter of the *Yang*, or of the Assemblage of the more subtile Particles, formed the Sun; the less gross Substance of the *In* or of the gross Particles, composed in their Turn the Moon; the Stars were formed of the same, took their Places, and made their Revolutions in the Heavens: All which Things became visible, because thenceforward they had their determinate Figure.

The *In* on their Side being united together, and the gross Particles being linked one to another, formed the Earth, which is placed in the Middle of these immense Spaces. Shortly after the Earth had in its Bosom, and on its superficies, all the Elements well fixed, as Fire, Wood, &c. and in a Word, all the rest of the Beings here below, which having every one their particular Configuration, were easily distinguished. Attend to this Comparison, which will explain what I have been saying: The Air which we continually breathe when expired is rarified and dilated; it has likewise some Degree of Heat, and must be referred to the *Yang*: But when by Inspiration it enters into our Lungs, it is compressed and condensed; it also partakes something of the Coldness which it ought to bring, and is by that Means of the Nature of the *In*.

Formation of the Earth Water and Air.

Let us return to the first Combinations of the World: These kinds of Corpuscles which make what is called *In* being joined and fitted to each other, the Earth and the Water were formed of it, and the five Elements began to exist. The *Yang* and the smallest Atoms remained suspended and surrounded all this inactive Mass, fluttering and wheeling round about it without ceasing. A Hen's Egg may afford a slight Image hereof; may not the Earth be said to be the Yolk of the Egg, which appears suspended and fixed in the Middle, where it remains immovable? May not the Heavens be looked upon as the White, which embraces the Part that is in the Center, moves about it, and continues in the same Condition without any thing changing Place.

Of the five Elements.

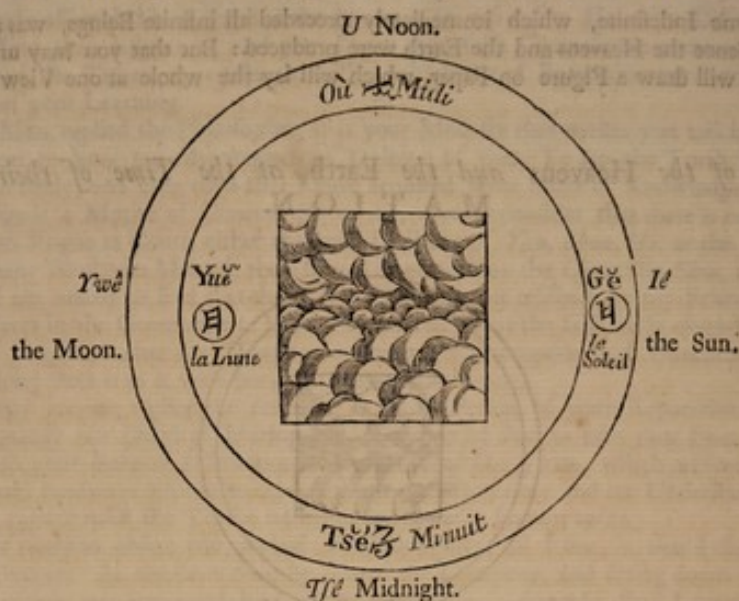
The Motion of the Heavens is thus constant and durable; that subtile and fluid Matter moves and circulates without ceasing; and by this Motion which is peculiar to itself causes the Variety of Seasons, and forms the Winds, Clouds, Thunder and Rain.

Of the Cause of Motion.

The Production of Mankind and other Beings came afterwards, and the whole Universe was then brought to Perfection: In short, all that one can imagine of what is lively, spiritual, and excellent in the Heavens and the Earth, becoming collected and united together in the highest Degree of Perfection possible, has given a wonderful Birth to these extraordinary Men, who in their Turn have contributed to the Improvement of Nature. But for fear you have not yet justly conceived my Meaning, I shall make Use of a second Figure by which you will easily understand it.

Of Mankind and other Beings.





Motion of  
the Heavens.

1. **T**HE Heavens encompass and surround the Earth, moving from the Left to the Right: There are two fixed Poles, one in the North, the other in the South; there is in the Universe no fixed Points of either East or West; nor is there any thing in a proper Sense high or low.

2. The Space which the Sun runs thro' in the Heavens distinguishes the Hours; when it is exactly at the Point marked U, then it is Noon; when exactly in the Point Tse, it is Midnight: And so of the Rest.

The Sun is the pure *Yang*; it begins to take its Course from the Hour of Midnight, and comes to us. When it rises every thing in the Universe depending upon *Yang* ferments and resumes fresh Strength: From Noon it begins to decline, and then every thing of the Nature of *Yang* grows weak; on the contrary, that which belongs to *Yin*, assumes new (\*) Vigour.

But, sayd one of the Auditors, if the Heaven is a fluid and light Body, in what Place will you fix the Deity *Yö wbang*, *Ta bi*? If the Earth is only an Assemblage of thick and heavy Particles, where will be the Abode of (+) *Yen wang*? Where do the Spirits lodge that are the Executioners of his Justice? In short, where will you place Hell?

Local Hell  
of the Ben-  
zardeny'd,  
and their  
Gods proved  
Fictions.

You may be certain, replied the Philosopher, that the Heaven is a very fine and light Substance, which is continually agitated and in Motion: Judge then if it be capable of containing any heavy Thing; it can support nothing but what is of the same Nature with itself; how then can the Deities, such as you represent them, inhabit there? In the Day-time, a clear Sky rolls over our Heads, while the dark Sky advancing by little and little, brings Night along with it; the Day afterwards appears again, and this Motion is constant and regular: Suppose then that *Yö wbang*, and his Train of inferior Gods, had their Palace in the Sky, these Gods would be carried along constantly with the Sky, and make an infinite Number of Circumgirations. Is this a well contrived System?

Let us come now to the Earth: This is manifestly an enormous Mass, a Composition of Water, Mud, Clay, and Stones, which are heaped up, and kept together by their own proper Weigh: If then you station *Yen wang* and his Train in this Place, the Court of this essential God must then be in this Heap of Water and Mud: Don't you see that these Things are nothing but mere Fictions?

Let us leave the Deities then, replied one of the Assembly, because you are too much prejudiced against them: But what are become of those great, those extraordinary Men, of whom you have spoken in such pompous Terms, and have put on an Equality with Heaven and Earth? For as the Heaven and Earth are real, and subsist these Heroes of Antiquity, ought likewise to exist: Are we to suppose, according to your Principles, that a *Fo bi*, a *Wbang ti*, a *Yau*, or a *Confucius*, cease to exist when they cease to appear here below?

What be-  
comes of the  
Soul after  
Death.

You are to understand, replied the Philosopher, that before those Sages were born among us, the *Li* and the *Ki*, the two Parts whereof they are composed, preexisted in the Heaven and the Earth. The same Instant that a great Man is formed, these *Li* and *Ki* are united together; and from this Union he takes his Origin. When he dies, his fine Qualities and Endowments, his Perfections and Doctrine, becomes the Admiration and Standard of future Ages; they continue to subsist,

(\*) On seeing these two Figures drawn by the Chinese Philosopher, the Reader perhaps may ask if in China they still believe the Earth to be square. The Philosopher seems to follow the ancient Opinion, that favours the Name of *Chang gué*, or the Kingdom of the Middle, which the Chinese gave to their Empire: Imagining the Earth to be square, that they possessed the greater Part of it, and that all the rest consisted only of certain Pieces of Land placed round about it by way of Ornament. This Notion is not suitable to a Globe, where the Middle may be found on any Part of the Surface. But since the Europeans have

been at *Pe king*, the Chinese who visited them, or are any way versed in Mathematics, have forsaken that gross Error, which obtains at present only among those who are ignorant of Astronomy: Just as we erred for many Ages in Europe, with Respect to the Rotundity of the Earth, the Antipodes, &c. The Chinese Mathematicians supposed the Earth to resemble in Shape, a Hen's Egg. The Word *Fang*, which signifies Square, ought to be rendered *Solid*, *Firm*.

(†) This is the *Plato* of the Chinese Idolaters, who worship *Fo*.



subsist, and their Duration is equal to that of Heaven and Earth. Indeed the Body of a Sage is destroyed, but his *Li*, or the thing which makes him what he is, that noble Part of himself, goes to be reunited to the Heaven and Earth as it was before; and as it may be truly said that the Heaven and Earth will always endure, there is likewise Ground to say that real Sages exist for ever (+).

The same Person who had just been speaking to the Philosopher replied: You acknowledge that *Confucius* is a real Sage, and yet Tradition informs us that he went to consult the illustrious *Lau kyun* (\*), by which Circumstance it appears that *Confucius* was afraid of Death, and wanted to learn the Secret of becoming immortal.

Don't talk to me of your *Lau tse*, reply'd the Philosopher, I consider him no otherwise than a common Person, notwithstanding he ridiculously pretended to make himself immortal: What a fine Doctrine has he left behind him, which has nothing for its Principle, and only teaches Indolence and Inactivity. I'll cite but one Passage from the Instructions he gave his Disciples: Consider my Tongue, say'd he to them, does it not subsist while it remains soft and flexible? On the contrary, Is not that which destroys our Teeth their own Hardness? What do you think of this delicate Reasoning? Nature, in the Production of the Universe, has made soft what ought to be soft, and hard what ought to be hard: Suppose that the Teeth which adorn the Mouth were soft and flexible like the Tongue, could we then take any Nourishment that was in the least hard, such as the Grains of Rice boil'd in Water, which is our ordinary Food? And if we were not in a Condition to take this Food, how could we possibly live several Ages, as they make us vainly hope? These are idle and chimerical Notions.

Let us apply this curious Principle of *Lau tse*, who would have every thing soft, to Natural Philosophy and Morality: We divide the Metals into five Kinds, according to their Colour. Now if you tell me that Gold and Silver, which are so highly valued, are naturally inclinable to be soft, because the Ornaments made of them are easily wrought, I answer: That these Metals are not deserving of such great Esteem, at least with respect to the Use they have in Life, for after all they are good for nothing but to make Vessels and other Ornaments not very necessary; whereas Iron, which is of a lower Rank among Metals, serves purely by its hard Property to open the Furrows which enrich us with Grain, and furnish Provision for our Subsistence, the Hardness of Iron renders it fit for several other Occasions: For instance, to prepare our Food, which we could not make Use of without its Assistance; to make Weapons of, which by putting an End to War are the Cause of Peace and Plenty to the Nation, which terrify or extirpate Robbers, and secure the public Safety.

Let us come to Morality: Those fond and languishing Passions for the Female Sex, don't they proceed from a soft and effeminate Heart? If Women had any Resolution, durst we take the least Liberty in their Presence? There would be no coming near them but as we do Fire, which no Man plays with unpunished: Our *I king*, that precious Gift of *Fo hi*, greatly exalts the Character *Kang*, that is to say, whatever has Firmness; on the contrary, your *Lau tse* praises nothing but *Yew*, which signifies Softness, and is entirely opposite to the Doctrine of our Canonical Books.

Moreover it is certain, that the Life of Man never exceeds a hundred Years, and yet he flatters them with the Hopes of holding out for many Ages: He also pretends that the *Yang*, which is the Soul of Man, is never destroy'd; and that he has found Means to steal from Nature the vivifying Virtue which he can dispose of just as he pleases.

After such Pretences as these, he who had the most vast and ambitious Desires of all Mankind, is so silly as to tell us that all is Vanity; that we ought to set our Hearts on nothing, tho' he himself was more fond of Life than any other Person; that there is nothing commendable but a State of Inactivity and Indolence, yet he himself was always extremely vigorous in his Pursuits: To affect Immortality in this Manner is only to rebel against Nature, and against the Laws of Heaven and Earth.

But it may not be amiss to give you some Account of this *Lau tse*, whom you so highly esteem. The following is the Substance of his History. He was born towards the End of the Dynasty of the *Chew*, near the City of *Lin pau*, in the District of *Ho nan*. His Father, surnamed *Quang*, was no more than a poor Peasant, who from his Infancy served as a Labourer in a wealthy Family: He was seventy Years old before he could meet with a Wife, but at length having gained the Affections of a Country Wench of the Age of forty he married her.

This Woman being one Day in a solitary Place, of a sudden conceived by the simple Commerce and Union of the vivifying Virtue of Heaven and Earth, and went with Child of him fourscore Years. The Master whom she served, vex'd that she should be so long without being delivered, turned her out of Doors; upon which she was constrained to lead a wandering Life about the Country, till at length under a Plumb-Tree she brought forth a Son with Hair and Eyebrows as white as Snow. The Mother, who was ignorant of her Husband's Family Name, and knew only his Surname, called the Infant after the Tree under which it was born: Then

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observing

(+) Every one of the Literati, let his Talents be ever so indifferent, must observe certain Measures when he speaks of the Prince of Literature, and the principal Sages of the Empire: Thus our Philosopher takes a pleasant Method to give *Confucius* a Duration equal to that of the Heaven and Earth. But what he calls the Duration of *Confucius*, will equally be the Duration of Millions of Men, whose Souls have in like

Manner returned to the Etherial Mass, and become part thereof. 'Tis the same as if one should make Images of Princes, Philosophers and Emperors out of Snow contained in a Vessel: the Snow coming to melt all Distinctions cease, and the whole is reduced to one uniform identical Mass.

(\*) Head of the Sect of *Tau tse*.

Principle of  
*Lau tse*, who  
would have  
every thing  
soft, refuted,

as contrary  
to Nature  
and Expe-  
rience.

Inconsistent  
with Mo-  
rality.

His Doctrine  
of making  
Man immor-  
tal,

Vain and  
ridiculous.

History of  
*Lau tse*.

His won-  
drous Birth.



His Name. observing that the Tips of his Ears were exceeding long, she took from thence his Surname and called him *Lieul, Plumb Tree Ear*; but the People, who saw him so very white, called him *Lau tse, or the old Boy*. When he had attained a certain Age, he became Library-keeper to an Emperor of the *Cheu*; by whose Favour he obtained a small Mandarinat. He made himself a Proficient in ancient History, and the Knowledge of the Rites of the early Ages; and it was that which induced *Confucius* to go and discourse him about the Ceremonial, and the Talents of a good Mandarin. *Lau tse* in his old Age foresaw the approaching downfall of the *Cheu* Dynasty. He got on the Back of a black Cow, and bending his Course Westward arrived at the entrance of a dismal Valley: This Passage was guarded by an Officer named *I*, and surnamed *Hi*. The Book *Tau tse*, containing five thousand Sentences, was composed by him in the City of *Cheu she*, in the District of *Tsin chwen*. At length he died, and his Tomb is to be seen at *U*.

And Death. This was the Beginning and End of *Lau tse*: He could not while he was living prevent the Ruin of the Race of the *Cheu*, whose Subject and Mandarin he was; and yet they would have us believe all the Fables which are confidently reported about his pretended Merit, and among the rest, that after his Death he was placed at the Top of all the Heavens in Quality of the three Purities.

Well! what do you think, Sir, of the Doctrine of *Fo*, which has been brought to us from the East, cried out those of the Assembly, who were devoted to the Worship of this Idol?

*Fo*, his Doctrine of the Vacuum, *Fo*, (†) replied the Philosopher, is another Visionary, who likewise pretended to make himself immortal. According to him the whole World is a mere Vacuum without any thing real in it: Pursuant to which fine Principle he would have us think of nothing, but reduce the Heart to a mere Vacuum, that is, empty it of all Affections, and go so far as even to forget ourselves, as tho' we had no Existence. We have Eyes and Ears, and yet we must neither see nor hear any thing: These Organs ought to be void of every Object; that is their State of Perfection: We have Mouths, Hands and Feet, and yet all these Members must be inactive. His great principle is, that the wonderful Ternary of the *Tsing*, the *Ki*, and the *Schin*, that is, the fine, the subtle and the spiritual, comes to its greatest Perfection when it is united and makes but one: As for the Soul, its Duration, says he, is infinite, for it never is destroy'd.

And Ternary.

Don't you see that this fine Doctrine of annihilating oneself and universal uncaring ends at length in Expectation of a chimerical Immortality, and in desiring that which cannot be obtained. They would seize upon and appropriate the vivifying Virtue of Heaven; they refuse to restore it one Day to Heaven and Earth, and pretend thereby to attain the pure Vacuum.

His Miraculous Birth.

But perhaps, continued he, you are ignorant of the History of this Enthusiast: His Mother saw in a Dream a great white Elephant, and at the same Instant perceived herself with Child: It grew considerably every Day, and at length making its way thro' its Mother's side, and tearing her Bowels, deprived her of Life from whom he received his own. 'Twas thus the Monster came into the World, and ought not he who was to turn it upside down to be reckoned among the Pests of human Race? Is it because he killed his Mother at his Birth that the Idolatrous People fast, make Processions, and perform a hundred other Things of the same Nature to obtain all kind of Happiness for their Mothers? Can it be imagined that this *Fo*, who could not save his own Mother, is able to protect another body's Mother (A)?

Unable to defend his Dominions he abandons them.

But to proceed: He lived in one of the Kingdoms Westward of this Empire, where he was at the same time Supreme both in Temporals and Spirituals, that is, a King and Head of his Religion. He had a Queen and a Concubine of very great Beauty, of whom he made Goddesses. His Kingdom abounded with Gold, Silver, Merchandises, the Necessaries of Life, and especially precious Stones: But tho' it was rich and fruitful, the Extent of it was small and its Inhabitants had neither Strength nor Courage; on the contrary those of the several Kingdoms wherewith it was surrounded were strong, active, and breathed nothing but Blood and Slaughter, insomuch that the Dominions of *Fo* were subject to frequent Invasions. Tired out with so many Insults which he could not resist, he abandon'd his Kingdom, and embraced a solitary Life: He then applied himself to exhort the People to the Practice of Virtue, and published the Doctrine of the Metempsychosis which he had invented, whereby the Soul was to migrate backwards and forwards from one body into another; observing however a certain Order by which Virtue was rewarded, and Vice punished. He infatuated the neighbouring Nations with these ridiculous Imaginations; his Design being to intimidate his Persecutors, and to persuade them that if they continued to ravage his Territories they should after this Life be changed into Dogs, Horses, and even into wild Beasts.

Invents the Metempsychosis to terrify his Enemies.

Re-ascends the Throne and grows very powerful.

During the Space of twelve Years, in which he laboured in propagating his Doctrine, he drew after him a prodigious Number of ignorant People whose Brain he had quite turned: With their Assistance he re-ascended his Throne, became very powerful, and marrying again had a numerous Issue. Such was the Effect of his Artifices; and while he talked to his Disciples about nothing but the Emptiness of earthly Possessions, he eagerly sought after them himself, and procured as many as he possibly could.

In short, you are not to judge that the Doctrine of *Fo* is excellent, because it has spread so much through this Empire, it came in Vogue only in Consequence of the Doctrine of our ancient Sages having

(†) The Account which this Chinese Philosopher gives of *Fo*, is mixed with Particulars not to be met with elsewhere. 'Twas he we find who invented the Metempsychosis or Transmigration of Souls, he lived 500 Years before *Pythagoras*; and as this latter is known to have travelled over *Egypt* and *India*, there is no Reason to doubt but he took his Doctrine of the Metempsychosis, which he brought into *Greece*, from the

Disciples of *Fo*.

(a) This is like the Proteflant Argument against the *Romish* Saints, who cannot be supposed able to protect their Votaries, when they cannot protect their own Images, Reliques, &c. And we shall find that most of the Author's Arguments, conclude equally against Popery and the Religion of this Impostor.



having been almost extinguished. The Ignorance and Corruption of the Heart have given Admittance to the grossest Errors; thus the People having neglected the admirable Lessons of *Tau*, *Shun* and *Confucius*, could only relish the Religion of *Fo*. This Sect prescribes nothing but a few idle Prayers, for the Attainment of Happiness and a State of Serenity; whereas our Sages exhort us to subdue our Passions, to govern our Desires, and to perform our several Duties, which is a very difficult Task.

This Discourse exasperated a great many of the Auditors: It is to no purpose to say, cried one of them, that every thing is empty in the visible World, and that the *Yang* or Spirit only is immortal; the great Doctrine of *Fo* and *Tau* swallows up all in nothing, the Soul only excepted, which will exist and live for ever. Any one may see that it is Prejudice, and the Spirit of Partiality, which sets you so vehemently against this Doctrine; and is what you spoke just before concerning the System of the World any better grounded?

Nothing could possibly have disgusted the Philosopher more, and it was easy to see that he was nettled with the Reproach. Your *Lau tse*, replied he, raising his Voice, must needs have been greatly in love with Life, since he sought so many ways of prolonging it, and yet he could not get beyond a hundred Years of Age; but he flattered himself that his *Yang*, or vivifying Spirit, should never perish. Was not *Fo tse* equally fond of Life? However he lived no more than sixty three Years, but he was persuaded that his Soul, which was properly himself, should exist for ever.

The Life of all Mankind has a fixed Term: But *Lau* and *Fo* have ridiculously imagined, that they were the only privileged Creatures in the World; that every thing which has appeared and shall appear on the Earth will return to nothing; but that as for them they are to be immortal, and that besides what was visible in their Persons, they had an intelligent Spirit, the true Principle of Life: Thus we find in the Doctrine of these Sects this unintelligible Language *Fo shi i*, *Shin cul*, *Yew sang syang*; that is, according to the Sect of *Fo*, the Body of *Fo*, the Trunk or Substance is one, but it hath three Images. *Lau shi i*, *Shin cul*, *Pwen sang tsing*; that is, according to the Religion of *Lau*, the Body of *Lau*, the Trunk, or Substance is one, but it is distinguished into three Purities.

These Sectaries, to make themselves understood, have recourse to Comparisons: A Branch of an Elder-Tree, planted in the Earth, leaves at length a Quintessence of the Nature of the Elder-Tree; a Fox dying in his hole leaves behind him the vivifying Spirits wherewith he was animated (\*). It is thus they pretend that, after the Death of their Master, there remained something of his Person which was born again in this lower World.

These Whims, as you may perceive, place *Lau* and *Fo* in the Rank of Trees and Beasts: But as the wild Conceits of the Sect of *Fo* have infatuated an infinite Number of People, it is necessary that I should enter into a more particular Account of them, which I shall reduce to ten little Articles.

1. In the Book of the Disciples of *Fo*, intitled, *the Utility of the House*, it is sayed, that the Body is our Habitation; that the Soul is an immortal Guest who lodges there, and like a Traveller passes from one Inn to another; that a Child is nourished with its Mother's Milk, in the same Manner as the Inhabitants of a Country drink of the River wherewith it is watered: Hence the Bodies of our Parents are nothing but a Lodging, and it is natural to look upon them, with the same contempt as a heap of Wood and Stones designed for the building of a House. Has not this a Tendency to root out of People's Hearts the Virtue *Hyau*, or reverential Love for Parents? Does it not stifle those Sentiments which unite us so strictly with them, as being nothing but the Participation of the same celestial and vivifying Substance.

2. The same Book, which represents our Bodies as mere Habitations where we take up our Lodging, tends to make us neglect them, and refuse them the Affection as well as Compassion so necessary for their Preservation. This is what inclines the Disciples of *Fo*, who are disgusted with the present Life, to seek the Means of procuring a better as soon as possible: There are some who go on Pilgrimage to Pagods situate on the Top of steep Rocks, and after they have ended their Prayers, as if they were sure of being heard, cast themselves headlong into some dreadful Abyss; others are lavish of their Lives in giving themselves up to the most shameful Excesses; others who meet with obstacles to their unlawful Passions go by consent and hang or drown themselves, that when they are born again they may become Husband and Wife; these are the evil Consequences of that senseless Doctrine of the Transmigration of Souls.

3. Being accustomed to look upon the Body as a kind of Inn, or resting Place, it is natural to forget the Esteem, Respect and Regard that is due to it: On this Account Women and Maids, who are generally greatly devoted to *Fo*, are easily seduced by the *Bonzas* and *Tau tse*, a sort of People very skilful in amorous Intrigues; they insinuate to them, that the Body which they only pass thro' is nothing but a contemptible Cottage, which they ought not to give themselves any Trouble about, and that many of their Sex, when they grant the Favours required of them, have been enjoyed by *Fo* without knowing it: *At present*, continue they, *you are the weak and servile Sex, but we promise you faithfully that when you are born again into the World you shall become Men*. It often happens that Ladies and young Girls of excellent Parts, and topping Families, are dishonoured by these Varlets, and at length arrive to such a Pitch by their Instructions as to renounce all Shame: They are not contented with one or two private Intrigues, but make

(\*) The Women Idolators believe they often see Spirits in the Shape of Foxes, and call them *Hsi ti tsing*. [Thus Apparitions are propagated; prepossess the Mind with any Absurdity, and People will fancy, nay swear, they have frequent Demonstrations of its Truth. Of this all times have furnished In-

stances: Witness at present the Affair of the late famous Abbé Paris; one half of the Parisians protesting Miracles are daily wrought at his Tomb, tho' the other half protest to the contrary. An unanswerable Proof of the Uncertainty and Insufficiency of human Testimony.]

Universality  
no Mark of  
a true Church

Pretence of  
*Lau* and *Fo*  
to Immor-  
tality vain,

and insolent.

Explained by  
Vegetation.

Evil Effects of  
the Doctrines  
of *Fo*.

Transmi-  
gration tends  
to root out  
filial Af-  
fection,

Promotes  
Self-Murder,

And de-  
bauchery,  
thro' the  
Arts of the  
Priests.



make a Trade of Libertinism, which they never forsake (A); such is this abominable Doctrine, that brings Infamy on many of the best Families.

Encourages  
Frauds,

4. Those who give into these ridiculous Chimeras affirm, that the Good or Evil of the present Life is the Consequence of their Actions while they were in a pre-existent State, and so think they have a Toleration by this goodly Principle to abandon themselves to Debauchery, and seize the Property of other Persons with Impunity: *You must understand*, they will say, *that we only take back what belongs to us, for we are very positive that you owed us such a Sum in a former Life.*

And other  
Disorders.

If a Libertine, who lays Snares for a young Girl, knows she is addicted to the Worship of *Fo*, he will say to her: *Don't you remember, that before you were born again you promised to marry me? But your hasty Death deprived me of the Right which I at present demand; from thence proceeds the tender Disposition of our Hearts, and the favourable Opportunity we now enjoy.* You may perceive that this monstrous Doctrine (\*) serves as a Veil to cover the most flagrant Wickedness, and most shameful Disorders.

Vilainy pro-  
moted by  
giving false  
Hopes and  
Security.

5. The Sectaries of *Fo* are persuaded, that they may give themselves up to the most criminal Actions with Impunity; and that, provided they burn a little Incense in the Night-time, or repeat a few Prayers before an Image, their Crimes are not only blotted out (B), but being under its Protection, they are screened from the Pursuit of Justice: One single Instance will make this plain.

A Thief found means to get into the most inner Apartment of the Imperial Palace, but was discovered and seized by the Officers in waiting; who, after they had thoroughly searched him, stripped him of his Cloaths and found his Body covered over with Slips of Paper filled with Sentences of *Fo* (C): He imagined that by Virtue of these Papers he would never be discovered, but might go on stealing with Impunity, or at least would find Means to escape.

Families im-  
poverished by  
Offerings at  
Altars &c.

6. The Devotees of this Sect are entirely taken up with making Pilgrimages to certain Mountains, and live exceeding sparingly that they may be able to purchase Perfumes to burn before the Images: They are insensible to the Necessities of a Father or Mother who suffers from Cold or Hunger for want of Cloaths and Food; their only Care being to gather a Sum of Money sufficient to purchase a rich Picture-Frame for the Altar of *Fo*, and other strange Deities. They abandon their Kindred (D), and leave their Ancestors without a *Tje tang* (†). Must not this inspire one with Horror for a Doctrine which makes us forget our deceased Relations, and deprives those who are living of all manner of Assistance?

Lewdness and  
Impudence  
the necessary  
Consequence  
of a Mo-  
nastic Life.

7. How many do we see among the Vulgar, who believe every thing they are told concerning their Pagods [Churches and Monasteries] which are built in the most solitary and inaccessible Places? They take it for granted that they are the Mansions of Virtue and Innocence; even many are tempted to pass their Days in these sorts of Retreats, that they may imitate *Fo* in his solitary Life: To this End you will see them all of a sudden renounce their Wives, Children and Possessions. What monstrous folly is this? Do not they know that their Bodies are composed of Flesh, Blood, Bones and animal Spirits? Do they think to make them as insensible as a Log of Wood, or a Stone? Do they imagine they shall no longer feel the Passions so natural to Mankind? All the pompous Exhortations of *Fo* and *Lau* upon the *Vacuum*, and upon the Perfection arising from an absolute Renunciation of all Enjoyments, are so many Snares by which a great Number of People have suffered themselves to be caught, thinking they could really put these Lessons in Practice; but they soon found them to be impracticable. The Empire of the Constitution prevailing, the Passions by being curbed and restrained have only become more ungovernable, and led them into the most enormous

(A) How often do we hear of the like Disorders among the Female Sex and Priests in the Church of *Rome*? How often do the Intrigues of Monks and Nuns come to Light? What Libertinism was lately discovered in some of the Convents at *Paris*? All *Europe* has rang of the late Story of *P. Gerard* and *Miss Cadiz*, with many others. The *Bosnas* make Use of the Doctrine of the Transmigration, and the *Romish* Priests that of Confession, to debauch the Sex; But of the two, this last is by much the fitter for the Purpose.

(\*) Whatever Grounds the *Chinese* Philosopher might have to consider the Doctrine of *Fo* as the Source of infinite Disorders, we may with much more Reason reproach his System. For if, according thereto, this Universe is neither created, nor governed by a first and supreme intelligent Being; if the Heaven and Earth preserve themselves in such excellent Order, merely by their natural and necessary Motion; if in short, all Things move mechanically in this great Machine, every body may say to himself, I have no Expectations beyond my own Person, I ought only to think of my present Happiness: The Term of Life is short and uncertain, by what Authority do they pretend to prescribe Laws to me, which Force, not Duty, compels me to submit to? The Encumbrances bestowed on this Submission make but a poor Amends for the Constraint: To say that the Authority which is exercised over me proceeds from Heaven, is mere Nonsense, since the Heaven itself is no more than Matter: Let them not tell me of either Virtues or Vices, they are idle Terms which convey no Ideas, but such as arise from the Prejudice of Education imbibed in our Infancy: Thus all Instructions, Reproofs, Laws, Punishments, and Government is useless or unjust. And Inclination ought to be the sole Rule of our Conduct. These Consequences necessarily follow from this System, and evidently lead to all manner of Crimes. The better to comprehend this rightly, one ought to be in a City wholly consisting of Atheists: Altho' indeed the like never yet was, nor ever

will be found. For if there be Atheists in Heart, that is, such as would be glad if there was no God to punish Crimes, it is rare to find Atheists in understanding, that is, whose Reason is so depraved as wholly to forget the Author of their Being, and be ignorant of a Truth, which is stamped on every Part of the Universe. But supposing there was such a City, what Confusion and Corruption must reign therein? It might at first glory in being set free, and no longer in Fear of divine Vengeance: But would it remain long without throwing off every kind of Yoke, and attempting to live in a State of Independance? And would it not give itself up to the most monstrous Excesses?

[This is an idle Harangue of the Editor, for which he has no Ground from any thing spoken by the Author, whose whole Discourse is a lively Inveective against Rebellion, Immorality and Wickedness, which he charges as the necessary Consequences of the Doctrines of a Religion in every thing almost the same with Popery: so that supposing the *Chinese* to be an Atheist, Popery must be worse than Atheism.]

(B) Is there not the same easy Remission of Sins promised in the Church of *Rome*, on saying two or three Prayers before an Image or privileged Altar, over and above what is obtained by Indulgences, Pardons, &c.

(C) These are like the Papers containing what they call the Gospel of *St. John*, Prayers or Sentences out of the Litany of Saints, the Legends or other Books, which as well as the Cross and Agnus Dei's Papists carry about them as Charms to protect them against Harms, and drive away evil Spirits.

(D) The same ill Consequences happen daily in Popish Countries. How many Parents have disinherited their Children, and reduced their Families to Beggary, in order to leave all their Substance to the Church: not for the Good of their Souls, as they imagine, but for the Good of the Priests.

(†) A common Hall, wherein they pay Honours to deceased Persons of the same Family.



enormous Excesses. To carry off Youth of both Sexes, to gratify their carnal Lusts, to seduce virtuous Ladies, to debase themselves to Beasts, and to glory in this Abasement; in short to renounce all Reason and Shame, are the inevitable Consequences of being seduced by this Doctrine.

8. How many other Persons have we seen, who, being infatuated with plausible Discourses about the *Vacuum*, have neglected all the Duties of social Life, and been wholly taken up in Pursuit of the Happiness promised in the Life to come! This Delusion is not confined to the People only, but has made its Way even into the Palaces of Princes: If we have seen Rebels assemble, and forming an Army besiege the Capital City; if Barbarians have entered the Empire and rendered it tributary; these Misfortunes have happened purely through the Princes Heads being turned with the Maxims and Superstitions of *Lau* and *Fo*, whereby they have become incapable of governing their Subjects. Was not *Lyang wu ti* reduced to die of Famine at *Tayching*? Was not *Whey tsong* carried captive into the sandy Deserts of *Tartary*? Did not *Hwentjong* shamefully fly to the Mountains of *Se chwen*? And what Misery did he not suffer there? Thus have these false Sects made Dupes of our Emperors, and brought the Empire to the Brink of Ruin.

Superstitions of *Fo* and *Lau* ruinous to several Emperors.

9. Among the Artifices wherewith the Ministers of the Sects of *Fo* and *Tau*, seduce the Minds of the Credulous, I must not omit a common Stratagem well calculated for the Purpose. When they initiate any Person into their Mysteries they oblige him to look into a Vessel of Water, where he sees himself in the Condition he then is; they then bid him look a second time, and he appears in the Condition he shall be when born again, provided he continues sincerely devoted to their Deities. By their Skill in the Magic Art it is so ordered, that a rich Man first beholds himself in the Shape of a sick Person, or a common Beggar in the utmost Want, and thereupon takes a Resolution to consecrate all his Substance to the Idol-Temples: After this good Work is performed, they persuade him to look a second Time into the Vessel of Water, and then he sees himself in the Habit of a King, a General of the Army, or Prime Minister of State. If it is a Maid, she beholds herself dressed in the Robes and Jewels of an Empress, a Queen, or favorite Concubine of the Prince; and this is to be their happy State when they enter a-new into the World. By these kind of Inchantments they cunningly dispose the People to Rebellion: Thus prepared, they readily take Arms, fight Battles, and plunder opulent Cities. By such Methods, during the *Han* Dynasty, two Rebels caused infinite Mischief; which were renewed under that of the *Twen*, and more lately in the Reign of the *Ming*, by other Ringleaders of Rebellion, who ought to be looked upon as public Pests, because they destroyed several Millions of Men. You might have seen those Monsters in Nature, for whom no Punishments could be great enough, boast of their Crimes even under the Executioner's Sword; and still influenced by the Inchantment, cry out: *We die content, we are upon the Point of entering into that delightful Abode in the West, where Fo waits to receive us, and make us partake of his Bliss* (A). 'Tis plain, these false Doctrines are the Spring of many public and private Miseries.

Juggling tricks of their Priests to delude the People,

and excite them to Rebellion.

10. There are four sorts of Professions of absolute Use in the Empire, for providing Necessaries and maintaining good Order therein, viz. Those of the Literati, Husbandmen, Mechanics and Merchants: But the Disciples of *Fo* and *Lau* are continually exhorting People to abandon these Professions, and to embrace the four following, Those of *Ho shang* and *Tau tse* for the Male, and those of *Ku* and *Mi* for the Female Sex. These *Bonzas* and *Bonzesses* live at the Expence of the Public, and stick at no Lies, Tricks, and Frauds, to procure Alms: They likewise give themselves up to Sloth and Luxury, not denying themselves any Pleasures that a corrupt Imagination can suggest, and even trampling under Foot the Laws of Nature and Society. What Difference is there between such a kind of Life, and that of the vilest Animals? *Ta mo*, the Person so much cried up, who came out of the West into *China*, spent, as reported, nine Years in the Mountain *Tsong* in continual Contemplation. He remained immovable with his Eyes fixed upon the Wall, without changing his Situation; and yet this contemplative Sluggard wanted none of the Necessaries of Life, but was plentifully supplied with all Sorts of Provisions and Cloaths. Suppose, after his Example, every private Person should take it into his Head to imitate this kind of Life, what would become of the most necessary Professions? Who would take care of cultivating the Fields, and carrying on the Manufactures? Whence would they have Garments and Food to support Life? Can it be imagined that a Doctrine, whose Practice if it were universal would overturn the Empire, should be the true Doctrine?

Enemies to Industry, Society and Truth.

The Folly and Mischief of a solitary Life.

Besides, it is incredible how much Money is squandered in building and repairing their Temples, gilding and adorning the Images, celebrating Festivals, and making Processions to their Honour; all these Inventions serve for nothing else but to swallow up the Riches of numerous Families. I have but lightly touched these ten Articles; for there would be no end of relating all the Disorders these Sectaries have caused in the Empire.

Images, Festivals, and Processions ruinous to Families.

As this Account could not be pleasing to the Auditory, one of them made the following Reply: 'To hear you talk, Sir, said he, *Fo*, *Lau*, and the rest of our Deities, must deserve nothing but Contempt; thus we must bid adieu to Rewards and Punishments, good and evil Spirits: In short, with one Stroke of the Tongue you demolish the whole System of our Doctrine.'

Those who are fond of popular Notions, replied the Philosopher, pass their Lives in a kind of Drunkenness, and finish them in a Dream; they are swallowed up in a Heap of rascally Fables, from which it is not possible for them to get loose; and the Hopes of obtaining a happy Life, thro' the Protection of Spirits, increases their Infatuation.

Love of Novelty and Credulity.

(A) This Passage frees the *Confucians* from the Charge of such wicked Stratagems, and shews how much the *Bonzean* Doctrines, wherever they have prevailed, have destroyed those lovely Sentiments of Humanity and Compassion inculcated in

the *Chinese* Morality. The like we find to be the Effect of some Popish Doctrines, which have changed the Christian Spirit of Meekness, Mercy and Love, into Violence, Cruelty and Hatred.



Gives rise to Impostors. This Inclination of the greater Part of Mankind, joined to their Credulity, was what put it in the Heads of *Fo* and *Lau* to establish a Place of Rewards, a Hell, a Palace for the Ruler of the Waters and the rest of the Deities, without mentioning Spirits of an inferior Order, and extraordinary Men who are become immortal. They have above all displayed the Advantages which their Gods bestow, and have placed in Heaven a *Yò wbang*, Chief of all the pretended immortal Beings, who delegates to these Spirits their Employs, such as to preside over Rain, to distribute Rewards and Punishments, &c.

History of *Yò wbang*, King of the Spirits. In the Book *Yò wbang*, we find these Words: *In the West there was a Prince of the Kingdom of pure Virtue. This King being forty Years old without having a Son, he and the Queen Pau ywê, obtained one thro' the fervent Prayers they addressed to Lau kyun; and this Son is the Yò whang of whom we speak.* Another Text of the Book *Hven ú*, affirms, that in the Western Parts, there is a Place called the Kingdom of pure Joy; that the King thereof being without Children obtained one of Lau kyun; and it is he who is honoured under the Names of *Hven ú Tsù tse*.

And of *Fo*. Let us add what is related in the History of *Fo*, wherein it is asserted, that in the West there is a Kingdom of pure Innocence, and the Prince who is Heir to the Crown is *Fo* himself; *he, whom he espoused, was called Na to, and they had a Son whose Name was Mo hew lo; soon after the Father spent twelve Years in Solitude, and during his Contemplations was transformed into Fo.*

Contrary to Reason and Nature. According to these Traditions it appears, that the Dynasty of the *Cheu* had reigned 708 Years before the Sect of *Fo* began. Let us argue of the Time past by the Time present, and of the present by the past; the World has gone on, and will go on in the same Manner: Can it be imagined that the thing, whereof no Footsteps are now to be found, was formerly the Wonder of the World? Run over the Countries West of China and you will meet with nothing but Barbarians, where then shall we find the Kingdom of pure Virtue &c. which these Books mention? Or a Race of Men with three Heads, six Shoulders, and eight Hands (A)? Or People who live two or three hundred Years, and yet experience none of the Inconveniences of old Age? How then can you fancy such Places to be the Abode of immortal Beings? In short, the Fables they relate concerning the King of Heaven and Generalissimo of the Spirits, are invented only to abuse the Credulity of the Vulgar.

But said one of the Auditors, How dare you treat *Yò wbang* with so much Contempt, since he is the same as *Shang ti*, mentioned in your Books, for whom you have so profound a Veneration? It is he the Emperor *Kau tsong* (\*) saw in a Dream, and who gave him *Fá ywê* for his Prime Minister; it is of him *Meng tse* [or *Mençius*] speaks, when he says, we must fast, examine, and purify ourselves, before we offer him any sacrifices (†): Dare you deny that there is a *Shang ti*?

Original of giving *Shang ti* a bodily Form. In the Times of the Emperors *Yau* and *Shun*, replied the Philosopher, the People entertained false Notions concerning Spirits (‡); which gave Rise to the extravagant Fancy of giving a Form to *Shang ti*. I own, that the Emperor *Kau tsong* was a virtuous Prince; that he saw in a Dream a Man, who in Shape and Features exactly resembled *Fá ywê*, tho' the Prince was then ignorant of his Name; that he caused his Picture to be drawn upon the Strength of his Memory; and that giving Orders to find out the Man thus represented, he was in reality brought to him. All this is true; but how comes it to pass, that tho' we have neither seen the flying Dragon, nor the fabulous Bird called *Fong wbang*, they yet appear very often in Dreams? I answer; People having seen such Figures in Pictures they enter into their Imaginations while asleep.

If you insist that *Shang ti* appeared to *Kau tsong* in a human Shape, with the Crown and Robes suitable to the Imperial Dignity, I may easily make you this Reply: That as it was the Emperor *Wbang ti* who first instituted those Ornaments which distinguish the Emperors from

(A) The Images of *Fo*, &c. are represented in such Form.

(\*) This Objection gravels the Chinese Philosopher. He might have come off by answering, that their *Yò wbang* was not the *Shang ti* of the Literati, but he whom the Sect of *Tau* had honoured with that Name under the Dynasty of the *Han*, and whose Name was *Chang i*: But instead of this Answer, which would have been satisfactory, he falls to trifling about the Garments which *Shang ti* ought to have, and endeavours to make this Piece of History pass for a Fable, or a mere Dream, just as if one should see in a Dream the fabulous Bird called *Fong wbang*: However, restrained by the Authority of the Classic Books, he has Recourse to the modern Interpreters, and will have *Shang ti* to be nothing else but his *Tay li*. Had the Chinese the same Idea of the *Li*, that *Père Mallebranche* (who seems to be unacquainted with their Doctrine) has of it, our Philosopher might easily have answered, that the Emperor saw his future Minister in the *Li*. For that Father assures us, that according to the System of the Chinese Philosophy, all Truths appear in the *Li*, and agreeably to that System which he has framed in the Work, intitled *A Dialogue between a Christian Philosopher and a Chinese Philosopher*, he makes the latter speak thus: *We admit only of Matter and the Li, that Sovereign Truth, Wisdom, and Justice, which eternally subsists in the Matter, which seasons and disposes it in that beautiful Order wherein it appears, and likewise informs this refined and organized Part of Matter of which we are composed: For in this Sovereign Truth (the Li) all Men are of Necessity united, since more, none less; that they see the eternal Truths and Laws, which are the Bonds of all Societies, &c.* This being advanced, one is not surprised to hear the Christian Philosopher answer: *Your Li, your Sovereign Justice approaches infinitely more the Idea of our God, than that of this powerful Emperor Shang ti.* Unfortunately this Language is new and unheard-of in China; and there is not one of the Literati, but would be strangely surprized to hear he was made to speak in such a Manner.

(†) The Objection, had it been urged home, was strong and perplexing: "If the *Shang ti* of the Literati (say they to him) was without Life and Understanding, could he have given *Kau tsong* a faithful Minister, as a Reward of his Virtue? Would it be necessary for a Man to purify himself inwardly, in order to offer solemn Sacrifices to *Shang ti* in a decent Manner?" — Our Philosopher eludes the Difficulty by having Recourse to his *Tay li*: But he does not offer to say of the *Tay li*, what *Confucius* says of *Shang ti*: *He knows the Bottom of my Heart, Chi ergo, and as most just, Chi kung, let him punish me, if my Intentions are criminal.* Our Atheist thinks quite otherways of his *Tay li*, on which he bestows very fine Names taken in a metaphorical Sense: *It is, says he, that which governs and reigns in Heaven, the Earth, and all other Beings. In sacrificing to him, it is sufficient to turn one's face respectfully towards Heaven. He dares not disapprove the Rite of solemn Sacrifices, in Use among the literary Sect, and makes a strange Medley by accommodating his Atheism and Acts of Religion together. All this shews that what most perplexes these Atheists is the Doctrine of the Canonical Books, which not daring openly to reject they vainly endeavour to reconcile with their System.*

(‡) Here the Philosopher not knowing how to reconcile with his System the Idea, which the Classic Text naturally gives us of *Shang ti* in his Apparition to *Kau tsong*, falls into a manifest Contradiction. He says, that Error and Superstition as to Spirits were introduced in the Times of *Yau* and *Shun*, whereby he confesses, that his Doctrine was not the same with that which prevailed in the Reigns of those Princes, which yet was called the Golden Age for its Religion and Morality. He acknowledges that *Yau* and *Shun* were Sages of the first Rank, and listened to as Oracles appointed to reform the Empire committed to their Care: And yet charges them with authorising, and even introducing gross and pernicious Errors. How is he to be reconciled with himself.



their Subjects, it will thence follow that *Shang ti* did not exist before that Emperor; or if he did exist, that he continued naked till the Time of his Reign, when they began to wear a Crown, and cloath themselves with imperial Robes. But I chuse rather to answer thus: That what they call *Shang ti* is that which rules in Heaven and Earth, and generally over all other Beings; for which Reason it is stiled *Ti*, that is, *Sovereign Master*. It appears likewise, by the Manner in which some of our learned Men explain themselves, that *Shang ti* is at Bottom the same thing as the *Tay ki*, which I have discoursed to you about. Has ever any body ventured to affirm that *Tay ki* hath appeared in a visible Shape? Whence it is easy to see, that when it is said Sacrifices must be offered to *Shang ti* they only ought to be made to Heaven with a pure Heart.

That he ever appeared in a visible Shape deny'd.

Your Arguments, cried one of the Assembly, tend to disprove a Hell, and its God called *Yen wang*, who sways this subterranean Empire; also the *Lo ban*, that is to say, Spirits who rule the Destiny of Mankind; yet these are the Spirits which, we are told, convey the Soul into the Body at the Moment of Birth, and drag it away, at the Moment of Death, to the Place of Punishment, where it is cruelly tormented by other Spirits. If a Man in this Life has practised Virtue, he will certainly be born again to a State of Wealth and Splendor; if even Beasts themselves have lived well, according to their Condition, they will find themselves transformed into Men: On the contrary, a Person who gives himself up to shameful Vices, and follows his irregular Appetites, shall become a brute Beast. If Animals are more cruel than is suitable to their Nature, they pass not into a new Life after Death, but their Souls are entirely extinct. These are the Things which we are taught, and yet according to you they are so many Falsities.

That both Man and Beast enjoy a future State,

To speak freely, replied the Philosopher, I do affirm they are all false. Two married Persons cohabit together, they both concur in producing the Embryo which is conceived in the Womb of the Mother, and grows by insensible Degrees: If, according to your Notions, the Fœtus must wait till it is brought to Perfection before the Soul insinuates itself therein, by what Place can it find a proper Entrance? Or we may say rather, that a certain Quantity of Blood being united in the Mother's Womb forms the whole, which there undergoes a Fermentation and begins to have the Power of Motion; it is then a Being of a particular Sort. Thus Man is a Composition resulting from the Union of a sensible Thing with another that is invisible; and this is what we call *Ki*: While this Union subsists we are capable of Pain; when it is dissolved we become insensible. If a Man has the Palsy on one Side of his Body, you may apply Fire to the paralytic Part and he will feel no Pain. When he dies, the *Hing*, or that which is visible in him, is separated from the *Ki*, or that which is invisible: This *Ki* is evaporated (||) into Atoms, which flutter here and there, or are changed into a cold Wind destitute of all animal Heat, What then remains of the Deceased, upon which your Ministers of Hell can exercise their merciless Cruelty?

Deny'd by the Philosopher on natural Principles.

But suppose that the grand Demon of all *He kang fang*, (who is one of the 36 *Kang* of the *Tau kya*) has a Mind to seize upon the Soul of some Wretch after it has been dispersed, and is able to blow all its Parts dexterously together again, in order to punish it for its Crimes at the Tribunal of the Infernal Judge: Do you believe that these Demons would have Leisure and Patience to re-assemble all the subtle Particles scattered here and there?

This Reasoning of the Philosopher was not without Reply: We are assured, sayd one of them to him, that the God *Yen wang*, and the other Judges his Ministers, fix the Moment of the Birth of all Mankind; also if they shall marry, and to whom; if they shall have Children, and what their Disposition will be; and whether rich or poor; in short, all that is to happen to them is written in the Book of *Yen wang*; hence their Fate is inevitable, and no Alteration can be expected. Have you any thing to say against this Doctrine?

Absolute Predestination of the Bonnas.

Don't you remember, replied the Philosopher, a Passage in the *Huen ü cbwen*, one of your Books? A certain Demon called *Yau mo* (\*) was continually devouring Mankind, but the God *Huen ü* came to their Assistance, and preserved a great Number from his Fury. Upon which I reason thus: Either *Yen wang* had determined the Number of those who should be devoured, or he had not. If he had not, your Hypothesis falls to the Ground of itself; but if he had determined the Number, why did the God *Huen ü* make such useless Efforts to save People who were irrevocably condemned to be devoured? But since we are fallen upon this Topic, pray listen to another Fable, which is pleasant enough: A Person called *Pung*, lived to the Age of 800 Years, and married 72 Wives one after another. The last dying in her Turn went into the other World, and asked the Ancestors of *Pung*, what might be the Reason that her Husband lived so many Ages? Is it because his Name, added she, was not recorded in the Register of *Yen wang* (†)? Yet none can escape him. I will teach you the Mystery, replied the Grandfather of *Pung*: The Name and Surname of my Grandson your Husband are certainly in the Book, but in the following Manner; when it was necessary

Refuted by their own Principles and Legends.

(||) This Philosopher runs down the Opinion of the Sectaries, who make the Body a transitory Lodging for the Soul, supposing it to be united to the Body in his own Way; but he does not allow it to be spiritual and immortal. He pretends it is a mere subtle Portion of Matter, which is destroyed as well as the Body by the Separation of its Parts. But supposing this, how is the Soul united to the Body? Being Matter, it can be united no otherways than as one Body is united to another; and it is evident that two Bodies can only be united by the Surface. But is such a Union sufficient to explain what we experience, touching the several Parts of the Body and the Sensation of the Soul? Besides, if the Soul consists of Parts as well as the Body, each Part must have Functions peculiar to it. In what Part then will he place the Faculty of thinking? Can Matter become a thinking Being? He must needs maintain farther, according to his Hypothesis, that the Soul, being no more than a Collection of Matter put in Motion, is not a free Agent; that the least

Motion which I made with my Hand Yesterday was a necessary Effect, and could no more be avoided than the Sun can avoid rising above the Horizon; and in short, that if I had not moved my Hand it would follow, that from the Beginning of the World Matter had received a natural Motion quite different from that which it had at first. What Absurdities are Men obliged to maintain, when they are resolved not to quit the false Principles they have set on Foot!

(\*) St. Epiphanius writes, that *Pythagoras* invented the Doctrine of the two Principles, which he might have taken from the Disciples of *Fo*. It appears, that they hold two *Gentis* of very different Characters: One who seeks to devour as many Men as he can; and the other, who shakes it his whole Business to save those whom the wicked *G. dia* would swallow up.

(†) All that is said here, relates to the System of the *Bonnas*, and the idolatrous Worship brought from India. They admit a kind of Paradise, Hell, a God called *Ten wang*, &c.



to bind up the Leaves, the Officer employed to do it took by Mistake the Leaf on which the Destiny of *Pung* was written, twisted it like a Lace, and with it sewed the rest together (\*). As the Woman could not keep the Secret, *Yen wang* soon heard of the Story; so that taking the Book and examining the Lace, he blotted out the Name of *Pung*, who died that very Instant. This Example, continued the Philosopher, proves the direct contrary of your Doctrine, for here is an Instance of one who escaped the Penetration of *Yen wang*. Can you be certain that others have not escaped by a like Trick? But to convince you that all this is fabulous, it is sufficient to observe, that in the Times of *Confucius* and *Meng tse*, no Paper Books were in Use, they wrote upon the Rind of *Bambú*, or Tables of Wood. Besides, as your subterraneous Hell is nothing but a Heap of Earth, Water and Stones, it is plain, Paper Books and Registers could not be preserved there: You ought therefore to look upon what you read in those Books as so many romantic Fictions.

Marks of its  
Forgery.

But, replied another, however you may ridicule Hell and its Spirits, dare you say the same of the Guardian Spirits of walled Cities called *Ching wbang*; or of divers other Places named *Tú ti*, which are revered thro' the Empire? And can so universal a Worship be false?

Original of  
Guardian  
Spirits and  
P. tron Saints

Hear me, replied the Philosopher: In the Reigns of *Tau* and *Sbun*, Dwellings were not encompassed with Walls and Ditches, which Custom was first introduced under the Dynasties of the *Hya* and *Sbang*, in order to defend them from Thieves and Rebels: At length, they erected a *Ching wbang* (||), and built Places designed for its Honour; they also built others in Honour of the *Tú ti* (§). When they took it in their Heads to give the Spirits the pompous Name of *Ti ti*, because they were looked on as the Nursing Fathers of the People, they divided them into different Classes: Those to whom they attributed the Care of the Fields and cultivated Lands, they honoured with the Title of *Shé shin* (\*); those whose Office was to preside over the Villages, to look after the Health of the Inhabitants, and maintain Peace among them, were honoured under the Title of *Tú ti*; the Spirits, assigned to the Inside of Houses, and Places of public Assemblies, as Guardians thereof, were revered with the Name of *Chung lyew* (†); they assign'd to others the desert and mountainous Countries, in Hopes that they would facilitate the Transportation of Provisions and Merchandises, and these were honoured under the Title of Spirits of the high Mountains: In short, those who were placed in the Cities, encompassed with Walls and Ditches, were worshipped by the Name of *Ching wbang*, as Spirits who preserved such Cities from public Calamities.

Blasphemous  
to represent  
the Deity by  
an Image.

I am now coming to the Point, continued the Philosopher, in reality all these Spirits (:) are nothing but Lumps of Earth differently formed; when the Memory of them is preserved in the Soul, it is just as when I am drinking Water, I think of the Spring from whence it arises, and am obliged to it for the Pleasure and Benefit I receive from it. Dare any one carry the Blasphemy so far as to take for the Image of the true Spirit (†) of Heaven and Earth, who is Purity itself, those grotesque Figures of Clay representing Men, or Women, either on the Inside or Outside of the Pagods, or the Figure of an old Man, such as is placed in private Houses?

Here the Philosopher was thus interrupted: Many Prodigies have been performed by the *Ching wbang* and the *Tú ti*, which Prodigies demonstrate their Power; and as they are often seen in the Shape of living Men, how can you say they are nothing but a Lump of Earth?

Old way of  
accounting  
for extraor-  
dinary Effects

We must go a little round about, replied the Philosopher, to (‡) explain the Wonders and Apparitions of which you speak: There are Men whose Talents are extraordinary, and who distinguish themselves from the rest of Mankind, by their Courage and Virtue; it appears sometimes, that they are oppressed with Slander, or a sudden Death carries them off without leaving any Posterity behind them: Now these very extraordinary Personages are endued with Souls of an uncommon kind, which are not easily dissipated, but generally retire into the Pagods, and there work surprising Events. They talk of one *Wen tyen tsyang*, massacred under the Dynasty of the *Twen*, and of a *Yu chung tsyau*, who miserably perished under the *Ming*; whose great Actions have made the People believe, that after their Death they became *Ching wbang*, or Guardians of Cities.

The Absur-  
dity of mak-  
ing Guardi-  
an Spirits.

That which constitutes the Merit of a Man during his Life is the *Ki*, that spiritual Air which may

(\*) The Chinese Books are often bound in this Manner.

(||) *Ching*, signifies a Wall, and *W'bang*, a Ditch.

(§) *Tú*, Earth, and *ti*, a Place.

(\*) *Shé*, signifies a Place without the City.

(†) Name of the Place where their Representations were.

(:) We see here how much the Philosopher is perplexed by his inability to account for strange and miraculous Events, which can be wrought only by Demons, and yet he would attribute them to natural Causes. He is indeed honest enough not to deny such wonderful Effects, as others would do, who, to get out of the Difficulty, are resolved to admit nothing that is contrary to the Course of Nature: But then it is certain, that the Conjuratorial and Operations of the Devil are too common in China to be denied. 'Tis very remarkable, that in all the Countries where Christianity is not established, the Devil exercises a great Power over the People, and that this Power ceases as soon as the true Religion takes Root there: Nay, this Power of the Spirit of Darkness is entirely restrained by the bare Presence of a Christian Child, of which there have been infinite Instances.

[REMARK. But these Instances du Haldé means, will probably be ranked by Protestants among other pretended Miracles of the Romish Church. And the Reader will find Reason to doubt of several other Positions he advances, where his Religion is concerned.]

(‡) The Text is *Ten, Ti, Tse, Yen, Chin, Ché, Shén*. It appears that by these Terms Spirit of Heaven, our Atheist intends nothing else but the material Heaven: Just as by Spirits of the Mountains and Rivers he means no more than the visible Mountains, and Rivers themselves.

(||) That there are Guardian Spirits of Cities and the principal Places of the Empire, is an Opinion of great Antiquity in China. The Mandarins at this Day, most averse to the Idolatry among the People, have still Recourse to the *Ching wbang*, with regard to which, our Philosopher does nothing but quibble in this Place; his Way of reasoning being not unlike that which some of the Chinese use with regard to the Name *Tyen chu*, that is, Lord of Heaven, which the Missionaries give to God: before Heaven was created, say they, there could not be a *Tyen chu*, or a Lord of what there was not: Therefore your *Tyen chu* and the Heaven began to exist both at the same Time. As they relate many remarkable Facts, whether true or false, to prove the Protection granted by the *Ching wbang* to the Cities and their Inhabitants; and as this Worship is professed and practised by the literary Sect, our Atheist is puzzled how to accommodate these common Notions with his System. There are certain Souls, says he, which are not dissipated in leaving the Body, but still subsist, and seeking out for a Tenement stop at the Dwellings of the *Ching wbang*, where they work the Miracles that are reported. He had been much more puzzled if the Auditors, turning his own extravagant System against him, had replied: Yea, who boast of having thrown off the Yoke of a Supreme Master, by refusing to acknowledge any, how are you sure but the Souls of your greatest Enemies may be amongst those which subsist after Death? These Souls being no longer restrained by Laws and you not having the Power to avoid them, what have you not to fear from their Anger and Revenge?



may exist some time after his Death. When this *Air* produces wonderful Effects they are attributed to Spirits, either of craggy Rocks, mountainous Places, Rivers, or Cities; but indeed every thing that is done happens of Necessity, and according to the Laws of Nature. Can you believe that these Spirits take their Rank by Means of an imperial Mandate, which appoints their several Offices? Is it in the Power of any Mortal to assign to this or that Spirit the Office of presiding over such and such Productions? The Spirits you talk of are nothing but the Mountains, Rivers, Fields, and Cities themselves, wherein according to the natural Course of things there sometimes happen uncommon and surprising Effects; it is then ridiculous to say, such a Man, whose Name and Surname we formerly knew, is at present a Spirit that ought to be worshipped.

Permit me to say, replied one of the Assembly, that your Answer does not satisfy me: You say the principal Part of a great Man is his *Ki* or Soul: Will you then attribute to these remains of a great Man every thing extraordinary that happens, and which seems to be contrary to the Course of Nature? I lived some time ago at *Ching cheu*, where I saw Willow-Trees produce little odd Figures in the Shape of a Man about two Inches in Height: About the same time it rained black Rice in *Kyang si*; at *Chu cheu* there fell out of the Sky Men's Heads about the bigness of a Pea, wherein the Eyes, Mouth and Nose were very exactly formed. These events are publickly known, and believed by wise Men, and you can't say they are according to the Course of Nature.

*Confucius*, replied the Philosopher, thought it not worth while to mention these Spirits, which are known by their strange Operations: Yet it was not because he was ignorant, that when a Kingdom is threatened with a Revolution, these Prodigies sometimes happen, and are a kind of Fore-runners of some approaching Calamity. This excellent Sage thought it sufficient to say, that we should not give Credit too easily to these Sorts of Miracles, which are of no use but to fill the Mind with Uneasiness and Dread; and because the Sect of *Fo* has recourse to this Artifice to terrify the Vulgar, it is reckon'd a false and dangerous Sect. I acknowledge (\*) that when some dreadful Event is near at Hand, for instance, a Famine or a great Mortality, the five Elements are in Confusion and produce Monsters: But if at these Conjunctions Men seriously set about to reform their Manners, and practise Virtue, all these Omens will be attended with no ill Consequence.

Omens and Prodigies forerunners of public Calamities.

You are unwilling then, replied one of the Stangers-by, to look upon the immortal Spirits as Authors of these Prodigies: But to attribute them to natural Causes only seems very unaccountable. I shall endeavour to convince you by a single Example: Under the Dynasty of the *Ming*, in the City of *Yen tse*, of the Province of *Ho nan*, there died one of the common People called *Cheu*, surnamed *Tyen pau*. The third Day after his Interment his Wife took Wine and Pulse, and went to the Burying-place to make this small Offering: But stopping in the Way, not far from a Rock, there suddenly proceeded from it Lightning, accompanied with the most dreadful Noise. At the same Instant, part of the Rock fell down and discovered in a hollow Space within it a Stone Chest; which the Woman having a Curiosity to peep into drew near it, and thro' a large Slit therein, perceived that it contained a Sabre with a very rich Handle, and a Book which much resembled a Book of Magic. This she took and returned to her own House, where she set herself to peruse it, and find out the Sense; after which she undertook to foretel several Events among the Neighbours, which fell out exactly according to her Predictions.

Ridiculous Story of an Enchantress.

The Inhabitants of the Place, who were Witnesses of these Things, conceived so great an Esteem for her that they stiled her the Mother of *Fo*; and in less than a Year this new Prophetess grew into such Reputation, that she was followed by more than ten thousand People, and continued to work surprising Miracles. By the Assistance of her magical Book, if she did but blow upon a Field of Corn, or Rice, it was immediately changed into Swords and Spears, and every one thought he saw an Army in Battle-array: With one single Word she could turn a Joint-stool into a Leopard or Tyger; and a weak Fence of Pales into high Walls surrounded with Ditches. But now to shew what all this tended to.

One Day, when it was least expected, there happened an almost general Revolt; whereupon the Mandarins of the Army march'd immediately with Troops to seize the Ringleaders, but found greater Resistance than they imagined, and a bloody Battle ensued. However, at length the Rebels were overcome, and the Enchantress being among the Prisoners was thrown into a Dungeon loaded with Irons, where she remained three Days, unable to set herself at Liberty, her Art forsaking her as soon as she was in Irons. But you must own, that this Woman could not have worked such Prodigies without the Assistance of the immortal Beings.

All that I shall admit, said the Philosopher, is that certain Magicians, or such sort of People who pretend to the Rank of Immortals, having been able to steal (+) from Heaven and Earth the Knowledge of a Change which was to happen in Nature, composed the Book of future Events, and hid it within the Rock. When the fatal time of the Revolt drew near, according to the natural Course of Things, the Enchanters appeared, whose Predictions being listened to, favour'd the Rebellion, wherein so many perished. In short, tho' these Calamities necessarily happened in Consequence of the Situation of the Heaven and Earth, yet the criminal Boldness of the Magicians, who intrenched upon the Rights of Heaven by searching into the secrets of Futurity, will not escape the

Ridiculously accounted for

Impious to enquire into Futurity.

VOL. I.

8 I

Punishment

(\*) Our Philosopher durst not deny what is so often repeated in the *Shu king*: That certain Signs which happen, are Notices given Mankind by *Shang ti*, of some approaching Calamity, unless they prevent them by reforming their Manners: But to reconcile this Doctrine with his System, he argues in a most wretched manner. For in short, how can there be, according to the Laws of Nature as he supposes, certain Presages of Events, that are uncertain, and which depend on the free and changeable Will of Men? Can we avoid acknowledging a Superior

Intelligent Being, which connects the Presage of a Comet or Earthquake, with the Event of a Rebellion, or dethroning of a Monarch?

(+) This Theft from Heaven and Earth by the Magicians, is, as plainly appears, a mere Absurdity: which proves that to expose the System of a Philosopher, who attributes all things to natural Causes, you need only set him to reason upon Nature: for nothing is more likely to discover his Extravagance and confound his Pride.



Punishment due to them; and those who consult or listen to these pretended Immortals, (supposed to associate themselves with Spirits) have always proved dangerous to their Country.

Pretended  
Miracles.

I must not pass by your last Words, say'd one of the Assembly: You cannot be ignorant that the King of *Kin* (\*) flying after a defeat pass'd the deep River of *Yang tse*, and by an unlooked-for Miracle the Water only reach'd his Horses Girths. In like Manner the last Heir, of the Race of the *Tsen*, having beheld almost his whole Army cut in Pieces, was obliged to fly with Precipitation towards the North; when coming, as you know, to the Side of a great River, and not finding a Ferry-Boat, there suddenly appeared in the Air a great metal Bridge, by which he cross'd the Stream. You say that these are Prodigies not worthy to be mentioned?

Idly admit-  
ted and ac-  
counted for.

My thoughts concerning it, replied the Philosopher, are these: That which both in Heaven and Earth is the Principle of the most wonderful Productions, this Being, this *Ki*, strengthens the Weak, and weakens those who are too strong (+). Before the Dynasties of the *Hya* and *Sbang*, the Earth being very thinly peopled, and the Number of Mankind but small, Heaven which was then in its full Vigor was more likely to produce Sages and extraordinary Men, who supported and propagated their Species: But it degenerated in after Times, and Men being greatly multiplied, the Malice and Corruption of their Hearts prevail'd, whilst Integrity and Virtue the Ways of Heaven, (†) Reason and Order were hardly discover'd. Heaven could not suffer such a Multitude of wicked Mortals; wherefore he sent his Plagues among them, those Blood-thirsty Villains who delight in nothing but War. He rais'd up a *Pe chi* who caus'd the Ruin of *Cbau*, and the numerous Troops that he commanded. *Lyew tau che* was another Firebrand of War, who carried Rapine and Desolation into all the Provinces. As for your two Citations from the History: You ought not to doubt that this Favour was granted to these Princes, in order to preserve some Remains of the *Tsen* Dynasty, and the *Kin* Nation, which without this extraordinary Assistance had become extinct. 'Tis certain, the Conduct of Heaven (||) is not blind, nor void of Reason: If it crosses Prosperity (§), 'tis because it proceeds beyond Bounds; of which I'll give you an Example.

Tsen not blind  
or void of  
Reason.

'Twas the Design of Heaven to restore the *Han* Dynasty; for which Reason, when *Quang vi* was stopped on the Banks of a large and rapid River, it caus'd the Waters to freeze in an Instant, that he and his Troops should find no Difficulty in their Passage. When the Order observ'd by Heaven (•) for the Government of the World is ready to produce any great Change, for instance, when Heaven is on the Point of abandoning a reigning Dynasty, there then happen extraordinary Events, as so many fatal Prefages: But these are not always the same, tho' they always proceed from the same Cause.

Always Dan-  
ger in oppos-  
ing Supersti-  
tion and Er-  
ror.

The Auditors having praised the Philosopher's Subtlety and Penetration, one of them say'd: After all, Sir, the Religion of *Fo* and *Lau* are spread thro' the Empire, and have long since taken deep Root in Mens Hearts. Consider you alone oppose them: I wish you attack'd them with even stronger Arguments than are us'd against them in the ancient Books; but still, that would not secure you from the Assaults of an infinite Number of Adversaries who follow those Doctrines, and you have no more than one Mouth and one Tongue to answer them. Do you think you would be able to withstand them? And are you not afraid lest by endeavouring to teach others the Source of true Happiness, you should bring upon yourself real Misfortunes?

The Philosopher took the Meaning of this Compliment; and judging he had display'd his Learning to no purpose, as soon as it grew duskish he rose to return into the City. The Chiefs of the Assembly accompanied him as far as the Bridge; and so this Conversation ended.

Mohamme-  
dism increas-  
es in China.

These are the principal Sects which prevail in *China*: For there is no Occasion to speak of the Mohammedan Sect, settled above 600 Years ago in divers Provinces; where they live in quiet, because they take no great Pains to extend their Doctrine and make Proselytes. In ancient Times they encreas'd their Numbers solely by the Alliances and Marriages they contract'd; but for some Years past they have made a considerable Progress by help of their Money: They every where buy up Children, whose Parents, unable to educate, make no Scruple to sell them. During a Famine, which wast'd the Province of *Sban tong*, they purchas'd above 10,000. They marry them, and either buy or build a considerable Share of a City, and even whole Country Towns to settle them in. Hence, by little and little, they are grown to such a Head in many Places as not to suffer any to live among them who goes not to the Mosk; by which Means they have multiplied exceedingly within these hundred Years.

Judaism di-  
minishes.

Neither shall I speak of the Handful of Jews, who entred *China* under the Dynasty of the *Han*, which began 200 Years before *Christ*. There were at first many Families of them: But they are now reduced to seven, which marry among themselves, without mixing with the Mohammedans, having nothing in common with the latter, either as to the Books or Ceremonies relating to their Religion. They have but one Synagogue, which is in *Kay fong fu*, the Capital of *Ho nan*. If the Reader would know more concerning them, he may peruse the Letter of *P. Gozani*, insert'd in the 7th Tome of the *Edifying and Curious Letters* written by certain Jesuit Missionaries, till the Publication of farther Particulars since sent from *China*.

But I can by no Means omit giving an Account (A) of the Rise and Progress, in this vast Empire, of the *Christian* Religion, introduced by the Missionaries about two Centuries ago.

(\*) Ancestors of the *Mancheus*, Masters of the greater Part of *China*, but afterwards almost extirpated by the Western Tartars.

(†) The Original Words are, *Tsen ti Tjan noba Cbi ki pa Tju che Tju chi Yew Yu che Sun chi*.

(‡) The Original is *Tsen tau ngu ngo jin chi te Ku*.

(||) *Yuen fei Tsen tau Fu chi*.

(§) *Nay Sun ki Yew Yu Te*.

(•) *Tsen tau Kyang*.

(A) This Account with which the second Volume begins, will be a Confirmation of the moral Impossibility that the Church of Rome should ever gain a secure Footing in *China*.







