

Religious. "a Dog, a Rat, or some other Creature still a and you may depend on it, that it will be fatal to Sect of Po-
"more contemptible." us, if any Accident happens to them. In short,

An Instance. IT is hard to describe what an Influence the Dread of these Chimeras has on the Minds of the credulous and superstitious Chinese^a; which will appear from a Story related by *Le Comte*^b. Being in the Province of *Shen-si*, he was called one Day to baptize a sick Person, who was an old Man of seventy. It seems, he lived on a small Pension given him by the Emperor, and the *Bonzas* had assured him, that as out of Gratitude he should be obliged to serve him in the next World, his Soul would infallibly pass into one of the Post-Horses which carry Dispatches of the Court into the Provinces. For this Reason they cautioned him not to stumble, wince, bite, or hurt any-body; and exhorted him to run fast, eat little, and be patient; by which Means they said he would 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. The Thoughts of these Things caused him to tremble, and disturbed his Dreams every Night. He sometimes, in his Sleep, fancied himself harnessed, and ready to set-out at the first Lash of the Rider's Whip. This made him awake in a Sweat, and half distracted, not knowing whether he was still a Man, or a Horse. As he had heard, that those of the Missioners Religion were not subject to such Miseries, but that the Men would always be Men, and the same in the next World as they are in this; he desired to be of the same Community, and, if you will believe the Jesuit, died a good Roman-Catholic^c.

Knawish
Tricks.

THE Doctrine of the Transmigration of Souls is proper to authorize the Frauds and Artifices, which they contrive to excite the Liberality of the People; as appears from another Story told by *Le Comte*. Two of these *Bonzas*, one Day perceiving, in the Court-Yard of a rich Peasant, two or three large Ducks, began to sigh, and weep bitterly. The good Woman, who observed them from her Chamber, coming out to learn the Cause: *We know*, said 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*, said the Woman, *that we had resolved to sell them; but since they are your Parents, I promise to keep them.* This not being what the *Bonzas* wanted, *Perhaps*, said they, *your Husband will not be so charitable as yourself,*

and you may depend on it, that it will be fatal to Sect of Po-
us, if any Accident happens to them. In short,
after a great deal of Discourse, the honest Peasant was so moved with their counterfeit Sorrow, that she gave them the Ducks to bring-up for some Time: They received the Birds with great Respect, making twenty Prostrations before them; but that very Evening killed, and feasted on them.

THE *Bonzas*, to continue their Sect, buy Priests, how
Children of seven or eight Years old, and in- propagated.
struct 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 there are different Degrees among the *Bonzas*, some are employed 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. Though 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 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.

IN every Province, there are certain Moun-Pilgrimages.
tains with Temples thereon, which have greater Credit than the rest: To these they go very far on 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 going-up. 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 an 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

Beads.

* Why is it hard to conceive, that the superstitious Chinese should be frightened with such Chimeras, when the Author knows the Laity of his own Religion are frightened in no less a Degree with the like Chimeras; such as Purgatory, no Salvation out of the Pale of their Church, Power of Demons, Witches, Sorcery, &c.
^b If it be genuine, for this Author having had a fertile Genius, seems to have made use of it often, to invent Instances. ^c *Le Comte's Memoirs of China*, p. 326, & seqq. *Du Halde's China*, p. 650, & seqq.

Religious. Words, *O-mi-to, Fo*; the Signification of which they themselves do not understand^a: They make above an hundred Genuflexions, after which they draw-out one of these red Circles upon the Sheet of Paper.

Passports for Heaven. THE Laity 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 *Lá-in*, that is, a Passport for travelling from this Life to the next^b: This Passport is not obtained without paying several Ounces of Silver; but, say they, we ought not to begrudge this Expence, because we are sure of a happy Voyage.

Images. AMONG the Temples of their false-Gods^c, 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, through Fear fall-prostrate, and knock their Forehead several Times against the Ground.

Sanctified Cheats. 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 deceives 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^d Good.

Imposing Tricks. THAT they may appear very meritorious in the Eyes of the Vulgar, and work them up to Compassion, they frequent the public Places, inflicting on themselves severe Penalties: Some will fasten to their Neck and Feet thick Chains above thirty Feet long, which they drag through the

a 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^e Alms?* You meet with others all over bloody, by beating their Heads with a great Stone: But among these Kinds of Penances, there is none more surprizing than that which is related by *Le Comte*.

He met, one Day, in the Middle of a Village, a young *Bonza*, who was affable, mild, and modest, standing 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: He was carried, by two hired Porters, very slowly into the Houses, where he besought the People to have Compassion on him. "I am, said he, shut-up in this Chair for the Good of your Souls, and resolved never to go-out till all the Nails (which were above two thousand) 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 give an Alms not to the *Bonzas* on whom you may bestow your Charity other Ways, but to the God *Fo*, to whose Honour we intend to build a Temple."

LE COMTE then passed near the Place where the *Bonza* was, who made him the same Compliment that he had done the rest. Here-upon the Missioner advising him not to give himself so much useless Torment in this World, and go to the *Romish* Temple to be instructed: He replied very mildly, that he was obliged to him for his Counsel, but much more so, if he would buy a Dozen of his Nails, telling him, that they would certainly make him fortunate in his Journey. "Here, said 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

^a The Author has forgotten, that he has explained it above, where we have also observed, that this answers to the *Jesu Maria* of Papists. And here we see the very Rosary, or Beads, as well as Pilgrimages in use with them.

^b 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.

^c A very intelligent Traveller assures us, on the Authority of some Travellers of Credit, who have discoursed with them touching Religion, that they protest strenuously against adoring more than one God; that the *Dalay Lama*, and *Kálákhté*, 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 some 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 pleased they should perform. [*Gen. Hist. of Turks, Moguls, &c.* vol. 2. p. 409.] Although this Defence does not free them from the Charge of Idolatry, which the Worship of Images necessarily includes; yet as it is the very same which the *Romish* Priests make, methinks 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.

^d One would think these *Romish* Priests were writing a Satire upon themselves, and the Laity of their Communion. ^e Is not this, in Effect, the Practice of the Mendicant Friars in Popish Countries?

Inside of an Idol-Temple, from Nieuhof.



TEMPLE - IMAGES



A Defender of his Country

The Goddess of Idu - tem p. 20. Vol. III. p. 209

TEMPLE - IMAGES



Religious. "are all of the same Price^a." He pronounced a guilt, omitting no Part belonging to the House: *Seal of Fo.* These Words with an Air and Action, which, on any other Occasion, says the Missioner, would have made me laugh. This they fill with several Hundreds of Paste-board Boxes painted and varnished, containing Ingots of Gold, or Silver (that is to say, of gilt Paper) which are designed to redeem them from the dreadful Punishments that *Yen-wang*, 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 Employments 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 Key with great Care. *Consecrated Treasures*

Their Sway in Families. THE same Motive of getting Alms, causes these *Bonzas*, as many as are desired, to repair to the Houses of both Poor and Rich, the Instant they are sent for; where they stay as long as the Persons please, and when there is any Assembly of Women, they bring with them a grand *Bonza*, who is distinguished from the rest by his Precedence, by the Respect the other *Bonzas* pay him, and by his Habit, which is worn only by those of his Rank.

THESE Assemblies of the Ladies bring them in a fine Revenue, there being, in every City, several Societies, of ten, fifteen, or twenty, 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. On the Day when the Assembly is held, there comes a pretty aged *Bonza*, who is President, and sings the Anthem to *Fo*. The Devotees join their Voices, and after they have several Times 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.

Female Assemblies.

ON the more solemn Days, they adorn the House with several Images, and grotesque Paintings, representing, in an hundred different Manners, the Torments of Hell. The Prayers and Feasting lasts for seven Days, the grand *Bonza* being assisted by several inferior, who join in the Concert. During these seven Days, their principal Care is to prepare and consecrate Treasures^b for the other World. To this Purpose they build a little Palace with Paper painted and

WHEN the Person, who has been at the Expence, happens to die, they first burn the House, in a very serious Manner: Then they burn the Keys of it, and the little Chests, that he 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-wang* is not Proof, nothing being more easy than to corrupt 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. By these Means they have acquired so great an Ascendant over them, 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 Danger.

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 *Tsi-fu*, which signifies *Doctor-Father*^d.

Assemblies of Men.

^a This is a curious Piece of Raillery from one idolatrous Priest to another: For the *Bonza*, doubtless, knew him to be a Popish Priest, who traded with Reliques, and such Sort of Trumpery, as well as himself.

^b This, with the Merits above-mentioned, answers to the imaginary Treasure of the *Romish* Church. ^c 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.

^d 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 Infatuation, 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 bigotted in their Way, than the Followers of *Fo*.

^e 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.

^f Du Halde's *China*, vol. 1. p. 653, & seqq. *Le Comte's Memoirs of China*, p. 334, & seqq.

Religious. WHEN they are industrious, and have gained a 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 surprising Effects; nor needs there any Thing more to raise a Man to the Quality of *Tsë-fü*, and gain a great Number of Disciples.

Fasting and Abstinence. 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, the other to the Left. When the Time is come, they recite these unintelligible Prayers; after which they place themselves at the Table, and plunge themselves into all Manner of Excess ^b; 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 ^c please.

Trick to get Money. IT is not to be supposed, 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, as not being able to purchase Flesh ^d: Nor is it any Surprize, that the Professors of this Sect should be so very strict, that nothing can prevail on them to break their Abstinence; for it is an easy Trade to them, by which they gain considerable Revenues.

WHEN once they have obtained the Degree *Set of* of *Tsë-fü*, 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 ^e Expence.

And Cloak for Vice. IN short, there are no Stratagems, nor ridiculous *Arts to keep* b 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 Missioners ^f. One while they persuade them, that they 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 Proselytes 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 *Their Followers* 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 ^g: For, notwithstanding the sanctified Looks which the *Bonzas* put-on, they are known, for the most Part, to lead debauched

^a How then does he know they are impious? What Absurdities Malice betrays these Jesuits into! ^b How is this possible, when it appears they want the proper Means of Debauchery? ^c This is only a bare Assertion of an Enemy. But supposing it Fact, is it more than what is practised by the *Romish* 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. ^d This is a paultry Way of running-down the *Bonzian* Fasting: For is it not the Case of the poor and ordinary Sort of People in Popish Countries, especially *Spain*, *Portugal*, &c.

^e 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 been retorted on them by Protestant Divines. All that can be said, is, that they write not for Protestants, but for Popish Bigots, who never make use of their Senses.

^f Is not this the very Practice of the Popish Clergy themselves? Do not 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.

^g Nor do the *Romish* Absurdities and Superstitions gain Credit with the better Sort: But such are called Heretics, and treated as Malefactors, (by the rigid Clergy of that tyrannizing Church) if they dare speak their Minds.

Priests or Monks of Fo, from Nieuhof.



Religions.

Lives. The Author says, elsewhere, that, generally, they are in great Contempt; nor will any *Chinese* of Fashion embrace their Condition, being almost all taken from the Dregs of the People, and made-up of bought Children, as before intimated.

Interior Doctrine of Fo.

WHAT has been mentioned hitherto, relates only to the exterior Doctrine of *Fo*. As to the interior, every one is not capable of comprehending its Mysteries; not only the common People, but the Generality of the *Bonzas* themselves, being too stupid to partake thereof^a: For those who are initiated, must have a sublime Genius, fit for attaining the highest Perfection. This Doctrine, which the Masters of the Sect pretend to be the only true and solid one, the Disciples of *Fo*, in whom he most confided, have taken Care to explain and propagate. They teach, that a Vacuum, or Nothing, is the Beginning and End of all Things: That from this Nothing, and the Mixture of the Elements, all Things were produced, and to them shall return: That all Beings, both animate and inanimate, differ from one another only by their Shape and Qualities; but remain the same as to Substance or Principle.

In what it consists.

THIS Principle, they say, 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 ourselves, 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 up in 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 in Inactivity, in a Cessation

Stupidity, Perfection.

a of all Desires, and 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 *Its Progress* even at Court, where some Grandees embraced it: The Emperor *Kau-tsung* 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^b.

2. Account of Fo, and his Doctrine, from a Chinese Author.

Doctrine of the Vacuum and Ternary. Fo's miraculous Birth: Expelled his Kingdom: Recovers his Throne. Duties enjoined. Metempsychosis: Its pernicious Effects: Encourages Vice, by giving false Hopes: Hurtful to People, and to Princes. Tricks of the Priests, who foment Rebellions: Enemies to Industry. Ruinous Practices. Mischiefs of Credulity: Of the Spirits, and other Fictions. Notion of Hell.

^a Although the Missioners represent these Priests as very ignorant, yet the contrary appears from the Relation of a *Romish* Gentleman, who, in his Way to *China*, through the Country of the *Mungals*, (or *Mongols*) having had an Opportunity of discoursing with some of the *Lamas* about their Religion, began to reproach them for cruelly deceiving the Vulgar: 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 the Author, whose Friend he 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. See *General History of the Turks, Moguls, and Tartars*, vol. 2. p. 489, 490; also p. 488. We shall only add, that if they are not ignorant of other Religions, it is not probable, they are ignorant of their own, though they are shy in divulging it, as the same Author observes. ^b Du Halde's *China*, p. 656, & seq. Le Comte's *Memoirs of China*, p. 335, & seq.

Religious.

Whimsical Fable. Origin of Guardian Spi- a nor Courage; infomuch, that the Dominions of *Sect of Fo.*

*Doctrine of
the Vacuum*

THE Chinese Philosopher, already mentioned, gives a somewhat different and more compleat Account of *Fo*, and his interior Doctrine, than the Missioners: According to him, says *Chin*, 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 though 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 *Shin*, that is, the *fine*, the *subtile*, 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 is never destroyed. Agreeably to this, the Sectaries say, that every Thing is empty in the visible World, and that the *Yang*, or Spirit, only is immortal; that the great Doctrine of *Fo* and *Tau* swallows up all in nothing; the Soul only excepted, which will exist and live for ever.

*And Ter-
nary.*

*Fo's mira-
culous Birth.*

As to the History of this Enthusiast; his Mother beholding, in a Dream, a great white Elephant, at the same Instant perceived herself with Child: It grew considerably every Day; and, at length, made his Way through his Mother's Side, tearing her Bowels. Is it because he killed his Mother at his Birth that the idolatrous People fast, make Processions, and an 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 any-body's Mother?

*Expelled his
Kingdom.*

He reigned in one of the Kingdoms Westward of this Empire; where he was Supreme both in Temporals and Spirituals. He had a Queen and a Concubine of very great Beauty, of whom he made Goddesses. His Kingdom abounded with Gold, Silver, Merchandizes, the Necessaries of Life, and especially precious Stones: But though it was rich and fruitful, the Extent of it was small, and its Inhabitants had neither Strength

nor Courage; infomuch, that the Dominions of *Fo* were subject to frequent Invasions from the Nations which surrounded them. This obliging him at length to abandon his Kingdom, and embrace a solitary Life, he applied himself to exhort the People to the Practice of Virtue, and published his 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 Kingdoms 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. Thus, in twelve Years, he drew after him a prodigious Number of ignorant People; with whose 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.

*Recovers his
Throne.*

THIS Sect, says *Chin*, 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. You find, in the Doctrine of these Sects, this unintelligible Language, *Fo-shi-i*, *Shin-eul*, *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-eul*, *Fwen 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 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.

*Duties en-
joined.*

*Doctrine en-
plained.*

* This is like the Protestant 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. ^b The Women Idolaters believe they often see Spirits in the Shape of Foxes, and call them *Hu-li-tsing*. Thus Apparitions are propagated; prepossess but the Mind with any Absurdity, and People will fancy, nay, swear, they have frequent Demonstrations of its Truth: Of this, all Times and Countries furnish Instances.

To

Religious.
The Metem-
psychosis.

To enter into a more particular Account of a the Whims of the Sect of *Fo*, in the Book of his Disciples, intitled, *The Utility of the House*, it is said, 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 a River wherewith it is watered. This Doctrine of the Transmigration of Souls, representing the Body as nothing but a transitory Habitation, according to the Philosopher *Chin*, tends to root out of Peoples Minds both the Respect due to their Parents, and the proper Care for themselves. There are some, says he, who go on Pilgrimage to Temples, situate on the Top of steep Rocks; and after saying their Prayers, as if they were sure of being heard, cast themselves headlong down the Precipice: 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.

As pernicious
Effects.

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 through, 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 the best Families, are dishonoured by these Varlets; and being thus debauched, at length make a Trade of Libertinism, which they never forsake^a.

Encourages
Vice,

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*. If a Libertine, who lays Snares for a young Girl, knows she is addicted to the Worship of *Fo*, he will say to her, *Do not you remember, that before you were born 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 of the Transmigration serves as a Veil to cover the most flagrant Wickedness, and most shameful Disorders^b.

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^c, 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 searching his Cloaths, stript him, and found his Body covered over with Slips of Paper filled with Sentences of *Fo*^d; which he imagined would prevent his being ever discovered, or at least secure his Escape.

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^e of *Fo*, and other strange Deities.

^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. Gerrard and Miss Cadierc, with many others. The *Bonzas* make use of the Doctrine of the Transmigration, and the *Remiss* Priests that of Confession, to debauch the Sex; but of the two, this last is by much the fitter for the Purpose. ^b Du Halde's *China*, p. 670, & seq.

^c 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.

^d These are like the Papers containing what they call the Gospel of St. John, Prayers or Sentences out of the Litanies of Saints, the Legends, or other Books; which, as well as the Crots and *Agnus Dei's*, Papists carry about them as Charms to protect them against Accidents, and drive away evil Spirits.

^e The same ill Consequences happen daily in *Papish* 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?

Religious,
Hateful to
People.

How many, among the Vulgar, do believe every Thing they are told concerning the 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, and 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! 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 their 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 Excesses ^a.

And to Prin-
ces.

THIS Delusion is not confined to the People only, if Rebel-Armies have besieged the Capital, and invading Nations made the Empire 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-vu-ti* reduced to die of Famine at *Tay-ching*? Was not *Whey-tsong* carried captive into the sandy Desarts of *Tartary*? Did not *Huen-tsong* shamefully flee to the Mountains of *Se-chwen*? And what Misery did he not suffer there? Thus have these false Sects made Dupes of our Emperors ^b, and brought the Monarchy to the Brink of Ruin.

Tricks of the
Priests.

AMONG the Artifices wherewith the Ministers of those two Sects seduce the Minds of the Credulous, they make use of 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 Man, 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 a Maid, she beholds herself dressed in the Robes and Jewels of an Empress, a Queen, or favourite Concubine of the Prince; and this is to be their happy State when they enter anew into the World.

By these Kinds of Inchantments, they cunningly dispose the People to Rebellion: Thus prepared, they readily take-up Arms, fight Battles, and plunder opulent Cities. By such Methods, during the *Han* Dynasty, two Rebels caused infinite Mischiefs, which were renewed under that of the *Twen*, and more lately in the Reign of the *Ming*, by other Ringleaders of Rebellion, who 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* ^c.

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, instead of them, those of *Ho-shang* ^d and *Tau-tse* for the Male, and those of *Ku* and *Mi* ^e 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 ^f, and even trampling under-foot the Laws of Nature and Society. *Ta-mo*, the Person so much cried-up, who came out of the West into *China*, spent, as reported, nine Years in

^a May not all this be applied to the celibate and monastic Lives of the Priests, Monks, and Nuns of the *Romish* Church? ^b Thus was the late King *James* a Dupe to the Counter-part of *Foism*, Popery, and owed all his Misfortunes to it.

^c The like Instances of Cruelty and Rebellion we have had in the Crusades, the Massacres of *Paris* and *Ireland*, the Destruction of the *Indians* by the *Spaniards*, the several Rebellions from the Beginning of Queen *Elizabeth*'s Reign to that at present on-foot; all the natural Effects of the Spirit of Popery, which, like its Sister *Foism*, makes a Merit of Inhumanity, having changed the Christian Spirit of Meekness, Mercy, and Love, into Violence, Cruelty, and Hatred.

^d These are what we call *Bonzas*, or rather those of the unmarried Sort. ^e These Orders we know nothing of; for we meet with the Names of them nowhere else, any more than several other Particulars mentioned by this *Chinese* Author. ^f This may be applied to the *Romish* Monastics of both Sexes.

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the Mountain *Tfong* in continual Contemplation. a He remained immovable, with his Eyes fixed upon the Wall, without changing his Situation; and yet this contemplative Sluggard wanted none on the Necessaries of Life, but was plentifully supplied with all Sorts of Provisions and Cloaths.

Ruinous Practices.

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 Manufactories? 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? 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 Articles, says *Chin*; for there would be no End of relating all the Disorders these Sectaries have caused in the Empire.

Mischief of Credulity.

THOSE who are fond of popular Notions, continues he, 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 Hope of obtaining a happy Life, through the Protection of Spirits, increases their Infatuation. This Inclination of the greater Part of Mankind, joined to their Credulity, was what put it into the Heads of *Lau* and *Fo* to establish a Place of Rewards, a Hell, a Palace for the Rulers of the Waters, and the rest of the Deities, without mentioning Spirits of an inferior Order, and extraordinary Men, become immortal. They have, above all, displayed the Advantages which their Gods bestow; and have placed in Heaven a *Yo-whang*, Chief of all the pretended immortal Beings, who delegates to these Spirits their Employments, such as to preside over Rain, to distribute Rewards and Punishments, &c.

King of the Spirits.

In the Book *Yo-whang*^a, 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, through the fervent Prayers they addressed to Lau-kyun; and this Son is the Yo-whang of whom we speak.* Another Text of the Book *Hven-û* affirms, *That in the Western Parts*

there is a Place called The Kingdom of pure Joy: *Sect of Fo.* That the King thereof being without Children, obtained one of Lau-kyun; and it is he who is honoured under the Name of Hven-û *Tfû-tse*. 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. The Woman whom he espoused was called Na-to, and 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.*

WHAT Fictions are here! Can it be imagined, *And other Fictions.* 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^b; or People who live two or three hundred Years, and yet experience none of the Inconveniencies 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^c.

THE Sectaries of *Fo* believe, that there is a *Notion of Hell.* subterraneous Hell, consisting of nothing but a Heap of Earth, Water, and Stones: That it is governed by a God called *Yen-vang*; that there are also *Lo-han*, which is to say, Spirits who rule the Destiny of Mankind^d: These convey the Soul into the Body at the Moment of Birth; and drag it away, at the Time of Death, to the Place of Punishment, where it is cruelly tormented by other Spirits^e. They are taught likewise, that if a Man in this Life has practised Virtue, he shall be born again to a State of Wealth and Splendor:

That if even Beasts have lived well, according to their Condition, they shall find themselves transformed into Men: That, on the contrary, a Person who gives himself up to shameful Vices, and follows his irregular Appetites, shall, in his Turn, become a Beast: That if Animals are more cruel than is suitable to their Nature, they pass not into a new Life after Death, but have their Souls entirely annihilated: That the God *Yen-vang*, and the other Judges, his Ministers^f, fix the Moment of the Birth of all Mankind; also if they shall marry, and to whom; if they shall

^a The Priests of *Fo* have their Scriptures, Liturgy, Legends, Lives of Saints, and Books of Devotion in great Numbers, for the Use of their Followers. ^b The Images of *Fo*, and some of their Heros, are represented in such Form. ^c *Du Halde's China*, p. 672, & seq.

^d There is one over him, and the greatest of all, called *He-kang-fang*, who is one of the thirty-six *Kang* of the *Tau-kyu*. ^e In case the Soul should go to Hell, says *Navarette*, p. 73, the *Bonzas* have contrived Ways and Means to fetch it out. They have also invented Bulls of plenary Indulgence, and Bulls for the Dead; some of which cost fifty Ducats. But why not, as well as the Priests of his own Church? ^f That is, we presume, the *Lo-han*.

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have Children, and what their Disposition will be; and whether rich or poor; in short, that whatever is to happen to them, is written in the Book of *Yen-vang*; that hence their Fate is inevitable, and no Alteration can be expected.

Whimsical Fable.

To confute this Doctrine, the Philosopher produces a Passage from the *Huen-ü-chwen*, one of their own Books, which is pleasant enough: A Person, called *Pung*, lived to the Age of eight hundred Years, and married seventy-two Wives, one after another. The last, dying in her Turn, asked the Ancestors of *Pung* in the other World, 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-vang*? Yet, we are told, 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 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^a. As the Woman could not keep the Secret, *Yen-vang* 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 Story, continued the Philosopher, proves the direct contrary of their Doctrine; for here is an Instance of one who escaped the Penetration of *Yen-vang*: Nor could they be certain, that others had not escaped by a like Trick.

Origin of Guardian-Spirits.

WITH respect to Guardian-Spirits, the Philosopher observes, that the Doctrine was not known before the Dynasties of the *Hya* and *Shang*, when Dwellings were first encompassed with Walls and Ditches, in order to defend them from Thieves and Rebels: At length, they erected a *Ching-whang*^b, and built Places designed for its Honour; they also built others in Honour of the *Tü-ti*^c. When they took it in their Heads to give their 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; giving the Title of *She-shin*^d to those to whom they attribute the Care of the Fields and cultivated Lands; that of *Tü-ti* to those whose Office was to preside over Villages, to look after the Health of the Inhabitants, and maintain Peace among them. The Spirits appointed to guard the Inside of Houses, and Places

of public Assemblies, were revered under the Name of *Chun-lyew*^e. They consigned to others the desert and mountainous Countries, in Hopes that they would facilitate the Transportation of Provisions and Merchandizes, honouring them 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-whang*, as Spirits who preserved such Cities from public Calamities. These Spirits, the Sectaries of *Fo* believe, often wrought Prodigies, and appeared in the Shape of Men^f.

3. Some farther Particulars taken from the Missioners.

Absurd Idolaters. An Image prosecuted for Breach of Promise: Is convicted and cast. Horrid Piece of Roguery detected. The Priests punished. The Lama-Bonzas. Conformity with Popery: How accounted for. Remarkable Image.

THE Bonzas teach, that there are Rewards hereafter for the Good, and Punishments for the Bad; and that this has occasioned different Places to be set apart for the Souls of Men, according to every one's Merit: Likewise, that the God *Fo* was the Saviour of the World; that he was born to teach the Way of Salvation, and to make Expiation for all our Sins. Although his Followers are so much devoted to the Worship of Saints and Images, yet they sometimes treat them with very little Respect: For if the People, after long praying to them, do not obtain what they desire, as it often happens, they turn them off as impotent Gods: Others use them in a most reproachful Manner; loading them with hard Names, and sometimes with Blows^g. How now, Dog of a Spirit, say they to them, we give you a Lodging in a magnificent Temple, we gild you handsomely, feed you well, and offer Incense to you; yet, after all this Care, you are so ungrateful as to refuse us what we ask of you. Hereupon they tie this Image with Cords, pluck him down, and drag him along the Streets, through all the Mud and Dunghills; to punish him for the Expence of Perfume which they have thrown away upon him^h. If in the mean Time it happens, that they obtain their Request, then, with a great deal of Ceremony, they wash him clean, carry him back, and place him in his Nich again; where they fall down to him, and

^a The Chinese Books are often bound in this Manner.

^e *Tu* Earth, and *Ti* a Place.

their Tablets are.

^f Did not the Portuguese do the very same at Lisbon to their *San Antonio*, after the Loss of the Battle of *Almanza* in Spain?

^d *She* signifies a Place without the City.

^g *Du Halde's China*, p. 675, & seq.

^b *Ching* signifies a Wall, and *Whang* a Ditch.

^c Name of the Place where

^h Do not the Portuguese treat their *San*

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An Image
prosecuted

For Breach
of Promise.

Is convicted

make Excuses for what they have done. In a Truth, say they, we were a little too hasty, as well as you were somewhat too long in your Grant. Why should you bring this Beating on yourself? But what is done, cannot be now undone; let us not therefore think of it any more: If you will forget what is past, we will gild you over again.

A FEW Years ago, there happened an odd Affair at Nan-king: A Man, whose only Daughter was very ill, having tried all the Physicians, as well as Prayers, Offerings, Alms, Sacrifices, to no Purpose, the Bonzas, for Sake of a Fee, promised, that an Idol^a, whose Power they mightily boasted, should grant her Recovery. For all this, the Woman dying, the Father, out of Measure grieved, resolved to revenge himself: Accordingly he put in his Complaint to the Judge of the Place; in which he urged, that this Idol deserved an exemplary Punishment for having broken his Word. *If this Spirit*, said he, *could cure my Daughter, it is palpable Cheating to take my Money, and yet let her die: If he could not do it, what does he signify? And how came he by his Quality of Godship? Do you worship him, and the whole Province offer him Sacrifice, for nothing at all?* So that, as he concluded, the Non-performance was owing either to the Malice or Weakness of the Idol^b: He judged, that he ought to be punished corporally, his Temple pulled down, and his Priests shamefully dismissed.

THE Business seeming of Consequence to the Judge, it was transmitted to the Governor; and from him to the Vice-Roy. This latter, after he had heard the Bonzas, who were extremely concerned at it, took their Part, and advised the Prosecutor not to persist in the Cause any longer; telling him, that he was not wise to concern himself with this Sort of Spirits, who were naturally ill-tempered, and might play him some scurvy Trick. The Mandarin added, that the Bonzas had engaged, the Idol should do what was reasonable on his Part, provided he did not carry Things too high.

BUT the Man, who was almost mad for the Death of his Daughter, protested, that he would sooner perish than relinquish his Pretensions against the Idol; who fancied, continued the Prosecutor, that he might commit any Sort of Injustice without Punishment, because, he thought, no-body would be bold enough to take him to Task. The Vice-Roy was fain therefore to grant a Trial: He sent the Case to the foreign

Council at Pe-king; who remitting it back again, he subpoenaed the Parties. The Devil, who has but too many Friends among all Sorts of Men, says our facetious Author, had also his Share among the Lawyers and Proctors^c: Yet he was overpowered by his subtil Adversary; who had gained the Judges by a large Bribe. In short, after a great many Hearings, the Man carried his Point. The Idol was condemned to a perpetual Banishment, as useless to the Kingdom; his Temple was to be plucked-down; and the Bonzas, who represented him, were severely chastized. Can any one, says *Le Comte*, who has not lost his Senses, adore Gods of this Character, weak, fearful, and whom one may affront safely^d? Yet, instead of coming hereby to a Knowledge of the Weakness of their Gods, the People grow more and more^e blind every Day^f.

ALTHOUGH the Generality of the People are prejudiced in Favour of the Priests, yet the wiser Sort are always upon their Guard, and the Magistrates always take great Notice of what they do in their respective Districts. A few Years ago, a Governor of a Town happening to see a great Number of People gathered in the Highway, had the Curiosity to send to know what was the Occasion of their meeting there. The Bonzas were solemnizing an extraordinary Festival: They had set a Machine upon a Stage, with a little Rail round the Top, over which a young Man put-out his Head; one could see nothing at Liberty but his Eyes, which he rolled-about as if distracted. Below this Machine an old Bonza appeared upon the Stage, who told the People, that the young Man, whom they saw, was going to sacrifice himself, according to Custom, by throwing himself head-long into a deep River, that ran by the Road-Side. *He cannot die*, added the Priest, *if he would, because at the Bottom of the River he shall be received by charitable Spirits, who will give him as good a Welcome as he can desire; and indeed it is the greatest Happiness that can possibly befall him: An hundred Persons have desired to sacrifice themselves instead of him, but him we chuse before the rest, because of his Zeal, and other Virtues.*

WHEN the Mandarin had heard this Speech, he said, *That the young Man, indeed, had a great deal of Courage; but he wondered much, that he did not himself acquaint the People with this his Resolution: Let him come down a little*, continued he, *that we may talk with him.* The Bonza,

^a It ought to be Spirit, Saint, or Image.

when no Cure is performed on those who invoke them? does not except the Clergy themselves.

^c The Lawyers must not take this ill, since he behold an Argument against the Worship of Saints, Images, or even the Host, who all have been, and daily are affronted by Protestants and others, with Safety and Impunity.

^e It is the very Case of the Popish Laity.

^f *Le Comte's Memoirs of China*, p. 328, & seqq.

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who was confounded at this Order, did all he could to hinder it, protesting, that the whole Sacrifice would be ineffectual, if he spoke a Word, nay, if he did but open his Mouth; and that for his Part, he could not answer for the Mischief such a Thing would bring-upon the Province. *For the Mischief you talk of,* replied the Mandarin, *I will be responsible;* and then he commanded the young Man to come down: But he gave no other Answer to these Commands, than hideous Looks, and Distortions of his Eyes, which almost started out of his Head.

The Priests punished.

You may from hence, said the Bonza, *judge what Violence you offer him in commanding him down. He is already almost distracted, and if you continue your Command, you will make him die with Grief.* As this did not make the Mandarin change his Resolution, he ordered some of his Retinue to go-up, and bring him down. They found him tied Hand and Limb, with a Gag in his Mouth; from which Fetters being freed, he cried out, as loud as he could bawl, *Ah! my Lord, revenge me against these Assassins, who were going to drown me. I am a Bachelor of Arts, and was going to Pe-king, to assist at the Examinations there: Yesterday a Company of Bonzas seized-on me by Violence, and this Morning early bound me to this Machine, in the Manner you have seen, with an Intent to drown me this Evening, in order to accomplish their accursed Ceremonies at the Expence of my Life.* When he began to speak, the Bonzas were marching-off; but the Officers of Justice, who always attend the Governors, stopped several: The Chief of them, who had pretended just before that the young Man could not be drowned, was himself immediately thrown into the River, but no charitable Spirits came to his Assistance. The others were carried to Prison, and afterwards received the Punishment which they deserved.

The Lama Bonzas.

SINCE the Tartars have been Emperors of China, the Lamas, another Sort of Bonzas, have been established there. Their Habit is different from those of China, both in Shape and Colour; but their Religion is the same, differing only in a few superstitious Practices. These Lamas are Chaplains to the Tartar Nobility, who live at Pe-king; but in Tartary they themselves are the Gods which the People worship.

Conformity with Popery.

FROM the above Accounts of the Religion of Fo, however imperfect, or disguised, the Reader

may perceive a most surprizing Conformity between it, and that of Rome: We shall not say that of Christians in general, although it is circumstanced with an incarnate God, a Saviour, Holy Spirit, and a Ternary, which some of the Missioners consider as an Emblem of the Trinity, and others a Trinity in Effect. However that be, we find, in this Religion, every individual Article, great and small, of which the Romish System is composed: Such as the Worship of Images, praying to Saints, and for the Dead; Purgatory, Pardons, Indulgences, Confession, Absolution, Penance; Exorcism, the Treasure of the Church, Merits and Works of Supererogation; the Pretence to work Miracles; a Hierarchy, or different Orders of Priests, with a Pope at their Head; Monks and begging Friars, Nuns; in short, every Thing in Speculation and Practice down to Holy-Water and the Beads. They have not, indeed, a Wafer-God, which they first adore, and then devour; but they have a living Divinity in human Form, transubstantiated, or transformed, as they believe, from Time to Time; who dwells among them personally, and is therefore, we think, a much more rational Object of Worship.

How accounted for.

THE Missioners, confounded at this exact Conformity of the Romish Faith, with a Religion which is confessedly idolatrous, and one continued Scene of Priestcraft, use several Arts to conceal the Resemblance; some mentioning one Part of its Doctrines, others different Parts, none the Whole; and those who are most copious on the Occasion, recite them in a loose, scattered Way, without any Method, or Order. After all these Disguisements, the Resemblance appears so glaring, that many, to account-for it, have made a hardy Step, and pretend, that it is a Corruption of Christianity, meaning the Romish Religion. Some affirm, that the Nestorians converted the People of Tibet and Tartary about the seventh and eighth Centuries: Others will have it, that the Faith was preached there in the Time of the Apostles. We call this a hardy Step, because they know, that according to the Chinese History, Fo's Religion sprung-up above a thousand Years before Christ: Couplet, and others, have related this Circumstance from thence.

It is true, Du Halde, in his Account of the Birth of Fo, omits the Time (very likely by Design) which we have in a Note supplied from *Le Comte*: But he has mentioned it on several

^a Was this a greater Piece of Villany than what the Monks of Basil acted on Jeter, causing him to be marked with the five Wounds by a pretended Vision of the Virgin Mary? Ought they not to forbear censuring the Bonzas, when they are at least as bad themselves? ^b Just like the Monks of Basil, who had tormented Jeter. ^c He says, p. 63, that they are the most superstitious of all the Bonzas. ^d What a monstrous Falsehood is this? Sure *Le Comte* could not say this out of Ignorance? ^e *Le Comte's Memoirs of China*, p. 337. & seq. ^f See *Du Halde's China*, vol. 2. p. 387. ^g See before, p. 207. Note ^h.

Religious. Occasions elsewhere; and in a Note ^a upon a Passage of *Chin's* Dialogue acknowledges, that *Fo* lived five hundred Years before *Pythagoras*; which comes to the same Thing: He adds, that *Pythagoras* took his Doctrine of the Metempsychosis, or Transmigration of Souls, from the Disciples of *Fo*. This being the Case, is it not more likely, that the *Romish*, or *Greek* Missioners, brought the System of *Fo* out of the East, than that the *Lamas*, or *Bonzas*, copied after theirs? We shall conclude this Article with a Passage to the Purpose from *Navarette*. The famous Idol, called *San-pau*, says this Author, which has been represented as an Image of the Trinity, is exactly the same with that which is on the high Altar of the Monastery of the *Trinitarians* at *Madrid*. If any *Chinese* whosoever was to see it, he would presently say, the *San-pau* of his Country was worshipped in these Parts ^b.

Remarkable Image.

S E C T. IV.

1. The Sect of certain Modern Literati, called Ju-kyau.

Decay of Learning. Ancient Books corrupted, by modern Interpreters. Braach new Doctrines: That of the *Tay-ki*: Their Explanation of it: An inanimate Principle, yet intelligent and perfect. Doctrine of the *Li*: Fall into Contradictions. Mistake of the Missioners rectified by the Emperor. The *Grandees* and *Literati*. Insincerity of the Missioners. Another new Sect. Folly and Superstition. Ridiculous Notion. Fortune-telling. Drawing of Lots. The *Fong-shwi*. A Mandarin Fool. Stupid Superstition. Changes in Religion, how accounted for.

Decay of Learning.

THE Troubles which the different Sects, and the Wars caused in the Empire, entirely banished the Love of the Sciences, introducing, in their Stead, Ignorance and Corruption of Manners, which prevailed there for many Ages. But the Taste which the Imperial Family of the *Song* had for the ancient Books, and their Esteem for Men of Letters reviving, by little and little, an Emulation for Literature, there arose among the principal *Mandarins*, Persons of Genius and Merit, who undertook to explain not only the ancient canonical Books, but the Interpretations made thereon by *Confucius*, his Disciple *Mencius*, and other celebrated Writers.

Ancient Books corrupted

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-tse* distinguished himself so greatly by his Capacity, that they honoured him with the Name of Prince of the *Literati*. In a Word, about the Year 1400, *Yong-lo*, third Emperor of the *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*.

THESE *Mandarins* applied themselves to this Work; and besides interpreting the canonical Books with those of *Confucius* and *Mencius*, 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 Orders, the Doctrines of the two Writers above-mentioned; and that they might not seem to deviate from the Sense of the ancient Books, which are so much esteemed in the Empire, 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 great Reputation to their Works, and many of the *Literati* were deluded thereby.

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 advanced a new one. They seem to speak like the Ancients, with Relation to the Object of Worship; and at the same Time give to those Words such an impious Sense, as destroys all Sort of Worship. The following is a Sketch of their System, which it is hard to make Sense of, and perhaps the Inventors did not well understand it themselves.

THEY gave the first Principle of all Things the Name of *Tay-ki*; for which, they say, they are beholden to the two Expositors. *Chu-tse* himself confesses, it was known neither to *Fo-hi*, Author of the *I-king*, nor to his Interpreter *Ven-vang*. In Effect *Couplet*, who was well-versed in the *Chinese* Authors, affirms, that it occurs no-where through all the canonical Books, except in a short Appendix at the End of *Confucius's* Exposition of the *I-king*, where he says, that the *Transmutation* contains the *Tay-ki*; and that the latter produces two Qualities, the Perfect

^a Vol. 2. p. 670. Mistake.

^b *Chur.* Coll. vol. 1. p. 241. ^c See before, p. 185.

^c In the Original *Chu-bi*, which seems to be a

and

Religion. and the Imperfect: That these two Qualities produce four Images; and that these four Images produce eight Figures. According to the most skillful Expositors, Confucius, by the *Tay-ki*, meant nothing else than the first Matter.

Their Explanation of it.

ALTHOUGH 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 authorize their Opinion. And as these two Words *Tay-ki*, signify 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, and the Earth, and the five Elements; inasmuch that every Thing may, in some Sense, be called *Tay-ki*."

An inanimate Principle

THEY say likewise, that it ought to be considered as a Thing immovable, 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 *Yin*, 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 amongst 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 through 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.

Yet intelligent and perfect.

HOWEVER, nothing is more surprizing than

to read of the Perfections that these Commentators attribute to their *Tay-ki*: They give it infinite Extension and Immenity: 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 this same Being, they likewise give the Name of *Li*: It is this, say they farther, which joined to Matter is the Composition of all natural Bodies, which constitutes each particular Being, and which 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.

Set of modern Literature.

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 reassumes 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; inasmuch as they exclude every efficient supernatural Cause, and admit no other Principle, than an inanimate Virtue united to Matter^b, to which they give the Name of *Li*, or *Tay-ki*.

Doctrine of the Li

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 Mens Hearts, &c. Likewise when they endeavour to reconcile them to their own gross Conceptions, they inevitably fall into fresh Contradictions, destroying in one Place what they establish in another: Of which we shall pro-

Fall into Contradictions.

* It is rather to be feared, that the Missioners mistake the Meaning of the Chinese Authors for Want of well-understanding the Language, as the Emperor *Kang-hi* alledged against them. See vol. 3. p. 596. ^b This seems to be contradicted by the Author saying below, that they admit an intelligent governing Being; consequently these inanimate Principles must be no other than an Instrument in the Hand of the former.

Religions.

duce 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 supream 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.

Mistake of the Missionaries.

THE truly Learned retain the ancient Principles. Nevertheless, as there are *Literati*, who, by following the modern Commentators, and explaining every Thing by natural Causes, acknowledge no other 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, to change their Sentiments, provided the Emperor should explain the true Signification of the Words *Tyen* and *Shang-ti*, by declaring, that he understood by those Words, the Lord of Heaven, and not the material Heaven. Maigrot, the apostolic Vicar in *Fo-kyen*, insisted, that the Emperor should explain it: They therefore, in 1700, consulted that Prince in such a Manner, that he could not perceive their Drift in applying to him.

Rectified by the Emperor.

HEREUPON his Majesty declared, by an Edict which was preserved in the Archives, inserted in the public Gazettes, 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 through Respect that none dare call him by his proper Name; and that they use to invoke him by the Name of the 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, though different as to the Terms, are yet the same, if Regard be had to the Signification. On another Occasion, speaking in public, he affirmed, 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.

The Grandees, and Literati.

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 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 Vice-Roy, and the whole Empire an independent absolute Master? And can we doubt 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?

THE Author enlarges much on his Proofs from the Emperor's Edicts and Discourses on various Occasions: But, as more than enough has been already said to clear-up the Point in Dispute, in Favour of the Jesuits against their Adversaries, we shall detain our Readers no longer on this Subject. We shall only observe, farther, that we are so far from thinking any among the *Literati* guilty of Atheism, that, we are of Opinion, the Jesuits have wronged what they call the modern Sect, in making them Atheists, as much as the *Dominicans*, and others, have injured those of the established Religion, in imputing the same impious Principle to them.

Another new Sect.

THERE is a particular Sort of *Literati* very numerous in China, who have composed a System out of all the rest, and endeavoured to reconcile them together. Some of the Learned, when they become *Mandarins*, either through Prejudice of Education, (as having been the Children of idolatrous Parents) for Sake of some private Interest, 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. At the same Time, they appear as forward as the other *Literati* in declaiming against *I-tu-an*, that is, false Sects: But Experience shews, that they are as much Slaves to Fo

Religion. as the Vulgar themselves. Their Wives, who are strongly attached to Idolatry, 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. Though 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 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 upon as a very wicked Man.

Folly and Superstition.

THE gross Ignorance of the *Chinese* Doctors, as well as the Vulgar, in what regards 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 who inhabits it^a; at other Times, some high Mountain, a 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-sing-li*, which signifies *Monster*, or some very surprizing Thing.

Ridiculous Notions.

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 that this most subtle Part which remains, delights to disturb the Imagination of Men and Women. A Fox thus purified, is terribly to be feared. 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 that the People, and even the Smatterers among the Learned, are deluded: But three Things chiefly contribute to keep them in Ignorance.

Fortune-telling.

THE first is what they call *Swan-ming*, that is, *telling of Fortunes*. The Country is full of those People who calculate Nativities, who are generally blind, and go from House to House, playing on a Kind of Theorbo, and offering to tell one's

Fortune for about an 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 threatned: They commonly promise Riches and Honours, with great Success in Trade or Study: They will acquaint you with the Cause of your own Dis-temper, or that of your Children, and the Reason of your Father's and Mother's Death, which they always pretend is owing to some Spirit that has been offended; adding, that it must be appeased, and a certain *Bonza* must be sent for, &c. If their Predictions prove false, the People are satisfied with saying, *This Man did not understand his Business*.

Self of modern literature.

THE second Thing is drawing the Lots, called *Pa-qua*, or *Ta-qua*, in order to consult the Spirits often. There are several Ways of doing this; but the most common is to go before an Image, and 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 explained 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 are about undertaking any Business, setting-out on a Journey, going to sell or buy Goods, marrying their Children, and upon an hundred other Occasions, in order to secure a lucky Day, and happy Success.

Drawing of Lots.

THE third Contrivance, (which, though the most ridiculous of all, is what the *Chinese* are most infatuated with) they call *Fong-shwi*, that is, *Wind and Water*; by which they mean, the happy or unhappy Position of a House, and especially a Burying-place. If, by Chance, a Person builds a House in a Position so contrary to his Neighbours, that one of the Corners of his is opposite to the Side of the other's, it is sufficient to make the latter believe that all is lost: It creates an Hatred that cannot be extinguished so 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 he has left, is to set-up a Dragon, or some other Monster, made of baked Clay, on the Middle of his Roof: The earthen Dragon must give a terrible Look towards the fatal Corner which

The Fong-shwi.

^a The Author makes use of the Words *Idol* and *Demon* to delude his Readers, and make them imagine they are different from the Images and Saints of the Church of *Rome*, though they are exactly of the same Nature.

threatens

Religion. threatens him; and opens a dreadful Mouth, as a it were, to swallow-up the evil *Fong-shwi*, that is, *the bad Air*^a; and then he will remain a little more secure.

A Mandarin Fool. THIS was the Method taken by the Governor of *Kyen-chang* to defend himself against the Jesuits Church, which is built upon an Eminence, and overlooks his Palace, standing at the Foot of it. He had likewise the 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 unlucky Influence. 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 applied too late; and accordingly the *Mandarin* died. After which, upon a like Conceit, they were white-washed again, as at first.

Stupid Superstition. THIS superstitious Fancy regards not only the Situation of the House, but also the Place for the Door, the Day and Manner of building the Stove for dressing the Rice, and many other Particulars: But that wherein the *Fong-shwi* displays itself 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 a Place, no Sum of Money is thought too great for the Purchase of that happy Piece of Ground.

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 an Employment; 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, or, the Sepulchre of his Ancestors has an admirable *Fong-shwi*^b.

Changes in Religion. WHAT has been related concerning the several *Chinese* Sects, may help to account for the Manner in which the Changes of Religion, from good to bad, and from worse to better, have

happened in other Countries. As the Religion of Nature is found to be the first which was propagated in *China*, it may be presumed, that the same took Place originally in all other Kingdoms of a very ancient standing. This Religion prevailed till the Ambition and Luxury of the provincial Kings introduced a general Corruption of Manners, attended with Ignorance; which made Way for Superstition and the pernicious Principles of *Lau-tse* to enter. But, shortly after, *Confucius*, that great and virtuous Philosopher, assisted by several of the Learned, at the utmost Hazard of his Ease and Safety, attempted to restore natural Religion to its ancient Purity, and succeeded. This must also be the Case where Men of true Virtue and Resolution join their Endeavours zealously to bring about a Reformation.

MATTERS continued in this State for above a thousand Years; when the *Chinese* having again degenerated in their Morals, the Doctrine of *Fo* found an easy Admission, and spread, like a rapid Inundation, over the whole Empire, under the Encouragement of a superstitious Emperor, who brought it in, and two of his Successors. Thus we see how easily the purest Religion may lose Ground, and the most execrable Principles be introduced by the Authority of weak or wicked Princes, when once Corruption has debauched the Morals of a Nation. The same will certainly prove to be the Case with Liberty, whenever the Majority of a People have lost their Virtue, and become venal. As soon as ever these destroying Evils appear to get Footing in any Country, those who have the least true Regard for the common Good and Safety, should immediately undertake the glorious Task of *Confucius* and his Associates: Nor need they doubt Success, although they had to do with a much more perverse, corrupt, and thoughtless Race of Men than the *Chinese*.

SECT. V.

*The Rise and Progress of the Jewish, Moham-
medan, and Romish Religion in China.*

1. Of the Jewish and Mohammedan.

Jewish Synagogue. Pulpit of Moses. Tabernacles. Incense Pans. The great Hall. Their sacred Books: Number of them: Interspersed with Fables. Retain old Ceremonies. Worship Confucius. Their Origin. Mohammedism increases in China.

^a By this Word *Fong-shwi*, they understand not only a corrupt Air, which causes Diseases; but also a Kind of Curse, which extends even to Posterity. ^b *Du Halde's China*, p. 663, & seqq.

Religion,

Jewish Synagogue.

Pulpit of Moses.

Tabernacles, Incense-Pans.

THE Missioners at *Pe-king* having been long a desirous to be informed concerning the *Jews*, who for many Centuries had been settled at *Kay-fong fu*, the Capital of *Ho-nan*, sent Orders, in 1704, to *J. P. Gozani*^a, who then attended the Church there, to inquire into their Customs. Pursuant thereto, that Jesuit visited them in their *Li-pay-su*, or Synagogue, (for they have only one) where they all were assembled. He there had a long Conference with them, and saw their Inscriptions; some in *Chinese*, the rest in *Hebrew*. They shewed him their *King*, or religious Books, and permitted him to go into the most secret Place^b of their Synagogue, reserved solely for their *Chang-kyau* or Ruler thereof^c; who never goes into it but with the most profound Reverence.

In the Middle of their Synagogue is a magnificent Pulpit^d, standing very high, with a noble Cushion richly embroidered in it: This is *Moses's* Pulpit; on which, every *Saturday*, (their *Sabbath*) and the most solemn Days, they lay the Book of the *Pentateuch*, and read it. There also is seen the *Van-fwi-pay*, or Tablet, on which the Emperor's Name is written; but there are no Statues or Images. Their Synagogue looks to the West; to which Quarter they turn^e whenever they pray to God; whom they worship under the Names of *Tyen*, *Shang-tyen*, *Shang-ti*, *Tyau-van*, *We-she*, or Creator of all Things; and *Van-we-shu-kay*, or Governor of all the Universe, (as appears from their *Pay-tang*, and *Pay-pyen*, or Inscription): Names (as they told the Author) borrowed from the *Chinese* Books.

GOZANI saw no Altar^f; there was nothing but *Moses's* Pulpit before-mentioned, an Incense Pan, a long Table, and some large Candlesticks, with Tallow-Candles. On some Tables were thirteen Kinds of Tabernacles, in Form of an Ark, with little Curtains before them: Twelve

represented the Tribes of *Israel*, and the thirteenth *Moses*; whose sacred King, (or *Pentateuch*) was shut-up in each of them^g.

GOING-OUT of the Synagogue is a large Saloon^h, where was nothing except a great Number of Incense-Pans. They told *Gozani*, that this was the Place where they honoured their *Shing-jins*, or Great Men of their Law. The largest of these Pans, which is for the Patriarch *Abraham*, stands in the Middle of the Hall. Next to it, are those of *Isaac*, *Jacob*, and his twelve Children, called by them *She-ul-kung-pay-tse*ⁱ, that is, the twelve Descents or Tribes of *Israel*. Then follow those of *Moses*, *Aaron*, *Joshua*, *Esdra*s, and several other illustrious Persons, both Men and Women.

FROM this Apartment he was conducted to the great Hall of *Guests*, in order to discourse. Here, on comparing his Bible with their *Shing-king*, or *Pentateuch*^k, he found both the Chronology and Descents of the Patriarchs, with their Ages, to be exactly correspondent.

THEIR Synagogue bears some Resemblance to the Churches in *Europe*. It may be walked round on the Inside, and is divided into three Naves; the middle one for the Table of Perfumes or Incense, *Moses's* Pulpit, and the *Van-fwi-pay*^l, or Emperor's Tablet, with the Tabernacles before-mentioned: This Nave is as the Choir of the Synagogue. The two others are for Prayer and Worship.

THEY call their Law *Ku-kyau*, the ancient Law; *Tyen-kyau*, the Law of God; and in their Inscriptions *Isalel-kyau*, the Law of *Israel*. *Gozani* prevailed with the Ruler to let the Curtains of one of the Tabernacles be undrawn, and get one of the Books unfolded; being written on long Pieces of Parchment, and rolled round Sticks, in a very clear and distinct Character. One of these Books escaped the great Inundation

^a This Account of the *Jews* is taken from a Letter of *Gozani*, to be found in the seventh Tome of the *Lettres Edifiantes & Curieuses*, written by the Jesuit Missioners, and published by *Du Halde*, who, vol. i. p. 678, refers to it. It has been translated by Mr. *Lockman*, and inserted, with Notes, in his Collection, begun from those Letters, of which two Octavo Volumes were printed in 1743, under the Title of *The Jesuits Travels*. It is followed by some Remarks sent by the same Missioners for farther Illustration. The few Notes with the Word Remarks at the End, are taken from them; most of the rest from the Translator's. *Gozani's* Account being very confused, as well as defective, we have reduced it to better Order.

^b Answering to the *Hekhal* of the *European Jews*, where the Books of the Law are kept; or rather, to the Holy of Holies of the *Old Testament*.

^c The same as the High-Priest anciently.

^d This answers pretty nearly to the *Theba*, or *Desk*, in the *European Synagogues*; where the Law is read on the Sabbath, and other solemn Days.

^e Because *Jerusalem* lies that Way in respect of *China*.

^f He could expect to see none, since they are permitted to sacrifice no where but in *Jerusalem*. Remarks.

^g These Tabernacles are peculiar to the *Chinese Jews*. Remarks.

^h It appears, according to *Gozani*, that the Synagogue was divided into three Parts:

1. The Holy of Holies. 2. The Part where the Pulpit or Chair stood. 3. The Hall. It is much more like the Vestibulum, or Portico of the ancient Temple, than the Place where the *Jews* now assemble in the *European Synagogues*.

ⁱ In the Translation, *Chel-cum-pai-se*.

^k Observe, the Author gives it three different Names, simply *King*, *Fa-king*, and *Shing king*.

^l In the Translation, and, perhaps, Original, *Van-fay-pay*: But faultily, we presume, instead of *Van-fwi-pay*, as above, which signifies the Tablet of ten thousand Years, a Name given to the Emperor.

^{Religion,} of the *Whang-ho*, (or *Yellow River*) which overflowed the City of *Kay-fong fu*^a, Capital of *Ho-nan*. But as it happened to get Wet, whereby the Characters were half effaced, the *Jews* caused the twelve Copies above-mentioned to be taken of it. In two other Places of this Synagogue they preserved, in old Chests, a great Number of little Books; into which they have divided the Pentateuch, (called by them *Ta-king*) and the other Books of their Law. They use them for Prayer; and shewed *Gozani* several, which, as he imagined, were written in *Hebrew*^b: Some of them were new; the rest old, and half torn: But all kept with greater Care than if they had been Gold.

^{Number of them,} THE Names of these five Books, according to the Ruler of the Synagogue, are *Berebith*, *Veelesemoth*, *Vayicra*, *Vaied-abber*, and *Haddabarim*^c, which, in a Body, they call *Tawra*; and that they divide them into fifty-three Volumes^d, viz. *Genesis* into twelve, *Exodus* into eleven; and the three following Books into ten Volumes each, which they call *Quen*. He said, they had the Titles of some other Books of the *Old Testament*, but wanted several; and that there were some which they were not at all acquainted with. Certain Persons present added, that some Books were lost by the Inundation of the River before-mentioned. That they had several Books besides the Pentateuch, appeared from their speaking to him, concerning the Books of *Judges*; of *David*, *Solomon*, and *Ezekiel*, who gave Life to the withered Bones; of *Jonah*, who was three Days in the Whale's Belly, &c.

^{Interpersed with Fables,} THE Author was surprized to find that their ancient Rabbi's had blended several ridiculous Tales with the Facts related in Scripture, and even interpersed the five Books of *Moses* in this Manner^e. They told him such extravagant Stories on this Occasion, that he could not forbear laughing; whence he suspected, that these *Jews* were *Talmudists*, who pervert and corrupt the Sense of the Bible. Besides the Bible, they are possessed of other *Hebrew* Books, called *San-tso*. These composed by the ancient Rabbi's, and stuffed with the most extravagant Stories, comprehend their Rituals, and the Ceremonies they now use.

^{Jewish,} They seem to entertain very odd Notions concerning Paradise and Hell: Probably, borrowed from the *Talmud*.

THEY still retain several Ceremonies of the ^{Retain old Ceremonies,} Old Testament, as Circumcision. They observe the Sabbath, and other Feasts of the old Law; particularly that of unleavened Bread. They have also their paschal Lamb, in Remembrance of the *Israelites* coming out of the Land of *Egypt*, and their Passage through the *Red-Sea*. They do not make Fires, or dress Victuals on *Saturdays*; preparing every Thing the Day before. And whenever they read the Bible in their Synagogue, they cover their Face with a transparent Veil, in Memory of *Moses*, who came-down from the Mountain with his Face covered.

THERE being among them some Bachelors ^{Worship Confucius,} and Under-Graduates, on asking whether they worshipped *Confucius*, both they and their Ruler answered, that they honoured him in the same Manner as the *Chinese* Literati: That they joined with them in the Ceremonies performed in the Halls of their great Men; and paid the Honours due to their Ancestors by the Custom of *China*, in the Hall contiguous to their Synagogue: That they offered the Flesh of Animals, except Swine, Sweetmeats, and Incense, in *China-Dishes*, at the same Time making Prostrations: That they only used Incense-Pans, without either Inscriptions or Images, in their Houses, and the Halls of their Ancestors. When *Gozani* spoke to them about the *Messias* promised in Scripture, and his Actions, they seemed greatly surprized; having never heard of any Jesus excepting the Son of *Sirach*, mentioned in their Bible. After all, the Jesuit says, but without shewing any Reason, that he found them to be People not much to be depended on.

THEY told him also, that their Ancestors came ^{Their Origin,} from the Kingdom of *Judah*, in the West, which had been conquered by *Jeshua*, after his passing-out of *Egypt* through the *Red-Sea*; and that they first appeared in the Empire under the *Han-chau*, or Dynasty^f. There were many Families of them at first^g; but their Number being reduced, there are now only seven; who marry among themselves, and never with the *Whey-whey*, or

^a This happened in 1642. See before, p. 48. ^b The Jesuit must indeed have been utterly unskilled in *Hebrew*, as he owns, if he did not so much as know the Characters.

^c The *European Jews* call them *Berebith*, *Ue lle-shemot*, *Vaykre*, *Valdeber* and *Elle-baddebarim*; and as the *Eastern Jews* call the first *Brasithra*, it looks suspicious to Mr. Lockman, that the *Chinese Jews* should give *Genesis* the Title *Berebith*, which is used by the *Jews of Europe*. ^d Or Sections. The *European Jews* do the same, reading one every *Saturday*, and the Whole in the Year. ^e Remarks.

^f This ought to be understood rather of the Gloss, or Comment, than the Text. ^g Remarks. ^h The *Han* is the fifth of the twenty-two Dynasties. It began two hundred and six Years before Christ, and ended two hundred and twenty after Christ: So that one cannot, by this Account, tell within four hundred Years when they entered *China*.

ⁱ They must have been pretty numerous in 845, provided an Ordinance made in the fifth Year of the Emperor *Fu-tsong* (which answers to that Year of Christ) relates to them; for the *Bonzas* of *Ta-tsing*, or *Judea*, and *Mu-ha-pa*, in all three thousand, are condemned, as well as the other *Bonzas*, to return to a secular Life. See *Du Halde's China*, vol. 1. p. 518, & seq.

Religion. *Mohammedans*; with whom they have nothing in a common, either as to Books or religious Ceremonies. They even turn-up their Whiskers in a different Manner.

THEY are called *Tyau-kin-kyau*, signifying, that they abstain from Blood; and that they cut the Sinews and Veins of such Animals as they kill, in order that the Blood may flow-away the easier. The *Chinese* first gave them this Name; which they willingly received, as it distinguished them from the *Mohammedans*, whom they call *Ti-mo-kyau*^a. They told him, that the Missioners had sent twice to treat with them: *Pi-lo-te*, or *Rodriguez de Figueredo*, under the *Ming* Dynasty; and *Ngen-li-ke*, or *Henriquez*, under the present *Tsing* Family^b.

Mohammedans As to the *Mohammedans*, they settled above six hundred Years ago in divers Provinces; where they live in Quiet, and are never disturbed, because they never disturb others on the Score of Religion. At first, they increased their Numbers solely by the Alliances and Marriages they contracted; but, for some Years past, they have made a considerable Progress by Help of Money. They every-where buy-up Children; whose Parents, unable to educate, make no Scruple to sell them. During a Famine, which wasted the Province of *Shan-tong*, they purchased above ten thousand. 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^c.

In China. It appears by this imperfect Account of the Missioners, that the *Mohammedans* must be possessed of considerable Wealth, acquired, doubtless, by Trade, to have been able to propagate themselves by the Means above-mentioned. We are told, that they traded by Sea, from *Siraf* in *Persia*^d, so long ago as the eighth or ninth Century: But they seem to have entered *China* by Land, probably, with the Army of the Western *Tartars*, under *Jenghiz Khan*, or his immediate Successors.

2. The Rise, Progress, and Extirpation of the Romish Religion in China.

Christianity preached early in China. Romish Missioners, their first Admission. Ricci settles at

Shaw-chew, Nan-chang, and Nan-king. Arrives at Pe-king. Persecution raised by a Friar: Another by a Mandarin. Emperor converted. Schaal promoted. A general Persecution by another Mandarin. Missioners condemned. Jesuit Impostures. Persecution in the Provinces. The Mission thrives. The French Jesuits received at Court. A new Persecution raised against them. Sentence of the Tribunals reversed. The Mission thriving, is ruined at last by papal Incroachments. Useful Remark.

THE Missioners would have it believed, that *Christianity* was preached very early in *China*^{Early in China}. In Proof of this, they produce two Monuments: The first is the Breviary of the Church of *Malabar*, where ^a *St. Thomas* is said to have converted the *Chinese*. The second is a Monument, or Marble Table, ten Foot long, and five broad, said to be discovered in 1625, in digging near *Si-ngan fu*, the Capital of *Shen-si*. The Inscription on this Table, after speaking of the Trinity, the Birth and Ascension of Christ, the End of his Coming, and Piety of his Ministers, relates, that one of them, named *O-lo-pwen*, came from *Judea* to *China* in the Year 636: That *Tay-tsong*, who then reigned, did him great Honour; and, on examining his Doctrine, published an Edict in its Favour. He likewise ordered a Church to be built; to which ^d *Kau*, his Successor, added several more: That some Years after, the *Bonzas*, alarmed at the Progress of the Faith, raised a Persecution against it; which was soon quashed by the Care of *Kau*: That the succeeding Emperors, especially *So-chong*, built Churches, made Offerings at the Altars, every Year for forty Days; served the Priests of four Churches in Person, fed the Poor, clothed the Naked, healed the Sick, and buried the Dead; and that in Memory hereof, the Monument was erected in 782.

ON one of the Sides, and at the Bottom of the Marble, there is a long Inscription, partly in the Eastern *Syriac* or *Chaldaic*, and partly in the *Chinese* Characters; also the Names, in *Syriac*, of the Missioners, consisting of Bishops, Priests, and Deacons, who came from *Judea* to preach the Gospel in this Empire. Their Entrance, we are told, is confirmed by some *Arabic* and other Oriental Manuscripts, found by *Abbe Renaudot*, and *de Thevenot*, Keepers of the French King's Library^f. The original Copy is preserved in the Library of the Jesuits College at

^a Before said to be called *Whey-awbey*.

Memoirs of *China*, p. 339. *Du Halde's China*, p. 678.

^c In a Lesson of the second Nocturn of the Office of *St. Thomas*.

Marks on it, and is in all Probability a Forgery of the Jesuits, as many Protestant Writers have observed.

^b *Jesuits Travels*, vol. 2. p. 12, & seq.

^d See the Introduction to our first Vol. p. 3. d.

^e For all this, it has several spurious

Religion. Rome; and Kircher has published ^a a Transcript, with a literal Version and Paraphrase. Du Halde dares not venture to affirm, that the Emperors, mentioned in the Inscription, deserved the Encomiums bestowed on them; and acknowledges, that if they favoured the Preachers of the Gospel, they were no less inclined to give Protection to the idolatrous Sects.

Romish Missioners

THE Jesuits are at a Loss to know how long Christianity maintained its Ground in the Empire; confessing, that the very Memory of it must have been extinct for several Ages, since there was not the least Footsteps of it in the Year 1552; when Francis Xavier, their Saint and Apostle of the Indies, landed on the Island Shang-chwen-shan, or Sanlian^b, where he died without having set Foot in China. For thirty Years after, the Missioners at Ma-kau endeavoured, to no Purpose, to gain Admittance. At length, the Tsong-tu of Quang-tong having cited the Portuguese of that City to appear before him, Roger, the Jesuit, was sent to Shau-king fu; where he was so well received by the Vice-Roy, that he petitioned for Leave to reside in the Province, which was granted: Whereupon he and Pasio began a Kind of Settlement; but that Mandarin being soon after disgraced, and fearing a Complaint, in case any Strangers were found in the Place of his Residence, he obliged them to return to Ma-kau.

First Admiffion.

THUS their Hopes of settling a Mission were dashed: But when they least expected it, one of the new Vice-Roy's Guards, hearing of the large Reward promised to any one who should procure the Re-establishment of the Missioners, brought-about that Affair with his Master, and repaired to Ma-kau. Hereupon Roger and Ricci followed the Chinese to Shau-king, where they soon had a Patent from the Vice-Roy, permitting them to settle where they thought proper. These two Missioners became very acceptable to the Chinese, especially Ricci, by his Sweetness of Temper, and insinuating Behaviour; but above all, his Skill in Mathematics and the Language did him great Service. They were delighted with a general Map he made, though it represented their Country very small to what they imagined it; after which he composed a Catechism, explaining the Christian Morality, and many Converts were made. In short, he gained such Reputation to the Missioners, that everybody of Note in Shau-king visited them; while the meaner Sort raised Mobs, and insulted them in their House.

Ricci settles at Shau-chew.

At length two Strangers breeding some Jealousies in the Minds of the People, it was

a thought necessary to send Roger to Ma-kau; yet a few Years after, when there was less Danger, Antony Almada came to his Assistance. He had now been seven Years in the Mission, when a new Vice-Roy, who had a Mind for the Jesuits House, which he thought fit for a public Structure, ordered Ricci, and his Companion, to depart the Empire. Finding Petitions and the Solicitations of the chief Magistrates ineffectual, they obeyed; but at Kanton received Orders to come-back, and had Shau-chew assigned them for their Residence. Here he changed the Habit of the Bonzas, which rendered him contemptible, for that of the Literati. This gained him Respect, and favoured the Reception of his Doctrine, which began to spread in the Province: But to establish it there, he saw it was necessary, that it should be relished in the Capital of the Empire, where he resolved, if possible, to go, in no less Hopes, it seems, than of converting the Emperor, and his Court^c.

ABOUT this Time Tayko-sama, King of Ja-Nan-chang, having raised a numerous Army, with which he intended first to conquer Korea, and then invade China, the Emperor summoned to his Court all the Mandarins who had any Skill in the Affairs of War. Ricci obtained from one of them, who was his Friend, the Favour to follow him as far as the Province of Kyang-fi, thinking to prevail on him, by Degrees, to carry him to Pe-king: On the Way the Bark was wreck'd, and Ricci narrowly escaped drowning. The Mandarin was so affrighted, that he continued his Journey by Land, but would permit Ricci to proceed no farther than Nan-king; where another Mandarin, who had formerly loaded him with Kindnesses, ordered him forthwith to depart, and punished the Person who received him into his House.

RICCI returned to Nan-chang, the Capital of Kyang-fi, where he met with a favourable Reception from the Mandarins, and even the Vice-Roy. Here Cataneo, Longobardi, and others, joined him. Some Time after the Governor going to Pe-king, Ricci, with two other Jesuits, had Leave to follow him: Yet their Stay there being but short, and the War with Japan having increased the Distrust of Strangers, little Good was done for that Time: But at the Defeat of the Japan Army, and Death Tayko-sama soon after, he settled at Nan-king, without any Difficulty. Here Presents for the Emperor arriving from Ma-kau, he obtained a Pass from one of the principal Magistrates, to carry them to Pe-king. He set-out, but at Lin-tsin-chew refusing to let an Eunuch, who managed the Cus-

Romish.

And Nan-king.

^a In his *China Illustrata*.
vol. 2. p. 1, & seqq.

^b On the Coast of Quang-tong. See before, p. 59.

^c Du Halde's *China*,

Religion,

toms, have the Credit of conveying the Curiosities, that Officer imprisoned the Jesuit, and his Attendants; under Pretence that a Crucifix, which he carried in his Portmanteau, was a Charm to take-away the Emperor's Life. They had all been sacrificed to his Resentment, had not the favourable Report, he had before given of the Missioner, hindered him from carrying his Accusation to Court.

Arrives at
Pe-king.

At last an Order arrived to send-up the Stranger, who, soon after he reached *Pe-king*, was brought to the Palace, where he was well-received by the Emperor, and his Presents accepted; among which was a large Clock, and a repeating Watch. His Majesty allowed him to chuse a House in *Pe-king*, for himself, and his Companions, assigned them a Maintenance, and gave them the Liberty of one of the Courts of his Palace. Being thus, after twenty Years Labour, settled in the capital City, they fell vigorously to the Work of making Converts. Among the Numbers which embraced their Faith, they tell us of *Li*, a great Mandarin at *Pe-king*; a whole Family of Princes of the Blood at *Nanchang fû*, with *Paul Syu*, a *Ko-lau*, and his Daughter *Candida* at *Nan-king*, besides many *Literati* and *Mandarins*, at that, and other Places. This Lady, at her own Expence, printed religious Books, and Compositions, built Churches in several Provinces, and bought Houses for rearing-up Foundlings. In short, the Number of Profelytes increased to such a Degree, that the Province of *Kyang-nan* alone contained ninety Churches, forty-five Oratories, and four Kinds of Congregations: 1. For the Worship of the Virgin *Mary*. 2. That of Angels. 3. That of Christ's Passion. 4. That of the *Literati*, under Protection of their Saint, *Ignatius*. These last met the first of every Month, to repeat the Instructions they had composed upon the several Articles of the *Romish* Faith; and such as were approved of by the Missioners, were recited on the *Sunday* following in the Churches; which proved of great Service in making Converts.

Persecution
raised

THE *Bonzas* enraged, it seems, at the great Progress they made, raised several Persecutions, which were presently quashed: But one kindled at *Ma-kau*, by a *Dominican* Friar, on Occasion of the Rector of the Jesuits determining a Dispute in Favour of the *Franciscans*, against the Vicar-General, put the Mission in the utmost Danger. Never was there a more hellish Piece of Revenge, says our Author, than was contrived by one of that Cabal, who could willingly have seen the Religion perish in China, provided the Jesuits had been involved in its Ruin. He informed the Chinese, that the Ambition of the Jesuits was

a astonishing, and that preaching the Faith was only a Pretence to raise *Cataneo*, a Missioner of their Order, to the imperial Throne: That the Places they were settled at, between *Kanton* and *Pe-king*, favoured their Design; and that the *Dutch* Fleet, which appeared a little before on the Coast, was intended for their Assistance: That the Governor of the City, and his Troops, were in their Interest; and that their Friends in *China* were to be joined by the Christians of *Japan*. By a Friar.

THIS News being transmitted to the Magistrates of *Kanton*, the other Cities of the Empire soon took the Alarm. It was given-out, that *Ricci* had been put to Death at *Pe-king*; and *Francis Martinez* passing through *Kanton* during this Ferment, endeavoured to hide himself, but was discovered by a recanting Convert, and condemned to the Bastinado, under which he died. Had these Reports reached the Emperor, our Author takes it for granted, that his Religion would have been effectually crushed: But the Magistrates were soon convinced, that they had been grossly imposed upon.

RICCI, whose Constitution was ruined by the Load of Business which he had on his Hands, died in 1610, at the Age of eighty-eight, twenty-seven of which he spent in *China*. The Emperor *Van-lye* allotted the Spot of Ground for his Sepulture, which was afterwards the Jesuits Burying-Ground, and continued his Favour to the other Missioners: But in 1617 a violent Persecution was raised against them by a Mandarin of *Nan-king*: Some were cruelly drubbed, others imprisoned, or banished, such as were at Court being obliged to retire to *Ma-kau*. Thus Matters continued till the Irruption of the *Tartars*, when *Tyen-ki*, the succeeding Monarch, by the Advice of *Paul Syu* before-mentioned, sent for the *Portuguese* to manage the Artillery, and recalled the Missioners, who lived peaceably under *Tyen-ki* and *Whay-tsong*, or *Tsong-ching*, his Successor in 1628. Another by a Mandarin.

ABOUT the Year 1631, *Adam Schaal*, the Jesuit, being sent to Court, soon gained the Favour of the Emperor, and the *Grandeess*, by his Skill in Mathematics. The same Year the *Dominicans* and *Franciscans* entered *China*, to share in the Mission, which we are told throve greatly; but the Wars which ensued in 1636, and lasted above twenty Years, almost quite ruined it. During these Distractions, however, the Jesuits boast of numerous Converts, some very eminent for their Rank; as *Thomas Kyu*, Vice-Roy of *Quang-si*; and *Luke Chin*, Generalissimo of the Chinese Armies against the *Tartars*; *Pan Achilles*, a great Eunuch, with fifty Ladies of the Court; nay, the Chinese Emperor himself, and the

* This was *Tung-lye*, proclaimed by the Army in 1646. He fixed his Seat at *Shau-king fû*, in *Quang-tong*.

Religion, the Empress: The first baptized by the Name of *Constantine*, the latter by that of *Helena*. They give us a Letter of hers to the Pope, written in 1650, and his Holiness's Brief to her Majesty: But a few Years after, all these fair Prospects vanished with the Flight of the *Chinese* Emperor, and thorough Conquest of the *Tartars* ^a.

Schaal promoted, ADAM SCHAAL, who remained alone at *Pe-king*, to take Care of the Church there, was no sooner known to *Shun-chi* the *Tartar* Emperor, than he was caressed by him, and made President of the Tribunal of the Mathematics, which had for three hundred Years been under the Direction of *Mohammedan* Astronomers. He reformed the Kalendar, which endeared him still more to his Majesty, who sent for fourteen Missioners to Court, among whom was *Ferdinand Verbiest*. According to the Author, the Emperor would have embraced the *Romish* Religion, but for his Queens, who were bigotted to the *Bonzas*. He grew cool, however, to *Schaal*, for often censuring his last Marriage: Yet on his Death-Bed sent for him, and treated him with much Kindness.

A general Persecution ON the Accession of *Kang-hi*, then but eight Years old, the *Bonzas* were expelled the Palace, while *Schaal* was advanced to be Preceptor to the young Monarch. Thus by his Credit he saved *Ma-kau* from being destroyed in common with other Places along the Coast, to hinder *Ku-shing*, or *Koxinga*; from getting Provisions; and prevented several Persecutions raised in the Provinces by the *Bonzas*. But it was not long before a general Persecution was set on-foot by *Jang-quang-syen* ^b, one of the *Literati*, who, we are told, by his Violence and Intrigues made himself feared by the greatest *Mandarins*. He published a Book, and presented a Petition to the four Regents, filled with Invectives against both the Missioners, and their Religion. He affirmed, among the rest, "That they had been banished their own Country for Sedition, and were come into *China* to raise a Rebellion: That *Adam*'s Intention, in obtaining such great Authority at *Pe-king*, was to introduce a Multitude of Strangers into the Empire; who, by his Direction, travelled over the Provinces, and took Plans of the Cities, in order to facilitate the Conquest of them: That the Number of their Followers, who were as so many Soldiers listed under them, were almost infinite; and that every Year great Numbers of Strangers arrived at *Ma-kau*, who only waited for a favourable Juncture to put their Design in Execution."

He likewise produced a Book published by *Adam*, exhorting the *Chinese* and *Tartars* to embrace Christianity, which contained a List of all the Churches in the Provinces, and Magistrates who had been baptized. *Jang-quang-syen* represented this as a Muster-Roll of an Army ready to take the Field on the first Signal; and the Medals and Beads they carried, to be the secret Marks by which the Conspirators were known to one another. Lastly, he shewed the Figure of Christ crucified, in the Books distributed by the Missioners, saying, *Behold the God of the Europeans nailed to a Cross, for having attempted to make himself King of the Jews: This is the God they invoke to favour the Design they have formed, of making themselves Masters of China.*

THE Consequences of this Accusation have been already related ^c, we shall therefore be the briefer here. *Adam*, who was then in his seventy-eighth Year, was with the rest of the Missioners loaded with Irons, and on his Knees appeared before the Tribunal, while on Account of his Infirmities, *Verbiest* gave Answers for him. November 12, 1664, they were all imprisoned, and next Year the *Mandarins* in Council pronounced the Christian Law ^d false and pernicious, and that *Adam*, and his Companions, deserved to be punished as Seducers of the People, and Propagators of a false Doctrine. All they could say was to no Effect. They first condemned *Adam* to be strangled, which is the most honourable Death; but afterwards changed the Sentence to cutting into ten thousand Pieces, which is the most ignominious Punishment. This Sentence was sent to the Princes of the Blood, and four Regents, for their Confirmation.

"God then, says our Author, declared himself in Favour of his Servant, whom hitherto he seemed to have abandoned. Every Time they attempted to read the Sentence, a terrible Earthquake forced the Assembly to quit the Hall. The Consternation of the People, and especially that of the Queen, Mother of the deceased Emperor, who imputed those fearful Events to the unjust Sentence of the Magistrates, obliged the Regency to open the Prisons to all, excepting those guilty of certain Crimes, particularly that of broaching, or professing a false Doctrine ^e; whereby the Jesuits were detained in Prison, while twelve hundred others were discharged. But the Earthquake, continues *Du Halde*, which was renewed more violently than ever, and a Fire which consumed most of the Palace, joined to

^a *Du Halde's China*, vol. 2. p. 5, & seqq.

^b That is, as taught by the Missioners.

^c See before, Vol. III. p. 504. ^d The same, p. 504, & seqq.

^e Observe the Absurdity! Is it probable that they should impute the Evil to the Injustice of the Sentence against the Missioners, and yet set the Guilty free instead of them?

^f several

Religion, "several other Prodigies"; opened the Eyes of a
 "the unjust Judges, and convinced them, at
 "last, that Heaven interested itself in Favour of
 "the Prisoners, who were then set at Liberty." But *Adam Schaal* did not long survive these Hardships, for he died in 1666.

*Persecution
in the Pro-
vinces.*

THE Persecution raged no less in the Provin-
 ces, where the Missioners suffered a hard Imprisonment; and then, to the Number of twenty-five, were banished to *Kanton*, four remaining still at Court. However, the Author pretends, that Vengeance pursued their Enemies; that the first Regent, who was the chief Persecutor, died a natural Death^b; the second was condemned to Execution, his third Son cut in Pieces, and the rest beheaded: That *Jang-quang-syen*, the Author of this Persecution, made President of the Mathematical Tribunal in Place of *Adam*, was degraded, and sentenced to Death; and that though in Consideration of his great Age, the Emperor changed the Sentence to Banishment, he died, in his Journey, of a pestilential Ulcer.

*Verbieft ad-
vanced.*

AN Event that happened a few Years after, brought the Missioners again into Favour: For the Emperor having discovered a great many Faults in the Kalendar, he was advised, by some Persons about him, to consult the *Europeans*. Accordingly they were sent for, and the Kalendar put in the Hands of *Verbieft* to correct it; which he did, and for his Reward, as has been before related^c, he was made President of the Tribunal of Mathematics, vacant by the Disgrace and Death of *Jang-quang-syen*. Soon after the Emperor published an Edict, inviting all, who had suffered Wrong during his Minority, to apply to him for Redress. *Verbieft* laid hold of this Opportunity, and gave in a Petition, setting forth the Abuse of his Authority, by banishing the Missioners, and condemning their Doctrine. It was rejected by one Tribunal, but another declared the *Christian Law* had been wrongfully condemned; that it was good, and taught nothing inconsistent with the Welfare of the State^d. Accordingly the Christian *Grandeess* were restored to their Places, *Verbieft* to his Honours, and the Missioners being recalled, were in 1671 put in Possession of their Churches. By the Edict all the Subjects of the Empire were prohibited to embrace the *Romish* Faith: Notwithstanding which, upwards of twenty thousand *Chinese* were

*The Mission-
ers restored.*

baptized that Year, besides the Emperor's maternal Uncle, and one of the eight *Tartar* Generals.

*Romish.
The Mission
thrives.*

AFTER this *Verbieft*, being called to Court, taught the Emperor Mathematics for two Years, and on Occasion of a Book published by a *Mandarin*, obtained an Edict, that none should give Christianity the Name of a false Religion. He ingratiated himself farther, by founding light Brass Cannon, fit for Carriage over the Mountains (those of the *Chinese* being of Iron) by whose Assistance the *Tartars* forced the Intrenchments of *U-san-ghay*, the famous *Chinese* General, who had invited in the *Tartars*, and was then himself in Rebellion against them. This Event procured a Peace, and settled *Kang-hi* securely in the Throne^e. As *Verbieft* grew in Favour with the Emperor, the Missioners gained Respect among the *Grandeess*, and Converts increased so fast, that he wrote to *Europe*, inviting his Brethren to share his Labours. These Letters procured him a Brief of Thanks from the Pope for his Zeal, and excited *Louis XIV.* of *France* to improve the Sciences, and propagate the *Romish* Faith at the same Time, by sending over Persons proper for the Purpose.

ACCORDINGLY *de Fontaney*, *Tachard*, *Ger-* The French
billon, *Bouvet*, *Le Comte*, and *Visdelou*, six Je- Jesuits
 suits, were chosen from a great Number who offered themselves. After being admitted into the Academy of Sciences, they were furnished with Mathematical Instruments, regular Pensions, and magnificent Presents. They set sail from *Brest* in March 1685, in Quality of the King's Mathematicians. *Tachard* was detained at *Siam*, whither the Chevalier *de Chaumont* went as Ambassador: The other five set sail for *Ning-po* in *China*, where being arrived, they met with some Opposition from the Vice-Roy; but by Means of *Verbieft* were soon called to Court. They arrived at *Pe-king* in February 1688; but before they reached it, that Jesuit died. We are told, that he always wore, under the Habit of his Dignity, a Hair-cloth Frock, or was girt with an Iron-Chain stuck with Points^f: That he was buried magnificently at the Emperor's Charge; and that his Majesty made his Eulogium, which the Author has inserted, with the Order of his Funeral. He was succeeded as President of the Tribunal of Mathematics by *Grimaldi*, an *Italian* Jesuit.

^a As this Account of Prodigies is proved to be false, from the Testimony of another Missioner, Vol. III. p. 506, it may be presumed the Whole is false, as it appears to be from the same Place.

^b The Author mentions neither when these Things happened, nor for what Cause the Sentences were passed on these Persons, doubtless that they might be thought more immediate Judgments on them for acting against the Missioners.

^c See before, p. 168, & seqq. ^d This is false, if by Christianity is to be understood the *Romish* Faith; and they were convinced of it at last, which was the Cause of the Missioners Expulsion.

^e *Du Halde's China*, p. 13. & seq. ^f See their Voyage, Vol. III. p. 514. ^g This is to come-up, though in a very small Degree, to the Severities of the *Bonzas*: But we have only the Jesuit's Word for it; for they never appeared in View.

Religion,
Received at
Court.

THE twenty-first of March the French Missioners were brought before his Majesty, who kept Gerbillon, and Bouvet about his Person. After learning the Tartar Language, he employed the former, and Pereyra, another Jesuit, as Interpreters to his Ambassadors, who were sent to Ni-po-chew, or Nerchinskoy, to treat with the Russians about the Limits of both Empires, and were very instrumental in concluding the Peace; by which Yak-sa on the River Amur^a was yielded to the Chinese, and demolished.

AFTER this Kang-hi went through a Course of Mathematics, under the Direction of Thomas, Gerbillon, and Bouvet, whom he conversed with, and treated in the most familiar Manner, making them sit-down by him often on the same Stool. They translated and composed Books for him. He continued his Studies for five Years, joining always the Practice to the Theory; by which Means he became so able a Mathematician, that he composed a Book of Geometry for the Instruction of his Children, whom he taught himself.

A new Per-
secution

FOR all the Missioners at Court were in such Favour with the Emperor, yet their Religion being but barely tolerated, and the Mandarins in the Provinces having a natural Aversion to them, either as Foreigners and Innovators, or through the Instigation of the Bonzas, they were always in Danger of a Persecution, which at length broke-out violently at Hang-chew fû in Che-kyang, where the Vice-Roy, and other Mandarins, renewing the Edict of 1669, forbade the Exercise of the Romish Religion under grievous Penalties, and treated it as a false and pernicious Sect. He seized on several Churches, and gave them to the Bonzas: The Crosses, says our Author, were broken, the Altars profaned, and the holy Images abandoned to the Insults of Unbelievers. A great many Converts, with Intorcetta the Jesuit, were dragged before the Tribunals; whereof some were imprisoned, and others sorely bastinadoed.

Raised a-
gainst them.

GERBILLON then attending the Emperor in Tartary, applied himself to Prince So-san, who was his Majesty's near Relation, one of the Prime-Ministers, and Grand-Master of the Palace. This Regulo having written to the Vice-Roy two Letters to little Effect, the Missioners resolved to crave Audience of the Emperor, who sent them this odd Sort of Answer: That he was surprized to see them so much insatuated with their Religion, and so busied about a World in

a which they had never been. That his Advice was, they should enjoy the present Life; adding, that your God is surely uneasy about the Pains you are at, and is powerful enough to do himself Justice, though you do not concern yourselves in his Matters.

Romish.

The Missioners thunder-struck with such a Message, vented their Grief on their Knees at the Palace-Gate; which being reported to the Emperor, he sent an Officer to tell them there was no Way to stop the Persecution, but either for him to check the Vice-Roy secretly, or for them to obtain a favourable Decree from the Tribunals.

THEY chose this last Method, and drew-up a Sentence of Petition, sending it privately to the Emperor to peruse: But that great Monarch not thinking it calculated to make an Impression on the Chinese, was so condescendingly good, as to write one himself in the Tartarian Language^b, and sent it to the Missioners to alter as they thought fit. It was presented to his Majesty on a Day of Audience by the Jesuits Pereyra and Thomas; but being sent to the Tribunal of Rites, their Sentence was, that the former Edicts ought to be adhered to. The Emperor piqued at this Judgment, rejected it, and ordered the Mandarins to examine it a second Time. This sufficiently declared his Intention; yet their second Answer was no more complaisant than the first. His Majesty finding them absolutely determined against the Missioners and their Religion, that he might not exasperate his Subjects too-far, resolved to sign the Decree: However, in Pity to the Anguish the Jesuits were reduced to by so fatal a Turn, he consulted Prince So-san, who persuaded the Emperor to exert his Authority on this Occasion, undertaking himself to render the Mandarins more tractable^c.

PURSUANT to this Advice, the Emperor^d issued-out a Writ directed to the Ko-lau, and Members of the Li-pû, signifying his Will, that all the former Edicts published against the Christian Law, should be torn and burned. So-san attended the Assembly, and though no Convert, argued the Case of the Missioners so strenuously, and explained the Ten Commandments so pathetically, that they acknowledged there was no Danger in such a Law^e, and thereupon gave a Sentence to this Effect: That the Missioners, for their Services, deserved Regard: That they were guilty of no Immorality, and did no Harm to any: That their Doctrine resembled in nothing that of the false Sects, nor tended, in the least,

^a So called by the Russians; by the Eastern Tartars, Saghalian Ula; and by the Chinese, He-long-kyang, or the Black-Dragon River. ^b The Author inserts a Translation of it. ^c Du Halde's China, p. 18, & seqq.

^d Nor would there be any Danger in Popery, was it conformable to the Ten Commandments; but indeed nothing can be more contrary in all the prime Articles.

Religion, to promote Sedition: That they should ^a be allowed to have Churches, and to preach their Religion as well as the *Bonzas*. The Emperor signed this Petition the second of *March* 1692, and caused it to be published all-over the Empire; but advised the Missioners to write to their Brethren in the Province, *not to presume too much on that Grace, and to behave so circumspectly, that he might receive no Complaints of them.* Which let them see, says our Author, that he had not approved of Christianity without doing himself some Violence ^b; and that in so doing he sacrificed all his political Views to the Affection he had for the Missioners, &c. ^c.

The Mission driving, THIS Liberty, granted the Missioners, increased Converts, and brought-over many Jesuits from *France*, *Louis XV.* appointing a yearly Revenue of nine thousand two hundred Livres for twenty of them in *China* and the *Indies*. The Emperor pursued his Studies, in the Course of which he was attacked by a malignant Fever, followed soon after by a tertian Ague, of both which *Gerbillon* and *Bouvet* cured him. As a Reward, he gave them a large Edifice in the *Whang-ching*, or first Court of his Palace, with half an adjoining Field to build a Church on, and fifty Ounces of Silver towards carrying-on the Work; besides furnishing Part of the Materials, and appointing *Mandarins* to superintend it. Four Years were employed in raising and adorning this Temple; which, it seems, is one of the most beautiful and regular in all the East: But it was scarce finished in *December* 1702, when the Censors of the Empire represented that the Building was too extravagant, and ought to be demolished as an Encroachment on the Laws: But the Emperor silenced them, telling them it was done by his Order, to reward their Services.

It ruined at last MATTERS seemed to go on well in Favour of the Missioners, when the Disputes which arose among them about the Meaning of the Words *Tyen* and *Shang-ti*, threw Things into Confusion again, and proved more fatal to their

a Religion, than all the Persecutions it had met with. As an Account has been already given of this Controversy ^d, which ended in the Expulsion of the Missioners, and Overthrow of all their Labours in *China*, for more than a whole Century together, we shall only observe here, that our Author tells us, three hundred Churches were destroyed, or converted to profane Uses, and three hundred thousand Christians exposed to the Rage of the Infidels by this Event; while their Religion was overthrown, without the least Hope of ever getting Admission again: That there were in the Provinces indeed three Jesuits, and some Priests, who mingled with the Converts, and being *Chineses*, were easily concealed: Skilful Catechists were likewise sent every Year to the several Churches, to instruct and furnish them with Books of Devotion ^e.

THIS is the State to which the *Romish Mission* *By Papal Incroachments.* in *China* was reduced, by the Decree of the Emperor in 1723; on which Occasion it may not be amiss to add a Remark of the Translator of *Du Halde*. The Court of *Rome*, whose Missioners, says he, by an unparalleled Indulgence of the *Chinese* Monarch, had settled in *China*, could not content itself with a Toleration to preach their Religion, but must endeavour to make a Dupe of the Prince to whom they owed all: But *Kang-hi* foresaw too well the Consequences of allowing the Pope to claim any dispensing Power, in the least Point, that concerned Civil Institutions. He well knew, that the yielding to the Jesuits in one Article, would have introduced another, till by their Incroachments they might have endangered his Empire: So he very wisely chose rather to drop them entirely.

THE Use I would make of this Observation, *Useful Remark.* continues the Translator, is, That had our *European* Princes, in former Days, been as wise as *Kang-hi*, the Church of *Rome* could never have arrived to the Pitch of Insolence she has done, in claiming either an Authority independent of, or inconsistent with the Civil Power ^f.

^a See before, p. 208. c. To which may be added, Idolatry in the Worship of Saints, Images, and the consecrated Wafer, with the dispensing Power in all Cases.

^b This appears from several other Instances in *Du Halde*, particularly an Answer to the Missioners, Vol. II. p. 326.

^c Yet, at other Times, this Jesuit, and the rest, inconsistent with themselves, or one another, represent *Kang-hi* as having a great Propensity to their Religion.

^d See Vol. III. p. 585, & seqq. ^e *Du Halde's China*, p. 28, & seqq. ^f See the Note to *Du Halde*, p. 37.

C H A P. VI.

The CONSTITUTION and GOVERNMENT of CHINA.

S E C T. I.

Antiquity and Extent of the Chinese Monarchy.

Chinese History of ancient Times: Very uncertain. Where free from Doubt. Missioners differ in their Opinions. Difficult to judge where lies the Truth. Chinese Empire, Extent. Tributary Countries. Table of Dynasties.

Chinese History

ALTHOUGH China seems to be a Country of great Antiquity, and its Historians have given their Monarchy a very early and splendid Original; yet it is far from being clear, either when it was first peopled, or the Chinese began to make any Figure as a Nation. The common Opinion is, that the Monarchy was founded by Fo-hi, who, according to their Account, began his Reign two thousand nine hundred and fifty-two Years before the Christian Æra. Others more zealous for the Honour of their Country, run its Original a great many Ages higher: But when one comes to look critically into their Annals, he finds Room for large Deductions.

Of ancient Times,

FO-HI is represented by their Authors as having the Body of a Serpent^a. The Length of his Reign, and that of his six Successors, are unknown; though it is reckoned five hundred and ninety-five Years past from his Inauguration to that of Yau, the seventh Emperor, to whose Reign they assign seventy-two Years, and fifty to that of his Successor Shun. To these nine Emperors (who reigned before the twenty-two Races of their Kings) they ascribe all their Laws, and their Sciences; their Regulations in Government, Morality, and Religion; their Agriculture, and Manufactures; with the several Instruments belonging to each Art. But these Things serve to render their History suspicious, agreeable to the Remark of the Translator of Du Halde. "Many of the first Reigns, saith he, 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, whole- some Laws, and other Advantages; and

a "partly to form Models and Characters for the Imitation of Princes. It seems very strange, continues the Translator, that not only all their Sciences, but all their Arts and Utensils, even to those of the Plough and Kitchen, should be invented by their first Emperor; as if there were no Men else of Genius, or Capacity, among them in those early Times^b." We might add also, that it is unlikely they should so early, and without any Communication with other Nations, bring Things to the same Degree of Perfection which they are found in at present.

HOWEVER these Things be, a third Party among the Chinese reject the first seven Emperors as uncertain, beginning their Monarchy with Yau: From whose Reign, we are told, their History is very exact, and coherent, transmitted by cotemporary Writers, and supported by Observations of Eclipses, mentioned in the Course of their Annals; the first of which occurs in the Reign of Chong-kang, fourth Emperor of the first Dynasty, or Hya, 2155 Years before Christ, and has been verified by the European Astronomers^c.

IN 1729, a chronological Table was published at Rome, in three Sheets, by Fouquet, titular Bishop of Eleutheropolis, formerly a Jesuit and Missioner, which began no higher than the Reign of Lye-wang, four hundred and twenty-four Years before Christ. It was composed by Nyen, a young Tartar Lord, well-versed in History, who was Vice-Roy of Kanton in 1720. He took it from the Kang-mu, or Great Chinese Annals, whose Authors take Notice, that the Chronology, before that Time, appeared not sufficiently certain; at least so far as concerns the Beginning and End of Reigns, and the Succession of Years, compared with the Kya-tse, or Chinese Cycle^d. Most of the Missioners are of the same Sentiments, probably grounded on the Authority of the Kang-mu. Fouquet accounts it one of the prime Uses of the Table he published, That it fixes the Æra of the Chinese History so far as is genuine, about four hundred Years before Christ; and says, there are some who think, not without strong Reasons, that it might be brought

^a Shin-nung, the Head of an Ox, besides other Fables. See Couplet. Tab. Chron. Mon. Sinic. Pref. p. 10.

^b Du Halde's China, vol. 1. p. 133. Note k.

^c See before, p. 164. b.

^d Du Halde, as before, p.

133, & seq.

Government. still lower. He allows 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 *Fourmont*, is an Opinion, at present, pretty common among the *Jesuit Missioners*.

Missioners differ THE same Author observes, that *Maigrot*, Bishop of *Conon*, does not believe the *Chinese* Cycle very ancient, saying, it is without Grounds ascribed to *Whang-ti*, the second from *Fo-hi*; and that the Author of the above-mentioned Annals first applied 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 *Shun*, *Yau*, *Fo-hi*, and *Shin-nung*; but denies the Chronology of ancient Times to be certain, and supposes the Analyst has adjusted both the Years and Eclipses^a, according to his Fancy.

PREMARE, in his Letter against *Renaudot*^b, distinguishes the *Chinese* Chronology into fabulous, uncertain, and sure. This Remark he takes from the most celebrated of their Historians, who are Enemies to Partiality, and reckon the Times betwixt *Fo-hi* and *Ghey-lye-wang*^c, uncertain (that is, not to be ranged according to an exact chronological Series) and that preceding *Fo-hi* is fabulous: Yet he allows, that *China* was peopled above two thousand one hundred and fifty-five Years before Christ, whereof he reckons the solar Eclipse, which happened that Year (and is inserted in the *Chinese* History) as a Demonstration^d.

In their Opinions. As these Missioners only give their Opinion on the *Chinese* Chronology, without producing their particular Reasons, they only serve to create Doubts in their Readers. They are accused, indeed, with raising these Objections on a religious Account, imagining, that if the *Chinese* Chronology be admitted, it will overthrow the Verity of the Scripture Chronology, according to the *Hebrew* Computation, as placing the Beginning of the Monarchy near six hundred Years earlier than the Flood. On the other Hand, others think, that as there are two other Computations, viz. the *Samaritan* and *Septuagint*, which place the Deluge many hundred Years earlier, and are deemed at least as authentic, if not more so, they ought rather to adhere to one of them, than reject the *Chinese* Chronology.

Difficult to judge. THIS is the Opinion of most of the Learned

of late, and, among the rest, of Mr. *Fourmont*; *Antiquity.* who vindicates the Certainty of the *Chinese* Chronology, as well as History, against the Objections of the *Jesuits* on the contrary Side. He argues, 1. That *Confusius* living in the Time of *Ling-wang*, one hundred and forty-one Years before *Ghey-lye-wang*, and writing himself the *Chun-tsu*, containing the Annals of two hundred Years; the Chronology is therefore fixed for eight hundred and eighty-five Years before Christ, that is, to the Time of *Li-wang*^e, or higher. 2. That the *Chinese* having fixed Epochas, and Observations of Eclipses, the Historians could not mistake in ranging the Times^f. 3. He asks, why the Times before *Ghey-lye-wang*, should not be more exact than the Chronology of the *Greek*, *Latin*, and even *French* Annals, since those of *China* are written with so much Care?

FOURMONT makes use of other Arguments by Way of Inference, 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^g; and thus the Dispute may remain for ever undecided: However, upon the Whole, we may allow the *Chinese* Monarchy to have had a Beginning as early as the *Persian*, *Affyrion*, *Babylonian*, or any other recorded by the *Greek*, or *Latin* Historians.

As to its Extent, we are not to suppose it was always the same as at present. In the Reign of *Whang-ti*, the third Emperor, it was bounded Southward by the *Kyang*: It has acquired a vast Augmentation within these last hundred Years. We are told, the Monarchy begun in the Province of *Shen-si*, and increased by Degrees: That the several Provinces, of which the Empire is at present composed, were formerly Kingdoms. It is true, they are represented as having always been dependent on the Emperor; but it is not probable they became so, till forced to it, which must have been a Work of Time. The Province of *Yun-nan* is allowed to be a Conquest of these latter Ages; and in *Fo-kyen* the ancient Language of the Country still exists. The present Family hath added all the Eastern, and great Part of Western *Tartary* (including the Territories of the *Mongols*, or *Mogols*, and *Kalka*) to the Empire, which is bounded Northward

^a That cannot be, because the Eclipses have been found to happen in the Years wherein they are placed: But they might have been calculated many Ages after they happened, in order to insert them to serve as Vouchers for their History.

^b *Lettres Edif.* tom. 19. p. 457.

^c The same with *Lye-wang* before-mentioned.

^d See *Fourmont. Hist. Critiq. Sur Hist. Anc. Peupl.* tom. 2. p. 402, & seq. quoted in the Notes on *Du Halde's China*, vol. 1. p. 134.

^e Tenth Emperor of the *Chew*.

^f Provided they had a sufficient Number.

^g *Fourmont*, as before, p. 404, 405 and 411.

Government, by the great River *Saghalian-Ula*, or *Amur*; from a whence, to the South-Point of the Island *Hay-nan* in the South, it measures upwards of nine hundred *French Leagues*.

Tributary Countries. BESIDES, there are many Kingdoms, as *Korea*, *Tong-king*, *Kochinchina*, *Siam*, &c. which are tributary to the Emperor of *China*; who sometimes appoints, and must always confirm their Kings.

WE shall here add a Table of the first Emperors, and the twenty-two Dynasties; Reference being frequently had to them in this Description.

The first FOUNDERS of the EMPIRE.

1. *Fo-hi*.
2. *Shin-nong*.
3. *Whang-ti*.
4. *Shau-hau*.
5. *Chwen-hyo*.
6. *Ti-ko*.
7. *Chi*. The Length of the Reigns of these seven Emperors is unknown ^a.
8. *Yau*, he reigned seventy-two Years alone, and twenty-eight in Conjunction with *Shun*.
9. *Shun* reigned alone fifty Years.

Table of Dynasties. ORDER of the Dynasties ^b, or Imperial Families.

According to <i>Du Halde</i> .			According to <i>Fourmont</i> ^c .		
Dynasties.	Emperors.	Duration.	Beginning.	Duration.	
1. <i>Hya</i>	17	458	Year 2207	441	
2. <i>Shang</i> or <i>Ing</i>	28	644	before 1766	664	
3. <i>Cheuw</i>	35	873	Christ 1122	874	
4. <i>Tsin</i>	4	43	248	42	
5. <i>Han</i>	25	426	206	425	
6. <i>Hew-han</i>	2	44	Year of 220	45	
7. <i>Tsin</i>	15	155	Christ 265	155	
8. <i>Song</i>	8	59	420	59	
9. <i>Tsi</i>	5	23	479	23	
10. <i>Lyang</i>	4	55	502	55	
11. <i>Chin</i>	5	33	557		
12. <i>Shwei</i>	3	29		37	
13. <i>Tang</i>	20	289	618	289	
14. <i>Hew-lyang</i>	2 [1]	16	907	16	
15. <i>Hew-tang</i>	4	13	923	13	
16. <i>Hew-tsin</i>	2	11	936	11	
17. <i>Hew-han</i>	2	4	947	4	
18. <i>Hew-cheuw</i>	3	9	951	9	
19. <i>Song</i>	18	319	960	328	
20. <i>Ywen</i>	9	89	1280	88	
21. <i>Ming</i>	16 ^d	276	1268	277	
22. <i>Tsing</i>	3	[92	1645		

^a Some of their Historians also add a great many Emperors between *Fo-hi* and *Whang-ti*. ^b The Word, in the *Chinese*, is *Chau*; which signifies neither Dynasty, Race, Family, nor Succession; but a certain Number of Years; the whole Time which any Race possessed the Dominion, being called 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* reigned: So they say, the *Shang-chau*, or the *Chau* of the *Shang*, &c. *Fourm. Refl. Critiq. Sur Hist. Anc. Peupl. tom. 2. p. 397.* ^c *Refl. Crit. Sur Hist. Anc. Peuples*, vol. 2. p. 441, & seqq. from whence this is added. ^d In the Original, by Mistake, 236. ^e In the Original this Number, and the following, are transposed by Mistake. ^f *Le Comte's Memoirs of China*, p. 248. ^g *Du Halde's China*, p. 248, and 306.

SECT. II.

The Principles of the Chinese Government.

Government perfect. Fundamental Principle. Whole some Constitution. Qualifications in Princes. Tyranny detestable with the Chinese.

AMONGST the several Models and Plans of Government which the Ancients framed, we shall perhaps meet with none so perfect and exact, as is that of the *Chinese* Monarchy: And this is the more to be admired, in case, as the Natives pretend, it has from the Beginning been in the same Vigour and Perfection that we find it at present. However that be, the Constitution of the *Chinese* Government is so judiciously contrived, that it cannot well fall to Decay, like that of other States; and if it should, has in itself the Means of recovering its original Strength.

THE *Chinese* never heard of the Name of Republic, till the Arrival of the *Hollanders*; nor could they understand how a State could regularly be governed without a King: They looked upon a Republic to be a Monster with many Heads, formed by the Ambition, Fickleness, and corrupt Inclination of Men in Times of public Disorder and Confusion ^f.

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. The ancient Sages were convinced, that the profound Respect, infused into Children for their Parents, renders their Disposition perfectly submissive; that this Submission preserves Peace in Families; that Peace in Families produces Tranquillity in Cities; that this Tranquillity prevents Insurrections in the Provinces, and establishes Order throughout the Empire ^g. On the other Hand, as the People pay the Submission of Children, they expect their Governors will treat them with the Affection of Parents, defend them from Injuries and Oppression, do them impartial Justice, and comfort and relieve them in Distress.

AND hence it is, that although *China* is an absolute Monarchy, perhaps the most despotic in

Government. the World; yet the Constitution is founded on a such excellent Maxims, and the several Offices and Regulations in the Government so well calculated for the public Benefit, that there is, perhaps, no Nation in the World which enjoys more reasonable Liberty, or whose Persons and Properties are better secured against the Violence and Oppressions of Officers belonging to the Crown. As so vast a Power is vested in the Emperor, the *Chinese* think too much Care cannot be taken in forming the Minds of the Princes who are next to the Throne.

Qualifications

ACCORDING to *Confucius*, a virtuous Prince ought to have nine Qualities, or do nine Things.

1. To accomplish and govern himself well, that he may be a Guide and Example to all his Subjects. 2. To honour and cherish Men of Learning and Virtue, and frequently to converse with, and consult them upon the Affairs of his Empire. 3. To love his Uncles, his Cousins, and all other Princes of the Blood; to grant them those Favours and Rewards which they deserve, as well as to let them see, that he values and prefers them before all other Persons within his Dominions. 4. To be respectful and courteous to his Nobility, which are not of the Blood-Royal, advancing them to Wealth and Honour, that the World may see how much he considers them above the common Sort. 5. To incorporate himself, as it were, with the rest of his Subjects, to equalize and unite his Heart to theirs, and to regard and esteem them as Part of himself. 6. To love his People with true Affection, to rejoice in their Welfare, and their Joy, and to be afflicted at their Calamity and Sadness; so that the meanest Person in the Empire may be persuaded, that the Sovereign loves him as one of his Children. 7. To invite to his Court all Sorts of Workmen, and Artists, for the quick Dispatch of all publick and private Business. 8. To care and treat with all imaginable Civility and Liberality, foreign Ambassadors, that they may perceive him endowed with a royal and generous Soul; to take Care also, that they may return into their respective Countries with full Security and Satisfaction. 9. To cherish all the Lords of the Empire, and treat them in such a Manner, that instead of harbouring the least Thought of Revolt, they may become the Bulwarks and Fortresses of the State^a. By observing these Rules, the Commentators say a Prince will acquire Renown, and answer the End of his Advancement.

very desirable.

THE *Chinese* have the strongest Aversion to Tyranny and Oppression, which they say proceeds not from the Absoluteness of the Prince's

Power, but from the Irregularity of their Passions, and Perverseness of their Wills, in Opposition to both the Voice of Nature, and Laws of God. The *Chinese* are of Opinion, that the Obligation, which is laid on their Kings not to abuse their Power, is a Means rather to establish, than destroy it; and that the Restraint, which they lay on their Passions, does no more diminish their Power, or Authority here on Earth, than the like Constraint derogates from the Majesty and Power of the Almighty, who is not the less powerful, because he cannot do Evil^b.

Emperor's Authority.

SECT. III.

Of the Emperor's Authority, Grandeur, and Family.

1. His Authority, Councils, and Seals.

Can raise Taxes: Chuse a Successor: Disposes of Employments. Changes of Ministers, without any Noise. Ennobles the Dead: Deifies Persons. Farther Power. Checks upon his Authority: Is told his Faults: Interest. Examines every Thing. Councils of State. The Imperial Seal. Seals of Princes, and the Quān.

THE Emperor's Authority is absolute. Although every one be perfect Master of his Estate, and enjoys his Lands free from Molestation; yet the Emperor can lay what Taxes he thinks fit upon his Subjects, to supply the pressing Wants of the State. This Power, however, he seldom makes Use of, and never without the utmost Necessity. There is a Custom likewise, of exempting every Year one or two Provinces from bearing their Proportion in the Tax, especially if any of them have suffered through the Sickness of the People, or if the Lands, through unseasonable Weather, have not yielded so good an Increase as is usual. No Sentence, of any Tribunal whatever, is of Force till ratified by the Emperor: But those that proceed immediately from himself, are perpetual and irrevocable; the Vice-Roys and Tribunals of the Provinces being obliged to have them registered, and published immediately in all Places of their Jurisdiction.

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, pitches on one of his Subjects, whom he deems most worthy. But Instances of this Kind are only to be found in the earliest Times^c. In case he prefers, to the eldest Son, one who has more Merit, his Name becomes immortal: But if after being declared his Successor, he becomes

^a *Magalhaens's Relation of China*, p. 193, & seq. an Instance before, p. 119. d.

^b *Le Comte's Memoirs of China*, p. 248.

^c See

Government. wanting in his Duty, or commits any great Misdemeanour, it is in the Emperor's Power to exclude him, and name another in his Place; for otherwise his Majesty would lose his Reputation. The late Emperor *Kang-hi* deposed, in a very singular Manner, his only Son by his lawful Wife, on suspecting his Fidelity. It was surprising to see him, who but a little before was almost equal to the Emperor, loaded with Irons. His Children and principal Officers were involved in the same Fate; and the public Gazettes were immediately filled with Manifestos, wherein the Emperor informed his Subjects of his Reasons.

Disposes of Employ. THE Emperor disposes, in the same Manner, of all the Employments of the Empire, without being obliged to confer them on the Persons proposed by the Tribunals, although 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, who raises and degrades 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 either their Titles, or Honours, without his express 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 distinguished, except by the yellow Girdle, worn by Men and Women of the Imperial Blood, who are allowed but a moderate Pension out of the Imperial Treasury.

Changes of Ministers SUCH Changes in Europe would cause Heart-burnings and Factions in the State: But in China they are brought-about without any the least Disturbance: They create no Manner of Trouble, if they are done for the public Good. Nay, in case they are the Effects of personal Hatred, or violent Passion, yet, if his Government be for the general equitable and just, the Subjects little concern themselves at his turning-out Ministers.

THE Reader will have a plain Proof of the Absoluteness of the Emperor's Power, from a Passage which happened during the late War with the *Eluth Tartars*. This Prince having, with a small Force, defeated a mighty Army under the Command of the Emperor's Brother, and killed his Father-in-law, who commanded the Artillery: *Kang-hi*, less concerned at the

a Loss of the Battle, than of his Brother's Honour, sent for him immediately to Court, to be tried before a Council of the Blood, whom he assembled in his Palace. The Prince, who was on all other Accounts a Person of singular Merit, surrendered himself, with the same Humility, as the meanest Officer in the Army would have done; and without staying till Sentence was pronounced, condemned himself, acknowledging that he deserved Death. *You deserve it*, said the Emperor: *But you ought, in order to recover your lost Honour, to seek your Death in the Midst of the Enemy's Troops; not here, in the Midst of Pe-king, where it can only augment your Disgrace.* At last the Emperor was inclinable to pardon him: But the Princes, who thought themselves in some Measure disgraced by this Action, earnestly begged of the Emperor to use his utmost Power to punish him; and his Uncle, who assisted at the Council, treated him with so much Scorn and Contempt, as is scarce to be imagined.

b His Power extends over the Dead, whom he either disgraces, or honours (as much as if they were alive) when he hath a Mind either to reward or punish themselves, or their Families. He makes some, after their Decease, Dukes, others Counts, and confers upon them several other Titles. As being High-Priest, he may canonize them as Saints; or, as they speak, *may make them naked Spirits*. Sometimes he builds them Temples; and, if their Ministry hath been very beneficial, or their Virtues very eminent, he commands the People to honour them as Gods, and Goddesses. An Instance of this you have in the Emperor *Van-lye*, in whose Time the Jesuits first entered China. That Monarch having put to Death a *Ko-lau* (Tutor to the hereditary Prince) for carrying-on an Intrigue with his Mother; the Lady laying to Heart as well the Affront, as Death of her Gallan, and withal fearing the same Destiny herself, within a few Days fell sick, and died. The Emperor hereupon, in some Measure to repair the Reputation of his Mother, by more than ordinary Honours, solemnly declared her *Kyew-lyen-pu-sa*, that is to say, a Goddess of nine Flowers; and erected her Temples over the whole Empire, where she is adored under this Title, like the Courtizan *Flora* among the Romans.

c ABOUT four hundred Years ago, a Bonza of the Sect of *Tau-tse*, who never shave their Heads, yet marry, so insinuated himself into the Affec-

Emperor's Authority. Without any Noise.

Enrols the Dead.

Disgraces Persons.

* *Le Comte's Memoirs of China*, p. 254, & seq. *Du Halde's China*, p. 70, and 242. as before, p. 252, & seq. c See before, p. 113 in the Case of *Verbiest's* Ancestors.

b *Le Comte*, See p. 202.

* *Le Comte*, as before, p. 257. *Mogalbaens's Relation of China*, p. 256.

f The *Ko-lau*, whose Name was *Chang-hyn-cheng*, wrote a Commentary on the Books of *Confucius*, which is reckoned the most excellent in its Kind. The Emperor having been advised to burn that Work, answered, with his wonted Prudence, That he only punished his evil Deeds, and not his good Works.

Government.

tion of the reigning Emperor, by Means of his Skill in Chemistry, and magic Arts^a, that he looked-on him as somewhat more than Man during his Life, and after his Death declared him God and Lord of Heaven, the Sun, Moon, and Stars^b.

Emperor's Authority.

Farther Power.

In short, the Emperor's Power extends almost to every Thing. He can change the Figure and Character of their Letters, abolish any already received, or form any new one. He may likewise change the Names of Provinces, Cities, and Families: He may forbid the using of any Expression, or Mode of speaking, and revive those which have been looked upon as obsolete: So that his Authority prevails over Custom itself, which, in Matters of this Nature, was supposed among the *Greeks* and *Romans* to bear the sole Sway.

Checks upon

BUT absolute as his Power is, it is restrained by the same Law that enforces it. The Rule which exacts from his Subjects the Obedience of Children, obliges him to behave to them like a tender Parent. The *Chinese* 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. It is the general Notion of them, that an Emperor ought 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 his Trust, and prove by his Application, Vigilance, and Tenderness for his Subjects, according to their Way of expressing it, 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 they) has *Tyen* placed him on the Throne? Is it not that he may be a Father, and a Mother to us?"

his Authority.

A *Chinese* Emperor is continually studying how to preserve his Reputation. Whenever any Province is afflicted with Calamities, he shuts himself 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 touched 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 employed to render them happy." Making use of many such Expressions, to convince his Subjects how tenderly he loves them. The Emperor *Tong-ching* went so far as to order, that whenever any Part of the Empire was threatened

with a Calamity, he should be informed 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 Fault 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 entirely 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.

BESIDES, the Tranquillity of the Empire depends intirely upon the Prince's Care to see the Law 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 Placemen, who are at a Distance from the Court, they would become so many petty Tyrants in the Provinces. This would raise a Spirit in that numerous People; who would begin to assemble, and soon break-out into a general Revolt. For it is the Character of this Nation, that if the first Sparks of Rebellion be not immediately quenched, they, in a short Time, produce the most dangerous Revolutions; whereof *China* furnishes several Examples. This has taught the Emperors, that nothing but an indefatigable Application, and their treading in the Steps of their wise Ancestors, can secure their Authority^c.

IT may seem incredible, that a Prince should have Time to examine himself the Affairs of so vast an Empire; as well as such Crouds of *Mandarins*, whereof, every Day, some are advanced or marked down as Candidates for Places: But all Things there are so well digested, and the Laws so wise, plain, and well understood, that, leaving no Room for Intricacy or Dispute, two Hours a-Day are sufficient for those Purposes; which, in other Countries, under different Laws and Regulations, might find Employment for thirty Kings: However that be, the famous *Kang-hi* would see every Thing with his own Eyes^d, and trust no-body in choosing Magistrates for his People^e.

^a See before, p. 205. b. ^b *Magalhaens's* Relation of *China*, p. 257, & seq. ^c *Le Comte's* Memoirs of *China*, p. 259, & seqq. *Du Halde's* *China*, p. 242, & seq. ^d 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. ^e *Le Comte*, as before, p. 270. *Du Halde*, as before, p. 70.

Government.
Councils of
State.

ACCORDING to *Le Comte*, the Emperor hath a sovereign Councils; one called the extraordinary Council, composed of Princes of the Blood only, the other the Council in ordinary, which, besides the Princes, has several Ministers of State, named *Ko-lau*, admitted into it. These are they who examine all the Affairs of State, and make their Report to his Majesty; from whom they have their final Determination^a. *Du Halde* says, the great Council is composed of all the Ministers of State, the chief Presidents and Assistants of the six supreme Courts, and three other considerable Tribunals; and that the Privy-Council consists of the three Orders of Officers belonging to the Tribunal called *Nwi-ywen*^b, of which hereafter.

The Imperial
Seal.

ONE of the most considerable Marks of the Imperial Authority is, the Seals; which are fixed to all the public Acts and Decisions of the Tribunals. The Emperor's Seal is about eight Inches square, and of a very fine Jasper, a Stone highly esteemed in *China*; nor is any Person whatever allowed to use it in a Seal: It is called *Yu-she*, and taken out of the *In-yu-shan*, that is, the Mountain of the Agate Seal^c; concerning which the *Chinese* relate several Fables. He dates his Letters, Decrees, and all public Acts, with the Years of his Reign, and Day of the Moon; as for Instance, the sixteenth Year of my Reign, and the sixth of the fourth Moon.

Seals of
Princes.

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 their respective Dignities. 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^d.

And the
Quao.

2. Majesty and State of the Emperor.

Extraordinary Respect paid the Emperor: Reason given for it. Lofty Titles. Marks of Respect. The Omission criminal. Officers of the Palace. Emperor's public Dress, Livery, and Arms: State going abroad: Visiting the Provinces: Process into Tartary: Great Magnificence:

His Procession to the Temple of Tyen in great State. Ambassadors maintained. Caution to European Kings. The Imperial Crown. Emperor's Revenue. Tribute, its Amount: Order in levying, and transmitting it: How consumed in the Empire. Imperial Treasury.

Emperor's
State.

THE Veneration given to the Emperor of *China* is suitable to the absolute Authority with which he is vested. He is to Appearance a Kind of Divinity; the Respect which is paid him amounting to a Sort of Adoration; whereof many Instances occur in the Travels^e. His Words are like so many Oracles; and the least of his Commands as implicitly obeyed as if they came down from Heaven. None are suffered 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. And this Respect descends to all Officers who represent his Majesty.

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. 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, in one of the Courts of his Palace, he is scarce ever present; and is sometimes at a good Distance from the Palace when they pay him their Homages. 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 Rigour 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 seem to dread.

THEY think they ought to give these public Marks of Veneration for their Sovereign, in order to maintain Subordination, and inspire the People, by their Examples, with the 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; *Whang-ti*, August and sovereign Emperor; *Shing-whang*,

^a *Le Comte's Memoirs of China*, p. 263.

^b *Du Halde's China*, p. 248.

^c See Vol. III. p. 542.

^d The same, p. 242, & seq.

^e The same, p. 427, 476, &c.

Government. Holy Emperor; Shau-ting, Palace-Royal; Van-
swi, Ten thousand Years^a. But the Emperor
never uses these Expressions when he speaks of
himself: For, in private, he only says *Ngo*
or I. And when in public, seated upon his
Throne, he employs the Word *Chin*, which sig-
nifies the same, only with this Difference, that
no Person besides can make use of it: Wherein,
says *Magalhaens*, he is more modest than many
of our Princes, who are continually swelling-out
the Catalogues of their affected Titles with new
Additions. The Language of the Palace is all
pompous: They never say, found the Trumpets,
beat the Drums, &c. but *Ta-lwi*, let the Heaven
let loose its Thunder. To give you to understand
that the King is dead, they make use of the
Words *Ping-tyen*, he is gone, a new Guest, into
Heaven: Or of the Word *Pung*, that is to say,
a great Mountain is fallen. Instead of saying
the Gates of the Palace, they say, *Kin-mwen*,
the Gates of Gold; and so of other Things^b.

*Mark of
Respect.*

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. 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 who pass along it must run fast; which
is a Mark of Respect observed in passing before a
Person of Quality: But they have a particular
Way of Running, which is esteemed as graceful
among the *Chinese*, as the making a handsome
Bow in *Europe*. The first Missionaries were
obliged to learn this Ceremony before they saluted
the late Emperor *Kang-hi* in his *Kong*, that is,
the great Hall or Parlour of his own Apartment.
As soon as the Person is entered the Door of the
Hall, he must run in a graceful Manner till he
comes to the Bottom of the Chamber fronting the
Emperor: There he must stand a little while with
both Arms stretched downwards, and, after bend-
ing 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^c.

*The Omission
criminal.*

To be the least wanting in Point of Respect
to the Emperor, is reckoned criminal in *China*.
One of the chief Crimes laid to the Charge of
Adam the Jesuit, by *Yang-quang Syen*, was, that
he had omitted to insert the North Star in a Globe
he had made; insinuating, that his Reason for so
doing was, because he would not acknowledge a
King in *China*; and, consequently, as a Rebel,

deserved Death. For it must be observed, that the
Chinese call the North Star *Ti-sing*, or the King
of the Stars, because immoveable; saying, that
all the other Stars turn-about it, as the Subjects
turn-about the Emperor to do him Service; and
for that Reason they pretend, that his Majesty is
on Earth, what that Star is in Heaven. The
Judges, it seems, were ravished with this ridicu-
lous Accusation, which they looked-on as his
strongest Argument; but were much disappoint-
ed, when on producing the Globe it appeared to
be but half finished, the Southern-Hemisphere
only having been delineated^d.

*Emperor's
Seat.*

THE Officers of the Emperor's Household, Officers of
and those appointed for governing the Affairs of
the Palace, are very numerous. Formerly all
was in the Hands of Eunuchs, of whom there
were no fewer than ten thousand^e, infamous
for their Pride, Avarice, and Wealth. But so
soon as the *Tartars* came to be Masters of the
Empire, they turned-out nine thousand, reserv-
ing only one thousand for the Service of the in-
nermost Retirements of the Palace. Neverthe-
less, by their Tricks and Flatteries, they so
gained the youthful Affection of *Shun-chi*, that
they recovered almost all their former Authority.
However, after his Decease, the four *Tartar* Tu-
tors, or Regents, again deprived them of all their
Credit, and reduced them to three hundred, to
serve the young Monarch, the Queens, his
Mother, and Grandmother, in the most servile
Offices^f. However, the Emperor in private
Life, discovers but little of that Pomp which he
displays when he appears on any public Occasion,
either in his Palace (when he gives Audience,
or receives Homage, of which enough has been
already spoken) or out of it.

HE always appears in public in a long, yellow
Robe, or Vest, that reaches to his Feet: The
Ground of it is Velvet, embroidered all-over
with a great Number of little Dragons with five
Claws on each Foot, all embossed Work. Two
large Dragons, with their Bodies and Tails twirling
one within another, take-up both the Sides and
Forepart of the Breast: They are in a Posture
ready, as it were, to seize with their Teeth, and
Claws, a very fair Pearl, that seems to drop
from the Skies; in Allusion to what the *Chinese*
say, that Dragons play with the Clouds, and
with Pearls. His Bonnet, his Buskins, his Gir-
dle, and in a Word all his Robes, are very mag-
nificent, displaying a great deal of Grandeur and
Majesty^g.

ON this Occasion it must be observed, that
Yellow is the Imperial Livery, every thing that

*Livery, and
Arms.*

^a *Le Comte's Memoirs of China*, p. 249, & seq. *Du Halde's China*, p. 241, & seq. ^b *Magalhaens's Re-
lation of China*, p. 254, 293. ^c *Du Halde*, as before, p. 241, & seq. ^d *Magalhaens*, as before, p. 293.
^e See before, p. 12. ^f *Magalhaens*, as before, p. 291, & seq. ^g The same, p. 289.

Figures from du Halde
p. 242.

An Emperor of China

in his usual dress * in his Robes

A Bonza

p. 207.

A Husband Man

p. 129.



belongs to him being that Colour ^a; and the Dragon with five Claws, called *Long*, his Coat of Arms, first assumed by *Fe-hi*; neither of which any Subject whoever dares wear, without his Leave: But any-body may adorn his Habit with a Dragon having four Claws, called *Mang* ^b.

State going abroad.

THE Emperor seldom stirs-out of his Palace, except it be to hunt, to take the Air, or divert himself in his Parks and Gardens; to sacrifice in the Temple of *Tyen*, or to visit the Provinces. On these Occasions he is always attended by a great Number of Lords of his Court, and Guards all on Horseback: Every Thing glitters in his Train, the Arms, the Harness of the Horses, the Streamers, the Umbrellas, the Fans, and all the other Ensigns of the Imperial Dignity. If it be only to hunt, or take the Air, the whole Cavalcade consists of about two thousand Persons. The Princes and the Lords go foremost, followed by the *Ko-lau*, 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, embroidered with golden Dragons: These are followed by twenty-four Umbrellas of the same Colour, and as many Fans, which are very curious, and rich. The Life-Guards ^c are cloathed in Yellow, each wearing a Kind of Headpiece, and in their Hands a Sort of Javelin, or Half-pike gilt; on the Top of which is the Figure of the Sun, a Crescent, or the Head of some Animal. Twelve Footmen dressed in the same Livery, 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 Music, of Trumpets, and other Sorts of Instruments, accompanies the Emperor, playing all the While: A great Number of Pages and Footmen close the Procession.

Visiting the Provinces.

THIS was their Pomp formerly: But now that the Emperors appear oftener abroad, they are attended with a smaller Retinue. When *Kang-hi* 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 a Croud of trusty Officers: But then there was such a Number of Troops on the Road, that he seemed to march in the Midst of an Army. He made but short Stages, stopping, from Time to Time, to examine ^d Things himself, and to be informed exactly of whatever occurred: But in his Return to *Pe-king*, his Bark proceeded Day and Night ^e.

Emperor's State.

Progress into Tartary.

Great Magnificence.

His Procession to

WHEN he went into *Tartary*, to take the Diversion of Hunting, he then actually marched at the Head of an Army, as if he was going to conquer an Empire. He carried along with him no fewer than forty thousand Men, who endured a great deal of Hardship, whether the Weather be hot, or cold; because they incamp in a very inconvenient Manner: Nay, and it sometimes happens, that, in one of these toilsome Huntings, there die more Horses than he would lose in a pitched Battle; but he counts the Destruction of ten thousand Horses as nothing.

THE Jesuits accompanying him thither say, that his Magnificence never displays itself more than on this Occasion: There are sometimes thirty or forty petty *Tartar* Kings who come to address him, or pay him Tribute: Some of them bear the Name of *Han* ^e, or *Khân*; that is to say, Emperor: They are all, like the *Mandarins* of the first Order, his Pensioners: He gives them his Daughters in Marriage; and to make them the more sure to his Interest, declares himself their Protector against all the Western *Tartars*, who often annoy them, and dare even attack *China* itself. During the Time they are in the Emperor's Camp, the Court is wonderfully sumptuous, and the Tents of the *Mandarins* rich and glorious to Excess ^f.

^a Even to the Paper he uses, or is used in the Orders, and Books that come out in his Name, *Navarette*, p. 50. ^b *Le Comte's* Memoirs of *China*, p. 140. ^c *Navarette*, p. 12, accuses the Jesuit *Romanus* of Falshood, in asserting that they consist of seventy thousand Men: Likewise *Mendoza*, for saying, that ten thousand guard the Palace on the Outside continually, besides those who wait in the Courts, at the Gates, &c. ^d *Magalhaens's* Relation of *China*, p. 334. ^e *Le Comte's* Memoirs of *China*, p. 170. ^f *Du Halde's* *China*, p. 247. ^g In *Le Comte*, *Han*, or *Cham*. ^h *Le Comte*, as before, p. 170, & seq. ⁱ This Procession is related from *Magalhaens*, both by *Le Comte*, p. 171, and *Du Halde*, p. 247.

Government.

The Temple
of Tyen,In great
State.Ambassadors
maintained.

beaux 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 with long gilded Sticks) painted with divers Figures of Dragons, Birds, and other Animals. Twenty-four Umbrellas, richly adorned; and a Boufet carried by Officers of the Kitchen, and furnished with Gold Utensils; such as Basons, Ewers, &c.

AFTER these had marched in good Order, the Emperor followed on Horseback, pompously dressed, with a grave, majestic Air: On each Side of him was carried a rich Umbrella, large enough to shade him, and his Horse. He was surrounded with ten white led Horses (whose Saddles and Bridles were enriched with Gold, and precious Stones) an hundred Spear-men, and the Pages of his Bed-Chamber.

NEXT to these appeared, in the same Order, all the Princes of the Blood, the Regulos, 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 embroidered with Flowers, and Stars of Gold and Silver. Then thirty-six Men carried an open Chair, followed by another that was close, and much larger, supported by an hundred and twenty Chairmen. Lastly, came four large Chariots, two drawn by Elephants, and the other two by Horses, covered with embroidered Houfings; each Chair and Chariot had a Company of an hundred and fifty Men following it for its Guard. This Procession was closed with two thousand civil, and as many military Officers, in magnificent Habits of Ceremony.

EVERY Ambassador is maintained at the Emperor's Expence, who furnishes him with all Manner of Provisions, Horses, Litters, and Barks. He is lodged in the Royal Court of the Palace, whither the Emperor sends him, every two Days, a Feast, ready-dressed, out of his own Kitchen, as a Mark of his Favour and Good-will. *Magalhaens*, who was lodged for two Years in the Royal Inn at *Pe-king*, observ-

ed, that the Emperor studies to receive and entertain all Strangers with Splendor and Magnificence; although, through the Avarice of his Officers, this Civility is not always performed with the same Decency and Regularity.

ON this Occasion, however, it may be proper to observe, that 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 registered among the Tributaries. The chief of which are, those of *Korea*, *Japan*, of the *Mohammedans*, in whose Dominions they put *Samar-ul-ban*, or *Samarkand*; *Pan-ko-la*, or *Bengal*, which they place to the East of *In-tu*, or *Indostân*; lastly, *Me-te-na*, or *Medina*: For according to one of the *Chinese* Geographers, *Mo-han-mu-te*, or *Mohammed*, in the Reign of *Ming-hyon-te*, sent an Ambassador to pay Tribute. The *Russians* had a great Struggle to get this Term changed in their Favour; and although it was changed, yet the Embassy was considered as a Tender of Homage. The same Custom prevails in all the other Parts of the *Indies*. Not that the *Indians* really believe them to be such, but they will have it so to flatter their own Vanity: And hence often they take Occasion to despise the Kings of *Europe*. The *Chinese* Geography is adapted to this fine Notion; for supposing the Earth to be a Square, they pretend *China* takes-up the greater Part of it, and place the rest of Mankind in the Corners.

WE must not forget to mention the Imperial Crown, which the Emperor wears upon certain Occasions. *Navarette*, who saw it in certain Temples, says it is beautiful and mysterious: Its Shape is round, and some of them hang at it twelve Strings of Pearls. Two of them over the Eyes, signifying, that the Emperor's Eyes must be shut, that he may not be deceived by those who have Causes before him; and that he will neither favour the Rich, nor pity the Poor; nor be led by Affection for his Friend, or Hatred to his Enemy.

FOUR Strings of Pearls fall-over the Ears, to shew that the Judges Ears are to be shut against the Intreaties of the great, and Tears of the poorer Suitors; and that he must only give Ear to Reason, Law, and Justice.

THE last four Strings hang behind, to express with how much Judgment, Foresight, Premedi-

^a *Magalhaens's Relation of China*, p. 334.

^b The same, p. 101. *Du Halde's China*, &c.

^c In this they think they do them a great Honour, as reckoning all other Nations Barbarians.

^d Orig. *Hien-bien*;

others, for *Hien*, write *Hween* and *Huen*. This seems to be the same with *Hien-tsong*, sixth Emperor of the

Dynasty of *Tang*, who began his Reign in the Year 712, after Christ; but *Mohammed* had been dead above

eighty Years before. ^e *Du Halde's China*, p. 46.

Government.

Emperor's Revenue,

Paid chiefly

In Commodities.

tation, and Stayedness, Princes ought to weigh their Resolutions; and how they are to be versed in the Affairs of the Government^a.

THE Revenue of the Emperor is exceeding great: But it is not easy to say exactly what it 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, Confiscations, &c.^b

THE Subsidies, which the Laws grant, are so considerable, that, were the *Chinese* less industrious, or their Lands less fruitful, this Empire, like the rest of the *Indian* Kingdoms, would be only a Society of poor and miserable Wretches^c.

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 fifty-eight Millions of Inhabitants paid this Tax^d. The Emperor maintains ten thousand Barks, for bringing to Court the Tribute in Commodities, he receiving annually from the Provinces forty Million one hundred and fifty-five thousand four hundred and ninety Sacks of Rice, Wheat, and Millet; each Sack weighing an hundred and twenty Pounds: One Million three hundred and fifteen thousand nine hundred and thirty-seven Loaves of Salt, weighing fifty Pound each: Two hundred and ten thousand four hundred and seventy Sacks of Beans; and twenty-two Million five hundred and ninety-eight thousand five hundred and ninety-seven Bundles of

for his Horses: In wrought Silks, and an hundred and ninety-one thousand five hundred and thirty Pound Weight, each Pound an hundred and twenty Ounces: Four hundred and nine thousand eight hundred and ninety-six Pound of unwrought Silk: Three hundred and ninety-six thousand four hundred and eighty Pieces of Calico: Five hundred and sixty thousand two hundred and eighty Pieces of Linen Cloth: Besides vast Quantities of Velvet, Satin, 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 *Chinese* Money, to near two hundred Millions of *Lyangs*, or Ounces of Silver, each

a the Value of six Shillings and Eight-pence *English*^e. It is this prodigious Income which makes the Emperor so powerful, and enables him, by his Standing-Armies, to keep his People in Awe.

As the Lands are surveyed, and the Number of Families, as well as what is due to the Emperor, is known, it is easy to compute what each City ought to pay yearly^f. 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 Bastonado and Imprisonment; or else by billeting on them the old Men maintained in each Town on the Emperor's Charity, who remain in their Houses till they have consumed as much as their Arrears amount to.

THESE Officers are accountable for what they receive to the *Pu-ching-tse*, or Treasurer-General of the Province, who is next to the Vice-Roy; to whom, at certain Times, they are obliged to remit the Money they collect. They send it on Mules, each carrying two thousand *Lyang*, in two wooden Vessels like long Barrels, which are secured with Iron Cramps. The *Pu-ching-tse* accounts to the *Hu-pu*, or supreme Tribunal, which superintends the Finances; and the *Hu-pu* accounts to the Emperor. Nothing is better ordered than the Manner of imposing and collecting the Tributes, allowing for some little Frauds in the under Officers.

GREAT Part of the Imperial Commodities are consumed in the Provinces, in Pensions, and in maintaining the Poor, especially old People, and Invalids, who are very numerous; in the Salary of the *Mandarins*, Payment of the Forces, public Buildings, maintaining Ambassadors on the Road, &c. and the Overplus is carried to *Peking*, to defray the Expences of the Palace, and the Metropolis; where the Emperor maintains one hundred and sixty thousand 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 deli-

Emperor's State.

Order in levying.

And transmitting it.

How consumed.

^a Navarette's Description of China, p. 20.

^b Du Halde's China, p. 244.

^c Le Comte's Memoirs of

China, p. 254. ^d See, before, the Division of the People.

^e Which makes sixty-five Millions eight hundred

and thirty-three thousand, three hundred and thirty-three Pounds, six Shillings and Eight-pence. By Le Comte's Reasoning, it amounts to no more than twenty-one Million six hundred thousand, including twenty-two Million of *Lyangs* in Specie.

^f Le Comte observes, that they are not troubled in China with such Swarms of Officers, and Commissioners, as in Europe.

Government. vered them very plentifully^a. 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. The Troops, which the Emperor pays, amount in all to above seven hundred and seventy thousand: He likewise keeps five hundred and sixty-five thousand Horses to remount the Cavalry; as well as for the Use of Posts, and Couriers, to carry his Orders, and those of the Tribunals, into the Provinces.

In the Empire.

ALTHOUGH what comes by Water from the Southern Provinces, is alone sufficient to answer the Expence at *Pe-king*; yet they are so jealous lest the Revenue should, at any Time, fall short of the Disbursements, that in that City there are Magazines of Rice before-hand, sufficient for three Years^b.

ial Treasury.

THE Imperial Treasure, or Revenue, is kept in the Tribunal of *Hu-pu* (which signifies the Treasury) hereafter described: Besides which, there are two Palaces at Court, set-apart for the Jewels and Rarities^c; which *Magalhaens* thinks is the largest and richest Treasure of the Kind in the World; in Regard the *Chinese* Emperors have for above four thousand Years been always adding to, without taking any Thing from it. For although the Succession has been often changed, yet none of the Emperors ever touched either this, or the other Treasure above-mentioned, on account of the rigorous Punishments which the new Family would have inflicted on them, and all their Race, for such a Sacrilege. However, as the Commentator on that Author observes, an Exception must be made to Accidents by Fire, or Plunder by an Enemy: For in the Year 1644, the Rebel *Li-kung*, not daring to wait in *Pe-king* for the *Tartars*, spent eight Days in removing all that was valuable in the Palace^d.

3. The Emperor's Wives and Children, Kindred, and Burial.

Emperors's Wives: His Marriages: His three Queens. The Empress. Pomp observed in proclaiming her. The Emperor's Sons, and Daughters: His Kindred Male, and Female. Idle Prince punished. The Emperor's Funeral. Im-

perial Sepulchre. Funeral of the Empress. Cruel Custom abolished.

Emperor's Wives.

ACCORDING to *Le Comte*, the Number of the Emperor's Wives, or Concubines, is not easily known; it being very great, and never fixed. They never were seen by any one, but himself; and scarce durst a Man enquire about them^e. But *Magalhaens* says, he has three thousand Concubines. They are called *Kong-nyu*, or *Ladies of the Palace*: But they for whom the Emperor has the greatest Affection, are stiled *Ti*, or almost *Queens*. When he pleases, he bestows upon them Jewels, which they wear in their Heads, or upon their Breasts, and a Piece of yellow Satin, or Damask, which they hang before their Doors, and causes them to be respected above all the rest. These Ladies have also their particular Titles and Dignities, and are divided into several Classes, or Orders, distinguished by their Habits and Dresses, and other Marks of their Degrees, like the *Mandarins*. Their Sons, as also those of the half Queens, are looked upon as Natural Children^f.

WHEN the Emperor, or the Heir of the Crown are pleased to marry, the Tribunal of Ceremonies employ Matrons, of good Repute, to chuse out twenty the most beautiful, and most accomplished Virgins, that are to be found, without Regard to their Family, or Parentage. This done, they are carried, in close Sedans, to the Palace, where, for some Days, they are examined by the Queen-Mother; or, if there be no such Person living, by the principal Lady of the Court; who orders them to run, on purpose to find-out whether they have any ill Smell, or Defect about them. After several Trials, she makes Choice of one, whom she sends to the Emperor, or Prince, with a great deal of Ceremony, accompanied with Feastings, Distribution of Favours, and a general Pardon for all Criminals of the Empire, unless Rebels, and Robbers. After this she is crowned with a splendid Pomp, and at the same Time she has bestowed upon her many Titles, and large Revenues. As for the other nineteen Virgins, his Majesty marries them to the Sons of great Lords, if there be so many who want Wives: If not, he sends the Remainder back to their Parents, with Dowries sufficient to marry them advantageously.

THIS was the Custom of the *Chinese* Monarchs.

^a This Custom is not unlike what was practised formerly in the Court of the Kings of *France*; where Bread, Wine, Meat, 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, belonging to the same Master. *Du Halde*, p. 245.

Chino, p. 244.

^c See before, p. 19. a.

^d *Magalhaens's Relation of China*, p. 311, and 314.

Comte, as before, p. 60. ^e *Magalhaens*, as before, p. 291.

But

His three
Queens.

But at present the *Tartar* Emperors make Choice of the Daughters of some one of the Kings of the Western *Tartars*, for their Wives and Queens^a. Of these last there are three. These are in a far higher Degree of Honour than the rest, having each their Lodgings, their Court, their Ladies of Honour, and other Female Attendants. Nothing is wanting that can contribute to their Diversion: Their Furniture, Cloaths, Attendants, being all rich and magnificent^b. While *Navarette* was at *Pe-king*, the Emperor sent the Dowry and Present to the Daughter of one of the four Governors, whom he afterwards married. He sent her an hundred Tables full of several Things, and Sorts of Meat, two thousand Ducats in Pigs of Silver, one thousand in Gold, one hundred Pieces of Silk of several Colours, with Silver and Gold Flowers, and one hundred of Cotton^c. The Sons of these three Queens are all legitimate, with this Difference only, that the Sons of the first are preferred to succeed in the Empire^d. This first Queen resides in the Imperial Palace with the Emperor, and has the Title of Empress; the other two in separate Palaces^e.

The Empress.

THE Form observed in declaring the Choice which the Emperor *Yong-ching*^f made of one of his Wives for Empress, was as follows. Immediately two of the most considerable Doctors, who are Members of the great Council, were deputed to make the Compliment, and remit it to the Tribunal of Rites; who, as soon as they received it, prepared themselves for the Ceremony. On the Day appointed in the Morning, there was carried to the first, or Eastern Gate^g of the Palace, a Kind of square Table, on the four Corners of which were erected four Pillars, which supported a sort of Dome: This little portable structure was set-off with yellow Silk, and other Ornaments. At the prefixed Hour, a neat little Book (wherein was written the Compliment that was composed for the Emperor, with the Names of the Princes, Grandees, and those of the supreme Courts, who came in a Body to perform this Ceremony) being placed 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 Prime-Ministers, the Doctors of the first Rank, the Presidents of the supreme Courts, and the other great Officers, *Tartarian* and *Chinese*, as well civil as military,

all magnificently dressed in their Habits of Ceremony, followed the Table on Foot. Several musical Instruments made a very agreeable Concert, the Drums and Trumpets resounding from different Parts of the Palace.

Emperor's
Family.

THEY began the Procession; and when they were near the Gate, called *U-mwen*, the Princes joined them, placing themselves at their Head. In this Manner they walked together as far as the great Hall of Audience^h; which having entered, they took the Compliment off the portable Table, and placed it on another, prepared in the Middle of the Hall. Then all being ranged in handsome Order, they made their usual Reverences before the Imperial Throne, as if his Majesty had been there himself. After this, 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 carried to the Emperor, he appeared, and ascended the Throne; when immediately two Doctors of the first Rank, having advanced near the Table, made several Reverences on their Knees: 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 finished it, and retired to their Places, the Emperor, descending from his Throne, returned 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-mentioned, 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, performed 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 arrived near the Empress's Palace, her first Eunuch presenting himself, the Mistress of the Ceremonies addressed him in this Manner: "I humbly beseech the Empress, in Behalf of this Assembly, to condescend to come-out of the Palace, and place herself on the Throne." The Womens Compliment is not carried 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

^a *Magalhães's Relation of China*, p. 308, & seq. *Le Comte's Memoirs of China*, p. 60. ^b *Le Comte*, as before, p. 61. ^c *Navarette's Description of China*, p. 69. ^d *Magalhães*, as before, p. 291. ^e See *Le Comte*, p. 14. b. and 19. d. ^f The late Emperor, Successor of *Kang-hi*. ^g For the great Gate facing the South is never opened, but for the Emperor, or for the Ceremonies which relate to his Ancestors. ^h Where he gives Audience to Ambassadors, and preaches, or delivers Instructions two or three Times a Year.

Government.

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 Courtesies, like those made by the Women of *Europe*, which is the Fashion in *China*. This Reverence is called *Van-fu*^a, as much as to say, *All Happiness attend ye*. Then they fell on their Knees, and knocked their Foreheads once against the Ground, as the Tribunal of Rites had prescribed: This done, they rose, and stood-up in the same Order with profound Silence, while the Empress descending from the Throne withdrew^b.

The Emperor's Sons,

THE Emperor's Sons, before they are married, reside in the Imperial Palace; but, when married, are usually sent to some of the principal Cities of the Provinces, where they have Palaces built to receive them. All these Palaces, of which the Author had seen three^c, though much less than that of *Pe-king*, were vastly large, beautiful, rich, and surprizingly magnificent. They contained, some ten, some twelve, some more Apartments, with separate Palaces on each Side, and a double Inclosure of Walls. When the Emperor sent his second, or third Son, to one of these Palaces, he gave him the Title of *King*. Thus he gave the Title of *Cho-vang*, or King of *Cho*, to him whom he sent to *Ching-tu-fu*, the Metropolis of *Se-chwen*; because this Province was anciently called *Cho*. Each of these Kings (or Regulos) had a thousand Eunuchs to attend him, to take Care of his Affairs, and receive his Revenues: But these Kings had nothing to do in the public Affairs of the Province. Nevertheless the *Mandarins* were obliged to repair, four Times a Year, to the young King's Palace, to pay their Homage to him in the same Manner as they do to the Emperor at *Pe-king*; only with this Difference, that they give the Emperor the Title of *Van-fu*, or *ten thousand Years*; but to these Princes, no more than that of *Syen-fu*, or *a thousand Years*.

And Daughters,

WITH REGARD to the Marriage of the Emperor's Daughters, during the Reign of the *Chinese* Monarchs, the Tribunal of Ceremonies picked out certain young Gentlemen, handsome, and ingenious, of the Age of fourteen, or fifteen: From these his Majesty chose one for his Daughter, or Sister, to whom he gave a vast Dowry in Land and Jewels. These were called *Tu-ma*, or the Emperor's Kindred by his Wives. They could not be *Mandarins*; yet they became very

a powerful, and were great Oppressors of the People. Before they had any Children, they were obliged, every Morning and Evening, to fall upon their Knees before their Wives, and knock their Heads three Times against the Ground: But so soon as they became Fathers, they were exempted from performing that Ceremony. The present *Tartar* Emperor marries his Sisters, and his Daughters, to the Sons of great Lords, who are not of the Blood-Royal; or to those of the *Khans* of the Western *Tartars*^d.

Empress's Palace.

ALL the Emperor's Kindred of the Male Line, whether they be great Lords or poor, and though fifteen or sixteen Generations distant in Blood, have nevertheless some Pension, according to their Dignities and Proximity of Alliance. They have all the Privilege to paint their Houses and their Furniture with Red. But the preceding Family having reigned for two hundred and seventy-seven Years, the Descendants from it multiplied to such a Pass, that the Revenues of the most remote Degrees being too small to live-on, several of them were reduced to follow Trades for their Subsistence. When *Magalhaens* entered first into the Empire, he met with one of them, in the Capital of *Kyang-fi*, who was a common Porter; and, to distinguish himself from the rest of his Companions, carried the Instruments of his Profession at his Back, very bright, and varnished over with Red. There were an infinite Number of them, in the Reign of the preceding Family, dispersed all over the Empire; who, abusing the Privileges of their Birth, committed a thousand Insolences and Extortions upon the poor People: But they were all utterly extirpated by the *Tartars*. The Kindred of the present Emperor are all great Lords, and live at Court: But if their Dominion long endures, their Numbers multiplying, they will become no less burthenfome than the former^e. *Navarette* says, that the Palaces of the petty Kings of the Royal Blood are covered with glazed yellow Tiles; and that the Emperor stiles these and his other Kindred *Kin-chi-pau-tse*; that is, *Golden Branches, and precious Leaves*^f.

THE Emperor's Kindred, in the Female Line, are of two Sorts. The first, they who descend from his Daughters. These are not looked-upon as Princes of the Blood, or the Emperor's Kindred; nor have they any Right of Succession to the Crown, though they should have several Heirs Male: Which Custom is also observed among the People. The second Sort, are the Fathers, Brothers, Uncles, and other Kindred of the Queen;

His Kindred, Male,

^a *Van*, or *Wan*, ten thousand; and *Fo*, *Happiness*, or *Good-Luck*. ^b *Du Halde's China*, p. 23. & seq.
^c In *Fu-chang fu*, *Ching-tu fu*, and *Hang-cheng fu*; the two first Capitals of the Provinces of *Hu-quan* and *Se-chwen*; the third a chief City of *Shen si*. He mentions several other Places where there are such Palaces.
^d *Magalhaens's Relation of China*, p. 307, & seqq. ^e The same, p. 238. ^f *Navarette's Description of China*, p. 22.

Emperor's Son-in-law, their Fathers, Brothers, Uncles, and other Kindred. Out of these two Sorts his Majesty makes Choice of some of the most considerable to compose the Tribunal of *Whang-sin*, as before-mentioned. But this second Sort of Kindred was extirpated also by the *Tartars* ^a.

Idle Prince punished.

THE Emperor has a watchful Eye over the Behaviour of the Princes of the Blood; and punishes them severely when he thinks their Conduct not suitable to their Dignity. One of them happening to be a mighty Lover of Sports, especially Cock-fighting, (a common Diversion in the East) the Emperor, who could not bear to see him spend his whole Time in such low Diversions, told him of it: But, finding this of no Effect, he resolved to make an Example of him; and did therefore declare, that he had forfeited his Title and Honour of Prince: He was, besides, deprived of his Retinue, his Salary and his Quality, until he should, by some great and extraordinary Action, make it appear to the whole Empire, that he was not unworthy of the Blood from whence he sprang ^b.

The Emperor's Funeral.

WE come now to the last Affair, relating to the grand Monarch of *China*; which is, his Funeral. So soon as the Emperor is dead, they set him in a rich Chair, which is carried by sixteen Eunuchs into the Middle of the Royal Hall of the Palace of *Fin-chi Tsyen*, or *Palace of Mercy and Prudence* ^c, where they lay the Body on a rich Bed; and soon after, with a World of Ceremonies, and Funeral Music, they put it into a Coffin, which is made of three thousand Crowns: It is made of *Peacock Wood* ^d; so called, because the Lines and Veins of it form certain Figures, which resemble the Eyes in a Peacock's Tail. The *Chineses* affirm, that this Wood preserves the Bodies from corrupting; for the Coffin is usually left for several Months, and sometimes Years, in the same Place. The Funeral Pomp is performed in this Palace with so many Ceremonies, and such incredible Magnificence, that it would require a long Description ^e. After this, they carry the Body to be interred in the Imperial Wood; for so they call the Place where the Imperial Sepulchres are: The Grandeur of which, the Palaces, the Wealth and Ornaments that belong to it, the Walls that environ it, the *Mandarins* and other Servants that are employed in continual Attendance, and the Soldiers that guard it, would well deserve a particular Relation ^f.

Imperial Sepulchre.

ALL Men were obliged formerly to wear three Years Mourning when the Emperor died; but of late, this has been changed into a few Days. *Navarette* was in *China* at the Time of the Mourning for the Father of *Kang-hi*, which lasted four or five Days ^g. During these Days, the *Mandarins* of every City and Town met in some public Place, where they fasted, wept, and performed the Ceremonies usual when a dead Body is present ^h.

Emperor's Funeral.

THE Account given us of the Funeral of that Emperor's Mother is more particular: 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 in Weeping, or at least the Appearance thereof: Several of them passed the Night there, sitting in the open Air, though 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 Tablet; their Caps being stripped of their red Silk, and all other Ornaments. When her Corpse was carried to the Place where she was to lie in public State, the Emperor ordered, that it should pass through the Gates of the Palace; thereby to discountenance the superstitious Notion of the *Chinese*, who make new Doors to their Houses for carrying-out the Bodies of their Relations; and then close them up again, to prevent renewing their Grief too often by a Remembrance of the Deceased every Time they passed through them. 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 carried to the Imperial Burying-place ⁱ.

FOUR young Ladies, who had served her affectionately, had taken their Attire, according to the *Tartar* Usage, in order to go and sacrifice themselves before their Mistress's Corpse; but the Emperor prevented so barbarous a Practice. He likewise prohibited, for the future, another extravagant Custom among that People, of burning the Riches, and even sometimes Domestic of great Men, along with their Bodies, on the Funeral Pile ^k. We shall conclude this Section with observing, that the Successor never sees the Wives and Concubines of the deceased Emperors, or so much as enters their Palaces: Such is their Respect for their Predecessors ^l.

Cruel Custom abolished.

^a *Magalhães's Relation of China*, p. 239, & seq. ^b *Le Comte's Memoirs of China*, p. 251. ^c In the Emperor's Palace. See before, p. 19. a.

^d It grows in the Province of *Se-chwen*. ^e The Funerals of the People, and great Men, already described, p. 91, & seqq. give some Idea of these Ceremonies.

^f *Magalhães*, as before, p. 306. ^g Probably, a Mistake, for forty, or fifty Days. ^h *Navarette's Description of China*, p. 73.

ⁱ This Burying Place is at the great Wall to the North-East by East of *Pe-king*.

^k *Du Halde's China*, p. 308. ^l *Magalhães*, as before, p. 310.

SECT. IV.

Officers in the Government, for Civil Affairs.

The Quân, or Mandarins: Nine Orders of them. Titles of Honour: How distributed, in the Emperor's Privy Council. Officers, civil and military. Badges of their Orders. Of the Princes: Their different Habits: Their Places: Badges of their Offices: Other Marks of Distinction.

The Quân, or Mandarins.

IT hath already been observed, that no Person can enjoy any Post whatever in the Government of China, without having merited it by his Learning and Abilities. As soon as they are employed in the Service of the Empire, they are qualified with the Title of *Quân*, which signifies *Præpositus*, or a Person set before others. The Portuguese have stiled them *Mandarins* or *Commanders*; which Term other European Nations have generally adopted; and to this they have the Title of *Lau-ya* or *Lord* annexed, to denote their Nobility.

Nine Orders of them.

THERE are nine Orders of the *Quân* or *Mandarins*; which are in so perfect a Subordination to each other, that nothing can be compared to the Respect and Submission which the *Mandarins* of an inferior Order bear to those who are of a superior.

To obtain any of these, according to *Magalbaens*, a Person is first made a third Assistant to the *Chi-hyen*, (or Governor of a City of the third Rank;) and is called *Tyen-tse*, being then of no Order. But, if he acquit himself well for three Years, then the Governor of the City gives him a Certificate to the Governor of the City whereon it depends; and the Governor of that City to the Governor of the Capital of the Province. This last Governor certifies to the two grand Tribunals of his City, and they to the Vice-Roy. The Vice-Roy writes to the grand Tribunal of the *Mandarins*, (at *Pe-king*) and they to the Counsellors of State, who inform the Emperor; and by him generally the Candidate is made a *Mandarin* of the eighth or ninth Order^a.

Titles of Honour,

EACH of these nine Orders is divided into two Degrees: Thus, such a one is said to be a *Mandarin* of the second Degree of the first, second, or third Order; or else, of the first Degree of the first, second, or third Order. These are no more than Titles which the Emperor gives them, without any respect to their Employments. For though usually they are of Orders higher or lower, according to the Dignity of their Employments, yet that is no general Rule; because sometimes

a it happens, that to reward a Person in an inferior Office, the Emperor makes him a *Mandarin* of the first or second Order. On the other Hand, to punish a Person whose Office belongs to the superior *Mandarins*, he degrades him to a *Mandarin* of some inferior Order^b.

THE Manner how the *Mandarins* of these nine Orders are employed in the Government of Affairs, appears, in some Measure, from the Distribution made of them in the Tribunal of the Emperor's Privy-Council, called *Nwi-ywen*, or *The Inner Court*, because within the Imperial Palace at *Pe-king*. This Tribunal, or Court, is composed of three Classes of *Mandarins*: The first Class consists of the *Ko-lau*^c, or Ministers of State; who, with the chief Presidents of the supreme Tribunals, and principal Officers of the Army, make the first Order of *Mandarins*. 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 equalent to Earls, Dukes, &c. The Number of the *Ko-lau*'s is not fixed; but depends on the Will of the Prince, who chuses them at Pleasure out of the Tribunals: However, they are seldom more than five or six^d; and one of them is commonly more distinguished than the rest, and stiled *Shew-tyang*: 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 adorned, each of the *Ko-lau*'s is assigned one; in which he examines whatever 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*. Their Business in this Tribunal 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 presented 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* of the second Class are, as it were, Assistants to the former; and out of their

^a *Magalbaens's Relation of China*, p. 245.

Kyu-ywen, perhaps by Mistake.

^b The same, p. 196, & seq. ^c Called in the Tartar Language *Aliagata*

that they used to be seven, and that since the Accession of the present Family the Number is doubled, by adding seven Tartars. They sit at a round Table.

^d Called before, p. 14.

^e *Navarette* says, p. 18,

Num-

Number are appointed the Vice-Roys of Provinces, and the Presidents of other Tribunals. They bear the Title of *Ta-hyo-tse*, that is, *Literati* or *Magistrates* of approved Capacity; and are taken out of the second or third Order of *Mandarins*. Those of the third Class in this Tribunal, who are called *Chong-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*. In this Tribunal the principal Part of the prime Affairs are examined and determined; unless the Emperor assembles the great Council for that Purpose ^a.

Officers, Civil and Military.

THESE *Quân*, or Placemen, are properly distinguished into Civil and Military. The first Sort are by some called *Literary Mandarins*, and divided into Civil and Criminal: But this Division tends to breed Confusion, since they are all in Effect of the literary Kind; as rising by Study, though of different Natures; passing their Examinations, and taking their Degrees. If there be any therefore to whom the Title of *Literary Quân* may be appropriated, it is those who preside over the *Literati* or Students in every City, where there is a Tribunal or Court for the Purpose.

THE Number of Civil *Mandarins*, dispersed through the Empire, amounts to thirteen thousand six hundred and forty-seven; and that of the Military, eighteen thousand five hundred and twenty; in all, thirty-two thousand one hundred and sixty-seven. Four Times a Year is printed an exact Catalogue of them; wherein their Names, Titles, Country, and the Times when they took their Degree, are mentioned ^b. According to *Nawarette*, there are two thousand four hundred at Court; where every Province has its *Mandarin*, who is in the Nature of its Protector, and Solicitor-General ^c.

Badges of

THE nine Orders of *Mandarins*, both Civil and Military, are distinguished by the following Marks, according to the Relation of *Adam Schaal* the Jesuit ^d. Those of the first Order wear, at the Top of their Cap or Bonnet, which ends in a very flat Cone, a Carbuncle encased with Gold, and a Pearl at the Bottom before. Upon their Girdles also glitter four Stones, highly esteemed in *China*, encased with Gold, and cut into long Squares, three Fingers broad, and four in Length ^e.

THE *Mandarins* of the second Order wear, at the Top of their Caps, a large Ruby; and another which is less at the Bottom. Their Girdles are adorned with Hemispheres of Gold, embellished with Flowers of the same Metal, and a Carbuncle in the Middle. They of the third Order have, at the Point of their Caps, a Carbuncle encased with Gold, and a Sapphire at the Bottom: Their Girdles are set with Hemispheres, adorned with Flowers only. The Badge of the fourth Order is a Sapphire, at the Top of their Cap; and at the Bottom another, but less in Size, having, upon their Girdles, plain Hemispheres of Gold. The *Mandarins* of the fifth Order wear only a Sapphire in their Caps; in other Things, like those of the fourth Order. They of the sixth, at the Top of their Bonnets, wear a Crystal neatly shaped; and at the Bottom a Sapphire: Their Girdles being covered with Pieces of Rhinoceros's Horns set in Gold. They of the seventh Order, have nothing but an Ornament of Gold, without any Jewel at the Bottom, having their Girdles covered with thin Pieces of Rhinoceros's Horn. The *Mandarins* of the ninth Order wear a Bonnet of Satin purpled with Silver, and Pieces of Buffalo's Horns, incased in Silver, upon their Girdles. Officers Civil.

THE great Lords, who are above all the nine Orders of the *Mandarins*, are distinguished from the first Order only by the Stones in their Girdles, which are round, with a Sapphire in the Middle. The *Regulos*, instead of a Carbuncle, wear, at the Top of their Bonnets, a Ruby, adorned with Pearls, and a Flower of Gold fastened at the lower-End of their Bonnets, that come-over their Foreheads. The Emperor himself wears a Bonnet of the same Form, and at the Point of it a Pearl as big as a Pigeon's Egg, with several other lesser Pearls dangling underneath: His Girdle also dazzles the Eye with the precious Stones, and Pearls, with which it is covered. The literary Graduates also have their distinctive Marks. The *Licentiates*, or Masters of Arts, wear, upon the Top of their Heads, a Dove of Gold, or gilt upon a Bodkin of the same Metal, with flat Pieces of Rhinoceros's Horns upon their Girdles. The Bachelors of Arts wear the same Doves, but of Silver only, and Plates of Buffalo's Horns upon their Girdles. Of the Principal Orders.

THE several Orders of *Mandarins* are distinguished likewise by their Habits. The Civil *Mandarins* of the three first Orders, and the Their different Habits.

^a *Magalhaens's Relation of China*, p. 197, & seq. *Du Halde's China*, p. 248. ^b *Magalhaens*, as before, p. 249. *Du Halde*, as before, p. 251. ^c *Nawarette's Description of China*, p. 19. ^d This Account is taken from the Notes added by the French Editor of *Magalhaens*. ^e This Stone, called by the *Chinese*, *Tu-tse*, is brought from the Kingdom of *Kashghar* by the *Mohammedan* Merchants, who come from thence to *China* every three Years under Pretence of an Embassy. It is somewhat greenish, and resembles a Jasper, only that it is harder, somewhat transparent, and inclining to white. So says *Magalhaens*: But we find a Mine of the same Stone in *China*.

Government. Military of the four first, are distinguished from a the inferior Orders by their Garments, enriched with Figures of Dragons. They also wear a certain Sort of Surtouts, embroidered with Birds and Beasts of different Kinds, according to their different Orders: But as they are not bound to wear these Surtouts constantly, especially in Summer, by Reason of the excessive Heats, they are not such sure Marks of Distinction, as those before-mentioned, which none can quit, or change, without a Breach of the Laws: The same Laws b have regulated the Places, which every one is to take, when they meet in the Palace. The Civil **Their Places.** Mandarins stand on the Left of the Emperor's Throne, which in *China* is the most honourable Place: The Military Mandarins upon the Right, his Majesty facing the South ^a.

Badges of their Offices. THE Mandarins wear likewise Badges, which distinguish their Employments, as well as their Orders. This Badge, we are told, consists of a Piece of square Stuff, worn upon their Breasts, richly worked, and carrying, in the Middle, the Devices peculiar to their respective Posts. The Civil 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, Tigers, Lions, &c. They likewise affect a Distinction in their Girdle. Before the *Chinese* took the *Tartarian* Habit, they were divided into small Squares, and fastened before with great Clasps, made of the Horns of Buffaloes and Rhinoceros's, of Ivory, Tortoise-Shell, Eagle-Wood, Silver, Gold, and Jewels; the Materials differing according to the different Employments 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. The Mandarins are extremely jealous of the Badges of their Dignity, which distinguish them not only from the common People, but also from the simple *Literati*, and all those of an inferior Rank among themselves ^b.

Other Marks of Distinction. BOTH Princes and Mandarins are distinguished also by their Pensions, their Houses, the Number of their Servants, the Shape and Bigness of their Sedans; so that when they appear in public, their Quality is presently known. When the *Chinese* governed the Empire, even private Men wore their Marks of Distinction; inasmuch f that the Degree and Rank of every Man of Letters might be known by the Fashion, or Colour, of his Garb ^c.

1. Their Titles, and Power; with the Checks on their Authority.

Provincial Governors. Inferior Governors. Of Districts, and Cities. Great Subordination. Places distributed by Lot. Frauds in Drawing. All Employments sold. Remarkable Instance. Checks on Governors. Accountable for all Com-motions. None preferred in his native Country, and why. Triennial Examinations. Certificates given; which procure Rewards, or Punishments. Censors or Inspectors, great Precaution in their Proceedings. Emperor's Progress through the Provinces. Instance of speedy Justice on a great Lord. The Imperial Gazette, Articles contained in it: Its Use and Authority: Most effectual Remedy.

CHINA is governed under the Emperor, by *Provincial* several Officers. There are, in each Province, five general Officers, viz. the *Fu-yuen*, who is the same with a Vice-Roy, or Governor, in *Europe*, and four Assistants; the *Pu-ching-tse*, or Treasurer-General; the *Ngan-cha-tse*, or criminal Judge; the *Yen-tau*, who superintends the Post-Offices, Salt-Offices, &c. and the *Lyang-tau*, who has Care of the Provisions collected by Way of Tribute. In Quality of Counsellors to the Vice-Roy, these four Officers are obliged, several Times every Month, to attend his Tribunal, on Matters of Importance, relating to the Province. Some Provinces being divided into two Parts, on account of their Largeness, have two Vice-Roys, like that of *Kyau-tung*, who is still to the Vice-Roy, there is another Officer, called the *Tsong-tu* ^d, who has the Management of three Provinces under his Jurisdiction, such as the *Tsong-tu* of *Shen-si* and *Se-chuen*, *Ng-tong* and *Quang-si*. To these great Officers the Emperor immediately issues-out his Orders, and they take Care to transmit them, off-hand, to all the Cities of 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 ^e. Sometimes the *Tsong-tu* has the Care only of one Province; such as *Hu-quang*, *Shen-si*, &c. But then, on Account of its great Extent, it is divided into two Governments, and each Government has its proper Vice-Roy; who are both subordinate to him, although he is their Superior only in certain Matters: But he has alwas a Right ^f of deciding Causes, in case of Appeals from the Tribu-als of

^a Magalhaens's Relation of *China*, p. 298, & seqq. ^b Du Halde's *China*, p. 252. ^c Le Comte's *Memoirs of China*, p. 297. ^d There are subordinate to the *Tsong-tu*, two Generals, one for the *Tartar*, the other for the *Chinese* Troops, with their inferior Officers, of which hereafter.

^e Du Halde, as before, p. 2, and 251. ^f either

Mandarins, or place-men from Du Halde.

those of War

those in the Government

Tartar

Chinese

Winter Habit

Summer Habit



A. Parr Sculp

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either of the provincial Governors ^a. The Provinces of *Quang-tong*, and *Fo-kyen*, are governed by *Regulos* ^b, who, in Quality, are superior to all those Officers above-mentioned; but not in Authority: However, they assume much, and bear heavy on the Subjects, there being no-body to curb them.

Inferior Governors.

As every Province is divided into a certain Number of Jurisdictions, called *Fu*, and these subdivided into other Districts, named *Cheu*, and *Hyen*: In every City having the Appellation of *Fu*, there is always found a *Mandarin*, named *Chi-fu* ^c, 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* ^d.

Of Districts and Cities.

To every District there also belongs a *Mandarin*, called *Tau-ti*; whose Business it is to inspect the Manners and Behaviour of the Officers within his Jurisdiction, and to hasten the Governors of Towns and Cities in paying-in the Emperor's Duties. There are some who look after, or survey, the Rivers and Sea-Coasts in their respective Quarters; the first called *Ho-tau*, the latter *Hay-tau*. All these *Mandarins* belong to the Tribunal of the *Ko-tau*, that is, Inspectors, Overseers, or Visitors ^e. With Regard to these two Kinds of Officers, *Navarette* observes, that where there are navigable Rivers, there are *Mandarins* to take Care of the Barks, both Imperial and Mercantile; and that in all the maritime capital Cities there is a great *Mandarin*, who has Charge over the Coast.

The *Literati* are not subject to the common Magistrate, but have *Mandarins* of their own: In every City and Town there is one great one, like a School-Master, and two under him, who dwell in the Universities ^f.

Great Subordination.

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, though 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.

EMPLOYMENTS are divided among the *Mandarins* in the following Manner: Any Person is capable of enjoying public Offices, who has gained two of the three Degrees of Literature. Their Names are written in the Registers of the first supreme Tribunal, called *Li-pu*; which distributes the vacant Offices, according to the Rank and Merit of the *Literati*; who, when duly qualified, repair to Court for that Purpose: But they do not usually raise even *Tsing-tse* ^b, 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 ¹, 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.

Officers Civil. Places distributed by Lot.

BESIDES the common Examinations, they pass through another, in order to discover what Sort of Government they are fit for: And it is said, when a Person has Friends, or Money to bestow, the *Chense* do not want Ways to cause the best Governments to fall to those they design to favour ^k. *Magalhaens* affirms, that when a Man has agreed with the Tribunal, the Tickets are so ordered, that the Person draws the City which he desires. However (continues he) this Artifice failed a *Mandarin* in the Year 1669, who had given a round Sum to one of the chief Secretaries of that Court, on his Promise, that he should draw a City of great Trade, and not far distant: Instead of which, he drew a City in the Province of *Quy-chew*, the most remote, and the poorest in the whole Empire. Hereupon the unfortunate *Mandarin*, quite distracted at his Disappointment, without any Respect to the Tribunal, or the Presence of above three hundred *Mandarins*, rose-up all in a Rage (for they draw upon their Knees) bawling-out he was undone; and throwing-off his Robe, and his Cap, fell-upon the Secretary, threw him on the Ground, and with his Foot and Fist belaboured him heartily. *Knave and Impostor*, cried he, *Where is the Money that I gave thee? Where is the City thou didst promise me?* with many such Reproaches. Upon this the Tribunal broke-up, and both Parties were committed to the Prison of the criminal Tribunal, where they were in great Danger of being condemned to Death; which is

Fraud is Draught.

Pleasant Passage.

^a *Du Halde's China*, p. 4. ^b Those Titles are now abolished. ^c This is the Title of the Presidents of the supreme Courts, or Tribunals. *Chi* signifies a Governor, and *Fu* a District, or City of the first Rank. ^d *Du Halde*, as before, p. 4. ^e *Magalhaens's Relation of China*, p. 243. ^f Or Palaces, where the Students are examined. ^g *Navarette's Description of China*, p. 14. ^h Or *Tsing-tse*. See before, p. 117 d. ⁱ *Magalhaens* says, little thin Boards. ^j *Du Halde*, as before, p. 252.

Government. the Punishment inflicted by the Law for such a Sort of Traffic ^a.

*All Employ-
ments sold.* BUT so little is the Penalty regarded, that, according to *Magalhaens*, all Things are put to Sale there. He affirms, that the Government of every City, or Town, costs the Person who is preferred to it, several thousand Crowns; sometimes twenty, sometimes thirty, and so proportionably for all other Offices, great and small. Before a Vice-Roy, or Governor of a Province, can have his Commission sealed, it will cost him twenty, thirty, forty, and sometimes three score, or seventy thousand Crowns; which Money goes into the Pockets of the *Ko-lau* ^b, or chief Ministers of State, and the Officers of the six supreme Tribunals at *Pe-king*, who privately sell all Offices and Employments. On the other Hand, the Vice-Roys, and other great Placemen of the Provinces, to reimburse their Expences, extort Presents from the Presidents of Territories, and Cities, who repay themselves upon the Governors of Towns, and Boroughs; and they, or rather all together, lick themselves whole again, and fill their Purses at the Expence of the People: So that it is a common Proverb in *China*, that the Emperor unwittingly lets loose so many Hangmen, Murderers, hungry Dogs, and Wolves, to ruin and devour the poor People, when he creates new Mandarins to govern them. In short, there is not any Vice-Roy, Visitor of a Province, or such-like Officer, who at the End of three Years that he is employed, does not return with six or seven hundred thousand, and sometimes a Million of Crowns ^c.

*Remarkable
Instance.* THIS Kind of Trade is driven as openly as if it was authorized by Law: So that Justice and Employments are set-up, as it were, to public Sale all over the Empire; but more especially at Court: Hence there is no-body but the Emperor who can properly be said to mind the public Good, all the rest regarding nothing but their private Interest. Of this the Author was a Witness himself, in the Case of a Convert. This Person's Father had been Governor of the Province of *Shen-si*; but having been slain in an Engagement with an Army of Robbers, the Emperor made the Son Governor of a City of the second Rank. When the three Years of his Employment expired, he was advanced to a City of the first Rank; in which having continued three Years more, he repaired to Court, according to the Custom, in Hopes to be preferred to a yet more considerable Government. The Emperor having referred his Petition to the Tribunal of the Mandarins, they presently sent Letters to let him know, that if he would deposit, in a third Hand, fourteen Van of

Silver, which amounts to about an hundred thousand Crowns, they would give him the Government of *Ping-yang fu*, in the Province of *Shen-si*, which is one of the most rich and populous Cities of the whole Empire. But the Mandarin refusing to obtain it by Corruption, sent them Word, that he would be content with what fell to his Lot ^d.

To prevent the Extortions committed on the People, by Governors, either through Avarice, or in Consequence of the Corruption introduced of selling Places, the Laws have provided several Remedies:

FIRST, It is difficult to prevent Commotions among the People, when they groan under Oppression; and the least Insurrection 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. It is his Business to hinder the subordinate Officers from oppressing the People, who, when the Yoke is easy, bear it cheerfully.

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 Province 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 in the same Province, are unknown to him, hath seldom any Reason to favour them.

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 public Good. Whereas, 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 be carried, by a Spirit of Revenge, to ruin or oppress those from whom he, or some of his Family, had formerly received Injury.

THEY are so nice in this Respect, that they will not permit any Person to be a subordinate Mandarin, where his Brother, Uncle, or other near Relation, 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

^a *Magalhaens's Relation of China*, p. 247.

^b While *Le Comte* was at *Pe-king*, three *Ko-lau* were cashiered for taking Bribes, one of whom he saw as a common Centinel at the Palace-Gate. See before, p. 16. b.

^c The same, p. 135. ^d The same, p. 245.

Government. to give Notice of that Circumstance to the Court, which removes him to a Government 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, therefore, Relations are not permitted to possess Employments which have the least Dependence upon each other.

Triennial Examinations.

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 gives 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 a *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 those Notes; and either agrees to, or adds others, according to their Knowledge.

WHEN the *Mandarin* of the City of the second Rank has received the Notes from all the *Mandarins* of the Cities of the third Order, he writes up his Note; and then sends the Catalogue of all the *Mandarins* in his District to the *Mandarin* 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, his Assistants, 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

a Government; that he may appear to be a Man of Integrity, and to regard nothing but Merit.

As to the Form of these Notes: Under the Name of the *Mandarins*, and Title of their Government, 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 obeyed: 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.*

WHEN the Catalogue of Notes arrive at the Vice-Roy, the supreme Tribunal, to which it is addressed, 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 Posts; as, from a City of the third Rank to one City of the second. They are contented with raising or turning down others a few Degrees; which the *Mandarins* concerned are obliged to signify at the Head of their Orders, in the following Manner; *The Mandarins of this City, raised three Degrees, or else, turned down three Degrees, do give Notice and ordain, &c.* By this Means the People are apprized of the Reward or Punishment which the *Mandarin* deserved. When he has been raised ten Degrees, he has Room to hope being advanced to a superior Government: On the contrary, if he has been depressed ten Degrees, he is in Danger of losing his Employment.

FOURTHLY, The Emperor, from Time to Time, sends *Ko-tau*, Inspectors or Visitors, secretly into the Provinces; who, passing from City to City, slip into the Tribunals, while the *Mandarin* gives Audience: And also by their Inquiry among the Mechanics and common People, dextrously inform themselves in what Manner he behaves in the Administration of his Office. If

Le Comte says, the *Mandarins* are obliged, from Time to Time, with all Humility and Sincerity, to send to Court an Account, in Writing, of the public Faults they have committed in their respective Employments; and it is dangerous to conceal any, for should they be accused thereof in the Inspectors Advertisement, it would cost them their Places.

b There are but nine Degrees of the *Quan*.

Government

by these Means they discover any Irregularity 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 and rigorously punishes the faulty *Mandarins*: But, if the Injustice be not very flagrant, he sends his Information to Court, that they may determine there what is to be done.

Great Precaution

A FEW Years ago, the Emperor appointed Commissioners of this Kind to enquire into an Affair which concerned the Vice-Roy of *Quang-tong*, 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 Dearness of Salt, took the Vice-Roy's Part, and most of the *Mandarins*-General spoke in Favour of the other. The Emperor being very desirous of knowing who was in the Fault, sent the *Tsong-tu* of the Provinces of *Che-kyang* and *Fo-kyen*; and the *Tsong-tu* of *Kyang-nan* and *Kyang-si*, in Quality of his Commissioners, to *Kanton*. At their Arrival, they went directly to the Palace prepared for them, without receiving or making any Visit. They refused the Honours paid at their Reception; and to remove all Suspicion, that they might be gained by Presents, had even no Communication with the *Mandarins*, but when they cited them, one after another, to take their Informations. In short, they shut themselves up till such Time as having cited the Vice-Roy, and the 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.

In their Proceedings.

THE Vice-Roy, during the whole Time of the Trial, was obliged to leave his Palace, and wait at the Hall of Audience 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; and the People, by their Deputies, sent in their Accusations against the Comptroller, which was 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.

Emperor's Progress

FIFTHLY, Though 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, by taking Bribes to screen the Guilty, the Em-

peror, when they least think of it, makes a Progress into certain Provinces, that he may hear Person the just Complaints of the People against their Governors. These Visits, wherein the Prince affects to render himself popular, make the *Quán* tremble, let their Conduct be ever so little liable to Blame. The Emperor *Kang-hi*, in one of his Journeys into the Southern Provinces, made in 1689, passed through the Cities of *Sü-chew fü*, *Yang-chew fü*, and *Nan-king*. He was on Horseback, followed by his Guards, and about three thousand Gentlemen; in which Manner he made his Entry into the last. The principal Citizens came to receive him with Standards, Silk Ensigns, Canopies, Umbrellas, and other Ornaments, without Number; while the rest, lining the Streets, with profound Silence, shewed the greatest Marks of Respect. At the Distance of every twenty Paces they had erected triumphal Arches covered with the finest Stuffs, and adorned with Festons, Ribbands, and Tufts of Silk, under which the Emperor passed.

His Majesty lay in his Bark the Night he arrived at *Yang-chew fü*, and next Day, made his Entry on Horseback into the City; whose Streets being covered with Carpets, he asked the Inhabitants, If that had been done by the *Mandarins* Order? And finding they did it of their own Accord, he expressed his Satisfaction. The Streets were so full of Men and Children, who thronged among the Horsemen, that the Emperor stopped every Moment, seeming to be highly delighted with it. The Inhabitants of *Sü-chew fü* 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 prepared for him, and honoured the City with his Presence for two Days.

LE COMTE relates an Action of the same Emperor in one of these Visitations, which rendered him formidable to the *Mandarins*, and amiable to the People. This great Prince being separated at some Distance from his Attendants, perceived an old Man who wept bitterly. On asking the Cause of his Tears, *My Lord*, replied 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 a Matter as you think it, (replied the Emperor;) get-up behind me, and guide me to the House of this Ravisher.* The good Man obeyed without Ceremony; and Lord,

6 Hours Time they arrived at the Mandarin Palace, who did not expect such an extraordinary Visit.

MEAN Time the Guards, and a great Company of Lords, after rambling about, arrived at the Mandarin's, and without knowing what was the Matter, some surrounded the House, while others entered with the Emperor; who having convicted the Mandarin of the Violence he was accused of, condemned him to lose his Head on the Spot. After this, turning towards the afflicted Father, *To make you 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 Punishment be a Warning to you, that in your Turn you be not made an Example of*.

The Imperial Gazette,

LASTLY, Nothing can be more instructive, as well as proper, to keep the Mandarins in Order, than the Gazette, which is printed every Day at *Pe-king*, and dispersed into all the Provinces. The Articles inserted in it, relate solely to the Government: 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 embezzled it: Another, for either being 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 advanced to a considerable Place, or removed to a worse; or if he has been deprived, for some Fault, of the annual Pension he received of the Emperor, he is immediately put into the Gazette.

Articles contained in it.

It contains an Account of all criminal Matters, which are punished with Death: Likewise the Names of the Officers put into the Places of those who are removed: 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 Benefactions of the Prince: The Remonstrances made by the supreme Tribunal to the Emperor, concerning his own Conduct, or his Decisions: Therein is mentioned also the Day when the Emperor ploughed the Earth, in order to encourage Agriculture: The Time he has fixed 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 established; as also the

Praises, or Reprimands, given by the Emperor to a Mandarin: For Instance, *such a Quán has no good Reputation; if he does not mend, I will punish him*.

Officers Civil.

In short, the Chinese Gazette is so contrived, 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. 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 employed in the Post-Office, were condemned to die, for having inserted certain falsehoods in the Gazette: The Reason, upon which the Tribunal of criminal Affairs founded their Judgment, was, that what they had done shewed a Failure of Respect towards his Majesty, which is by the Laws declared capital.

AFTER all, no Remedy is more likely to prove effectual in preventing the Corruption and Oppressions of the Governors, than that which the Emperor *Yong-ching* applied; for he augmented their Salaries, and declared he would receive no Presents himself; forbidding them to receive more than their Due, under the Penalty of the Law, which ordains, that the *Quán*, who shall receive, or unjustly exact fourscore Ounces of Silver, shall be punished with Death: He likewise allowed the Visitors or Inspectors large Sums to defray their Expences, rigorously punishing both the Corruptor, and Corrupted.

Most effectual Remedy.

To conclude, the Laws debar the Mandarins of 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 debarred all Diversions, but what they can take in the most private Apartments of their own Palaces.

2. The several Duties of Governors, with the Order in Cities.

Duty of Governors, to preach as Priests. Moral Subjects for their Texts. Accountable for the People. Governors of Cities, their Duty. Order in Cities. Passengers examined. No Night Revels. No bloody Quarrels. Common Women, how regulated.

* Le Comte's Memoirs of China, p. 267. Du Halde's China, p. 259. 260, and 257.

b Du Halde, as before, p. 3.

Government.
Duty of Go-
vernors

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, 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, though ever so much employed, is obliged to grant the Audience demanded; but unless the Complainant has suffered some extraordinary Wrong, that requires speedy Redress, he is sure to receive the Bastinado for his unseasonable Visit.

To preach as
Priests.

ONE of the Mandarin's 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 also a Master to teach. Hence it is, that from Time to Time, his Majesty 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. In like Manner, on the first and fifteenth Day of every Month the Quân 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.

Moral Subjects

1. THAT they very carefully practise the Duties prescribed by filial Piety, and the Deference which 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.

2. THAT they always preserve a respectful Remembrance for the Ancestors of their Family; which will be constantly attended with Unity, Peace, and Concord.

3. THAT there may be Union in all the Villages: By this Means they will be Strangers to Quarrels and Law-Suits.

4. THAT they hold, in great Esteem, the Profession of Husbandmen, and those who cultivate Mulberry-Trees, wherewith the Silk-Worms are nourished: They will then never want Grain to feed-on, nor Garments to cover them.

5. THAT they accustom themselves to a prudent Economy by Frugality, Temperance, and

Modesty; which will be the Means of avoiding many idle Expences.

6. THAT great Care be taken to encourage public Schools; to the End young Students may be taught good Morals.

7. THAT every one apply himself to his proper Business, which will be an infallible Means to keep the Heart and Mind at Ease.

8. THAT they stifle Sects and Errors in their Birth, in order to preserve the true and solid Doctrine in its Purity.

9. THAT they inculcate to the People the penal Laws established by the supreme Authority; for Fear will keep rude and untractable Minds in their Duty.

10. THAT they instruct Persons thoroughly in the Laws of Civility, and decent Behaviour: Thus the good Customs, which Decorum has established, will always be punctually practised.

11. THAT they apply all their Endeavours to give Children and younger Brothers a good Education, which will prevent their delivering themselves up to Vice, and disorderly Passions.

12. THAT they abstain from all slanderous Accusations; thus Innocence and Integrity will have nothing to fear.

13. 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.

14. THAT they be punctual in paying the Contributions established by the Prince; whereby they will prevent the Inquiries and Vexations of the Tax-Gatherers.

15. THAT they act in Concert with the Heads of the Wards in every City, which will prevent Theft, and the Escape of those who are guilty.

16. THAT they repress the Sallies of Anger, which will secure them against all Danger.

THESE are the Ordinances which serve the Mandarins for Texts to their Sermons. Du Halde has inserted the Discourse of one of them made on the third Head, which, for its Energy and Conciseness, pathetic Reasoning, and excellent moral Advice, is scarcely to be equalled. The Mandarin's giving the People a Lecture once a Fortnight, 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. 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 any shocking Crime be committed, for Instance, if a Son should kill his Father, the

Court is no sooner informed 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 enormous Offences, they put their Parents to Death along with them ^a.

Governors of Cities,

IT is the Duty of the Governor of every *Hyen*, or *Chew*, 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 killed in some Scuffle, or through Despair have laid violent Hands on themselves. Twice in a Month he is obliged 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 ratified by the Emperor. Causes of small Importance are determined first by the three inferior *Mandarins* ^b.

Chief Duty,

THAT which chiefly employs the inferior *Mandarins*, whether they be the *Chi-chew*, *Chi-hyen*, or *Whey-chew-pey* ^c, is gathering the Taxes; and it requires their personal Attendance. Although the Lands in every Province are measured, and what every ^d *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 constrained to make use of Blows. When these Tax-Gatherers are reproached for their Severity to the Peasants, they alledge, in Excuse, that should they not bring the Dues 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 Bastonado. The *Mandarins*, on the other Hand, pretend to justify treating their Servants with such Rigour, by alledging, that whenever they failed of collecting the Dues in the appointed Time, they have been obliged to pay the Emperor out of their own

Pockets, for Fear of losing their Employments: And, in Fact, several Provinces are greatly in Arrear to the Royal Treasury, which probably will never be paid. But to remedy this Inconvenience, the late Emperor *Yong-ching* ^e ordered, that, for the future, the Proprietors of the Lands, and not the Occupiers, should pay the Taxes ^f.

Order in Cities.

THERE is scarce any Thing which contributes more to the Tranquillity which reigns in *China*, than the good Regulations observed in Cities, especially *Pe-king*, which influences the rest ^g. As an Account has been already given of their Form, Walls, Gates, their Division into Wards, with the Order of their Streets, and the Watches appointed for their Security; we shall only mention here certain other Matters relating to the Police, which have not been touched-on before. Every Ward in each City 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 neglected immediately to inform the *Mandarins* about it, he would be very severely punished. Masters of Families are equally responsible for the Conduct of their Children and Servants. 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.

Order in Cities.

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 stopped, and Notice given to the *Mandarin* ^h. One of their principal Maxims is, not to suffer Foreigners to settle in the Empire; for besides their hereditary Contempt of other Nations, 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.

Passengers examined.

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

No Night Revels.

^a Du Halde's *China*, p. 257. ^b The same, p. 253. ^c These last are military Officers. ^d A Measure of Land, containing an hundred Paces square, of eighteen Feet each. ^e Who died in the Year 1736. ^f Du Halde, as before, p. 4. ^g See before, p. 8, and 100, & seq. ^h On this Occasion *Le Comte* observes, that the Missioners, who had not the Emperor's Approbation, found it very difficult to make long Journeys.

Government.

any one happens to be found, he is stopped, being looked-upon as a Scoundrel, or Robber, on the Lurch to do Mischief by Favour of the Darkneſs: So that it is very dangerous to be abroad at unſeaſonable Hours, it being difficult, however innocent, to eſcape the Severity of the Magiſtrates.

No bloody Quarrels.

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 Weapon in their Hands, they lay it aſide, and fall a boxing. They commonly end their Quarrels by complaining to a Mandarin, who, after hearing what both Parties have to ſay, cauſes the culpable to be baſtonadoed in his Preſence.

Common Women, how regulated.

THERE are common Prostitutes in China, 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 looked-upon as infamous; and ſome Governors of Cities will not permit them to live within their Diſtricts.

3. Great Submission of the People, and Tenderneſs of Governors.

Submission paid the Quân. Their State in travelling. Royal Inns, and Couriers. Guards along the Rivers. Care for the People in Time of Drought. Images ſcurvily treated on ſuch Occaſions. Guardian Genii invoked. Great Reſpect paid to good Governors. Preſent of the party-coloured Coat. Bad ones ill-treated.

Submission paid the Quân.

IT is very ſurprizing to ſee a Nation ſo vaſtly numerous, ſo naturally reſtleſs, ſo exceſſively ſelfiſh, and eager in its Purſuit of Riches, kept within the Bounds of its Duty by a ſmall Number of Mandarins at the Head of every Province. It is ſcarce credible 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 fixed up at the Corners of Streets, and he is inſtantly obeyed. So true it is, that the bare Shadow of Imperial Authority (derived from the parental Scheme) can do every Thing with this Nation.

THEY never ſpeak to him but on their Knees, when he is diſtributing Juſtice in his Tribunal;

Respect paid Magistrates.

and he never appears in public without a great Attendance, in a very majeſtic Manner: He is pompouſly dreſſed, his Countenance grave and ſevere, being carried by four Men in a gilded Chair, open, if in Summer, but covered with Silk in Winter, preceded by all the Officers of his Tribunal, whoſe Caps and Garb are of a very extraordinary Faſhion. On all Days of Ceremony (or when they go to viſit thoſe to whom they would ſhow Reſpect) the Seals, which they receive from the Emperor, are carried 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, covered with a Carpet.

Their State in travelling.

THE ſame State accompanies the *Quân* in all his Marches, Proceſſions, or Journeys, whether by Land, or Water, of which ſome Account has been already given. The Day before a Mandarin ſets-out on his Journey, a Courier is ſent forwards, who carries a Tablet, called *Pay*, wherein is written the Name and Employment of that Officer; on Sight of which, the Lodgings at the *Kong-quân*, or Royal Inn, are immediately prepared for him, according to his Dignity; and he is furniſhed 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 that they may not be diſappointed, one or two *Li*, before their Arrival, they ſtrike very hard, ſeveral Times, upon a Baſon, to give Notice, that the Horſe may be immediately ſaddled, if it be not already done. The Furniture of a *Kong-quân* conſiſts only of a few Felts and Mats, two or three Chairs, a Table, and a wooden Bedſtead covered with a Mat, when there is never a *Kan*. If he be a Mandarin of conſiderable Rank, and the *Kong-quân* not ſuitable to his Dignity, he is lodged in one of the beſt Houſes in the City, where an Apartment is borrowed for him.

Royal Inns, and Couriers.

IN theſe Royal Inns all Perſons are entertained, as the Miſſioners have often been, when travelling on the Emperor's Buſineſs, whoſe Couriers alſo bait here. On this Occaſion it may be obſerved, that thoſe who carry his Majeſty's Orders are commonly Perſons of ſome Note, and attended by ſeveral Horſemen: The Orders are incloſed in a great Roll, covered with a Piece of yellow Silk, and wrapped in a Scarf, which hangs at their Backs. Every Poſt-Houſe has a Mandarin to take Care of it, and the Emperor's Horſes; which, though not ſightly, will ride ſixty or ſeventy *Li* without changing; their Stages, which are called *Chan*, being unequal; the

^a Du Halde's China, p. 264, & ſeq.

^b The ſame, p. 244, and 252.

^c See before, p. 97, & ſeq.

^d Or Magiſtrates Inn, deſcribed before, p. 105.

^e Or Bed. See before, p. 104, 132. a.

ment. shortest containing fifty *Li*, and rarely so few as forty. The ordinary Couriers carry their Wallet fastened upon their Back: And when they ride it rests upon a Cushion lying on the Horse's Buttocks. Their Wallets are not heavy, for they hold nothing but the Dispatches of the Emperor, or the Sovereign Courts, or Advice from the Officers of the Provinces; so that they are able to carry privately the Letters of other Persons, in which consist their Perquisites.

Guards along WHEN a Mandarin passes by Water, the Soldiers of each *Tang*, or Guard, usually stand in a Rank along the River-Side, out of Respect; one of them bearing an Ensign displayed, and the rest with their Arms in their Hands. If the Bark carries an Envoy, principal Mandarin, or great Court Lord, 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 Man, 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 crosswise.

The River. 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 Bambù against each other, to signify his Vigilance. These Centries are relieved every Hour.

Care for the People 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 the People's Happiness. A Magistrate of this Character has made it his Business to send for Persons skilled 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. Others, in the Time of a Storm, not contented to forbid Persons to cross the River, have come themselves to the Bank, and staid there all Day, to prevent, by their Presence, any from being so rash as to expose himself to the Danger of perishing. 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 suborned to compass his Death: That he visited him, sent him a Physician, and furnished 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.

Tenderness of Magistrates.

WHEN they are apprehensive of a bad Harvest, occasioned either by Drought, too much Rain, or any other Accident, such as the swarming of Grasshoppers, which sometimes over-run certain Provinces; then the Mandarin, either through Affection, Interest, or Dissimulation, omits nothing that may render him popular. Though the greater Part of them detest the Idols of *Fo* and the *Tau*, yet they fail not to make solemn Visits to their Temples, to implore Rain, or fair Weather. When Calamities of this Nature happen, the Mandarin causes his Orders for a general Fast to be fixed-up in all public Places, forbidding Butchers, and Cooks, to sell Meat under heavy Penalties: Yet they do it privately, by Means of a little Money given to the People of the Tribunal appointed to see the Orders observed.

In Time of Drought.

THE Mandarin goes to the Temple on-foot, negligently dressed, sometimes even with Straw Shoes on, accompanied with inferior Mandarins, and followed by the principal Persons of the City. Being arrived, he lights-up two or three small Perfume-Sticks on the Altar; after which they all sit, and to pass away the Time, drink Tea, smoke, and chat an Hour or two together, and then retire. By this the Reader may perceive, that they treat the Idol with very little Ceremony; and if they are obliged to pray too long before the Favour is granted, they sometimes bring him to Reason with a good Cudgel; but this is rare.

Images scarcely treated.

AT *Kyang-chew*, in the Province of *Shen-si*,

* Magalhaens's Relation of China, p. 39. Du Halde's China, p. 265, & seqq.

^b Du Halde, as before, p. 287.

^c They call the Governors of Cities *Fu-mu*, that is, *the Father and Mother of the People*. Magalhaens, p. 237.

Government. an Image was beaten to Pieces by Order of the a Officers, for obstinately refusing to send Rain in Time of a great Drought. And when Rain fell, they made another of Earth, or Plaister, and led it in Triumph into the City, where they offered Sacrifices to it, and restored it to its Saintship again. Another Idol not vouchsafing to answer the reiterated Commands of the Vice-Roy of a Province, that Lord 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, b and level his Temple with the Ground. As none fell on the Day limited, that Magistrate ordered the Temple to be shut-up, and the Gates sealed; which was immediately done: But Rain falling a few Days after, the Vice-Roy's Anger was appeased, and the Image permitted to be worshipped as before.

On such Occasions. In these Kinds of public Calamities, the *Mandarin*, as Pastor and Governor of the People, addresses himself chiefly to the Guardian Genius of the City, according to ancient Custom, imploring his Assistance. In this Harangue, he tells the Spirit, it is through him properly, that they receive their Happiness, and are preserved from the Misfortunes they are threatened with: That in public Calamities they ought to implore his Aid: But, at the same Time, he gives the Guardian Angel to understand, that if he is prayed to in vain, their Hearts can have no Share in the Honours paid him; and though he shall continue to be what he is, yet he will be little known. After informing him, that their Fasting, Praying, and Repentance, had not been sufficient to move *Tyen*, he adds, *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 Grace obtained by your Intercession, will answer the utmost Desires of the People, and cause you to be more and more adored in the City.* c

Grant Respect paid WHEN the Governor of a City, who has acquitted himself, in his Office, to the public Satisfaction, withdraws into another Province, the People pay him such Honours, as would engage the most stupid to the Love of Virtue and Justice. 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, f 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; and thus he is continually stopped as he advances. But the most pleasant Part of all, is to see People drawing-off his Boots^c, every now-and-then, to give him new ones^d. All the Boots that have touched the *Mandarin*, are held in Veneration by his Friends, who preserve them as precious Reliques. The first that are drawn-off are, by Way of Gratitude, put in a Sort of a Cage, over the Gate of the City through which he passed^e.

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 japanned Box, adorned 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 performed, 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 *Quân* 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*, who says aloud, by Way of Wish, *Fo-tsyû, This is the Wine that brings Good-Luck: Shew-tsyû, This is the Wine that brings long Life.* Immediately after another advances, and holding-up the Sweetmeats, 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.

BUT when the *Mandarin* has distinguished *Present of the* himself in an extraordinary Manner by his Equity, Zeal, and Goodness to the People, 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 Satin, of various Colours, as red, blue, green, black, yellow, &c. and on his Birth-Day carry it with great Ceremony, accompanied with Music. 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 his Garment, requesting him to put it on. The *Mandarin* *Party concerned* seems 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, he suffers them to strip-off his upper

^a Du Halde gives the Form of an Address. ^b Du Halde's China, p. 253, & seq. ^c Le Comte says, his Cap also, and his Great Coat, giving him others in their Room. ^d It sometimes happens, that he has had thirty different Pair of Boots on. ^e Le Comte's Memoirs of China, p. 275. Du Halde, as before, p. 294.

Government. 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*. It is true, the *Mandarin* never wears it, except at this Time; but it is carefully kept in the Family, as a Mark of Honour and Distinction. They never fail to acquaint the Vice-Roy with it, and the News is often carried to the supream Courts. *Contancin*, the Jesuit, happened once to be present at this Ceremony, on going to pay his Compliments to a Governor on his Birth-Day ^a.

Bad ones ill-treated. SUCH is the Gratitude and Love the *Chinese* bear to a good Magistrate. On the contrary, when a *Mandarin* has not behaved well in his Employment, they treat him, at his Departure, with no less Scorn and Contempt. A Governor of a maritime Province, having been deprived of his Office for defrauding the People of Three-fourths of the Rice sent by the Emperor for their Relief in a Time of Scarcity, he was followed by a prodigious Croud of People, who reproached him for his Avarice. Some invited him, by Way of Derision, to stay in the Government till he had eaten all the Rice the Emperor had intrusted him with. Some dragged him out of his Chair, and broke it; others tore his Garment and filken Umbrella in Pieces: In short, all followed him to the Bark, loading him with Injuries and Curses ^b.

SECT. V.

Of the several Tribunals, or Courts, wherein all Affairs are transacted.

ALL Affairs whatever relating to the Government, both Civil and Military, are transacted in Tribunals, or Courts, established for that Purpose; each of which has its Share of Business allotted it, for the more exact Performance, and quick Dispatch. These, like the Magistrates who preside in them, are subordinate to one another. Every Governor has his particular Court. The Tribunals of Cities depend on the provincial Courts, and those of the Provinces on the supream, or general Tribunals of the Empire fixed at *Pe-king*, before which all Matters of Consequence must be brought, and there finally determined.

1. The supream, or general Tribunals of the Empire.

Supream Tribunals.

Six supream Tribunals. Court of the Quán. Court of Exchequer. Court of Rites: Its Tribunals. Court of War. The Criminal Court. Court of public Works. Their Site and Form, Halls and Chambers. Officers of the Tribunals: Their Jurisdiction. Method of proceeding in the Tribunals. Dexterous at deceiving. Checks on their Power. Public Inspectors: Their Authority: Remarkable Instance of their Intrepidity: Prevail at last.

BESIDES the great Tribunal called *Nwi-ywen*, already spoken of ^c, there are within the Palace eleven sovereign Tribunals more, whose Power and Authority extend over all the Provinces of the Empire. Six of them are for civil Affairs, and called *Lew-pú* ^d; the other five for military Matters, and named *U-sú*, of which hereafter.

THE first of the six Tribunals for civil Affairs is called *Li-pú*, or the Tribunal of the Magistrates: *Quán*. Its Business is to furnish all the Provinces with Officers; to watch-over their Conduct; to examine their good and bad Qualities, and give an Account thereof to the Emperor, that he may raise, or degrade them according to their Deserts. These are, properly speaking, the Inquisitors of the State.

THIS Court has four Tribunals under it: The first, called *Ven-suen-sú*, chuses those who deserve to possess the great Offices of the Empire. The second, named *Kau-kong-sú*, examines the Conduct of the *Mandarins*. The third, *Nyen-fong-sú*, 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, *Ki-hyong-sú*, is to examine the Merit of the *Grandeens* of the Empire, that is, the Princes of the Blood, the *Regulos*, those who have Titles like our Dukes, Marquisses, Counts, and the like. These are called *Hyong-chin*, or ancient Vassals, having performed great Services for the reigning Family in the *Tartar War*.

THE second supream Court, called *Hú-pú*, *Court of Exchequer*, that is, High-Treasurer of the Emperor, hath the Superintendence of the Finances, with the Care of the private Estates, Treasures, Expenses, and Revenues of that Monarch. 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

^a Du Halde's China, p. 294. writes *Lo-pú*.

^b The same, p. 279.

^c See before, p. 250.

^d Magalban

Government.

Register of all Families; of all the Duties that ought to be paid; of the Custom-Houses, and public Magazines. To go-through this prodigious Throng of Business, it has fourteen subordinate Tribunals for the Affairs of the other fourteen Provinces of the Empire, whose Names they bear: For that of *Pe-che-li*, being the Seat of the Emperor, is not reckoned among the Provinces, but enjoys, in many Cases, the Privileges of the Court and Household of that Monarch: As did, till latterly, the Province of *Kyang-nan*, by Reason *Nan-king* had been the Imperial Residence, and as it had six superior Tribunals like *Pe-king*, they reckoned then but thirteen Provinces; but the *Tartars*, by reducing it into a common Province, have made fourteen.

Court of Rites.

THE third supreme Court is called *Li-pu*, or the Tribunal of Rites. Though the Name seems to be the same with that of the first Court, yet *Li* being pronounced differently, signifies^a, in that Place, *Mandarins*, in this, Rites. It belongs to this Court, to see that Rites and Ceremonies be duly observed, and to look after the Improvement of Arts and Sciences: It has also the Care of the Imperial Music: It 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 who deserve them: Besides, it has the Charge of the Temples, and Sacrifices offered by the Emperor; also of the Feasts given by his Majesty to Subjects, or Strangers. It receives, entertains, and dismisses Ambassadors: It has the Direction of liberal Arts, and of the three Laws, or Religions, professed in the Empire. In short, it is a Kind of Ecclesiastical Tribunal, before whom the Missioners have been obliged to appear in Times of Persecution.

Its Tribunal.

THIS Court is assisted by four subordinate Tribunals. The Business of the first, called *I-chi-fu*, or the Tribunal of important Affairs, is to settle and make-out the Titles and Patents of the Regulos, Dukes, *Tsong-tu's*, Vice-Roys, and other great Offices of the Empire. The second, *Su-fi-fu*, 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, *Chu-ke-fu*, is to receive those who are sent to the Court. The fourth, *Sing-sen-fu*, 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 called *Ping-pu*, ^{Supreme Tribunal.} or 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 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.

Court of War.

It has four inferior Tribunals to assist it. The first, *Vu-fun-fu*, disposes of all military Employments, and sees that the Troops are well-disciplined. The second, *Che-fang-fu*, distributes the Officers and Soldiers into their respective Quarters, for maintaining the public Tranquillity, and take Care to clear the Cities and Highways of Thieves and Robbers. The third, *Che-kyu-fu*, 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, *Vu-ka-fu*, orders the making of all Sorts of Arms, and storing the Arsenals^b.

NAVARETTE observes, that this Court-Martial, as he calls it, has some further Jurisdiction; for that the Missioners were turned-over to it in order to their Banishment, and appeared before it. They assigned them Barks, a Guard, and Officers to attend them^c.

THEY have given the Name of *Hing-pu* to ^{The Criminal} the fifth supreme Court, which is like the *Tour-nelle*, or criminal Chamber belonging to the Parliaments of *France*, where those guilty of any Crime are examined. Under it are fourteen subordinate Tribunals, each for one of the Provinces, as before remarked.

THE sixth and last supreme Court, called ^{Court of public Works.} *Kong-pu*, or the Tribunal of public Works, is employed in keeping in Repair the Palaces, as well of the Emperor, as of the Tribunals, the Princes of the Blood, the Vice-Roys, the Imperial Sepulchres, Temples, &c. It superintends the Towers, triumphal Arches, Bridges, Causeways, Dikes, Rivers, Canals, Lakes, and all the Works necessary to render them navigable; the Streets, Highways, Barks, and all Vessels requisite for Navigation.

THIS Court has likewise four subordinate Tribunals. The first, called *Vin-shen-fu*, prepares the Plans and Designs for the public Works.

^a Magalhaens observes, that such equivocal Terms are not to be found among the *Tartars*; for the Tribunal of *Mandarins* is in their Language *Hafan Shurgan* (or *Churgan*) and the Tribunal of Ceremonies *Toro Shurgan*. *Hafan*, signifies a Mandarin; *Toro*, a Rite or Ceremony; and *Shurgan*, a Tribunal. ^b Magalhaens's Relation of China, p. 205, & seqq. ^c Du Halde's China, p. 249. ^d Navarette's Description of China, p. 19.

Government. The second, *Yu-heng-tse*, has the Direction of all the Work-Shops of the Imperial Joiners, Masons, Carpenters, &c. in the several Cities of the Empire. The third, *Tong-shwi-tse*, is employed in repairing the Canals, Bridges, Causeways, Roads, &c. and making the Rivers navigable. The fourth, *Tse-tyen-tse*, takes Care of the Royal-Houses, Gardens, and Orchards; causes the latter to be improved, and receives the Profit arising from them.

Their Site and Form.

THESE six Tribunals stand near the Emperor's Palace, on the East-Side. Each takes-up a large Square Inclosure, a Musket-Shot and half in Length on every Side, and consists of three Divisions, or Ranges of Courts and Apartments. The first President possesses the Middle Division, which begins at the Street, where there is a great Gate with three Doors: From thence you pass-on through other Gates and Courts, beautified with Portico's and Galleries, supported by Pillars, till you come to a spacious Hall, where the Tribunal is held. Beyond this Hall, passing through another Court, you come to a lesser Hall, where the first President withdraws, with his Assistants, when he is to examine any private Business, or Affairs of extraordinary Moment. On both Sides, and beyond this Hall, there are several Chambers, and other Halls. The Chambers are for the Use of the President, his Assistants, and the rest of the *Mandarins* to take their Repose, and eat the Victuals sent them by the Emperor, that they might not lose Time by going home to dine. The Halls are for the Protonotaries and Clerks, and other inferior Officers. The two other Divisions of Apartments and Courts belong to the inferior Tribunals dependent on it.

Halls and Chambers.

NAVARETTE says, the Shape and Structure of all the supreme Tribunals is the same, only some are bigger than others. Every Tribunal has three Doors, on which are painted horrible Giants, to terrify the Multitude. None but *Mandarins*, or Persons of great Note, pass through the middle Door, which is very large, the other two being for Suitors, and other People to enter. Before it is a great Court, with three Causeways answering to the Doors: That in the Middle is raised above a Yard higher than the others, with a Stone-Arch, and another Gate in the Middle of it. On the Sides are a vast Number of Rooms under Piazzas, for Clerks, Solicitors, and other Officers. A Temple is never wanting. Opposite to the Doors are very spacious Halls, and within them others,

where Tribunals are held. Each of the supreme Tribunals hath four great Rooms, in which several *Mandarins* of inferior Quality to those in the Court sit, and transact Affairs of less Moment.

Supreme Tribunals.

EVERY Tribunal is composed of two Presidents, with four Assistants, and twenty-four Counsellors, one half *Tartars*, the other *Chinese*. This was a Master-Piece of Policy in the Conqueror, who thus by doubling the Number of Officers, 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.

MAGALHAENS says, that the chief Presidents of these six Tribunals are of the second Degree of the first Order of *Mandarins*, and called *Shang-shu*, which Name is annexed to that of their respective Tribunals, as *Li-pu-shang-shu*, that is, chief President of the Tribunal of Ceremonies. Each President has two Assistants: The first, called *Tso-shi-lang*, or President of the Left-Hand: The other, *Yew-shi-lang*, or President of the Right-Hand. They are all of the first Degree of the second Order. These Presidents, and their Assistants, have several other Titles: One is called *Ta-tang*, that is, the great, or first Hall: Another, the Hall on the Left-Hand: A third, the Hall on the Right-Hand.

THE forty-four inferior Tribunals have likewise their Palaces and Halls, situate within the Inclosure of those to which they belong; with each two Presidents, and twenty-four Counsellors, besides a great Number of Clerks, Registers, Tipstiffs, Messengers, Provosts, Bailiffs, Beadles, Cooks, and other under Officers.

The Tribunals.

As in so great a Multitude of Officers, it would be difficult to find-out the proper Person with whom one has Business, there is a Book fold, which may be called *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; and to specify these Changes without reprinting the Book, they make use of moveable Characters.

THE Jurisdiction of these sovereign Tribunals extends absolutely over all the Provinces, and almost all those who belong to the Emperor's Court. In Effect they have no Superior, except the Emperor, or the great Council: When that Prince thinks

Their Jurisdiction.

^a Magalhaens's Relation of China, p. 213. Du Halde's China, p. 250. ^b Magalhaens, as before, p. 202. ^c Navarette's Description of China, p. 19. ^d Du Halde, as before, p. 249, & seq. ^e In the English Translation it is the second Order. ^f That is, chief President; and in the Tartarian, *Aliagamba*. ^g Magalhaens, as before, p. 201, & seq. ^h Du Halde, as before, p. 69.

Government. fit to assemble it on some important Affair, already ^a determined by one of the 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 are communicated to them by one of the *Ko-lau*. The Petitions presented by the Presidents of the supream Courts, ought to have the Subject which it relates to, specified in the Title, and to end ^b with the Opinion of the Court, to which the Affair belongs ^c.

Method of proceeding

THE Manner of proceeding in these six Tribunals is this. When a Man has any Business, after setting it down in a Paper of a prescribed Form and Size, he goes to the Palace of the Tribunal, and beats upon a Drum, which he finds at the second Gate. Then falling on his Knees, and raising his Petition with both Hands as high as his Head, an Officer appointed for the Purpose, takes it from him: He carries it to the *Mandarins* of the great Hall, who give it to the chief Presidents; or, in their Absence, to their Assistants. If these reject it, they send the Petitioner his Paper again, and often order him to be soundly whipped for troubling the Court with an impertinent Suit. If the Petition be admitted, the first President sends it to the inferior Tribunal, to whom that Sort of Business belongs, to examine the Case. After this Court ^d has examined the Matter, and given their Judgment, they send it back to the chief Presidents, who sometimes add to, or moderate their Sentence: At other Times confirming it without any Alteration. If it be an Affair of great Moment, they order the same Tribunal to draw-up the Case in Writing; which having read along with their Assistants, they send it to the Comptroller ^e, and he to the supream Tribunal, or Council of State lodged in the Emperor's Palace. This Tribunal examines the Cause, and informs his Majesty, who commonly orders the Tribunal to re-examine it: After which they send-back the Case to the Comptroller, and the Comptroller remits it to the chief Presidents: These causing it once more to be examined, send it back by the same Canals, as before, to the Emperor, who then gives his definitive Sentence. That Sentence returns the same Way to the first President, who gives Notice of it to both Parties; ^f and so the Suit is ended. If it be a Business which the provincial Tribunal sends to the Court, the Case is sealed-up, and directed to the Emperor's

Comptroller: The Comptroller opens and reads ^{Supream Tribu-} it, and then sends it to the chief President, who proceeds as before is recited ^c.

THE six supream 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 obliged 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* ^d.

No State would be more happy, did all the *Mandarins* conform themselves strictly to the Laws of their Country: But among so great a Number, a few will always be found, who sacrifice every Thing to their private Interests. There are no Tricks, or Artifices, which some of the inferior Officers do not make use of to deceive the superior *Mandarins*; while some of these latter endeavour to impose upon the supream Tribunals of the Court, and even to deceive the Emperor himself. They are so dextrous 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 requires a good deal of Penetration in a Prince to see through the Disguise, and discover the Truth ^e. The late Emperor *Kang-hi* had this Quality in great Perfection; yet in Spite of all his Vigilance and Penetration, there were many Disorders of this Kind during his Reign: But *Yong-ching*, his fourth Son, who succeeded him, effectually remedied these Evils, by allowing the Persons he deputed, for that Purpose, large Sums to defray their Expences ^f, as has been already observed.

As there might be Room to fear, that Bodies ^{Checks on} of Men, invested with so much Power, would ^{their Power} by Degrees weaken the Imperial Authority, the Laws have provided against this Inconvenience two Ways: First, none of these Tribunals is vested 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 into Execution. For Instance, the Army is subject to the fourth supream 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 carried-on, without the Concurrence of these

^a *Magalhães's Relation of China*, p. 201. *Du Halde's China*, p. 70. ^b There is a Tribunal of the Comptrollers, or Inspectors, mentioned hereafter. ^c *Magalhães*, as before, p. 203, & seq. ^d *Du Halde*, as before, p. 69. ^e *Magalhães*, as before, p. 204, 250. *Du Halde*, as before, p. 257. ^f The same, p. 3, and 257.

Government. different Tribunals; and this is the Case with a
 Regard to all Affairs of Importance that concern
 the State.

**Public In-
 spectors,** SECONDLY, Nothing can be better contrived
 to curb the Power of the Magistrates belonging
 to the supream Tribunals, than the Precaution
 taken to appoint a Visitor, called *Ko-tau*, or
Ko-li, that is, Inspector, or Censor, whose Bu-
 siness it 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 b
 to take Notice of every Thing that passes in
 each, and give Information secretly to the Em-
 peror of the Faults of the *Mandarins*, not only
 in the Administration of public Affairs, but in
 their private Conduct^a. There is, in each of
 the Palaces of the supream Tribunals, a Hall and
 Apartment for a *Ko-li*, who has no Share in the
 Business, but only acts as a Comptroller in his
 Capacity of Inspector^b.

**Their Au-
 thority.** OF these *Ko-li*, even the Princes of the Blood c
 stand in Awe, as appears from the Instance of
 one who pulled-down his House for Fear of be-
 ing accused by them^c. Their Authority extends
 even to admonish the Emperor himself in case he
 sets an ill Example, or indulges himself too much
 in Plays, or Sports, permits Excess in Apparel,
 neglects to regulate his Palace, or his Duty in
 any Respect; and though they sometimes suffer
 even to Death, they seldom desist till they have
 gained their Point^d. Of this Intrepidity, or
 Greatness of Mind, *Le Comte* gives a very re-
 markable Instance.

**Remarkable
 Instance** ONE of the Emperors having banished his
 Mother into a distant Province, for carrying-on
 a private Intimacy with a great Court-Lord, for-
 bad the Princes and *Mandarins*, who he judged
 would be disgusted at it, to admonish him there-
 of, on Pain of Death. They forbore for some
 Time, in Hopes he would correct his Conduct;
 but finding that he did not, they resolved to ap-
 pear in Behalf of his Mother, looking on the
 Thing as a high Breach of filial Duty. The
 first who had the Courage to present a Request
 to the Emperor in this Matter, was put to Death
 on the Spot. His Death put not a Stop to the
Mandarins Proceedings; for a Day or two after
 another made his Appearance, and to shew that
 he was willing to sacrifice his Life for the Pub-
 lic, he ordered his Hearse to stand at the Palace-
 Gate. The Emperor provoked, instead of be-
 ing softened by this generous Action, to terrify f
 all others from following his Example, ordered
 him to be tortured to Death. But this had not

that Effect on the *Chinese*, who resolved to fall,
 one after another, rather than depart from their
 Design.

A THIRD, who devoted himself, like the se-Of their In-
 cond, protested to the Emperor, that he was not
 able any longer to see him still guilty of his
 Crime. *What shall we lose by our Death?* says
 he, *nothing but the Sight of a Prince, upon whom*
we cannot look without Amazement and Horror.
Since you will not hear us, we will go and seek-out
yours, and the Empress your Mother's Ancestors:
They will hear our Complaints, and, perhaps, in
the Dark and Silence of the Night you will hear
ours, and their Ghosts reproach you with your In-
justice. The Emperor more enraged than ever,
 inflicted, on this last, the severest Torments he
 could devise. Many others, encouraged by these
 Examples, exposed themselves to Torment, and
 did in Effect die the Martyrs of filial Duty. At
 last this heroic Constancy wearied-out the Em-
 peror's Cruelty; and whether he was afraid of
 more dangerous Consequences, or was himself
 convinced of his own Fault, he repented, as he
 was the Father of his People, that he had so un-
 worthily put to Death his Children; and, as a
 Son of the Empress, he was troubled that he had
 so long misused his Mother. He recalled her,
 therefore, restored her to her former Dignity,
 and, after that, the more he honoured her, the
 more was he himself honoured of his Subjects^e.

2. Several other Tribunals at Pe-king.

Tribunal of Han-lin. Doctors of the first Order.
Of the Princes Male-Line. Of the Female-
Line. Of the Royal College. Mixed Tribunal.
Of Comptrollers-General: Their Business. Sub-
ordinate Tribunals. Of the grand Provosts:
Their Duty. Tribunal of Inspectors: Their
Authority: That of Envoys. Of Reason and
Justice. Court of Conscience. Tong-ching-sü.
Court of Rites. Of Imperial Inns. Court of
Mathematics: That of Physic. The Groom-
Porter. Court of the Seal: Of the Royal-
Guards: Of State-Prisoners: Of the Customs:
Of the Household.

THE Tribunal, which most deserves our No-Tribunal of
 tice next, after the six supream Courts, is
 that called *Han-lin-ywen*, which signifies a Gar-
 den, or Wood, flourishing in Learning and Know-
 ledgo^f. It is composed out of the new Doctors,
 (or *Tsin-tse*) who every three Years take their
 Degree at *Pe-king*, and is a Kind of Academy,
 the first Or-
 der.

^a *Magalbas's Relation of China*, p. 201, 214. *Le Comte's Memoirs of China*, p. 264. *Du Halde's China*,
 p. 250. ^b *Magalbas*, as before, p. 201. ^c See before, p. 103. a. and *Le Comte*, as before, p. 265. ^d *Na-*
varrette's Description of China, p. 18. ^e *Le Comte*, as before, p. 274, & seq. ^f *Han-lin* seems to be
 explained before, p. 117. c.

Government. 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, besides the Sciences, 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 discourse with them about Matters relating to the Sciences, and often chuses the *Ko-lau's*, and Presidents of the supreme Tribunals, out of their Body. These *Han-lin* Doctors are divided into five Classes, and compose as many Tribunals. They belonging to the first, are of the third Order of *Mandarins*: They of the second of the fourth Order; and they who belong to the other three, are of the fifth Order^a. This Tribunal seems to have been instituted chiefly to encourage, by doing Honour to, Men of Learning.

Of the Princes Male-Line.

THERE are two Tribunals for inspecting the Affairs relating to the Descendants of the Imperial Family. The first, called *Tsang-jin fu*, concerns those of the Princes in the Male-Line. The Presidents and Assistants of this Court are Princes, or Regulos; but the inferior Officers are chosen from among the common *Mandarins*, who draw-up the Acts of their Proceedings, and all other Writings. In the Registers of this Tribunal, all the Children of the Imperial Family, as soon as born, are inrolled; the Titles and Dignities they are honoured with inscribed^b. By this Court they are paid their Pensions: Here likewise they are tried, and punished when culpable^c.

Of the Female-Line.

THE second, called *Whang-sin*, is composed of the Emperor's Kindred in the Female Line; of which there are two Sorts, from whom^d his Majesty chuses the most considerable. Their Business is of the same Nature with the other Tribunal: They differ only in this, that they are *Mandarins* of the first and second Orders; whereas those of the former Court are of none: But they esteem much more honourable the Titles of *Whang-sin*, and *Fu-ma*^e, or the King's Kindred, than that of *Mandarin*, though of the first Order^f.

Of the Royal College.

THE Tribunal called *Ghe-tsu-hyen*, is, as it were, the Royal School or College of the whole

Empire. Their Business is, first, to present the Wine when the Emperor performs the Sacrifices. Secondly, to take Care of all the Licentiates, and other *Literati*, on whom his Majesty confers Titles and Dignities, which, in some Measure, put them on a Level with the Bachelors^g.

Inferior Tribunals.

THE *Ju-hyo* is a mixed Tribunal, which takes Care of the under Graduates, civil and military. Four Presidents belong to it, two superintending each. The Bachelors of Art frequently exercise themselves in making Discourses on the Means of preserving the State, and governing the People. The Themes of the military Class are warlike Discipline, how to attack and defend fortified Places, to draw-up Forces in Order of Battle, and the like. The *Mandarins* of this Tribunal, who are dispersed through all the Provinces and Cities, are considered by them rather as Professors, than Magistrates. The President of this College is of the fourth Order of *Mandarins*; and his Assistants, who are Regents in the College, of the fifth Order^h.

Mixed Tribunal.

THE *Mandarins*, who compose the Tribunal called *Tu-cha-yuen*, are Comptrollers of the Palace, and all the Empire. The Presidentsⁱ are equal in Dignity to those of the six superior Tribunals, being *Mandarins* of the second Degree: The two first Assistants are of the third: The other two of the fourth: All the rest of the *Mandarins*, which are very numerous, are of the seventh Order. They punish slight Faults in their own Court, and inform the Emperor of great Offences. Their Business is to see, that the Laws and Customs be strictly observed every where: In short, that both the *Mandarins* and People perform their respective Duties. In order to this they from Time to Time send-out Inspectors. Every three Years they cause a general Visitation to be made, sending fourteen Inspectors abroad, one for every Province. Every Year there is another called *Chong-chay*, or the middle Supervisor. They likewise send Visitors to nine Quarters of the Frontiers, on that Side next the great Wall: And others to the Salt-Pits, which yield the Emperor a great Revenue. The general Visitors enrich themselves by the Spoils of the *Mandarins*, and People: But the *Mandarins* commit much greater Robberies upon the Farmers, who distribute the Salt into the Provinces, and are the richest Men in *China*, being commonly worth four or five hundred thousand

Of Comptrollers General.

Their Business.

^a *Magalhaens's Relation of China*, p. 218. *Navarette's Description of China*, p. 18. *Du Halde's China*, p. 251.

^b See before, p. 112. f. particularly with Regard to these Princes. ^c *Magalhaens*, as before, p. 239. *Du Halde*, as before, p. 250. ^d See before, p. 248. ^e Elsewhere *Tu-ma*. ^f *Magalhaens*, as before, p. 239. ^g The same, p. 219. ^h The same, p. 226. ⁱ Note, that *Magalhaens* all along makes but one President, and two Assistants, in the Tribunals; relating Things as they stood before the Change made by the *Tartars*, to which we have accommodated our Account, for Fear of giving the Reader a wrong Notion of the present State of Matters.

Government. Crowns a Man. The third Visitation, called a *Syau-chay*, or the petty Visit, is made every three Months, by sending Inspectors, often in Disguise, to particular Provinces, or Cities, to pry into the Conduct of some Placeman, infamous for his Tyranny and Extortion. Besides these Visitations, every three Years an Inspector, called *Hyo-ywen*^a, is sent into each Province; and to every City another, called *Ti-hyo*^b, to examine the Bachelors of Art, and defend the People from the Violences they commit, confiding in their Privileges. These have Power to apprehend, and condemn all such Offenders to the Whip: Likewise when they prove incorrigible, to degrade and punish them with an extraordinary Severity. Lastly, this Tribunal sends, when requisite, a Visitor, called *Syun-ho*, to survey the Royal Canal, and take Care of the Barks: By which this Inspector reaps more Honour, and Profit, than all the rest.

Subordinate Tribunals. THE Judges of this Tribunal are lodged in a vast Palace, where they have under them five-and-twenty Tribunals, divided into five Classes, to each of which belong five Tribunals, with their Presidents, Assistants, and inferior Officers. The five of the first Class are called *U-chin-chaywen*, or Visitors of the five Quarters of Peking^c. The four first inspect each the Walls on one Side, with the adjoining Quarter of the City; and the fifth, the Walls in the Middle. The Authority of these *Mandarins* is very great, having Power to try and punish the Domestics of the *Mandarins*, and great Lords: But if the Offender deserve Death, Confiscation of Estate, or Banishment, they send him to the criminal Tribunal.

Of the grand Provosts. THOSE of the second Class are called *U-chin-ping-ma-tse*, or Grand Provosts of the five Quarters. Those of the third Class, *Tang-quen*, or inferior Provosts of the five Quarters. It is the Business of the two latter to apprehend and imprison Malefactors of all Kinds, Gamesters, Vagabonds, and the like: To keep Watch in the Day-time, go the Rounds in the Night, and set Centinels to give Notice when any Fire happens. The Captains of the Watch are also subject to these two Classes: For to every ten Houses there belongs a Captain, called *Pay*; and every ten *Pay* have another Captain, called *I-tong-kye*, who is obliged to inform the Tribunal of what passes in his District, with respect to any Irregularity,

Strangers coming to Town, and the like. He is obliged, likewise, to exhort the several Families, by singing, at the Beginning of every Night, a Song, consisting of five Verses: The Sense of which is, *Obey your Parents, reverence old Men, and your Superiors; live together in Unity; instruct your Children; and do no Acts of Injustice.*

In petty Towns, where there are no *Mandarins*, the Care of this Duty is committed to four or five of the *Lau-jin*, or old Men, who have a Captain, called *Hyang-yo*, or *Ti-fang*. This Person also sings the same Song every Night; and the first and fifteenth of every Month assembles the Inhabitants, and explains the Meaning of those Instructions, by Similes and Examples^d, in a Lecture, or Sermon, as hath been already mentioned.

THE Officers sent by this Tribunal belong to an inferior one of the same Kind, called *Ko-lau*, or *Ko-li*, that is, Inspectors, or Censors. These are divided into six Classes, like the six supreme Tribunals, from whence they take their Name and Distinction: The first being called *Li-ko*, or Inspectors of the Mandarin Tribunal: The second *Hu-ko*, or Inspectors of the Treasury Tribunal; and so of the rest. Each Class being composed intirely of *Mandarins* of the seventh Order, not one of them has any Superiority over another^e.

THEIR Authority, as Censors, is very great, extending over not only the six supreme Tribunals, but the Grandees. They have ventured to accuse Princes, great Lords, and Tartar Vice-Roys, though under the Protection of the Court: Nay, they commonly, either through Obstinacy, or Vanity, chuse to fall into Disgrace with their Sovereign, and even suffer Death, rather than desist from their Pursuits, when they believe them to be consistent with Equity and sound Policy. It was by the Information of one of these Censors, that the four *Ko-lau's* above-mentioned^f, and as many great Officers, were disgraced, for receiving Bribes, to put People into Posts. Nothing escapes their Vigilance; nor do they spare even the Emperor himself, when blameable; History furnishing many astonishing Instances of their Courage and Firmness, besides that just now mentioned: And that they may neither be corrupted by Hopes, nor intimidated by Threats, they are kept constantly in

^a See before, p. 116. b. ^b The same, doubtless, with the *Ti-hyo-tau*, mentioned p. 117. b. In the English Translation, it is *Ti trio*: But this must be a Mistake, because the Chinese want the Letter r. ^c This must be meant of the Tartar City only, where the Palace stands: For the same Author informs us, that each of the two Cities, into which *Pe-king* is divided, contains five Quarters. ^d Magalbaens's Relation of China, p. 221. This Author gives us a Specimen here, in a few Lines, of one of their Lectures. ^e Magalbaens, as before, p. 227. ^f P. 16. b, only three *Ko-lau* are spoken of.

Government. the Employment, unless advanced ^a to a more a considerable Post ^b.

THEIR Method is, to inform the Emperor by private Memorials. His Majesty likewise makes use of the *Mandarins* of this Tribunal, to execute several Orders of Importance, that require Secrecy; and every Year deputes three. The first, called *Syong-tsing*, visits all the Merchants of the Court, and in the City of *Pe-king*, to discover sophisticated, or prohibited Goods: The second, *Syong-kang*, visits the Emperor's Lime-Burners. The third, called *Syong-shi-ning-ing*, is present at all the general Musters.

That of En-voys. THE Tribunal, called *Hing-jin-tse*, consists of Doctors, all of the seventh Order of *Mandarins*, like those of the preceding. These are employed either as Messengers, Envoys, or Ambassadors, to distant Parts of the Empire, or to Foreign States. As when the Emperor confers Titles of Honour on the Mother, or Wife of a *Mandarin* slain in the Wars, who has done his Sovereign and Country eminent Service; or is pleased to confirm the Election of the King of *Korea*, or any other neighbouring Sovereign. These Embassies are very honourable, and sometimes no less gainful.

Of Reason and Justice. THE Tribunal of *Tay-li-tse*, or *supream Reason and Justice*, is so called, because they are entrusted to examine all doubtful Causes, and to confirm, or annihilate the Sentences of other Tribunals, especially in Reference to Crimes that concern the Estates, Honour, and Life of the Subject. The Presidents of this Tribunal are of the third Order; their lateral Judges, or Assistants, of the fourth; and the other *Mandarins* of the fifth and sixth. When the Reasons upon which the Tribunal of Crimes condemns any Person to Death, appears doubtful to the Emperor, he refers the Matter to the Tribunal of *San-fa-tse*, which is, as it were, his Council of Conscience. Hereupon the *Tay-li-tse*, the *Tu-cha-ywen* ^c, or *superior Court of Visitors*, and the Tribunal of Crimes, being assembled, re-examine the Process in Presence of the Parties concerned, and often revoke the Sentence. Generally the Emperor confirms the Decision of those three Tribunals, whom it is not in the Power of the Prosecutor either to corrupt, or impose on.

Tong-ching-su. THE Tribunal *Tong-ching-tse*, takes Care to publish the Emperor's Orders and Commands at Court, to inform themselves of the Calamities, Oppressions, and Necessities the People labour under, and privately acquaint his Majesty therewith. They are likewise to communicate to him, or suppress, as they think proper, the Memorials of the military *Mandarins*, and Letters

that come from the fourteen Provinces, the *superannuated Mandarins* (who are obliged to no Duty) from the People, Soldiers, and Foreigners: But the *Mandarins* of the Province of *Pe-king* present their Memorials immediately to the Emperor himself. The Presidents of this Tribunal are of the third Order; their two first Assistants of the fourth; the two others of the fifth; and the rest of the *Mandarins*, who are many, of the sixth and seventh.

Court of Rites. THE Tribunal of *Tay-chang-tse* is, as it were, *Court of an Associate to the Li-pu, or supream Tribunal of Rites*. The Presidents are of the third Order, their Assistants of the fourth, and the rest of the fifth and sixth. They superintend the Emperor's Music and Sacrifices, together with the Temples where they are performed. The married *Bonzas* ^d are under their Jurisdiction. They give Orders for the Reception and Lodging of Strangers who come to Court, appointing two of their Number for that Purpose. Lastly, they take Cognizance of the public Whores, the Places where they dwell, and those who direct them in their infamous Trade. The *Chinese* call these Miscreants *Vang-pa*, that is to say, Men who have quite forgotten eight Virtues, viz. Obedience to their Parents, Affection for their Brethren, and other Kindred, Fidelity towards their Prince, Sincerity, Honesty, Justice, Modesty, and Chastity, together with all commendable Customs. This, which is the Signification of those two Words, or Characters, shews both the Force of their Language, and the Esteem they have for Virtue.

THE Tribunal *Quán-lo-tse* ^e, or of the *Royal of Imperial Inns*, provides the Wine, Animals, and all other Requisites for the Imperial Sacrifices. They likewise give Order for Banquets and Entertainment of those who are treated at the Emperor's Expence. This Tribunal is an Associate likewise to that of Rites. The Presidents are of the third Order; two of their Assistants of the fourth; the other two of the fifth; and the rest of the numerous *Mandarins* of the seventh Order.

THE *Mandarins* of the Tribunal *Tay-po-tse*, are of the same Orders with those of the former. Their Business is to take Care of the Horses, belonging both to the Emperor, and the Army. Having by their Agents bought-up the Numbers wanted, they send them to the Tribunal of War, to which this is an Assistant, who distribute them among the Officers, and Frontier Places. During the Government of the *Chinese*, those Horses were furnished by the Provinces; but now the Western *Tartars* bring them to the

^a Le Comte was told, their Employ was perpetual, for the same Reasons.

^c In the Translation *Tu-li-ywen*, by Mistake. ^d Or those of the *Tau-tse*.

^e for *tse*, for which the French Missioners blame the Portuguese.

^b Du Halde's *China*, p. 250.

^c Magalhães all along writes Court.

Government. Court. The Emperor buys, every Year, seventy thousand, besides what are purchased by the great Lords, the civil and military *Mandarins*, the Soldiers, and the People, which amount to double, or treble the Number.

Court of Mathe- THE *Kin-tyen-tyen*, or *Tribunal of the Mathematics*. The Presidents are of the fifth Order; their Assistants of the sixth; and the rest of the *Mandarins* of the seventh and eighth^a. This Tribunal is subordinate to that of the Rites: It is also divided into two Chambers, whereof the principal and most numerous, called *Li-ko*, is solely employed about calculating the Motions of the Stars, observing the Heavens, composing the Kalendar, and other astronomical Affairs. The second, named *Lu-ko*, besides other Business more peculiar to it, is employed to determine the proper Days for Marriages, Burials, and other civil Matters: But in this they have little Trouble more than to copy an ancient *Chinese Book*, wherein almost all these Things are already settled, according to the Year of the sexagenary Cycle^b.

That of Physic. THE *Ta-i-ywen*, or *Tribunal of Medicine*, is composed of the Physicians belonging to the Emperor, Queens, and Princes. They also take Care of all others, whom his Majesty out of his especial Care, Grace, and Favour, orders them to visit, and prepare the Medicines themselves. The *Mandarins* of this are of the same Order as are those of the preceding Tribunal, and depend likewise on the Tribunal of Rites.

The Groom-Porter. THE Tribunal of *Hong-lu-tse* supplies the Office of Groom-Porter, and Master of the Ceremonies, when the Emperor gives Audience, or enters the Imperial Hall, to receive the Homages of the Grandees and *Mandarins*. This Tribunal is an Assistant to that of Rites. The Presidents are of the fourth Order; the Assistants of the fifth and sixth; and the rest of the *Mandarins* of the seventh and eighth.

Court of the Seal. THE Tribunal, called *Shang-len-ywen*, takes Care of the Gardens, Orchards, and Parks: Likewise of the breeding of Cattle, Sheep, Hogs, wild Ducks, Fowl, and other Animals made use of in the Royal Sacrifices, Feasts, and Inns. It is subject to the Tribunal of Rites, and the *Mandarins* are of the same Order with those of the Tribunals of the Mathematics and Physic.

THE Tribunal of *Shang-pau-tse*^c lodges in the Palace, and takes Care of the Emperor's Seal. They are obliged to give the Emperor Notice both when it is delivered to, or returned by any Tribunal that has Occasion to make use of it. They prepare the Seals of all the Tribunals of

the Court and Empire: They appoint also the Letters and Marks that are to be graved upon them, when his Majesty honours any Person with some new Title, or Employment; or when, for some Reason of State, he is pleased to change the Seals. When the grand Tribunal of *Mandarins* wants to confer Commands, and give Dispatches to the *Mandarins* either of the Court, or Provinces, they send for them to this Tribunal, having first obtained the Emperor's Leave. The Presidents of this Court have but two Assistants, both Doctors, and of the fifth Order. The rest are of the Number of those who have been made *Mandarins* out of Favour, and are only of the seventh, or eighth Order.

Inferior Tri- THE *Kin-i-ghey*, or *Tribunal of Royal Guards*, consists of several hundred military *Mandarins*, divided into four Classes. They of the first Class are of the second Order of *Mandarins*; those of the second, of the third; they of the third, are of the fourth; and those of the fourth Class, are of the fifth Order. Their Business is to guard the Emperor's Person, when he goes-out of his Palace, or gives Audience to the Grandees and *Mandarins*. They likewise apprehend and arrest Persons considerable for their Birth, or Dignity. They are generally the Brothers, or other Kindred of the Queens; the Sons, or Nephews of great *Mandarins*, or of such as have performed eminent Services. They are never advanced to other Tribunals, like the rest of the *Mandarins*. However, they are preferred in their own, and frequently to the Dignity of *Shang-pau*^d, or *Ko-lan*, who are Counsellors of State. Though military *Mandarins*, they are exempt from the Jurisdiction of the *Ping-pu*, or supreme Tribunal of Arms, as being only subject to the Emperor; and as they are always near his Person, are greatly feared and respected.

Of State-Prisoners. To this Tribunal belong two inferior Tribunals, that abide in particular Places. The first is called *Nan-chin*, or the *Watch-Tower of the South*. Their Office is to attend those who are sent to apprehend any Grandees. Those of the second, called *Pe-chin*, or *Watch-Tower of the North*, receive and guard the Prisoners while in Custody, till released by the Emperor's Order, or delivered over to the Tribunal of Crimes. The Presidents of these two Tribunals are of the fifth Order; and the inferior *Mandarins*, which are very numerous, of the seventh.

THE two Tribunals, called *Swi-ke-tse*, subject of the *Cass-* to the *Hu-pu*, or Treasury, are properly Directors of the Audits of the Tolls, paid for Slaves,

^a *Magalbani's Relation of China*, p. 228, & seqq. ^b *Du Halde's China*, p. 69. ^c *Shang-pau* signifies a precious Stone, alluding to the Seal which is made of one like Agate. See before, p. 241. ^d The Title of the Presidents of the six supreme Tribunals.

Government. Horses, Camels, and all other Things brought to *Pe-king*, and sold there. The Presidents are of the seventh Order, and the inferior *Mandarins* of the eighth and ninth.

Of the Household.

THE *Tu-pu* is, as it were, the Tribunal of the ordinary Judge of the King's Household. The Presidents are of the second Order; his Assistants of the third; and the rest of the *Mandarins* of the seventh and eighth. Their Business is twofold: First, to arrest and prosecute Robbers, and other Malefactors: If adjudged worthy of Death, they deliver them over to the Tribunal of Crimes, but punish Offences that are not capital. Secondly, to arrest and punish fugitive Slaves. To this Tribunal there belongs a great Number of Bailiffs, and Thief-takers, who manage their Business with more than ordinary Industry and Cunning ^a.

BESIDES the Tribunals at *Pe-king*, already described, there are those peculiar to the City itself, which will be treated of in the next Article.

3. The Tribunals of Provinces and Cities.

Tribunals, provincial. Presidents and Officers. Tribunals civil and criminal. Other provincial Tribunals. Tribunals of Cities. Of the three Ranks: Their Officers. Inferior Tribunals. Other Tribunals: Their Jurisdictions. Inferior Officers. Tribunal for Learning. Check of Visitors: Inform the Emperor by Petition: Their Intrepidity. Pleasant Story

Tribunals, provincial.

TO each of the fifteen Provinces (including *Pe-che-li*) there belongs a supream Tribunal, which superintends all the rest. The Presidents bear the Titles of *Tu-tang*, *Kyun-mwen*, *Tu-ywen*, *Syun-fu*, with several others, importing no more than Governor of a Province, or Vice-Roy. These Presidents are of the first, second, or third Order, according to the Emperor's Pleasure. They are intrusted with the whole Government, as well in Times of Peace, as War; and with the Command of the People and Soldiers, as well in civil, as criminal Matters. They communicate to the Emperor, and the six supream Tribunals, all Affairs of Importance. On the other Side, all that Monarch's Orders, and Dispatches, as well as those of the superior Tribunals, are directed to this; and all the *Mandarins* of the Province are bound to repair to it, when any Affair of Moment is under Consideration.

Presidents and Officers.

THE Vice-Roy, the Visitor called *Ngan-tay*,

or *Ngan-ywen*, and the *Tsing-ping*, or General ^b, are the supream Presidents of the provincial Tribunals, having under them several inferior *Mandarins*, to assist in the Dispatch of Business: And though these three great Officers have their Palaces in the capital City of the Province, yet they are not always resident there, but keep their Circuits, from Place to Place, as Business requires. The Palace belonging to this Tribunal, like those at the Court, contains two other Tribunals, which are not inferior, but Assistants to the first. That on the Left-hand, called *Tjan-ching*, is the most considerable: Its Presidents are both of the second Degree of the third Order. The other, on the Right-hand, is called *Tjan-i*. The Presidents are both equal, and of the second Degree of the fourth Order. The Business of the inferior *Mandarins* (of these three Tribunals) ^c called *Shew-lyen-quan*, is to decide all civil Matters, as well as to pay and receive all the Revenues of the Province ^c.

Provincial Tribunals.

Tribunals civil and criminal.

IN all the capital Cities of Provinces, two Tribunals are established, one for civil, the other for criminal Affairs. The first, called *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, named *Ngan-cha-tse*, has a President of the third Order, and instead of Assistants, two Classes of *Mandarins*; the first called *To-tse*, of the first Order; the second *Syen-tse*, of the fifth: Both Classes have the common Name of *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, called *I-chwen-tau*, have the Care of the Posts, as also of the Imperial Inns and Barks within their Districts: Others, named *Ping-pi-tau*, have the Inspection of the Army: The *Tun-tyen-tau* visit the Sea-Coasts ^d. They have all a Power to punish Criminals, and are as the Substitutes of the six supream Tribunals of the Court.

Other provincial Tribunals.

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 through the Provinces, and to hinder private Traders from selling it in Prejudice to the Revenue: The President of this Tribunal is called *Yen-fa-tau*. 2. The

^a Magalhaens's Relation of China, p. 232, & seqq. p. 241, & seq. ^b See before, p. 252. ^c Magalhaens says, their Business is to drain the Lands, and level the Highway, which seems the more just Account.

Governments. Mandarin General, of the Tribute of Rice, a vernal *Tay-ya*, that is, *the great, or first Lord*; the other three the second, third, or fourth Lord. *Provincial Tribunals.*
 named *Lyang-tau*. 3. Another Mandarin General, called *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 ^a.

Tribunals of Cities. EVERY District, as well as Province, has its own Tribunal, or Court, for preserving Order, and distributing Justice: These reside in their respective chief Cities, whether of the first, second, or third Rank, called *Fu*, *Chew* and *Hyen*. Their Presidents are the Governors of these Cities, or Districts, and called from thence *Chi-fu*, *Chi-chew*, and *Chi-hyen*.
 b

THERE are, in *China*, an hundred and seventy-three Tribunals, or Jurisdictions, of the first Sort, or *Fu*, immediately subject to the General Officers and Governors of each Province; fourteen hundred and eight inferior Tribunals, or subordinate Jurisdictions, depending immediately on the *Chi-fu*, whereof eleven hundred and seventy-three are *Hyen*, and two hundred and thirty-five *Chew*; these latter however differ somewhat from each other. The greater Part have no Authority over the *Hyen*; but some have a Jurisdiction over one, two, and sometimes four *Hyen*, almost equal to that of the *Chi-fu*, but depending immediately on the Vice-Roy ^b.

Of the three Ranks. THE *Chi-fu* of all Cities of the first Rank in the Provinces (except *Pe-king*) is a Mandarin of the fourth Order, and has three Assistants, called *Tong-chi*, *Tong-pwen*, and *Chui-quan*, who are of the sixth and seventh Orders: They are called second, third, and fourth Lords, of the second, third, or fourth Chair, or of the second, third, or fourth City, in regard the President is called the first Lord, the first Chair, and the first City. There are four other inferior Mandarins, called *King-lye-chu-tse*, *Chau-mo*, and *Kin-kyau*, who are only of the seventh, eighth, or ninth Order. All the Cities of the Empire are provided with such Mandarins as these: But if it be a Place of great Trade, or the District large, their Number is doubled.
 c

Their Offices. THE *Chi-chew*, or President of Tribunals in Cities of the second Rank, of the second Degree of the fifth Order, has two Assistants, the first called *Chew-long*, the second *Chew-pwon*, who are of the second Degree of the sixth and seventh Order. He has under him also a third Mandarin, called *Li-mo*, of the second Degree of the ninth Order. The People call this Go-
 d

vernor *Tay-ya*, that is, *the great, or first Lord*; the other three the second, third, or fourth Lord.

THE *Chi-hyen*, or President of Tribunals in third-Rate Cities, is of the first Degree of the seventh Order. He has also two Assistants, the first called *Hyen-ching*, of the eighth Order; the second *Chu-pu*, and of the ninth. He has also a third under him, who is called *Tyen-tse*, who is of no Order; but if he acquit himself well of his Employments for three Years, he is advanced, on Recommendation from the Governors ^c, as hath been before remarked ^d.

WHEN Cities for Largeness of District are said to be double, each Part has its peculiar Tribunal; besides that of the *Chi-fu*, which is much more numerous, more powerful, and often differently named. For Instance, *Pe-king*, besides the chief Tribunal, called *Fu-in*, being divided into two Cities under distinct Governors, has two Tribunals more, one called *Tay-hing-hyen*, the other *Ven-ping-hyen*. These depend on the first. The two Governors being superior to all the other Governors of the *Fu*, or chief Cities in the Empire, are of the third Order of Mandarins, and their Assistants of the fourth. The first superintends the Students, and *Literati*, who are not yet Mandarins: The Office of the second is to instruct the People, and defend them from the Rich, to punish the Vicious, and reward the Virtuous: Lastly, to prepare the Place, and all Things necessary, for the public Sacrifices. The Business of the Tribunals of other Cities is the same with this, except in the last Article: The Business of the two superior Courts, as well as of the Tribunals of all other Cities, is the same with that of the first. Their Presidents are of the sixth Order, as being in Cities where the Court resides; but in those of the Provinces they are of the seventh Order, and their Assistants of the seventh, eighth, and ninth ^e.

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
 f

^a Magalhães's Relation of *China*, p. 242, & seq. p. 5.
^c Magalhães, as before, p. 244, & seq. p. 256.

Du Halde's China, p. 251.
^d See before, p. 250. d.

^b *Du Halde*, as before,
^e Magalhães, as before,

Government. farther, he may reckon three Cities, where there are but one ^a. For Instance, the Town which, in the History of the Province of *Quey-chew*, is called *Li-ping-fu*, is in Reality the same, which in the Province of *Hu-quang*, is called *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 *Quey-chew*, and of a *Wey-shew-py*, who depends on the Province of *Hu-quang*, as a military Officer ^b.

Their Jurisdictions. THE Governors of Cities, who are inferior *Mandarins*, do not commonly determine Matters of Importance themselves, but are obliged 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*. The *Tsong-tu* himself is subject to the same Tribunals ^c. As the Officers of the Army depend likewise, in some Respects, upon the Vice-Roy, and are obliged, 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 supream 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 d thereto, of taking-away their Seal ^d.

Inferior Officers. EVERY *Mandarin* has the Officers of his Tribunal lodged in his Palace ^e. These Officers 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 supream 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 supream 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, though the *Mandarins* are often changed, either by being cashiered, or removed into other Provinces ^f.

Tribunal for Learning. LASTLY, In all the Towns and Cities of the Empire, there is a Tribunal, composed of a President, and at least two or three Assistants, called *Kyau-quan*, or *Judges of the Literati*. Their Business is to take Care of Learning, and learned f Men: Especially to inspect the Bachelors of Art, who are very numerous, and frequently very

a poor; yet trusting to their Privileges, become insolent. They use many knavish Arts, and even Violence, to get Money from the Rich, as well as Poor; and often throw-off the Respect due to the Presidents and Governors. This Court was therefore erected to punish them, either by Whipping, or other Penalties; and to degrade them, if incorrigible. For this Reason, the Bachelors stand in great Awe of those *Mandarins*. This Court has Power also to assemble, from Time to Time, all the Graduates of the City, and old *Mandarins* excused from Service by reason of their Age; and to examine them, by giving them Themes, as hath been already set forth ^g: So that these Officers are rather Professors, than Magistrates ^h.

THESE inferior Tribunals of Provinces and Cities have also their Checks on them, as well as the supream Courts of the Empire, particularly in the Visitors, or Censors, called *Ko-li*, *Ko-tau*, and *Ko-tau-yu-se*. As soon as the fourteen Visitors, sent by the Tribunal of *Tu-chu-ywen*, enter their respective Provinces, they are superior to the Vice-Roys, and all other *Mandarins*; who stand so much in Dread of them, that it is become a common Proverb, *The Rat has seen the Cat*. Nor is it without Reason, that they fear these Censors, since it is in their Power to take-away their Employments, and ruin them. The Visitation being finished, they return to Court, generally laden with four or five hundred thousand Crowns; for the *Mandarins* who are guilty will bleed freely, to stave-off an Accusation to the Emperor. Others give something to prevent a false Information. They divide their Spoils, with the first Presidents, and their Assistants; after which they give both them, and the Emperor, an Account of their Visitation. They rarely impeach any, but such whose Injustice and Oppressions are so public, that it is impossible to conceal them; or, who through Virtue, or Poverty, fail to gratify their Avarice ⁱ.

As these provincial Censors are very vigilant, *Inform the Emperor* and have their Spies, they can be ignorant of nothing that passes. If any *Mandarin* neglects his Duty, in a Matter of Importance, and the Vice-Roy does not give immediate Notice thereof, the Censors are obliged to inform the supream Courts, and the Emperor, by a public Accusation. If they be the first by whom his Majesty is apprized of the Disorder, it redounds much to their Honour: On the other Hand, if they fail of so doing, they are liable to be removed from their

^a On this Occasion the Author very rightly observes, that to write with Certainty the Geography of a large Country, it is not enough to travel over it barely for Information, but one must be furnished with the proper Helps. ^b Du Halde's China, p. 2. ^c The same, p. 251. ^d The same, p. 3. ^e See before, p. 104. 2. ^f Du Halde, as before, p. 284. ^g P. 115, & seqq. ^h Magalhães's Relation of China, p. 247, & seqq. ⁱ The same, p. 222.

Government. Employments. Positive Proof is not required; a if their Report has the Air of Truth, it is sufficient Ground for an Information.

By Petition. THEIR Method of giving Information to the Emperor, is by Petitions, which are dispersed through the Empire. When his Majesty, according to Custom, refers them to the Tribunals to deliberate upon, the *Mandarins* seldom raise any Objections, for Fear of being accused themselves. It is true, this gives them a great Power; yet nothing, perhaps, contributes more to preserve Peace, good Order, and the ancient Customs. If they be ill treated, either by the Intrigues of the *Grandeess*, whom they have accused, or by the Emperors, who sometimes are offended at the Advice their Office obliges them to give, the whole Nation look on them as Fathers of their Country, and Martyrs for the public Welfare; while the Emperor is sure to draw on himself very odious Names, which the Historians would take Care to transmit to Posterity.

Their Integrity. In short, these Censors seldom or never change their Resolution. If the Court, or the great Tribunal seeks to elude the Justice of their Complaints, they return to the Charge, and make it appear that they have not answered conformable to the Laws: Some of them having persevered two whole Years in accusing a Vice-Roy supported by the *Grandeess*, and without being discouraged by Delays, or frightened by the most terrifying Menaces, have at length compelled the Court to degrade him, and avoid disgusting the People. But if in this Sort of Combat between the Prince and State, in the Name of which the Censor acts, 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 *Peking* return him their Thanks, and what he has done for Justice, is looked-on as a singular Favour.

Pleasant Story. NAVARETTE observes, that when the Emperor gives these Visitors his Seal, which they carry fastened on their right Arm, they are as terrible as so many Thunderbolts. On Occasion of this Seal, we meet with the following pleasant Story. A Visitor having lost his Seal, by the Artifice, as he suspected, of the Governor of the City, who was his Enemy, disappeared of a sudden, pretending to be dangerously ill. A *Mandarin*, his Friend, suspecting something amiss, went to his Palace, and having, with much Difficulty, gotten Admittance to his Chamber, at last learned from him the Cause of his Distress. His Friend thereupon advised him, after removing his best Effects out of that Apartment, to

set it on Fire, and then deliver publicly into the Governor's Hands, the little Coffre where the Seals were kept, desiring him to keep it till he had Occasion for it: And if he, my Lord, added the *Mandarin*, maliciously caused the Seals to be stolen, he will re-place them in the Coffre; or you may accuse him with having lost them. The Matter, it seems, succeeded, as the *Mandarin* had foreseen; and the Visitor recovered his Seal again.

b 4. Manner of proceeding in civil, and criminal Affairs.

Causes soon dispatched. Appeals, in what Cases. Judges civil, and military. No Lawyers Fees. Criminal Proceedings: Great Precaution. Punishments adequated. Form of Condemnation. Proceedings in capital Matters strictly examined. Mighty Tenderness for the Life of Persons. Dead Warrant. Execution-Day.

Causes soon dispatched. 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 bastonadoed, for having commenced it with no good Design, or defended it against all Appearance of Equity.

d CAUSES of small Importance are generally heard in the inferior Tribunals. However, the Plaintiff may bring his Action in any higher Court, without applying first to the lower. For Instance, an Inhabitant of a City of the first Rank, instead of having Recourse to his own Governor, may apply himself to the Governor of the capital City of the Province, or even to the Vice-Roy; and when once an Affair comes before a superior Judge, the inferior ones cannot take Cognizance of it, unless remitted to them by the superior Magistrates, as it often is.

Appeals, in what Cases. WHEN the Cause is of great Consequence, there lies an Appeal from the Vice-Roy to one of the supream Courts at *Peking*, according to the Nature of the Business. There it is first examined in one of the under Offices, from whence a Report being made to the President of the supream Office, he gives Sentence, after advising with his Assistants, and communicating his Opinion to the *Ko-lau*, who then carry it to the Emperor. Sometimes the Emperor desires better Information, sometimes gives Sentence on the Spot. In this Case the supream Court makes a Brief of the Sentence, in his Majesty's Name, and sends it to the Vice-Roys, for them to put it

^a Du Halde's China, p. 3, 70, and 250. before, p. 243.

^d The same, p. 3.

^b Navarette's Description of China, p. 18.

^c Du Halde, as

Government. in Execution. A Sentence pronounced in this a Manner is irrevocable; they call it *the holy Commandment, which is without Defect, or Partiality* ^a.

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 his Majesty interrogates the Tribunals, by Way of Information, 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.

Judges civil and military. As all the Courts in the Province depend on the Vice-Roy, and the four other General Officers, who are his Assistants, according to the Nature of the Business: So if the Affair relates to the Revenue, and civil Matters, it is brought before the *Pu-ching-tse*, or Treasurer-General: If a criminal Cause, it is referred to the *Ngan-cha-tse*, or Lieutenant-Criminal: 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 applied to in Cases of a different Nature: Because all the inferior Courts of the Provinces depend on them, and their Presidents are by their Stations Counsellors to the Vice-Roy; in which Quality they are obliged, several Times every Month, to attend his Tribunal on Matters of Importance relating to the Province ^b.

No Lawyers Fees. ONE Thing more ought to be added for the Honour of the *Chinese* Legislators, and to shew how truly they had the Interest of the People at Heart, that no Fees are paid for the Administration of Justice. The Judge, whose Office cost him nothing, and who has his Salary stated, can require nothing of the Parties at Law; which impowers every poor Man to sue for his Rights, and frees him from being oppressed by the Opulence of his Adversary ^c.

Criminal Proceedings. WITH REGARD to criminal Proceedings, there is no need of having a Warrant to carry Offenders before the Magistrate, or that the Magistrate should sit in a Court of Justice to hear their Accusation and Defence. Such Formalities are not insisted on in *China*. Where-ever the Magistrate sees a Fault, there he has Power to punish it on the Spot, be it in the Street, on the Highway, or in a private House, it is all one: He may take-up a Gamester, a Cheat, or debauched Per-

son, and without any Ceremony order some of his Attendants to give him twenty or thirty Stripes. Notwithstanding this Punishment, he may be accused a second Time by the Person damaged in a superior Court, where he is tried, and usually receives a farther Punishment ^d.

IN all criminal Prosecutions the Emperor *Great* names a Commissioner, unless the Criminal, by *caution* his Office, or Quality, be privileged to object to him. If the Emperor dislikes the first Sentence, he may commission new Judges to re-examine it until the Sentence be agreeable to his Mind; for otherwise it would be in the Power of Money, or Artifice, to save a Man, whose Life would be noxious to the State ^e. Before the criminal Matters come to a definitive Sentence, they commonly pass through 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 oppressed, although they lie a long While in Prison ^f.

WHEN Thieves are apprehended, if armed, *Punishments* they by the Law suffer Death; but if they are *adequated* found in no Condition to wound, or kill anybody, they inflict some other corporal Punishment, according to the Quality of the Goods stolen: If they have taken nothing, the Judges are satisfied by punishing them with thirty or forty Blows of the Battoon. They say, these Felons rob by Favour of a Drug, whose Fume casts the People of the House into a deep Sleep ^g; and the *Chinese* are so persuaded of the Truth of this, that Travellers cause a Basin of cold Water to be brought into their Chamber in the Inn, as an infallible Remedy to frustrate the Power, or Charm of the Drug ^h.

THE Bastinado, Wooden-Ruff, and Imprisoning, are all the Punishments which 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, before it can be put in Execution: But they must never go so far as to take-away Life, except the Nature of the Crime require speedy Justice, as in Cases of Sedition, or Revolt; then the Emperor gives Authority to the *Tsong-tu*, and even to the Vice-Roy, to punish the Offenders with immediate Death ⁱ.

WHEN the Criminal is to be condemned, the *Form of* *Con-*

^a *Le Comte's Memoirs of China*, p. 269. ^b *Du Halde's China*, p. 2, 70, & seq. ^c *Le Comte*, as before, p. 287, & seq. ^d *The same*, p. 269. ^e *The same*, p. 284. ^f *Du Halde*, as before, p. 310. ^g See before, p. 74. d. ^h *Le Comte*, as before, p. 242, & seq. ⁱ *Du Halde*, as before, p. 3, & seq.

Gov. or Mandarin orders him to be brought into the Tribunal, where commonly there is prepared a short Repast; at least before Sentence is given, they never fail to offer him Wine, which is called *Tsi-seng*^a. After the Sentence is read, the Criminal sometimes breaks-out into abusive Language, and Invectives, against those who condemned 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.

Proceedings in capital THE Judgments passed-on all Persons for Crimes worthy of Death, are to be examined, agreed to, and subscribed by the Emperor. The Mandarins send to Court an Account of the Trials, with their own Decision, mentioning the particular Law on which their Sentence is grounded: For Instance, *such a one is guilty of a Crime, and the Law declares, that those who are guilty of it, shall be strangled; for which Reason I have condemned him to be strangled.* Hereupon the supreme Tribunal of criminal Affairs examines the Fact, 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's Clemency always inclines him to do what is desired, that the Sentence, which concerns a Thing of such extraordinary Consequence, as the Life of a Man, may not be pronounced rashly, and without the most convincing Proof. When the superior Tribunal has received the Informations required, it presents a second Time its Deliberation to the Emperor, who either confirms the same, or else diminishes the Rigour 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.*

Mighty Tenderness for IN China every Thing is canvassed 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, and 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 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.

The Life of Persons 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 judged and condemned by all the Houses of Parliament, assembled in a Body^b. The second Copy having been examined, 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 examined by his most skilful Officers of both Nations who are at Pe-king.

Dead Warrant WHEN the Crime is very enormous, the Emperor, in signing the Dead-Warrant, adds, *As soon as this Order shall be received, let him be executed without Delay.* As for capital Crimes, which have nothing uncommon in them, his Majesty writes this Sentence underneath, *Let the Criminal be kept in Prison till Autumn, and then be executed.* For there is a fixed Day in Autumn, whereon all capital Offenders are put to Death^c.

5. Punishments inflicted on Criminals.

Justice slow, but sure. The Pan-tse, or Bastinado, how applied. Vicarious Punishment. The Chinese Li-tors. Strolling Beggars. Fortune-Tellers. Itinerant Quacks. Mandarins bastonaded. Cangue, or portable Pillory, an uneasy Burden: A shameful Punishment: Inflicted on Women. Punishments for slight Faults. A Gamester punished. Banishment. Gallies. Branding on the Cheeks. Chinese Slaves gently treated. Capital Punishments: Strangling. Beheading ignominious: Manner of it: The Executioner: Disgraceful Punish-

^a That is, offered, or offering Wine: *Tsi* being the same Word with that made use of when they offer any Thing to their Ancestors. ^b 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. ^c Du Halde's China, p. 241, 312, & seq. See also Le Comte's Memoirs of China, p. 254.

Government.

ment. Depriving of Burial. Cutting in Pieces. a
Kinds of Torture; ordinary: Extraordinary
Torture. Horrid Punishment.

Justice slow,
but sure.

THOUGH Justice, in China, seems slow, by reason the Proceedings are lengthened-out (not for Sake of enriching the Lawyers, but) that Men may not be unjustly deprived of such considerable Benefits as Life and Honour; yet no Offences whatever escape Punishment, that of each being fixed, and proportioned to the Enormity of the Crime. The *Pan-tse*, or Bastonado, is commonly applied for slight Faults, and the Number of Blows according to the Quality thereof. It is the usual Chastisement inflicted on the Soldiers, placed as Centinels in the Night-Time in Streets and public Places of great Cities, when found asleep. 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 sees and carries-it to them as usual. A little Matter will incur this Fatherly Chastisement, as having filched any Trifle, used abusive Language, or given a few Blows with the Fist; for if these Things reach the Mandarin's Ears, he immediately sets the *Pan-tse* at Work. 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.

How applied.

THE *Pan-tse* is a thick Piece of split Bambù, (a hard, large, and heavy Sort of Cane) several Feet long: The lower-End is as broad as one's Hand, the upper smooth and small, that it may be more easily managed. When the Mandarin sits in Judgment, he is surrounded by Officers, holding these Instruments in their Hands; who upon a Sign given, by the Magistrate throwing on the Ground small Sticks, about six Inches long, and two broad (which he takes-out of a Case lying before him on a Table) seize the Offender, and laying him along with his Face towards the Ground, pull his Breeches over his Heels: Then for every Stick a different Officer gives him five Blows with the *Pan-tse*, on the bare Skin, that so they may fall the heavier. However, it is observable, that four Blows are reckoned as five, which they call the Grace of the Emperor, who as a compassionate Father 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 light, as to be scarcely felt. For this Punishment is so violent, that one Stroke

is enough to fell a Person who is of a tender Constitution, and oftentimes People die of it: For Money likewise, Men may be hired everywhere, to bear the Punishment in the Offender's Place, as hath been already observed. *Le Comte* affirms, that by such a Trick as this, *Yang-quang-syen*, the famous Prosecutor of the Missioners, escaped the Sentence of Death, and let it fall on another, whom he had hired to bear the Punishment he expected to be condemned-to, which he made the poor Wretch believe would be no more than a good Drubbing at worst. But this Story is palpably forged by the Author, to be revenged on that Enemy of his Religion. This appears from many Reasons; but it is enough to observe, that *Yang-quang-syen* was pardoned by the Emperor: Nor can a Mandarin order a Person to be executed, till his Trial be sent to Court, and the Sentence confirmed there.

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 happens to be on Horseback when he passes-by, and does not alight, or crosses the Street in his Presence, it is sufficient to incur five or six Blows by his Order; which are applied so nimbly, that often the honest has gotten his Due, before those about him knew any Thing of the Matter. The *Pan-tse* is Punishment for sturdy Beggars, Strollers, Night-walkers, or idle People, who cannot give a good Account of themselves.

CHINA swarms with strolling Beggars, Musicians, and Fortune-tellers. These Vagrants travel in Companies, sometimes all Blind-folks; and are as great Impostors as the Gypsies of Europe. They practise many Austerities to extort Alms, as scourging their Bodies, laying burning Coals on their Heads, striking their Foreheads against a Stone, or one another, till huge Lumps arise, or they fall-down quite stunned. They will continue inflicting these Severities on themselves till they die, unless the Spectators give them something to desist. Most of them are Cripples, having wry Necks or Mouths, broken Backs, long hooked Noses, Eyes blind or squinting, and lame Arms or Legs. Besides those who are born with such Deformities, many are lamed whilst Infants by their Parents, who put them to incredible Torture.

SOME Women, purposely blinded by their Parents, go-about with Gittars to get their Bread.

^a Du Halde's China, p. 310, & seq. *Le Comte's* Memoirs of China, p. 291.

p. 365. b.

^c The same, p. 232. b.

^d *Le Comte*, as before, p. 293.

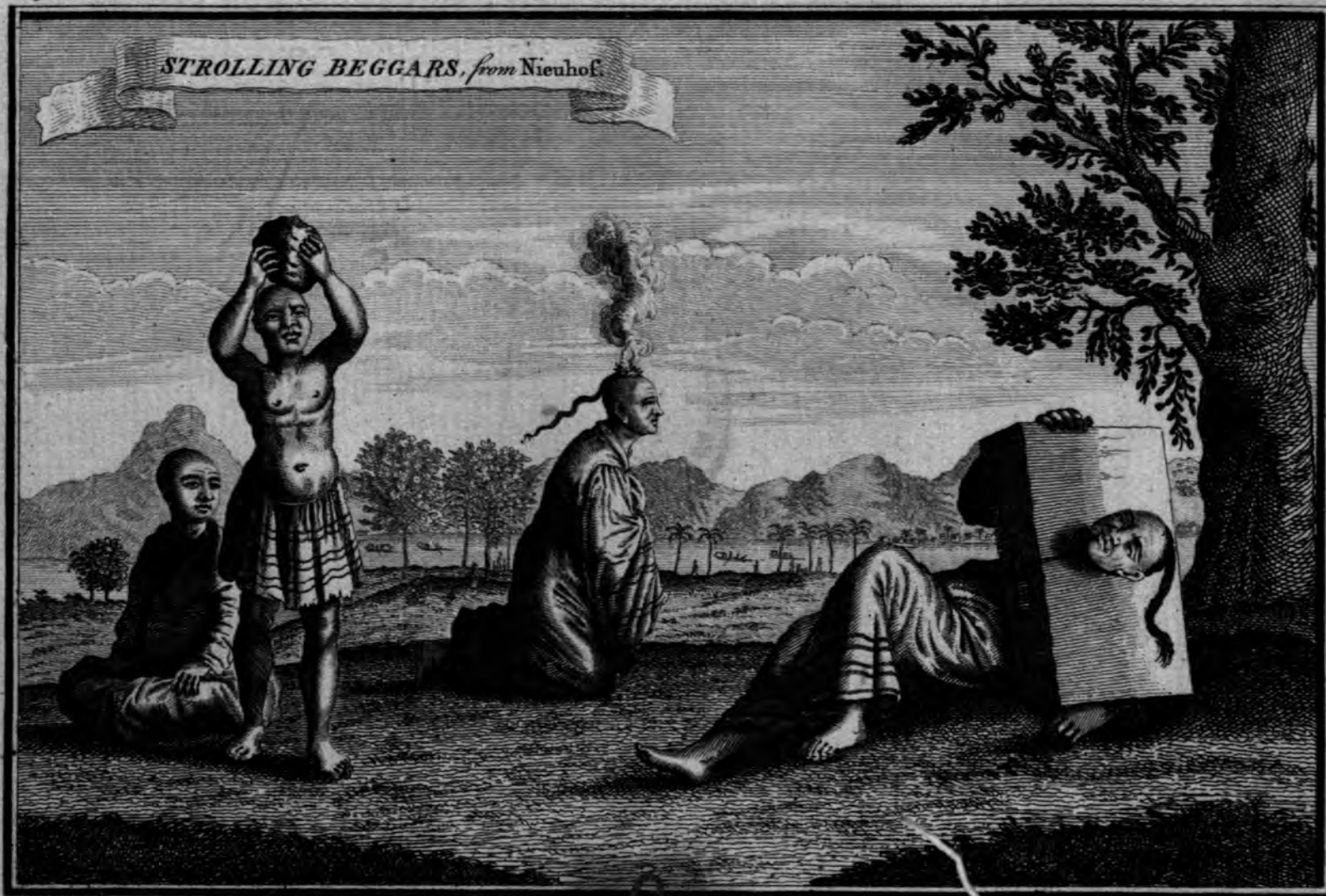
^e Du Halde, as before, p. 3, and

311.

^f Montanus in Ogil. Chin. p. 306.

^b See before, Vol. III.

STROLLING BEGGARS, from Nieuhof.



STROLLING BEGGARS from Nieuhof



Grover's ent.

Torment Quacks.

Belt
ignot

Mandarins
bastonaded.

Cangue, or
portable Pil-
lory.

Others playing on Instruments, calculate Nativities, and pretend to understand Physiognomy^a. You shall see likewise the Mountebanks riding through the Towns and Villages on the Backs of Tigers, and other wild Beasts, made tame; which walk slowly along, whisking their Tails, and carrying Branches of Trees in their Mouths. The Rider hath commonly over his other Cloaths a wide Coat with prodigious large Sleeves, and a Belt worn like a Scarf over his right Shoulder, and under his left Arm. In his left Hand he carries a Sword, which he flourishes by Intervals, extolling his Balfoms, Plaisters, and other Medicines, as infallible Remedies for all Wounds and Distempers whatever. He is generally accompanied with deformed People, following him on Crutches, or with Rattles: Most of them go naked; others wear wide Coats, full of Patches of divers Colours; and some appear with Wings fixed to their Temples^b.

To return to the *Pan-tse*: The *Mandarins* themselves are liable to the Battoon for Offences committed: But it cannot be inflicted on any, however inconsiderable, unless he be first deprived of his Office: Yet this is no great Matter in his Favour, since the Vice-Roy has Power to cashier him on certain Occasions, without waiting for the Answers 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. It is true, 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 Vice-Roy from acting precipitately, and abusing his Authority^c. In a Word, Masters give this Kind of Correction to their Scholars, Fathers to their Children, and Noblemen to their Domestic; with this Difference, that the Battoon is neither so long nor so large as that of the Magistrate.

ANOTHER Punishment, less painful, but more infamous, is the wooden Collar, which the *Portuguese* call *Cangue*. It is composed of two Pieces of Wood closed together, with a Hole in the Middle, to fit the Neck of the Offender^d; who, when this Machine is on, can neither see his Feet, nor put his Hand to his Mouth; so that he must be fed by some other Person. 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 *Cangues* is fifty or sixty Pounds; but some weigh

a 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 Feet square, and five or six Inches thick.

THE Criminals, however, find different Ways to mitigate this Punishment: Some walk in Company with their Relations and Friends, who support the four Corners of the *Cangue*, 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 who pass along the Street.

WHEN they have fixed this portable Pillory about the Neck of the Criminal, in the *Mandarin's* Presence, they paste on each Side, over the Place where the Boards join, two long Slips of Paper, four Inches broad, on which they clap a Seal, to prevent the *Cangue* from being opened. Then they write in large Characters how long this Punishment is to last, and the Crime for which it was inflicted. 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*^e, &c. He shall wear the *Cangue* for three Months in such a Place.

THE Place, where they are exposed, is generally at the Gate of a Temple, of the City, or of the *Mandarin's* Tribunal; at the Corners of Streets, or in a public Square^f. When the Time of Punishment is expired, the Officers of the Tribunal bring-back the Offender to the *Mandarin*, who, after exhorting him to amend his Courses, frees him from the *Cangue*; 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 *Bastonado*.

THIS Punishment is more common for Men than Women: Nevertheless, *Contancin* the Missioner met, near a Tribunal, with a *Bonze*, or Kind of Nun, carrying the *Cangue*. Though all Persons whatever are forbidden to enter their Convents, and they are obliged to live a Life of Chastity while they continue there, yet those Rules are often broken through. This Female being accused of having had a Child, the *Mandarin* cited her before his Tribunal; and, after a severe Reprimand, told her, that since she could not live continently, it was fit she should

Kinds of Punishments.

An uneasy Burden.

A shameful Punishment

Inflicted on Women.

^a Navarrette's Description of China, p. 55.

^b Montanus in Ogil. Chin. p. 306.

^c Du Halde's China,

p. 3. ^d Like the Boards of a Pillory, in which the Offender's Neck is fastened. ^e The Chinese are excessive Gamesters, often staking their whole Fortune at one Bet, and playing away their Wives, Children, and themselves, who become the Winner's Slaves.

^f This seems to be the same Punishment called *Karkan*, by

Le Comte, who makes it a Sort of Bastonado.

Government.

quit the Nunnery, and marry. However, to punish her, he condemned her to carry the *Cangue*; 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 (which is equal to ten Shillings *English*) to defray the Expences. Of this Sum one Third was to hire a Chair, and to pay the Musicians; the rest was for bearing the Expence of the Wedding-Feast: Nor was it long before she met with a Husband. There are still other Punishments for slight Faults. The same Missioner 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; others held a Book in their Hands, and read very diligently. Among these was a young married Man, who loved Gaming to Excess, and had lost Part of the Money given him by his Father to set-up with. Exhortations, Reprimands, and Menaces, proving ineffectual, his Parents carried him before the Tribunal. The *Mandarin* having heard the Father's Complaint, caused 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 entered of a sudden, and throwing herself at the *Mandarin's* Feet, with Tears, besought him to pardon her Son. The *Mandarin* being moved to Pity, ordered a Book to be brought, composed by the Emperor for the Instruction of the Empire; and opening it, chose the Article which related to filial Obedience. *You promised 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 remained three Days in the Gallery, learned the Article, and was dismissed.

Banishment. Gallies.

THERE are certain Enormities for which Offenders are marked on both Cheeks with a *Chinese* Character, signifying those Crimes; for others are condemned 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 drubbed with a Number of Blows proportionable to their Crimes ^a.

Branding on the Cheeks.

PICK-POCKETS are branded on the left-Arm

a with a red-hot Iron, for the first Offence; for the second, upon the right-Arm; and for the third, they deliver them over to the Tribunal of Crimes. Fugitive Slaves they first cause to be punished with an hundred Lashes of a Whip, and then to be restored to their Masters. Of late Years they were marked on the left-Cheek, with two *Tartar*, and two *Chinese* Characters: But a *Chinese* *Mandarin*, having represented to the Emperor, that the Punishment was too rigorous for a Crime, which proceeded rather from the Desire of Liberty, so natural to Mankind, than any wicked Inclination; and that it was unbecoming the City of his Majesty's Residence to have the Streets so full of those deformed Objects, this Counsel being approved by the Emperor, he ordered, for the future, that the Letters should be branded upon the left-Arm ^b.

ON this Occasion it may be observed, that *Chinese* often a great *Tartarian* *Mandarin*, or *Chinese* *Slaves* *Tartarised* (that is, lifted 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 *Chinese* returns to his Master, to serve in considerable honourable Functions.

WHEN rich Folks marry their Daughters, they bestow on them several Families 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, their Master does not strip them of their Goods, but is contented with large Presents, 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 ruined beyond Remedy ^c.

f THE three capital Punishments, are Strangling, Beheading, and cutting in Pieces. The first is the most common and mildest Punishment, being inflicted for the smaller Sort of capital Offences; as when a Man kills his Adversary in a Duel. In some Places they strangle

^a Du Halde's China, p. 311, & seq. Sect. 1. chap. 2.

^b Du Halde, as before, p. 278.

^c Magalhaens's Relation of China, p. 236.

^d See before,

with

Goverment. with a Kind of Bow: In others, they make use of a Cord seven or eight Feet 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 drawing the second Time, they are sure of doing the Criminal's Business. Persons above the common Rank are always carried to the Place of Execution in Chairs, or covered Carts^a. Persons of Quality are strangled, unless the Crime be very notorious; in which Case they are punished like mean People, and sometimes their Heads are cut-off, and hanged on a Tree in the Highways^b. For contrary to the Custom of Europe, Hanging is an honourable Death, and Beheading the most ignominious: For this Reason, when the Emperor would shew an extraordinary Favour to a great Lord, or Mandarin, condemned to die, he sends him a silken Cord, instead of a Halter (with Orders to be his own Executioner.)

Beheading ignominious.

Manner of it.

BEHEADING is inflicted for Crimes of a more enormous Nature; such as Assassination. This Death is looked-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 received it from their Parents. The Party condemned to suffer this Punishment is not executed on a Scaffold on the Day of Execution; but being made to kneel in some public Place, his Hands tied backwards, a Person holds him so fast, that he cannot move; while the Executioner coming behind, takes-off his Head at one Stroke, and at the same Time lays him on his Back with such Dexterity, that not a 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 furnished him by the Way.

The Executioner.

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 a Sash of yellow Silk, which is the Imperial Colour; and his Cutlafs is wrapped in Silk of the same Kind, to shew that he is vested with the Emperor's Authority, and command the greater Respect from the People^c.

Disgraceful Punishment.

THE Chinese are of Opinion, that such as are beheaded, must have been disobedient to their Parents, who gave them sound and perfect Bodies; and that the Separation of the Members is a Punishment consequent to that Crime. They

are so firmly persuaded of this, that they will buy the Bodies of their Parents, or Relations, from the Executioner, at a great Price^d, according to their Ability, and sew-on the Head again with a World of Lamentation, to satisfy, in some Measure, for their Disobedience. They refer the Origin of this Notion to *Tfeng-tsu* (a Disciple of *Confucius*) who at his Death exhorted his Children, and Disciples, to obey their Parents, saying, it was owing to his Obedience, that he had preserved his Body as perfect and intire, as they had bestowed it on him.

Kind of Punishment.

THEY who are condemned to be beheaded, are also sentenced to be deprived of common Burial; which is still a more terrible Infamy in China. For this Reason the Executioner is obliged, after he has stripped the Body, to throw it into the next Ditch: So that in selling it, he runs the Hazard of being severely punished, unless he bribes the Mandarin, or Informer, pretty high; and this makes the Purchase of a Body so dear. By an ancient Law, when any Criminal, either for his good Qualities, or any other Reason, deserves to be pitied, let him be condemned at what Time of the Year he will, he is to be reprieved till the End of the Autumn following: Because, upon the Birth or Marriage of a Prince, or any other Cause of public Rejoicing; after an Earthquake, or on any extraordinary Alteration of the Seasons, or Elements, it is usual to release all Sorts of Prisoners, except some few who are excepted; and by that Means those that are reprieved are set at Liberty, or at least live in fair Hopes for some Months^e.

THE third Kind of Punishment, called cutting in ten thousand Pieces, wherewith Rebels and Traitors are usually punished, favours of Cruelty. The Executioner fastens the Criminal to a Post, and tearing the Skin off his Head, pulls it over his Eyes, that he may not see his Sufferings: He mangles him afterwards in all Parts of his Body, which he cuts in many Pieces; and when he is tired with this Exercise, abandons him to the Mercy of his Enemies, and the Populace. Though this has been often practised under the Reigns of some Emperors, who are looked-on as barbarous; yet, according to the Laws, this 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. *Justice, say the Chinese, is necessary; but not Cruelty.*

Cutting in Pieces.

THE Rack is used in China, as well as other Countries, to extort Confession; and is either

Kind of Torture, ordinary.

^a Du Halde's China, p. 4, and 312.

^b Le Comte's Memoirs of China, p. 293.

^c Du Halde, as before,

p. 4, and 312.

^d Paying often six hundred, or a thousand Crowns.

^e Magalbaeni's Relation of China,

p. 211, & seq.

^f We presume, when dead.

Government. ordinary, or extraordinary. The ordinary Tor-
 ture is extremely acute and painful. It is in-
 flicted both on the Feet and Hands: For the for-
 mer they make-use of an Instrument compos'd
 of three cross Pieces of Wood, of which that in
 the Middle being fixed, the other two move,
 and turn-about: In this Machine they put the
 Feet of the Criminal, and squeeze them so vio-
 lently, that they make the Ankle-Bone quite
 flat ^a. They inflict it on the Hands, by placing
 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 recov-
 ers by their Assistance, sometimes in a few
 Days, the former Use of his Limbs ^b. The ex-
Extraordi- nary Torture. traordinary Torture, which is inflicted to disco-
 ver the Accomplices, especially in High-Treason,
 and other great Crimes, when the Fact has been
 proved, consists in making slight Gashes on the
 Offender's Body, and stripping-off the Skin in
 narrow Slips, like Fillets.

Horrid Pu- nishment. THESE are all the Kinds of corporal Punish-
 ment, appointed by the *Chinese* Laws for Male-
 factors; though some Monarchs have inflicted
 others of a more inhuman Nature: Such as the
 Emperor *Chew*, who at the Instigation of *Ta-
 kya*, his favourite Concubine, invented a new
 Kind of Punishment, called *Pau-lo*: It was a
 Column of Brass twenty Cubits high, and eight
 in Diameter, hollow in the Middle, like *Phala-
 ris's* Bull, with Openings in three Places for
 putting in Fewel. To this they fastened Crimi-
 nals, and making them embrace it with their
 Arms and Legs, lighted a great Fire within, and
 thus roasted them till they were reduced to Ashes,
 in the Presence of that Monster of a Woman ^c.

6. The Prisons of China.

*Goals large and convenient. Prisoners closely con-
 fined, and strictly guarded; yet carefully at-
 tended. The Womens Prison. Door of the
 Dead. State of the Goaler. Lodgings at
 Night. Exercise by Day. Great Regularity.
 Poor maintained. The Dungeon.*

*Goals large,
 and conven-
 ient.*

THE Prisons here, besides being neither so
 dreadful, nor loathsome as those of *Eur-
 ope*, 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 passed
 through the first Door towards the Street, you
 meet with a long Passage, which brings you to a
 second Goaler's Apartment. After that, you en-
 ter a large square Court, on the Sides whereof
 are Prisoners Rooms, erected on large Pillars of
 Wood, which form a Kind of a Gallery.

At the four Corners are private Prisons, where *Prisoners*
 in the more notorious Rogues are secured, who *carefully con-
 fined,*
 are never let-out in the Day-time to converse in
 the Court; 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 fastened to their Hands, Feet, and
 Middle; squeezing their Sides so hard, that they
 can scarcely stir. However, this Severity may
 be mitigated for a little Silver. 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 for the Air; but in the
 Evening they are all called, 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 strictly
 guarded,*
 and if the least Noise is heard, or the Lamp hap-
 pens to be put-out, immediate Notice is given to
 the Goalers, that they may remedy the Disorder.

OTHERS are obliged to walk the Rounds con-
 tinually, so that it would be in vain for any *Prison-
 er* to attempt an Escape; because he would
 be immediately discovered, and severely punished
 by the *Mandarin*, who visits the Prisons often,
 and ought always to be able to give an Account
 of them: For if any fall-sick, he must answer
 for them; being obliged not only to find them in
 Physicians, and Remedies, at the Emperor's Ex-
 pence, but also to take all possible Care for
 their Recovery. When any die, they are to in-
 form 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 Punish-
 ment. *Yet carefully
 attended.*

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 allowed to enter, for the Service and

^a *Megalhaens* suffered this Torture. See before, p. 2. c. It is surprising the *Chinese* could introduce a Punish-
 ment, which, in its own Nature, is both unjust and absurd.

^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 *Du Halde's China*, p. 4, 313, & seq. *Le Comte's Memoirs of China*, p. 293.

Governments. Convenience of those who are detained in them: a
There are even Cooks to dress their Victuals,
and every Thing is done in Order, through the
Care of the Officers.

The Womens Prison. THE Womens Prison is separated from that of
the Men, and there is no speaking to them but
through a Grate, or at the Turning-Box, by
which their Necessaries are conveyed; but very
rarely any Man goes near them.

Door of the Dead. IN some Places, when a Prisoner dies, his
Body is not carried-out through 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 com-
mon 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 Corpse to be carried
through that Passage; insomuch that the greatest
Curse a *Chinese* can bestow on the Person to
whom he wishes ill, is to say, *May you be drag-*
ged through the Prison-Hole.

State of the Goaler. NAVARETTE, who in the Time of Perse-
cution, was, with other Missioners, confined at
Hang-chew fû, the Capital of *Che-kyang*, gives the
following Account of the Prison, and his Treat-
ment there. As soon as they were brought into
the first Court, they spied the Head-Goaler, who
sat in great State on his Tribunal-Seat: He pre-
sently asked for the Mittimus of the criminal
Judge, and then examined them concerning
their Design in coming to *China*, and the like.
Having answered him with a great deal of Free-
dom, they were let through another little Door,
that was locked, and had a Porter at it, into a
Lane, which brought them to an elegant Tem-
ple. In all the Goals, Dungeons, and Courts of
Justice throughout the Empire, they have Tem-
ples, very neat, and richly adorned; where the
Prisoners, and such as are at Law, make their
Vows, offer Candles, Oil, Silver, Perfumes,
and other Things: Some beg to be delivered out
of Goal, others for good Success in their Suits;
but in vain they pray to Images of Wood and
Earth, which can neither see, nor hear.

Lodging at Night. AT Night they were turned through another
lesser Door, into a Court, and conveyed into a
great Hall, quite dark, without any Window,
and so full of People, that there was hardly
Room for them all to stand: This was called the
little Prison, to distinguish it from the Dungeon,
which was at a good Distance. Here they con-
tinued forty Days, having always Light at Night,
and then, for more Convenience, hired a Room.
There was an Overseer, to keep in Order the
Prisoners, who were all extremely submissive to
him; so that there was no Roaring, Noise, or

Quarrelling, but all as hush as if it had been a
regular Monastery.

Exercise by Day. IN the Day-time they went to the Temple,
and to a great Court that was before it, where
they breathed the fresh Air. There were two
Lanes full of Rooms, which were let to People
of some Note, who were in for small Faults:
There they live quietly, and with Convenience,
till their Business is over. There are also some
Houses in which married People dwell, who
keep Watch in the Night: They walk-about
those Lanes and Courts, continually beating
Drums, and blowing little Horns; so that it is
impossible any Man should make his Escape,
though the Place itself were not so secure.

THE Womens Prison is apart, and has a *Great Regu-*
larity. strong Door, in which there is a little Gate,
through which they gave them Necessaries. The
Author took particular Notice, that no Man
ever went to hold Discourse there: The Mo-
desty of the Men, and Reservedness of the Wo-
men *Chineses* in this Particular, not being to be
paralleled in all the World besides. All Kinds
of Necessaries are daily brought thither to be
sold; so that every Day a formal Market is
kept there. Thus the Whole resembles a well-
governed Corporation. Every Evening the Head-
Goaler, with his Clerk, viewed the Prisoners,
calling them over by their Names, and then
locking them up.

To those who were poor, there was given, *Poor main-*
every Day, a Portion of Rice: Half of it they *tained.*
eat, and with the other Half bought Wood, Salt,
Herbs, &c. Without this Benevolence, many
would be exposed to miserable Want: For there
is no Way to beg, they being lodged much
higher than the Ground, and quite out of the
Way for People to come at them. During the
Time that the Missioners were there, more came
in than went out: Some had their Thighs all
gauged with Lashes, others their Ancles dis-
jointed by the Rack, which is a common Punish-
ment, and inflicted with great Severity in *China*.

ONE Day they went into the Dungeon, which *The Dungeon.*
is dismal enough: Without it was a large Court,
and in the Middle a Temple, like that of the
little Prison. All those who were there had Fet-
ters on, and their Colour was unwholesome, be-
cause the Place is very damp; but in the Day-
time they suffered them to come-out into the
Sun, where they aired, and loused themselves.
What the Missioners admired most, was to see
how devoutly they implored their Idols to deliver
them from their Sufferings; as well as with how
much Courtesy and Respect they treated *them*,
and one another. If two Natives of *China*,
Japan, or *Tong-king*, were brought into our

Government.

Prisons, says *Navarette*, how would the other Goal-Birds use them? What Tricks would they play them? How would they force them to pay Garnish? Nothing of this Sort, continues he, is practised among the *Chineses*; but they treated us with as much Respect, as if we had been some Persons of Note among them. On the Inside, towards the Dungeon, there was a Gap made through the Wall into a small Orchard, through which they thrust-out the Corpse of those who died in the Goal ^a.

S E C T. VI.

Of the Military Government and Forces of the Empire.

1. Military Officers, and Tribunals.

Military Officers, and Tribunals. Chief President. Supream Tribunal of Yong-ching fû, or Zhong-ching fû. A great Honour. Chinese Fortification. Kinds of Fortresses. Places of Refuge. Its natural Strength. Emperor's Forces. Chinese bad Soldiers: Tartars not much better: Their Discipline. No Pressing. Army how employed. Troops along the Wall. Tartar Officers, and Guards, divided into Banners. Arms and Artillery. European Cannon admired: The Jesuits cast some: More cast: Are a Year in making. Verbiest honoured by the Emperor: Blesses the Cannon.

HAVING given an Account of the Civil Officers, and their Authority, we come next to speak of the Military *Quân*, and their Tribunals. These take their three Degrees regularly, like those for Civil Affairs, are divided into nine Classes, and like them have their several Tribunals ^b.

Military Officers.

The Rank and Business of the principal military *Mandarin*, is much the same with that of a General in *Europe* ^c. He has under him, in some Places, four *Mandarins*; and, in others, only two, whose Employment is not unlike that of our Lieutenant-Generals: These have likewise four subordinate *Mandarins*, answering to Colonels. The Colonels, again, have under them others, who may be considered as Captains, and

have likewise their subaltern Officers, resembling our Lieutenants and Ensigns. Each of these *Mandarins* has a Train suitable to his Dignity; and when he appears in public, 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.

THERE are at *Pe-king* five Tribunals of military *Mandarins*, called *U-fû*, that is, the five Classes, or Troops of *Mandarins* of War. The first is called *Hew-fû*, or the Rear-Guard. The second *Tso-fû*, or the Left-Wing. The third *Yew-fû*, or Right-Wing. The fourth *Chong-fû*, or the Van-Guard of the main Body. The fifth *Tsyen-fû*, or the Van-Guard.

THESE five Classes have at their Head a Chief, or President, and two Assistants, which are of the first Order of *Mandarins*. They commonly chuse for the Posts, great Lords of the Empire; and these are they who command the Officers, and all the Soldiers. These five depend on a supream Tribunal of War, called *Tong-ching-fû*, 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 his Assistant, with the Title of Superintendent of the Army, and two Inspectors, named 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 supream Courts, called *Ping-pû*, already spoken of, which has the whole Militia of the Empire under its Jurisdiction.

THOUGH there are great Lords, who, holding in the Empire the Rank of Princes, Dukes, and Earls, are above all the Orders of *Mandarins* ^d, by their Dignity, Merit, and Services; yet there is not one of them but thinks himself honoured by the Title he derives from his Employment, and the Quality of Chief of the five Tribunals of military *Mandarins*. None can be more ambitious to command, than the *Chinese*, they placing all their Glory and Happiness in having Authority in the State ^e.

^a *Navarette's Description of China*, p. 15, & seq.

^b See before, p. 250, & seq. ^c With the *Chinese* the *Ho-tong-ta* is General of the Troops, the *Ti-tu* of the Militia. The *Tartars* call their General *Tsyang-kian*; and their Lieutenant General, *Meyrain-chain*. Under these Commanders, according to *Gemelli*, p. 279, there are *Tsong-pings*, or Colonels; *Fu-tyans*, or Majors; *Se-kupe's*, or Captains; and *Pa-tsun's*, or Ensigns: But *Du Halde* makes the *Tsong-ping* chief General of the Militia.

^d Rather, perhaps, Civil *Mandarin*, or one for Civil Affairs, the Literary being often confounded with the Civil Officers. ^e These are, by *Magalhães*, called *Fu-ping*, as if no Degrees were high enough for them, or equal to their Merit, and therefore out of Places. But those *Mandarins*, who are not of any of the nine Orders, are called *Pi-jo-lyew*, or Men not settled, because they aspire to Places of Trust and Profit.

^f *Magalhães's Relation of China*, p. 215, 217. *Du Halde's China*, p. 260, & seq.

Government.

THIS is all that seems necessary to be said with Relation to the military *Mandarins*, and their Tribunals; the Nature of their Proceedings being much the same with that of the civil Tribunals already described: It remains therefore to give some Account of the Forces, and Strength of the Empire.

Chinese Fortifications.

BOTH Art and Nature have combined to render *China* very strong. All the Cities and chief Towns are fortified more, or less. Among them, likewise, there are some termed Cities of War, to distinguish them from the rest, which are called Cities of Trade. However, 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.

Kinds of Fortresses.

THE Forts, fortified Places, and Citadels, are very numerous, and distinguished into seven different Orders, named *Quang*, *Ghey* or *Wey*, *So*, *Chin*, *Pau*, *Pu*, and *Chay*. There are about six hundred of the first Order, five hundred and upwards 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, in all, above two thousand fortified Places, without reckoning the Towers, Castles, and Redoubts of the famous Wall, which have every one its particular Name and Garison.

Places of Refuge.

AMONG the *Chay* are reckoned those Places of Refuge found in the Middle of Fields, whither the Husbandmen and Peasants retire with their Flocks and Moveables, in case of Commotions, or the sudden Irruption of Robbers, where they are secure from all Insults. There are others situated on the Tops of Rocks and craggy Mountains, inaccessible, but by Ladders, or Steps cut into the Rock. These Places are not encompassed 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 Garisons; for there is not a Province, City, nor walled-

Town in the Empire, but what has Soldiers for its Defence.

Officers Military.

NATURE has taken Care to fortify *China* in all other Places, where it might be liable to Attacks. The Sea, which washes six Provinces on the East and South, 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 on the other two, and the great Wall on the North.

THE Number of Soldiers maintained by the Emperor along the great Wall, in the Cities, and fortified Places, amounted formerly to seven hundred and seventy thousand; 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 five hundred and sixty-five thousand 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. These Troops being well-clothed, and well-armed, 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.

THE *Chinese* are not only naturally effeminate, and the *Tartars* almost degenerated to *Chinese*, but the profound Peace they have enjoyed, gives them no Opportunity to become warlike; while the Esteem they have for Learning preferable to every Thing else, the Dependance which the Soldiers have on the *Literati*, and the Education that is given to Youth, who see nothing but Books, and hear nothing talked of but Morality and Politicks, are so many Obstructions to their being Warriors.

THE *Tartars*, indeed, assail with Heat and Briskness, and push-home, if they can make their Enemies give Ground in the Beginning: But they are unable either to continue an Attack, or bear-up long against one, especially if made in Order, and with Vigour. The Emperor *Kang-bi*, who said nothing but what was proper, as he did nothing but what was great, gave this short Character of them: *They are good Soldiers, when opposed to bad ones; but bad, when opposed to good ones*.

^a Du Halde's *China*, p. 262. Halde, as before, p. 261.

^b The same, p. 245.

^c Le Comte's *Memoirs of China*, p. 290. Du Halde, as before.