

or to make use of their prince's government, as an occasion to diminish his authority. Although there are some examples of this history, yet they seldom occur, and whenever they do, it is under such circumstances as seem to go a great way toward their justification.

BUT such is the temper of the Chinese, that when their emperor is full of violence and passion, or very negligent of his charge, the same spirit of perverseness possesses also his subjects. Every Mandarin thinks himself the sovereign of his province or city, when he does not perceive it taken care of by a superior power. The chief ministers sell places to those who are unfit to fill them. The vice-roys become so many little tyrants. The governors observe no more the rules of justice. The people by these means oppressed and trampled under foot, and by consequence miserable, are easily stirred up to sedition. Rogues multiply and commit insolencies in companies; and in a country where the people are almost innumerable, numerous armies do in an instant get together, who wait nothing but an opportunity, under specious pretences, to disturb the public peace and quiet.

SUCH beginnings as these have occasioned fatal consequences, and have oftentimes put China under the command of new masters. So that the best and surest way for an emperor to establish himself in his throne, is to give an exact regard and an entire obedience to those laws, whose goodness have been confirmed by the experience of more than four thousand years.

THIS is the ordinary form of government which the laws prescribe. The emperor hath two sovereign councils; the one is called the extraordinary council, and is composed of princes of the blood only; the other, called the council in ordinary, has besides the

princes several ministers of state named Colao admitted into it. These are they who examine all the affairs of state, and make their report to the emperor, from whom they have their final determination. Besides these there are at Peking six sovereign courts, whose authority extends over all the provinces of China, each of these courts have their different matters assigned to them, of which they are to take cognizance.

BUT because it is the emperor's interest to keep such considerable bodies as these so far under, as that it may not lie in their power to weaken the emperor's authority, or to enterprize any thing against the state; care is taken that though each of these six courts have their particular charges of which they are constituted sole judges, yet no considerable thing can be brought to perfection and maturity, without the joint help and mutual concurrence of all these courts; I explain myself by the instance of war: the number of the troops, the quality of their officers, the march of the armies, are provided for by the fourth court, but the money to pay them must be had from the second. So that scarce any one thing of consequence to the state can be promoted without the inspection of many, and oft times of all the Mandarines.

THE second means used by the emperor, for this purpose, is to place an officer in each of these courts, who has an eye to all their proceedings. He is not, it is true, of the council, yet he is present at all their assemblies, and informed of all their proceedings: we may call this officer an inspector. He either privately advertises the court, or else openly accuses the mandarines of the faults which they commit in their private capacities, as well as those which they commit in the execution of their office. He observes their actions, their behaviour, and even their words, so that

nothing escapes his notice. I am told that he who once undertakes this employ can never quit it for any other, that so the hopes of a better preferment may never tempt him to be partial to any one, nor the fear of losing his place frighten him from accusing those who misbehave themselves. Of these officers whom they call *Colaos* even the princes of the blood stand in awe; and I remember that one of the greatest of the nobility, having built a house somewhat higher than the custom of China suffers, did of himself pull it down in a few days, when he had heard that one of these inspectors talked of accusing him.

As for the provinces, they are under the immediate inspection of two sorts of vice-roys. One sort has the government of one province only. Thus there is one vice-roy at Peking, at Canton, or at Nanking, or in any other town but a little distant from the chief city of the province. Besides this, these provinces are under the government of other vice-roys, who are called *Tsounto*, and have under their jurisdiction two, or three, nay sometimes four provinces. There is no prince in Europe whose dominions are of so large extent as is the jurisdiction of these general officers; yet how great soever their authority may seem to be, they do in no wise diminish that of the particular vice-roys; and each of these two vice-roys have their particular rights so well settled and adjusted, that they never clash or contend with each other in their administrations.

THESE have all of them in their several lordships many courts, of the same nature with those at Peking already described, but are subordinate to them, so that from these they appeal to them: there are beside these several other inferior offices for the preparing business, or for finishing it according to the extent of their com-

missions. There are three sorts of towns, each of which have their particular governor, and a great number of Mandarines who administer justice; among which cities there is this difference, that those of the third sort or rank are subordinate to those of the second, as those of the second are to them of the first; these of the first rank are subject to the jurisdiction of the general officers of the capital cities, according as the nature of things require, and all the judges, be their quality what it will in the civil government, have their dependence on the vice-roy, in whom resides the imperial authority. He from time to time convenes the principal Mandarines of his province, to take cognizance of the good or bad qualities of the governors, lieutenants, and even inferior officers: he sends private dispatches to court to inform the emperor who misbehave themselves, who are either therefore deprived of their offices, or else cited to appear and offer what they have to say in their justification.

ON the other hand the vice-roy's power is counterpoised by that of the great Mandarines who are about him, and who may accuse him when they are satisfied that it is necessary for the public good. But that which principally keeps him upon his guard is, that the people, when evil intreated or oppressed by him, may petition the emperor in person for his removal, and that another may be ordered them. The least insurrection or disturbance is laid at his door, which if it continues three days he must answer for it at his peril. It is his fault, say the laws, if disturbance spring up in his family, that is, in the province over which he has the charge. He ought to regulate the conduct of the Mandarines under him, that so the people may not suffer by their ill management. When people like

their masters they do not desire to change them ; and when the yoke is easy it is a pleasure to bear it.

BUT because private persons cannot easily come at the court, and because the just complaints of his people cannot always reach the ears of their prince, (especially in China where the governors easily corrupt with bribes the general officers, and they the supreme courts;) the emperor disperses up and down secret spies, persons of known wisdom and reputation ; these in every province by their cunning management, inform themselves from the countrymen, tradesmen or others, after what manner the Mandarines behave themselves in the execution of their offices. When from their private but certain informations, or rather when by the public voice, which seldom imposes on us, they are acquainted with any disorder, then they publicly own their commission from the emperor ; they take up those criminal Mandarines, and manage the cause against them. This heretofore kept all the judges to their duty ; but since the Tartars have been masters of China, these officers have been laid aside ; in as much as some of them abused their commission, enriched themselves by taking money of the guilty to conceal their faults, and of the innocent, whom they threatened to accuse as criminal. Nevertheless, that so useful a means of keeping the magistrates to their duty may not be wholly lost, the emperor himself, who has a tender love for his subjects, hath thought it his duty to visit in person each province, and to hear himself the complaints of his people ; which he performs with such a diligence as makes him the terror of his Mandarines, and the delight of his people. Amongst the great variety of accidents which have happened to him during those his progresses, they report, that being once separated from his at-

tendants, he saw an old man weeping bitterly, of whom he enquired what was the occasion of his tears. Sir, said the old man, who did not know to whom he spoke, I have but one son, who was the comfort of my life, and on whom lay the whole care of my family, a Mandarin of Tartary has deprived me of him; which hath made me helpless at present, and will make me so as long as I live; for how can I, who am so poor and friendless, oblige so great a man as he to make me restitution? That is not so difficult as you imagine, said the emperor; get up behind me and direct me to his house who has done you this wrong. The good man complied without any ceremony, and in two hours' time they both got to the Mandarin's house, who little expected so extraordinary a visit. In the interim the guards, and a great company of lords, after a great deal of search made came thither, some of which attended without, others entered with the emperor, not knowing what the business was which brought him there. Where the emperor having convicted the Mandarin of the violence of which he was accused, condemned him on the spot to death; afterward turning round to the afflicted father who had lost his son: To make you a good recompence for your loss, says he, after a grave and serious manner, I give you the office of the criminal who is just now dead; but take care to execute it with equity, and let his punishment, as well as his crime, prove for your advantage, for fear lest you in your turn are made an example to others.

THEY have still a farther means to oblige the viceroys and other governors to a strict care of their charge, which expedient I do not believe any government or kingdom, though never so severe, did ever make use of. It is this, every governor is obliged from time to

time with all humility and sincerity to own and acknowledge the secret or public faults committed by himself in his administration, and to send the account in writing up to court. This is a more troublesome business to comply with than one readily imagines, for on one side it is an uneasy thing to accuse ourselves of those things which we know will be punished by the emperor, though mildly. On the other side it is more dangerous to dissemble them; for if by chance they are accused of them in the inspector's advertisement, the least fault which the Mandarin shall have concealed will be big enough to turn him out of his ministry. So that the best way is to make a sincere confession of one's faults, and to purchase a pardon for them by money, which in China has the virtue of blotting out all crimes, which remedy notwithstanding is no small punishment for a Chinese; the fear of such a punishment makes him oft-times exceeding circumspect and careful, and sometimes even virtuous against his own inclinations.

AFTER these provisions which the laws make, as I have said, they give the following directions how to proceed in the business of punishing criminals. There is no need of having a warrant to carry them before the magistrate, nor that the magistrate should sit in a court of justice to hear the accusation and plea of the criminal. Such formalities as these are not insisted on there. Wherever the magistrate sees a fault, there he has power to punish it on the spot, be it in the street, in the highway or in a private house, it is all one; he may take up a gamester, a rook, or a debauchee, and without any more formalities he orders one of his attendants to give him twenty or thirty stripes: after which, as though nothing extraordinary had happened, he goes on his journey without any concernment. Notwith-

standing this punishment the person damaged may accuse the same criminal again in a superior court, where he is tried, the result of which is usually a further punishment.

FARTHER, the plaintiff may in common cases bring his action in any higher magistrate's court, even before it has been pleaded in an inferior court. I mean, an inhabitant of a town of the third rank may forthwith apply himself to the governor of the capital city of the province, or even to the vice-roy, without having it examined before the governor of his own town; and when it once comes before a superior judge, the inferior ones may not take cognizance of it, unless it be deputed to them by those superior judges, as it often is. When the cause is of great consequence, there lies an appeal from the vice-roy to one of the supreme courts at Peking, according to the nature of the affair, where the cause is examined in one of the under offices, who make their report to the president of the supreme office, who gives sentence after he has advised with his assistants, and communicated his opinion to the Caloas who carry it to the emperor. Sometimes the emperor desires better information, sometimes gives sentence on the spot, and in his name the supreme court makes a brief of the sentence, and sends it to the vice-roys for them to put it in execution. A sentence pronounced in this manner is irrevocable, they call it the holy commandment; that is to say, the commandment which is without defect or partiality.

You will think it doubtless an inconceivable thing, that a prince should have time to examine himself the affairs of so vast an empire as is that of China. But besides that wars and foreign negotiations never spend his time, which in Europe is almost the sole business

of the councils, besides this, I say, their affairs are so well digested and ordered, that he can with half an eye see to which party he ought to incline in his sentence, and this because their laws are so plain that they leave no room for intricacy or dispute. So that two hours a day is time enough for that prince to govern himself an empire of that extent, that were there other laws might find employment for thirty kings. So true is it that the laws of China, are wise, plain, well understood, and exactly adequate to the particular genius and temper of that nation.

To give a general notion of this, I shall think it sufficient to remark to you three things, which are exceeding conducive to the public peace, and are as it were the very soul of the government. The first is the moral principles which are instilled into the people. The second is the political rules which are set up in every thing. The third is the maxims of good policy which are, or ought to be every where observed.

THE first moral principle respects private families, and enjoins children such a love, obedience, and respect for their parents, that neither the severity of their treatment, the impertinency of their old age, or the meanness of their rank, when the children have met with preferment, can ever efface. One cannot imagine to what a degree of perfection this first principle of nature is improved. There is no submission, no point of obedience which the parents cannot command, or which the children can refuse. These children are obliged to comfort them when alive, and continually to bewail them when dead. They prostrate themselves a thousand times before their dead bodies, offer them provisions, as though they were yet alive, to signify that all their goods belong to them, and that from the

bottom of their heart they wish them in a capacity to enjoy them. They bury them with a pomp and expence which to us would seem extravagant, they pay constantly at their tombs a tribute of tears, which ceremonies they often perform even to their pictures, which they keep in their houses with all imaginable care, which they honour with offerings, and with as due respect as they would their parents were they yet alive. Their kings themselves are not excused this piece of duty, and the present emperor has been observant of it, not only to his predecessors of his own family, but even to those who were not. For one day when in hunting he perceived afar off the magnificent monument which his father had erected for Tcountchin, the last Chinese emperor, who lost his life and crown in a rebellion, he ran to the place, and fell on his knees before the tomb, and even wept, and in a great concern for his misfortune: "O prince! (says he) O emperor, worthy of a better fate! you know that your destruction is no ways owing to us; your death lies not at our door, your subjects brought it upon you. It was them that betrayed you. It is upon them, and not on my ancestors, that heaven must send down vengeance for this act." Afterward he ordered flambeaus to be lighted, and incense to be offered. During all which time he fixed his countenance on the ground, and arose not till all these ceremonies were over.

THE ordinary term of mourning is three years, during which time the mourner can exercise no public office. So that a Mandarin is obliged to forsake his employ, and a minister of state his office, to spend all that time in grief. If a father be honoured after his death as a god, to be sure he is obeyed in his family like a prince, over whom he exercises a despotic pow-

er; as absolute master not only of his estate which he distributes to whom he pleases, but also of his concubines and children, of whom he disposes with that liberty and power that he may sell them to strangers when their behaviour displeases him. If a father accuses his son of any crime before a Mandarin, there needs no proof of it; it is supposed to be true that the son is in the fault if the father be displeased. This paternal power is of that extent, that there is no father but may take his son's life away, if he will stick to his accusation. When we seemed amazed at this procedure, we were answered: Who understands the merit of the son better than the father, who has brought him up, educated him, and such a long time observed all his actions? And again, can any person have a greater love, or a more sincere affection for him? If therefore he who knows his case exactly, and loves him tenderly, condemns him, how can we pronounce him guiltless and innocent? And when we objected that some persons have an inbred dislike of others, and that fathers who were men, as well as fathers, were capable of such antipathies against some of their children; they answered, that men were not more unnatural than savage beasts, the cruellest of which never destroyed their young ones for a frolic; but supposing there be such monsters among men, their children by their modesty and sweetness of temper must tame and soften them. But after all, say they, the love of their children is so deeply imprinted in the hearts of parents, that antipathy, or dislike, unless provoked and inflamed by the undutiful stubbornness and disorderly behaviour of their children, can never erase.

If it should happen that a son should be so insolent as to mock his parents, or arrive to that height of fury and madness as to lay violent hands on them; it is the

whole empire's concern, and the province, where this horrible violence is committed is alarmed. The emperor himself judges the criminal. All the Mandarines near the place are turned out, especially those of that town, who have been so negligent in their instructions. The neighbours are all reprimanded for neglecting, by former punishments, to stop the iniquity of this criminal before it came to this height, for they suppose that such a diabolical temper as this must needs have shewed itself on other occasions, since it is hardly possible to attain to such a pitch of iniquity at once. As for the criminal there is no punishment which they think too severe. They cut him in a thousand pieces, burn him, destroy his house to the ground, and even those houses which stand near it, and set up monuments and memorials of this so horrible an insolence.

EVEN the emperors themselves cannot reject the authority of their parents without running the risk of suffering for it; and history tells us a story which will always make the affection which the Chinese have to this duty appear amiable. One of the emperors had a mother who managed a private intrigue with one of the lords of the court; the notice which was publicly taken of it, obliged the emperor to shew his resentment of it, both for his own honour and that of the empire: so that he banished her into a far distant province; and because he knew that his actions would not be very acceptable to his princes and Mandarines, he forbid them all, under pain of death, giving him advice therein. They were all silent for some time, hoping that of himself he would condemn his own conduct in that affair; but seeing that he did not, they resolved to appear in it, rather than suffer so pernicious a precedent.

THE first who had the courage to put up a request

to the emperor in this matter was put to death on the spot. His death put not a stop to the Mandarines' proceedings; for a day or two after another made his appearance, and to shew all the world that he was willing to sacrifice his life for the public, he ordered his hearse to stand at the palace gate. The emperor minded not this generous action, but was the rather more provoked at it. He not only sentenced him to death, but to terrify all others from following his example, he ordered him to be put to the torture. One would not think it prudence to hold out longer. The Chinese were of another mind, for they resolved to fall one after another rather than basely to pass over in silence so base an action.

THERE was therefore a third who devoted himself. He, like the second, ordered his coffin to be set at the palace gate, and 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 injustice."

THE emperor being more enraged than ever at this insolence, as he called it, of his subjects, 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, which they stood up for with the last drop of their blood. At last this heroic constancy wearied out the emperor's cruelty; and whether he was afraid of more dangerous consequences, or was himself con-

vinced of his own fault, he repented, as he was the father of his people, that he had so unworthily 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 by his subjects.

THE second moral principle which obtains among them, is to honour their Mandarines as they would the emperor himself, whose person the Mandarines represent. To maintain this credit the Mandarines never appear in public without a retinue, and face of grandeur that commands respect. They are always carried in a magnificent chair open, before them go all the officers of their courts, and round them are carried all the marks and badges of their dignity. The people, wherever they come, open to the right and left to let them pass through. When they administer justice in their palaces, no body speaks to them but on their knees, be they of what quality they will, and since they can at any time command any persons to be whipped, no one comes near them without trembling.

HERETOFORE when any Mandarin took a journey, all the inhabitants of the towns through which he passed ran in a crowd to meet him, and proffer their services, conducting him with all solemnity through their territory: now when he leaves his office which he has administered to the satisfaction of all men, they give him such marks of honour, as would engage the most stupid to love virtue and justice. When he is taking his leave in order to lay down his office, almost all the inhabitants go in the highways, and place themselves some here, some there for almost fourteen or fifteen miles together. So that every where in the road one sees tables handsomely painted, with Latin table-

cloths, covered with sweet-meats, tea and other liquors.

EVERY one almost constrains him to stay, to sit down and eat or drink something. When he leaves one another stops him, and thus he spends the whole day among the applauses and acclamations of his people. And, which is an odd thing, every one desires to have something which comes from off him. Some take his boots, others his cap, some his great coat; but they who take any thing, give him another of the same sort, and before he is quit of this multitude, it sometimes happens that he has had thirty different pairs of boots on.

THEN he hears himself called publick benefactor, the preserver and father of his people. They bewail the loss of him with wet eyes; and a Mandarin must be very insensible indeed, if he does not in his turn shed a tear or two, when he sees such tender marks of affection. For the inhabitants are not obliged to shew him this respect, and when they do not like the administration of a governour, they shew themselves as indifferent at his departure, as they do affectionate and sorry at the loss of a good one.

THE extraordinary respect which children pay to their parents, and people to their governours, is the greatest means of preserving quietness in their families, and peace in their towns; I am persuaded that all the good order, in which we see so mighty a people, flows from these two springs.

THE third principle of morality established among them is this, that it is very necessary that all people should observe towards each other the strictest rules of modesty and civility, that they should behave themselves so obligingly and complaisantly, that all their actions may have a mixture of sweetness and courtesy

in them. This, say they, is that which makes the distinction between man and beast, or between the Chinese and other men: they pretend also that the disturbance of several kingdoms is owing to the rough and unpolished temper of their subjects. For those tempers which fly out into rudeness and passion, perpetually embroiled in quarrels, which use neither respect nor complaisance toward any, are fitted to be incendiaries and disturbers of the publick peace. On the contrary, people who honour and respect each other, who can suffer an injury, and dissemble or stifle it; who religiously observe that difference which either age, quality, or merit have made; a people of this stamp are naturally lovers of order, and when they do amiss it is not without violence to their own inclinations.

THE Chinese are so far from neglecting the practice of this maxim, that in several instances they carry it on too far. No sort of men are excused from it; tradesmen, servants, nay even countrymen have their ways of expressing kindness and civility to one another; I have often been amazed to see footmen take their leave of each other on their knees, and farmers in their entertainments use more compliments and ceremonies than we do at our publick treats. Even the seamen, who from their manner of living, and from the air they breathe, draw in naturally roughness, do yet bear to each other a love like that of brothers, and pay that deference to one another, that one would think them united by the strictest bands of friendship.

THE state, which has always, in policy, accounted this as most conducive to the quiet of the empire, has appointed forms of salutation, of visiting, of making entertainments, and of writing letters. The usual way of salutation is to lay your hands cross your breast, and bow your head a little. Where you would still show a

greater respect, you must join your hands together, and carry them almost to the ground, bowing your whole body; if you pass by a person of eminent quality, or receive such a one into your house, you must bend one knee, and remain in that posture till he whom you thus salute takes you up, which he always does immediately. But when a Mandarin appears in publick, it would be a criminal sauciness to salute him in any sort of fashion, unless you have occasion to speak to him: you must step aside a little, and holding your eyes on the ground, and your arms cross your sides, stay till he be gone past you.

ALTHOUGH very familiar acquaintance make visits without any ceremony, yet for those friends who are not so, custom has prescribed a set form of visiting. The visitor sends his servant before with a piece of red paper, on which is wrote his own name, and a great many marks of respect to the person he visits, according as his dignity or quality is. When this message is received, the visitor comes in, and meets with a reception answerable to his merit. The person visited sometimes stays for the visitor in the hall, without going out to meet him, or if he be of a much superior quality, without rising from his seat: sometimes he meets the visitor at his door; sometimes he goes out into the court-yard, and sometimes even into the street to bring him in. When they come into view, they both run and make a low bow. They say but little, their compliments are in form, one knows what he must say, and the other how he must answer; they never beat their brains, like us, to find out new compliments, and find phrases. At every gate they make a halt, where the ceremonies begin afresh, and the bows are renewed to make each go first; they use but two ways of speaking on this occasion, which are, *Tün*; that is "pray

"be pleased to enter," and Poukan, "it must not be." Each of them repeats his word four or five times, and then the stranger suffers himself to be persuaded, and goes on to the next door, where the same thing begins anew.

WHEN they come to the room where they are to stay, they stand near the door in a row, and every one bows almost to the ground; then follow the ceremonies of kneeling, and going on this or that side to give the right hand, then the chairs are saluted (for they have their compliments paid them as well as the men; they rub them to take all dust away, and bow in a respectful manner to them) then follow the contentions about the first place; yet all this makes no confusion. Use has made it natural to the Chinese, they know before what themselves, and what others are to do, every one stays till the others have done in their order what is expected, so that there happens no confusion or disturbance.

It must be owned that this is a great piece of fatigue, and after so many motions and different postures, in which they spend a quarter of an hour before they are to sit down, it must be owned they have need enough of rest. The chairs are set so that every body sits opposite to one another; when you are sat, you must sit straight, not lean back, your eyes must look downward, your hands must be stretched on your knees, your feet even, not across, with a grave and composed behaviour, not to be over forward to speak. The Chinese think that a visit consists not in mutual converse so much as in outward compliment and ceremony, and in China the visitor may truly and properly say he comes to pay his respects, for oft-times there are more honours paid than words spoken.

A missionary did aver to me that a Mandarin made

him a visit, in which he spoke never a word to him. This is always certain that they never overheat themselves with discoursing, for one may generally say of them that they are statues or figures placed in a theatre for ornament. They have so little of discourse and so much of gravity.

THEIR speech is mighty submissive and humble, you will never hear them say, for example, "I am obliged to you for the favour you have done me," but thus, "The favour which my lord, which my instructor has granted to me, who am little in his eyes; or who am his disciple, has extremely obliged me." Again, they do not say, "I make bold to present you with a few curiosities of my country; but, the servant takes the liberty to offer to his lord a few curiosities which came from the mean and vile country. Again, not whatsoever comes from your kingdom or province is well worked; but whatsoever comes from the precious kingdom, the noble province of the lord is extraordinary fine, and exceeding well wrought." In like manner in all other cases, they never say I or you in the first or second person; but "me your servant, me your disciple, me your subject." And instead of saying you, they say "the doctor said, the lord did, the emperor appointed." It would be a great piece of clownishness to say otherwise, unless to your servants.

DURING the visit the tea goes round two or three times, where you must use a ceremony when you take the dish, when you carry it to your mouth, or when you return it to the servant. When you depart it is with the same ceremonies with which you came in, and you conclude the comedy with the same expence you began it. Strangers are very uncouth at playing their parts herein, and make great blunders. The

reasonable part of the Chinese smile at them and excuse them; others take exceptions at it, and desire them to learn and practice before they venture in publick. For this reason they allow ambassadors forty days to ~~par~~pare for their audience of the emperor; and for fear they should miss any ceremony, they send them, during the time allowed, masters of the ceremonies, who teach them, and make them practice.

THEIR feasts are ceremonious even beyond what you can imagine, you would think they are not invited to eat, but to make grimaces. Not a mouthful of meat is eat, or a drop of wine drank but it costs an hundred faces. They have, like our concerts of musick, an officer who beats time, that the guests may all together in concord take their meat on their plates, and put it into their mouths, and lift up their little instruments of wood, which serve instead of a fork, or put them again in their places in order. Every guest has a peculiar table, without table-cloth, napkin, knife or spoon; for every thing is ready cut to their hands, and they never touch any thing but with two little wooden instruments tipped with silver, which the Chinese handle very dexterously, and which serve them for an universal instrument.

THEY begin their feasts with drinking wine, which is given to every guest at one and the same time in a small cup of China or silver, which cup all the guests take hold of with both hands: every one lifts his vessel as high as his head, presenting their service thereby to one another without speaking, and inviting each other to drink first. It is enough if you hold the cup to your mouth only without drinking during the time while the rest drink; for if the outward ceremonies are observed and kept, it is all one to them whether you drink or not.

AFTER the first cup, they set upon every table a great vessel of hashed meat, or ragoo. Then every one observes the motions of the master of the feast, who directs the actions of his guests. According as he gives the sign, they take their two little instruments, brandish them in the air, and as it were present them, and after exercising them after twenty fashions which I cannot express, they strike them into the dish, from whence they cleverly bring up a piece of meat, which must be eat neither too hastily nor too slowly, since it would be a rudeness either to eat before others or to make them stay for you. Then again they exercise their little instruments, which at length they place on the table in that posture wherein they were at the first. In all this you must observe time, that all may begin and end at once.

A little after comes the wine again, which is drank with all the ceremonies aforesaid. Then comes a second mess, which they dip into as into the first, and thus the feast is continued until the end, drinking between every mouthful, till there have been twenty or four and twenty different plates of meat at every table, which makes them drink off as many cups of wine; but we must observe that, besides that I have said that they drink as much or as little as they will at a time, their wine cups are very little, and their wine is small.

WHEN all the dishes are served, which are done with all imaginable order, no more wine is brought, and the guests may be a little more free with their meat, taking indifferently out of any of these dishes before them, which yet must be done when the rest of the guests take out of some of their dishes, for uniformity and order is always sacred. At this time they bring rice and bread, for as yet nothing but meat has been brought; they bring likewise fine broths made of flesh or fish, in

which the guests, if they think fit, may mingle their rice.

THEY sit at table serious, grave, and silent, for three or four hours together. When the master of the house sees they have all done eating, he gives the sign to rise, and they go aside for a quarter of an hour into the hall or garden to entertain and divert themselves. Then they come again to table, which they find set out with all sorts of sweetmeats, and dried fruits, which they keep to eat with their tea.

THESE customs so strictly enjoined, and so extremely troublesome, which must be performed from one end to the other of the feast, keeps all the guests from eating, who do not find themselves hungry till they arise from the table. Then they have a great mind to go and dine at home; but a company of strollers come and play over a comedy, which is so tedious that it wearies one as much as that before at the table did. Nor is tediousness the only fault, for they are commonly very dull and very noisy, no rules are observed, sometimes they sing, sometimes bawl, and sometimes howl, for the Chinese have little skill in making declamations. Yet you must not laugh at this folly, but all the while admire at the politeness of China, at its ceremonies, instituted, as they say, by the discretion of the antients, and still kept up by the wisdom of the moderns.

THE letters which are wrote from one to another, are as remarkable for their civilities and ceremonies, which are as many and as mysterious as the others. They do not write in the same manner as they speak; the bigness of the characters, the distance between the lines, the innumerable titles of honour given to the several qualities of persons, the shape of the paper, the number of red, white or blue covers for the letter, according to the person's condition, and an hundred other

formalities puzzle sometimes the brain of the most understanding men amongst them, for there is scarce any one who is secretary enough to write and send one of their letters as it ought to be.

THERE are a thousand other rules practised by the better sort in ordinary conversation, which you must observe, unless you would be accounted a clown; and though in a thousand instances these things favour more of a ridiculous affectation than of real politeness, no one can deny nevertheless but that these customs, which people observe so exactly, do inspire into them a sweetness of temper, and a love of order. These three moral principles, that is, the respect which children pay their parents, the veneration which all pay the emperor and his officers, and the mutual humility and courtesy of all people, work their effect the better, because supported by a wise and well understood policy. The principal maxims of which are as follow.

THE first is, never to give any one an office in his own province, and that for two reasons; because, first, a Mandarin of ordinary parentage is usually despised by those who know his family. Secondly, because being brought into favour and repute, by the great number of his kindred and friends, he might be enabled either to make, or at least to support a rebellion, or at least it would be very difficult for him to execute justice with an universal impartiality.

THE second maxim, is to retain at court the children of the Mandarines employed in the most considerable offices in the province, under pretence indeed of educating them well, but in reality keeping them as hostages, lest their fathers should fall from that duty which they owe the emperor.

THE third maxim, is that when one goes to law, such a commissary is made use of as the emperor pleas-

es to name, unless the office or quality of the criminal gives him the liberty to refuse 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 of artifice to save a man whose life would be noxious to the good of the state. On the other side, say they, we need not fear the prince's passion, who if he have a mind to take off a good man may find ways enough to do it without going so openly about it. But it is but fitting that there should be a means efficacious enough to rid the empire of an ill man.

THE fourth maxim of policy is never to sell any place, but to bestow it always upon merit; that is to those of good life, and who by a diligent study have acquainted themselves with the laws and customs of their country. To this end informations are exhibited of the life and manners of the candidate, especially when a Mandarin is removed from an inferior to a superior office; as for their understanding the laws, they undergo so many examinations and trials of it, that it is impossible for an ignoramus to be thought understanding, so severe are the measures which they take.

WHEN they resolve to set a child apart to learning, they put him to a master, for the towns of China are full of schools, where reading and writing are taught, which to learn well will take up some years. When the youth has made a pretty good progress in this, he is presented to a Mandarin of the lower order to be examined. If he writes a good hand, and makes their characters handsomely, he is admitted among those who apply themselves to the knowledge of books, and endeavour to obtain a degree, of which there are three sorts, which answer to our bachelor, master of arts, and doctor. As the fortunes of the Chinese do whol-

ly depend upon their capacity and understanding, so they spend their whole life in study. They say by heart all their staple books with a wonderful alacrity, they make comments on their laws : composition, eloquence, imitation and knowledge of their antient doctors, and the delicacy and politeness of the modern ones, from six to sixty are their constant employ. In some the quickness and readiness of wit saves them a great deal of labour, for some have been doctors at an age when others can write but indifferently ; but these are heroes amongst the Chinese, of which one in an age is enough.

THE examinations are strict, masters of arts are created by the principal Mandarines of the province ; bachelors by those Mandarines assisted by a commissary from court ; as for doctors they commence only at Peking : but because some who deserve this degree, have not wherewith to defray so expensive a journey, what is necessary for it, is bestowed on them gratis, that so poverty may not deprive the state of the service of those men who may prove useful and beneficial to it.

EVERY one's character is taken from his ability to invent or compose. For this purpose the candidates are shut up in a close room, without books, without any other paper than what is necessary for them to write on. All the while they are forbidden all manner of correspondents, at the doors are placed by the Mandarines guards, whose fidelity no bribes can corrupt ; the second examination is yet more strict, for lest the commissary sent by the court should himself be byassed through favour or the hopes of gain, he is not suffered to see or speak with any person till the examination is over.

IN creating the doctors, the emperor often engages himself ; the present emperor is more scared by the

candidates than any of the other posers, not only for his nice exactness and rigorous justice, but for his extraordinary abilities in judging of any thing of this nature. When the doctors are named, they are presented to him; to the three principal of which he gives garlands of flowers, or any other marks of honour, to distinguish them from the rest; some of them likewise he chuses for members of his royal academy, from whence they never remove, unless unto posts of the greatest consideration and credit in the kingdom.

THE great number of presents which they receive from their kindred and friends keeps the doctors from being poor. Every one hopes to make some advantage from his friendship; but lest high promotion should make them negligent, and sit loose to their studies; they still undergo several examinations, where if they appear to have been negligent, they certainly meet with severity and reproof; whereas if they have still continued to forward and improve their studies, they meet with a suitable encouragement and reward.

No small share of the public good is owing to this principle of policy. The youths, whom idleness and sloth never fail to corrupt, are by this constant employment diverted from ill courses, they have scarce time enough to follow their loose inclinations. Secondly, study forms and polishes their wits. People who never engage in arts and sciences, are always blockish and stupid. Thirdly, all offices are filled by able men, and if they cannot prevent that injustice which proceeds from the covetousness and corrupt affections of officers, at least they will take care to hinder that which arises from ignorance and immorality. Fourthly, since the places are given, the emperor may with greater justice turn out those officers whom he shall find undeserving. We ought indeed to punish every of-

sender ; yet it would be natural to bear with a Mandarin who is negligent of his office for want of understanding or application, who is too mild or over severe, if taking away his place would ruin his family, whose whole fortune it may be is laid out in the purchase of it, when as if a place be disposed only by donation, the prince who gave it may easily without any disturbance take it from one, and gratify another with it.

LASTLY, 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 prosecute his own rights, and frees him from being oppressed by the opulence of his adversary, who cannot be brought to do justly and reasonably because the other has not money.

THE Chinese have established this as a fifth maxim of policy, never to suffer strangers to have any share in their administration. The small esteem they bear them, makes the Chinese use them so coarsely. They fancy that a mixture of natives and foreigners would bring them to contempt, and occasion nought but corruption and disorder. From thence also would spring particular grudges, making parties, and at last rebellions. For difference of people necessarily supposes difference of customs, languages, humours and religion. This makes them no longer children of the same family, bred up to the same opinions, and tempered with the same notions, and be there all imaginable care used in instructing and forming strangers, they are at most but adopted sons, who never have that implicit obedience and tender affection, which children by nature bear to their own parents. So that should foreigners be better qualified than natives, which you can never make the Chinese believe, they would fancy it for the good

of their country to prefer natives to them : and it is little less than a miracle in favour of christianity, that a few missionaries have been suffered to settle there.

THIS last piece of policy is extremely good when those of a false religion are kept out, which teaches rebellion and disturbance ; itself being the product of caballing and riot ; but the case is otherwise in christianity, whose humility, sweetness and obedience to authority, produces nought but peace, unity, and charity among all people. This is what the Chinese begin to be convinced of, having had trial of it for a whole age together. Happy were it if they would embrace it as a constitution equally necessary for the salvation of their souls, as conducive to the peace and good of their state.

THEIR sixth maxim is that nobility is never hereditary, neither is there any distinction between the qualities of people ; saving what the offices which they execute makes : so that excepting the family of Confucius the whole kingdom is divided into magistracy and commonalty. There are no lands but what are held by socage-tenure, not even those lands which are destined for the Bonzes, or which belong to the temples of the idols. So that their gods, as well as men, are subject to the state, and are obliged by taxes and contributions to acknowledge the emperor's supremacy. When a vice-roy or governour of a province is dead, his children, as well as others, have their fortunes to make ; and if they inherit not their father's virtue and ingenuity, his name which they bear, be it never so famous, gives them no quality at all.

THE advantages which the state makes of this maxim are first, trading is in a more flourishing condition, which the laziness of the nobility is the likeliest means to ruin. Secondly, the emperor's revenues are en-

creased by it; because no estates are tax-free. In towns which pay poll-money no person is exempt. Thirdly, by this means families are hindered from ingratiating themselves with the populace, and so kept from establishing themselves so far in the people's favour, that it would be a difficulty to the prince himself to keep them within bounds. Lastly, it is a received opinion among the Chinese, that if an emperor would be obeyed he must lay his commands upon subjects, and not upon so many little kings.

THEIR seventh principle of policy is to keep up in peace, as well as war, great armies; as well to maintain a credit and respect from the neighbours, as to stifle or rather prevent any disturbance or insurrection which may happen at home. Heretofore a million of soldiers were set to guard their great wall. A lesser number also than that to garrison their frontiers and great towns would have been too little. Now they think it enough to keep garrisons in their most important towns.

BESIDES these standing forces, there are fifteen or twenty thousand men in each province, under the command of private officers; they have also soldiers to keep their islands, especially Haynan and Formosa. The horse-guards of Peking are above an hundred and sixty thousand. So that, I believe, in the greatest and securest peace the emperor has in pay and at muster not less than fifty hundred thousand effective men, all armed according to the custom of the country with scimeters and darts. They have but a very small infantry, and of those which they have there are no pike men, and very few musketeers.

THEIR soldiers are very graceful, and pretty well disciplined, for the Tartars have almost degenerated into Chinese, and the Chinese continue as they always

were, soft, effeminate, enemies of labour, better at making an handsome figure at muster or in a march, than at behaving themselves gallantly in an action. The Tartars begin with heat and brillianess, and if they can make their enemies give ground in the beginning, then they can make their advantage of it; otherwise they are unable to continue an attack a good while, or to bear up long against one, especially if made in order and with rigour. The emperor, whom I have had the honour to speak with, who says nothing but what is proper, as he does nothing but what is great, gave this short character of them: They are good soldiers when opposed to bad ones, but bad when opposed to good ones.

THE eighth maxim is concerning their rewards and punishments. Great men who have faithfully served their country never lose their reward; and because he a prince never so opulent, he can never have enough to reward all his subjects, this defect is made up by marks and titles of honour, which are very acceptable to the subjects, and no charge to the prince.

THOSE titles of honour are what they call the several orders of Mandarines. They say such an one is a Mandarin of the first rank, or the emperor has placed such an one in the first class of the Mandarines of the second rank, and in like manner of others. This dignity, which is merely honorary, makes them take place in assemblies, visits, and councils, but is no profit to them. To make these rewards of greater extent, which the people chuse much sooner than pensions, they are sometimes bestowed even upon the dead, who are oft times made Mandarines after their funerals, who therefore fill sometimes the greatest places of honour amongst the nobility when the emperor cannot bestow upon them the meanest place among the living. They have of

tentimes at the publick or prince's charge lofty monuments raised for them, and that court which looks after the publick expences judges what recompence shall be paid to their desert. These rewards are oft-times accompanied with eulogies in their praise made by the emperor himself, which makes them and their family famous to all posterity. But the highest honour is to make them saints, to build them temples, and offer them sacrifices as to the gods of the country. By this means paganism has been mightily supported by the emperors, adorning themselves the work of their own hands, and paying worship and honour to them, who when alive would have been glad to be prostrate at their own worshippers feet.

THEY reward also in private men those virtuous actions which bring no publick advantage to the state. We read in history that temples have been raised to the memory of some maids who all their lives kept their chastity inviolable. And I myself have seen in several of their towns trophies with honourable inscriptions raised up for inhabitants of mean rank and degree, to publish to all the world their virtue and merit.

If the Chinese are very liberal in their rewards, they are as severe in their punishments even of the slightest faults; their punishments are adequate to their demerits. The usual punishment is the bastinado on the back. When they receive but forty or fifty blows, they call this a fatherly correction. To which as well Mandarines as others are subject; this punishment is not accounted very scandalous, and after it is executed, the criminal must fall on his knees before the judge, and if able bow three times down to the ground, and give him humble thanks for taking this care of his education.

YET this punishment is of that violence, that one stroke is enough to fell one that is of a tender constitution; and oft-times persons die of it; it is true there are ways of softening this punishment when the execution of it is in court. The easiest is to bribe the executioners, for there are many of them; because lest the executioner's weariness should lessen the punishment, after five or six strokes another succeeds, and so till the whole be performed. But when the criminal has by money made them his friend, they understand their business so well, that notwithstanding all the care which the Mandarines present can use, the punishment becomes light and almost nothing.

BESIDES this in the courts there are persons to be hired, who keep a good understanding with the officers. Who, upon a signal given, take the place of the criminal, who escapes among the croud, and receives his punishment. For money there are every where these sort of vicarious persons to be met with. For it is a trade at China, where several persons are maintained by the blows of the cudgel.

By such a trick as this Yam quam sien, a famous persecutor of christianity, escaped the just sentence of the judges. He engaged a paltry fellow for a large sum of money to take upon him his name, and go to the court of justice in his stead. He told him that let it come to the worst it was but a good cudgelling, and if after that he was imprisoned, there should be found out a way to redeem him thence. The poor fellow went according to agreement, and when the cryer called out aloud Yam quam sien, the fellow answered as loud, Here; his sentence was passed, and the Mandarin condemned him to death. The officers, who had been bribed, seized on him immediately, and according to custom gagged him; for after sentence the

criminal is not suffered to speak. Afterward he was brought to the place of execution, where the poor wretch suffered a miserable death.

THE second sort of punishment is the Carcan, which differs from the former only in the place where the bastinadoes are given: in this they are given the criminal at one of the city gates or in the highway; the punishment here is not so sharp, but the infamy is greater, and he who has once undergone this punishment can never more recover his reputation.

THEY have several different ways of inflicting death. Mean and ignoble persons have their heads cut off, so in China the separation of the head from the body is disgraceful. On the contrary, persons of quality are strangled, which among them is a death of more credit; if the crime be very notorious they are punished like mean persons, and sometimes their heads are cut off and hanged on a tree in the highways.

REBELS and traitors are punished with the utmost severity; that is to speak as they do, they cut them into ten thousand pieces. For, after that the executioner hath tied them to a post, he cuts off the skin all round their forehead, which he tears by force till it hangs over their eyes, that they may not see the torments they are to endure. Afterwards he cuts their bodies in what places he thinks fit, and when he is tired with this barbarous employment, he leaves them to the tyranny of their enemies, and the insults of the mob.

OFTEN criminals are cruelly whipped till they expire. Lastly, the torture, which is the cruellest of all deaths, is here used; and generally the hands and fingers suffer most in it.

NINTHLY, they think it good policy to forbid women from all trade and commerce, which they can only benefit by letting it alone; all their business lies within

doors, where they find continual employment in the education of their children. They neither buy nor sell; and one sees women so seldom in the streets, that one would imagine them to be all religiouses confined to a cloister. Princesses never succeed to the crown, nor ever have the regency during the young prince's minority; and though the emperor may in private consult them, it is reckoned mean and ignoble to do it. In which thing the Chinese seem in my opinion less reasonable than in others. For wit and foresight is equally the portion of the one as of the other sex; and a prince is never so understanding as when he knows how to find out all his treasures wheresoever nature has placed them, nor ever so prudent as when he makes use of them.

LASTLY, their tenth maxim is to encourage trade as much as possible through the whole empire. All the other policy is conducive to the plenty or convenience of their country; but this is concerned for the very lives of the people, who would be soon reduced to the last extremity if trade should once fail. It is not the people's care only, but the Mandarines also, who put out their money to trusty traders to make the best advantage of it. By this private way Oufanguay, the little king of Chenfi, who brought the Tartars into China, made himself so rich and powerful, that he was able himself to support for a long time the war against the emperor.

Good order in the inferior governments is as useful a part of policy to the state as any whatever; by these inferior governments I mean those of the cities, and of the several camps. All these are settled in China; for from the foundation of that empire the state has thought it worth while to look after even the most inconsiderable things.

AMONG persons of quality there never happens an dispute about taking place, because every one knows exactly what is due to his own, and to others quality; and it was a great surprize to every body to see about six or seven years ago a prince of the blood, and a Colao engaged in such a sort of dispute. The occasion was this; the laws ordain that when a Colao is about to speak to a prince of the blood he must bend the knee, but custom has laid as strong an obligation on the prince to take him up immediately.

THE prince thought that an obliging custom though constantly practised by the royal family on several occasions ought not to prejudice his right by law. He did therefore give audience to a Colao on his knees and never made any motion for him to rise. The minister of state in a great confusion to see himself kept so long in so humble a posture complained of it to the emperor, who assembled the council forthwith. They looked into the ceremonial to observe what they could find that would contribute to the deciding this novel case, but when they could find nothing therein serviceable to that end they were more perplexed than ever.

FINALLY, the council who were against innovations, judged that the practice ought not to be continued as before; and not freeing the Colaos from their obligation of speaking to the princes of the blood on their knees, they thought it requisite also that the princes should use that civility towards them as not to keep them in that posture long. "You cannot," said they to the Colao, "honour the princes too much, and you do not do well to omit any occasion where you can shew the respect you bear them." "Princes," added the emperor to him who had occasioned this dispute, "are by their own rank set high enough above the rest of mankind, not to need proudly to seek to de-

“base them lower. They can want nothing to make them honourable, but temper and modesty. When you are denied the respect due to you, all the world knows you have not what you ought to have; but when you insist upon every little mark of respect, it will make the world begin to enquire whether you deserve it.” Thus both of them were reprimanded, and that no new laws might be made they let custom be their rule.

EVERY thing that belongs to the princes or Mandarines, is punctually stated; their pensions, their houses, the number of their servants, the shape and bigness of their sedans, and the badges of honour by which they are distinguished. So that when they come into publick their quality is presently known, and the respect which is due to them with as little trouble paid. When the Chinese governed the empire, even private men wore their marks of distinction; and there was no learned man but his degree and rank might be known by the fashion or colour of his garb.

THE towns have their determinate figure; they ought all to be square as far as the ground they are built upon will suffer it; in such sort that the gates may be so built as to answer the four principal quarters of the world, that is the north, south, east, and west. The houses have thorough lights, and are esteemed ill built if their doors do not lie exactly parallel to one of the sides of the town.

TOWNS of the several orders have different bigness, the chief towns are nine or twelve miles round, those of the first rank are but six, those of the second or third orders are less in proportion. This rule nevertheless is not so universal as to admit of no exception. The streets are strait, generally laid out by the line, large, well paved, yet very inconvenient; because every per-

son of any account goes up and down them either on horseback or in a chair. The houses are low, of an equal height. The jealousy of the husbands would not suffer that their neighbours houses should be higher than their own, lest thereby their windows should overlook their court-yards and gardens.

THE whole town is divided into four parts, and those again into several smaller divisions, each of which contain ten houses, over every one of which subdivisions an officer presides, who takes notice of every thing which passes in his little ward, tells the Mandarin what contentions happen, what extraordinary things, what strangers come thither or go thence. The neighbourhood is obliged to give mutual assistance, and in case of an alarm to lend one another an helping hand, for if any theft or robbery be committed in the night, the neighbourhood must contribute towards repairing the loss. Lastly, in every family the father is responsible for the disorders and irregularities committed either by his children or servants.

THE gates of the cities are well looked after, and even in time of peace are shut up at the approach of night. In the day time there are guards to examine all who come in; if he be a stranger, if he comes from another province, or from a neighbouring town, they know by his tone, by his mein, or his habit, which in every place are somewhat different. When they observe any thing extraordinary or suspicious, they take the person up, or inform the Mandarin of it. So that European missionaries, whose aspect is infinitely different from that of the Chinese, are known as soon as seen, and those who have not the emperor's approbation find it very difficult to make a long journey.

IN certain places, as at Peking, as soon as night comes on they tie chains across the streets; the guards go the patrol up and down the chief streets, and guards

and sentinels are placed here and there. The horse go the rounds upon the fortifications; and wo be to him who is found then from home. Meetings, masquerades and balls, and such like night works are good, say the Chinese, for none but thieves and the mob. Orderly people ought at that time either to sit up providing for their family, or else take their rest, that they may be refreshed, and better able the next day to manage the business of the family.

GAMING is forbidden both to the commonalty and gentry. Which nevertheless hinders not the Chinese from playing, sometimes even so long as till they have lost all their estates, their houses, their children and their wives, which they sometimes hazard upon a card; for there is no degree of extravagance to which the desire of lucre and riches will not carry a Chinese. But besides that it is a disorder which the Tartars, since they became masters of China, have introduced amongst them, they take great heed to conceal their gaming; and by consequence the law which forbids it always flourishes, and is able to suppress great disorders.

WHAT I have said concerning wives, that their husbands may sell them, or lose them at play; puts me in mind to give some account of the rules which their civil constitution rather than their religion has ordained concerning marriages; those who have a mind to marry do not, as among us, follow their own fancies in their choice of a wife. They never see the woman they are about to have, but take her parents word in the case, or else they have their information from several old women who are as it were inspectors, but who are nevertheless in see with the woman's friends to set her out more than she deserves, so that it is very seldom that they make a true description, or give a just character of her whom they go to view.

THE woman's parents give money generally to these emissaries, to oblige them to give a favourable character. For it is for the parents advantage that their daughter should be reputed handsome, witty, and genteel; because the Chinese buy their wives, and, as in other merchandise, they give more or less according to the good or bad properties of them.

WHEN the parties are agreed about the price, the contract is made, and the money paid down. Then preparation is made on both sides for the nuptial solemnities: when the day of marriage is come, they carry the bride in a sumptuous chair, before which go hautboys, drums and fifes, and after it follow her parents, and other particular friends of her family. All the portion which she brings, is her marriage garments, some cloaths and household goods, which her father presents her with. The bridegroom stands at his door richly attired waiting for her: he himself opens the sedan, which was closely shut, and having conducted her into a chamber, delivers her to several women invited thither for that purpose, who spend there the day together in feasting and sporting, while the husband in another room entertains his friends and acquaintance.

THIS being the first time that the bride and bridegroom see each other, and both or one very often not liking their bargain, it is frequently a day of rejoicing for their guests, but of sorrow for themselves. The women must submit though they do not like, because their parents have sold them, but the husbands sometimes are not so complaisant, for there have been some who when they first opened the sedan to receive the bride, repulsed by her shape and aspect have shut the chair again, and sent her and her parents and friends back again, willing rather to lose their money than enter upon so bad a purchase.

WHEN the Tartars in the late war took Nanking, there happened a passage which made the Chinese merry notwithstanding all their misfortunes. Among all the disorders which the victors committed in that province, they endeavoured to seize upon all the women they could to make money of them. When they took the chief city of that province, they carried all the women thither, and shut them up higgly piggly together in the magazines with other goods. But because there were some of all ages and degrees of beauty, they resolved to put them into sacks and carry them to market, and so sell them to any one at a venture ugly or handsome. There was the same price set upon every one, and for sixteen or eighteen shillings take which sack you will without opening it. After this manner the soldiers, who were ever insolent in prosperity, abused their victory, and approved themselves more barbarous in the most polite and civil city in the world, than they had been in the deserts of Tartary.

AT the day of sale there came buyers enough. Some came to recover if haply they could their wives or children who were among these women, others were led thither through hopes that good fortune and a lucky chance would put a fortune into his hands. In short the novelty of the thing brought a great concourse from the adjacent places. An ordinary fellow, who had but twelve shillings in the world, gave it and chose a sack as did the rest, and carried it off; when he was got out of the crowd, whether through curiosity, or a desire to relieve the person in the sack who complained, he could not forbear opening it. In it he found an old woman, whom age, grief, and ill treatment had made deformed to the highest degree; he was so confoundedly mad at it, that to gratify his passion and rage he was going to throw the old woman and sack

both together, into the river, that the gratification of his passion might be some comfort to him for the loss of his money.

THEN the good old gentlewoman said to him : Son, your lot is not so bad as you imagine ; be of good cheer, you have made your fortune : take care only of my life, I will make yours happier than ever it has been yet. These words somewhat pacified him. Wherefore he carried her into a house hard by, where she told him her quality and her estate. She belonged to a Mandarin of note in the neighbourhood, to whom she wrote immediately. He sent her an equipage agreeable to her quality, and she carried her deliverer along with her, and afterwards was so good a friend to him, that he never had reason to complain that he had lost the two crowns which he laid out in the purchasing her.

BUT to return to the Chinese marriages, I must farther tell you, that a husband may not divorce his wife, excepting for adultery, and a few other occasions which seldom or never fall out ; in those cases they sell them to whosoever will buy them, and buy another. Persons of quality never do thus, but common people do frequently. If a man has the boldness to sell his wife without just reason, both the buyer and seller are severely punished, yet the husband is not obliged to take her again.

ALTHOUGH a man be allowed but one wife, he may have as many concubines as he will ; all the children have an equal claim to the estate, because they are reckoned as the wives' children, though they may be some of the concubines' ; they all call the wife mother, who is indeed sole mistress of the house ; the concubines serve and honour her, and have no manner of authority or power but what they derive from her.

THE Chinese think it a strange thing that the Europeans are not thus allowed the use of women, yet they confess it is a commendable sign of moderation in them. But when we observed to them the troubles, quarrels, contentions, and jealousies which many women must needs raise in a family, they say nothing is without some inconvenience and disorder; but that perhaps there are more crosses in having but one, than in having many women. The best way they own is to have none at all.

ALTHOUGH the Chinese are extremely jealous to that degree that they suffer not their wives to speak in private even to their own brethren, much less give them liberty to enjoy all that freedom and public diversion which in Europe is esteemed only gallantry and curiosity: nevertheless there are husbands so very complaisant to their wives as to let them freely commit adultery, which permission some women make the condition of their marriage: Those who according to such agreement follow these courses (as there is a certain sort of people who do) have no manner of power to hinder debauchees from frequenting their houses, and from making ill use of the easiness or unruly passions of such women. But such families as these are abhorred by the Chinese, who think so ill of them, that their children though never so deserving or intelligent can never obtain any degree, or be employed in any honourable office.

OF all their civil institutions there is no one which costs the Chinese so much trouble as does the ordering of their time, and their holidays. There are in the emperor's service above an hundred persons, on purpose to regulate the kalendar, which they make anew every year, and with a great deal of ceremony send it up and down to the vice-roys of each province. They

regulate the number of months, which is sometimes twelve, sometimes thirteen, which are lunar months, and ought to agree with the sun's course. In these almanacs and equinoxes, solstices, and the sun's entry into each sign is set down : The eclipses of the sun or moon are there, and the time when visible at Peking or any of the principal cities. The planets' courses, their places in the ecliptic, their oppositions, conjunctions, and propinquity to any stars are described and indeed every thing else is well calculated, which astronomy has that is curious or excellent. They mix with this divers points of judicial astrology, which ignorance or superstition have invented, concerning happy or unhappy days, times proper for marriage, building, or undertaking journies. These prejudices generally guide the people ; but the emperor, and all other men of sense are wiser than to mind any such trifles.

ALTHOUGH there be no public clocks as in Europe, the day is nevertheless divided into four and twenty parts, which have all their particular names, and begin from midnight. They tell me that antiently they divided their day into twelve parts, each of which were subdivided into eight ; which made the natural day consist of fourscore and sixteen, which were exactly distinguished in their calculations. But their sun-dials (and they have very antient ones) were divided into four general divisions, each of which contained four and twenty little subdivisions, which added to the four great divisions, divided the whole circle into an hundred parts.

THIS sort of dialling seems verry irregular, nor can I see for what use it was intended. Since they have received the new kalendar from the missionaries, they have regulated their dials by hours, and reckon their

time almost as we do ; only we must take notice that instead of two hours they reckon but one, so that their natural day consists of but twelve hours, the names of which diversly combined with ten other terms which they have invented, make a revolution of sixty, which serves them instead of a cycle to mark their different years. I dare not trouble you with particular enumerations, which would be tedious, and are in foregoing relations sufficiently explained.

As for the people, they are not very nice herein ; they content themselves with knowing the time of the sun's rising and setting, and noon. In the night they make use of bells and drums, which are very often sounded, and serve to distinguish the night into five watches.

THE civil government of the Chinese does not only preside over the towns, but extends also over the highways, which they make handsome and easily passable. The passages for their water are in several places fenced in with stone walls for the convenience of travelling, over which there are a great number of bridges, which unite the towns and the fields together. Canals are also cut for the water to pass through all the towns of the southern provinces, to make their ditches more secure, and the towns more pleasant. In low and marshy grounds, they throw up prodigious long banks, which keep their roads in those parts good ; to perform which they stick at no cost, cutting a passage even through mountains when they stand in their way.

THE road from Signanfou to Hampichoum is one of the strangest pieces of work in the world. They say, for I myself have never yet seen it, that upon the side of some mountains which are perpendicular, and have no shelving, they have fixed large beams into them,

upon the which beams they have made a sort of balcony without rails, which reaches through several mountains in that fashion; those who are not used to these sort of galleries, travel over them in a great deal of pain, afraid of some ill accident or other. But the people of the place are very hazardous: they have mules used to these sort of roads, which travel with as little fear or concern over these steep and hideous precipices as they could do in the best and plainest heath. I have in other places exposed myself very much by following too rashly my guides.

ONE cannot imagine what care they take to make the common roads convenient for passage. They are fourscore feet broad, or very near it; the soil of them is light and soon dry when it has left off raining. In some provinces there are on the right and left hand causeways for the foot passengers, which are on both sides supported by long rows of trees, and oft-times terrassed with a wall of eight or ten feet high on each side, to keep passengers out of the fields. Nevertheless these walls have breaks, where roads cross one another, and they all terminate at some great town.

THERE are several wooden machines made like triumphal arches set up in the roads about a mile and a half distant from each other, about thirty feet high, which have three doors, over which is wrote upon a large frize in characters so large as may be read at almost half a quarter of a mile distance, how far it is from the town you left, and how far to the town you are going to. So that you have no need of guides here, for you may by these directions see what place the road leads to, and from whence you came, how far you have already gone, and how far you have yet to go.

THE great care which they have taken to lay out all these distances by the line, makes the account which

these inscriptions give to be pretty sure; yet they are not equal, because the miles in some provinces are longer than in others. It has happened likewise that some of these arches being ruined and consumed by decay and time, have not been set up exactly in the same place; but generally speaking they serve for a good measure of the highways, besides that in several places they are no small ornament.

ON one side of these ways about the same distance are fixed little towers made of earth cast up, on which they set up the emperor's standard; near it is a lodge for soldiers or country militia. These are made use of in time of rebellion, or indeed at any other time, to carry an express if occasion be, or to hand letters from one to another; but especially to take care to stop highwaymen and robbers.

EVERY man who goes by armed is obliged to give an account whence he came, whither he is going, and upon what business, and must shew his pass. Besides, these guards in case of an alarm give a helping hand to travellers, and stop all those who are suspected or accused of robbery. Among the mighty number of inhabitants which are in China, a great part of which scarce know how to get a subsistence, a body would imagine that abundance must need turn thieves; yet one may travel there with as great safety as here. I have travelled there six thousand miles up and down through almost all the provinces, and was never but once in danger of being robbed. Four strange horsemen followed me a whole day together, but the roads were so full of travellers up and down that they could never get the coast clear for a quarter of an hour together, and so fell short of their aim.

THEIR posts are as well regulated as ours in Europe are, at the emperor's sole charge, who for that end

maintains a great number of horse. The couriers go from Peking for the capital cities; the vice-roys of which as soon as they have received the dispatches from court, send them forthwith by other couriers to the towns of the first rank: from whence they are by these governors conveyed to those of the second rank under their jurisdiction; and from thence they are transmitted to the towns of the third rank. It is true these posts were not established for the conveyance of private letters, yet the postmasters, for a little money undertake to carry letters for private men, as they always do for the missionaries, who find it as sure a way as that used in Europe, and much less chargeable.

As it is a matter of importance that the emperor's orders be quickly transmitted, so it is a great part of the Mandarin's care to see that the roads be good; and the emperor to keep them the more strictly to this, spreads a report that he intends shortly to visit this or that province. The governors of these provinces spare no charge or pains to repair those roads, because it not only concerns their fortunes, but sometimes their life, if this care be not omitted.

As I once passed just by a village of the third rank, in the province of Chenfi, they told me that the governor had just hanged himself through despair lest he should not have time enough to repair a road through which the emperor was to pass to the capital town. The emperor nevertheless never went the journey, so that the Mandarin might have saved his life by a little patience. But yet all the care which the Chinese can use, will never prevent a mighty inconvenience which happens to those who travel in their roads.

THE soil of China is mighty light, and very much beaten by the vast multitudes who travel, some on foot, some on camels, others in litters, and again others in

chariots, so that the roads are perfectly ground into very fine powder; when this is raised by travellers, and carried about by the winds, it is enough to blind all passengers if they have not masks or veils on them. Through these clouds you must continually make your way, and suck them in instead of air, during whole journeys together. When the weather is hot, and the wind in one's face, scarce any one except a native can withstand it: I have sometimes been forced to desist from my journey and come back again.

BUT of all their wholesome institutions there is nothing which contributes so much to the keeping up peace and order, as does their method of levying the emperor's revenue. They are not troubled in China with such swarms of officers and commissioners as we are. All the estates there are measured, and all the families registered; and whatsoever the emperor is to have by excise on goods, or tax upon persons, is publicly known, every body brings in what is due from him, to the Mandarines or governors of the towns of the third rank, for there is no particular receiver appointed. Those who neglect to bring in their dues, do not lose their estates by confiscation, which would be to punish the innocent of that family with the guilty: but the persons so offending suffer imprisonment, and undergo the bastinadoe till they have made satisfaction.

THESE Mandarines of a lower rank, give in an account of what they receive to a general officer of the province, who accounts with the court of Peking, which looks after the public exchequer. A great part of the revenue is disbursed up and down the provinces in pensions, salaries, soldiers' pay, and public buildings: what is over is carried to Peking, to maintain the em-

peror's court, and other expences in that town, where the emperor keeps in pay above an hundred and sixty thousand regular troops, to whom, as well as to the Mandarines, is given out every day meat, fish, rice, pease, and straw, according to every one's rank, besides their constant pay, which they regularly receive.

THAT which comes from the southern provinces is alone sufficient to answer this expence; this they bring by water in the emperor's vessels: yet they are so jealous lest the revenue should fall short at any time of the disbursements, that in Peking there are magazines of rice before hand sufficient for three years. Which will keep a great while if it be well fanned and mixed, and although it looks not so well, nor tastes so pleasantly as new rice, yet it is much more wholesome and nourishing.

THIS numerous army about the emperor, well looked after, duly paid, and exactly disciplined, one would think should awe all Asia, yet their idleness, and the small use they ever have occasion to make of their weapons, does contribute to weaken them as much as their natural effeminacy. The western Tartars do not value their numbers a straw, and frequently say in derision of them, that the neighing of a Tartary horse is enough to rout all the Chinese cavalry.

YET they take all possible care to have good soldiers, for they take no officers into the guards, till they have made trial of their stoutness, skill, and dexterity in military affairs. They are regularly examined, so that as learned men have their doctors to examine them, so these have also their professors.

THESE officers do regularly exercise their companies, they form them into squadrons, march them, teach them to divide their files, to march through narrow passages, shew them to give the onset, to rally at the

found of the cornet or trumpet ; besides they are very dexterous in managing their bow, or handling their scimitar : yet soon broke, and by the least thing in the world put into disorder. The occasion of this I apprehend to be, because in the education of their youth they never instil into them principles of honour and bravery, as we do as soon as ever they are big enough to know what weapons are. The Chinese are always talking to their children of gravity, policy, law, and government ; they always set books and letters in their view, but never a sword into their hands. So that having spent their youthful days behind the counter, or at the bar, they know no other courage but that of defending obstinately an ill cause, and are lifted into the soldiery on no other consideration but that they hope there will be no occasion for fighting. The Chinese policy hinders hereby a great many domestic feuds and disturbances : but at the same time it does expose its subjects hereby to the insults of foreigners, which is ten times worse.



*Of the RELIGION and WORSHIP of the CHINESE.*

**I**N the empire of China there are three principal sects; the sect of the learned, who follow the doctrine of the ancient books, and look upon Confucius as their master; that of the disciples of Lao kien, which is nothing but a web of extravagance and impiety; and that of idolaters, who worship a divinity called Fo, whose opinions were translated from the Indies into China about thirty two years after our Saviour's crucifixion.

THE first of these sects only make profession of being regular students, in order to advance themselves to the degrees and dignities of the empire on account of merit, wit and learning, proper for the conduct of life, and government of the empire.

THE second has degenerated into a profession of magic and enchantment; for the disciples of this sect boast of the secrets of making gold, and of the rendering persons immortal.

THE third is nothing but a heap of fables and superstitions brought from the Indies into China, and maintained by the Bronzes, who deceive the people under the appearance of false piety; they have introduced the belief of the transmigration of souls, and promise more or less happiness in proportion to the liberality that is shewn to themselves.

To give some notion of these different sects I shall follow the order of time in which they took their rise, and observe successively their condition among the people.

It is universally believed by every person who has

searched after the original of an empire so ancient as China, that Noah's sons were scattered abroad in the eastern part of Asia; that some of the descendants of this patriarch penetrated into China about two hundred years after the deluge, and laid the foundation of this extensive empire; that instructed by tradition, concerning the grandeur and power of the supreme Being, they taught their children, and through them their numerous posterity, to fear and honour the Almighty Creator of the world, and to live agreeable to the law of nature written in their hearts.

OF this we find traces in their ancient and valuable book, which the Chinese call, by way of eminence, *The Five Volumes*, the canonical or classical books of the highest rank, which they look upon as the source of all their learning and morality.

HOWEVER, these books are not treatises of religion purposely made with a design to instruct the people, for they contain only part of their history: The authors do not attempt to prove what they advance, but only draw natural consequences from principles already allowed, and lay down these opinions as fundamental truths on which all the rest are built.

To speak in general it appears that the drift of these classical books was to maintain peace and tranquillity in the state by a regulation of manners, and an exact observation of the laws; for the attainment of which the ancient Chinese judged two things necessary to be observed, viz. the duties of religion, and the rules of good government.

THE chief object of their worship is the supreme Being, Lord and chief Sovereign of all things, which they worshipped under the name of *Chang ti*, that is Supreme Emperor, or *Tien*, which, according to the Chinese, signifies the same thing; " *Tien* (say the in-

“terpreters) is the spirit that presides in heaven, because heaven is the most excellent work produced by the first cause;” it is taken also for the material heavens, but this depends upon the subject to which it is applied: The Chinese say that the father is the Tien of the family, the viceroy the Tien of the province, and the emperor the Tien of the kingdom, &c. They likewise pay an adoration, but in a subordinate manner, to inferior spirits depending on the supreme Being, which, according to them, preside over cities, rivers, mountains, &c.

If from the beginning of the monarchy they applied themselves to astronomy, their design in the observation of the stars was to be acquainted with their motions, and to solve the appearances of the visible Tien, or heaven.

As for their politics, which consisted in the observation of regularity and purity of manners, they reduced them to this simple maxim, viz. That those who command should imitate the conduct of Tien in treating their inferiors as their children, and those who obey ought to look upon their superiors as fathers.

BUT did they regard this Tien, who is the object of their worship, as an intelligent being, lord and creator of heaven and earth, and all things? Is it not likely that their vows and homage were addressed to the visible and material heaven, or at least to a celestial energy void of understanding, inseparable from the identical matter of heaven? But this I shall leave to the judgment of the reader, and content myself with relating what is learnt from the classical books.

It appears from one of these canonical books, called *Chu king*, that this Tien, or first being, the object of public worship, is the principle of all things, the father of the people, absolutely independent, almighty, om-

niscient, knowing even the secrets of the heart, who watches over the conduct of the universe, and permits nothing to be acted contrary to his will; who is holy without partiality, a rewarder of virtue in mankind, supremely just, punishing wickedness in the most public manner, raising up and casting down the kings of the earth according to his own pleasure; that the public calamities are the notices which he gives for the reformation of manners, and that the end of these evils is followed with mercy and goodness; as for instance when a dreadful storm has made havock with the harvest and the trees, immediately after an illustrious innocent is recalled from banishment, justified from slander, and re-established in his former dignity.

ONE sees there the solemn vows that they make to the supreme Being for obtaining rain in a long drought, or for the recovery of a worthy emperor when his life is despaired of; these vows, as history relates, are generally heard, and they acknowledge that it is not the effect of chance that an impious emperor has been struck with lightning, but that it is the visible punishment of heaven designed as an example to mankind.

THE variety of events are attributed only to Tien, for they speak of him chiefly when vice is punished, and when it is not, they suppose it one day will, and always threaten wicked persons in prosperity. One may see by these books that the chief of the nation are fully persuaded that the Tien, by prodigies or extraordinary appearances, gives notice of approaching miseries wherewith the state is threatened, that men may reform their lives as the surest means of appeasing the anger of heaven.

It is said of the emperor Tcheou that he rejected all the good thoughts inspired by Tien, that he made no

account of the prodigies by which Tien gave notice of his ruin if he did not reform his life : and when there is mention made of the emperor Kie they say, if he had changed his conduct after the calamities sent from on high, heaven would not have depopulated the empire : They report that two great emperors, founders of two powerful dynasties, admired by posterity for their rare virtues, had a great conflict in their own minds when there was a debate upon their ascending the throne ; on the one side they were solicited by the grandees of the empire, and by the people, and perhaps even by private motives of ambition hard to be distinguished from those of a more specious sort ; on the other side they were withheld by the duty and fidelity that a subject owes to his prince, though much and deservedly hated.

THIS inward conflict and uncertainty that troubled their repose proceeded from the fear of displeasing Chang ti, either by taking up arms as they were urged, or by refusing to take them up to free the people from the oppression under which they groaned, and to put a stop to an infinite number of crimes ; by this proceeding they acknowledged their dependence to be on a master who forbids unfaithfulness, hates tyranny, loves the people as a father, and protects those that are oppressed.

ALMOST all the pages of the canonical books, and especially of the Chu king, cease not to inspire this just dread as the most proper curb for the passions, and the most certain remedy against vice.

THERE likewise appears what idea these princes ought to form of the justice, holiness, and goodness of the supreme Lord ; in the times of public calamities they were not satisfied with only addressing their vows to Tien, and offering sacrifices, but they applied them-

selves carefully to the examination of their secret faults, which had drawn down this punishment from Tien; they examined if they were not too expensive in their habits, too delicate at their tables, too magnificent in their equipage and in their palaces, all which they resolved to reform.

ONE of these princes acknowledges sincerely, That he had not followed the solitary thoughts inspired by Tien: Another reproaches himself for neglect of application to business, and too much regard for innocent amusements, and he looks upon these faults as likely to provoke the anger of Tien, and meekly acknowledges these to be the source of public calamities.

IN the canonical book, called Tchun tsiou, mention is made of the misfortunes of a prince as so many punishments of Tien, who to make the chastisement still greater rendered him insensible to his disgrace.

THE Chu king speaks often of a master who presides over the government of his dominions, who has an absolute empire over the designs of mankind, and conducts them to wise and just ends, who rewards and punishes mankind by other men, without any abridgement of their liberty.

THIS persuasion was so common, that princes, naturally jealous of their own honour, never attributed the success of their government to themselves, but referred it to the supreme Lord that governs the universe.

ALMOST from the beginning of the monarchy it was appointed that the emperor soon after his exaltation, should humble himself so far as to till the earth, and that the crop arising from his cultivation should be offered in sacrifice to Tien: It is found in Chu king that the same emperor, of whom I have been speaking, hav-

ing neglected this ceremony attributes the public calamities to his negligence.

THERE is represented in the same book the wisest of their emperors in a suppliant posture before Chang ti to divert the miseries wherewith their descendants are threatened : An emperor of the same race declares That his illustrious ancestors, notwithstanding their extraordinary talents, could not have governed the empire, as they have done, without the assistance of the sage ministers that Tien had given them.

It is still farther observable that they attribute nothing to Chang ti, which does not become the supreme Lord of the world ; they attribute to him power, providence, knowledge, justice, goodness, clemency ; they call him their father and lord, they honour him with worship and sacrifices worthy of the supreme Being, and by the practice of every virtue ; they likewise affirm that all outward adoration must fail in pleasing Tien, if it does not proceed from the heart, and the inward sentiments of the soul.

It is said in Chu king that Chang ti clearly beholds all things, that he sees from the highest heavens what is done here below, that he makes use of our parents to bestow upon us the material part, but that he himself gives an understanding mind, capable of reflection, which raises us above the rank of brutes ; that to offer an acceptable sacrifice, which is not sufficient for the emperor to whom this function belongs, joins the priesthood to the royal dignity, for it is likewise necessary that he be either upright or penitent, and that before the sacrifice he should expiate his faults with fasting and tears ; that we cannot fathom the depths of his designs and counsels, and yet we ought not to believe that he is too exalted to attend to what is done below ; that he himself examines all our actions, and that he

has set up a tribunal in our own consciences whereby we are judged.

THE emperors have always thought themselves chiefly obliged to observe the primitive rites, the solemn functions of which belong to them alone, as heads of the nation: Thus they are emperors to govern, masters to teach, priests to sacrifice, and all this to the end that the imperial majesty being humbled in the presence of his court, in the sacrifices that he offers in the name of the empire to the Lord of the universe, the majesty of the supreme Being should still shine more resplendent, and that by this means no earthly splendor might be thought to equal his.

Fo hi, who is supposed to be contemporary with Phaleg, was one of the heads of the colony which came to settle in this part of the East, and who is acknowledged to be the founder of the Chinese monarchy; he had nothing more at heart than to give public marks of a religious veneration for the supreme Being; he kept in a domestic park six sorts of animals to serve as victims in his sacrifices, which he solemnly offered twice a year at the two solstices, at which time the tribunals left off business, and the shops were shut up, nor was it permitted on these days to undertake any long journey; they were to think of nothing else but joining with the prince to honour Chang ti: The book intitled Li ki, calls these solemnities the festivals of gratitude to Tien.

CHIN nong, who succeeded Fo hi, was not content with these two sacrifices alone, he appointed two others at the equinoxes, that in the spring to implore a blessing on the fruit of the earth, that in the autumn after the harvest was over, to offer the first fruits to Chang ti; and as Fo hi had fed six sorts of animals for sacrifice, Chin nong, through a prudent emulation, culti-

vated the fields with his own hands, and offered the corn and the fruit at the same sacrifices.

HOANG ti, who ascended the throne after the death of Chin nong, had greater zeal than his predecessor for ~~fearing~~ lest bad weather should hinder him from making the usual sacrifices in the open air, he built a large temple, that sacrifices might be offered in all seasons, and the people instructed in the principal duties.

THE empress Loui tseu, wife of Hoang ti, took upon her the care of nourishing silkworms, and making silks fit for ornaments on these solemn occasions: Without the south gate was inclosed a large quantity of arable land, from whence were gathered corn, rice and other fruits designed for sacrifice; and without the north gate was another great inclosure full of mulberry-trees, wherein were nourished abundance of silk worms; the same day that the emperor went to till the ground with the principal courtiers, the princess went to her mulberry-grove with the ladies of her court animating them by her example to make silks and embroidery, which she set apart for religious uses.

THE empire becoming elective, none were raised to the throne but the sons of kings distinguished for their wisdom, or wise men who were associates in the government; the choice never fell but upon such as performed the duties of religion with veneration: It is an honour to the throne, as it is written in Chu king that he whom Chang ti chooses to govern mankind should represent his virtues upon earth, and be his most perfect image.

THIS motive alone caused Hoang ti to consent that his son should be successor with the title of Chao hao that is of young Fo hi, because from his youth he had been

the faithful imitator of the virtues of the first founder of the empire, Tai hao fo hi.

THE sequel made it appear that they were not deceived in their choice; he increased the pomp and solemnity of the sacrifice offered to Chang ti by harmonious concerts of music; his reign was peaceable and quiet except the last part, which was disturbed by the conspiracy of nine tributary princes, who endeavoured to unhinge the religious worship and the government of the state, by destroying that regular subordination established by the first kings.

To the fear of Chang ti they were desirous of substituting the fear of spirits, and so had recourse to magic and enchantments; they pretended to disturb houses with malignant spirits, and terrified the people with their delusions: The people assembling in the temple on the solemn days that the emperor sacrificed, made it resound with their clamours, tumultuously requiring that sacrifice should likewise be offered to these spirits.

THE next emperor began by extirpating the race of the nine enchanters, who were the principal authors of the tumult; he appeased the minds of the people, and re-established order in the sacrifices.

HAVING reflected on the inconveniences of assembling an active murmuring people in the same place where the emperor sacrificed, he separated the place of instruction from that of sacrifices, and established two great Mandarines as presidents, choosing them from among the sons of the deceased emperor, one of whom was to look after the ceremonial, and the other took care of the instructions of the people.

HE likewise regulated the choice of the victims, and took care that they should not be lame or defective, that they should be of the same sort of animals

appointed by Fo hi, as likewise well fed, and of colour agreeable to the four seasons wherein the sacrifices were made; in a word he regulated their age and size.

Ti ko, nephew of Tchuén hio, was raised to the throne by the suffrages of all degrees in the kingdom, and he did not apply less than his uncle to the worship of Chang ti, and to the religious observation of the ceremonies: It is said in the annals of this prince that the empress Yuen kiang, who was barren, accompanying the emperor to a solemn sacrifice, prayed to Chang ti for children with so much fervency that she conceived almost at the same time, and ten months after brought into the world a son called Heou tie, who was the progenitor of a glorious posterity, and famous for a great number of emperors, which his family yielded to China.

THERE is room for wonder that so prudent a prince as Ti ko did not choose for successor neither this miraculous infant, nor Yao, which he had by his second queen, nor Ki lie son of the third queen, and that he should prefer to these young princes, already so worthy on account of their virtues, his other son named Tchi, whom he had by his fourth queen, in whom there was no quality worthy of the throne; but he did not reign very long.

IT is said in the book, intituled Chang kien, that the providence of Chang ti watched over the welfare of the state, and that by his appointment the unanimous suffrages of the people deposed this wicked prince, to place the virtuous Yao in his room, who joined the quality of legislator to that of emperor, and became a pattern for all succeeding princes.

IN the sixtieth year of his reign the people being greatly multiplied, and the beautiful plains quite co-

vered with water, supposed by some to be the remainder of the universal deluge, the great Yu applied himself to drain off the waters into the sea, to level the inequality of the fields, and divide them among the people.

NINE years after this great emperor thought of taking an associate in the empire, and appoint him to be his successor. "I perceive no merit in my nine sons," said he to his ministers, and therefore find out a man, "no matter of what family, provided he is truly wise and steadily virtuous."

THEY mentioned to him a young man who lived in the country, called Chun, who had been ill used by his parents and relations, and bore their injurious treatment with mildness and patience, and this man the emperor approved of.

WHEN he was in possession of the throne he applied himself first of all to pay his solemn homage to Chang ti, after which he enacted wise laws, on which the government of the empire is founded; he created Mandarines, and gave excellent precepts upon the five principal duties of the king and the subject, father and children, husband and wife, elder and younger, and of friends among themselves; insomuch that, from the greatest to the smallest, every one immediately knew whether he ought to command or obey.

His example gave great weight to his precepts, for when all persons saw his respectful submission to Yao, whom he looked upon as his father and master, they were all inclined to put in execution such wise institutions.

YAO died twenty-eight years after the adoption of Chun, and the sorrow for the loss of so great a prince was universal: Chun now reigning alone, divided the offices among several wise men of known capacity, af-

ter the example of Yao: he chose no successor in his own family, but appointed the sage Yu, who had the general approbation.

YU the Great did not forget a duty which he believed to be of the highest nature, for the worship of Chang ti was never more observed than in his reign; he even attempted to prevent the negligence which might cool the zeal of posterity, for which reason he established Mandarines at court, and in the provinces, as so many sages, whose business was to represent to the emperors their obligation to worship Chang ti, and to give them, when it was necessary, useful instructions concerning the practice of the nine royal virtues.

IN the reign of Tching tang seven years' famine having reduced the people to the greatest misery, the emperor had offered several sacrifices to appease the wrath of heaven without success, he therefore resolved to offer himself as a victim to appease the anger of Tien; he divested himself of his imperial ensigns, and went with the grandees of the court to a mountain some distance from the city, where with a bare head and naked feet, in the posture of a criminal, he prostrated himself nine times before the supreme Lord of the universe.

" LORD (said he) all the sacrifices that I have offered to implore thy clemency have been in vain, and therefore it is doubtless I myself that have drawn down so many miseries on my people: Dare I ask what my fault is? Is it the magnificence of my palace, the delicacies of my table, or is it the number of my concubines, which however the laws allow me? I am desirous of repairing all these faults by modesty, frugality and temperance; and if this is not sufficient I offer myself a victim to justice, let

" me be punished, but my people spared; I shall be  
 " contented that the thunderbolt be aimed at my  
 " head, if at the same time the rain falls upon the  
 " plains, that there may be a remedy for the miseries  
 " of the empire." His prayers were heard, the air  
 was darkened with clouds, refreshing showers watered  
 the earth, and afterwards produced a plentiful harvest.

FROM these instances it appears that, from the foundation of the empire by Fo hi, the supreme Being was commonly known by the name of Chang ti and Tien, who was the object of public worship, and as it were the soul and *primum mobile* of the government of the nation; that the supreme Being was feared, honoured, revered, and this not only by the people, but by the grandees of the empire, and the emperors themselves; and it will be sufficient to say that, according to the assertions of the canonical books, the Chinese nation for the space of two thousand years acknowledged, revered, and honoured with sacrifices a supreme Being, and sovereign Lord of the universe.

IF the ancient teachers of the Chinese doctrine are compared with the heathen sages, there will appear a great difference between them, for the latter only taught virtue to give themselves a superiority over the rest of mankind; besides they dogmatized in so haughty and ostentatious a manner, that it was plain they sought less the discovery of truth than to display their own talents; while on the other hand the teachers of the doctrine, inculcated in the canonical books, were emperors and prime ministers, whose virtue gave great weight to their instructions, who observed themselves the same laws which they imposed upon others, and conveyed their moral doctrine without the subtleties and sophisms so commonly used by others.

It would be doubtless an injury to the ancient Chinese, who followed the law of nature, which they received from their fathers, to tax them with irreligion, because they had not a knowledge of the Divinity so clear and distinct as the Christian world; this would be to require too much of these people, who could not be instructed, as we are, with the precepts of the gospel.

It is true that though the canonical books often exhort men to fear Tien, and though they place the souls of virtuous men near Chang ti, yet it does not appear that they have spoken clearly of the punishments in the life to come; in like manner though they affirm that the supreme Being created all things, yet they have not treated it so distinctly as to judge whether they mean a true creation, a production of all things out of nothing; but though they are silent with relation to this, they have not affirmed it to be a thing impossible, nor, like certain Greek philosophers, assert that the matter of the universe is eternal.

THOUGH we likewise do not find that they have treated explicitly concerning the state of the soul, but have only confused notions relating to this matter, yet it cannot be doubted but they believe that souls exist when the body ceases to act; and they also believe the certainty of apparitions, of which that related by Confucius is an instance.

THIS philosopher declared to his most familiar disciples, that for several years he had seen in a dream the celebrated Tcheo kong, son of Ven vang, to whom the empire was indebted for so many excellent instructions; and it is observable that the learned Tchu ki, so famous under the dynasty of Song, being asked if Confucius spoke of a dream or a true apparition, answered without hesitation, That he meant a true apparition;

however, Tcheou kong had been dead six hundred years when he appeared to Confucius.

THAT which has contributed greatly to the preservation of the religion of the early ages in China is, that there has been a supreme tribunal established, with full authority to condemn or suppress any superstition that may arise, which is called The tribunal of rites.

THIS precaution of the Chinese would have been effectual, if the mind of man was not so narrow and liable to be seduced; the strongest dykes, being only the work of men, cannot resist very violent inundations; but the reason why the body of philosophers in China have been idolaters contrary to their own consciences, is through fear of a people who were in love with idols, and had too much the ascendant in public affairs, in so much that the ancient doctrine of the Chinese has found the tribunal that I just mentioned its only support, and through the assistance of its decrees has still continued the prevailing sect.

WHATEVER veneration the Chinese nation has had for its greatest emperors, it has never paid adoration to any but the supreme Being; and though it has discovered esteem and veneration for the memory of great men, who have distinguished themselves by their virtues and services, it has rather chosen to preserve their memory by tablets than by statues.

HOWEVER, the troubles which happened in the empire, the civil wars which divided it, and the corruption of manners, which became almost general, were very like to have suppressed the ancient doctrine, had not Confucius revived it by giving fresh reputation to the ancient books, especially to the Chu king, which he proposed as an exact rule of manners.

I have already spoken of the reputation acquired by this philosopher, who is still looked upon as the chief

doctor of the empire, and yet in his time arose the sect of Tao sseë. \*

THE author of this sect came into the world about two years before Confucius, and the doctrine that he taught was agreeable on account of its novelty, and however extravagant it might appear to reasonable men, yet it was countenanced by some of the emperors, and a great number of other persons, which gave it reputation.

*Of the Sect of the TAO SSEË.*

LAO KIUN is the name of the philosopher who gave rise to this new sect, and if you credit his disciples, his birth was very extraordinary, he not coming into the world till forty years after his conception: His books are still extant, but, as it is supposed, much disguised by his followers, though there still remain maxims and sentiments worthy of a philosopher, upon moral virtue, the avoiding honours, the contempt of riches, and the happy solicitude of a soul who raising itself above terrestrial things, believes that it has a sufficiency in itself.

AMONG the sentences there is one that is often repeated, especially when he speaks of the production of the world: "Tao (says he) or Reason, hath produced one, one hath produced two, two have produced three, and three have produced all things."

THE morality of this philosopher and his disciples is not unlike that of the Epicureans; it consists in avoiding vehement desires and passions capable of disturbing the peace and tranquillity of the soul; and, according to them, the attention of every wise man ought to be, to pass his life free from solicitude and

uneasiness, and to this end never to reflect on what is past, nor to be anxious of searching into futurity.

THEY affirm that to give one's self up to bustling care, to be busied about great projects, to follow the dictates of ambition, avarice, and other passions, is to labour more for posterity than ourselves, and that it is madness to purchase the happiness of others at the expence of our own repose and pleasure; that with respect to our own happiness our pursuits after it should be moderate, and our desires not too violent, because whatever we look upon as our happiness ceases to be so if it is accompanied with trouble, distaste, or inquietude, and if the peace of the soul is never so little disturbed.

FOR this reason those who belong to this sect affect a calm which suspends, as they say, all the functions of the soul; and as this tranquillity must needs be disturbed by the thoughts of death, they boast of inventing a liquor that has the power of rendering them immortal: They are addicted to chymistry and search after the philosopher's stone; they are likewise fond of magic, and are persuaded that by the assistance of the demons they invoke they can succeed in their desires.

THE hope of avoiding death prevailed upon a great number of the Mandarines to study this diabolical art; the women especially being naturally curious, and exceeding fond of life, pursued these extravagancies with eagerness; at length certain credulous and superstitious emperors brought this impious doctrine in vogue, and greatly multiplied the number of its followers.

THE emperor Tsin chi hoang ti, an inveterate enemy to learning and learned men, was persuaded by

these impostors that they had actually found the liquor of immortality, which was called Tchang feng yo.

YOU TI, the sixth emperor of the dynasty of Han, was wholly addicted to the study of magical books under a leader of this sect; a great number of these pretended doctors flocked to court at this time, who were famous for the magic arts, and this prince losing one of his queens that he devoted on to distraction, and being inconsolable for her loss, one of these impostors, by his enchantments, caused the deceased queen to appear before the emperor, at which he was surprised and terrified, and by this means more strongly attached to the impieties of this sect: He several times drank the liquor of immortality, but at last perceived that he was as mortal as ever, and being ready to expire, lamented too late his fond credulity.

THE new sect suffered no prejudice on account of the emperor's death, for it found protectors among the princes of the same dynasty; two of their most famous doctors were authorised to propagate the worship paid to a demon in a great number of temples already erected through the empire; these false doctors distributed in all places the small images that represented the croud of spirits and men that they had ranked among their gods, and sold them at a high price.

THIS superstition increased in such a manner, under the emperors of the dynasty of Tang, that they gave the ministers of this sect the honourable title of Tien fied, that is, Heavenly Doctors; the founder of this line erected a superb temple to Lao kiun, and Hiuen tsong, the sixth emperor of the same dynasty, caused his statue to be carried in a pompous manner into the palace.

THE successors of the head of this sect are always honoured with the dignity of chief Mandarines, and they

reside in a town of the province of Kiang si, where they have a magnificent palace: A great concourse of people flock thither from the neighbouring provinces to get proper remedies for their diseases, or to learn their destiny, and what is to happen in the remainder of their lives, when they receive of the Tien sseï a billet filled with magical characters, and go away well satisfied, without complaining of the sum they pay for this singular favour.

BUT it was chiefly under the government of the Song that the doctors of this sect were greatly strengthened; Tchin tsong the third emperor of this dynasty was ridiculously led away with their tricks and forgeries; these impostors, during a dark night, had hung up a book on the principal gate of the imperial city, filled with characters and magical forms of invoking demons, and gave out that this book was fallen from heaven; the credulous prince, with great veneration, went on foot to fetch it, and after receiving it with deep humility, carried it triumphantly into the palace, and enclosed it in a gold box, where it was carefully preserved.

THESE Tao sseï were the persons who introduced into the empire the multitude of spirits till then unknown, whom they revered as deities independent of the supreme Being, and to whom they gave the name of Chang ti; they even deified some of the ancient kings, and paid them divine homage.

THIS abominable sect in time became still more formidable by the protection of the princes, and by the passions of the grandees, whom it flattered, and by the impressions of wonder or terror that it made upon the minds of the people.

THE compacts of their ministers with demons, the lots which they cast, the surprising effects of their ma-

gical arts infatuated the minds of the multitude, and they are still extremely prejudiced in their favour; these impostors are generally called to heal diseases, and drive away demons.

THEY sacrifice to this spirit of darkness three sorts of victims, a hog, a fish, and a bird; they drive a stake in the earth as a sort of charm, and trace upon paper odd sort of figures, accompanying the stroke of their pencil with horrible grimaces and frightful cries.

SOMETIMES a great number of profligate fellows are sold to these ministers of iniquity, who follow the trade of divination; though they never have seen the person before who consults them, they tell his name and all the circumstances of his family, where his house stands, how many children he has, their names and age, and a hundred other particulars which are strangely surprising to weak and credulous minds, such as the vulgar are among the Chinese.

SOME of these conjurers, after they have made their invocations, cause the figures of the chief of their sect, and their idols to appear in the air; formerly they could make a pencil write of itself without any body touching it, and that which was written upon paper or sand was the answer which they desired, or else they would cause all the people of the house pass in review in a large vessel of water, and there they shew the changes that shall happen in the empire, and the imaginary dignities to which they shall be raised who embrace their sect; in short they pronounce mysterious words without meaning, and place charms in houses and on men's persons: Nothing being more common than to hear these sort of stories, it is very likely that the greatest part are only illusions, but it is not credible that all should be so, for there are in reality ma-

by effects that ought to be attributed to the power of demons.

THE thinking people among the Chinese laugh at these stories as so many fictions.

*Of the Sect of Fo, or Foë.*

FOR the space of two hundred and seventy years the emperors of the dynasty of Han possessed the imperial throne, and about sixty-five years from the birth of Christ the emperor Ming ti introduced a new sect into China still more dangerous than the former, and has made a much more rapid progress.

THIS prince happened to dream one night, and among other things there occurred to his mind a sentence which Confucius often repeated, viz. "That the Most Holy was to be found in the West;" upon this he sent ambassadors into the Indies to discover who this saint was, and to seek for the true law which he there taught; the ambassadors supposed they had found him among the worshippers of the Idol Fo or Foë, and they transported this idol into China, and with it the fables wherewith the Indian books were filled.

THIS contagion, which began in the court, soon got ground in the provinces, and has spread through all the empire, wherein magic and impiety had already made too great havoc.

It is hard to say in what part of the Indies this idol was, and if the extraordinary things that its disciples relate of it are not so many fables purposely invented, one would be apt to believe, with St. Francis Xavier, that he was rather a demon than an ordinary man.

THEY relate that he was born in that part of the Indies which the Chinese call Chung tien cho, that his

father was the king of this country, and that his mother was called Mo ye, and died soon after he was born; when she conceived she almost constantly dreamed that she had swallowed an elephant, and hence arise the honours that the kings of the Indies pay to white elephants, and often make war to gain possession of this animal.

**HARDLY** (say they) was this monster separated from his mother, but he stood upright and walked seven paces, pointing with one hand to the heaven, and the other to the earth; nay he likewise spoke and pronounced distinctly these following words, "There is none  
" but myself in the heaven or on the earth that ought  
" to be adored."

At the age of seventeen he married three wives, and had a son called by the Chinese Mo heou lo; at the age of nineteen he forsook his wives, and all earthly cares, to retire into a solitary place, and put himself under the guidance of four philosophers called by the Indians, Joghi; at thirty he was wholly inspired by the divinity, and became Fo or pagod, as the Indians call him, looking upon himself as a god; he then applied himself wholly to propagate his doctrines, the devil always helping him out at a dead lift, for by his assistance he did the most wonderful things, and by the novelty of his miracles filled the people with dread, and procured himself great veneration; the Chinese have described these prodigies in several large volumes, and represented them in several cuts.

It is scarcely credible how many disciples this chimerical god gained, for they reckon eighty thousand who were busy in infecting all the East with impious tenets; the Chinese call them Ho chang; the Tartars, Lamas; the Siamese, Talapoins; the Japanese, or rather the Europeans, Bouzes: Among this great num-

ber of disciples there were ten of greater distinction as to rank and dignity, who published five thousand volumes in honour of their master.

HOWEVER this new god found himself mortal as well as the rest of mankind, for at the age of seventy-nine the weakness of his body gave him notice of his approaching end, and then to crown all his impieties he broached the venom of atheism.

HE declared to his disciples that till that moment he had made use of nothing but parables, that his discourses were so many enigmas, and that for more than forty years he had concealed the truth under figurative and metaphorical expressions, but being about to leave them he would communicate his true sentiments, and reveal the mystery of his doctrine: "Learn then (said he to them) that the principle of all things is emptiness and nothing; from nothing all things proceed, and into nothing all will return, and that is the end of all our hopes;" but his disciples adhered only to his first words, and their doctrine is directly opposite to atheism.

HOWEVER, the last words of this impostor laid the foundation of that celebrated distinction, which is made in his doctrine into exterior and interior, of which I shall speak hereafter: His disciples did not fail to disperse a great number of fables after his death, and easily persuaded a simple and credulous people that their master had been born eight thousand times, that his soul had successively passed through different animals, and that he had appeared in the figure of an ape, a dragon, an elephant, &c.

THIS was plainly done with a design to establish the worship of this pretended god under the shape of various animals, and in reality these different creatures, through which the soul of Fo was said to have passed,

were worshipped in several places; the Chinese themselves built several temples to all sorts of idols, and they multiplied exceedingly throughout the empire.

AMONG the great number of disciples that this chimerical deity made, there was one more dear to him than all the rest, to whom he trusted his greatest secrets, and charged him more particularly to propagate his doctrine; he was called Moo kia ye; he commanded him not to amuse himself with bringing proofs and tedious arguments to support his doctrine, but to put, in a plain manner, at the head of his works which he should publish, these words, "It is thus that I have learned."

THIS Fo speaks, in one of his books, of a master more ancient than himself, called by the Chinese, O mi to, whom the Japanese, by corruption of the language, have termed Amida; it was in the kingdom of Bengal that this other monster appeared, and the bonzes pretend that he attained to such great sanctity, and had such great merit, that it is sufficient at present to invoke him to obtain pardon for the greatest of crimes; on this account the Chinese of this sect are heard continually to pronounce these two names, O mi to, Fo; they think that the invocation of these pretended deities purifies them in such a manner that they may afterwards give a loose to all their passions, being persuaded that it will cost them nothing but an invocation to expiate their most enormous crimes.

THE last words of Fo, when he was dying, gave rise to a sect of atheists, but the greatest part of the bonzes could not lay aside the prejudices of their education, and so persevered in the first errors their masters had taught.

THERE were others who endeavoured at a reconciliation between them, by calling one the exterior doc-

trine, and the other the interior; the first was more suitable to the capacity of the people, and prepared their minds to receive the second, which was suitable to none but elevated minds, and the better to convey their thoughts they made use of the following example:

THE exterior doctrine, say they, is with relation to the interior what the frame is with respect to the arch that is built upon it; for the frame is only necessary to support the stones while the arch is building, but as soon as it is finished it becomes useless, and they take it to pieces; in the same manner the exterior doctrine is laid aside as soon as the interior is embraced.

WHAT then is the exterior doctrine which contains the principles of the morality of the bonzes, which they are very careful to enforce? They say there is great difference between good and evil; that after death there will be rewards for those that have done well, and punishments for those that have done evil; that there are places appointed for the souls of both, wherein they are fixed according to their desert; that the god Fo. was born to save mankind, and to direct those to the way of salvation who had strayed from it; that it was he who expiated their sins, and procured them a happy birth in the other world; and there are five precepts to be observed, the first is, not to kill any living creature: the second is, not to take what belongs to others; the third prohibits impurity, the fourth lying and the fifth drinking of wine.

BUT especially they must not be wanting to certain charitable works which they prescribe: Use the bonzes well, say they, and furnish them with the necessaries of life; build their monasteries and temples, that by their prayers and the penances that they impose for the expiation of your sins, you may be freed from the

punishments that are due. At the funeral obsequies of your relations burn gilt and silver paper, and garments made of silk, and this in the other world shall be changed into gold, silver, and real habits: By this means your departed relations will want nothing that is necessary, and will have wherewith to reconcile the eighteen guardians of the infernal regions, who would be inexorable without these bribes, and if you neglect these commands you must expect nothing after death but to become a prey to the most cruel torments, and your soul, by a long succession of transmigrations, shall pass into the vilest animals, and you shall appear again in the form of a mule, a horse, a dog, a rat, or some other creature still more contemptible.

It is hard to conceive what an influence the dread of these chimeras has over the minds of the credulous and superstitious Chinese; this will appear in a better light from a story that was related by F. le Compté, and which happened to himself when he lived in the province of Chen si.

“THEY called me one day to baptize a sick person, who was an old man of seventy, and lived upon a small pension given him by the emperor: When I entered his room, he said, I am obliged to you, my father, that you are going to deliver me from a heavy punishment: That is not all, replied I, baptism not only delivers persons from hell, but conducts them to a life of blessedness. I do not comprehend, replied the sick person, what it is you say, and perhaps I have not sufficiently explained myself; you know that for some time I have lived on the emperor’s benevolence, and the bonzes, who are well instructed in what passes in the next world, have assured me that out of gratitude I should be obliged to serve him after death, and that my soul will in-

fallibly pass into a post-horse to carry dispatches out of the provinces to court: For this reason they exhort me to perform my duty well, when I shall have assumed my new being, and to take care not to stumble, nor wince, nor bite, nor hurt any body; besides, they direct me to travel well, to eat little, to be patient, and by that means move the compassion of the deities, who often convert a good beast into a man of quality, and make him a considerable Mandarin: I own, father, that this thought makes me shudder, and I cannot think on it without trembling. I dream of it every night, and sometimes when I am asleep I think myself harnessed, and ready to set out at the first stroke of the rider; I then wake in a sweat, and under great concern, not being able to determine whether I am a man or a horse; but alas! what will become of me when I shall be a horse in reality? This then, my father, is the resolution that I am come to: They say that those of your religion are not subject to these miseries, that men continue to be men, and shall be the same in the next world as they are in this: I beseech you to receive me among you; I know that your religion is hard to be observed, but if it was still more difficult I am ready to embrace it, and whatever it cost me I had rather be a Christian than become a beast. This discourse and the present condition of the sick person excited my compassion, but reflecting afterwards that God makes use of simplicity and ignorance to lead men to the truth, I took occasion to undeceive him in his errors, and to direct him in the way of salvation; I gave him instructions a long time, and at length he believed, and I had the consolation to see him die not only with the most rati-

“onal sentiments, but with all the marks of a good  
“Christian.”

It is easy to see that if the Chinese are the dupes of a doctrine so absurd and ridiculous as the transmigration of souls, the bonzes, who propagate it with so much zeal, draw no small advantage from it: It is exceeding useful to support all their deceitful tricks by which they gain so many charitable contributions, and enlarge their revenues; having their extraction from the dregs of the people, and being maintained from their infancy in an idle profession, they find this doctrine proper to authorise the artifices that they make use of to excite the liberality of the people.

ONE may judge of this the better from the following relation of F. le Compte.

“Two of these bonzes, said he, one day perceiving in the court of a rich peasant two or three large ducks prostrating themselves before the door, began to sigh and weep bitterly; the good woman who perceived them from her chamber, came out to learn the reason of their grief: We know, said they, that the souls of our fathers have passed into the bodies of these creatures, and the fear we are under that you should kill them will certainly make us die with grief. I own, said the woman, that we were determined to sell them, but since they are your parents I promise to keep them.”

THIS was not what the bonzes wanted, and therefore they added, “Perhaps your husband will not be so charitable as yourself, and you may rest assured that it will be fatal to us if any accident happens to them.”

“In short, after a great deal of discourse, the good woman was so moved with their seeming grief that she gave them the ducks to take care of, which they

“ took very respectfully after twenty several protestations, and the self same evening made a feast of them for their little society.”

THESE sort of people are dispersed throughout the empire, and are brought up to this trade from their infancy: These wretches, to preserve their sect, purchase children of seven or eight years old, of which they make young bonzes, instructing them in their mysteries fifteen or twenty years; but they are generally very ignorant, and there are very few that understand the doctrines of their own sect.

ALL the bonzes are not equally honourable, for they are of different degrees, some are employed in collecting alms, others, but their number is small, have gained the knowledge of books, and speak politely, and their business is to visit the learned, and to insinuate themselves into the good graces of the Mandarines; there are likewise among them venerable old men, who preside over the assemblies of women, but these assemblies are uncommon, and not used in many places.

THOUGH the bonzes have not a regular hierarchy, yet they have their superiors, whom they call Ta ho chang, that is great bonzes, and this rank to which they are raised greatly adds to the reputation which they have acquired by their age, gravity, meekness and hypocrisy. There are in all places monasteries of these bonzes, but they are not all equally frequented by a concourse of people.

THERE are in every province certain mountains wherein there are idol-temples, which have greater credit than the rest; they go very far in pilgrimage to these temples, and the pilgrims when they are at the foot of the mountain, kneel down and prostrate themselves at every step they take in ascending up: Those who cannot go on pilgrimage desire some of their

friends to purchase a large printed sheet, marked with a certain coin by the bonzes: In the middle of the sheet is the figure of the god Fo, and upon his garment and round about a great number of small circles; the devpteers have hung on his neck and round his arm a sort of bracelet, composed of a hundred middle-sized beads and eight large ones; on the top is a large bead in the shape of a snuff-box; when they roll these beads upon their fingers they pronounce these mysterious words, O mi to, Fo, the signification of which they themselves do not understand. They make above an hundred genuflexions, after which they draw one of these red circles upon a sheet of paper.

THEY invite the bonzes, from time to time, to come to the temple 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 sealed up by the bonzes; this they call Lou in, that is, a passport for travelling from this life to the next: This passport is not granted for nothing, for it generally costs several taels; but, say they, there ought to be no complaint of this expence, because they are sure of a happy voyage.

AMONG the temples of these false gods there are several famous for the beauty and magnificence of their structure, and for the strange shapes of their idols; there are some so monstrous that the poor Chinese, as soon as they see them, fall prostrate on the earth, and beat their forehead several times against it out of fear and dread: as the bonzes have no other view than to get money, and as whatever their reputation may be, they are in reality nothing but a collection of the dregs of the empire; they are well acquainted with the art of cringing before every body; they affect a mildness, complaisance, humility, and a modesty which deceive

first sight: The Chinese, who penetrate no farther than the outside, take them for so many saints, especially when to this outside shew they join rigorous fasting, and rising several times in a night to worship Fo, and seem to sacrifice themselves in some sort for the public good.

WITH a design to appear very deserving among the vulgar: and to gain a compassion which excites their liberality, they expose themselves publicly in the streets when they undergo their severe penances; some will fasten their neck and feet to thick chains above thirty feet long, which they drag along the street with a great deal of pain; they stop at the door of every house, and say, You see how much it costs us to expiate your crimes, cannot you afford us some trifling alms?

You see others in the cross-streets, and most frequented places, who make themselves all over blood by beating their heads with all their might against a great stone; but among these sort of penances there is none more surprising than that of a young bonze, which is related by F. le Compte in the following manner:

“ I met one day in the middle of a village a young brisk bonze, who was mild, modest, and very likely to succeed in asking charity; he stood upright in a close chair stuck all over on the inside with the sharp points of nails, in such a manner that he could not stir without being wounded; two men that were hired carried him 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 am resolved never to go out till all the nails are bought, [and they were above two thousand] every nail is worth sixpence, and yet there is not one of them but what will become a

“ source of happiness in your houses; if you buy  
 “ ny you will perform an act of heroic virtue, and  
 “ you will give an alms not to the bonzes but to  
 “ the god Fo, to whose honour we design to build a  
 “ temple.

“ I then passed near the place where he was, and as  
 “ soon as the bonze saw me he made me the same  
 “ compliment as the rest. I told him he was very un-  
 “ happy to give himself such useless torment in this  
 “ world, and I counselled him to leave his prison, and  
 “ go to the temple of the true God to be instructed in  
 “ heavenly truths, and to submit to a penance less se-  
 “ vere and more salutary.

“ He replied very mildly, and without the least e-  
 “ motion, that he was obliged to me for my advice,  
 “ but his obligation would be greater if I would buy  
 “ a dozen of his nails, which would certainly make me  
 “ fortunate in my journey.

“ HERE, said he turning himself on one side, take  
 “ these, which upon the faith of a bonze are the best  
 “ in my chair, because they give me the least pain,  
 “ however, they are all the same price: He pronoun-  
 “ ced these words with an air and action, which on a-  
 “ ny other occasion would have made me laugh, but  
 “ then it excited my compassion.”

THE same motive of getting alms causes these bon-  
 zes so constantly to make visits to all persons, as well  
 poor as rich; they go in what number are desired, and  
 stay as long as they will, and when there are assem-  
 blies of women, which is uncommon unless in some  
 places, they bring with them a grand bonze, who is dis-  
 tinguished from the rest by the place that he takes, by  
 the respect the other bonzes pay him, and by his ha-  
 bit, which is different from those of the other bonzes.

THESE assemblies of the ladies are a good revenue

for the bonzes, for there are in every city several societies of ten, fifteen, twenty women more or less: They are commonly of a good family, and advanced in years, or else widows, and consequently have money to dispose of: They are superiors of the society in their turns for one year, and it is generally at the superior's house that the assemblies are held, and that every thing may be done in order they all contribute a certain sum of money for common expences.

THE day on which the assembly is held comes a bonze, pretty well advanced in years, who is president, and sings anthems to Fo: The devotees enter into the concert, and after they have several times cried O mi to, Fo, and beaten very heartily some small kettles, they sit at the table and regale themselves; but this is the ordinary ceremony.

ON the more solemn days they adorn the house with several idols placed in order by the bonzes, and with several grotesque paintings, which represent in divers manners the torments of hell; the prayers and feasts last for seven days; the grand bonze is assisted by several other bonzes, who join in the concert.

DURING these seven days their principal care is to prepare and consecrate treasures for the other world: To this purpose they build an apartment with paper, painted and gilt, containing every part of a perfect house; they fill this little house with a great number of pasteboard-boxes painted and varnished; in these boxes are ingots of gold and silver, or to speak more properly, of gilt paper, of which there are several hundreds, designed to redeem them from the dreadful punishments that the king of the infernal regions 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 office in the other world; they shut up all these little boxes with padlocks of paper, then they shut the doors of the paper house, and guard it carefully with locks.

WHEN the person, who has been at this expence, happens to die, they burn the house first in a very serious manner, then they burn the keys of the house, and of the little chests, that she may be able to open them and take out the gold and silver, for they believe the gilt paper will be turned into fine silver and gold, and suppose the king of the infernal regions [Yen wang] to be easily corrupted with this tempting metal.

THIS hope, joined to the ostentatious shew, makes such an impression upon the minds of these poor Chinese, that nothing but an extraordinary miracle of grace can undeceive them; in a word, the exercise of religion is perfectly free, and they celebrate this kind of feasts whenever they please, and you have nothing but good words from all these impostors, who promise long life, great honours for your children, abundance of riches in this world, and above all things exquisite happiness in the next: such are the extravagancies wherewith these impostors amuse the credulity of the people; they have acquired so great authority over their minds that there are idols to be seen every where, which the blind Chinese invoke incessantly, especially in times of sickness, when they are to go any journey, or when they are in danger.

IN the voyage which F. Fontaney made from Siam to China in a Chinese vessel, he was an eye witness of all their ceremonies, as ridiculous as superstitious. They had, says he, on the poop of their vessel a small idol quite black with the smoke of a lamp, which burnt continually to his honour; before they sat down to dinner they offered him some of the victuals designed

for their own repast; twice in a day they threw into the sea little Gondolæ made of paper, to the end that being employed in over-setting those small boats he might spare their own.

BUT if, notwithstanding these presents and offerings, the waves were violently agitated by the spirit, which, as they believe, governs them, they then burn a great many feathers, whose smoke and smell infect the air, and they pretend by this means to lay the tempest, and drive away the evil demon at a great distance; but it was at the sight of a mountain, which they discovered as they passed the channel of Cochin-china, and where they have built an idol temple, that they out-did themselves in their superstition.

AFTER they had offered victuals, lighted wax candles, burnt perfumes, thrown several figures of gilt paper into the sea, and had prostrated themselves a great number of times, the sailors prepared a small vessel made of boards, about four foot long, with masts, cords, sails, streamers, compass, rudder, boat, cannon, provisions, merchandises, and even a book of accounts; they had disposed upon the quarter-deck, the fore-castle, and the cords, as many small figures of painted paper as there were men in the vessel; they put this machine upon a raft, and lifted it up with several ceremonies, carried it about the vessel with the sound of a drum and copper-basons; a sailor habited like a Bonze was at the head of the procession, fencing with a long staff, and shouting as loud as possible; then they let it descend slowly into the sea, and followed it with their eyes as far as they could see; after which this pretended Bonze went to the very highest part of the stern, where he continued his shouts, and wished it a happy voyage.

As there are assemblies of women where the Bonzes preside, there are likewise assemblies of men, which

they call fasters; every assembly has its superior, who has under him a great number of disciples called *Tou ti*, to whom they give the name of *Sseï fou*, which is as much as to say, doctor father.

WHEN they are industrious, and have gained any reputation, they easily attain this office; they preserve in a family some old manuscript, which has passed from father to son for several generations; this book is full of impious prayers which nobody understands, and there is none but the head of the family can repeat them; sometimes these prayers are followed with surprising effects, and there needs nothing else to raise a man to the quality of *Sseï fou*, and to gain a great number of disciples: the days on which the assemblies are held, all the disciples have notice to appear, and no person dares stay away; the superior is placed in the bottom of the hall, about the middle; every one prostrates himself before him, and then place themselves to the right and the left in two lines; when the time is come they recite these secret and impious prayers, and make an end by placing themselves at the table, and plunging themselves into all manner of excess, for nothing can be more pleasing than these Chinese fasters; to say the truth they deny themselves all their life the use of flesh, fish, wine, onions, garlick, and every thing that heats, but they know how to make themselves amends with other provisions, and especially with the liberty of eating as often as they please.

WE are not to suppose that this sort of abstinence is any great trouble to a Chinese, for there are great numbers who do not profess the art of fasting, and yet are contented with rice and herbs for their food, being not able to purchase flesh.

WHEN once they have attained the degree of *Sseï fou*, and have gained a great number of disciples, the

share that every disciple is obliged to pay on the days of meeting amounts to a considerable sum in the space of a year.

IN short there are no stratagems, nor ridiculous inventions, which these ministers of Satan have not recourse to, to keep their followers entirely devoted to the God Fo, and to alienate them from the preachers of the gospel; but be it as it will, what has been mentioned hitherto is nothing but the exterior doctrine of Fo taught by the Bonzes, and adjusted to the artifices which they make use of to impose on the credulity of the people: as to the interior doctrine, very few are allowed to be acquainted with its mysteries, the body of the Bonzes in general are thought to be too stupid to partake thereof; for those who are initiated must have a sublime genius, that they may be capable of attaining the highest perfection.

THIS interior doctrine is the same that was taught by Fo in the last moments of his life, and which his disciples, whom he trusted most, have taken care to explain and propagate: we need do nothing more than mention this ridiculous system, to shew how far the folly of mankind will lead those who give way to such like extravagancies.

THEY teach that a vacuum or nothing is the principle of all things, that from this our first parents had their original, and to this they returned after their death; that the vacuum is that which constitutes our being and substance; that it is from nothing, and the mixture of the elements, that all things are produced, and to which they all return; that all beings differ from one another only by their shape and qualities, in the same manner as snow, ice, and hail differ from each other; and in the same manner as they make a man, a lion, or some other creature of the same metal,

which losing their shapes and qualities become again the same uniform mass.

Thus they say all beings, as well animate as inanimate, though differing in their qualities and figures, are only the same thing proceeding from the same principle; this principle is a most admirable thing, exceeding pure, free from all 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 energy, power or understanding, nay more, its essence consists in being without understanding, without action, without desires; to live happy we must continually strive by meditation, and frequent victories over ourselves, to become like this *Principium*, and to this end accustom ourselves to do nothing, to desire nothing, to perceive nothing, to think on nothing; there is no dispute about vice or virtues, rewards or punishments, providence and the immortality of the soul; all holiness consists in ceasing to be swallowed up by nothing; the nearer we approach to the nature of a stone, or the trunk of a tree, the more perfect we are; in short it is in indolence and inactivity, in a cessation of all passions, in a privation of every motion of the body, in an annihilation of all the faculties of the soul, and in the general suspension of all thought, that virtue and happiness consist; when a man has once attained this happy state he will then meet with no further vicissitudes and transmutations, he has nothing to fear for the future, because properly speaking he is nothing; or if he is any thing he is happy, and to say every thing in one word, he is perfectly like the god Fo.

This doctrine is not without its followers even at court, where it was embraced by some grandees: the emperor Kao t'iong was so bewitched with it, that he

resigned the government of the empire to his adopted son, that he might entirely addict himself to these stupid and senseless meditations.

HOWEVER, the greatest part of the learned have opposed this sect, and among others a famous Colao called Pong guei, a zealous disciple of Confucius; they attacked it with all their might, proving that this apathy, or rather this monstrous stupidity, overturned all morality and civil government; that man is raised only above other beings by his thinking and reasoning faculties, and by his application to the knowledge and practice of virtue; that to aspire after this foolish inactivity is renouncing the most essential duties, abolishing the necessary relation of father and son, husband and wife, prince and subject, and that if this doctrine was followed it would reduce all the members of a state to a condition much inferior to that of beasts.

THUS China is become a prey to all sorts of ridiculous and extravagant opinions; and though some of the learned oppose these sects, and treat them as heresies, and have sometimes inclined the court to extirpate them throughout the empire, yet such inclinations have been attended with no effect, for hitherto they have been tolerable, either through fear of exciting commotions among the people, or because they have had secret favourers and protectors among the learned themselves; so that all that they ever do is to condemn heresy in general, which is put in practice every year at Peking.

It is this monstrous heap of superstitions, magick, idolatry and atheism, that, having very early infected the minds of some of the learned, has spawned a sect which is embraced in the room of religion or philosophy, for it is difficult to give it a true title, nor perhaps do they know what to call it themselves.