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A DESCRIPTION OF THE KINGDOM OF TONQUEEN.

By S. BARON, a Native thereof*.

CHAP. I. — *Taverniere's Account of Tonqueen animadverted on.*

THE kingdom of Tonqueen has been discovered by the Portuguese above a hundred and twenty years since, and the relations that Padre Martin and Alexander de Rodes, both jesuits, give of it, is in general more true than this of Taverniere; for what contradictions we find in them may be imputed to the alteration of things by mutation of time.

Taverniere talks of eleven or twelve voyages his brother made to Tonqueen, from Achien, Batavia and Bantam; on the confidence of whose relation, together with what he enquired of the bonzes, or priests, that came while he was at Bantam, he has compiled his history, as fabulous and full of gross absurdities as lines.

For first, the Tonqueenese have no bonzes or priests, however they came to Bantam and Batavia; and then he saith, when the Tonqueenese make voyages they take their wives and families with them; I suppose he means those voyages they make on the river of Tonqueen, from one village to an other, but for foreign voyages, they are altogether unacquainted with them, unless it be some few of the poorer sort that go to attend strangers, or are forced otherwise for a livelihood. He notes how the Tonqueenese were ravished with admiration, when he shewed them his Atlas, and some particular maps about the compofure and structure of the whole world, and its several kingdoms and states, which they heeded as much as a world in the moon. Neither can I hear of a Taverniere that has made eleven or twelve voyages to Tonqueen on his own account: only thus much I have heard, that there has been one Taverniere, a purser in the Dutch service, and once in Tonqueen.

He commends his brother for a person of courage and cunning, how justly I cannot tell; but this I am sure, he has used but little cordiality, and less sincerity, notwithstanding all his protestations, in his account of Tonqueen: he magnifies the great sums of money his brother always carried with him, when he went on that voyage, but it is too well known what a purser in the Dutch service can do, and what they are allowed to do; hindering so strictly the private trade.

He talks of a large present he gave the King and Prince, together with his favourable reception and familiar conversation with them; if this be true, I say the Tonqueenese are much degenerated; yet it cannot be denied, that strangers at their first entrance into this country, had, in many respects, better usage than at present; but not so as

to permit themselves to play with a foreigner the good companion: at this time they keep their distance to all strangers, making but small account of them. To kiss the King's hand is not the Tonqueen mode, much less permitted to strangers: and when he spoke the Malayan language so fluently, he might as well have spoken French to them, that understood not a word of either. When he played amongst those lords, I wonder what game it was that he lost so many thousand crowns at, as he mentions; but it is most to be admired, that a calf and two jars of Tonqueen arrack, the usual largesse and liberality of this King, (water distilled out of rice) should supply his great losses. He farther tells you, that by the great familiarity his brother had at court, and by the frequent discourses he had with a great many Tonqueeneses, (who never stir out of the country, however he met them at Bantam and Batavia) he laid the foundation of his work, which is both faithful and exact. Furthermore he saith, no other consideration than the speaking of truth has invited him to undertake this relation, all which being notorious contradictions and false tales, shame indeed the author the more.

Our author, as all other Europeans, terms and intitles the general of Chova, King, because he disposes of the kingdom at his pleasure, receiving all foreign ambassadors, except that of China. However this is a mistake, for they have their King or Bova, though he signifies no more than a cypher, as will be noted in several places of this relation.

He not only vaunts of his cuts, which he says were drawn on the place, and will contribute much to the divertisement of the reader, but also praises for its exactness the map which he gives of the country; than which nothing can be more false, for compare it with our sea draughts, it will plainly appear what it is: but as fabulous stories and fictions, invented at pleasure, are pleasing only to the ignorant, so it is most certain, the ingenious reader will blame him for promising so much, and using so little probity in his history.

CHAP. II. — *Of the Situation and Extent of Tonqueen.*

WE have no more reason to admire why our predecessors had no earlier knowledge of this kingdom than they had of that of China, because its discovery was something posterior to that; for the Portuguese had no sooner discovered the last, but they sent out ships to visit this also.

It is true, this kingdom was a province of China formerly, and pays tribute still to that Emperor: but that was not the reason why we had no sooner knowledge thereof, considering these people have been governed by their native Princes for above these four hundred years without interruption, which was long before the Portuguese came to make their discoveries in India. The true reason seems to be, that the people did never stir abroad, nor do yet, for commerce or other association; and they somewhat affect in this the Chinese vanity, thinking all other people to be barbarous, imitating their government, learning, characters, &c. yet hate their persons.

I do not know why Taverniere saith most people should believe this country to be in a very hot climate, considering it is situated under the tropic, and some part of it more to the northward; nevertheless he affirms it to be very temperate, by reason of the great numbers of rivers (and altogether free from those sand hills, and barren mountains, that cause such heat in Commaroan, and other places in the gulph of Persia) that water it, together with the rain that falls in its season; whereas the truth thereof is, that the rains, indeed, generally fall in the months of May, June, July, and August,

August, and sometimes sooner, which moisten the ground, but cause no fresh breezes at all; on the contrary, the said two months of July and August make the weather here unsufferably hot. Doubtless the country would be plentiful in fruits, were there not so many inhabitants, who living by rice chiefly, find therefore the greater necessity to cultivate what ground they have with that grain, not neglecting the least spot.

To the north-east of this kingdom lies the province of Canton; to the west it is bounded by the kingdoms of Laos and the Bowes; to the north it borders on two other provinces of China, Junam and Quanci, or Ai; to the south and south-east on Cochin-China. The climate is temperate and wholesome from September till March, sometimes very cold in January and February; though frost and snow are never seen here: the months of April, May and June, are not so healthful, both because of the rains and fogginess of the air, and the sun's coming to the zenith: but June, July, and August are excessive hot months. The winds are here divided between the north and the south for six and six months; the country is delightful from May till August, the trees being then in their verdure, and the fields all covered with paddy, very pleasant to the beholders.

The great winds that are called amongst our seamen the hurricanes, and known here by the name of Tanffoons, reign on this and the adjacent coasts, and the seas thereof are very terrible, but the time of their coming is very uncertain, sometimes once in five or six years, and sometimes in eight or nine; and though this wind is not known in other oriental seas by that name, and with that excessive violence, yet that which is called the Elephant in the bay of Bengal, and the coast of Coromandel, is not much inferior to this; and the sad effects thereof are but too often experienced by the seamen. I cannot find an astronomer in all Tonqueen, to ask from whence these winds should proceed, so I cannot affirm that they are caused by the exhalations of the mines of Japan.

As for the extent of the country, which he makes equal to that of France, it is a gross mistake, for this kingdom is reckoned by men experienced, not to be much bigger than Portugal; but may be thought to contain four times the number of inhabitants. Taverniere makes its limits unknown, forgetting that he had so lately described the borders and extent thereof.

As for islands belonging to this kingdom, there are several in the bay of Tonqueen, the chief whereof is called by the natives Twon Bene, and by the Dutch Rovers Island. It is situated in the latitude of 19 degrees 15 minutes north; is long one and a half, and broad half a league at most, the better part high land, and distant from the main one league, between which and the main sea ships may pass, as the Dutch did formerly, but the navigator must observe to keep the island side aboard, within a musket shot; where you will find six, seven, and seven and a half fathoms, ouzy ground. On the same side of the island, which is its west part, are two small bays, the northernmost has a small pearl bank, but not rich; yet none dare to fish here without the King's special grant. In both the bays there is sweet water, which we found to be exceeding good, and esteemed the best we tasted there. At the south-west point of this island is a ridge of rocks, extending from the said point one hundred paces into the sea, and may be discovered at half ebb, by the breach thereon; for the rest, a clear coast.

Towards the north-west, is a fair bay, three fathoms and a half, and four fathom water, clay ground; here resort many fishing boats, besides what appertain to this village, whose inhabitants I compute between three or four hundred persons, most fishermen.

In

In this island is the watch-house general, which is a place of the greatest profit in the kingdom of Tonqueen : for all trading boats, either to the province of Tingway or Guian, or from thence to the north, must stop here and pay custom, viz. for a large boat about the value of a dollar and a half, with some presents for the waiters, the rest proportionable ; so that the customs of this place cannot yield less than a million of dollars per annum.

As for the ground, it is stony and mountainous, therefore not proper to manure ; cattle we saw but few, though the inhabitants told us of many antelopes that sheltered amongst the rocks and shrubs of the mountains, so that rice and other provisions for sustenance, are brought hither from the adjacent shore. Some good regulations would make this place plentiful, and with small expence this port might be made a good one.

For cities and towns, excepting that of Ca-cho, there are not above two or three in the whole kingdom of any note. As for aldeas or villages, questionless the number is great, and more than I can exactly affirm, or any man else that hath not made it his business to inquire after them ; neither is it an easy matter to find the truth thereof : the city of Ca-cho is the metropolis of Tonqueen, lieth in the latitude 21 degrees north, about forty leagues from the sea, and may, for its capaciousness, be compared with many cities in Asia, and superior to most for populousness, especially on the 1st and 15th of their new moon, being their market days, or grand bazar ; when the people from the adjacent villages flock thither with their trade, in such numbers as is almost incredible ; several of the streets, though broad and spacious, are then so crowded that one finds enough to do if he can sometimes advance through the multitude a hundred paces in half an hour. Every different commodity sold in this city is appointed to a particular street, and these streets again allotted to one, two, or more villages ; the inhabitants whereof are only privileged to keep shops in them, much in the nature of the several companies or corporations in European cities. The courts of the King, General, Princes, &c. grandesa and high courts of justice, are kept here, of which I can only say they stand on large tracts of ground : the principal structure makes but a mean appearance, being built of wood, the rest of their houses of bamboos and clay, not well compacted ; few of brick, except the factories of strangers, which outvie the rest. Stupendous, indeed, are the triple walls of the old city and palace ; for by the ruins they appear to have been strong fabrics with noble large gates, paved with a kind of marble ; the palace to have been about six or seven miles in circumference ; its gates, courts, apartments, &c. testify amply its former pomp and glory. In this city is likewise quartered a formidable militia, to be ready on all occasions ; and here also stands the King's arsenal or magazine for war, seated on the bank of the river, near a sandy island, on which the Thecadaw is kept, as hereafter will be mentioned. This river is called by the natives Songkoy, or the head river ; it rises in China, and after it has rolled many hundred leagues, it passes here and disgorgeth itself in the bay of Aynam, by eight or nine mouths, most of them navigable for vessels of small draught. This river is exceeding commodious for the city, since all sorts of merchandize are brought hither as to the epitome of the kingdom, by an infinite number of boats trading up and down the country ; yet they have their houses in their respective aldeas, and do not live altogether in their boats, as Taverniere reports, but when they are voyaging.

CHAP. III. — *Of the Nature and Productions of the Kingdom of Tonqueen.*

THIS country is for the most part low and flat, not unlike the United Provinces, especially for its moats and banks. The hills make the frontiers towards the north-west and south : it is watered by one special river, which disgorgeth itself into the sea by many branches, most of them navigable for ships of mean burthen. These rivers swarm with boats and large barks, which make it very commodious for traders : indeed in this country grows neither corn nor wine, which is not occasioned by the want of rain, for both of them require rather dry than wet ground ; but by reason the inhabitants do not much care for them, as being ignorant of their goodness, and therefore do not plant them. Rice indeed is the chief sustenance of these people, and the country produces sufficient quantities thereof ; and if this grain would have grown only by the rains of the months of June and July, we should not have experienced the sad effects of a most dreadful and calamitous famine, that swept away so many millions of souls in these two preceding years.

From the rice they distil a liquor called arrack, but much inferior to aqua vitæ. Their ploughs, and the manner of using them, are much after the Chinese fashion described in the history of China : the paddy they tread out with their feet, wherein their practice has made them very expert.

The fruits are equally good in their kinds with those of other oriental countries, but their oranges far exceed all that I have tasted. What Taverniere calls a palm tree is indeed a cocoa nut ; the pulp within is white, and tastes something like an almond : this fruit is so plentiful in Siam, that they lade ships with the oil that is made of the said pulp to supply their neighbours, which is used to burn in lamps.

The liquor thereof is very cold and pleasant enough, but reckoned bad for the nerves : questionless it is the most useful tree that is found in India, serving for meat, drink, cloathing, firing, building, &c.

The grava is a fruit much like his description, but he is mightily out in the effects thereof ; for whether green or ripe it is always binding, but not usually eaten green.

The papay is a fruit indeed resembling a melon, and somewhat of the taste, not unpleasant.

The arreak, called by the Malays penang, grows straight upright, bearing no branch, but at the top like a crown, the fruit of which is in bigness like a large pigeon's egg, which most Indians use to eat with the leaf called beetle by the Portuguese, and sera by the Malays. It is good to sweeten the breath, fasten the teeth, and revive the spirits : in chewing, the juice thereof turns red ; it is so much in use that they think they do not make their friends welcome without presenting them with a dish of it. The Tonqueeneses, Siameses, Malays, and Javas had rather lose a third of their diet than be without it. They have a fig called by them hungs, in taste something like a carrot, but much more pleasant, not at all like our European figs.

The other sort, called bonana, or plantain, which he calls Adam's figs, some are in length about a span, some less.

The highways are here and there beset with trees and many sheds, where they sell tea and beetle, &c., very commodious for travellers ; and for those exceeding great trees, that shade so many thousands of men, called the baman tree, I cannot contradict him ; but what I have seen at Swallow, Mareene, at Surat, far exceed any of those in bigness.

In this country we have the fruit *lechea*, called *bejay* by the natives, in great plenty, which indeed no where else comes to maturity but in the latitude from 20 to 30 degrees north. It grows on high trees; the leaves resemble somewhat the laurel; the fruits, in clusters on the branches, shew like so many hearts, of the bigness of a small hen egg; when ripe of a crimson colour; the shell thin and rough, yet easy to be pulled off; the kernel is full of a white juice. This fruit is of an excellent taste, and most pleasant to the sight, but it does not last above forty days in season: the time of its maturity is April, about when the general will cause his *chiaop* or seal to be fixed on most trees of the best *lecheas* in the country, belong they to whom they will, which obliges the owner not only not to meddle with his own, but also to watch narrowly that others do not touch them, which would be to his peril, since it is ingrossed by the court, who allow him nothing for his fruit or pains.

The fruit called *jean*, or *lungung* (that is, dragon's eggs, by the Chinese), is very plentiful here: the tree much as the former; the kernel white, but exceeding luscious; the fruit round, and less than a small plum; the skin not rough, of a pale olive colour, and near to a withered leaf. This fruit, though it pleases many of the Tonqueeneses, yet it is reckoned hot and unwholesome. The season is May, and lasts till July.

The *na*, or as the Portuguese call it, *annona pampelmoor*, and two or three sorts of plums, with other kinds of Indian fruits (except durrions, which will only grow in hot countries, that is, from Siam towards the south, as Mallaya, Mallacam, Java, &c.), are to be found here. But what exceeds all I have tasted in other parts of that kind is the *jaca*, or *myte*, in Tonqueen: this is the largest fruit I think in the world; and, because of its bigness, provident nature has placed its growth on the stock or body of the tree; not on the branches, lest it should not be sufficient to bear the burthen. The skin, when green, is very hard, but ripe, of a yellow colour, and easy to be cut with a knife. There are several sorts of them; but that which eats dryest, without sticking either to the fingers or lips, is the best and pleasantest. The greatest part are of a slimy substance, and, as it were, a yellow pap covers the nuts, which lie in little holes. Some of the poorer people will boil or roast the nuts and eat them, which have a kind of taste like our chesnuts, but are reckoned hurtful to the lungs.

Taverniere tells a long story of the rare mice that are in this country of many sorts, yet I never was at a feast of any, and therefore am no competent judge of their daintiness: I know the Portuguese eat them physically in several distempers.

The next thing to be taken notice of is a particular kind of birds' nests, which indeed are in great esteem among the Indians, and kept at a great price, being taken as great restoratives, and by some counted stimulators to venery; but Taverniere saith they are not to be found but in the four islands of Cochin-China, A. B. C. D., which I am sure is a great mistake; neither do I know those islands, or of any birds' nests to be found in Cochin-China. The birds which make these nests are less than swallows. As to the form and figure of these birds' nests, they are much as he describes them, and the greatest quantities of them come from Jehor, Reho, Pattany, and other Malayan countries; but that they are, when boiled, of that exceeding fragrance and odoriferousness as he pretends, is a fiction. These nests are laid to soak in warm water two hours, then pulled out in strings, the smaller the better, and so stewed with hens, pigeons, or any other flesh, with a little water: in stewing they dissolve almost to a jelly, without either taste or smell.

And

And as M. Taverniere is very erroneous in his map, so I do not know, nor have I heard of those islands 1, 2, 3, 4, and 5, that afford, as he says, such infinite numbers of tortoises. The goodness of the said turtles is sufficiently known to our English seamen in their homeward-bound voyages; but that the Tonqueenese or Cochinchinese do not believe that they have entertained their friends at a banquet as they ought till the tortoise is brought in is altogether fabulous; for when we were at the island Tevan Bene, or, according to the Dutch, Rover's Island, a tortoise of about twenty pounds weight was brought to the custom-house, where I lodged, to be sold, and the Tonqueenese not caring to buy it, I had it for a small matter. Moreover, coming from Siam I touched at Pulo Ubi, where my mariners took five or six very large tortoises, and brought them on board, but the Tonqueenese seamen that were with me (who were compelled to take up that employ because of the great famine that ravaged their country) would not touch them; neither do I know, as he asserts, that any of those tortoises are wont to be pickled by either of these two nations, or that there is any commerce carried on therewith amongst them; therefore I wonder how M. Taverniere could dream of a war between them, merely on account of catching them.

Tonqueen affords no great store of ananas, or pine-apples. The citrons he mentions are not altogether so large as those of Europe, which look green before they are ripe, and being mature look yellow.

They make good store of silks in the kingdom of Tonqueen, of which both rich and poor make themselves garments, since they can purchase them as cheap almost as outlandish calicoes.

As for sweet-smelling flowers, though I do not profess myself a florist, yet I know above two sorts in Tonqueen; but what he calls the bayne I cannot smell out: for, first, there is a beautiful rose, of a white colour mixed with purple, and another of almost the same kind, red and yellow; it grows on a bush without prickles or thorns, but has no scent.

The flower, that is nothing else but a bud, and resembles a caper, but much lesser, smells as fragrant and odoriferous as any flower I know, and will retain the scent above a fortnight though off the tree: the ladies of the court use it amongst their wearing apparel.

The Indian lily grows here as in several other parts of India; the shape somewhat resembles the European lily, but is a great deal less; it grows on a pretty high tree, is of a white colour, and yields a good scent, though a little faintish.

Here is a small flower, snow white, in scent like jessamine, but more vigorous; it grows on a low tree, or rather shrub. In Persia there are such great quantities of it, that they load whole ships with the water distilled from it. These flowers being of no great esteem among the natives I shall pass them by.

Here are great plenty of sugar-canes, but they have no great skill to refine the sugar they make from them; however, they do it after their manner, and use it, but not after meals, as Taverniere saith, for concoction.

Tigers and harts are here, but not many: apes in great plenty: of cows, hogs, hens, ducks, geese, &c. there is no want. Their horses are small, but very mettlesome and lively; and were it not that they are so seldom rode, and kept too tender, they might be of good use and fit for service.

Their elephants are all trained up for war, and are not of that prodigious bigness he would make one believe, for I have seen larger in Siam; neither are they nimbler than other elephants that are taught to lie down for the rider to mount.

They

They have many cats, but no great mousers, which defect is pretty well supplied by their dogs, which are fit for little else.

Birds here are not many, but wild-fowl in abundance.

Near the sea-side and in the city they have a great many musquetoës, but in the country they are not so much troubled with them: those that will be free of them must either smoke their rooms or lie in close curtains, made of thin silks for that purpose. The cold northern wind drives them away, and frees the country of those tormentors for a while.

What he saith of the white emmets is true: this vermin is very mischievous; in Siam hardly any house is free from them, so that merchants are forced to make hearths, and to rub the feet thereof with oil of earth (which scent they cannot endure), in order to secure their merchandize.

The way of pickling hen or duck eggs, as Taverniere describes, is true, but these eggs serve only for fauces, and not to be eaten otherwise.

CHAP. IV. — *Of the Riches, Trade, and Money of the Kingdom of Tonqueen.*

THE chief riches, and indeed the only staple commodity, is silk, raw and wrought: of the raw the Portuguese and Castilians in former days, the Hollanders lately, and at present the Chinese, export good quantities to Japan, &c.: of their wrought silks the English and Dutch expend the most.

This kingdom has no lignum aloes at all but what is imported by foreign traders.

Musk we have here, brought from Bowes and China annually; sometimes the quantity of five or six peculls, sometimes less; neither have they any gold but what comes from China. Their silver is brought in by English, Dutch, and Chinese trading to Japan. They have iron and lead mines which afford them just enough of those minerals to serve their occasions.

Their domestic trade consists in rice, salt fish, and other sustenance; little raw and wrought silk for their own wear. They likewise drive a commerce with Bowes and Ai, though with no great profit, by reason of high expences and large presents to the eunuchs, who command the avenues; nor do the Chinese that pass those ways fare better, being often exacted upon, and sometimes stripped of all they have by the ravenous mandareens. And since it is one of the policies of the court not to make the subjects rich, lest they should be proud and ambitious, and aspire to greater matters, the King connives at those disorders, and oppresses them with heavy taxes and impositions; and should he know that any persons were to exceed the ordinary means of a private subject, they would incur the danger of losing all on some pretence or other; which is a great discouragement to the industrious, and necessitates them to bury their wealth, having no means to improve it.

As for foreign traders, a new comer suffers, besides hard usage in his buying and selling, a thousand inconveniences; and no certain rates on merchandizes imported or exported being imposed, the insatiable mandareens cause the ships to be rummaged, and take what commodities may likely yield a price at their own rates, using the King's name to cloak their griping and villanous extortions, and for all this there is no remedy but patience.

Yet strangers that are experienced here are less subject to those irregularities and oppressions, escaping their clutches, though not without some trouble and cost: in a word, the Tonqueen trade is at present the most fastidious in all India, wherefore I wonder our author should say it is a great pleasure to deal with them; for if you bar-

gain for any thing, and are likely to lose thereby, you are sure to bear the loss. Nothing almost is sold but upon trust for three or four months time, and yet then you run the hazard to lose what is so sold, or at least to undergo a thousand troubles for the recovery of the debt, and at last are likely to suffer, either in bad coin or unmerchantable goods. This defect and disorder in trade proceeds more from their indigency and poverty than from any thing else; for there is not a Tonqueenese merchant that has or had ever the courage and ability to buy the value of two thousand dollars at once, and to pay it upon the nail. But, after all, the Tonqueenese are not altogether so fraudulent, and of that deceitful disposition, as the Chinese; it may be by reason they are inferior to them in craft or cunning.

There is this further difference between these two nations; a Tonqueenese will beg incessantly, and torment your purse sufficiently, if you have business with him, whereas a Chinese is cruel and bloody, maliciously killing a man, or flinging him into the sea for small matters.

Another occasion of hindrance and stop to trade is, that they permit the greater part of what silver comes into the country (commonly a million of dollars per annum) to be carried to Bowes and China, to be exchanged for copper cash, which rises and falls according as the Chova finds it agree with his interest; besides, this cash will be defaced in few years, and consequently not current, which grand inconvenience causes considerable losses to merchants, and signal prejudice to the public. Thus goes the silver out of the country, and no provision is made against it, which is very bad policy.

And though the Chova values foreign trade so little, yet he receives from it, embarrassed as it is, considerable annual incomes into his coffers, as taxes, head-money, impositions, customs, &c. But though these amount to vast sums, yet very little remains in the treasury, by reason of the great army he maintains, together with several other unnecessary expences. In fine, it is pity so many conveniences and opportunities to make the kingdom rich and its trade flourishing should be neglected; for if we consider how this kingdom borders on two of the richest provinces in China, it will appear that, with small difficulty, most commodities of that vast empire might be drawn hither, and great store of Indian and European commodities, especially woollen manufactures, might be vended there; nay, would they permit strangers the freedom of this inland trade, it would be vastly advantageous to the kingdom; but the Chova (jealous that Europeans should discover too much of his frontiers, by which certainly he can receive no injury) has, and will probably in all times to come, impede this important affair.

They have no coin but copper cash, which comes from China as aforesaid. Gold and silver they cast into bars, about fourteen dollars weight, and they are current amongst them.

CHAP. V. — *Of the Strength of the Kingdom of Tonqueen.*

THE kingdom of Tonqueen might be reckoned very formidable, were the strength wholly to consist in the number of men; for the standing force cannot be less than one hundred and forty thousand, all well trained up, and fit to handle their arms after their mode; and they can raise twice that number on occasion: but since courage in the men is to be likewise attended to, we cannot esteem them very formidable, being of dejected spirits and base dispositions, and their leaders being for the most part capadoes, and want their manhood.

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The general may muster up about eight or ten thousand horse, and between three or four hundred elephants: his sea force consists in two hundred and twenty galleys, great and small, more fit for the river than the sea, and rather for sport and exercise than war. They have but one gun in the prow, which will carry a four-pound shot; they have no masts, and are forced to do all by strength of oars; the men that row stand all exposed to great or small shot, and other engines of war. They have about five hundred other boats, called twinquaes, which are good and swift to sail, but too weak for war, being only sewed together with rattans; however, they serve well enough for transportation of provisions and soldiers.

In one of these boats I was forced to go to Siam the last year, with three other gentlemen in company with me, we being left by a Chinese, in whose junk we had taken a passage, on an isle on the westernmost part of the bay of Tonqueen, where we were forced to this shift; yet, thanks be to God, we got our passage in twenty-three days, to the admiration of all that knew of it.

They are likewise provided with guns and cannons of all sorts, as also calibres, some of them of their own fabric, but the greatest part bought of the Portuguese, Dutch, and English, and stored with other ammunition suitable to their occasions.

But to return to the condition of the soldiery of Tonqueen: it is a very toilsome and laborious situation, and of little advantage; once a soldier and always a soldier; and hardly one in a thousand riseth to preferment, unless he be very dextrous in handling his weapons, or so fortunate as to obtain the friendship of some great Mandareen to present him to the King. Money may likewise effect somewhat, but to think of advancement by mere valour is a very fruitless expectation, since they rarely find occasion to meet an enemy in open field, and so have no opportunity to improve themselves or display their prowess; not but that some few have, from mean beginnings, mounted to high preferment and great dignity by some bold achievement; but this being extraordinary, is not to be generally reckoned upon.

Their wars consist in much noise and great trains; so they go to Cochin-China, look on the walls, rivers, &c.; and if any disease or sickness happens amongst their army, so as to carry off some few of their men, and they come within hearing of the shouts of the enemy, they begin to cry out a cruel and bloody war, and turn head, running, *re infecta*, as fast as they can home. This is the game they have played against Cochin-China more than three times, and will do so in all probability as long as they are commanded by those emasculated captains called capons.

They have had amongst themselves civil wars, wherein they contended for superiority; and he that has been the cunningest has prevailed always against him that has been valiant; but in former days, when they fought against the Chinese, they have showed themselves bold and courageous, but it was necessity that forced them to it. The general will sometimes take delight in seeing his soldiers exercise, either in his arsenal, or with his galleys on the river; and sometimes, when he finds a soldier to exceed his companions, it may be he gratifies him with the value of a dollar in cash.

The soldiers have very small pay, not above three dollars in a year, besides rice, except those of the life guard, who have twice as much; they are free of all taxes, and are dispersed among the Mandareens; which Mandareens have certain aldeas assigned them, which pay an income to them for the maintenance of the soldiers.

Castles, forts, strong holds, citadels, &c. they have none, nor do they understand the art of fortification, and make but small account of our skill therein; though they have so little reason to depend, like the Lacedemonians, on the bravery of their soldiers.

CHAP. VI. — *Of the Manners of the People of Tonqueen.*

THE people of Tonqueen are rather of a working and turbulent spirit, though cowards, than naturally mild and peaceable, since quiet and concord can hardly be maintained amongst them, without a heavy hand and severity; for they have often conspired and broke out in open rebellion. True it is, that superstition, to which the meaner sort are miserably addicted, did further the evil very much, and drove them headlong to the precipice, no less than ambition; but persons of great note, or mandareens of quality, are very seldom found to be embarked in those dangerous attempts, and rarely aim to make themselves heads of public factions, which, unquestionably, proceeds from the little credit they give to those fictions and fopperies of their blind fortune tellers, who delude and mislead the ignorant and superstitious vulgar, and from this their consciousness, that their folly and perfidiousness will hardly fail to meet with deserved destruction.

They are not much given to choler, yet are addicted to the far worse passions of envy and malice, even to an extreme degree. In former times they had in great esteem the manufactures of strange countries, but now that passion is almost worn out, and only a few Japan gold and silver pieces, and European broad cloth remain at present in request with them. They are not curious to visit other countries, believing they can see none so good as their own, and give no credit to those who have been abroad, when they relate what they have seen.

They are of happy memory and quick apprehension, and might prove of eminent abilities by good and due instructions. Learning they love, not so much for its own sake, but because it conducts them to public employs and dignities. Their tone in reading is much like to singing. Their language is full of monosyllables, and sometimes twelve or thirteen several things are meant by one word, and have no other distinction but in the tone, either to pronounce it with a full mouth, heavy accent, pressing or retaining voice, &c. and therefore it is very difficult for strangers to attain any perfection therein.

I do not find any difference between the court language and the vulgar, except in matter of ceremony and cases of law, where the China characters are used as the Greek and Latin sentences among our learned.

Both the sexes are well proportioned, rather of small stature and weak constitutions, occasioned perhaps by their intemperate eating and immoderate sleeping.

They are generally of brown complexion, like the Chinese and Japanese, but the better sort and women of quality are almost as fair as the Portuguese and Spaniards.

Their noses and faces are not so flat as the Chinese; their hair black, and if long it is reckoned an ornament; both men and women without distinction wear it down as long as it will grow; but soldiers when they are in their exercises, and handicraftsmen about their trades, put it up under their caps, or tie it in a great roll on the top of their heads. Both boys and girls, when they are past sixteen or seventeen years of age, black their teeth as the Japanese do, and let their nails grow as the Chinese, the longest being accounted the finest, which has place among persons of quality and those of wealth only.

Their habit is long robes, very little differing from those of China, and not at all resembling the Japan garb, or the picture in Taverniere's description, where he makes them to wear girdles, a mode that these people are strangers to.

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They are forbidden by an old tradition the wear of hose and shoes, except the literadoes (literati) and those that have taken the degree of Tuncy or doctor; however, at present the custom is not observed so strictly as formerly.

The condition of the vulgar sort is miserable enough, since they are imposed on by heavy taxes, and undergo sore labour; for the males at eighteen, and in some countries and provinces twenty years of age, are liable to pay the value of three, four, five, six, and seven dollars per annum, according to the goodness and fertility of the soil of their aldea or village; and this money is gathered in two several terms, as April and October, being the harvest of the rice. From this tax are exempted the royal blood, the King's immediate servants, all public ministers and officers of the kingdom, together with the literadoes or learned men, from a Singdo upwards: for the latter are obliged to pay half tax; all soldiers and military persons, with a few others that have obtained this freedom, either gratis or bought it for money, which exemption is granted only for life, and is purchased of the Chava, or general: yet those that desire the continuation of the said privilege, may have their patent renewed for a moderate sum of money, by the succeeding Prince, who seldom denies to grant them their redemption on such an account; but merchants, though they live in the city, are rated in the aldeas or villages of their ancestors and parents, and are liable besides to the vecquun, or lords service of the city, at their own expences, and are obliged to work and drudge themselves, or hire another in their room, to perform what the governor orders, whether it be to mend the broken walls, repair the banks and ways of the city, dragging timber for the King's palaces, and other public buildings, &c.

The handicraftsmen, of what profession soever, are bound to this vecquun six moons in the year, and receive nothing, nor dare they demand any thing for their labour in all that time; it depends on their masters' (the Mandeereens) direction and bounty, to allow them the charges for their very victuals; the other half year they are allowed to make use of for themselves and family, and it must be supposed to be hard enough with them, especially if they are burdened with many children.

As for the poor aldeans, who inhabit barren soils, and therefore are unable to pay their taxes in rice or money, they are employed to cut grass for the General's elephants and horses; and though their stations and villages be often very remote from the place where they fetch the grass, they are obliged to bring it by turns the whole year on their own expences to the city.

By what is said, it appears with what politic maxims this Prince keeps his subjects poor and needy; and, in truth, it seems to be necessary enough; for if their proud turbulent spirits were not kept in the bounds of their duty and allegiance with a strong rein, they would often forget themselves: however, every one enjoys what he gets by his own industry, and may leave his estate to his heirs and successors; always provided, that the rumour of his wealth sounds not so loud as to charm the General's ear.

The eldest son's portion is much larger than the rest of the children of the deceased: the daughters have some small matter allowed them, yet can claim but little by law, if there be an heir male.

And as the Tonqueenese are ambitious of many dependants and opulent kindred, so they have a custom among them to adopt one another, both sexes indifferently, to be their children, and of their family; and those so adopted are obliged to the same duty as their own children, viz.

At festival times to sombey and present them; to be ready on every occasion in their service; to bring them the first fruits of the season, and the new rice at harvest;

to contribute to the sacrifice made to some of the family, as the mother, brother, wife, &c. or near relations of the patrour, that are dead, or shall die. To these and several other expences, they are obliged several times in the year, at their own cost; and as this is the obligation of the adopted, so the patrour takes care to advance or promote them, according as occasion and their power will admit, defending and protecting them as their own children; and when the patrour dies, they have a legacy almost equal to the youngest children; and they mourn for the patrour as for their father and mother, though they be both alive.

The manner of adopting is thus: he that intends to be adopted, sends to acquaint the person of whom the requests that favour with his intention, who, if content therewith, returns a satisfactory answer; upon which the suppliant comes and presents himself before him, with a hog and two jars of arrack, which the patrour receives of the party, who having made four sombeys, and given satisfactory answers to some questions, he is adopted.

Strangers who reside here, or use the trade, have often taken this course, to free themselves from those vexations and extortions which they usually meet with from some insolent courtiers. I myself was adopted by a Prince, who then was presumptive and now heir apparent to the general, and had his choap or chop, which is his seal. I always gave him presents at my arrival from a voyage, which chiefly consisted in foreign curiosities. This Prince, though he be of a generous noble mind, and had an extraordinary kindness for me, yet I was not the better for him in my troubles; for on the decease of his grandfather, it pleased God to visit him, in the height of his prosperity, with madness, which was the overthrow of my business, by incapacitating him to protect me in my greatest trouble and necessity, but lately I understand he is recovered again.

The aldeans, or villagers, for the most part are simple people, and subject to be misled by their over much credulity and superstition. The character that is given of some other nations is applicable enough to them, that is, they are either extraordinary good, or extreme bad.

It is a great mistake, that the people of Tonqueen live out of pleasure or choice in their boats upon the rivers, when mere necessity and indigence drives them to that course of life; for to run from port to port, and from one village to another with wife and children, to look out for a livelihood, in a small boat, cannot be very pleasant, although they do not know here what a crocodile means.

The largest of the Tonqueenes rivers has, as I said before, its source in China, and the great rains there in the months of March, April and May, cause the waters to descend here with that incredible rapidity (this country being without comparison lower than China) as threatens banks and dams with destruction; sometimes the waters will rise so fast, and swell to that degree, as to over top most barricadoes, all human industry notwithstanding, drowning thereby whole provinces, which causes lamentable disorders, and great losses both of men and beasts.

CHAP. VII.—*Of the Marriages of the Tonqueenes.*

THE Tonqueenes cannot marry without the consent of their father and mother, or of the nearest kindred. When a young man comes to the age of sixteen, eighteen or twenty, his father and mother being resolved to get him a wife, make their application to the parents of the party they design for him, carrying with them an hundred dressed beetles in a decent box, one jar of arrack, or strong liquor, and a live hog; under

under favour of such a present only this is to be proposed. The friends of the maid seeing the visitants thus prepared, and knowing by the custom of the country whereto it tends, give fitting answers to the question in hand, according to their inclinations; for if they are unwilling it should be a match, they find their subterfuges and excuses, by pretending their daughter's youth, and inability to take upon her the burthen of a household; and that, however, they will consider of the matter further hereafter, and the like compliments; wherewith they and their presents are sent back again.

But in case they are content to bestow their daughter on the young man, the present is readily accepted of, with expressions of their approbation of the business; and then immediately, without any other formality, they consult and agree about the most auspicious time, in which they are guided by their blind superstition, for the solemnization of the wedding. In the meantime the parents of the bridegroom send often presents of victuals to the bride, and visit her now and then, yet the young people are not permitted so much as to speak to each other.

At the prefixed time the wedding is kept with a feast, agreeable to the condition and abilities of the parents of the young couple, which doth not last above a day. The ceremony of their marriage is barely this: in the afternoon of the day that precedes the wedding, the bridegroom comes to the bride, and brings with him, according to his quality, either, gold, silver, or a quantity of cash, the more the greater honour, and victuals prepared, all which he leaves there, and retires to his own home. The next morning being the wedding day, the bride is dressed in her finest robes, with bracelets of gold pendants, &c.; her parents' acquaintance and servants are ready to conduct and wait on her to the bridegroom's, whither she goes about ten o'clock in the forenoon, with all this train attending her, whilst all her moveables, household stuff, and whatever else her father and mother give for her portion, together with what she had of the bridegroom, is carried in great state, and for a more glorious shew, it passes in a long field before her and the whole company, all which enter the bridegroom's house, who receives her and them with kindness and courtesy, after their mode, and presents them with victuals prepared for the purpose, whilst music and other expressions of joy are not neglected: and this is the whole solemnity of the wedding, without any farther formalities of either magistrate or priest, as our author talks.

Polygamy is here tolerated; however, that woman whose parents are of the greatest quality is chief amongst them, and has the title of wife.

Rapes, and the like, are not known, much less practised in this country. The law of the land permits a man to divorce his wife, but the woman has not the same privilege, and can hardly obtain a separation, against the good liking of the husband, unless she be of a family that is able to compel him to it, by mere authority. When the husband designs to repudiate his wife, he gives her a note, declaring under his hand and seal that he has no more pretensions to her person, and that she is free to dispose of herself as she finds occasion, which liberty capacitates her to marry another; neither would any person dare to pretend to her, without being certain of the said note, for fear of her former husband, who in that case can claim her again, and thereby embroil such a one in the labyrinth of the law, and recover a good sum of money from him.

The woman so repudiated, when she departs from her husband, may take along with her the same quantity of gold, silver, cash, &c. as he brought to her house at the time of his espousing her. The children born during the time of their mutual cohabitation the husband keeps; but their Mandareens seldom, and only on urgent occasions or for capital offences, will deal thus severely with their wives, yet their

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concubines are thus served on every light occasion, when the humour takes them to make an exchange, or that they are satiated with their persons. Among the meaner sort, when a man and his wife disagree, and mutually desire a separation, they are divorced in the presence of some small judge and public officers, by mutual discharges in writing; but the village husband, that cannot write nor read, breaks a copper cash, (this country money) or a stick, in the presence of his wife, as a testimony of his resolution to dismiss her; the one of the half he keeps himself, the other he gives to her, which she carries to the heads and elders of the aldea, or village, requesting them to bear witness her husband had discharged her of her duty to be any longer his wife, and that he has nothing more to pretend to her for ever; so she may either keep or throw away the piece of cash, or stick, and marry again as soon as she pleases.

As for adultery, if a man of quality surprises his wife in the fact, he may freely, if he pleases, kill her and her paramour with his own hands; otherwise the woman is sent to be trampled to death by an elephant; the adulterer is delivered to the justice, who proceeds with him to execution without any farther delay. But with the meaner sort of people it is not so; they must go to law, where the offenders will have severe punishment inflicted on them, if they are proved guilty of the crime.

The story that M. Taverniere relates to have happened whilst his brother was at Tonqueen, is not at all agreeable to the customs of this people, or congruous with their dispositions; wherefore, in all probability, it is only a fiction.

CHAP. VIII.—*Of the Visits and Pastimes of the Tonqueens.*

THEIR visits are generally made in the afternoon. It is uncivil to come to any great man's house before dinner, unless necessitated by urgent business, or expressly invited, because they then have the least time to spare; for in the morning very early they go to court to attend the general, which attendance takes them up till eight o'clock; when they come home, they employ themselves awhile in ordering their domestic concerns among their servants, if more important state affairs will permit it; the little space that remains between that and dinner is reserved for their retirement and repose.

The Princes, or great Mandareens, ride either on elephants, or are carried in a hammack, and followed by most their servants, soldiers, dependants, &c. that are not otherwise occupied in such a season, which is more or less numerous, according to the degree of the person's dignity; those of lesser rank ride on horseback, and are followed by as many as they are able to maintain, without limitation, which usually is not above ten persons, but to be sure all that can must go, for they are very ambitious of many attendants.

If he that gives the visit is of greater quality than the person visited, he dares not to offer him any thing of meat or drink, no not so much as a beetle, unless he calls for it. Their water and beetle is always carried with them by their servants.

In discoursing with them, especially if the person be of authority, care must be had not to move any mournful subject, either directly or indirectly; but things that are pleasant, in commendation of them, are best approved. But that which is most intolerable in these lords is, that they permit the men of their train (a rude brutish gang) to enter with them into the most private apartments of other people's houses, especially when they come to visit Europeans, where they behave themselves very apishly, and commit many absurdities and impertinencies in their talk and jestings;

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and moreover often steal whatever they can lay hold on; in all which their stupidified masters rather take delight, than check them, for their fauciness and misdemeanors. But if they are invited by their superiors or equals, then they entertain them as they find occasion, either with tea or meat, &c. not omitting beetle, which is always the first and last part of the regale. The boxes wherein the beetle is presented, are generally plain lacquered, either black, red, or some grave colour; yet the gentry, and the Princes and Princesses of the royal blood, have them in massy gold, silver, tortoise shell, or inlaid with mother of pearl; the painted and gaudy ones are only used at their sacrifices in their pagodas. But such rich boxes as M. Taverniere avers to have seen, to have the value of four and five hundred thousand livres, at the Great Mogul's court, were certainly no Tonqueen ones; for diamonds, rubies, emeralds and other jewels do not grow in this country, neither are they in request among the natives; nor could that have been brought thither by any Tonqueen ambassador, since the Kings send none thither, nor is there the least commerce between the two nations.

They seldom visit sick persons, and they hardly care to admit any but their kindred and relations to put them in mind of death, how desperate soever their state may be, and the least admonition to settle their affairs and concerns would be a heinous crime and unpardonable offence; so that those that die make no will, which defect often creates vexatious lawsuits among the kindred, if the deceased leaves no children behind him, even to the ruin of their own estates, and the loss of what they contend for.

In the halls of great men's houses are several alcoves, where they sit cross-legged upon mats, according to their degree, the higher the more honorable; and these seats are all covered with mats, answerable in fineness to their stations, except in time of mourning, when they are obliged to use coarse ones. As for carpets they have none, neither can they afford them; wherefore I wonder at our author's saying, that the mats are as dear as a fine carpet, which at the cheapest costs from thirty to fifty rupees and upwards in Persia and Surat; whereas the best and finest mat may be bought here for the value of three or four shillings at the most; neither do I believe any European, besides himself, has ever seen a Tonqueen mat nine ells square, and as soft as velvet: however, this is like the rest of his fables. As for cushions, these people use none, either to sit or lie on; but they have a kind of bolster made of reeds or mats, to sleep or lean on.

As for their victuals they are curious enough therein, though their diet does not generally please strangers. The common sort must be content with green trade, rice, and salt fish, or the like; the great lords may if they please feed themselves with the best in the land.

I can make no comparison for neatness between the Europeans and them, in their houses, wherein they have but little or no furniture more than usual in the meanest cots, sometimes tables and benches, seldom chairs. They use neither table cloths nor napkins, nor do they want them, since they do not touch their meat with their fingers, but use two sticks, as the Chinese and Japanese do. All their victuals are served in little plates and dishes, not made of wood, and then lacquered and varnished over, as M. Taverniere affirms, but of China and Japan wares, which are in esteem here. Persons of quality or condition use a kind of formality and decency at their feasts; but as for the rest, as soon as they are at the bandeses, which are small lacquered tables, they do not so much as mind any discourtesies; and this not out of good manners or reverence to the aged and grave persons, but a greedy desire to fill their guts, they

they being generally great eaters and true epicures; also they may be afraid to lose their share by prating, whilst others make all the silent haste they can to empty the platters and dishes. I have often seen the followers and attendants of Mandareens at the like sport; and used to admire their eating both for quantity and greediness, in which I believe no nation under the cope of heaven can match them.

As for drinking, though the clowns and meaner sort seldom fall under the excess and debauchery of strong drink, yet amongst the courtiers and soldiers drunkenness is no vice. A fellow that can drink smartly is a brave blade. It is no custom of theirs to wash their hands when they go to table, only they rinse their mouths, because of the beetle; yet after meals, they often wash both; and having cleansed their teeth with a piece of bamboo, prepared for the purpose, they eat beetle. At a friend's house the entertained may freely, if he please, call for more boiled rice, or any thing else, if he is not satisfied, which the host takes very kindly. They do not ask one another how they do, but compliment them with a "Where have you been thus long?" and "What have you done all this while?" And if they know or perceive by their countenance that they have been sick or indisposed, then they ask "How many cups of rice they eat at a meal?" (for they make three in a day, besides a collation in the afternoon, amongst the rich and wealthy), and "Whether he eats with an appetite or no?"

Of all the pastimes of the Tonqueenese, they affect most their balls, ballads, and singing, which are for the most part acted in the night and last till morning, and are what M. Taverniere calls comedies; a very improper name, and resembling them in no respect; much less are they set out with beautiful decorations and machines, as he says, very pleasing to behold; and they are as skilful to represent sea and river water, and marine combats thereon, as they are able to describe the fight in 1588, between the English and the Spaniards; neither have they in the city any theatres to act upon, but every Mandareen's hall, and the yards of other houses, must serve in turn: yet in their aldeas they have singing houses, erected at the expence of three, four, or more aldeas, or villages; and in this they celebrate their festival times, singing and banquetting after their mode. The actors of one house are sometimes three, four or five persons; their fees are no more than a thousand cash, to the value of about a dollar, for a whole night's labour: but the liberal spectators give them presents, as often as they perform any thing dexterously. They are usually habited in country taffeties, palong, satin, and the like. They have but few songs, and not above five different tunes, and those composed most in praise of their Kings and generals, interspersed with amorous interjections and poetical elegance. The women only dance, and she that dances must sing too, and will be between whiles interrupted by a man that plays the part of a jester, who is generally the wittiest mimick they can find, and such a one as is able to make the company laugh at his inventions and postures. Their musical instruments are drums, copper basons, hautboys, guitars, with two or three sorts of violins, &c. Besides this, they have another kind of dancing, with a bason filled or piled up with small lamps lighted, which a woman sets on her head, and then dances, turning, winding, and bowing her body in several shapes and figures, with great celerity, without spilling a drop of oil in the lamps, to the admiration of the spectators; this act will last about half an hour.

Dancing on ropes their women are also expert at, and some will perform it very gracefully.

Cock-fighting is a mighty game amongst them, so that it is become a princely sport,

sport, and much in fashion with courtiers. They lose much that lay against the general, for right or wrong he must and will win, whereby he impoverishes his grandees, so that they are not able to undertake any thing.

They delight much in fishing, and have the convenience of many rivers, and infinite ponds.

As for hunting, there is scarce a wood or forest proper for this exercise, in all the country, neither are they expert in that sport.

But their grand pastime is their new-year's feast, which commonly happens about the 25th of January, and is kept by some thirty days; for then, besides dancing and the recreations aforesaid, all their other sorts of games, as playing at football, swinging on an engine erected of bamboos, at most corners of the streets, tricks of bodily activity, and a kind of hocus-pocus, are brought on the stage, to encrease merriment; neither are they behind-hand to prepare their feasts and banquets plentiful and large, striving to outdo each other therein, for the space of three or four days, according to their ability; and as this is indeed the time to gormandize and debauch to excess, so he is accounted the most miserable wretch that doth not provide to welcome his friends and acquaintances, though by so doing he is certain to beg the rest of that year for his livelihood.

The first day of the year the ordinary sort do not stir abroad, unless they are dependants of some lords, but keep themselves close shut up in their houses, admitting none but their nearest relations and domestics; to others they would deny, on that day, a draught of water, or a coal for fire, and be very angry too at any one's making such a request, superstitiously believing its consequence would be to subject them to infallible malediction; and that if they should give any thing that day, it would be their bad destiny to give continually, and beggar themselves thereby at last. Their reason for not stirring abroad proceeds from the same cause, which is, fear to encounter with some ominous thing or other that might presage evil to them that day which would make them unfortunate all the year; for they observe superstitiously many frivolous niceties, as good and bad luck. But the second day of the new year they go to visit each other, and acquit themselves of their duty and obligations to their superiors, to sombey them; as likewise do their soldiers and servants to them. But the mandareens go the first day to the King and general, of which they are as careful observers as the others are sharp and precise exactors of this attendance.

Some reckon their new year from the 25th of their last moon, but very improperly; their ground for it is, because the sup unu, implying as much as the great seal reversed, is then put into a box, with the face downward, for a whole month's time, and in that interval the law is, as it were, laid asleep, and no acts whatsoever pass under the said seal; all courts of judicature are shut up; debtors cannot be seized on; small crimes, as petty larceny, fighting, beating one another, &c., escape with impunity; only treason and murder the governors of the city and province take account of, and keep the malefactors prisoners till the grand seal comes to be active again, to bring them to their trial, &c. But their new year more properly begins at the first of their new moon, which falls out usually about our 25th of January as aforesaid, and lasts, according to the China custom, one whole month.

By what is related it appears how excessively our author has hyperbolized on these passages, especially where he commends the Tonqueenese for laborious and industrious people, prudently employing their time to the most advantage, which in some degree may be granted in the women, but the men are so lazy and idle generally, that were

they not, by mere necessity, compelled to work, I verily believe they would be glad to spend their time only in eating and sleeping; for many will surfeit themselves by overgorging their stomachs, feeding as if they were born only to eat, and not to eat for the support of life chiefly.

It is also a mistake to say the Tonqueenese deem it a disgrace to have their heads uncovered; for when an inferior comes to a mandareen, either upon business or some errand from a mandareen, he has always his black gown and cap on, and the mandareen receives him bare; but if the messenger comes with an order from the King, verbal or in writing, then they dare not hear the message, or peruse the note, without putting on their gown and cap. Of this more will be said when I come to speak of the court of Tonqueen.

As to criminals, they are shaved as soon as they are condemned to die, because they may be known and apprehended if they should chance to outrun their keepers, which is a different thing from being uncovered, which M. Taverniere talks of. So likewise to nail malefactors on crosses, or to dismember them by four small galleys that row several ways, are torments unheard of in this country.

CHAP. IX. — *Of the learned Men of Tonqueen.*

THE Tonqueenese have a great inclination for learning, because it is the only step to acquire dignity and preferments, which encourageth them to a studious and diligent application to learning, which is often attended with good or ill success, as in other countries, according to their several talents, and as they are endued with vivacity, spirit, and more especially as they are furnished with a good or bad memory, which is the chief requisite for mustering that sort of learning which is in repute in this country, which, consisting mostly in hieroglyphic characters, whereof they have as many as words or things, requires a very retentive memory. Hence it is that some scholars are fit to take degrees upon them after twelve or fifteen year's study, others in twenty-five or thirty, many not in their life-time.

They may, as soon as they think themselves able or capable, adventure their trial, without either obligation to continue longer a scholar or limitation of years. Nor have they any public schools, but every one chuses such a preceptor for his children as he fancies at his own cost.

Their learning consists not in the knowledge of languages, as among us in Europe, much less are they acquainted with our philosophy; but they have one Confucius, a Chinese (or, as the people call him, Congtu), the founder of their arts and sciences, which are the same with those of the Chinese. This man composed himself but one book, but he compiled four others from the works of the ancient Chinese philosophers, containing moral and political precepts, with their rites and sacrifices, &c. Moreover, his disciples have, out of his works, extracted divers rules, sentences, and similies fit for the state in general, and every person in particular; all which is collected into one volume, divided into four parts, and entitled *The Four Books*, which, with the five before mentioned, make nine books, and are the ancientest they have, and of that reputation, that they will admit no contradiction whatsoever against them; and these are the sole foundation of the learning not only of the Chinese and this nation, but also of the Japanese, some small differences excepted.

The said books comprehend likewise the greatest part of their hieroglyphical characters, the multitude of which none can easily affirm, yet they reckon ninety or a hundred

hundred thousand, because their learned have a way of compounding and connecting them to shrink that number; and as it is not necessary for the vulgar sort to know so many, so very few do, and twelve or fourteen thousand is sufficient for usual writing.

They are wholly ignorant of natural philosophy, and not more skilled in mathematics and astronomy: their poetry I do not understand, and their music I do not find very delightful and harmonious; and I cannot but wonder by what faculty M. Taverniere has discovered them to be the most excellent of all the oriental people in that art.

Having thus confusedly mentioned a word or two in general of their learning, I return to the scholars. They must, in the acquisition of employ and dignity (I do not say nobility, for the custom is here, that all the honours die with the person, and descend not to his posterity), pass through three degrees: the first, of a *singdo*, something like the bachelors in Europe; the second a *hung-cong*, resembling our licentiates; the third degree is a *tuncy*, equal to the degree of doctor with us.

Out of these doctors they chuse the ablest and elect him *trungiveen*, which is as much as to say, a president, or professor of learning.

And indeed the election of these literadoes is managed with the most commendable policy and justice that I know of among them; for whereas, in all other things, they are swayed by corruption, partiality, or private passions, in the distribution of these degrees they respect singularly the deserts of persons, since no man can obtain any of them, unless he is found worthy thereof, by a strict and most exact examination.

The order and method observed in the promotion of *singdos*, or bachelors, is this: once in three years it is customary for the King and general to nominate two or three *tuncies*, with some *wene quan*, or justice of peace, who has the degree of *hung-cong*, to be examiners of the designed academy in that province where the election is to be made (for in this they proceed from one province to another by turns), whither they repair immediately on receiving their commission. Great care is taken that none speak with those to be examined on the way, or receive any bribes of them. Being arrived, they take up their lodgings in houses built of bamboos and straw, encompassed with a wall of the same materials, leaving a spacious empty place in the midst thereof for a theatre. The *tuncies* are presently separated from the *wene quan* and the rest in distinct apartments, and are not to speak one with the other during their functions, strict guards being kept at the several doors, and all comers in or out are searched for papers, writings, &c. If any is found to have transgressed herein he is rigorously punished and loses his dignity.

In the morning of the day prescribed for the commencing of the said examination, all the students resort to this place, where they find an officer, who exhibits to them five short sentences, written in capital letters, whereof every one, as many as there are, may take copies; which being done, they are all searched for papers or other writings, and then placed on the bare ground of the yard aforementioned, at good and equal distance, and many watches are set, that none comes to speak with them.

Thus they sit to write their themes, which they must finish before evening; neither must the said answer contain more than twenty-four sides of paper; and as every one brings in his, he fastens to it, on a particular sheet, his name, the names of his parents and village, which the *tuncies* tear off, and mark the answer and paper of names with the same number, which are put up severally, according to their provinces and aldeas.

All the papers being thus served, the *tuncies* send them to the *wine quan* (the names of their authors being kept into custody of another officer) to be examined, who throws

out all the bad, and sends the good ones to the tuncies again. They, upon a strict review, put out a great many more, so that sometimes of four or five thousand pretenders, only one thousand are approved of the first time; the second, perhaps, no more than five hundred; and, on the last proof, only three hundred are to be graduated bachelors. Such as have behaved themselves well in the first trial their names come out in public within eight or ten days after, to be prepared for the second examination; and those whose names are thus thrown out need not stay, for they cannot be admitted that sessions any more. In the same manner they continue the second and third trial, only their task at the second trial is but of three sentences, and the answer twelve fides; the last of two sentences, and its reply eight fides, but more difficult than the former. Whosoever passes these trials is declared bachelor, and has his name registered among those of the same rank in the book of state, and from that time they pay but half the taxes which they were rated at before, and likewise enjoy some other petty immunities.

Now follows their manner of electing the hung-congs, or licentiates: these are selected out of the bachelors, more or less, as the King pleases to order; they are examined by the same officers, and created alternately in the place aforesaid where the bachelors were. If they can overcome but one proof more, which is the fourth, including the three preceding of the sangdoes, or bachelors, they become licentiates. The formality used in this proceeding is in a manner the same with the former, only they and their examiners are still more severely watched, and they are not permitted to see or speak with any of the competitors; they are separated and distant enough from each other when they write their meditations, &c.: and all those hung-congs of former creation must leave, at that time, the province where the school is held, by repairing to the capital city, and abide there till the end of the act; many spies are set over them, and they are numbered every day. The like care is recommended to the governors of the other provinces about the said hung-congs during the solemnity, to prevent frauds and deceits in that behalf.

The examiners propound three sentences out of their book of their prince of philosophers, Confucius, and four more out of the volumes of his disciples; the arguments of so many orations, which the candidate is to answer with so many themes in writing, which is to be in an elegant and sententious style, and adorned with the best of their rhetoric, the more concise the better.

The examiners then reject the worst and present the best, who are to proceed to the tuncies, or chief examiners, and they chuse those that are to be admitted graduates, and expose their names with much ceremony. The privileges and immunities of the licentiates are far greater than the bachelors; besides, they have the honour to be presented to the King, who gives to each of them one thousand small pieces of coin, about the value of a dollar in money, and a piece of black calico for a gown, worth about three dollars more.

The last, or third degree, called tuncy, answerable to our doctors, is conferred every fourth year, at the capital city or court of the kingdom, in a particular palace, with marble gates, formerly the best in the country, but now, through age, much decayed. The choicest and learnedest of the hung-congs, or licentiates, are only admitted to this trial: of many competitors few are successful. Their examiners are the King himself, the Princes, and most eminent doctors of the realm, with other principal magistrates. This trial is in most circumstances like the two former, except in the questions propounded, which are both of greater number, and more intricate, grave, and specious, being commonly the most difficult part of their ethics, politics, and

and civil law, and something of poetry and rhetoric, all which they are to expound and resolve in writing, at four several times, in the space of twenty days, and he that doth it is admitted doctor. This is no easy task, considering what a burthen it is to the memory to retain all the characters of the four last of the nine books of Confucius, which necessarily they must have, word for word, by heart, to acquit themselves well therein.

They write their themes and meditations on the exhibited sentences in a close cage, made of bamboos, for that purpose, and covered with calico, wherein they sit from the morning to night, being searched, that they have nothing about them but pen, ink, and clean paper; and to watch them the narrower, two doctors, or tuncies sit at a good distance from them under umbrellas. Thus they are served at four distinct times, before they are made tuncies, or doctors. The King and general honour this solemnity with their presence the two first days, as the most important, and leave the completing thereof to the ministers. Those thus graduated are congratulated by their friends, applauded by the spectators, and honoured by their brother doctors with many complimentary expressions; the King presents each of them with a bar of silver, of the value of fourteen dollars, and a piece of silk, besides the revenue of some aldeas, or villages, for their maintenance, which is more or less, according to favour or desert, and they are feasted at the public expence of their aldeas for some time. Out of these the principal magistrates of the kingdom are chosen, and they are sent ambassadors to China, and are permitted to wear Chinese boots and caps, with their proper vest.

The rejected licentiates may, if they please, continue their study, and try fortune again; if not, they are capable of some magistracy in the country, as justice of peace, head of an aldea, &c.

The bachelors have the same privilege; and those that are unwilling to make any further progress in learning may find likewise employment, if they have money, among the governors of the provinces, in the courts of justice, or as clerks, stewards, secretaries, or solicitors to the mandareens; and, in all this, an eloquent tongue is not so requisite as a good pen.

Such fire-works as M. Taverniere mentions these people to be exquisite in the making of, I have met none all the time I frequented this country, nor any other sorts, unless it be squibs, or the like. And as for those machines, or change of scenes, in every act of their comedy, they may be long enough fought after, but will never be found here, wherever he saw them.

In astrology, geometry, and other mathematical sciences, they are but little skilled, but they understand arithmetic reasonably well; their ethics are confusedly delivered, not digested into formal method, as is their logic.

CHAP. X. — *Of the Physicians and Diseases of the Tonqueenese.*

EVERY one that pleases may be a physician at Tonqueen, and indeed every one almost is his own doctor, whereby this noble science is become the public practice of the very dregs of the nation, to the disgrace of the public in tolerating it.

Their principal study in this science consists only of the examination of some Chinese books, that direct them how to boil and compound their roots, herbs, and simples, with some obscure notions of their several qualities, nature, and virtue, but generally so confused, that they know little or nothing until they add thereto their own experience. They understand hardly any thing of anatomy, or the nature and composition
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of men's bodies, with the divisions of the several parts thereof, which might lead to all to form a judgment of the diseases incident to the human system, but attribute them the blood, as the principal cause of all the disorders that befall the body, and therefore consider no further the constitution or temper in the application of their remedies; and with them it is enough to succeed well in three or four cures, though by mere chance (for they are hardly ever able to give a reason for what they do), to get the reputation of an excellent medicus, which oftentimes, as it encreases their practice, so gives them a greater power to kill their fellow creatures. Their patients are generally very impatient under the hands of their doctors, who, if he doth not afford them present ease and speedy cure, they send for other help, and so often go from bad to worse, till they are either well or killed, for want of patience on one side, and judgment on the other.

These people generally, on visiting a patient, feel the pulse in two places, and that upon the wrist, as the Europeans; but they must be the Chinese physicians whom M. Taverniere extols for their skill in the pulse; and I own that some of that nation excel in it, but the far greater number are mere pretenders to this art, and affect to amuse the patient by ostentatious conjectures and conceited and confused notions, to inspire a belief of their skill in discovering thereby the cause of diseases, and so gull the credulous patients of their money, and oftentimes their health to boot.

These people have no apothecary among them; every one that professes the art of physic prepares the dose himself, which consists, as I mentioned, in the composition of herbs and roots boiled in water.

The pestilence, gravel, and the gout are hardly known in these countries: fevers, agues, dysenteries, the jaundice, small-pox, &c. reign here most, to all which they administer the said drugs for remedies, sometimes with desired success, wherein more is to be ascribed to the patient's own cure, sparing diet and abstinence (in which they are most singular, occasioned perhaps by their more than common fear of death), than the skill and judgment of the physicians.

The grandees drink the herb tea of China and Japan, but it is not much admired; they use most their native tea, called by them chia-bang, the leaf of a certain tree, and chiaway, the buds and flowers of another certain tree, which, after they are dried and roasted, they boil and drink the liquor hot; the last is of a good pleasant taste. Besides these two sorts they have many other sorts of liquor, made of beans, roots, &c.

I need not here describe the quality and virtue of the China and Japan tea, since they are so well known in England, and most other parts of Europe; only I will note how grossly M. Taverniere was mistaken to prefer the Japan tea before that of China, when, in the choice of them, there is above 30 per cent. difference.

Phlebotomy, or blood-letting, is rarely practised amongst this people, and when they do it, it is not after our way, in the arm, and with a lancet, but on the forehead, and with the bone of a fish tied to a small stick, in form like the horse-leams in England; which instrument is applied to the vein of the forehead, then they give thereon a fillip with a finger, and the blood gushes out. Their grand remedy is fire in most distempers, which is used as they see cause, not regarding therein either the time of the day or night precisely. The matter wherewith they burn is the leaf of a tree, well dried, and then beaten in a mortar until it grows almost like to our beaten hemp, and this they take and fix on every place to be burnt (for they do it in many places at the same time), so much as will lie on a farthing, striking each parcel with ink of China at the bottom, that it may stick to the skin; then they fire it with a match of paper. Many account this a sovereign remedy; how true I cannot affirm; however,

I am certain that it puts the patient to a great torment, and that our use of letting blood is but a flea-bite in comparison of it.

But most common and frequently amongst them cupping is used, because cheap and easier. Their way here is much after the same manner as ours in Europe, only that they have calabasses instead of glasses.

Of anatomy they understand nothing, as I said before, and of surgery little, admiring much our Europeans' art in that behalf. To broken bones they apply certain herbs, which they say will heal them in the space of twenty-four days, and cement them as strong as ever. They have another remedy, which is to take the raw bones of hens, and beat them to powder, making thereof a paste, which, applied to the part affected, is esteemed by them a sovereign medicine.

Their little children are so much subject to dangerous obstructions, which deprive them of the benefit of nature, both by stool and urine, causing their bellies to swell so that often their lives are endangered thereby. Their remedy for this is, cockroches and onions roasted and beaten together; this they apply to the navel of the child, which is often attended with good success.

These people affirm, that crabs are turned into stones by the power of the sun, and use them as physic, but not in fevers and dysenteries. Moreover, they take up by the sea-side a kind of cockles, which being beaten to powder, they drink in the cholic.

CHAP. XI. — *Of the original Government, Law, and Policy of the Tonqueenese, with some Considerations thereon.*

IT is without all dispute that the Tonqueenese ever were a nation of themselves different from the Chinese, who call them Munto, or Barbarians, and their country Gannam, because situated far to the south, in reference to them, and the inhabitants bearing a great affinity with other Indians in eating penany, colouring their teeth, going barefoot, and that their right great toe standeth athwart from their foot, as is to be seen yet by some of the Tonqueen cast. But how this country was governed before it was made a province of China is hard to know, since they had in those days no characters, by consequence no history of that time can be extant among them; what was afterward compiled thereof may be suspected as fictitious, invented at pleasure; and indeed they are most of them so unaccountable, that they ought rather to be looked upon as dreams and chimeras than historical narrations; neither is there much appearance of verity in those relations of theirs, which make this people so valiant, that they were not only able to contend with but vanquish also the formidable armies of the prodigious empire of China, and maintain their liberty in spite thereof for many ages; but it is most likely that they have set the best face in their narrations upon their actions, that they might not hand themselves down to posterity and to strangers in the base light which it seems to me their cowardice and ill conduct have deserved.

They pretend they have had the use of the Chinese characters amongst them before the reign of Ding, one of their first kings, according to their best historians, which, by computation, cannot be less than two thousand years; if so, I infer they were once before either conquered, or voluntary subjects to that empire, because the China laws, rites, customs, character, &c. could have been neither of that antiquity, or so entirely and all at once introduced among them, as it was by their own testimony; besides, this agrees with the China chronicles, that mention about the same time their empire was in great glory, calling it a triumphant one, whose limits extended as far as Siam; therefore

therefore there is no reason to believe, this neighbouring kingdom could have remained unmolested, since it lies as a bar, just in the way to hinder and obstruct their progress, but rather that it was immediately incorporated with their empire.

Yet it may be, the Chinese did not keep the country the first time long under subjection, but left them on the invasion of the Tartars, or on some other motives, so that after their departure Ding was King. Now, whether they made him so, or whether he usurped the regality, by the assistance of great numbers of vagabonds, and other scum of the nation, is differently delivered. They say that King Ding had enjoyed the sceptre but a small time, before the great ones murmured against him; the malcontents finding the common people disobedient, whose affections, whether he had lost by cruel and harsh usage, or that they disdained to be any longer subject to their countryman, as it commonly falls out with people accustomed to servitude, to be incapable of using well their new recovered liberty, (with other occult motives and malignant influences that caused the effects of those distractions,) they fell into open rebellion, and took arms against Ding, whom they murdered; whereon ensued bloody civil wars for many years, till being weary, they chose by general consent, a puissant Prince of theirs, called Leedayhang, for their King.

In his reign, they say the Chinese invaded the country, not mentioning for what reason; probably they were Chinese rebels that fled thence, and that this people fought many battles against them with good success. Yet, in the height of this war Leedayhang dying, whether in battle or otherwise is uncertain, left to his successor Libatvie, a politic and valiant Prince, the prosecution thereof, which he carried on with no less valour than prosperity; for having encountered and routed the Chinese in six or seven battles, he restored peace and tranquillity to the whole kingdom, and built that large and magnificent palace of marble, which is now through age so decayed that nothing but the gates and some of the walls of that sumptuous structure remain.

They say, that after this King, his posterity possessed the crown to the fourth or sixth generation successively, and ruled in great prosperity; but the last left the succession to a daughter, having no heir male, which Princess coming to the crown, married a powerful lord of the family of Tran, who ruled with her jointly but few months; for another of their grandees, called Hue rebelled against them, and having vanquished them in battle put them to death, and ascended the throne himself.

He governed not long, for the people conspired against him; for what cause I cannot find: it may be suspected, that he used bad means for the maintaining of his unjust possessions; and having called the Chinese to their assistance, they killed the usurper, and withal lost their own freedom, for the Chinese shewed themselves true auxiliaries, in seizing the whole kingdom for a reward of their labour and victory.

A Chinese viceroy or general was then ordered over this people, to govern them as formerly, which continued for the space of sixteen years, when they began to be weary of the Chinese oppressions and insolence, and withal commemorating their former condition, they resolved unanimously to endeavour to free themselves from the Chinese yoke, and accordingly took arms under the leading of a valiant captain, by name Lee, and fought with the Chinese, and routed them in several battles, killing many of them, with their viceroy or general Luetang; which disaster, with the charges of the war abroad and civil commotions at home, and the small profit this country yielded, were perhaps the motives why the China Emperor Humcew thought convenient to quit it again, which is now about four hundred and fifty years ago. Having therefore imposed on them certain conditions, and taken security for their faithful preformance, viz. to come every three years, once to the imperial city, Pekin, with several presents,

which

which they call tribute, and to do homage to the Emperor, in acknowledgement that they hold this their kingdom and liberty of his mere grace and bounty, he withdrew his troops from Tonqueen; and these conditions are punctually observed to this very day.

Among the presents, they are to carry images of gold and silver, made in the posture of criminals, denoting that they are such to the China empire, for the murder of Luetang the aforesaid General, and that they are to remain evermore, supplicants to that court for the said offence. The Kings of Tonqueen have likewise their choap or seal from the Chinese Emperor, as a mark of their dependency. And though this formality be a mere piece of Chinese vanity, yet they make no little ado about it. This year (1683) came here an ambassador from the imperial court of Pekin, to bring the title for a Bova, that had been inaugurated above eight or nine years before; he was received with all the pomp and magnificence that the general could devise, or was capable to put in practice, and that not out of love, but mere ostentation, to shew the Tartars his grandeur and puissance. They had presented to their view a great number of soldiers, richly clothed in English and Dutch manufactures, most of their elephants and cavalry in their best furniture, gilded galleys, &c. But for all this, the ambassador did not deign to visit his Highness; as indeed no ambassadors of that empire ever do, making of him no other account than as a plebian usurper, obscure in comparison of their emperors.

But to return: the Chinese having thus forsaken the country, Lee was proclaimed King, who reigned several years, and his family enjoyed the sceptre afterwards uninterrupted, for the space of above two hundred years, and then Mack usurped the crown. This man was of a low and vile original, born about Batthan, a fisher village, at the river's mouth, where the European ships enter it: he was a wrestler by profession, and so dextrous therein, that he raised himself to the degree of a mandareen, or lord. But his ambition, that aspired higher, could not be satisfied with any other condition, but the sovereignty itself, and accordingly he conspired against the King, and effected his design rather by crafty practices and stratagems than force.

Having thus usurped the crown, he fortified Batthan and other places, because of his many enemies, especially of Hoawing, a mighty and powerful Prince, in the province of Tingiva, of whom he most stood in fear, since he was in open defiance of the usurper. This Hoawing married his daughter to Hoatrin, a man of singular strength and valour, who had been formerly a notorious robber, and made him general of his forces, and when he died, left him the guardianship and tuition of his only son, at that time about fourteen or fifteen years of age. Hoatrin having gotten the forces of his deceased father-in-law at his devotion, made open war against Mack, and after many petty encounters, with various success, at last overcame him. The usurper finding himself reduced to a nonplus, was necessitated to fly for his security to Cabury, a kingdom on the frontier of China, and subject to this King, formerly inhabited by a kind of wild people. But Hoatrin came immediately after the victory of Cocha, the metropolis, and having first demolished the fortifications of Mack, he made proclamation, if there was any heir male of the house of Lee, he might freely discover himself, promising to place him on the throne of his ancestors, and protested he had taken arms for that end; and accordingly, when a youth of the house of Lee was brought to him, he expressed much joy, placed him on the throne with abundance of readiness, and owned him his sovereign, ordering every one to pay obedience to Lee, lawful King of Tonqueen, &c., and for himself he reserved the title of Chova, or general of all the forces. This was to the infinite discontentment of his pupil the young Hoawing, who

did not dream but that his brother-in-law, would have converted all the effects of his father's forces and army, with the prosperous success thereof, to his particular use, greatness, and advancement, by excluding the orphan; but he was deceived in his account; for Hoatrin having previously made the requisite provision for the settlement of the government, he sent a peremptory letter to his brother-in-law, requiring his obedience to this Prince of the house of Lee, or by default, to declare him a rebel and open enemy to the state. This occasioned a civil war and a rent in the kingdom of Tonqueen; for young Hoawing, although he was not against Lee, yet could he not endure to think that Tring should make himself general, esteeming that place more justly to belong to him: but finding he was too weak to resist the power of Tring, and to remain so near as Tingwa is to the city of Cacho, he thought it the safest way to retire to Cochin-China, where he was joyfully received by those governors and soldiers, who immediately elected him Chova, or general, to Lee, their lawful Bova, or king, proclaiming Tring a traitor and rebel; so that ever since, now above two hundred and twenty years, this kingdom has remained divided under two lieutenant-generals, with royal authority; both own Lee as King and ruler, according to their antient laws, customs and rights, but are mortal enemies, and wage continual war against each other.

I return now to Tring, and see why as victor he did not ascend the throne, and take upon him the name and title of a King. Certainly it was not for want of ambition, or altogether out of modesty and sense of justice, that he did not accept of any higher title than that of general; but it was in consideration of two very specious reasons: for should he assume the crown and royal title to himself, he would be regarded as an usurper, and expose himself to the general hate and envy of the natives, and more especially to the persecution of Hoawing, who would be able, under the most just and plausible pretexts, to work his ruin and extirpation. The other motive was his apprehension, that the Chinese Emperor should be against him, as knowing he was a stranger to the royal race of the Kings of Tonqueen; whereby Tring would involve himself in a torrent of troubles, and be, probably, the cause of his own perdition; therefore he thought it was the securest way to set up a Prince of the house of Lee, with only the bare name of King, and reserve the royal power for himself; and indeed all that belongs to the sovereign resides in the Chova, for he may make war or peace as he thinks fit, he makes and abrogates laws, pardons and condemns criminals, he creates and deposes magistrates and military officers, he imposes taxes, and orders fines, according to his pleasure; all strangers make their application to him, except the ambassadors of China; and in a word his authority is not only royal, but absolute and unlimited; wherefore the Europeans call him the King, and the true King is called for distinction's sake, the Emperor; whilst the Bova or King is shut up in his palace, attended by none but spies of the Chova; neither is he permitted to stir abroad more than once a year, and that on the great solemnity of their annual sacrifices, &c. As for the rest, he serves only to cry amen to all that the general doth, and to confirm for formalities sake, with his choap, all the acts and decrees of the other; to contest with him the least matter would not be safe for him; and though the people respect the Bova, yet they fear the Chova much more, who is most flattered because of his power.

The general's place is like the King's, hereditary, the eldest son succeeds the father; yet often the ambition of the brothers has occasioned commotions and civil broils, aiming to supplant each other; therefore it is a common saying amongst them, that the death of a thousand Bovas doth not endanger the country in the least; but when
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the Chova dies, every one's mind is possessed with great tremors and heavy consternation, expecting fearful changes in state and government.

This kingdom is, properly, divided into six provinces, not reckoning the country of Cubang, and a small part of Bowes, which are maintained as conquered lands, that people being of a different language and manner from the Tonqueenese; and five of the six provinces are governed by their particular governors, which at present are all eunuchs, with ample power; but he that rules in Giang, the frontiers of Cochin-China, the sixth province, is a kind of viceroy, or lieutenant-general, and the militia under him are not less in number than forty thousand soldiers. His authority is in a manner absolute, from whom there is no appeal, except in cases of high treason, to the supreme court of the kingdom. This viceroy is usually a person of great favour, and much confided in by the general, who, to oblige him the more, marries either his daughter or sister to him: it would be of ill consequence to the whole kingdom, especially to the general, if this man should revolt to Cochin-China.

In former times they had eunuchs to govern this province too, but since the trick the Cochin-Chinese put on one of them, they have not placed there any more as governors in chief. The jest was thus: the Cochin-Chinese, who hate these kind of creatures, and never employ any of them in business of importance, especially in the militia, knowing the Capon-viceroy of that province was appointed generalissimo for the expedition in hand against them, they sent him, in contempt, a breast-piece of silk, such as is worn by their women, for a present, desiring him to make use of it; giving thereby to understand, that such a dress and ornament better became him than either to command soldiers or to govern provinces, &c. as approaching so near the female sex.

The governors of provinces have for their seconds a literado mandareen, or lawyer, to assist them in civil government and administration of their laws, who sit with the governors in public courts of justice: besides this, each province has its several inferior courts of judicature, and one among the rest that is independent of the governor's authority, the judges whereof have their characters immediately of the sovereign court of the Quan fo Lew, at Cacho.

In small controversies of property, of grounds, houses, debts, or the like, they proceed thus: a man that has an action against another gives his complaint in to ongshaw, or the head of his aldea, who takes some cognizance of the matter, and brings it before the wean quan, head of twenty, thirty, or forty aldeas, or villages, where the plaintiff and defendant are heard, and then sentence is given. But if one of the parties be not content to stand to this award, he appeals to the foe quan, head of eighty, one hundred, or one hundred and fifty aldeas, where the matter is examined, with the sentence of the wean quan, who, as he finds cause, passes his sentence. And in case this does not satisfy them, the suit is brought before the provincial governor, where it receives its final determination, without further appealing, provided the matter is of no great importance, as I said before; but if the debt is considerable, or the pretensions ample, &c. they may appeal from the governor to inga hean, a court as is noted above, which the provincial governors have no jurisdiction over. In this tribunal a tuncy, of the class of the first literadoes, always presides, and from thence the suit may be removed to the several courts of the city, if they are firmly resolved, by prosecuting the law, to ruin each other; and although the judges cannot hinder the parties appealing from one court to another, yet, if two different courts give the like sentence on one and the same cause, then the court from which the appeal is made has the privilege to inflict some corporal punishment on the appellants, or fine them, as is ordained by law.

Criminal cases, as theft, or the like matters, belong wholly to the governors of the province, who punish immediately small offences; but such as deserve death, their sentences are sent to the general, to have his consent for the execution thereof.

The quarrels of the great ones come generally to the city of Cacho; but the names of all the courts, and the precise methods of process, I cannot exactly affirm. However, I think they begin with the courts called Guan Key Dow, then an appeal lies to Quan Gay Chue, and, in case of great moment, petition being made to the general, he remits the cause at last for a revise to Quan fo Lew, who hold their assize in the general's palace. The persons who compose this college are most of them old literados, reputed wise, and such as have been presidents of the chief courts of judicature, and known, or at least supposed to be of great integrity and honesty, and exalted to be principal ministers and counsellors of state, on whose care and prudence reposes the whole weight of the civil government and laws of the kingdom.

Quarrels indifferently about ground, houses, &c. in and about the city, belong to the court called Quan fu Doven, where all such differences are decided; but the party may appeal to Quan gnue Suo, and thus successively to Quan fo Lew, by way of petition.

Rebellion and conspiracy against the general, &c. falls under the cognizance of the court of Quan fo Lew, and the governors of the city put their sentences or decrees in execution, who are as much as presidents of life and death of the city and its jurisdiction; but more immediately appertain to them all causes of murder, theft, and other like crimes, both to judge and punish the offender without further appeal.

They are the rebels that come before the general with a wisp of straw in their mouths, after they have made their peace and obtained pardon, to shew that, by their disorderly life, they have made themselves equal to brute beasts; but not those guilty of murder, as Taverniere is pleased to assert.

The Chinese laws are in use amongst them, which indeed may be considered as their civil and written law; but the temporal edicts, statutes, and constitutions of their princes and chiefest doctors, intermixed with their old customs, are of greatest force, and, in a manner, the whole directory of the government, and the rule of the people's obedience; all which are committed to writing, and digested into several books, that make at present their body of law; and, to give this people their due, they shew much more good nature and honesty than the Chinese, or Aristotle himself, in that respect, where both their laws tolerate, nay, command the exposing of all maimed, deformed, and female children, which are maxims that these people abhor as unnatural and brutish.

With no less disdain they reject that law of their neighbours which encourageth the most execrable and abominable vice, not fit to be named. Questionless their primitive legislators were wise and good-intentioned politicians: but how commendable soever those institutions were, yet the misery of human imperfections, degeneracy by length of time, multiplicity of lawyers, together with the daily increase of other petty officers, have brought justice now to that corruption, that for money most crimes will be absolved, since there are few of their judges but what are subject to bribes.

Justice thus betrayed and perverted, even by its officers, has brought the country into much disorders, and the people under great oppressions, so as to be involved into a thousand miseries; and woe be to a stranger that falls into the labyrinths of their laws, especially into the clutches of their capon-mandareens, to be judges of his particular affairs; for to them it commonly happens in the like cases that matters are referred, and he must look for nothing less than the ruin of his purse, and be glad if he escapes without

without being bereaved of his senses too; whereof I could alledge many examples of my own knowledge, to my woeful experience, were it to the purpose.

Having thus amply spoken of their laws and their manner of proceeding therein, it remains now to consider the other state column as it stands at present, their policy, in which is very remarkable their great veneration for the family of their lawful Kings, whose title, though an empty one, is used in all their writings. The Chovas are exceedingly to be commended for their religious observing their promises, to maintain both the royal stock, and the laws and constitutions of the land, and to innovate nothing therein, though repugnant to the interest of their usurped power.

To this is owing chiefly that we see the heir of the crown permitted to live after he is stripped of his rights and royal authority; a thing, I believe, that has no where an example, and is not to be found in the histories of any other nations, and may sound like a strange paradox in the ears of the politicians of other countries. Nor is it altogether the fear of China that ties the general's hands so as not to be able to instigate him against the King, nor ignorance of the power of those temptations which generally the lustre of a diadem inspires in the minds even of such as have no reason to pretend to it; nor are they strangers to the practices of other oriental monarchs, who retain their possessions by what means soever they acquire them, though it be by the perversion of justice and honesty, and the subversion and violation of all laws human and divine.

But in truth, we may say, these generals were moderate, and that of those qualities proper to tyrants, as ambition, covetousness, and cruelty, this last was never found predominant in them; whereof their brothers, who are often entrusted with important employs, as governors of provinces, the conduct of armies, &c. are both convincing proofs and manifest arguments. They are, in short, too generous to follow the maxim of killing them for their own imaginary security.

One prince indeed I knew who was poisoned by order of his brother the general; but the necessity, if one may so say, was so urgent, that there was no other way in that exigency to preserve his own life, as it will be noted in the next chapter.

Their method of promoting scholars to their several degrees, which I have already mentioned, is both regular and just, and a great encouragement to learning and the well-deserving therein.

The often removing their mandareens from their government is good prudence, to prevent plots and conspiracies; but as there is no government but what has its defect as well as its perfection, so this is not wanting in both qualities; and it is certainly a great weakness in their politics, as it is a needless charge to the public to maintain such a great army idle, as they do in time of peace, and must needs be a mighty burthen to the commonalty, who feel the weight most.

The general is likewise short in not making timely provision for the great numbers of his people, since their daily increase will make them too numerous and incapable of living together, therefore it would be a good expedient to find some outlet for those superfluous humours, for fear they might in time cause some violent convulsion in the state, which perhaps might irretrievably overturn it. The last famine, in particular, swept away two-thirds of the inhabitants, who, if they had been employed against the Cochin-Chinese, or some other hostile countries, they might have destroyed it with their very hands and teeth.

The over great confidence the general reposes in the capons, as it is a mean thing, so it is contrary to good policy to tolerate so much evil as they occasion in the state, for the small and unjust benefits which he receives by their means.

The

The custom of selling most offices indifferently to such as will pay most for them, not regarding condition or capacity of persons, is certainly a foul merchandize, and a baseness unbecoming the public, especially as to the officers of judicature; for if they buy their places dear, it is likely they will make the most advantage thereof, at the expence of right and justice.

Their militia, as it is also much more numerous than is required in a defensive war (which is a conduct that for several years they have thought it their interest to observe), or besitting peaceable times, so it may prove of dangerous consequence if they should be troublesome. Some years ago these foldiers mutinied, and had they then found one to head them, it would have gone very hard with the general, who perhaps might have experienced from them some such insolences and devastations as several Roman emperors met with from their pretorians, and the Turks from their janissaries. He doth well to shift them from place to place, and change often their commanders, and to keep them in continual labour and action. But the worst of all is, that the captains of his militia are eunuchs, who, generally, are cowardly fellows; and it is thought their business has been the grand cause of the many overthrows this nation has received of the Cochin-Chinese, and will be, as long as they are thus employed, always a hindrance in the conquest of that spot of ground which, in comparison of them, contains but a handful of men.

They trust more to their infantry than to their cavalry or elephants, by reason the country is low, swampy, and full of rivers and brooks, which renders them of small service.

Their soldiers are good marksmen, and in that, I believe, inferior to few, and surpassing most nations in dexterity of handling and quickness of firing their muskets.

Firelocks are not in use amongst them, but the bow is mightily in fashion, in which they are expert to admiration.

In fine, they soon learn their exercise of arms, and are good proficient therein; but to mount the great horse is no more with them than the getting astride on a common beast, which this country produces for the most part small, yet very lively.

Their elephants are trained up for war, and emboldened against some sort of fire-works and the noise of guns, as far as the nature of the creature is capable of. As for artificial fire-works, they are rather ignorant than skilful therein.

Their finances, or invention to bring in money to the general's coffers, over and above his annual revenue, are,—by sale of most offices in the kingdom; by the fines imposed on mandareens and transgressors; the tenths of all contrabands; considerable shares out of the estates of deceased mandareens: but he is heir-general of the eunuchs, or capons, and has in a manner all they leave: add to this his accidental revenue, which comes in by strangers, merchants, &c. (which is more or less, according as ships and vessels come to trade in this part); the poll or head money; excises on provisions, and impositions on inland merchants' commodities, &c.; so that the general's revenues must needs amount to a very considerable sum. But since this money, for the most part, is taken from one to feed the other, the public wealth is nothing bettered thereby, but rather the worse, forasmuch as it is the sweat and blood of the industrious, which the lazy and idle often spend most prodigally and profusely; also for that the oppressive taxes do not surcease thereby; which (together with their proceedings in matters of commerce, which they hold in scorn as much as they despise the traders, neglecting the great convenience they have thereby to render their country rich and flourishing, which is the study of all well-governed nations throughout the world) renders them in the main but a poor and miserable people.

I have noted this more particularly in the chapter treating about the trade, &c. of the kingdom; so referring thereto, I shall proceed next to give some account of the general and his grandes and court.

CHAP. XII. — *Of the General of Tonqueen, his Family, Officers, and Court.*

BY what hath been said in the foregoing chapter, it may easily be understood how far the authority of the Bova of Tonqueen extends, and that the general has really the helm in hand; let us then consider him as the spirit and life of this state. His power is, like that of most eastern Kings, monarchical in excess, yet not so tyrannical as many of them, since they ever had their laws and old customs in great veneration, and comported their actions agreeable thereto.

The present general is the fourth of the house of Tring, in a direct line, that has, as one may say, swayed the sceptre over this people. His family was established in the government as soon as Mack the usurper was suppressed, and then laid the foundation of their present greatness. He is aged fifty-three years, and is a sharp subtle politician, but of an infirm constitution. He succeeded his father in the year 1682, with whom he reigned jointly several years. He had three sons and as many daughters by sundry concubines, but his eldest and youngest sons dying, the second, just on his grandfather's decease, fell mad or distracted, but is now recovered, and has the title of Chu-ta, that is, young general (the usual title of the eldest surviving son), who keeps his court separate, and almost as magnificent as his father, has his mandareens, servants, and officers of the same denomination, only that in precedency they give place to those of the father; but as soon as the prince succeeds the general, then his servants take place of the others, very few excepted, who often, for their wisdom and experience, keep their former stations.

If the general marries, which seldom happens but in their latter years, when there are little hopes of issue by the person, this lady, as wife, is chief of all his women, and has the name and title of Mother of the Land, because of her extraction, which is always royal; but concubines he takes early, and sometimes before eighteen; the number not limited; sometimes three hundred, often five hundred and more, if he pleases; for it is an honour to excel therein; and in the choice of them their beauty is not so much regarded as their art and skill in singing and dancing, and playing on a musical instrument, and to have the wit to divert the general with diversity of pleasing sports. Of these, she that proves mother of the first son is honoured, as soon as her son is declared heir apparent, with the name and title of true and legitimate wife, and though not quite so much respected, yet far better beloved than the former: the rest of the concubines that have children by him are called ducha, or excellent woman; his male children, the eldest excepted, are saluted with the appellation duc-ang, i. e. excellent person, or man; the daughters are called batua, which is as much as to say princess with us; the like titles have his brothers and sisters, but not their children, nor his grand-children, except those descending from his eldest son.

For his own children questionless he provides well, but his sisters and brothers must be content with such revenues as he is pleased to allow them out of the public, which decreases in their family as it declines and grows remote from his blood, so that those of the fourth and fifth descent can expect no such provision.

The present general has many brothers and sisters, but he is not over kind to them, which I take to proceed from his suspicious temper and weakly constitution. Most of his predecessors were otherwise inclined; they admitted their brothers to public affairs, and

and conferred on them the titles and power of generals, field marshals and provincial governors, with the trust of numbers of soldiers, always employing them in honourable charges, and such as became the general's brothers.

As I said before, I could never hear of more than one example amongst them, of killing a brother in cool blood, and is that of the late deceased general against Prince Chechening; which, all circumstances considered, can hardly be termed cruelty. The history runs thus:—

This Chechening was second brother to the deceased general, a prince endued with many heroic virtues; his liberality, generosity and courteous disposition, made him popular, and so beloved among the soldiers that they would call him their father. A prudent captain he was, and no less eminent in valour, for having given the Cochin-Chinese several overthrows, he was so extremely redoubted, that they called him the Lightning of Tonqueen. His fame thus daily increasing both abroad and at home, it at length drove him on the rocks and precipices of his brother's envy and jealousy, which the good Prince perceiving, endeavoured to remove; humbly telling him, he would do nothing but what he should order; and that the good success he had in arms proceeded wholly from his wife and prudent direction, protesting and solemnly swearing, he never did nor would undertake any thing that might in the least be prejudicial to him; and that if the soldiers or rabble should dare to offer him his place, he would not only refuse and abhor it, but punish also most severely the movers of such propositions.

This declaration gave for the present some seeming content and satisfaction to the general; but a few years after, whether the ground was the envy and jealousy aforesaid or that he had done somewhat that could be misconstrued or suspected, or was falsely accused, or whatsoever else the matter was, for it is differently reported, the general sent for him and part of his army from the frontiers of Cochin-China. In obedience to this command, he came to court, where by order of the general, he was immediately clapped in irons, and confined to a certain close prison near the palace.

In this condition he continued several years, by which it seems his faults were not capital, or at least nothing could be proved against him to take away his life; but in the interim, as fate would have it, about the year 1672, the soldiers that were in the city of Chacha, a great number, no less than 40,000 meeting all at once, and filling every corner thereof with fear and tumultuous noises, and driving out thereby its vulgar to their several aldeas, came with sad exclamations to the palace gate, yet had so much reverence as not to enter: they brought no arms but their hands and tongues, rudely bawling forth their random thoughts against the general in opprobrious language, reproaching his ungratefulness towards them, and prodigality to his women, whom he permitted to squander and waste the treasure of the land, while they were ready to perish in want and misery, as if he purposely designed their destruction and confusion by the most uneasy and insupportable methods of famine and nakedness; magnifying their own deserts in his service, threatening to take some severe course, if he did not enlarge their pay, and distribute some money among them committing the mean while a thousand insolent enormities, hovering round the palace, and encamping at the several avenues thereof, as if they intended to besiege the general therein; and in effect none could go out or in without their commission.

In this extremity and streight, the general consulted with the Quan so Lew, and other privy counsellors what to do. One of them, a great literado, was of opinion, it was best to grant the soldiers their desires, which being moderate they might easily be appeased, alledging that to quell the country people, when rebellious, it was customary
to

to use the soldiers: but to quiet the mutinous soldiers, money was the only expedient: but another literado, by name Ong Trungdume, of great fame for his wisdom, and in high respect for his dignity, of a violent resolute nature, opposed the first opinion, saying it was imprudent, and of pernicious consequence to indulge a company of mutinous fellows too far; adding that it was much the better remedy to seize some of the ring-leaders, and put them to death, which would amaze and astonish the rest, as to make them shift for their safety and security. The general inclined most to this last advice, for love of his money, yet was doubtful in his resolution. The soldiers having their spies in the palace, as he had his among them, had presently notice of what passed, which so incensed them against Trungdume, that watching the time of his coming forth the palace to go home, they immediately seized him, and treated him in the cruel and barbarous manner an enraged multitude could invent; for having inhumanly bruised and beaten him with their fists, knees, elbows, knobs of their fans, &c. they trampled the breath out of his body with their feet, and then dead as he was, they drew him ignominiously through the street to the sandy island near the arsenal, where they tore and cut his body into small pieces. This audacious cruelty, together with other notorious affronts put on several mandareens at the same time, plunged the general and his courtiers in divers deep perplexities, and filled them with mortal fears, in so much that most began to creep in holes and corners to avoid the rage of this terrible tempest, leaving their master in a manner desolate.

The discreetest among the soldiers, finding that they had passed the Rubicon, thought there was no retiring, and therefore advised their companions to provide themselves with a head who might guide and order their irregular and tumultuous proceedings, proposing Prince Chechening as fit for the purpose; to which they unanimously consented, and would have fetched him out of prison that instant, and proclaimed him general, but that the night, which was already come on, hindered the enterprize, and caused them to defer it to next morning; but the general having item of their intentions, prepared with his own hands a dose for Prince Chechening, and sent it him in the dead of the night, by a trusty eunuch, with order that he should drink all the potion. The capon, as soon as he came to the prince, after he had made four sombeys, delivered his errand, and the general's present, which the Prince presently guessed to be what it was; but what he said is not well known, only that he made four sombeys toward the general's palace, and then took off the draught, and in few hours after died. This was the end of Prince Chechening, whose virtue was his greatest crime, the soldiers' unseasonable love causing his untimely death. The next morning he ordered a great quantity of silver and copper cash to be given to the mutineers, quenching thereby in an instant the fire of this popular insurrection: but several of them perished afterwards, few knew how.

It is time now to return from our digression, to take a view of the lords of the blood, mandareens, &c. either civil magistrates or military officers, who at the time of their abode in the city, go every morning early to court to wait on the Chova and Prince. The Bova is complimented on the 1st and 15th of every moon by them, in their violet or blue garb, with caps of their own callico manufactures, in which they are obliged to clothe their retinue. The Chova receives them in great state, sitting at a great distance uncovered, for the more pomp (unless on some solemnity) his numerous lifeguard in arms in the palace yard, surrounded by many capon servants, who carry his order and commissions to the mandareens, and bring their answers, or, according to their method of speaking, supplications, which they deliver to him on their knees. In fine, at this time most state matters are here handled and dispatched; the acts and resolu-

tions of the *Quan fo Lew*, or supreme court (whose sessions is in this palace) is presented to him, to have his approbation thereon. The Prince likewise has his solicitors near the general (for he himself comes hardly once in a moon to court), who gives him notice of all that passes, that he may regulate his proceedings accordingly. No business of requests or petitions slide in this court except it be greased with presents and gifts answerable to the import of affairs.

It is a goodly sight to see such a crowd of lords, and how every thing is carried here with that decency and decorum that strikes an awe in every beholder, and would have really much majesty in it, if they would dispense with or abrogate that slavish custom of going barefoot. The general indulges his mandareens much, treating them with respect and tenderness as to their lives, which are seldom in danger, but for treason: for other offences they are fined or disgraced, by being turned out of employ, or banished the court.

When any mandareen intercedes for their friends or kindred that have offended, they come covered before the general; then putting off their caps, they sombey four times, a way of reverence or rather adoration, which consists in falling first on their knees, then touching the ground with their bodies, after the Chinese mode, they request his highness to pardon the crime, and impute the fault to the intercessor, who is ready by the sign of standing bare, which on such like occasions intimates the condition of a criminal, to undergo such punishment as the Prince shall please to inflict on him.

About 8 o'clock the general withdraws from the audience palace, and the lords, &c. retire from court, all but the captain of the guards, with some that have offices at court, who are capons, of which a great number being young, are menial servants, who with the domestic maids are only permitted to enter his privy apartments and seraglio of women and concubines.

Of these capons, a pest of mankind, the parasites, sycophants, and perverters of these Princes, there are no less than 4 or 500 belonging to the court, who are usually so proud, imperious and unreasonable, as makes them not less hateful and abhorred than feared by the whole nation; however, the Prince confides most in them, both for domestic and state matters; for after they have served 7 or 8 years in the inner court, they are raised gradually to public administrations and dignities, so as to be graced with the most honourable titles of provincial governors, and military prefects; while several of the more deserving, both of the military officers and the classes of the literadoes, are neglected and suffer for want. But it is certain, the general respects his own present profit (whatsoever the consequence may be) in the advancing them, for when they die, the riches they have accumulated by foul practices, rapine and extortion, fall in a manner all to the general as next heir; and though their parents are living, yet in regard they contributed nothing to their well being in the world, but to geld them, to which they were prompted by great indigence, and hopes of court preferment, therefore they can pretend to no more than a few houses and small spots of ground, which also they cannot enjoy but with the good liking and pleasure of the general.

However, not to detract from truth, some of these capons have been of extraordinary merit, and among them, more especially these three by name, *Ong-Ja-Tu-Lea*, *Ong-Ja-Ta-Foe-Bay*, and *Ong-Ja-How-Foe-Tack*; these were indeed the delight of Tonqueen; but they were such as lost their genitals by chance, having had them bit off either by a hog or dog. These sort of capons are by the superstitious Tonqueneſe, believed to be destined to great preferments and eminence.

The last of these is yet living, and at present governor of *Hein*, and the largest province in the country, admiral of all the sea forces, and principal minister for the affairs

affairs of strangers; a prudent captain, a wise governor, and an uncorrupted judge, which renders him admirable to these heathens, and a shame to many Christians, who, though they are blest with the light of the gospel, rarely arrive at that height of excellence, as to know how to be great, good, and poor at once.

Remarkable is what they relate of Ong-Ja-Tu-Lea, famous for his sharp brain, and prodigious parts, and no less for his sudden rise, as strange and tragical fall; whose history take as follows:—

In the minority of the house of Tring (that is to say, before it was firmly established in the government,) the then reigning general having great necessity for some able statesmen, on whom he might disburden some part of his weighty affairs, and being afflicted with continual perplexities on this head, he chanced to dream that he should meet a man the next morning, whom he could trust and employ; and as it happened, the first man that came to the court in the morning was this Tu-Lea, who agreeing exactly with the imaginary picture of his dream, both in proportion, stature and physiognomy, the general conferred with him; and after some discourse found him of great ability, and exactly acquainted with their *arcana imperii*; whereupon he raised him immediately, and in a little while augmented his authority so greatly, that there was hardly any difference between the master and the servant, but if any, Tu-Lea was more respected, courted and feared than the general himself. Whether this was the cause of his displeasure against him, or that this mushroom (raised in a night), forgetting his obligation, prompted by ambitious ingratitude, and blinded by his overmuch prosperity, did conspire really to destroy his master, and to assume the place himself (as the common bruit was), or that this was merely a pretence to colour the general's jealousy of his overgrown greatness, I will not determine; but to be brief, he was by the general's order torn in pieces by four horses, his body and dismembered limbs cut in pieces, and then burnt, and the ashes thrown into the river.

Every year, about the latter end of our January, which falls out about their last moon, all the mandareens, officers and military men are sworn to be faithful to the King and general, and that they shall not conceal treasonable machinations against their persons, on forfeiture of their lives. The mandareens take the like oath of their wives, servants and domestics. He that reveals high treason, has at most but thirty dollars, and a small employ for a reward, which is far short of our author's multiplication.

They have annual musters for the levy of foldiers through the whole kingdom; in which choice they greatly respect the tallness of persons. Those of extraordinary height are allotted to be of the general's life guard, the others are disposed of according to occasions.

All those that have any degree in learning and handicrafts-men are exempt from this muster. How they proceed with deserters I cannot affirm; but am certain the Tonqueeneses know not what hanging means; their way is to behead them; only those of the royal blood are strangled. I must needs say they are neither cruel nor exquisite in these inventions.

As for strangers they employ none, thinking none so wise as themselves; however, when I came from Siam, I was examined about the affairs of that kingdom and Cochin-China, and concerning my voyage in the Tonqueen sing-ja, and whether those boats might be able to transport foldiers through the high seas; to which I answered as I thought fit. Then I was questioned how, if the general should give me the command of two or three hundred foldiers to be employed against Cochin-China? To which I replied, I was by profession a merchant, consequently ignorant of martial affairs, and

therefore incapable of serving his highness in that respect; which excuse and refusal, though it served for that time, yet it operated against me when I was accused by the Chinese.

With the nobility of this country, as I have hinted elsewhere, and acquainted you that nobility only descends to the posterity of the King and general, and that only to the third degree; but the rest as they obtained it by arms, learning, or money, so it is but *durante vita*. By the first means few are raised, by the second some, but the third is the true loadstone which attracts most favour.

The general's court stands in Cacho, almost in the midst of the city: it is very spacious and walled about; within and without built full of low small houses for the convenience of the soldiers: within they are two stories high most open for air. The gates are large and stately, all of iron work, as indeed the greatest part of the palace is. His own and women's apartments are stately and costly edifices, set forth with carved, gilded and lacquer work. In the first plain of the court are the stables for his biggest elephants and best horses; on the hinder part are many parks, groves, walks, harbours, fish-ponds, and whatsoever else the country can afford for his pleasure or recreation, since he seldom stirs out.

CHAP. XIII. — *That there is no such Manner of Coronation and Inthronization of their Kings as is related by M. Taverniere.*

AS our author is most erroneous throughout his book, so this his thirteenth chapter is in a manner one entire error; for how diligent soever I was to enquire of their learned men, and other persons of quality, I could not find that they used the solemnity of inthroning or coronation of their Kings, with such pomp and magnificence, or any thing like it, as he relates; nay, scarce that they observe any ceremony at all.

They told me that such external gallantries and all ostentations were contrary to their customs and practice: for when their King or general dies, all public shews whatever that express mirth or demonstrate any magnificence, or have any sign of glory, so much as the wearing gold, silver, or gaudy cloaths, are not only forbidden throughout the whole kingdom, but reckoned very scandalous to be used. Neither must a courtier, during the time of his mourning for his Prince, appear in rich furniture himself, or in his horse, elephants, palankeens, hammocks, &c.; but the worst, coarsest, and meanest habiliments they can invent are accounted the properest, especially for the highest dignified and nearest of blood, with many other nice observations whereof more amply in due place.

All the ceremony they use on these occasions, consists only to sombey, and present the Prince so succeeding, who entertains the complimentors of note with meat, yet not with the usual court splendor or merriment, by reason of his mourning for his predecessor. But was it usual with them to advance their King (who at present has no interest in the state) with so much grandeur and state to the throne, questionless they would have some degrees of honour likewise for the general when he assumes his dignity; since his power and authority, though intruded, controls all, and that on all occasions he is most respected and observed.

In 1682, when I arrived here from Siam the old general was newly deceased: his heir made no noise at all when he succeeded; nay he carried himself so private therein, that none abroad heard of court matters, or perceived the least alteration of government whatsoever; neither would he receive the usual honours from his own mandarins, or admit strangers to audience, either to condole his sorrows, or to congratulate his

his advancement; only their presents were received. Thus, without any other formality, the general took possession of his office; and undoubtedly he would never condescend the King should exceed him in that kind, not only because he is to bear all such charges and expences, but also for fear the other should increase too much in reputation thereby.

Our author then is to be admired for relating things both unknown and contrary to the customs of this people: confidently affirming his brother was an eye witness of that ingenious invented romance, on this occasion: for what are they else than fables, to say that, in this solemnity, all the artillery of the court walls were fired, when there is not so much as a great gun upon the walls, nor ever was, by relation; that all the soldiers were drawn thither from the frontiers, which is to open the gates of the kingdom to the Cochin-Chinese, who are always upon the watch for such an opportunity, to incorporate with their dominion the two adjoining provinces, which were once ruled by the predecessors of their Chova; that they swear fidelity to the King, and that they will defend him and the country against the Chinese their inveterate enemies, when as we have recounted they are tributary to the Chinese empire, now in possession of the Tartars, whom they endeavour by all means imaginable not to offend, for fear of losing their country and freedom; that the King's liberality extends that day to one million of panes of gold, which in silver amounts at least to one hundred and fifty millions of crowns, a sum I am sure the whole kingdom can hardly muster up both in gold and silver, though he aims to persuade the world that the King of Tonqueen possesses the riches of Cræsus; that the King makes presents of money to officers of unknown names, and officers never heard of in the country; that he bestows so many panes of gold and silver on the constable, meaning thereby the general, from whom he receives all he has; that the sacrifices should be so large as to contain that prodigious number of beasts, whereby necessarily the plough must stand still, and the people be content to fast the whole year as to flesh.

After this epicurean banquet, together with what he mentions of the bonzes, fireworks, bird-nests, colt's flesh, &c. impertinent contradictions and absurdities, not worthy regard: I must confess he notes some things and passages here proper to Siam, and agreeable to the manners and constitutions of that people, so that he is only mistaken in the application. What is to be said of the King's going out I will note in the next chapter.

The ladies of quality, when they go abroad, are carried according to their several degrees, either in close sedans or hammocks upon the shoulders of men. Neither does this nation keep their women so strict from the sight of others, as the Moors and Chinese do.

The celebration of their nativity they observe very punctually, from the Prince to the meanest, each to his ability and power, with feasting, music and other pastimes, fire works excepted; in which they are very deficient, as I hinted before. They are also presented on the said occasions by their kindred, friends and dependants, who attend them to honour the solemnity.

As to the King's liberality, who sent his son and successor a donative of a thousand panes of gold, intrinsic value, an hundred and fifty thousand dollars, and five hundred bars of silver, above seven thousand dollars at once, it is altogether impossible; because the yearly revenue allowed him, comes to no more than eight thousand dollars. He errs likewise in his multiplication, making those panes of gold and bars of silver to be only an hundred and twenty thousand livres.

As

As to the King's successor, he himself is often ignorant which of his sons is to succeed him, if he has more than one; and if but one, it is not certain that he shall be King after him, since it lies in the general's breast to name such an one as he likes best, provided he be of the royal stock; though he seldom puts by the next heir, unless it be for great reasons, and urgent political motives, &c.

CHAP. XIV — *Of the Ceremony of the King's blessing the Country, vulgarly amongst them called Bova-dee-yaw, or, according to their Characters, Can-Ja.*

THE King seldom or never goes out to take his pleasure, but once a year he shews himself in public (not reckoning when he is carried by the general on particular occasions) on the solemnization of their grand ceremony, at the beginning of their new year, on a particular chosen day; for they believe some to be good, others better, some indifferent, others bad; whereof they are so superstitiously observant as to undertake nothing of importance, without consulting first most seriously both their China almanacks and blind country diviners.

The King, general, and Prince, with most of the mandareens of the court, on this solemn occasion, go before break of day severally to a place at the south end of the city purposely built for this occasion, with three gates different from their other pagodas; neither are there any images in the house. Here they stay without in sundry apartments till day light: the King in the mean time is to wash his body, and put on new cloaths never worn before.

About eight of the clock a piece of ordnance is fired; on which signal the general, Prince and Mandareens repair to the King, to do homage, though it extends as to the general and Prince, no further than a bare point of formality. This compliment passes in silence, yet with much state and gravity on both sides: then immediately the second signal of a gun is heard; whereupon the King is accompanied to the gates of the said house, which are all shut; whereat he knocks, and is by the door-keeper asked who he is. He answers, the King, and they let him in; but none may enter with him, that being contrary to their superstition. Thus he does three several times, till he comes into the house, where he falls to his devotion and supplications, having kept a strict fast to his gods, after their mode; which done, he seats himself in a gilt chair placed in the yard of the said house; and having paused a little, a plough with a buffalo tied to it, in the same manner as they use them for tilling the ground, is presented him, who holding it by the place usually taken hold of when they work it, he blesses the country, and teaches the people by this emblem, that none should be ashamed to be a husbandman, and that the diligent, industrious and provident, especially in the culture of the ground, may certainly expect the enjoyment of their labour and pains.

I am informed by some, that, at the same time, the ceremony of the cups is used; others again contradict that, and affirm it to be on the day of installing the new King.

Be it when it will, the manner is thus: on a bandesha or lacquered table stands several cups with prepared victuals in them; and among the rest there is one with boiled white rice, another with yellow rice, one with water, and one with herbs or greens: all these cups are neatly covered with fine paper, and with starch fastened thereon, so that one cannot be known from another. One of these the King takes at adventure, which is immediately opened, and if he lights on the yellow rice, there is great rejoicing, because it portends (as they believe) plenty in the land; if on the white rice, a good harvest;

if water, an indifferent year; but the herbs or greens is extreme bad, denoting great mortality, famine and desolation; and so the rest of the cups every one hath its particular signification and augury, according to what their idolatry and superstition dictates.

With this ends this grand ceremony; and the third gun being fired, the King mounts his open chair, covered with many umbrellas, and is carried on the shoulders of eight soldiers, as it were in procession, through several streets to his palace, accompanied by many literadoes in the China vests all on foot. He is likewise attended by a handsome guard of the general's soldiers, some elephants and horses, under the noise of drums, timbrels, scalmay, copper basons and hautboys, &c. standards and colours flying.

As he passes along he demonstrates his liberality to the poor spectators and aldea people, by throwing cash or copper coin amongst them. A while after the King, the general follows riding on a stately elephant, waited on by many Princes of his own, and royal family, with most of the military officers and civil magistrates of the kingdom, richly attired and guarded by a detachment of three or four thousand horse, and about an hundred or an hundred and fifty elephants with sumptuous furniture, and an infantry of no less than ten thousand men, all fine and gallantly clothed with coats and caps made of European manufactures, so that he far exceeds the King in pomp and magnificence. He comes a great part of the same way the King did, till he arrives at the street that leads directly to his palace, where turning he leaves the other on his march. The Prince brings up the rear of this cavalcade; he has half the train of his father, comes the same way, but takes the nearest cut to his own palace.

CHAP. XV. — *Of the Theckydaw, or purging the Country from all malevolent Spirits.*

THE theckydaw is observed commonly once every year, especially if there be a great mortality amongst the men, elephants or horses of the general's stables, or the cattle of the country; the cause of which they attribute to the malicious spirits of such men as have been put to death for treason, rebellion, and conspiring the death of the King, general, or Princes, and in that revenge of the punishment they have suffered, they are bent to destroy every thing and commit horrible violence. To prevent which their superstition has suggested to them the institution of this theckydaw, as a proper mean to drive the devil away, and purge the country of evil spirits. For the performance of which the general consults and elects a fit day, which commonly happens about the twenty-fifth of our February; just on the chaop's re-assuming new life and vigour. When the needful orders are given for preparation, and that every thing is got in readiness, then the general, with most of the Princes and other qualified persons of the land, repairs to the arsenal about eight o'clock in the morning of the day appointed; he either rides on an elephant or horse, or else in a palanquin upon wheels, which is pushed forwards by lusty fellows kept for that purpose, and shadowed by many umbrellas. The guard that follows him is very numerous, not less than sixteen or eighteen thousand men, besides elephants and horses, all set forth to the best advantage. The streets through which he passes, are adorned with standards, pendants, and armed soldiers, to hinder the people from opening either doors or windows, for fear of sinister designs and machinations, though strangers are sometimes permitted to see this stately procession, if they will request it.

Being arrived at the arsenal, the mandareens go to their several posts (which have been kept for them by their soldiers) on the sandy island near the said arsenal, which is heaped

heaped up, and increased yearly by the descending waters from China, whose rapid and violent courses do not only eat away much of the land in some places, and cast it up again in others, but spoil the river too: here, I say, they build many slight houses with bamboos, and raise infinite tents to shelter them from the injuries of rain and sun, and place their soldiers, foot, horse, and elephants as it were in battle array, with flying colours, standards and pendants, their ordnance placed on advantage, the boats of war along the bank in good posture, and every thing else in the method of an exact formidable army, noble and glorious to behold; and is indeed a shew that would, above all others, sufficiently express the power of the kingdom, were but their courage proportionable to their conveniences, and their leaders men instead of capons; for the number of infantry present on that occasion cannot be less than eighty thousand soldiers, well disciplined, expert either for sword, pike, musket, aigenats, &c. and the cavalry about five thousand, with rich furniture, armed with bows, arrows, swords and guns: then there are about two hundred and fifty elephants trained up for war, many of them fearless of fire and the noise of guns, having on their backs a box or chair richly gilded and lacquered, and two men in them with a kind of carabines and lances; and there are not less than three hundred pieces of artillery ranged in proper order: nor do the lords, mandareens, commanders, &c. in their best garb of fine scarlet, with gold buckles on the breast, in manner as we wear our loops, and a cap of the said cloth on their heads, make the least part of this glorious shew. The soldiers of the general's life guards are stout lusty fellows, some of prodigious height, with caps and coats of the same fashion and fabrick as those of the mandareens, the gold loops excepted, and the cloth not altogether so fine. The general's ten horses and six elephants of state far outshine the rest in splendour, their furniture being massy gold and scarlet, with an infinite number of standards, flags, pendants, hautboys, drums, copper basons, and all other sorts of warlike music, and gallantry, ranged promiscuously; and the whole being attended with a vast concourse of people, makes the island very glorious and pleasant for that time.

Every thing being thus ready, three blows on a large drum are heard, keeping good time between every stroke, which sounds almost like the discharge of a small piece of ordnance: on this signal the general comes from the arsenal to the place, where the soldiers stand in order, and enters the house prepared for him. In a while after, three other strokes are given on a great copper bason or gong, in the same manner as on the drum for distance of time; the general beginneth then to offer meat offerings to the criminal devils and malevolent spirits (for it is usual and customary likewise amongst them to feast the condemned before their execution), inviting them to eat and drink, when presently he accuses them in a strange language, by characters and figures, &c. of many offences and crimes committed by them, as to their having disquieted the land, killed his elephants and horses, &c., for all which they justly deserve to be chastised and banished the country. Whereupon three great guns are fired as the last signal; upon which all the artillery and musquets are discharged, that, by their most terrible noise the devils may be driven away; and they are so blind as to believe for certain, that they really and effectually put them to flight.

At noon every one may feast himself at his own cost, but the soldiers are fed with the offered meat.

In the evening the general retires to his palace in the same state with which he went forth, much glorying that he has vanquished his enemies on so easy terms.

The Bova or King never appeareth in this solemnity; perhaps the general suspects that the soldiers, if they should be dissatisfied with him, might take the opportunity

revolt and confirm the King the real and essential power which at present resides in him, and therefore finds it unsafe that the King should be then present; but on journeys in the country, be they but for two or three days (if he makes any), and when he goes to war, he never omits to carry the King along with him, not only to cloke all his designs with the royal name, but also to prevent any plots which in his absence the King might give into to his utter ruin, or by condescension permit others to seize his royal person, whereby they would authorise their pretensions and gain so much reputation as might subvert and confound both the general's greatness and government.

They imagine our way of firing great guns to compliment friends, or the saluting therewith each other's health, very strange and barbarous, because contrary to their customs, since they entertain only their enemies and the malicious devils with such a noise as is related.

CHAP. XVI. — *Of the Funerals in general.*

THE Tonqueeneſe as they have a great horror at death, ſo the conceit they have thereof is not leſs ſuperſtitious; for they believe that only the ſpirits of young children are tranſmigrated into the bodies of other infants who are yet in the mother's womb; but all others come to be devils, or at leaſt ſpirits that can do either good or harm: and that they would wander up and down as poor vagabonds ready to periſh for want and indigence if they were not aſſiſted by their living kindred, or if they did not ſteal and commit violence to ſubſiſt; ſo that death, in their eſtimation, is the ultimate and greateſt miſery that can befall human nature. They note with incredible care and exactneſs the time, hour, and day (all which are diſtinguiſhed by ſeveral particular names as, apes, cats, dogs, mice, &c.), wherein a party dies; which if it happen at the like time in which his father, mother, or near relations were born, it is reckoned very ominous and bad for his heirs and ſucceſſors, who therefore permit not the corſe to be interred till their conjurors and diviners adviſe them of a good and auſpicious time for which they wait ſometimes two or three years, ſometimes leſs, as their critical rights and blind doctors ſhall direct them. The body is confined the meanwhile and kept in a particular place, and muſt ſtand no other ways than on four ſtaves erected for that purpoſe.

This nicety is only obſerved among the rich, but others who do not die in this ſcruple, are buried within ten or fifteen days: but the longer the corſe is kept, the more expenſive it is, not only to the wife and children (who preſent him daily three times with victuals, and keep always lamps and candles burning in the room, beſides the offering of incenſe, perfumes, and a quantity of gold and ſilver paper, ſome made in the ſhape of gold and ſilver bars, others in the likenenſs of horſes, elephants, tigers, &c.), but the reſt of the kindred and relations are alſo obliged to contribute their ſeveral ſhares to the general feaſt, but moſt liberally at this time; beſides it is very toiliſome and a great deal of trouble both to the children and all that are of kin, to reſort ſo often to the corſe to ſalute and adore it, by proſtrating themſelves four times on the ground, and lamenting him three times a day at the hours of repaſt, with endleſs other ceremonies too tedious here to relate.

All that have means are very careful to provide their own coffin, when they are well advanced in years in which they are extraordinary choice, both as to the thickneſs and goodneſs of the wood, as well as workmanſhip, and regard no expences to have it to their fancies.

They observe this distinction in the sexes : if a male die he is clothed with seven of his best coats, if a female with nine. In the mouth of those of quality, are put small pieces of gold and silver with some seed pearl. This they fancy will not only render him honourable in the other world, but prevent also want and indigence ; yet the poorer sort use the scrapings of their fingers and toes, believing that the mouth of the deceased being filled with this filth he cannot plague and torment his living relations. Likewise some will place on the coffin a cup of rice, which is shifted every meal, and at last buried with the corpse.

They use no nails to fasten the lid to its coffin, but cement it with lacquer so tight as is really admirable, esteeming it a great injury to nail up the body of the deceased.

When the sons accompany the corpse they are clad for that day in very coarse robes, made of the refuse of silk, and caps of the same stuff which are tied with cords on their heads ; they have staves in their hands to lean on for fear grief should cause them to faint.

The wives and daughters of fashion have a curtain very large held over their heads, that they may not be seen, yet they are easily heard by their moans and lamentations, which are made *viva voce* and very loud. As the corpse is carried through the streets, the eldest son will lie down now and then on the ground, for the corpse to pass over him (which in their opinion is the greatest mark of filial duty) : then rising again, he pushes the coffin back with both his hands, as it were to stop it from going further on, which is continued till they come to the grave.

Painted and gilded images in the shapes of men and beasts, all of paper work, follow the hearse in great numbers, with some friars, with the noise of drums, timbrels, hautboys, copper-basons, &c. much in the nature of a Popish procession : which paper finery is to be burnt immediately after the interment.

More or less sumptuous is the funeral according to the condition or quality of the person ; for those of account are not only carried by many men, but have also double coffins, one in another, and over it a canopy of state, richly set forth, attended by soldiers, and honoured with the presence of great mandareens.

Their manner is to cut their hair to the shoulder, and to wear ash-coloured cloaths, and a particular sort of straw hats, for the space of three years, for either father or mother ; yet the eldest son must add thereunto three months more ; for other relations less.

Their way of reckoning is very strange ; for if one should die, or a child be born in January, be it the last day of the moon, February following being the first moon of their new year, they count him to have been dead two years, or the child to be two years old, when, in effect, it is no more than one day.

During the time of their mourning, they seldom use their wonted lodgings : they lie on straw mats on the bare ground, their diet is not only mean and sparing, but the very bandesia and cups the victuals are served in, are coarse and of the worst sort. They forbear wine and go to no feasts or banquets ; they must lend no ear to music, nor eye to dancing, nor contract matrimony ; for on the complaint of their kindred on this head, the law will disinherit them. They have a great care not to appear in public anywise fine, but rather austere abstain from all merriment and finery whatsoever : but as the three years grow near an end, they gradually decline too in the severity of this discipline.

Their sepulchres are in the several aldeas of their parents' nativity, and unhappy is he deemed whose body or bones are not brought home, as they term it ; but how to chuse

chuse the best place to inter the dead, is the grand mystery, and held to be of that consequence that they verily believe, that infallibly thereon depends the happiness or misery of their successors; wherefore they usually consult many years with Tay-de-lee, before they come to a conclusion in that affair.

During these times of mourning, they feast the dead four times a year, in the months of May, June, July, and September, spending in each of them two, three, or four days; but the sacrifice which is made at the expiration of the three years is the greatest and most magnificent of all, though they are in the rest prodigal enough, and will spend not only their whole substance therein, but run themselves in debt too, and yet are for so doing both highly respected and commended of friends and acquaintance. After this they keep their anniversary offering on the day of the party's decease, which is punctually observed from generation to generation to perpetuity. I have in jesting told some of them I should not like to die a Tonqueenese, were it only because the custom of the country whilst living allowed me three meals a day, but when dead they would feed me but once a year: a severity more than sufficient to starve the dead had they need of food.

It cannot fail of being entertaining to our readers to add to our author in this place, what the learned father Calmet has collected in relation to the practice of setting food upon the tombs of the dead; and of repasts made at their funerals: whereby it will be perceived that this custom is not confined to Tonqueen or even to China, but that it had obtained almost universally in the darker ages of the world. What he says will be found under the head of Repast, and is so curious that we shall give the translation of of it entire.

“Repast or food,” says he, “that was set upon the tombs of the dead. *Cæna mortui*. Baruch (ch. 6. v. 31.) mentions it in these words: *Rugiant autem clamantes contra deos suos, sicut in cæna mortui*. The Pagans howl in the presence of their gods, as in the repast which is made for the dead. He speaks of certain solemnities wherein the idolators used to make great lamentations: for example, in the feasts of Adonis. As to the repasts for the dead, they are distinguished into two kinds: one was made in the house of the defunct, at the return of the mourners from the grave. To this were invited the kindred and friends of the deceased, where they did no fail to express their grief by cries and lamentations. The other kind was made upon the tomb itself of the dead person, where they provided a repast for the wandering souls, and believed that the goddess Trivia who presides over the streets and highways, repaired thither in the night time. But in truth they were beggars and poor people, who came thither in the darkness of the night, and carried away what was left upon the tomb.

‘Est honor et tumulis animas placare paternas,
Parvaque in extructas munera ferre pyras. OVID, Fast.’

“Sometimes, however, the relations made a small repast upon the tomb of the deceased.

“The custom of setting food upon the sepulchres of the dead was common among the Hebrews. Tobit thus advises his son: Pour out thy bread on the burial of the just, but give nothing to the wicked. That is to say, not to partake in the repast, with the relations who performed the same ceremony. And Jesus the son of Sirach affirms, that delicacies poured upon a mouth shut up are as messes of meat set upon a grave. What is thus set upon a tomb is utterly lost as to the dead person; he can have no benefit from it. And elsewhere, A gift hath grace in the sight of every man living, and for the dead detain it not.

" This custom was almost universal ; we find it among the Greeks, the Romans, and almost all the people of the East. It still obtains in Syria, in Babylonia, and in China. St. Austin observes that in his time in Africa, they laid victuals upon the tombs of the martyrs and in church-yards. The thing at first was done very innocently, but afterwards it degenerated into an abuse ; and the greatest saints and most zealous bishops, as St. Austin and St. Ambrose, had much difficulty to suppress it. St. Monica being at Milan had a mind, according to custom, to offer bread and wine to the memory of the martyrs ; but the porter would not open the door to her, because St. Ambrose had forbid him ; she therefore submitted with an humble obedience.

" The repast that was made in the house of the deceased among the Jews was also of two kinds. One was during the time that the mourning continued, and these repasts were looked upon as unclean, because those that partook of them were unclean, as having assisted at the obsequies of the dead person.

" Hosea says, Their sacrifices shall be unto them as the bread of mourners ; all that eat thereof shall be polluted. And in the form that the Israelites made use of, when they offered their first fruits, they addressed themselves thus to the Lord : O Lord, I have not neglected thy ordinances ; I have not used these things while I was in mourning ; I have made no use of them at the funerals of the dead. God would not permit Ezekeal to mourn for his wife. Cover not thy lips and eat not the bread of men. And Jeremiah : Neither shall men give them the cup of consolation to drink for their father or for their mother.

" The other repasts made in the time of mourning, are those which were given after the funeral. Josephus relates that Archelaus treated the whole people in a magnificent manner, after he had completed the seven days mourning for the King his father. He there adds, that it was the custom of his nation to make great feasts for the relations ; which could not be done without an injury to many families, which were not in a condition to support such large expences. Saint Pauline commends Pam-machius for having made a great feast for the poor in the basilicon of St. Peter, on the day of the funeral of his wife Paulina."

CHAP. XVII. — *Of the Funeral Pomp of the Chova or General of Tonqueen.*

THE funeral obsequies of the chova or general of Tonqueen are performed with the same pomp and magnificence as were usually observed at the burial of their former Kings, and in many respects exceed that of their present King. As soon then as the general dies his successors and courtiers endeavour, with all imaginable art, to conceal his death for the space of three or four days ; for should it presently be known abroad, it would unavoidably put the country, especially the chief city of Gacho, in great terror and consternation, because it has constantly happened at the decease of every one of them (this last excepted), that the state was disturbed with broils, contentions, and civil wars, amongst the surviving sons and brethren, who strive for superiority ; wherefore it is no marvel, if in this case the people are affected with their contention.

The first thing they do to their dead general is to wash his body, and to put on him seven of his best coats, and to present him with victuals, with which he is served in the best manner possible. Then his successor and all the Princes and Princesses of the blood come to lament his departure, prostrating themselves five times before him, weeping aloud, asking him why he would leave them, and what he wanted, &c. After them, the mandareens most in favour are permitted to perform their duty, but their

their ceremony of condolance is returned them again, by the Prince successor and eldest son, though they dare not to receive it. Except those persons, none are admitted to have a sight of the defunct; nay those related afar off cannot have this honour. After which ceremony they put into his mouth small pieces of gold, silver, and seed pearl. The corpse is laid in a stately coffin laquered over very thick, and of excellent wood: at the bottom of which they strew powder of rice and carvances to prevent any noisome smell, over which they spread fine quilts and carpets. The corpse thus served is placed in another room, where lamps and candles are continually kept burning: thither all his children, wives and nearest kindred repair three times a day, when the deceased is presented with victuals, namely in the morning between five and six o'clock, twelve at noon, and five in the evening, and they pay their adoration to him. This continues all the time he is above ground.

There is no such thing as embalming the body to lie in state sixty-five days, and liberty for the people to come and see him, as our author pretends; neither do the bonfires and poor partake of the victuals set before him; nor does the provincial governor receive any orders from court how long the country is to mourn, since their custom directs them therein sufficiently, without such particular provisions. The whole country is obliged to mourn, as well for the general as King, the space of twenty-four days; the Prince successor, three years and three months, his other children and wives, three years; the other near relations, one year; and those further off, from five, and others but three months; but all the great mandareens, three years equal with the children.

I cannot imagine in what part of the palace those towers he speaks of stood, or what became of those bells that never left tolling, from the general's expiring to the bringing of the corpse into the galley, since they were silent at the last funeral pomp of the general in 1683.

When the needful preparations are ready, then the galleys appointed to transport and accompany the body, wait near the arsenal, which is not distant two days' journey as he says from the palace, but only something less than half an hour, whither the corpse is conducted in the following manner:

Several companies of soldiers, all in black, with their arms, being led by their respective captains, or mandareens, bring up the van of this funeral pomp, marching on gravely and silently; then follow two fellows of gigantic stature, carrying a kind of partisans, with targets in their hands, and a mask or vizard on their face, to scare the devil, and open the way for the hearse to pass; next come the musicians, with their drums, hautboys, copper basons, &c. playing their mournful tunes, which really are very doleful. Next is carried the funeral elogium and titles, which are more illustrious than what he had in his life time: and he is stiled, the incomparable greatness, most precious and noble father of his country, of most splendid fame, and the like; all which is embroidered in golden characters, on a piece of fine scarlet, or crimson damask, which is fixed on a frame of two or three fathoms high, and almost one fathom wide, and erected on a pedestal and carried on the shoulders of twenty or thirty soldiers of the life guard.

After this their idol, or pagoda, takes place, carried in a small gilded house, but with great reverence; then the two pennants, followed by the mausoleum, or state cabin, richly gilded and curiously carved, wherein is the general's corpse. The said mausoleum doth not stand in a chariot, nor is it drawn by eight stags trained to that service, and led by so many captains of the life guard, as related by our author (for it is a rare thing to see either deer or stag in this country); but it is carried on the

shoulders of a hundred or a hundred and fifty foldiers, in good order and great silence, with many fans and umbrellas round about it, as well to shade it as for state.

Just behind the hearse comes the eldest son and successor, with his brothers, all clad with coats, made of refuse silk, not unlike our sackcloth, of a brown colour, tied with cords to their bodies; their caps are of the same, and fastened in like manner; they all have sticks in their hands, and only the eldest has straw shoes. These are immediately followed by the deceased's wives, concubines, and daughters, under a curtain or pavillion of white calico, very coarse, their garb of the same stuff, howling and lamenting. Behind these come the servants of the inner court, both damsels and young capadoes; as the front, so the rear and flanks are guarded by armed foldiers, under their several commanders, so that in this funeral pomp, neither elephants, horses, nor chariots appear, as he relates, unless those of paper and painted wood, whereof great quantities accompany the interment to be burnt at the grave.

Being arrived at the galleys, in one of them, which is all black, laquered plain, and without any ornament of carved and gilded work, the corpse is placed: the rest of the galleys that attend the solemnity are but ordinary, fifty or sixty in number. Thus they set forth from Cacho for Tingeva, the aldea and birth place of his ancestors, a journey of five or six days at least, as they make it; for the galley the corpse is in is towed leisurely by five or six others, and must use neither oars, nor make the least noise by drums or music, for fear of disturbing the dead. The other galleys are also to keep as much silence as may be. By the way they stop at certain places in each province appropriated by the said governors to sacrifice; for which service they prepare large provisions of cows, buffaloes, hogs, &c. The new general however very often stays at home, and seldom permits any of his brothers to go for fear of plots, and innovation, but his sisters are commanded to attend the funeral. The ordering the whole solemnity is intrusted to the care and solemnity of some great favourite.

When they arrive at the intended aldea, there is more than a little to do with their obsequies and ceremonies, according to their rites: the particular place where he is buried few know precisely, and those are sworn to secrecy; and this not for fear of losing the treasure that is interred with him, as M. Taverniere fancies, (for there is none but what is put into their mouths as I mentioned before), but out of superstitious motives as well as state jealousy; for as they believe they shall be happy and great if they meet with a good favourable sepulchre for their relations, so the general is always fearful that the place where his predecessor rests being known to their enemies, it would depend on their malicious power to ruin his family, only by taking out his ancestors' bones and interring those of their own family in their place. Indeed we have many examples in this country of such fools as thought to make way for their exaltation, by thus transplacing the bones of the dead men; but as many as have attempted it have suffered for their foolish presumption.

As to those lords and ladies that, according to him, will needs be buried alive with the King or general, it is a thing so contrary to their customs, as well as repugnant to their natures, that I verily believe if they thought we had such an opinion of them, they would treat us as brutes and savages. Nor do I know of any city and its fair castle, in the whole kingdom of Tonqueen, that is called Bodligo; but indeed those banks of the river opposite to the city of Cacho are called Bode; but however there is neither King's house, palace, or castle, on or near the same.

But it remains to speak something of their third annual sacrifices and feast, for the defunct general, which happens about three months before the mourning expires. The

celebration whereof extends not only to his family, but all the mandareens that hold any office must appear at this grand solemnity, to pay their offerings in token of their gratitude to the deceased benefactor and common father.

The manner is thus: just before the arsenal on the sandy island, there are built of bamboos and slight timber many large and spacious houses, after the manner of their palaces, with wide yards and open courts, wrought most curiously with basket-work, &c. The apartments thereof, especially that where the altar stands, are richly hung with gold and silver cloth; the posts and stands are either covered with the same or with fine scarlet, or other European manufactures; the roof is canopied with silk damask, and the floor is covered with mats and carpets. The altar itself is most curiously carved, lacquered, and splendidly daubed with gold to profusion of cost, labour, and diligence. And as this is the general and his family's share, so the mandareens of quality according to their abilities, strive to outdo each other in their funeral piles, as I may call them, which are placed round about the former work, in good order and at an equal distance and height, and of a like fashion, either four, six, or eight feet square, about fifteen or twenty feet diameter, resembling much our large lanterns, open all sides, with shutters within, the banisters and rails very neatly set forth with rich painted, carved, and lacquered work, and hangings of costly silk and good pieces of broad cloth; the structure itself of slight timber and boards: the great mandareens each build two of these; the others, one a piece; so that this barren place is covered in less than the space of fifteen days, with all this finery which makes it resemble another city, or an Antiochian-like camp: in which interim the whole country flocks thither to see this goodly and pompous erection; and many strange beasts, as tigers, bears, baboons, monkeys, and what other wild creatures they can get, are brought thither from far places; for which they have been sometimes diligently seeking perhaps days and years. From all which the people (who gather together in such prodigious crowds, as to give a great idea of the populousness of the country), take occasion to admire the general's grandeur, and live to his deceased father. But for about three days before the time prefixed for this sacrifice, no spectators are so much as to approach this place, because then they are busied in setting the image of the defunct before the altar, richly habited with many coats, and to serve it with victuals; and to present him with amber, pearl, and coral necklaces, gold and silver tankards, cups, basons, tables, and in short with all the finery and toys that he delighted in, and made use of in his life time; and at the same instant they erect, in the court-yard where this altar stands, a machine; in the making whereof they had before employed five or six months, under the direction and oversight of three or four great mandareens, resembling somewhat the mausoleum which M. Taverniere describes, which they call *anja tangh*. It is about three or four stories or forty feet high, and about thirty feet long, and twenty broad, made of thin boards and slight timber, to be light and portable; and the different parts of it are so contrived as to take off and on; the undermost part stands on four wheels, whereon the rest are placed one by one, by means and help of such instruments and engines as our carpenters use to mount their heavy timber. The pageant or fabric itself is mighty neat, handsome and glorious, adorned with carved, gilded, painted, and lacquered work, as rich and costly as possible can be made of that kind, with many pretty little inventions of galleries, balconies, windows, doors, porches, &c. to adorn it the more. On this magnificent throne is placed another image of the dead general, in rich cloaths, which is afterwards burnt with the rest.

Matters

Matters being brought to this order, the general and his family repair thither early in the morning of the last three forementioned days, the ways being lined with soldiers, and he attended by his life guard, followed by mandareens and grandees, where most of the day is spent in tears, mourning and lamentations, sombeys, sacrifices and offerings for his father; but, in the evening, the offered viands and other victims are divided amongst the assistants and soldiers.

Of the wild and savage creatures some are drowned, to send their ghosts to the deceased Prince, to be at his devotion in the other world, and others are given away.

About ten o'clock an infinite number of images of all sorts of fowls, horses and elephants, in paper work, &c. are burnt in the open court, just before the machine or mausoleum, where likewise the general, with his relations and mandareens, sombeys to the image of his predecessor therein; their magicians Thay, Phou, Thivee, all the while singing, reading, jumping, and playing so many antick tricks, and making such terrible postures, as would scare some, and persuade others they were either really demoniacal, or at least possessed with madness. About three hours after midnight fire is set to all this finery, the general, &c. retiring, taking along with him the pearls, amber, gold, and silver that was on the altar, (which are reserved for the service of the defunct in a peculiar place of his palace). The mandareens also send to their houses again whatsoever gold, silver, &c. they brought thither, leaving the rest to be consumed by the flames; and its ashes the wind scatters where it pleases, so that but very little, if any, comes where it was designed.

CHAP. XVIII. — *Of the Sects, Idols, Worship, Superstition, and Pagodas or Temples of the Tonqueenese.*

THOUGH there are many sects amongst this people, yet only two are chiefly followed. The first is that of Congfutu, as the Chinese call him, (the Tonqueenese, Ong-Congtu, and the Europeans, Confucius), the ancientest of the Chinese philosophers. This man they esteemed holy; and, for wisdom, he is reputed not only amongst them and the Chinese, but the Japanese too, the Solomon of all mortals; without some proficiency in whose learning, none can attain any degree in their civil government, or be any ways allowed to know matters of importance; though the truth thereof, and very quintessence of his doctrine, is nothing else but what we call moral philosophy, and consists in the following position: "That every one ought to know and perfect himself, and then by his good and virtuous example, bring others to the same degree of goodness, so as they jointly may attain the supreme good; that it is, therefore, necessary to apply themselves to the study of philosophy, without which none can have a proper insight or inspection of things, and be able to know what is to be followed or avoided, nor rectify their desires according to reason;" with other the like precepts, wherein consists the Chinese doctrine and wisdom.

But his disciples, building on his principles, have extracted therefrom many rules and precepts, which soon after became the main subject of their superstition and religion. They acknowledge one supreme Deity, and that all terrestrial things are directed, governed, and preserved by him: that the world was eternal, without either beginning or creator. They reject the worship of images; they venerate and pay a kind of adoration to spirits. They expect rewards for good deeds, and punishment for evil. They believe, in a manner, the immortality of the soul, and pray for the deceased. Some of them also believe that the souls of the just live after separation from the body; and that the souls of the wicked perish as soon as they leave the body. They teach
that

that the air is full of malignant spirits, which is their dwelling-place; and that those spirits are continually at variance with the living. They particularly recommend to their pupils to honour their deceased friends and parents; and do much concern themselves in performing certain ceremonies thereunto belonging as I have mentioned already; and hold several other things very rational, and in my opinion, in many things nothing at all inferior to either the ancient Greeks or Romans. Neither must we think that the wiser and better sort amongst them are so shallow brained, as to believe the dead stand in need of victuals, and that therefore they are so served, as I have mentioned in its due place; no, they know better, and tell us they do it for no other reason, than to demonstrate their love and respect to their deceased parents; and withal to teach their own children and friends thereby how to honour them when they shall be no more.

However, the vulgar sort, and those that carry their judgment in their eyes, credit that as well as many other impertinent impossibilities of their superstition. In fine, though this sect hath no pagodas erected nor particular place appointed to worship the King of Heaven in, or priests to preach and propagate the said doctrine, nor a due form, commanded or observed, but it is left to every one's discretion to do as he pleases in these respects, so as he gives thereby no scandal, yet it has their Kings, Princes, grandees, and the learned men of the kingdom for its followers.

In former days the King of the land might only sacrifice to the King of Heaven; but since the general has usurped the royal power, he has assumed this sovereign prerogative, and performs the said ceremony in his palace himself, in case of public calamity, as want of rain, famine, great mortality, &c. befalling the kingdom, which no other may do on peril of their lives.

The second sect is called Boot, which signifies the worship of idols or images, and is generally followed by the ignorant, vulgar, and simple sort of people, and more especially the women and capadoes, the most constant adherers thereunto. Their tenets are to worship images devoutly, to believe transmigration. They offer to the devil that he may not hurt them. They believe a certain Deity coming from three united gods. They impose a cloister and retired life, and think their works can be meritorious, and that the wicked suffer torments, together with many foolish superstitious niceties to idle to repeat: however they have no priest, any more than the former sect, to preach and propagate their doctrine; all they have are their sayes, or bronzes, as M. Taverniere calls them (which by mistake he terms priests) which are a kind of friars or monks. They have some nuns also, whose dwellings are about and sometimes in their pagodas, who most commonly are invited to celebrate their funerals with their drums, trumpets, and other music: they subsist for the most part by alms, and the charity of the people. In brief, this is that sect that has spread its fopperies and impertinences very far; and, in effect, with its schism and imposture has overspread, in part or whole, most of the Eastern countries, as this of Tonqueen, China, Japan, Corea, Formosa, Cambodia, Siam, the Gentoos of coast Cormandel and Bengal, Ceylon, Indostan, &c. From one of these two last places it was first brought into China on the following occasion.

One of the Chinese Emperors coming to the knowledge of a famous law that was taught in the west, which was very efficacious for instructing and conducting mankind to wisdom and virtue, and that the doctors and expounders thereof were persons extremely celebrated for their exemplary lives, and stupendous and miraculous actions, &c. he therefore dispatched several sages to find out this law, and bring it to China. These ambassadors, after they had travelled, or rather erred, to and fro, the space of

almost three years, arrived either in Indostan or Malabar, where, finding this sect of Boots very rife, and of mighty veneration, and being deceived by the devil, and weary of travelling any further, they thought they had found what they sought for; and so, without more ado, they got seventy-two books of those false tales of the natives, with some able interpreters, and returned to China, where the Emperor received them most kindly and joyfully, and ordered directly that the said sect should be publicly taught throughout all his dominions; in which miserable blindness they have ever since continued.

I cannot help making an observation in this place, for the honour of the Christian religion; and that is, that, in all appearance, this new law, which the Chinese Emperor at that time had heard of, could be no other than the first promulgation of the gospel in and about Judea; and its being then preached to Jews as well as Gentiles by the holy apostles, which was attended with so many miracles, that it was no wonder the fame thereof should extend to the remotest regions, and reach the ears of the Chinese Emperor: and this is still the more probable, because, by the nearest calculation that can be made, the time which the Emperor of China is recorded to have heard of the publication of this new doctrine, agrees punctually with that of the appearance of our Saviour and the preaching of the apostles. And had the sages sent by that Emperor proceeded as they ought, not only the great empire of China, but all the vast territories adjacent, that now lie immerged in paganism and the dregs of superstition, might have been converted, and brought to the glorious light of Christianity.

Some other sects, as that of Lanzo, are but slenderly followed, as is said before, though their magicians and necromancers, as Thay-Boo, Thay-Boo-Twe, Thay-de-Lie, are the profelytes and followers thereof, and in great esteem with the Princes, and respected by the vulgar, so that they are consulted by both in their most weighty occasions; and they receive their opinions and false predictions as very oracles, believing they speak by divine inspiration, and have the pre-knowledge of future events; wherefore it is not probable that they were of this sort that were sent to the frontiers for soldiers, as M. Taverniere has it.

I know indeed that the general rummages sometimes a certain sort of vagabonds that haunt every corner of the kingdom, pretending to be conjurors and fortune-tellers, cheating and misleading thereby the simple and ignorant people, and infecting them with notions contrary to the belief of the sects publicly tolerated: but as the Ton-queeneese are really very credulous, and ready to embrace almost every new opinion they meet withal, so are they not less tenacious in retaining any notions which they are in possession of, and observe carefully times and seasons as good and bad, in which they will not undertake any voyage or journey, nor build houses, cultivate grounds, nor bargain for any thing considerable; nor even will they attempt, on ominous days, to cure their sick, bury their dead, nor in a manner transact any thing without the advice of their soothsayers and blind wizards, who are principally divided into three classes; that is, those who are followers of Thay-Boo, or Thay-Boo-Twe, or Thay-de-Lie, and have not the least sense of their being most grossly cheated and deluded by the fallacious pretensions of those impudent fellows, who live wholly by selling their directions to them at excessive rates, as the most desirable and current merchandize. And since these pretended conjurors are so much observed and venerated by the deluded people, I will descend to the particular functions of every one of them, and speak first of Thay-Boo and his class.

These pretend to declare all such future events as concern marriages, building of houses, and, in general, pretend to foretel the success of any business of consequence.

All that come to him, or those of his class, are kindly used for their money, and receive for answers what is supposed will satisfy them best, but always so ambiguous, as will bear a double and doubtful interpretation. The magicians of this tribe are generally blind, either born so, or come to be so by some accident or other. Before they pronounce their sentence on the proposed question, they take three pieces of copper coin, inscribed with characters, which they throw on the ground several times, and feel what side of it falls uppermost; then prating and mumbling some strange kind of words to themselves, they deliver the result of the conjuration.

Secondly, *Thay-Boo-Twe*, to whom they resort in all distempers. This class of pretended magicians have their books, by which they pretend to find out the cause and result of all sickness; and never miss to tell the sick party that his distemper proceeds from the devil, or some water gods, and pretend to cure it by the noise of drums, basons, and trumpets. The conjuror of this tribe is habited very antickly, and sings very loud, and makes hideous noises, pronouncing many execrations and blasphemous words, sounding continually a small bell, which he holds in his hand, jumping and skipping as if the devil were really in him; and all this while there is store of victuals prepared for an offering to the devil, but it is eaten by himself; and he will continue this sport sometimes for several days, till the patient be either dead or recovered, and then he can give an answer with some certainty.

It belongs to them to dispossess such as are possessed by the devil, which is the ultimate of their conjuration, and is commonly effected in this manner. They curse and most impiously invoke I do not know what demon; and they paint the pictures of devils, with horrible faces, on yellow paper, which is fixed to the wall of the house; then they fall to bawling so terribly, and scream so loud, dancing and skipping as is most ridiculous, sometimes fearful to see and hear. They also bless and consecrate new houses; and if they be suspected to be haunted, they drive the devil out of them by their conjuration and the firing of muskets.

Thay-de-Lie's business is to be consulted which are the fittest places for burial of the dead; so that the living relations and kindred may, by this means, be happy and fortunate, and the like follies.

I will speak nothing of *Ba-Cote*, because they are only the pretended witches amongst the baser sort.

As for temples and Pagodas, since the Tonqueenese are not very devout, there are neither so many, nor those so sumptuous, as I have seen in some of the neighbouring countries.