

# The Situation of Chinese Censorship under Emperor Yongzheng

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The main purpose of this study is to describe the condition of the world of Chinese scholarship in the reign of the Yongzheng emperor 雍正帝 (Shizong 世宗, 1678-1735, r.1723-1735). It is well known that, in China, various Indices of prohibited books were made by the order of the Qianlong emperor 乾隆帝 (Gaozong 高宗, r.1736-1795) in the second half of the eighteenth century. They included a large number of famous books in premodern China; more than ninety per cent of these banned books had been written in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, especially during the turbulent years of the late Ming and early Qing. These years of dynastic change, despite of great internal unrest, had seen a broadening of intellectual and utilitarian interests among Chinese scholars, leading them to explore many new intellectual areas. Politics, economics, scientific or military technology, astronomy, mathematics, geography, philosophical thoughts, religious beliefs, literature, and information about the outside world had all been discussed in the explosion of printing over the latter half of the Ming and the opening decades of the Qing periods, as analysed in my recent book, "Prohibited Books in the Qing Period" (*Shindai kinsho no kenkyu* 清代禁書の研究 U.P. of Tokyo, 1996; 734p).

Many of these works would suffer a ban during the years 1773-1793 by the order of the Qianlong emperor, and instead only studies of textual analysis of Chinese classics and commentaries, particularly those of Zhu Xi 朱熹 (1130-1200), on Chinese classics usually used for the civil service examinations, were permitted by the Manchu dynasty.

But it is curious that those Indices included very few books published in the beginning of the eighteenth century. About this epoch, which fell on the reign of Yongzheng, it is said that during his thirteen years of reign, more incidents of literary inquisition called *Wenzi yu* 文字獄 occurred than during the nearly two hundred and eighty years of Ming rule. Nevertheless, neither book printing nor book selling was yet prohibited by the Qing government, says L.C. Goodrich.<sup>1)</sup> Before Qianlong, nothing is said of action against the manuscript or book. Any books, despite earlier bans on their authors, continued to be sold freely in bookshops and market stalls, according to Goodrich.

If so, was book publication itself already in a very poor state in the first half of the eighteenth century? Or perhaps, was Chinese scholarship under the Yongzheng

emperor, so fidel to the line of the authorities, that the authors devoted their studies to textual analysis of classics (kaozheng xue 考証學) and thus, their works could avoid later prohibition of books by the Qianlong emperor (Qianlong jinshu 乾隆禁書)? In this essay I wish to discuss the cultural and social context under the Yongzheng emperor with which major writings could not appear any more. Hence we come to assess the scope of censorship in the beginning of eighteenth century, long before Qianlong jinshu, and its impact on the once vibrant and flourishing intellectual life during the Ming dynasty.

### I. Impact of the edicts on intellectual life

The prohibition and persecution had begun as soon as the Manchu established their government in China. But in the seventeenth century, censorship called *Wenzi yu*, though already famous, remained limited as compared to the eighteenth century. The early Manchu rulers were not very eager to punish Chinese scholars, since they wanted them to collaborate with its efforts to gain legitimacy along conventional Confucian lines.

For example, the Kangxi emperor 康熙帝 (Shengzu 聖祖, 1654-1722, r. 1662-1722) was very tolerant of accounts in unofficial histories (*yeshi* 野史), local histories and other historical sources, because he wanted many documents to compile the official history of the Ming (*Mingshi* 明史). Hence he had to attract to his side reputable scholars willing to do this work. He declared in 1681 that all antecedent anthologies, even if they are printed with a reign era title used by the Ming rivals to the Qing throne, should not be interdicted. According to the edicts, it was not necessary to avoid such characters as Qing 清, Ming 明, yi 夷, lu 虜, etc., at the Institute of History.

But in the twenties of the eighteenth century, when the Kangxi emperor was succeeded by his fourth son the Yongzheng emperor, the situation changed considerably. It is said that during his thirteen years of reign, more incidents of censorship occurred than during the nearly two hundred and eighty years of Ming rule. The most famous three incidents including the Governor General Nian Gengyao 年羹堯 in 1725, the sub-chancellor Cha Siting 查嗣庭 in 1726, and a scholar already dead Lü Liuliang 呂留良 (1629-1683) from 1728 to 1732 came one after another.

These incidents are regarded as political "accidents" or power struggles within the Qing dynasty, the Qing used the pretext of political crimes to legitimize attacks on political enemies; merely some prose works and verses were considered as proof of wrongdoing. For example, Nian Gengyao, graduated as jinshi 進士 in 1700, was raised to the rank of Governor General of Sichuan and Shenxi and elevated to a duke of third class. But at the zenith of power, Nian lost the Emperor's favor and in 1726, his "crimes" were enumerated under 92 heads, of which almost all were trivial. He was not executed but granted permission to commit suicide. His sons were beheaded or banished. The case of Nian Gengyao is regarded closely

connected with the question of Yinzhen 胤禛's (the Yongzheng emperor) succession to the throne.

Wang Jingqi 汪景祺 (Xingtang 星堂, 1672-1726) and Qian Mingshi 錢名世 (Jiong'an 綱庵), victims of famous literary inquisition, were two of many who were involved in the case. Wang Jingqi, a *muyou* 幕友 in the office of Nian Gengyao, was charged for poems contained his *Dushu tang Xizheng suibi* 讀書堂西征隨筆 (Jottings of a Western Journey), where a stanza Huangdi huihao bu zhiqian 皇帝揮毫不值錢 (unworthy writings by the Emperor) was accused of mocking the Kangxi emperor, and for this Wang was executed while his family banished to Heilongjiang 黑龍江. Qian Mingshi, *tanhua* 探花 (third ranking of jinshi) in 1703, who merely wrote a poem in praise of Nian Gengyao, was tortured mentally. The Yongzheng emperor gave him a tablet with the title "Criminal against the Confucian doctrine" (*mingjiao zuiren* 名教罪人) to hang over his gate, and further the emperor ordered all high officials to write a poem ridiculing him. These poems, brought together in a collection were published with the same title "Mingjiao zuiren."<sup>2)</sup> This littleness as well as the harsh punishment of the authority explains the Emperor's eagerness to use literary inquisition for the elimination of his political rivals.

Punishments imposed during the reign of Yongzheng was exceptionally severe compared with those in the reign of Kangxi. It was normal for those found guilty to be executed and for their families to be banished as slaves to the northern frontier where the Manchus had originated. Their friends or disciples were often sent to prison, sometimes never returning alive. For instance, the works of Lü Liuliang 呂留良 which opposed the Manchu dominance and called the latter usurpers were banned as "treasonous works" (*nishu* 逆書) by the Yongzheng emperor, who insisted that the distinction of *Hua* 華 (Middle) from *Yi* 夷 (Barbarian) had historically changed and that the establishment of the Qing had contributed to the welfare of the Chinese people. But because Lü Liuliang lived in the seventeenth century, it was long after his death that his descendants or disciples were persecuted.

Lü Liuliang was a neo-Confucian scholar whose works were appreciated in his lifetime and were not banned. After 1729, however, when a Chinese under the influence of Lü's books tried to incite a Chinese officer, descendant of Yue Fei 岳飛 (1103-1141), to rebel against the Manchu dominance, the Qing government had the corpses of Lü and his son exhumed and mutilated.

After the discussion of the three incidents, what should not be overlooked is that during this period of incidents, many laws, central or local, were decreed to control book publishing or popular culture. The first thing Emperor Shizong did was to promulgate edicts to prohibit the publication of "reprehensible" novels or drama which could make bad influences. In 1724 (second year of Yongzheng), an imperially approved proposal prohibited the selling of "dissolute romances" (禁止賣淫辭小說):

"All these novels, which are sold in the book sellers, should be handed

一篇中綱領及某據處或用    或用    緊要字眼  
 或字外用 ○ 或旁用 □  
 文章精妙議論警策處或連用 ○ ○ ○ ○ 或連用 、 、 、 、  
 前人評語合者存之篇內細批亦採用但必別之曰某云不敢混  
 亂也  
 八家文另有全選又有選公羊傳穀梁傳戰國策韓詩外傳說苑  
 新序及唐陸敬輿李習之杜牧之文將詞別問世

審敵論

中國內也四夷外也憂在內者本也憂在外者末也夫天下無內  
 憂必有外懼本既固夫盍釋其末以息有素曰末也古者夷狄憂  
 在外今者夷狄憂在內釋末可也而愚不識方今夷狄之憂為  
 末也古者夷狄之禁大弱則臣小弱則遁大威則侵小威則掠吾  
 兵良而食足將賢而士勇則患不在中原如吳而曰外憂可也今  
 之蠻夷始無望其臣與遁求其志止於侵掠而不可得也北胡驕  
 恣為日以矣威懲餘縲以數十萬計昔者幸吾有西羌之變出不  
 遜語以撼中國天子不忍使邊民重困于鋒鏑是以虜日益驕而  
 賄日益增迄今凡數十百萬而猶謙然未滿其欲視中國如外府

家塾讀本

Fig. 1 Ancient essays by eight eminent authors, *Bajia guwen jinxuan* 八家古文精選, edited by Lü Liuliang, dated 1704, but his name has been deleted. cf. p.51

over to public office such as the Court of Censors (Ducha yuan 都察院), and transmitted to the officers, who should order the strict interdiction, or search these editions to be burned. Still if any one made impressions 刻印, the punishment for an official is dismissal from office; for a military or a common people, one hundred heavy blows as well as banishment of 3000 li; for a book seller, one hundred blows as well as exile of three years; for a reader who bought the text, one hundred blows. The competent authorities, in the case where they do not carry out an inquiry, according to the number of cases, they shall be disposed of administrative punishment. However, it is not allowed to profit by bringing a false charge against a rival.”<sup>3)</sup>

The Qing rulers issued a stern warning that harsh punishment should be imposed on members of every class, whom the authorities charged with having produced or distributed “dissolute romances.” A noteworthy feature of the punishments was that they extended well beyond the author to include a very extensive circle of people. Book collectors, printers, book sellers, and readers, that is, virtually anyone concerned with the production, distribution, and consumption of books, printed or otherwise, all could perhaps fall victim to the banning authorities.

In 1725, the fourth moon, third year of Yongzheng, the Emperor issued a memorial of “the prohibition of stage dramas in Shengjing” (禁盛京演戲) for high officials such as the General of Shengjing, Manchu and Chinese Ministers, Military-governor (Dutong 都統) of Da linghe 大凌河, Shouwei 守尉 (the 6th or 7th orders of nobility) of various cities.

“Things in Shengjing become degraded, and public morals are very lax. Recently, when I worshipped my ancestors, I saw pubs in the city of Shengjing increased to almost one thousand; usually people devote themselves to theater going and to drinking; a man of talent consults with others in office only to make a profit; public officials do not consider their government affairs essential. Those who are walking about in the office are very few; meetings or comings and goings are only for the purpose of inviting one another, to make a feast or to enjoy a theater party.”

Thus, the Yongzheng emperor was indignant with supervisors not eager to control their subordinates who contracted a “seditious” and bad custom. “There are the department officials (siguan 司官) who do not come to their office even once a year;” some head officials in the capital office (Tangguan 堂官) “are indifferent as if they have not heard of it.”<sup>4)</sup> The Emperor obliged the high officials to restore the public morals of Manchus, to be frugal and eager to study shooting on horseback or any other military arts.

The following month (June 26, 1725), Emperor Shizong prohibited the people in Jiangnan, especially Suzhou and Songjiang, to assemble and act plays thanks to

exemption from remitting taxes (juanmian fuliang 蠲免浮糧):

“Scholars and masses of that district are grateful for my favor, wish my welfare. I have heard that they had recited the canon and raised a monument (songjing libei 誦經立碑); that they had built a palace for the imperial tablet (longting 龍亭) and assembled together to have stage dramas. Although these doings are from their sincerity in heart, it is not the way to correctly show gratitude for their sovereign and parents.”

The Emperor accounts these events as empty embellishments (fenshi xuwen 粉飾虛文), or prayer meetings useless for his health. He refers to his father, Emperor Shengzu 聖祖 (Kangxi di 康熙帝), who “had understood thoroughly, and thus often proclaimed the extravagance.” Emperor Shizong continues: “Since I took over the government, I wish all the people respect their duty of agriculture, lead carefully a frugal life (wuben zhongnong, lixing jiejian 務本重農, 力行節儉). Furthermore, assembling together to have stage dramas is a merest luxury or extravagance.”<sup>5)</sup>

During his reign, the Yongzheng emperor repeatedly prohibited popular culture, such as dramas and recitals. In the same year 1725, he forbade writing dramas or printing novels on the subject of any emperor or sage. In 1727, he banned a drama about Guan Yu 關羽 (-219). The following year, he proclaimed again play dramas accusing the Governor General of Anhui who had opened a theater against the prohibition. In 1728, a District Magistrate in the province of Jiangxi was degraded and transferred because this mandarin had prepared a banquet for act plays.

The first day, ninth moon, seventh year of Yongzheng (October 22, 1729), the General Commandant of Xizang (西藏提督) was dismissed because he had made his subordinate soldiers play dramas for amusement at a feast.

Thus the Yongzheng emperor continued to issue numerous imperial edicts which aimed to prevent act plays or musical entertainments. He used this method to make the general knowledge of prohibition known and punished officials in charge. For the ordinary people in the urban or rural areas, the Emperor notified by text implemented in local laws as: a leader of the act plays, theatrical singing, or lantern festival should be punished by the bastinado (heavy blows) or by the cangue, on which the sentence was written (jiahao 枷號).<sup>6)</sup>

Emperor Shizong's desire to control ideas was generated in a wide range, not only the printed materials concerning ‘offensive thought’ but also popular amusements seemed inadmissible to him. The method of banning dramas had the same characteristics as literary inquisition: firstly, choose an official or a local resident as victim; secondly, punish their ‘crime’ as a warning to be heard throughout China. But what was the reaction of the Chinese officials to this imperial control? We should discuss this question in the next chapter making references to the memorials of local officials.

## II. High government officials

Under the imperial rule, local officials also took a harsh line towards the activities of scholars and ordinary Chinese, who were looking forward to the prospect of pleasure, amusement, and curiosity.

The Governor General of Henan, Tian Wenjing 田文鏡 (1662-1732), greatly favored by Emperor Shizong, in 1725 (Yongzheng 3) prohibited processions in which idols were carried (Yingshen saihui 迎神賽會) for the purpose of restoring public moral. Tian accounts all the heterodoxy that corrupts public decency came from these processions: in spring or in autumn, the common people have a festival for the gods. They collect contributions from house to house; prepare high terrace for musical entertainments; dress up and play the story; play music to welcome gods; tempt men and women; and invite brigands from remote places. In the beginning, as a pretext they talk about the Three Emperors, Buddhism over tea ceremony, etc; but in fact they want to harbor uncertainty among the masses.

So Tian makes it known to local officials: "Act plays or festivals are admitted only during the day; not to continue in the late hours of the night nor to extend over three days. If they dare to be dressed like the statue of gods, make gong or drum sounds, or make processions in which idols were carried, local officials shall make a surprise inspection. In the case of criminal act, arrest at once; in the case of fortune-teller's magical arts, sort out the principal offender and the accomplice; sentence criminals to a severe punishment."<sup>7)</sup>

The memorials of Tian Wenjing (*Fuyu xuanhua lu* 撫豫宣化錄) which contain this proclamation were printed in 1727 and regarded as standard example: governors were admonished to follow his example, according to Fang Chaoying. This year, Tian was accused by a censor Xie Jishi 謝濟世 (Shilin 石霖, 1689-1756, jinshi of 1712) as cruel, unjust, especially prejudiced against intellectual officials who held juren 舉人 or jinshi 進士 degrees, neither of which Tian obtained. But the Yongzheng emperor lauded Tian's administration, denounced Xie Jishi as liar and banished the latter to Mongolia.

In the proclamation contained in another memorial of Tian Wenjing (*Zongde Lianghe xuanhua lu* 總督兩河宣化錄), the Governor General of Henan Tian Wenjing again declares in 1728 (in the second moon, sixth year of Yongzheng) the banning of singing on stage or play dramas: "These wandering singers or street performers, when there is a stage, they crowd and sing or play drama; when there is no stage, they scatter and commit a theft."<sup>8)</sup>

A similar case can be seen with Li Fu 李紱 (Mutang 穆堂, 1675-1750), an official and scholar, who was also eager to ban folk festivals. As Governor General of Guangxi, he wanted to 'cultivate' minority races or the traditional ways of life among the people. In 1725, he made an order publicly known to ban clamorous funerals.

“Today I have heard of evil customs of Yuexi 粵西: in the seat of prefectural government, soldier and people on an occasion of a funeral, assemble in a mourner’s house. They call it ‘Naosang 鬧喪’ (clamorous funeral) and stay up all night, according to the bad examples, prepare alcohol to welcome the guests. When people gather in groups of two and three, they sing all through the night. In an extreme instance, some of them gamble with dice or play cards (doupai 鬪牌), acting illegally in one’s own conceivable way. Thus at last, a pathetic scene changes to a paradise. Nothing is more injurious to public morality. Since this proclamation, in all the houses of funeral; one should respect rules of etiquette and mind one’s own business. One should mourn and offer sacrifice to grieve with all the mind, according to the example of the *Zhu Wengong Jiali* 朱文公家禮 (familial etiquette of Zhu Xi). It is only approved that all the friends make inquiries in the daytime; but they should not assemble in the late hours to drink strong liquor or sing ditties, thus they should not cause harm to public morals nor make it corrupt.”<sup>9)</sup>

In the same year (third year of Yongzheng), Li Fu addressed an official executive command to the people-at-large of Yao 瑤 and Tong 僮, ethnic minorities in the Province of Guangxi, that their customs should be civilized. For instance, Li Fu banned young men and women to greet one another by songs; he also accused similar custom of newly-wed couples as acts of bruteness (*xingtong qinchu* 行同禽畜).

Another official and neo-confucianist scholar Zhu Shi 朱軾 (1664-1736) also prohibited the dramas. Author of the *Zhu Wenduan gong ji* 朱文端公集 and the *Guanghui bian* 廣惠編, Zhu Shi was famous as *chunru* 醇儒 (sincere scholar). During his term of Governorship of Zhejiang, he prohibited popular theatrical performance (act plays) in this district. Zhu Shi wished scholars and masses respected ancient rituals of ceremonial occasions (*guzhi hunsang jiyang zhi yi* 古制婚喪祭燕之儀). The folk feast of decoration with lanterns (*dengpeng* 燈棚), watering festival (*shuixi* 水嬉), burning incense (*shaoxiang* 燒香) in the temple by women, excursion on the mountain or theatergoing, all these things were prohibited by Zhu Shi. Thus peddlars (*xingshang* 行商) of rice cake (*bing* 餅) or beverage (*jiang* 漿) were unwillingly obliged to stop their business.<sup>10)</sup>

Wang Zhi 王植 (jinshi of 1721), author of the *Chongde tang gao* 崇德堂稿, District Magistrate of Guangdong, banned play dramas. “A thing such as the theater, only wastes one’s savings; the gong sounds every day; everywhere there is a busy street; I wonder where you people have made enough money to do these useless acts. As regards to respecting gods, gods save a good person but gods are not helpful in the theater.”<sup>11)</sup>

We saw local governors registering unequivocal agreement with Emperor Shizong, who imposed legal controls on popular diversions. These officials were all favored and promoted later by Emperor Shizong. For instance, Li Fu was promoted to the post of Governor General of Zhili and believed to have been secretly



ordered by the Emperor to take Yintang's 胤禩 (1683-1726) life, the ninth son of Emperor Shengzu 聖祖. The persecution of popular culture was not initiated by Manchu officials, but by Han officials who wished to show their loyalty to the Manchu emperor.

### III. Self control of the publishers

These bans need to be seen in a wider perspective than just the proscription of printed materials or popular pleasures. From its earliest days, the Qing government had engaged in a variety of practices that tended to discourage frank discussions concerning government and social problems. In particular, Chinese bureaucrats were suppressed by orders of the Manchu emperors. These bureaucrats called Erchen 貳臣 (official who served two dynasties) or Hanchen 漢臣 (Chinese official who served Qing dynasty after the fall of Ming) asserted cultural identity by recording various aspects of their own cultural history and by preserving customs and practices particularly associated with "Chinese lifestyle." The reason for the dismissal of these Chinese bureaucrats was that their arguments were interpreted as being potentially dangerous to the legitimacy of the Manchu dynasty.

In fact, the emperors of the Qing period seemed to want to eliminate the information networks amongst the Chinese intelligentsia as well as a wide range of intellectual works including information about the outside world. For instance, the *Zhifang waiji* 職方外紀 (A geographical work of the world) begun by Didace de Pantoha (Pang Diwo 龐迪我, 1571-1618) and completed by Julio Aleni, S. J. (Ai Rulüe 艾儒略, 1582-1649), printed in 1623 at Hangzhou, was a good result of Western learning (Xixue 西學) produced with the cooperation of Chinese scholars in the late Ming period. But, due to the decline of the Xixue caused by the exclusion of missionaries and foreigners, the *Zhifang waiji* became one of the most quoted and used sources in the influential Qing dynasty sourcebooks on statecraft, such as the *Huangchao jingshi wenbian* 皇朝經世文編 (Our august dynasty's writings on statecraft), *Huangchao wenxian tongkao* 皇朝文獻通考 (Our august dynasty's comprehensive historical study based on documents), and *Da Qing huidian* 大清會典 (Collected statutes of the great Qing dynasty). But such accounts in no way acted as stimulants to developing greater knowledge of current events or sciences elsewhere.

Another example is the *Gujin tushu jicheng* 古今圖書集成 (Synthesis of books and illustrations of ancient and modern times) compiled by Chen Menglei 陳夢雷 (Tianyi daoren 天一道人, 1651-) and 'revised' by the order of Emperor Shizong. "One of his first acts as Emperor was to confiscate the manuscripts of this great encyclopedia, in order to deprive his opponent, Yin Zhi 胤祉 (1677-1732), of the name of having sponsored that monumental project."<sup>12)</sup> The target of the Yongzheng emperor was not the compiler Chen but Yin Zhi, who was the third son of Kangxi emperor and one of the candidates for the throne. Issuing in 1723 an imperial order to sentence the exile of Chen Menglei to Manchuria, the new emperor demanded that the manuscripts of the *Gujin tushu jicheng* including many

maps and illustrations be appropriated. The 'revision' was printed in 1728.

From the early 1720's, with the conditions of learning in a poor state in China, Chinese scholars had little opportunity to learn or publish about the outside world. Even the Magistrate of marine defense 海防同知 Yin Guangren 印光任, arriving at Macao in 1731 (Yongzheng 10), confused France (Fulangxi 弗郎西) with Portugal (Folangji 佛郎機). The officials on the coast attached importance to whether 'barbares' were submissive to Qing dynasty. European countries were only expected to pay tribute to Manchu Emperors.

Li Wei 李衛 (1687-1732), Governor General of Zhili and rival of Tian Wenjing, criticized the Christianity as well as Western learning in *Gai Tianzhu tang wei Tianhou gong beiji* 改天主堂爲天后宮碑記 (Inscription explaining the transformation of Catholic church to Mazu temple). Li denied that Tianzhu (God) presided the world, since the universe existed before Tianzhu. What is more, he pointed out, the doctrine of Tianzhu makes light of filial piety. Li Wei regarded European technology, especially that of machinery, as imitation of original Chinese technology. This epigraph was contained in the *Huangchao jingshi wenbian* compiled by Imperial order. This antiforeign sentiment in the reign of Yongzheng was inherited under the Qianlong emperor. Thus before the mid-nineteenth century, very few new publications with information concerning foreign cultures had been printed.

The impact of the Qing censorship under the Yongzheng emperor on the quality and range of critical thought was not slight. Most often noted was the restraints imposed on discussions of the Qing policy by the throne evermore sensitive to Chinese officials' criticism of their rule. The outspoken officials who made criticisms of government policy invariably faced reprimand or demotion. For scholars and their families in south China this exile to the distant, icebound wilds of the north was tantamount to cultural and social isolation, if not physical death.

The contrast with the case in Europe of rival states in the eighteenth century is instructive. An author banned in his native country could find a patron or publisher in another country. To cite a famous case, Voltaire (1694-1778)'s works were banned by the French government; but Frederick II (1712-86) assured that his work could be printed in Prussia and his critical ideas found an audience.

Chinese at the time were reluctant to write about the censorship; they preferred not to see their life wasted away in exile or disappear in a grave. Thus, it is useful to read Western accounts of this cultural scene. Published in 1725 at London by Thomas Salmon, "Modern History: or the Present State of all Nations,"<sup>13</sup> same era as the reign of Yongzheng, presents a dismal picture of intellectual malaise: "No criminal being executed but by the Emperor's express Order, Malefactors are consum'd in Prison: the Prisons in the great Cities are so large, that they consist of several streets with Market Places." Furthermore, Salmon states: "Treason and Rebellion are punish'd with the greatest Rigour; the Criminal being condemn'd to be cut in Ten Thousand pieces,... The meanor sort are beheaded, as being deem'd the most Ignominious Punishment: and Persons of Quality are

strangled, which of all deaths is look'd upon to be the most reproachful with us." 14) Salmon added: "I don't find they have any Lawyers or Advocates, but every Man manages his own Cause."<sup>15)</sup>

We already saw many scholars and officials, including half brothers of the Yongzheng emperor, descendants of Imperial house, put to death on a charge of treasonous activities. No one dared to dissent from that verdict for fear of being accused of slandering the throne. The cruelty and inhumanity in the political world kept the Han bureaucrats and scholars away from liberal discussions about politics, economics, literature, scientific technology, foreign cultures or philosophic thoughts. Salmon wrote: "The Chinese are acknowledg'd by all to be Ingenious People; the Reason they fall short of the Europeans in the Speculative Sciences does not proceed from any defect in their Capacities or Intellects, but from their Situation, being separated so far from the rest of the Learned World, and conversing with none but People so much inferior to themselves. It is rather to be admir'd they have made Such great Advances in Arts and Sciences, than that they have gone no further, considering they have had no Advantage by Travelling, or any Foreign Assistance."<sup>16)</sup> Through rivalry based on friendship, one can improve oneself. For any man or nation, it is necessary to meet with opposition or contradiction, argues Salmon.

The scholarship of Han officials failed to progress after the start of the eighteenth century due to the lack of knowledge, infrastructure and information. Thus Chinese officials pursued profits for the prosperity of their families. Competition among aspiring scholars was over their rank in the official examinations. Some officials practiced in their office the tricks of demeanour. "The Port of Canton, Mr. Lockyer tell us, is in the greatest Reputation with the English Merchants of any part in China. Amoy was formerly more us'd, but the Extortion of the Mandarins there are grown to that height, that the Merchants can reap little Profit by trading thither... But even at Canton I find our Merchants are intolerably imposed on, if they do not settle Preliminaries with the Hoppo's, or Commissaires of the Customs, before the Ship sails up to the River."<sup>17)</sup> Another author who visited Guangdong in the 1740s supported this observations about business.<sup>18)</sup>

In the seventeenth century, the conditions for publishing were not always very restrictive. Compared to the following century, the laws prohibiting printing of certain works were usually not comprehensive. Yet, editors and publishers alike practiced considerable care and restraint in their choice of language and contents for the editions of Ming authors they chose to print. (cf. Fig. 2, Fig. 3)

While some scholars, for self protection, burned their objectional writings (only to call their remaining writings "*Fenyu ji* 焚餘集" the remnants of the burnings), many others assured that writings did survive by keeping them in manuscript form, by having them circulated in another title or anonymously and by having the inflammatory material deleted in a revised edition.

In the eighteenth century, under the Yongzheng emperor, this practice of self-restraint became even stronger. L' emperor and the Qing rulers, undoubtedly aware

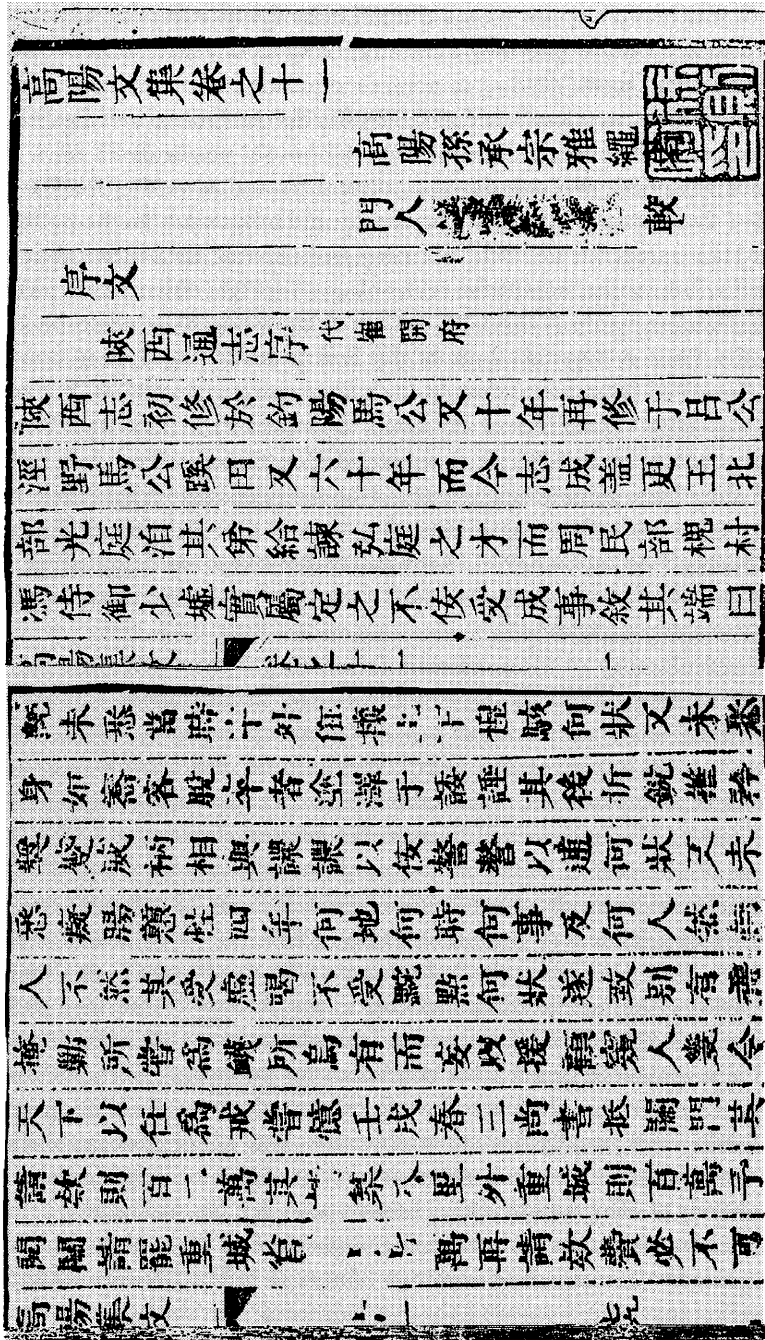


Fig. 2 The collected works of Sun Chengzong 孫承宗 : *Sun Gaoyang wenji* 孫高陽文集, written during the Ming period but printed in the Qing era circa 1655. In later editions, the name of his disciple can not be recognized.

<p>赴邊甚急 <small>祠堂本多疏 陸辭二字</small></p>	<p>題爲赴邊甚急望闕漸遙再瀝愚忱仰祈聖鑒事頃以奴賊猖獗</p>	<p><small>祠堂本奴賊猖獗 作建人勢張</small>皇上從羣臣之請授臣經略併賜臣劍使得便宜</p>	<p>行事臣感聖恩之深且體聖懷之急擬於初三日恭領勅劍而適</p>	<p>逢惠王就邸有免朝之例只得改於初六日陛辭初七日辰<small>祠堂本</small></p>	<p>長行卽部議調兵一萬隨臣出關強半晝餅而臣亦不能待矣但</p>	<p>臣行之後人情不同有不敢不慮者往撫順之敗諸臣嘗<small>祠堂本</small></p>	<p>急矣及賊去<small>祠堂本賊</small>則緩以致清河之陷而諸臣又急賊去<small>祠堂本</small></p>	<p><small>本賊去</small>則又緩以致三路之敗而諸臣又急賊去<small>祠堂本賊</small>則又</p>	<p>緩以致開原之陷而諸臣又大急矣及聞賊去<small>祠堂本賊</small>又私幸</p>	<p>可且夕無事也此諸臣之情也當其急而議兵議餉門面之語豈</p>	<p>不通融而及其緩則爭執如故當其急而議調議募紙上之數豈</p>	<p>不好看而及其緩則寢閣弗題當其急而用臣催臣相需之意豈</p>	<p>不甚殷而及其緩則推卸不顧此又諸臣之情也一一無逃於皇</p>
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Fig. 3 Two types of writing within the text of the *Xiong Xiangmin gong ji* 熊襄愍公集 are compared. The revised edition, Citang ben 祠堂本, neglects, for instance, the expression of Brigand 賊 indicating the Manchus.

of the validity of his proclamation, saw to most of "seditious" works being criticized severely and banned from further printing and circulation. For the majority of the literati, the book culture became principally a means for their success in life or for entertainment, but not their enlightenment. The censorship of the Qianlong era had already been established during the Yongzheng era.

## Notes

- 1) L.C. Goodrich, *The Literary Inquisition of Ch'ien-Lung*. Baltimore, Waverly press., 1935, 275p., p.19.
- 2) *Mingjiao zuiren* 名教罪人, 雍正 4 年勅輯, 民國 19 年故宮博物院排印本。
- 3) *Qinding Taigui* 欽定臺規, 42 卷, 光緒 16 年官撰, 光緒 18 年都察院刊本。25-5, 6. 凡坊肆市賣一應淫辭小說, 在內交與都察院衙門, 轉行所屬官辦嚴禁, 務按版書, 盡行銷燬。有仍行造作刻印者, 係官革職, 軍民杖一百, 流三千里, 市賣者杖一百, 徒三年, 買看杖一百實。該管官辦, 不行查出, 按次數分別議處。仍不許藉端出首訛詐。
- 4) *Da Qing Shizong Xian Huangdi shilu* 大清世宗憲皇帝實錄, 31-13, 14. (庚辰, 諭盛京將軍·滿漢大臣·大凌河副都統衆城守尉等,) 邇來盛京諸事廢弛, 風俗日流日下。朕前祭陵時, 見盛京城內酒肆幾及千家, 平素但以演戲飲酒爲事。稍有能幹者, 俱於人參內謀利。官員等亦不以公務爲事, 衙門內行走者甚少。其聚會往來, 不過彼此相請, 食烤肉嬉戲而已。司官竟有終年不一至衙門, 堂官亦置若罔聞。
- 5) *Huangdi shilu*, *ibid.*, 32-9, 10. 彼處士民感激朕恩, 爲朕祈福。聞有誦經立碑。蓋造龍亭, 聚會演戲者, 雖或出於愛戴之誠, 然實非矢報君親之理... 朕臨御以來, 曉諭天下人民, 務本重農, 力行節儉, 而聚衆演戲諸事, 更屬奢靡浪費。
- 6) *Qinding Da Qing Huidian Shili* 欽定大清會典 80 卷事例 920 卷圖 182 卷, 嘉慶 23 年勅撰刊本, 642-42. *Xingbu xinglü zafan* 刑部刑律雜犯。
- 7) *Fuyu xuanhua lu* 撫豫宣化錄 4 卷首 1 卷, 田文鏡輯, 雍正 5 年刊本本衙藏板, 4-46, 47. (凡在應祭神祇, 許復知鄉地赴地方官具稟批准,) 止許日間演戲祭告, 不得繼之以夜, 亦不得過三日。如敢裝扮神像, 鳴鑼擊鼓, 迎神賽會, 地方官不時嚴查, 犯則立拏解轅, 照巫師邪術例, 分別首從, 從重治罪。
- 8) *Zongdu Lianghe xuanhua lu* 總督兩河宣化錄, 田文鏡輯, 雍正刊本。3-86. 此等唱囉戲流民, 有戲則群聚而演唱, 無戲則四散而行竊,...
- 9) *Mutang chugao bieqiao* 穆堂初稿 50 卷別稿 50 卷, 李紱撰, 道光 11 年重刊本珊瑚阜棋堂藏板。48-11. 今本部院訪聞得粵西惡俗, 省會兵民人等, 一遇喪事, 每夜聚衆喪家, 名曰鬧喪, 坐夜喪家, 援照陋例, 置酒款待, 每三五成羣, 通宵歌唱, 甚至擲骰開牌, 恣爲不法, 以悲哀之地, 竟爲歡樂之場, 傷風敗俗, 莫此爲甚。... 自示以後, 凡有喪葬之家, 務須以禮分相安。照依朱文公家禮, 每日自行哭泣上飯, 以盡其哀, 一切親友, 止許日間弔問, 毋得晝夜聚集, 暢飲謳歌, 致傷風化, 兼啓奸邪。
- 10) *Liyuan conghua* 履園叢話 24 卷, 錢泳撰, 筆記小說大觀第 3 輯所收。1-13.
- 11) *Yuan Ming Qing sandai jinhui xiaoshuo xiqu shiliao* 元明清三代禁燬小說戲曲史料, 王曉傳編, 1958, 北京作家出版社, 412p. p.99. 如演戲一事, 耗財爲甚, 而鑼鼓之聲, 無日不聞, 衝僻之巷, 無地不有。不知爾民何處得此多財, 爲此無益之舉。如云敬神, 神祐善人, 不在演戲。
- 12) The comment of Fang Zhaoying 房兆盈 about Yinzhen 胤禛 (The Yongzheng emperor). Cf. *Eminent Chinese of the Ch'ing Period.*, Ed. by A. Hummel, U. S. Government Printing Office, p.917.
- 13) Th. Salmon: *Modern History: or the Present State of all Nations*. 1725, London, 3rd edition, 464p.
- 14) *Ibid.*, pp.94-95.
- 15) *Ibid.*, p.96.
- 16) *Ibid.*, p.73.
- 17) *Ibid.*, p.142.
- 18) G. Anson: *A voyage round the World, in the Years 1740, 41, 42, 43, 44* by G. Anson. London 1748, 548p. (4th edition). Chap.9. p.532.

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