Maxims for the Well-Governed Household is a seventeenth-century essay which maintained broad popularity, especially as a subject for calligraphic and pedagogic exercises, throughout the late imperial period in China and among traditionalists even well into republican times. Under an alternative title, Chu Wen-kung chia-hsun (Lord Chu's Household Instructions 朱文公家訓 ) it was sometimes mistakenly ascribed to Chu Hsi 朱熹 (1130-1200), often considered the greatest Confucian after Confucius himself, rather than to its actual author, Chu Yung-ch'un 朱用純, an indication of the degree to which it embodied for its audience the essence of orthodox Neo-Confucianism.¹

Chu Yung-ch'un's essay is a characteristic product of late imperial Confucianism, in general, and of the great seventeenth-century political crisis, in particular. During its last half century, the Ming 明 dynasty (1368-1644) suffered from factionalism and from the steady loss of control over its crucial northeastern frontier to the Manchu barbarians. After taking much of southern Manchuria in the 1620's, the Manchus consolidated their position for a generation, and then, during the third quarter of the century, conquered China proper and established their own dynasty, the Ch'ing 清 (1644-1912).

Many members of the Ming gentry never reconciled themselves to being ruled by barbarians, even though the Manchus had become quite

civilized and were prepared to rule China using most of the forms and substance of the Ming regime. These "Ming Loyalists" fought the Manchus until their cause proved irretrievably lost, and then retired from all public life, many of them to reflect on and write about the causes of Ming's fall. In doing this, they deepened a precedent for such virtual eremitism which went back to the fall of the Sung in the late thirteenth century.

The greatest of these Ming Loyalists, men like Huang Tsung-hsi 蒋宗羲 and Wang Fu-chih 王夫之, went beyond eremitism to begin the process of rethinking the basic Confucian assumptions which underlay the traditional political and intellectual order of Chinese civilization and, though they themselves still remained within the Confucian framework, their innovations led ultimately to the overt transcendence of the Confucian world view by intellectuals in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

The author of this essay was a relatively minor figure among these giants of seventeenth-century Ming Loyalism. Chu Yung-ch'un 茹用純 was born in K'unshan 嵐山 county, Kiangsu province in 1617 and was only twenty-seven when the Manchu conquest began. His father Chi-huang 齐璜 died a martyr to the Ming cause during the successful Manchu siege of the Chu's native town and young Chu vowed never to serve the alien conquerors. He remained true to this oath up to his death in 1689 even though he, like many other prominent Loyalists, was invited to accept rank in the new government during the reign of the K'ang Hsi emperor, who was eager to solidify the Manchus' position by associating with it the best men of the preceding dynasty.

Instead, Chu lived the life of a retired scholar. Though the essay Maxims for the Well-Governed Household is the most famous of his works, he also left a compendium of collected writings and a commentary

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2His tzu 字 or "style" (an extra given name usually assumed as a young student) was Chih-i 齐一. His hao 号 or alternative name (usually selected by a man in his mature years to reflect some key aspect of his life or interests) was Po-lu 王廬, to commemorate his devotion to the memory of an early Ming scholar.
on two basic Neo-Confucian classics, *The Great Learning (Ta Hsueh 大學)* and *The Doctrine of the Mean (Chung Yung 中庸)* based on the teachings of the orthodox school of Chu Hsi. At his death he was privately (i.e. not formally by the government) canonised with the epithet "The Filial and Firm Gentlemen" (*Hsiao-t'ing hsien sheng 孝定先生*).²

Chu's loyalism, as expressed in this essay, unlike that of his greater contemporaries, appears to have looked backward to the Confucian tradition as already established in orthodoxy during the Ming, rather than forward to the "post-Confucian" future some two and a half centuries later. This perhaps helps render him a relatively minor figure in China's intellectual history, but his essay's consequent representativeness of the established orthodoxy also accounts in large measure for its continuing popularity through the remaining centuries of the imperial epoch.

The orthodox Confucianism of the late Ming was in practice and to a fair degree in principle far more rigid in its standards of personal and political behavior than Confucianism had ever been before. Early Confucianism, from Confucius' time through the first imperial epoch (sixth century B.C. to third century A.D.), contained the seeds of this later rigidity but it was still too close in time to the partly self-contradictory basic consumptions of its founders, had too much intellectual competition from other creeds and was attempting to rule over a society itself still in the process of defining its characteristic style to become consistently rigid in practice. By the end of the second imperial epoch, during the Sung dynasty (960-1279), Confucianism had outlived, swallowed whole or modified itself sufficiently to match its ideological competition. It no longer had any serious rival for control over the mind of China. Chinese society had also begun to take on the rigidity that usually accompanies a civilization's maturation.

The Confucians of the Yuan dynasty (1279-1368), already more rigid than their predecessors, became still more dogmatic as part of their reaction against the humiliation of the Mongol conquest. The Ming in large measure continued this Yuan trend and intensified it by officially defining as orthodoxy one of the grand syntheses of the Sung Confucians. At the level of personal behavior, by Chu's time it was long since as unthinkable for a good Confucian widow to remarry as for a good Confucian minister to serve more than one dynasty, though as recently as the Ten Kingdoms era (906-960) both phenomena had been routine. It is this stricter, more stridently didactic moral code that Chu's essay celebrates.

To be sure, the picture it limns is of an ideal rather than of the family as it often actually was. In all periods, the Chinese family was far more often a warm, comforting refuge than a rigidly hierarchical patriarchy. But these two images of the family are not necessarily incommensurate. A class's more austere ideals are also part of its reality. In addition, the essay's numerous "thou shalt not's" are themselves a roster of the numerous sins a Confucian family man of the late imperial era was heir to.

Chu's treatment of women's position must also be placed in its proper perspective. The Confucian family had always been patriarchal in principle, even during the long period (which probably lasted until at least the tenth century A.D.) when women seem to have enjoyed a significant degree of freedom. Although the ideal family that Chu portrays is quintessentially patriarchal and hence betrays his hostility to any vestige of female influence, the essay contains at least negative indications that even among the upper classes, their own women and the females of the demi-monde with whom their men associated must have still enjoyed many privileges and considerable de facto power.

Otherwise, Chu would hardly have bothered to issue such explicit warnings against the influence of such female types as the "three young females" and "six old women" mentioned in the Maxims. To judge from the evidence of Ming fiction, lower-class and middle-class women must still have enjoyed a fair degree of freedom even after marriage.

So deeply and widely had the commercial spirit infused Chinese society by the late Ming, far more widely than even during Sung, where the commercial spirit may have deeply penetrated only the lower Yangtze and Cantonese centers of the Southern Sung state, that it is something of a paradox to be confronted by a moral code so pre-commercial in spirit. And yet on closer examination, Chu is seen to pay more than passing attention to the morality of business dealings. As in seventeenth-century Europe, however, his emphasis is on the need for morality as such, even in business, rather than on the virtues of business as business. In this, he was reflecting a general impulse on the part of late Ming Confucian intellectuals to moralize the new commercial sub-elites. Such gentry-written publications as the shan-shu or "morality books", were consciously designed to raise the moral level of all classes of men in a commercial society. Confucian intellectuals also assembled popular encyclopedias which included instructions for running a good Confucian household as well as literary anthologies of a more traditional sort designed to help students, many of whom now

5 According to T'ao Tsung-i (fl. ca. 1360), the "three young females" were a Buddhist nun, a Taoist nun and a fortune teller while the "six old women" were a procuress, a go-between (not for marriages but illicit relationships), a sorceress, a thief, a quack and a midwife. T'ao Tsung-i, Cho-keng-1a collection of miscellaneous notes, quoted in Robert H. van Gulik, Sexual Life in Ancient China (Leiden: Brill, 1961), 254.


came from non-gentry or nouveau riche would-be gentry families, prepare for the civil service examinations. 8

Unlike most of the Ming shan-shu, Chu's essay does not threaten its readers with a series of vivid punishments in an ordered hierarchy of Buddho-Taoist hells. Indeed it implicitly condemns such sanctions in favor of rationalistic Confucian justifications for good behavior. It does fairly closely resemble a code recommended for the gentry in one late Ming shan-shu. This particular "morality book" lists different moral codes for different social classes and concedes a less fully Confucian based morality to commoners. 9

Several editions of the Maxims for the Well-Governed Household may be found in American sinological libraries. Two editions are worthy of note. One was published in that ex-tributary bastion of Confucianism, Hue, Vietnam, in 1900, and a copy is in the Hoover Library. The other was published as recently as 1954 in Hong Kong, and a copy is in the Library of Congress. To my knowledge, there is only one translation of the essay into a Western language, that by Camille Imbault-Huart into French and published in Peking in 1881. A copy is in the Library of Congress.

The Chinese text which accompanies the following translation is a punctuated photoreduction of four long hanging scrolls owned by a former teacher of the translator. Material within brackets in the English text is translated from the Pei-hsin huo-yeh-pen wen-hsuan movable type edition 10 which includes phrases not found in the accompanying Chinese text.


9 Sakai, 350-355.