



A-36 P8432/58258/16 MD/1-1
158



St. Peter's.

Collected by RB

*V. T. B. V.
48/3*

John Caryl Hunt. 1897.

E. 6. 19.

The
Robert E. Gross
Collection

A Memorial to the Founder
of the

*Lockheed Aircraft
Corporation*



Business Administration Library
University of California
Los Angeles



London Printed for Benj. Yeo and Sam. Buckley in Fleetstreet.

MEMOIRS
AND
OBSERVATIONS

Topographical, } [Natural,
Physical, } [Civil,
Mathematical, } and
Mechanical, } [Ecclesiastical.

Made in a late

JOURNEY
Through the
EMPIRE of CHINA,
And Published in several Letters.

Particularly upon the *Chinese* Pottery and Varnishing; the Silk and other Manufactures; the Pearl Fishing; the History of Plants and Animals. Description of their Cities and Publick Works; Number of People, their Language, Manners and Commerce; their Habits, Oeconomy, and Government. The Philosophy of *Confucius*. The State of Christianity, with many other Curious and Useful Remarks.

By *LOUIS LE COMPTE* Jesuit,
Confessor to the Dutcheſs of *Burgundy*, one of the Royal Mathematicians, and lately Miſſionary into the Eastern Countries.

Translated from the Paris Edition, and illustrated with Figures.

London: Printed for *Benj. Tooke* at the Middle Temple Gate, and *Sam. Buckley* at the Dolphin over againſt *St. Dunſtons Church* in *Fleetſtreet*. 1697.

1850

1850

1850

1850

1850

1850

1850

1850

1850

A

1850

A N
I N T R O D U C T I O N
T O T H E

English Translation,

Directed in

A *LETTER* to Sir *G. M.* Baronet,
and *W. M.* Esquire,

Members of Parliament.

A MONG the various Productions of the Press none seem (in your Clear Judgments) more delightful and instructive, then the Relations of Voyages and Travels; I mean those written by Men of Capacity and Sincerity, which lye in a small Compass; for most Books are either Romances, Novels, or Hypotheses; Panegyrics, Satyrs, or Burlesques (the one too commonly taken for Truths, as the others for *Heroicks*) which come forth either to ease an Hy-

The Introduction.

pocondriack Spleen; or else to flatter Ambitious Powers, to raise Private Fortunes, or favour Particular *Factions*: Those venomous Sorts of Vermine that infest Humane Societies, and spread such Poysons, as few Antidotes can reach, unless fetch'd from abroad, which sometimes raise the Pulse, and give the Blood a more generous Tincture; the World (like a Machine) being best understood, and manag'd, by taking it to pieces, viewing and comparing the several Parts together; from whence just Impressions may be taken with the greatest and most perfect Idea's; so the *Greek Master* painted his *Ulysses*.

The Knowledge of Forreign Countries seems to be the Noblest School for the enlarging and cultivating the Mind of Youth, who being generally confin'd by Education and Customs at Home (which few ever live to Surmount and Conquer) to a narrow Sphere of Thought, are for the most part puff'd up, and choak'd for want of a free Air and a large Prospect; hence it is that so many become unfit for Publick Business and Action, or even common Conversation, falling into Disorders upon little Contradictions, and Starting at every Thing that lyes out of their way. *Imperitum est Animal Homo, si circumscribatur Natalis Soli sui Fine*, says *Seneca*. Such a One the Great *Homer* drew his *Telemachus*.

The Globe is compar'd to a true Glass, in which may be seen the different Faces of Nature with the several Arts and Mysteries of Governments.

The Introduction.

vernments. Every Climate affords new Scenes, wherein a Man may learn that the Harmony of the Universe consists in a wonderful Variety, which (as the Emperor of *Siam* once repartee'd upon the Jesuits) seems to have been set out by the most glorious *Creator* and *Governour* of all Things for his own immortal Praise. Therefore 'tis in vain for the *Collegium de propagandâ Fide*, and the Roman Catholick Courts, to labour on Earth, or expect from Heaven a general Uniformity in the Religion and Manners of Mankind, no more then in other Customs, Diets, Habits, and Commodities; However, their *Missionaries* ought not to be discourag'd, in their Undertakings, for the Improvements of Geography, Natural and Civil History, Commerce, &c. bring Honour and Profit sufficient to reward their Pains, in case their Adventures upon Religion turn to no Account. The same Immense *Power* always has, and ever will be worship'd in different Forms, under various Figures, and *Idea's*. It seems to be a General Error amongst us, that many wise Nations adore meer Stocks and Stones, without any respect to the Supream *Divinity*.

Of all the Kingdoms of the Earth *China* is the most celebrated for Politeness and Civility, for Grandeur and Magnificence, for Arts and Inventions; which the Romish Priests are so sensible of, that they pass there under the Characters of Physicians, Painters, Merchants, Astrologers, Mechanicians, &c. and are receiv'd as such in the Courts of *Asia*, which are too fine to suffer openly

The Introduction.

penly the propagation of a strange Religion; as some of the most pious *Missionaries* (over-heated with the Naked Truth) often find to their own Destruction; especially when the *Brachmans*, the *Talapoins*, and the *Bonzes* begin to grow Zealous of their Masquerades, and to see thro' their Disguises.

But, you may perhaps demand (because you do not use to take Things upon meer Recommendations without further Enquiry, and Examination) why the Booksellers should venture to print in English these *Memoirs of China*, seeing we have already so many Relations of that Country? To which they give this Answer, *viz.* That most of our Accounts of *China* are either fabulous, or Copies, and not comparable to this Original of theirs: Besides, that vast Empire is so Fertile and Wonderful in all respects, that it will always furnish fresh Materials for Discoveries, let the Travellers be never so sagacious and industrious; few of whom will be found to deserve such a Character, unless Those lately sent at the *French King's* Expence, with a Stock of excellent Instruments, and with a sufficient Fund for making useful Observations; amongst these our *Author* was one of the Chief, and therefore the Reader may expect more from him, than what is already Extant in the printed Works of his Predecessors.

The Introduction.

Marco Paulo, Nicolo di Conti, Galeotto Perera*, Gaspar de Cruz, Ferdinand Mendez Pinto, Gonzalez de Mendoza, Anthony de Andrada, Manuell de Faria Souza, Pedro Cubero Sebastian, and

* See Ramusio *Vaggi & Navigazioni*, Printed at Venice. in 3 Vol. fol.

some others of the *Moresco* Vein, run Whip and Spur into Knight Errantry, so familiar and even congenial to the *Italian*, but much more to the *Spanish* and *Portuguese* Writers, that a thousand *Don Quixots* with all *Cervante's* Satyr will never be able to reform them; yet a Critical Reader may glean many pretty things from Them.

The Accounts of some Learned Jesuits (whose Order hath seen more of *China* than all the rest of the *Europeans*) seem to be more judicious and authentick; especially if we indulge them a little in the Story of their Religion. Among these we ought to mention with respect the Ingenious Fathers, *Ricci*, *Trigault*, *Semedo*, *Martini*, *Rhodes*, *Boym*, *Grueber*, *Adam Schall* (whose Letters are very considerable) *Father Greslon*, *Father Rougemont*, with many other *Missionaries* of the Church of *Rome*, from whom *Kircher* took all his Materials; and *Monsieur Thevenot* in that part of his *Collections* relating to *China*, has only abridg'd some of their Diaries and Journals.

The Relation that *Linschoten* gives of *China* is not equal to the other Parts of *Asia*, which he himself saw; the same may be said of *Mandelsto*.

The

The Introduction.

The *Dutch* Impression of *Nieuhof*, and the *Parisian* of *Magailans*, are deservedly most in esteem for their *Chinese* Observations, as well by their Exactness and Sincerity, as the choice of things they relate; the one being Secretary to a Solemn Embassy from *Batavia* to *Pekin*, and the other Resident above Thirty years in many of the Provinces of *China*, where he made it his business to correct the Errors, and supply the Defects of all the Writers before him; but he did not live to publish his own Work, which afterwards came forth by Order of *Cardinal d'Estrees*.

As for our Country-man *Ogilby*, he only copy'd and compil'd without any discretion from *Purchas*, *Kircher*, and *Nieuhof*; but of all the Copists, the *Commentator* upon *Magailans* has shewn the best judgment, so that indeed he might pass for an Original Master-piece, having fill'd up the Posthumous Fragments of that excellent *Father* with fidelity and accuracy.

There are great numbers of other Writers upon *China* among the Religious *Missionaries*, but they have rarely follow'd the Rule of Truth in their Relations of the State of Religion in that Kingdom (so difficult is it for Men to be honest in their own Trades and Callings) often forging false Miracles, multiplying Conversions, and composing such *Legends*, as they thought most agreeable, without ever promulging the true Gospel, or propagating the

The Introduction.

the Catholick Faith ; which hath been very ingenuously own'd by a famous Bishop of *Malaga*, by *Monsieur Arnaud*, and many other worthy *Clergy-men* of the Church of *Rome*, who confess that some Orders of their Communion have prepar'd and preach'd several Systems of Christianity according to the Climates they travell'd ; So in *China* the subtle *Jesuites* have adapted their Model to the Philosophy of *Confucius*, seldom or never Teaching the Crucifixion and Godhead of Christ, and frequently allowing the Worship of *Pagods*. Some of those *Politick Apostles* traffick wholly in *Chinese* Merchandize, others turn *Mandarins*, and become Ministers of * State, whereby they get Riches, Interest and Power, not only to drive away the rest of the *Religious Orders*, but all Christian Strangers whatsoever, that are not in the Secrets of their Empire.

* See the *Theatro Jesuitico*, printed at *Conimbre* in Fol. Also the *Morale Pratique des Peres Jesuites* in 8 Vol. 8°. particularly the second and third Parts.

'Tis computed that since the Year 1580, about 630 *Jesuits*, and 200 *Priests* of other Orders, have been sent out of several Parts of Christendom to *China*; half of which never landed in that Kingdom, and but very few of them ever return'd, being taken off either by Diseases, or intercepted by the *Dutch* in the Straits of *Sundy*, and *Malaca*, or else executed by the Civil Powers for disturbing the Publick Peace; however, I cannot but admire the in-

The Introduction.

defatigable Industry and Policy of the Church of *Rome* in the Schemes and Projects, she lays for reducing the whole World under her Dominion; which may be a Lesson to the rest of Christendom to be more unanimous and crafty, if they intend to stand their ground against such a *Church Militant*, as commands all the Catholick Legions, and observes a Discipline fit for Conquest.

But 'tis high time to come nearer the Letters here publish'd, the Author whereof was well prepar'd, and very willing to make Observations, Natural, Mechanical, Astronomical, and Civil, notwithstanding the Duty of his Religious Employment: He is pleas'd to begin his Journey where Father *Tachart*, and *Monsieur Loubere* (whose Voyages from *Brest* to *Siam* have been already Translated into English) left off theirs, and so carries on the Itinerary to *Pekin* by way of Letters, rather than Diary.

'Tis well known the *French* Court hath been very curious of late (*fas est & ab Hoste doceri*) to improve Astronomy, Geography, Natural History, Commerce, and indeed all such Arts and Sciences (to the shame of some of their Neighbour) as prove more serviceable to Humane Life, and Empire, than all the Scholastick Cobwebs, Logical Quibbles, Metaphysical Phantomes, or Poetick Chimes. *Vox prætereà Nihil.*

Upon the first Foundation of this mighty French Monarchy, 'twas thought necessary to set up, and encourage divers sorts of Domestick

Manu-

The Introduction.

Manufactures, and to discourage all Forreign; to open Publick Schools for Navigation, Fortification, and the other Parts of Mathematicks; to found and endow several Academies; and of late to establish Missions for the remote Quarters of the World: out of all these many able Persons have been dispatch'd away under Royal Pensions to the most distant places of the World, there to observe the Heavens, Air, Water, and Earth; comparing their several Remarks in the *Academy*, and *Observatory* at *Paris*; of which we have already many admirable Collections extant in all

* Volumes (some of great use to adjust the Longitude) from the Cape of *Good Hope*, the Coasts of *Malabar*, *Cormandel*, *Siam*, *Borneo*, *Malacca*, *Pegu*, *Manille*, *Macao*, *Canton*, *Nimpo*, *Nanquin*, *Canchen*, *Fenken*, and *Pekin*; Besides from the Isles of *Cayenne*, *Panama*, and more are expected from *California*, and the *South Seas*.

* *Observations Physiques & Mathematiques envoyées de Siam. Avec les Reflexions de Messieurs de l'Academie, & Notes du Pere Gouÿc.* Paris 1688. in 8^o.

Observations pour servir a l'Histoire Naturelle, & a la Perfection de l'Astronomie, & de la Geographie. Envoyées des Indes & de la Chine. Avec les Reflexions, &c. Paris 1692. in 4^o.

Recueil d'Observations faites en plusieurs Voyages par Ordre de sa Majesté, &c. Paris 1693. in Fol.

The Persons generally sent are skilful in the Mathematicks, in the Art of Designing, in Natural Philosophy, and are always well provided at the *King's* charge with Materials fit for

The Introduction.

such sort of Observations; as Compasses, Needles, Loadstones, Dials, Telescopes, Microscopes, Levels, Sextants, Quadrants, Pendulums, Barometers, Thermoscopes, Hygrometers, Burning Glasses, Pencils, Anatomical Instruments, Tools for Drawing, Surveying, Collecting, Preserving; &c.

The Priesthood it self hath not thought it below the Dignity of their Sacred Function to accept sometimes of these Employments; and therefore 'tis that we have of late so many excellent Pieces in this kind from Men of Holy Orders, who have apply'd themselves to such sort of Studies, as will render them renown'd in the Registers of Arts and Sciences, as well as in those of Martyrs and Confessors.

Father *Thomas* has been pleas'd to promise his own Observations, and other Memoirs upon the undescrib'd Countries of *Corea*, and that part of *Tartary* lying between the *Chinese* Wall, and *Muscovy*; thro' which *Caravans* are said to pass yearly between *Mosco* and *Pekin* in the space of four Months; for the Longitude of the Cities in *China* are found by many Astronomical Observations, made there, and compar'd with those at the Parisian Observatory, not to be so far Eastward by many Degrees as commonly placed in our Globes and Charts.

Father *Verbieſt*, Father *Grimaldi*, Father *Couplet*, *Pereira*, *Richaud*, *Fontanay*, Father *Beze*, *Noel*, *Bouchet*, *Gerbillion*, and some other Fathers *Missionaries*, have Treasures of
Obser-

The Introduction.

Observations and Draughts made by themselves and their Fellow Travellers in the Oriental Regions ; The Priests, employ'd of late years in the Missions, being of a higher Rate in Knowledge than formerly.

The Performances of *Monsieur Richer*, *M. Varin*, *Des Hayes*, and *De Glos*, in the African and American Plantations, deserve our Notice ; where *Monsieur Surian* (Physician at *Marseilles*) and Friar *Plumiere* have design'd and describ'd very elegantly the Vegetables and Animals ; Neither is that noble Present to be pass'd by, which our Author made the Royal Academy, of the Pictures of *Chinese* Plants from the Life, together with a large new Map ; which I suppose to belong to *Dr. Claudius*, mention'd by *Father Tachart* in his first Voyage to *Siam*.

Besides all these we may expect several curious and useful Remarks from the South Seas, of *Father Moralez*, *Father Van-Hamme*, *Father Ruggi*, and others ; who are now settled upon the *Ladrones*, and the Isles of *Solomon*, with a Stock of necessary Instruments and other Materials, requisite in the making of Observations. An Account of *Borneo* is also promis'd by a *Portuguese Mission*.

No less commendable is the late undertaking in *France* for the drawing a most exact Chart of that Kingdom from the Astronomical Observations of *Signor Cassini*, *Monsieur de la Hire*, *Picard*, and others, made in the Ports and in-

The Introduction.

land Parts ; whereby it appears that the Limits of that Country have been extended much too far towards the West, South, and North.

By these Ways and Means *Lewis* the XIV. will deserve to be honour'd, and even Consecrated in future Ages ; such Colours will give him Life and Beauty to all Posterity , and perhaps may shade the *Deformities*, which the *Poet* paints in *Clotar's* Court. We in *England* ought not to despair but that *Heroick Arthur*, who justly vies with the *Grand Monarch* in the fame of War, will also contend with him for the Glory and Empire of *Learning* , and dispute every *Art* and *Science*, aſ the Ground in *Flanders* ; which peradventure will equal, if not ſurpaſs, the praise of *Arms*. Then let the *British Homer* ſing his *Apotheoſis* with the ſame Charms, as in the *Prince*, and *King*.

I am ſure there is a vaſt Wit and *Genius* in our *Ministry*, capable of the greateſt Enterprize, *Nil deſperandum*—— and tho' at preſent a fatal Stop is put to the Growth and Propagation not only of *Letters*, but *Manufactures* amongſt us, and the *Treasure* of *Chriſtendom* flows daily to the *Banians* and *Genteés* ; yet a freſh Circulation and a new Life is in Nature, if we have but Spirit and Vertue to move in the right Channel.

But 'tis time to cloſe up this tedious Preface, which I thought neceſſary to ſpin out in the ſame Method that I formerly obſerv'd in my *Introduction* to the *Voyages* of Sir *John Narborough*,

The Introduction.

rough, Captain *Wood*, *Tasman*, and *Marten*; not out of any Vanity or Inclination for Scribbling, or of being styl'd an Author; nor out of expectation of Applause or Reward (my Station in the World being below Envy, and just above Contempt) but purely out of good Will and Complaisance to the Booksellers (to whom I wish a prosperous Sale) and that I might own my self to be one of your Admirers,

And Gentlemen,

Your most humble Servant,

THE
AUTHOR'S
PREFACE.

I Know not of the two which to blame most, him that publishes hasty indigested Relations of his Travels, or the Reader that runs 'em over slightly and heedlessly. The Business of writing Voyages is not altogether so light a Task as most are apt to Fancy, it requires not only Wit and Judgment, to manage it successfully, but likewise Sincerity, Exactness, and a simple Insinuating Stile, and Learning besides; for as a Painter, to be a Master in his Art, ought to know the propriety and force of all sorts of Colours, so whoever undertakes a Description of the People, Arts and Sciences, and the Religions of the New World, must have a large Stock of Knowledge, and in a manner an Universal Genius. That's not all neither, he must have been an Eye-witness of most of the Actions and Things he reports, he must be skill'd in the Customs and Language of the Inha-

The Author's Preface.

Inhabitants, he must have corresponded with those of the best fashion among them, and been frequently in the Conversation of their principal Officers: In a word, to speak with certainty and assurance of the Riches, Beauty, and Strength of an Empire, he ought to take an actual Survey of the Multitude of its Subjects, the Number and Scituation of the Cities, and the Extent of its Provinces, and be curious in searching after all the remarkable Rarities in the Country. I confess indeed this is something more laborious and expensive than to frequent the Company of the Virtuosi at home, or supinely tumble over the History of the World by the fire-side, and yet after all their fatigue, Travellers of all Men are the least esteemed upon the score of their Writings.

There's a set of jolly People that amuse themselves with what passes daily before their Eyes, and are little affected with News from remote Parts of the Globe. 'Tis grown a Maxim with others to reject all Forreign Stories for Fables; these value themselves upon their Incredulity, and are such strict Friends to Truth, that they never acknowledge any. Another sort again throw away a Book of this kind for a Miracle, or some extraordinary Accident, any thing out of the way (beyond their common prejudices) that they find it, as tho' Nature having exhausted all her Treasures upon our portion of Earth, could produce nothing uncommon elsewhere, or as tho' God's Power were more limited in the new Eastern Churches than among us.

*Some there are too that run directly counter to
these*

The Author's Preface

these, who enquire after nothing but Wonders, satisfied only with what raises their Admiration, they think all that's Natural flat and inspid, and if they are not rouz'd up with astonishing Adventures, and continual Prodigies, drop asleep over the best penn'd Relation; now to humor such Creatures, one had need to cast the World into a new Figure, and give Mankind other shapes. 'Tis certain, so many different Tastes are not all to be pleas'd; hence Travellers when they come home are as hard put to it to gain a patient hearing from their own Country-men, as they were at first going abroad to make themselves be understood by Strangers. But indeed they are not always worth hearing, the emptiness or irregularity of their Relations, or else the Vein of Passion and Prejudice running through the whole, that turns a History into Slander; but above all, the boldness wherewith they sham the most ridiculous Tales upon us for credible Truths, justly distaste Men of Sence, and render suspected the more prudent and sincere Authors. Tho' ordinarily it falls out that those Travellers who impose upon other People were first deceived themselves, how many are there, who do but just touch at a strange Country, and imagine to be immediately inform'd of all that belongs to it, they step ashore, and scour about like famish'd Men, greedily catching at all that comes in their way, and so cram their Journals with idle popular Chat: upon this occasion a Spaniard said pleasantly of a certain Author, that instead of intitling his Book, A Relation of all the Considerable Rarities in the New World,

he

The Author's Preface.

should rather have called it, An Account of what the Rabble of both Indies, the Moors, Cafres, and Slaves faithfully reported to me, in those Conferences which I duly held with them. Others perhaps are more reserv'd, and then 'tis Ten to One they are naturally bent to magnifie every thing; and really when a Man has rambled five or six thousand Leagues, out of pure Curiosity, 'twould fret him after all to meet with nothing but what he has seen fifty times over in Europe, then without a special Caution one is apt to set too mighty a Character and Esteem upon the Climate, the Customs and the Wit of the People, and what at the bottom is most barbarous becomes most ravishing, now in writing to others what we admire before hand our selves, the Idea's are heightned in the Description, and in the end grow monstrous, and all this to tickle the Reader forsooth, or our own Vanity, with being first in a Relation. I have known some very scrupulous this way in appearance, but in effect no less wide of the Mark than their Neighbours, who stedfastly believe themselves honest in their Assertions, but most unlukily make an ill choice of Terms and Modes of Expression: To speak intelligibly, we read every day one or other that tell us of certain Kingdoms in the Indies, much after the rate that we talk of those in Europe, The Metropolitan Cities, the Counties, the Government of Frontier Places, the Palace, the Ministers of State, the Generals of Armies, and a hundred other Terms of that stamp, presently we think our selves at another Paris,

Ver-

The Author's Preface.

Verfailles, or in our formidable Armies; and when all comes to all, this same Louvre of a Palace is neither better nor worse than a rambling ill contriv'd wooden Building; the Courtiers a Crew of sorry Wretches half naked; the Vice-Roys it may be have fifteen or twenty petty Villages under their Government, scattered up and down in the Woods, and so of the rest. Undoubtedly these Terms that represent such grand Idea's to us, are very improperly used to signify such pitiful Kingdoms, that have almost nothing common with ours, but the Name, 'tis my opinion we ought to manage them warily and skilfully, lest we should lie in telling the Truth. But when the Country we treat of has in good earnest something noble and singular in it, we are still apter to miscarry, then we are not content barely to draw Esteem from our Readers, we covet their Admiration too; in this Case a Man must stand upon his guard against his own Evidence, and deal with it just as those modest Persons, who in their Judgment retrench half the Merit their own Imagination suggests to 'em, lest they should over-value themselves. Upon the whole, we ought not to be so violently prepossess'd against Relations of Voyages; as to put good and bad under the same Condemnation; for as on one hand it were indiscreet to take up with all that come out without Choice, Examination, or Distinction; so on the other hand, 'tis as foolish an Affectation to reject indifferently the Accounts of Travellers whose Disinterest, Condition, and Capacity recommend their Credit. For my part, notwithstanding I
have

The Author's Preface.

have constantly cherished a steady affection for Truth, I durst not venture to put together an entire Story of all that came to my knowledge during a long abode in the Empire of China, apprehending lest the want of other Qualifications, necessary in such a Work, should hardly be atton'd for by that single Vertue; nevertheless, not knowing well how to contain my self altogether at my return from so far a Country, and being less able to forbear publishing the Progress of Religion in the East, I confess I have been extremely delighted in communicating my self on that Subject to several Persons of Quality, well affected to our Holy Faith, and being under an Obligation to render an Account of my Voyage to some, or in Obedience to the express Commands of others; or lastly to make a Return for the Civility and good Offices done me by the rest, I wrote the following Letters, being an Abridgment of those particular Conversations they have honoured me with, which comprehend in great part the present State of China, and I conceived in publishing this Collection, not as a regular Universal Account of that vast Empire, but as Memoirs and Heads for a General History, they might not be unserviceable to those who might one time or other take up such a design; meantime I may well fear that the same things which seem'd tolerable in Discourse, will not pass so currantly upon a nearer view; Faults are ever easiest discovered in writing, and that loose Irregularity which makes up the pleasure of Conversation, will hardly be forgiven here: But to conclude, a Man that
has

The Author's Preface.

has endeavoured Ten years together to forget his Mother Tongue, and to load his Memory with barbarous Words and uncouth Ideas, whatever he may have lost another way, ought to be allowed the priviledge of writing ill, after we have cut the Line four or five times, methinks our Stile should not be canvast by the Criticks, and for ought I know Politeness in a Missionary would be less edifying than Negligence.

THE

T H E

Heads of the LETTERS in the first Part.

- Letter I. **T**HE *Missionaries Voyage from Siam to Pe-
kin.* p. 1
- II. *The manner of their Reception by the Emperor of Chi-
na, and what they found remarkable in the City of Pe-
kin.* 32
- III. *Of the Cities, Buildings, and most considerable Works
in China.* 54
- IV. *Of the Climate, Soil, Canals, Rivers, and Fruits of
China.* 92
- V. *A Character of the Chinese Nation, their Antiquity,
Nobility, Habits and Manners.* 119
- VI. *Of their Oeconomy and Magnificence.* 150
- VII. *Of their Language, Characters, Books and Morals.*
179
- VIII. *A particular Character of their Wit and Genius.* 219

LETTERS in the Second Part.

- I. **O**F *the Chinese Policy and Government.* p. 241
- II. *Of their Religion Ancient and Modern.* 312
- III. *Of the Establishment and Progress of Christianity in
China.* 345
- IV. *The Methods used by the Missionaries to propagate the
Gospel in China, and of the Zeal of the New Converts.*
384
- V. *Of the Approbation and Allowance of the Christian Re-
ligion by a Publick Edict throughout the Empire of Chi-
na.* 441
- VI. *A General Scheme of the Observations made by the
Missionaries in the Indies and China.* 482
- THE

THE
Present State
OF
CHINA.

A Letter to my Lord Pontchartrain, Secretary of State to his most Christian Majesty.

The Voyage from Siam to Peking.

My Lord,

THO' Men generally take no little Pride in recounting their Travels, and that of *China* be the most entertaining to this part of the World, I could never yet be reconciled to the thoughts of writing a Formal Account of my Voyage thither. That Subject indeed is worn so thread-bare that People have little Curiosity about New Relations; and indeed the World is sufficiently taken up with the Business of the Times, the Wars, Negotia-

B

2 *The Voyage from Siam to Pekin.*

Negotiations, and divers Movements *Europe* is in at present : take 'em off from enquiring into the Affairs of Remote Countries.

But you, my Lord, (whose Genius is as far extended as your Zeal, and who no less rejoyce at Victories obtained by Christ's Doctrine over Idolatry, then at those by our Arms) will, I dare hope, give us his Ministers a patient Hearing. I have already had the honour to be heard by you on this Subject at spare hours, and I may say, that besides those Divine Helps which support us in all our Labours, nothing could more encourage our Industry then that Goodness with which you are pleased to countenance it.

The Project of sending Missionaries skill'd in the Mathematicks, into the utmost parts of the World, was conceiv'd of that Glory for his Majesty's Reign, and that Advantage to our Religion, that his Ministers have ever used their best Endeavours to carry it on.

Monsieur *Colbert* not only brought the King to approve of the Design, but also himself gave Orders for the preparing of all necessary Instruments, for a considerable number of Mathematicians, who were all bound for *China*, some thro' *Muscovy* and *Tartary*, others thro' *Syria* and *Persia*, and the rest on Board the Vessels belonging to the *East-India* Company.

His Death put some stop to this great Design, but the Marquis *de Louvois* no sooner succeeded him in the Super-intendency of Arts and Sciences, but he did by Order from his Majesty command our Superiours, to look out for Men, whose Zeal and Capacity, might enable them for such an Undertaking; for whom he procured all sorts of Instruments, and furnished them with Money, Letters of Commendation, and in short, all that might contribute to the Success of the Enterprize.

Monsieur *De Seignelay* judging that these new
Missions.

Missions needed the support of the Admiralty, desired they might be intrusted to his Care ; but tho' Monsieur *De Louvois* gave up to him the Management of them, yet did he not wholly abandon them, but largely and bountifully contributed to the making their Journey the shorter, thro' *Poland*, *Russia*, *Siberia*, and the greater *Tartary* to the Eastern Ocean.

Thus, my Lord, has Providence led three great Men to forward so Noble a Work, the perfecting of which it has left to you. The several Reasons which induced them to it will, no doubt, be as prevalent with you, who are no less desirous of the Honour of Religion, the Glory of our King, and the Advantage of his Subjects, and no less careful in your Employments, which respect both to Arts and Sciences and Trade and Navigation.

Your Protection has hitherto been so Benevolent to those Zealous Missionaries, that they cannot doubt of a happy Success.

But besides this Acknowledgment, they are bound to give you an exact Account of their Actions, their Travels, and the Use they have made of his Majesty's Bounty. These Memoirs, my Lord, I offer to you on their behalf.

The King, about Ten years since, commanded Six of his Subjects, Jesuits, for *Cbina*, with the Character of his Majesty's Mathematicians, that under cover of that Learning they might the easier insinuate the Gospel. I was one of them, and set Sail with the rest in the beginning of the Year 1685. in the same Ship on Board which was Monsieur *Chau-mont*, sent by his Majesty on an Extraordinary Embassy to the Court of *Siam*.

Our Voyage thither was very fortunate, but the Season forbid our going farther, and we were detained there near a Twelve-month, till the time of year proper for our Design.

4 *The Voyage from Siam to Peking.*

The K. of *Siam*, a Pretender to Astrology, desired to be a Sharer in our Astronomical Observations. He admired above all our exactness in foretelling an Eclipse of the Moon, and from that time had thoughts of keeping us at his Court. But having informed him what our Orders were, he consented that Four of us should depart for *China*, provided Father *Tachard* should return to *France* to request the King for more Mathematicians, and that I the whilst should remain with him.

Accordingly he went for *Europe*, and I continued at *Siam*, while the Fathers *Fontaney*, *Gerbillon*, *De Visdelon*, and *Bouvet* took Ship for *Macao*, a small City situate on the Point of an Island adjacent to *China*, where the Portugueze have a Fortrefs.

Father *Tachard* arrived safe at *Paris*, with the *Siamite* Ambassadors: But those who were sailed for *China*, were in a few days after their departure, surpris'd by a Tempest which put a stop to their Voyage; they were in a stout Vessel of Monsieur *Constance's*, but it was so terribly shattered, that in a little time it began to be leaky.

The Shipwreck being inevitable, it was thought better to strand on the Shoar with some hopes of Life, then by Loosing up against the Wind to keep the Sea and Founder in a desperate Condition. So before Night they reached an unknown Land. The Ship often run upon Shoals, but did not split, and with much ado they got to the Leeward of an Island near *Cassemet* a Province of the Kingdom of *Siam*, bordering upon that of *Camboja*.

The Captain then despaired of proceeding on his Voyage, being fallen under a Wind, which according to the Season was like to keep the same Corner for several Months, and hindred him from doubling the Cape of *Camboja*, the Ship being very much disabled.

The

The Missionaries more concerned at this loss of time than at the danger they had escaped, resolved upon returning to *Siam* by Land, that they might get on Board an English Vessel bound for *Canton*, which was to Sail about the beginning of *August*. They entered the Woods, in hopes to meet with a Town and some Guides that might conduct them, but they soon lost their way, and encountered no less Perils at Land then they had before met with at Sea. The great Rains had caused a Land-flood, so that walking barefoot thro' the Fields overflowed, an innumerable quantity of Leeches, and Musketoes so troublesome to Strangers, were their continual Torment. On the other hand great number of Serpents, Tigers, Buffles and Elephants, of which the Forests are full, kept them in continual Apprehension.

But their greatest Misery was want of Food; for the little Victuals they had brought out with them being soon spent, they had been starved had not Providence directed them to a small Village. Not that the Inhabitants could afford them much help, being themselves unprovided of all things; but they conducted them back again to their Ship, where they arrived after a Fortnights Wandring, half dead with Weariness and Hunger.

As for me I was almost in as ill a Case: I had obtain'd of Monsieur *Constance* that he should place me into a Convent of *Talapoins*, (so are their Priests called) for not one of them had yet been prevailed with to acknowledge *Christ*, tho' their Conversion might be an effectual Means to that of the whole Nation. I judged the best way to bring it about, would be a free Converse with them, Dressing as they did, and Living with the same Austerity. I had a President in the Mission at *Madura*, and all reason to hope for the like Success at *Siam*. But the Conspiracy of the *Malais* and *Macassars*, which happened at that

6 *The Voyage from Siam to Pekin.*

time gave Monsieur *Constance* so much trouble, that he had not the leisure to think of me. The King who countenanced the Christian Faith, and his Minister who was its chief Support, with all those who professed it, were in danger of being murdered in one Night, had not our Redeemer saved us from that Peril; but the Plot was discovered, and the Criminals brought to a condign Punishment.

This Accident was the Cause that the Fathers came back by Sea to *Siam*, before I was too far engaged in the New Life I designed to lead; and I yielded to their Intreaties that I would embark with them when the Season should permit, which I did the more willingly, because it was about the time that Father *Tachard* was to return with a Recruit of Missionaries and Mathematicians.

On the 17th of *June* in the Year 1687. we sailed for *Nimpo*, a considerable City and Haven in *Cbekiam* a Province of *China*; for we thought it not fit to go to *Macao* as was designed the Year before, having been informed that we should be no welcome Guests to the *Portuguese*.

I scarce believe, *My Lord*, that you are over curious of knowing how we steered our Course. Those Journals wholly made up of *East, West, North, and South*, and a thousand barbarous Words which seem proper for no other use then Huffing and Hectoring the Winds, can scarce be relished by so nice a Palate as yours. However, they are very useful to Seamen, and those who make Navigation their study, would not find the Style unpleasant. But I shall take another opportunity of giving you an Account of it, in offering you some Geographical Memoirs. Permit me then to wave this for the present, and to speak only of what concerned our selves.

Sight of the King of *Siam's* express Orders for our good Treatment, God was pleased in his Wisdom

to give us an Occasion of Exercising our Patience. We were on Board a small *Chineze* Vessel, called a *Somme* by the *Portugueze*, without any Shelter against the Weather, and so streightned for want of Room, that we could not lye at length: Placed near an Idol black with the smoak of a Lamp continually burning in its Honour, and (which was our great Eye-fore) worshipped each day with a Diabolical Superstition. The Sun was directly over our Heads, and we had scarce any Water to quench our immoderate Thirst, caused by the excessive Heat of the Climate. Three Meals of Rice were our daily Allowance, tho' the Captain I confess often invited us to eat some Meat with him, but that being always first offered as a Sacrifice to the Idol, we looked on it with more Horror than Appetite. In this manner we spent above a Month, endeavouring, by our Patience and our Prayers, to inspire those Idolatrous People with an Esteem for our Holy Religion, our little Skill in their Language not permitting us to do it by declaring its most Sacred Truths.

'Tis true we sometimes, with the help of an Interpreter, attempted to convince them of the Absurdity of that Worship their Education had unfortunately engaged them in. One day especially they flocked about us; the Dispute grew something sharp, and at length became so hot, that we were forced to give it over. All Seamen are generally very untractable. These took great Offence at what we had said of their Idol, and a short while after came towards us, arm'd with Lances and Half-Pikes, with Looks that seem'd to menace us.

Having with some Impatience doubted what would be the Event, we found at last we had no Cause to fear. The Mariners had armed themselves only to prepare for a Procession in Honour of their Idol; perhaps to appease the Anger she might have concei-

8 *The Voyage from Siam to Pekin.*

ved at what in the Dispute had been said to her Disparagement. I scarce believe there is a Nation more Superstitious then the *Chineze* who worship the very Compass they steer by, continually censuring it with Perfumes, and often offering it Meat as a Sacrifice. Twice a day regularly they threw little pieces of gilt Paper in likeness of Money into the Sea, as it were to keep it at their Devotion by that Salary. Sometimes they would present it with little Boats made of the same Stuff, that being busied in tossing and ruining them, she might neglect ours. But when the unruly Element, maugre their Courtesie, would grow troublesome, being, as they thought, agitated in an extraordinary manner by a Dæmon that governs it; They burned some Feathers, whose noisom smook and pestiferous scent, were indeed more then sufficient, had the Fiend been endued with Sence, to send him going, were he the Cause.

Once passing near a Hill on which one of their Temples is built, their Superstition then out-did it self; for besides the usual Ceremonies consisting in Meat-Offerings, burning of Candles and Perfumes, throwing little Baubles of gilt Paper into the Sea, and infinite such other Fopperies, all Hands were at work for five or six hours together, in making a little Vessel in the likeness of ours, of about four Feet in length. It was very artificially wrought, wanting neither Masts, Tackling, Sails or Flags, it had its Compass, Rudder, and Shalop, its Arms, Kitchen-stuff, Victuals, Cargo and Book of Accompts. Besides, they had daubed as many small pieces of Paper as we were Men in the Ship, which were disposed of in the same places we were in. This Machine being placed on two Staves, was with no little Ceremony, at the noise of a Tabor and a Brazen Bason, raised up in view of all the Crew. A Seaman in a *Bonze's* Habit was the Chief Man among 'em, playing several Apish Tricks with

with a Quarter-staff, and now and then shouting forth loud Huzza's. At length the Mysterious Toy was committed to the Waves, and eyed as far as sight could reach, accompanied with the *Bonze's* Acclamations, who roar'd with all his might. This ridiculous Entertainment diverted the Sailors, while we were struck with a sensible Grief at the sight of their blind Error, which it was out of our Power to cure.

An Accident happened soon after, which at first gave them less Pleasure, but in the end proved an equal Diversion to us all. The Mariners fancied they saw a Ship in a part of the Sea much infested with Pyrates. They had excellent Spying-glasses, thro' which they could perceive the Masts, the Sails, nay some saw the very Tackling, and by the manner of her Sailing, it was plain she designed us a Visit. All were very diligent in putting their Ship in a Posture of Defence; The *Chineze*, who of all Men love best to sleep in a whole Skin, were in great Consternation; and the Fear we saw painted in their Faces, while they made ready their Cimeters, Pikes, and Guns, (for they had no Canon) more terrified us than the fancied Enemy, which yet caused in us no little Apprehension; for indeed, I must confess, we were then grown as fearful, if possible, as the *Chineze* themselves. Religion or Martyrdom was not then the thing in question, we were in danger of being immediately strangled by Villains who give no Quarter, for such is their Custom, which they would not have altered for our sakes. The only Remedy would have been to have leaped into the Sea, and by drowning ourselves deferred our End for a few Minutes; but the Medicine was somewhat violent, and we did not care for the Experiment. Our Prospective Glasses were often made use of, and, to our no little surprize, the mighty Vessel as it came near us lessened, as did our ill-grounded Terror, for we now doubted whether it

10 *The Voyage from Siam to Pekin.*

was a Ship. At length it grew a Floating Island, then a Sea Horse, and then I know not what, till at last being in sight it proved to be a Tree, which a violent Wind had torn from the Coast. The Earth and Pebbles about its Root made it swim upright, so that its Trunk, which was very high, resembled a Mast, and some Branches spread on each side for a Yard, with lesser Boughs broken down for Ropes, had, with the help of the Wind and the Sea's beating about it (which formed a Tract not unlike that a Ship makes) thus causlessly alarm'd us; Besides that People who trembled as they looked thro' their Glassses, might easily be deceived.

The dreadful Enemy was no sooner known but the Preparations were given over, to their great grief, who desired nothing more then a Battel, and were heartily vexed at the Disappointment. But we much suspecting their Courage was affected, (for it appeared not till all the Danger was vanisht) thought not our selves safe till we were landed.

This was not the only Peril we were likely to encounter; for scarce were we in sight of *Ernois*, an Island of *China*, famous for the Commodiousness of its Harbour, and the abundance of Ships of all Nations which resort thither, when the sudden veering of the Wind, a Calm that followed, and black Clouds which on every side darken'd our Horizon, made the Pilots fear the approach of some *Typhon*, than which nothing is more terrible in the Seas of *China* and *Japan*; for unless the Captain be well skill'd, the Crew numerous, and the Vessel stout, their ruin is most certain. This *Typhon* is a furious Wind, or rather a blowing of all the Winds at once; so that the Waves confusedly rolling one upon another, beset a Ship on all sides, and toss it after an extraordinary manner. This Wind is so violent, that there is no bearing any Sail, and so obstinate, that the third day scarce sees the
end

end of it. At first the Seamen's Pains and Industry withstand the Storm, but continual Labour tires and disheartens them; they yield to the over-ruling Winds, the Masts break, the Rudder is carried off, and the Ship founders; or if she be so well built as to sustain the Fury of the Waves, she splits against a Rock, and not a Man escapes.

Four days had been spent in expectation of the like Fate, and the dreadful Omens increased, when it came into our Minds to address St. *Francis Xavier*, whose Miracles had once rendered those Seas so famous. We prayed him to divert the Tempest, and enforced our Prayers by a Vow. Scarce were we off our Knees, but whether by a Miracle or the ordinary Course of Nature, there blew a favourable Gale of Wind, which carried us thro' some Islands into our desired Port.

I never saw any thing so Frightful, as that infinite number of Rocks and Desert Islands thro' which we were to pass. The Channels are in some places so narrow, as not to exceed ten Paces in breadth, to the great danger of those who Sail thro' 'em: We also steered thro' a pretty wide Bay, in which the *Chinese* observe an exact Silence, for fear, say they, of disturbing a neighbouring Dragon, and made us follow their Example. I know not how they call it, as for us, we named it the *Dumb Man's Bay*.

Having spent some time among those horrid Rocks, we at last had sight of a little City they call *Tim-bai*, that is, *Sea's Limit*, situated at the Mouth of the River, up the which we tided, and dropt Anchor three Miles higher, near the City of *Nimpo*, a sight of which we so earnestly had wisht for, during a Six and thirty days Navigation, which the continual Danger and Hardships we were exposed to, had rendered very tedious.

It was with no little Joy that we reached that Land,
in

12 *The Voyage from Siam to Pekin.*

in which we had, during so many years, long'd to preach the Gospel. It's sight inspired us with an unusual Zeal, and the Joy of viewing that happy Soil which so many good Men had Consecrated by their Labours, we thought a large amends for ours.

But tho' we were so near the City, it was not so easie for us to enter it. *China* is a very Ceremonious Country, wherein all Strangers, but especially the *French*, need have a good stock of Patience. The Captain of our Vessel thought fit to hide us, and on our arrival we were let down into the Hold, where the Heat which increased as we came nearer the Land, and several other Inconveniencies we lay under, made our Condition almost insupportable. But spight of all Caution we were found out, an Officer of the Customs spied us, and having taken an Account of the Ship's Cargo, set a Man in her, and withdrew to let his Master know it. That *Mandarine* who holds his Commission immediately from Court, and is therefore much respected, ordered us to be brought before him, whom we found in a large Hall assisted by his Assessors and other inferiour Officers, having been waited on thither by a multitude of People, who there are more curious of seeing an *European*, then we should be here of viewing a *Chineze*.

No sooner were we enter'd, but we were admonish'd to kneel and bow our Heads nine times to the ground, that being the Custom in those Parts of doing Obeisance to the Prime *Mandarine*, who in that Quality represents the Emperor's Person. His Countenance was very Severe, and bore a Gravity that challenged Veneration, and a Dread, which increased at the sight of his Executioners, like *Roman* Liçtors, attending with Chains and great Sticks, ready to bind and cudgel whom his *Mandarineship* should think fit.

Having paid him our Devoirs, he asked us Who we were, and what was our Errand. *My Lord*, (answer-
ed

ed we, by the means of our Interpreter) we have heard in Europe that several of our Brethren, and particularly Father Verbieft, laboured with success to spread the Knowledge of our Holy Religion in these remote Parts; The same Zeal has moved us, and the Noble Idea we have framed to our selves of this Empire, and of the Wit and Politeness of its Inhabitants, has prevailed with us to procure them the only thing that is wanting to compleat the Grandeur of so flourishing and renowned a Nation, to wit the Knowledge of **THE ONLY TRUE GOD**, without which it cannot be truly Great. We have besides understood how kind his Imperial Majesty has been to them, and hope his Mandarines, who know his Intentions, will be so favourable as not to molest us.

This Declaration seemed something bold, in a Province where our Religion was scarce tolerated, and in a City, where there was not one Christian. But we were unacquainted with these Circumstances, and had thought that since the Freedom of Trade had been granted, Strangers might come and settle there, which is directly opposite to the Laws of the Land. The *Mandarine*, who must needs be surpris'd at the Liberty we took, dissembled his Thoughts, and as if he approved of our Zeal, told us it was true the Emperor had a particular Esteem for Father *Verbieft*, whose Merit was well known throughout the whole Empire, that as for himself he was very desirous to serve us; But, continued he, I must first advise with the Governor, and we shall consider of it together: In the mean while return to your Ship, where you shall hear further from us.

Some days after the General of the Militia in and about the City; which might consist in about fifteen or twenty thousand Men, was willing to see us, and entertained us very kindly, insomuch that when we left him to wait upon the Governor, he sent an Officer to desire him that he would use us kindly, assuring him we were very honest People. The Govern

14 *The Voyage from Siam to Peking.*

nor expressed some Consideration for us, but said he could determine nothing in our Case till he had first conferred with the Chief Officers of the City; so that we were forced again on Board our hated Ship, which seemed to us a very severe Prison.

Most of us were sick, but *Our Lord*, who permitted these Delays to try our Patience, did at last soften the hardened Hearts of these Infidels, who took Compassion on us. Eight days being spent in Consultations, the *Mandarine* of the Customs held his Court in a House not far from the Port, where his Clerks usually kept their Office. There having sent for us and our Goods, being several Bales of Books, Images, and Mathematical Instruments, they opened but three of our Trunks, without demanding any Custom; and his Lordship told us we might lodge in the Suburbs till they had heard from the Viceroy, to whom the Governor had wrote concerning us. We thankfully accepted of his Civility, and in our new Habitation enjoyed a Rest we stood in great need of.

Permit me, *My Lord*, before I go on, to give you a general Description of that great Empire, framed according to the Observations of Ancient Geographers, rectified by those we have since made with much Care and Exactness.

C H I N A, which the Inhabitants call *Tchoum-coer-é*, the *Middle Kingdom*, because they formerly thought themselves seated in the midst of the World, is divided into fifteen very large Provinces. *Quantom*, *Fokien*, *Cbekiam*, *Nankin*, *Chanton* and *Pecheley* lye along the Eastern Ocean; from South to North. And from North to South on the Western side, are extended *Chanfi*, *Chenfi*, *Sout-choïen*, *Yunnan* and *Kouanfi*, and then *Kouei-tchéou*, *Kiansi*, *Houquam* and *Honan*, are locked in by the other eleven, and form the midst of the Empire, which a Channel divides from *Japan* and the
Island

Island *Formosa*, and a very long wall from *Tartary*.

Here, *My Lord*, I must beg your Patience awhile, to give you an exact account of its Situation, and put you in mind of two considerable Faults Geographers are guilty of. The first is, that they have misplaced the whole Province *Leanton* within the Wall, whereas it is undoubtedly without, tho' it ever made part of the *Chinese* Dominions. This is Matter of Fact, and whoever questions it needs but to take a Journey thither, as we did, to be convinced. The second is, that they place the whole Empire five hundred Leagues more Eastward than it really is; this is not so palpable a mistake as the last, but is by our Observations clearly demonstrable; so that *China* is much nearer *Europe* than had always been thought.

Could succeeding Observators but bring it each Journey so many Leagues nearer, our Voyages would soon be shortned, and those who are so fond of seeing unknown Countries, might with ease satisfy their Desires; but the mischief is that it is out of their power; and I dare say, our Observations and those of the Royal Academy of Sciences, will scarce be out-done; unless Mr *V*—— who has so much inveighed against our Manner of Proceeding herein, gives himself that trouble; then indeed I should not despair (did he give us a Map of his Travels) of seeing *China* beyond *Japan*, or *Japan* near *Mexico*.

Besides these two Essential Blunders, they have failed in the Situation of each several City; but a more particular Account would be too tedious to insert here, and may besides be expected from Father *Gouye* a Mathematician of our *King's Colledge*, with whom I have left our Geographical Observations, which he will shortly produce to the World. However, my Lord, be pleased that I give you the true Extent of the Empire. From the City of *Canton*, which we place a little above the 23 Degree to *Pekin* which

18 The Voyage from Siam to Pekin.

which lyes in the 40th, there are from North to South 17 Degrees. But we may reckon 18, because beyond *Pekin* and *Canton* to the outmost Bounds is 20 Leagues more: These 18 Degrees amount to 450 Common Leagues, and are the entire Length of that Country. Its Extent from East to West, is little less; so that on the whole, *China*, which is almost of a Circular Figure, is very near Fourteen hundred Leagues in Circuit. This Account, *My Lord*, I can warrant to be just, and grounded on very exact Remarks.

You see, *My Lord*, that I have left out the Islands *Formosa*, *Haynan*, and others of less Note, (which of themselves would make a very great Kingdom) as also all the Province *Leauton*, because it is without the Wall. As for the *Corea*, *Tunquin*, and *Siam*, they depend indeed on *China* so far, as that they pay a Tribute to that Crown, and that their Kings, at their admission, are Confirmed by its Emperor; but they are separate Kingdoms, and differ much from that of *China*, which whether in respect of the Product and Fertility of its Soil, or the Beauty and Number of its Cities, the Wit, Politeness, Religion or Manners of its Inhabitants, is quite another thing. The *Chineze* know it, and are so proud of it, that they call all the rest Barbarous Nations, taking great care in their Marriages not to match with them, or any of the other *Indians*, and fearing nothing more than that their mean Blood should run in a Noble *Chineze's* Veins.

I also omitted a great part of *Tartary* which belongs to this State, to the great increase of its Power, for the *Tartars* are Valiant, and withal Men of Sense; and besides, tho' *Tartary* be full of Woods and Sandy Desarts, yet it is not wholly unfruitful; those fine Furs of which they rob their *Zibelines*, *Foxes*, and *Tigers*, a great diversity of Simples useful in Physick,

sick, and the fine Horses which come from thence, are Commodities *China* could not be without. Yet tho' they reap so great a Profit by it, it cannot be imagined what a Vexation it is to them to be so strictly united and mixt with that Nation; and one must be well acquainted with the Excess of their Vanity, and of the Conceit they have of their Grandeur, to know how grievously the *Tartarian* Conquest has humbled them. I question not, *My Lord*, but you have heard of it, but perhaps have not had the leisure of inquiring into Particulars, and therefore a short Account of that great Revolution may not be unwelcome.

One of the Petty Kings of the Eastern *Tartary* (for there are not a few) whose Subjects called *Mouantchéou*, had settled a Trade near the Long Wall, having complained at *Peking* of some Knaveries committed by the *Chinese* Merchants, and having received no Satisfaction, resolved to right himself, and entered the Province of *Leauton* with a numerous Army. The Emperor presently sent some part of his Forces to oppose him, and the War continued some time, with equal advantage. But one *LI* a *Chinese* took that Opportunity to hatch a Rebellion in the Provinces which were most remote from Court. Great numbers of Malecontents flocked about him, who having made themselves Masters of the greatest Cities, like a Torrent overflowed the whole Country, driving all down before them.

The Sacred Majesty of their Emperor could not save *Peking* from their Fury, the Rebel who knew the best Forces were drawn out of it, marched directly to attack it. There was indeed a Garrison of Seventy thousand Men, but most gain'd upon by the practices of *Li's* Emissaries; so that while some with a pretended Zeal perswaded the Prince to remain in his Palace, others open'd the City Gates to the Trai-

tor, who solemnized his Entry by a Cruel Slaughter. The unfortunate Monarch finding himself betrayed, would have marched out against him with Six hundred Guards who still remained with him, but at the mentioning of this Heroick Proposal their Hearts failed 'em', and they ungenerously abandoned him. Then knowing no greater Evil then that of falling quick into the Hands of his Enemies, he retired into a Garden with an only Daughter he had, and having wrote with his Blood these words on the bordure of his Vest, *My Subjects have basely forsaken me, spend thy Rage on my Body, but spare my People.* He first stabb'd the Princess, whose Tears must needs have rent a Heart of Flint, and then hang'd himself on a Tree; more Unjust to his Daughter, and Cruel to Himself, then could have been the most barbarous Foe.

The Emperor being dead, all bowed to the Usurper except *Ousanguay*, (whom the late Prince had intrusted with the Command of the Forces he had sent against the *Tartars*,) who never would acknowledge him, and chose rather to pull down his Tyranny then ignobly to accept of a share in it. The new Monarch having in vain besieged him in the Province *Leauton*, to engage him to Surrender himself, shewed him his Father loaded with Irons, protesting he would put him to Death in his sight, if he did not immediately submit. But that generous Lord more Faithful to the Memory of his deceased Prince then tender of his Father's Life, suffered the Duty of a Subject to prevail over of that of a Son, and seeing that Blood spilt of which his once was Part, resolved to dye or revenge at once his Fathers and his Emperor's Death. He made his Peace with the *Tartar*, who having joyn'd him, no sooner enabled him to Cope with his Enemy, but he marched against him. But the Tyrant, whose Cowardize was even greater then his

his Cruelty, durst not appear against those two Armies. He fled to *Pekin*, where having burned the Palace, and all that had not perished at his first Entry, he retired into the Province of *Chensi*, loaded with the Spoil of the Empire and the Curse of all. He was pursued, but in vain, for he met with so private a Retirement, that all the Art of Man could never find him out.

In the mean while the *Tartars* entered *Pekin*, and so imposed upon the poor *Chineze*, that of themselves they begged their new Guests to take care of their distressed State. The others too Cunning not to improve so favourable a Hint, whether by Force or Policy, are since grown absolute Masters of it. And here it is hard to determine which is most to be wondred at, the Courage and Conduct of that Nation, which gave them Success in so Noble an Enterprize, or the Supineness or ill Management of the *Chineze*, who thus basely submitted to a People so inconsiderable for their Number, that they would have been ashamed not long before to own them for their Subjects. So true it is we ought not to look on any thing as beneath us, since all Temporal Grandeur is subject to Change, and that nothing is Constant in this World but Inconstancy.

The Tartarian King *Tsoué* had not the leisure to enjoy his Conquest; scarce had he taken Possession but he died, leaving the Administration of the Government, and Care of his Son, who was then but Six years old, to his Brother. This Brother of his, named *AMAVAN*, conquered all the Provinces which had not yet submitted; a Prince deservedly admired, not only for his Valour and Conduct, ever attended with Success, but also for his Fidelity and Moderation. For the young Prince being come to Age, he discharged his Trust, and took as much Care to secure him in the Empire, as he had done to Conquer it for him.;

This Union of the two Nations has made one Empire of a prodigious Extent, for tho' all *Tartary* does not belong to *China*, yet most is Tributary to it. In-
 somuch that the great and mighty *CHAM*, to whom the *Chineze* themselves paid Tribute, is dwindled away to nothing. But I do not wonder how we in *Europe* could be misinformed in this Point, since Monsieur *Constance* himself, who so frequently conversed with them, knew no better. I know not upon what Reports he had credulously taken up a Report that *Tartary* obeyed one sole Emperor, from whom the *Chineze* defended themselves only by Presents and Money. This will make me take more care for the future how I credit Relations which are grounded on Common Fame.

Since the Peace between *Russia* and *China*, it is easie to give the true length of the whole Empire, for on that occasion the Bounds were fixed by Consent to the 55th Degree, the rest of the Land stretching from North to East remaining still undecided by that Treaty. So from the most Southerly Point of *Haynan* to the utmost Limits of that part of *Tartary* which belongs to the Emperor of *China*, may be reckon'd above 900 Leagues. Those Lands are not alike fruitful, but all may yield Religion a plentiful Harvest, and were all the Missionaries in the World employ'd in so vast a Field, it would yet want for Reapers.

We were well informed at *Nimpo* of the Good we could do there, and were ready to take a Spiritual Possession of the Promised Land, when we had intelligence that the Viceroy of that Province, was much offended at our having been suffered to Land, and was resolved to send us back to the *Indies*. He wrote indeed a sharp Reprimand to the Governor of *Nimpo*, and at the same time an Account of what had passed to the Grand Tribunal of *Pekin*, which is entrusted

entrusted with the Care of Foreign of Affairs, and ever was averſe to the Chriſtian Religion. He did it ſo partially, that tho' he was well acquainted with our Deſign, he repreſented us as five *Europeans*, who for ſome Private Ends deſigned to ſettle there, in oppoſition to the Fundamental Laws of the Realm; ſo that the Court decreed we ſhould be baniſhed, and, according to Cuſtom, preſented an Order to that Effect, to the Emperor, for his Signature.

Had this Order been confirmed, we had been undone, and ten to one but the *Mandarines* at *Nimpo* had been ſo too, for treating us ſo favourably. The Viceroy, who bore as great a Love to our Money as he did Hatred to our Belief, would have ſeized our Bales, and as a Punishment on the Captain of our Ship, Confiscated his Merchandizes, and ordered him forthwith to be gone, and take us along with him; ſo that this Man, whoſe Ruin we ſhould have occaſioned, would certainly have thrown us over-board.

Our Peril was certain, had we not prevented it by our Care in writing, as we were in Duty bound, to Father *Intorcetta* an Italian Miſſionary, and Father General of our Order in thoſe Parts. Father *Fontaney* had alſo given Father *Verbieſt* notice of our Arrival, deſiring him that he would inſtruct us what we had to do. The Father had all the reaſon in the World to leave us to our ſelves, for by taking us under his Protection, he expoſed himſelf to the Anger of the Viceroy of *Goa*, and the Governor of *Macao*, from whom he had received Letters, which were neither conformable to the King of *Portugal's* Intentions, nor to Chriſtian Charity. But who could have expected that a Man, ever ready to Sacrifice his Life for the Infidels Salvation, ſhould have looked unconcernedly on, while his Brethren, who were come from the remotest parts of the Earth to aſſiſt him in

22 *The Voyage from Siam to Peking.*

his Task, had miserably perished. When he received our Letters the Emperor was in *Tartary*, so that he was forced to write to a Friend at Court, that he would inform his Majesty of our Arrival, and caused his Letter, by a wilful mistake, to be put into a *Pacquet* which he knew would be delivered into the Emperor's own Hands. It happened as he desired, the Emperor opened it and read it, so that being well informed of all the Truth, when the Tribunal's Order was delivered to him, he answered, That he would consider of it at *Peking*, and remained there a Fortnight longer a hunting. That Court was surprized at the Delay, it being Customary for the Prince, in three days time, either to Sign or Cancel these kind of Writs. Father *Verbieft* was no less impatient to know the Fate of his Letter and the Emperor's Resolutions; and as for us, we endeavoured by our Prayers to obtain *His* Favour who Rules the Hearts of Kings.

Father *Intorcetta*, our Superiour, who best knew our ill Circumstances, did by Publick Prayers in his Church at *Hamt-chéou*, beg *God* to deliver us out of them; and firmly believing that the Cry of innocent Babes is very prevalent with his Divine Majesty, gathered all the Christian's Children from Six to Ten together into the Church, where lying prostrate on the Ground, they unanimously lifted up their harmless Hands to Heaven,

* Effunde Iram,
tuam in Gentas quæ
Te non noverunt,
Psal. 58.

Ne tradas Bestiis
animas confitentis
tibi, *Psal.* 73.

saying, * *Pour out thine Indignation, O Lord, upon the Heathen that have not known thee, and upon the Kingdoms that have not called upon thy Name; but defend those who worship thee, and deliver not unto their Enemies thy Servants, who come hitber from the Extremities of the World to confess thy Holy Name, and to shew forth thy Praise.* These Prayers were

were accompanied with the Tears of the whole Congregation, especially with those of Father *Intorcetta*, who having been so happy as to suffer Chains, Prisons and Banishment for his Saviour's sake, was most fit to obtain the Blessing we begged for.

The Emperor was no sooner returned at *Pekin*, but Father *Verbiest* informed him that we were his Brethren, and by our Skill in the Mathematicks, might be useful to his Majesty. To which he answered, *If it was so, he saw no Cause why he should Expel us out of his Dominions.* He Summoned his Privy Council, to which the Princes of the Blood are admitted, and with their Advice and Consent, Decreed we should all be honourably sent for to Court. An Order to that Effect was sent to the *Lipou*, (the same Tribunal which had presented the Writ against us) and by them transmitted to the Viceroy of *Ham-tchéou*: So that by an especial Providence, he who had endeavoured to turn us shamefully out of *China*, was himself obliged to introduce us, and that with more Advantage, than, had he been our Friend, he could have procured us. His Vexation was the greater, because without doing us any Harm, he had run the risque of incurring the Emperor's Displeasure by his false Informations. It was indeed no little Mortification to him; and it was a Fortnight before he would acquaint us with our good Fortune.

In the mean while the Stay we made at *Nimpo* gave us an opportunity of improving our Acquaintance with the *Mandarines*. Some sent us Presents, others invited us to their Houses, and all in general were very kind to us. We indeavoured to make use of this opportunity in converting them from Idolatry, but it is hard for Souls wholly buried in Flesh and Blood, to savour the Things which are of God. However, the Governor of the City made one Step towards it, which gave us great Hopes: It was this.

They had for five Months time been afflicted with a continual Drought, so that their Rivers, and the Channels they cut out into their Land to water it, were now quite dry, and a Famine much apprehended. The Priests had offered numberless Sacrifices, and the *Mandarines* left nothing undone which they thought might Appease the Anger of the Gods. They had often asked us what Methods we used in *Europe* in such Cases; and being answered, that by Humiliation, Penitence, and the Fervency of our Prayers we moved Heaven to Compassion, they hoped by the like Means to procure their Idols Pity; but alas, they called upon *Gods that have Ears and cannot hear*: So the Governor tired with Delays, resolved to worship the only God whom all Nature obeys. Having understood that in our House we had a pretty handsome Chappel, in which we every day celebrated the Sacred Mysteries of our Religion, he sent to us to know if we would permit him to come in State, and joyn his Prayers with ours. We answered we desired nothing more than that he should worship as we did, and that all the City would follow his Example; and assured him moreover, that if he begged with Faith and Sincerity, he should undoubtedly obtain. We presently went to work to put our Chappel in order, and make all things ready to Solemnize his coming, when to our great surprize his Secretary came to tell us, That his Lord would be with us the next day very early, being necessitated to meet at Eight the same Morning at a neighbouring Hill, where with some *Mandarines* he was to offer a Sacrifice to a *Dragon*. In answer to this unexpected Message, we ordered our Interpreter to wait on him, and make him sensible that the Christian's God was a *Jealous God*, who would not allow of his paying to any others the Honours due to Himself alone; that his Gods were Statues or Creatures that

that had no Power to help themselves nor him ; and that we humbly craved him to despise those idle Fancies, fit only to amuse a credulous senseless Mob, but far beneath a Man of his Sense and Merit, and to trust in the Only God of Heaven, whom his Reason alone must convince him to be the True one. I really believe he was almost perswaded, but he had engaged himself to the *Mandarines*, and for some worldly Respect durst not break his Promise ; so he worshipped his Idols, whom, doubtless he had no Faith in, and withdrew from the Only True God, of whose Being he was inwardly convinced.

Then, *My Lord*, moved with Indignation at their Blindness and the Devils Tyranny, some of us thought of imitating what *St. Francis Xavier* had done on some like occasion, by erecting a Cross in the City under these Conditions : First that we would prevail with Heaven to grant the Rain they stood in such want of : And secondly, that if we did, they should pull down their Idols, and own That God who should have been so favourable, as to grant them their Request. Our Minds were different, as was our Zeal : Some full of Lively Faith, which the miraculous and continual Support of Providence, thro' the several Perils we had encounter'd, had inspired them with, could not question the Success of so Bold, but Holy an Undertaking : Others not so Zealous, but perswaded that Prudence ought to be our Guide, where the Inspiration is not Evident, were of Opinion nothing should be hazarded which failing might Expose our Religion. So we were content to mourn within our selves, and beg of *God* not that he would give them Rain, but that Celestial Fire which *Our Saviour* hath brought into the World, and desires all Nations may be inflamed with.

26 *The Voyage from Siam to Pekin.*

While we were thus busied in promoting the Interest of our Religion, the Viceroy was no less in thinking how to Execute the Orders he had received from Court. He left our Journey as far as *Hamt-chéou*, to the Governor's Care, who provided Boats for us, and commanded an inferiour *Mandarine* to attend us, that we might lack for nothing. We performed it in five days time, without meeting with any of those Accidents which Strangers there, are subject to when they are thought to carry things of value with them. The Christians at *Hamt-chéou* were lavish in the Expressions of their Affection to us. They came in Crouds to the River, whence we were carried as in Triumph to their Church, with more Kindness perhaps then Prudence. For they had, unknown to Father *Intorcetta*, provided for each of us an Elbow-Chair, borne by four Men, and attended by as many, into which we were obliged to suffer ourselves to be set, not knowing what they meant, for our little skill in their Language did not permit us to learn it from themselves. Having locked us in, we were forced to make our Entry as they would have it, which was in this manner. A Musick of ten or twelve Hands with some Trumpets led the Van; next came some Horse and Foot, the former bearing several Standards and Flags, and the latter armed with Launces and Pikes; and next to these four Officers who supported a large Board varnished with Red, on which these words were written in large Golden Characters, *Doctors of the Heavenly Law, sent for to Court*. We came in the Rear, surrounded by a throng of Christians, and Gentiles whom the Novelty of the Show had drawn thither. In this mortifying Pomp we went thro' the whole City, being a long League in length, vexed that we had not foreseen their Indiscretion, and resolved to reprimand them for it. Father *Intorcetta* waited for us in the Church-

Church-door, whence he carried us to the Altar. There having nine times bowed our selves to the Ground, and returned Thanks to the Good God, who thro' so many Hazards, had, in spite of our Enemies, brought us to the Promised Land, we returned to the Chief of the Christians. These we desired the Father to acquaint, that we were not unthankful of their Love, nor ill satisfied with their Zeal for God's Glory, but that the Splended Manner in which they had received us, was no ways conformable to a Christian's Humility; • *That the Heathen might, indeed, celebrate their Triumphs with such Earthly Poms and Mundane Vanities, but that a Christian's Glorifying was in the Name of the Lord.* These returned no Answer, but all on their Knees implored our Blessing. Their Fervency and a Meek and Devout Look, in which the *Chineze* do, when they will, exceed all other Nations, wholly disarmed our Wrath; we wept for Joy and Compassion; and I protest, *My Lord*, that one Moment made us a large amends for all the Troubles we had undergone.

* *Hi in Curris & in Equis, Nos autem in Nomine Domini.*

But how great was our Bliss when we were at liberty to receive the Caresses of the Father *Intorcetta*, whom God had made use of to procure our Admittance into that Empire. We already bore him a Veneration due to the Glorious Name of Confessor, which his Imprisonment and Sufferings at *Pekin* had intitled him to, but his Goodness, Meekness and Charity, entirely won our Hearts, and made us respect him, as the true Pattern of a Perfect Missionary. The Character we bore of Persons *sent for to Court*, as Considerable as that of *Envoy*, obliged us to visit and be visited by the Chief *Mandarines*. The Viceroy our Enemy was ashamed to see us, which he sent us word, the multitude of Business he had then on his Hands

28 *The Voyage from Siam to Pekin.*

Hands would not permit : but the General of the *Tartars* received us with all Civility, and among other Demonstrations of his Kindness, made us a very considerable Present.

However, when we were going, the Viceroy who was affraid lest he should be informed against, sent some Chairs to carry us to the Imperial Barge he had provided for us; he order'd some Trumpets and Hautboys to attend us, presented us with ten Pistols, and gave us an especial Order from Court intituled a *Cam-bo*, in pursuance to which all Places we passed thro' were to find us Boats well man'd while we went by Water, or sixty two or more Porters in case the Frost obliged us to go by Land, and each City to give us about half a Pistol, the same being allowed to the Chief *Mandarines*, who are reputed to have their Charges born by the Emperor, tho' this will not amount to the tenth part of their Expence. Besides he order'd a *Mandarine* to accompany us, and see all due respect was paid us. We would gladly have avoided it, but were forced to go thro' what we undesignedly had engaged in.

The Barge we were on Board was a Second Rate, containing in Breadth sixteen feet, and in Length seventy, and proportionable in Heighth. Besides the Cook-room, the Master and his Family's (for they have no other Dwelling) Apartment, that of his Crew, and another for our Men, there was a pretty large Parlour where we dined, and three Rooms in which six Persons might lye at ease, all which were Vernished, Gilt and Painted. Now for the manner of our Travelling. As soon as Anchor was weigh'd, the Trumpets and Hautboys sounded a March, then they took their Leave with a kind of Chest wherein were three Iron Barrels. which made a greater Report than so many Muskets, they were discharged one after another, and between each the Musick sound.

founded, and so continued playing for some time. Whenever we met a *Mandarine's* Barge, or some Town in our way, the same thing was repeated ; as also when Night or a contrary Wind obliged us to come to an Anchor. This to a *Mandarine* had not only been a great Honour, but a very entertaining Confort: As for us, we thought it a very inharmonious one, whose tediousness made us pay dear for our Honour.

We had besides a Watch every Night to guard us, the manner of which was this : About Eight at Night, ten or twelve Inhabitants of the Town nearest to the place we anchored in, appeared in one Row on the Shoar, then the Master came upon the Deck, and thence made them a fair Speech, concerning the Obligations they lay under of preserving all that belonged to the Emperor, and watching for the *Mandarines* Safety, who themselves did so for that of the State. Then he descended into Particulars of all the Accidents they were liable to, Fire, Thieves, and Storms, exhorting them to be Vigilant, and telling them they were responsible for all the Mischiefs which might happen. They answered each Paragraph with a Shout, and then retired as a form to *Corps de Garde*, only one Centry was left there, who continually struck two Sticks one against another, and was hourly relieved by others, which made the same Noise, that we might know they did not fall asleep, which we would gladly have permitted them to do, on condition we might have done so our selves. But this is the Custom when any *Mandarine* travels by Water.

How teasing soever all these Ceremonies might be, I must confess that I never met with any way of Travelling less tiresome than this ; for after Thirteen days Voyage we arriv'd at *Yamt-chéou* on *January* the 3d, as fresh as if we had not stirr'd out of our House. There we found Father *Aleonisa* a *Franciscan*, Pro-Vicar to the Bishop of *Basilea*, and Father *Galiani* a Jesuit,

30 *The Voyage from Siam to Peking.*

Jesuit, who were come thus far to meet us; the one from the Bishop to proffer us that Prelate's Assistance, and the other by his Credit and Experience, to make the rest of our Journey as easie as he could. Both knew we had Letters of Commendation from the King, and were willing to shew us all the Respect due to those who are under his Majesty's Protection. This was not the only Civility we received from them, but they have since obliged us so highly, that we never can enough express our Gratitude.

Here the Frost forced us to leave the Great Canal, and we had Horses found us for our Men, and Porters for our Goods. As for our selves, the great Cold and Snow, which we were unaccustomed to, made us choose to go in Litters, some of our Horse-men riding about us that we might be the more Secure. We shifted our Porters at each City or pretty big Town; and what may be wonder'd at is, that we could get above a hundred, with as much speed and ease, as in *France* we might five or six. The Cold increased hourly, and became at last so violent, that we found the River *Hoambo*, one of the greatest in *China*, almost frozen over; a whole Day was spent in breaking the Ice, and we passed not without much Trouble and Danger. We left *Nimpo* on the 27th of *November* 1687. and arriv'd at *Pekin* the 8th of *February* following; but we rested so often by the way, that indeed we had not spent above a Month and an half in our Journey.

These Honours paid us by so potent a Prince, and the good Success of so long and perillous a Voyage, together with a prospect of the Benefit our Religion might reap by it, would have occasioned in us a well-grounded Mirth, had not our Thoughts been cruelly diverted from it. Scarce were we in sight of *Pekin*, but we received the most afflicting News of Father *Verbieft's* Death. It struck us with an Astonishment which

which lessened but to make our Grief more sensible. He it was who had procured our Admittance into *China*; who besides, in delivering us from the Viceroy of *Hamt-chéou*, had saved our Lives, and which we looked on as a greater Kindness, was ready to assist us with his Credit, in the Designs we had to promote God's Glory and the Interest of our Holy Faith.

We were not the only Loosers by his Death, but I dare say that every Body mist him; To his Care, Zeal and Prudence, was owing the Restauration of the Christian Religion, which had been almost ruined by the late Persecutions: He encouraged the Old Christians Constancy, and supported the Weakness of the New, by taking them under his especial Protection; His Recommendation gained our Missionaries, Respect; He had saved *Macao*, of which the *Tartars* had entertained some Jealousies; and the State it self, to which he had rendred considerable Services, was not a little beholding to him; so that the *Europeans*, the *Chinese*, and the *Emperor* himself did equally look on him as their Father. This Great Man, so much respected in the East, deserved, *My Lord*, that you should take Notice of him, and in pursuance to my Design, which was in this Letter to give you an Account of our Journey from *Siam* to the chief Town of *China*, I could not end with a Subject that might better challenge your Attention. I am with all Respect,

My Lord,

Your Honours most humble

and obedient Servant

L. J.

LET-

L E T T E R II.

To her Highness the Dutchess of
N E M O U R S.

*The Manner of our Reception by the Em-
peror, and what we observed at Pekin.*

M A D A M,

NONE but a Lady of an unbounded *Genius* and an unlimited Zeal, could, as you do, concern her self in what passes at so great a Distance. The Curiosities of *Europe* were too few for your vast Mind, which would be a Stranger to nothing that might Inform or Edifie it, and I may without Flattery say, that the East has no Secrets you have not pried into, nor any Rarities you are unacquainted with.

I have my self learned from your Highness several things unknown to most Travellers, and having been as far as the World reaches, must confess that your Knowledge has travelled farther yet than me.

What then, *Madam*, can I tell you of *China* more than you already have discover'd, unless it be some Particulars of my Voyage, which, being the latest any *European* has made thither, cannot want the Charms of Novelty? It being my Duty to give a Great States-man an Account of it, I make bold

to

to send your Highness the Letter I wrote to him some days since ; and what I now add, shall at once be a Continuation of it, and a Token of the Respect I bear you, and the Readiness I shall ever be in, to obey your Highness's Commands.

On our Arrival at *Pekin*, we found the Court in Mourning for the Empress Dowager : The Courts of Justice were shut up, and the Emperor gave no Audience. But the 27 Days being spent, during which the Laws obliged him to remain Solitary, he sent one of his Officers to our House, to see how we did, and put some Questions to us. The Message was very obliging, and besides a thousand other Civilities, we were told the Emperor would be no less kind to us than he had been to the Fathers at his Court, since we were all of the same Society.

The Gentleman told us his Imperial Majesty would gladly know what the *French* Court thought of his Progress into *Tartary*, and the Defeat of *Ousanguay*, (who was a *Chinese* Rebel that had given him no small Trouble). He asked us in what Perfection Learning was in *Europe*, whether any new Invention had lately made been, or any considerable Discovery. Then he spoke much of the Honours the Emperor designed to pay to the Memory of Father *Verbiest*, for whom his Majesty had a particular affection. That Name, *Madam*, cannot be unknown to you, and you are too much concern'd, in what relates to the Eastern Church, to be ignorant of her Loss in that Illustrious Missionary's Death.

We all replied that we gratefully acknowledged the Emperor's Bounty, but that among the Ceremonies with which the *Chinese* used to express their Respect for their deceased Friends, there were some which seemed to disagree with the Sanctity of our

Religion. *How!* answered he, *Do you oppose the Emperor's Will?* To this a Father returned, *My Lord, Our Lives are the Emperor's, he may take them away when he pleases, but nothing in the World is able to make us alter the least tittle of our Belief. My Orders,* said he, *are not to dispute it with you, but to ask you for the Petition, which, according to Custom, you are to present to him upon this Occasion. The Emperor, by an unprecedented Goodness, would gladly peruse and correct it himself, if it should need any amendment: but he commands you to keep this Favour secret.*

All that is presented to the Emperor, ought to be indited in Terms so nicely conformable to the Laws and Customs of the Country, to his Quality who speaks, and to the Business he treats of, that the Penning of it is no little trouble, especially for a Stranger. An improper Expression, a Word, nay a Letter misplaced, is sufficient to undo a *Mandarine*, and several have lost their Places for being Guilty of the like Faults, whether thro' Inadvertency or Ignorance. The Emperor, well skill'd in all these Formalities, questioned our Capacity in that respect, and would trust no body but himself; so that by an incredible Goodness he took the pains to compose it, that it might stand the most Critical Examination.

Some days after the same Gentleman came with several new Queries. He inquired particularly into the Motives of the late *Dutch War*, and into the famous Passage of the *Rhine*. *For in truth,* said he, *what has been told the Emperor is not to be believed. Perhaps the River is neither so broad, so deep, nor so rapid as is reported; and that as for the Dutch, they had some private Reasons not to oppose your King's Conquests with more vigour.*

Then,

Then, *Madam*, did we wish for a more perfect Knowledge of his Language, that we might represent to him the Great Soul, the Good Fortune, and the unshaken Valour of *Lewis the Great*, to whose Soldiers nothing is impossible while they fight in his View, and are animated by his Example. The Father, who was our Interpreter, told him however as much as would persuade him, that none but such a Hero could frame and carry on the like Enterprizes: He was astonished at our Recital of them, and rose immediately to go and report it to his Prince.

As he was going out he turned to us, saying, *Gentlemen*, *All I have heard is indeed wonderful, but what my Eyes behold seems no less surprising: Who could think that these Fathers who have dwelt here so long, who are of a different Nation, and never saw you before, should look on you as their Brethren; that you should treat them like yours, and that you should be as kind to each other, as if you had been acquainted all your Lives. I really am extremely taken with this Charity, and can no longer doubt the truth of what you profess.* So open a Confession might give us some hopes that *He was not far from the Kingdom of God*: It is true he believed, but alas, of what use is that Belief, when we have not the Courage to Act accordingly, but to inhanse our Guilt?

If we had come thither *Incognito* the *Mandarines* would have had nothing to say to us; but it being in pursuance of an Order from the *Lipon*, which, as I have already hinted, is one of the most noted Courts of Justice in the Empire, the Viceroy of the Province we came from remitted us into their Hands, and we were, according to Custom, to be delivered up by them to their Sovereign. So as soon as the Mourning ended, and they had leave to sit, we were Summon'd before them, with Or-

ders to carry thither all our Mathematical Machines and Instruments, of which they already had an Inventory.

The Emperor, who would not have us do any thing without his Advice, was acquainted with it, and sent us word it was not fitting we should shew our Instruments, and that we might, if we thought fit, decline making a Personal Appearance. We went thither however, being several times invited in a most obliging manner, and not judging it convenient by a blunt Refusal to offend so considerable a Body, which besides was our Judge, and already but too great an Enemy to our Religion.

Some *Mandarines* deputed by their President to that effect, made us a very Civil Reception: They desired us to sit down, and presented us some Tea before they had drunk any themselves; a Respect they do not pay even to Ambassadors, as Father *Pereira*, a *Portuguese*, assured us, who had been present at an Audience they had lately given to those of *Portugal*.

This Visit was indeed but for Form's sake, to the end they might inform the Emperor of our being safely arrived to Town, according to his Majesty's Commands. So that after some Complements on each side, we were desired to attend the next day at the Palace, when they would discharge us.

We went thither accordingly at the appointed time, and having staid during some hours in a large Court, where the *Mandarines* usually wait who have any business there; their President, or Chief Justice, brought us the Answer to an Address he had according to Custom presented on our Account. This Answer was written on a small varnished Board, wrapped up in a piece of yellow Taffety: The Contents were, *That we might use our Instruments, and settle in what part of the Empire we pleased,*
according

according to the first Orders from Court, when we were sent for thither. And that in the mean while, the Lipou might deliver us up to the other Fathers, who were to introduce us into the Emperor's Presence, when his Majesty should think fit.

Yet that Prince's Intentions were not that we should leave *Pekin*; but on the contrary, he would have kept us all there, and lodg'd us in his Palace. He had expressed himself so clearly on that Point, that we had need of all the Interest and Dexterity of Father *Pereira*, to divert the Storm. That Father, who was then Superiour of all the Missionary's, moved with Compassion at so many *Vineyards* being ruined for want of *Husbandmen*, judged we might be more useful in the Country. He knew besides what an aversion we had to a Courtier's Life, which our continual Complaints against it could not let him be ignorant of. These and several other Reasons induced him to intreat the Emperor that he would not oppose it, and his Zeal inspired him with such effectual Methods, that the good Prince at last consented: But, said he, *it shall be on condition we divide the Spoil; I'll take two at your choice, and you shall dispose of the other three; What can you say against this, I quit you the better half?*

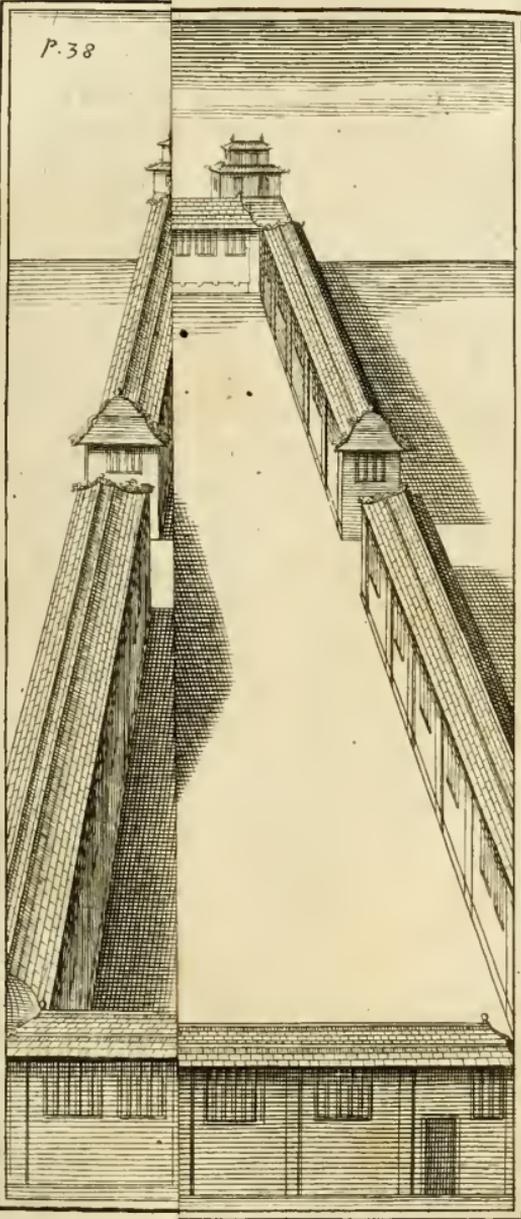
We had not yet had the Honour to attend his Imperial Majesty, for the Formalities I last mentioned were to precede our Audience: But the *Lipou* had scarce delivered up their Charge, when two Eunuchs came to the Colledge, to warn the Superiour that he should attend with his Brethren in a Court of the Palace which was appointed. We were instructed in the Ceremonies usual on such Occasions, which was done with little Trouble, being already half lick't into a *Chinese* form.

First then, We were carried in Chairs to the first Gate, whence we went on foot thro' eight Courts of a prodigious length, built round with Lodgings different in Architecture, but all very ordinary, except those large square Buildings over the Arches thro' which we passed from one Court to another. Those indeed were stately, being of an extraordinary thickness, and proportionable in breadth and height, and built with fair white Marble, but which was worn rough thro' age. Thro' one of these Courts ran a small Rivulet, over which were laid several little Bridges of the same Marble, but of a whiter Colour and better Workmanship.

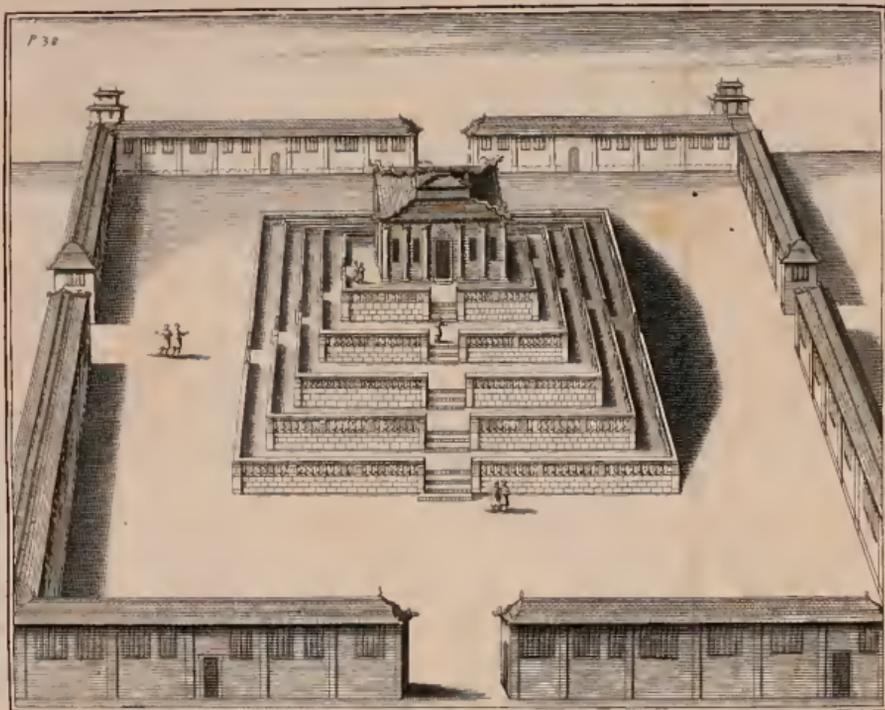
It were hard, *Madam*, to descend into Particulars, and give you a pleasing Description of that Palace, because its Beauty does not consist so much in being composed of several curious Pieces of Architecture, as in a prodigious quantity of Buildings, and an infinite number of adjoyning Courts and Gardens which are all regularly disposed, and in the whole make up a Palace really Great and Worthy of the Monarch who inhabits it.

The only thing which surpris'd me, and seem'd singular in its kind, is the Emperor's Throne. The best Description of it, which my Memory will afford me, is this: In the midst of one of those great Courts stands a square Basis or solid Building of an extraordinary bigness, whose top is adorned with a Balustrade, much after our fashion; this supports another like unto it, but framed Taper-wise, over which are placed three more, still loosing in bulk as they gain in height. Upon the uppermost is built a large Hall, whose Roof being covered with gilt Tiles, is borne by the four Walls, and as many rows of varnished Pillars, between which is seated the Throne.

P. 38



*The Throne Court of his Palace
, and raised*



The Throne of the Empeour of China, Situated, in the Middle of the Greatest Court of his Pallace, and raised upon five bases of White Marble.

These vast Bases, with their Balustrades made of white Marble, and thus disposed Amphitheater-wise, which when the Sun shines seem covered with a Palace glistening with Gold and Varnish, make, indeed, a glorious show, considering too, that they are thus placed in the midst of a spacious Court, and surrounded by four stately rows of Building: So that were its Beauty enhanced by the Ornaments of our Modern Architecture, and by that Noble Simplicity which is so much valued in our Buildings, it would doubtless be as magnificent a Throne as ever was raised by Art.

After a quarter of an hours walk, we at length came to the Emperor's Apartment. The Entrance was not very splendid, but the Anti-Chamber was adorned with Sculptures, Gildings and Marble, whose Neatness and Workmanship were more valuable than the Richness of the Stuff. As for the Presence Chamber, the second Mourning not being over, it was still disrobed of all its Ornaments, and could boast of none but the Sovereign's Person, who sat after the *Tartar's* Custom on a Table or *Sopha* raised three Feet from the Ground, and covered with a plain white Carpet, which took up the whole breadth of the Room. There lay by him some Books, Ink and Pencils; he was clothed with a black Satin Vest furred with Sable; and a row of young Eunuchs plainly habited, and unarmed, stood on each Hand close legged, and with their Arms extended downwards along their sides; which is looked upon there as the most respectful Posture.

In that State, the most modest that even a Private Man could have appeared in, did he chuse to be seen by us, desiring we should observe his Dutifulness to the Empress his departed Mother, and the Grief he conceived at her Death, rather than the State and Grandeur he is usually attended with.

Being come to the Door, we hastned with no little speed (for such is the Custom) till we came to an end of the Chamber opposite to the Emperor. Then all abreast we stood a moment in the same Posture the Eunuchs were in.

Next we fell on our Knees, and having joyned our Hands, and lifted them up to our Heads, so that our Arms and Elbows were at the same height, we bowed thrice to the Ground, and then stood again as before: The same Prostration was repeated a second time, and again a third, when we were ordered to come forward, and kneel before his Majesty.

The Good-natur'd Prince, whose Mildness I cannot enough admire, having enquired of us of the Grandeur and present State of *France*, the Length and Dangers of our Voyage, and the Manner of our Treatment by the *Mandarines*; *Well*, said he, *see if I can add any new Favour to those I have already conferred upon you. Is there any thing you would desire of me? you may freely ask it.* We returned him humble Thanks, and begged he would permit us, as a Token of our sincere Gratitude, to lift up each day of our Lives our Hands to Heaven, to procure to his Royal Person, and to his Empire, the Blessing of the *True God*, who alone can make Princes really happy.

He seemed well satisfied with our Answer, and permitted us to withdraw, which is performed without any Ceremony. The great Respect and Dread which the Presence of the most Potent Monarch in *Asia* inspired us with, did not yet awe us so far, but that we took a full view of his Person. Indeed, least our too great Freedom herein should prove a Crime, (for in what concerns the Emperor of *China*, the least Mistake is such,) we had first obtained his Leave.

He was something above the middle Stature, more Corpulent than an *European Beau*, yet somewhat more Slender than a *Chinese* would wish to be; full Visagèd, Disfigured with the Small Pox, had a broad Forehead, little Eyes, and a small Nose after the *Chinese* fashion; his Mouth was well made, and the lower part of his Face very agreeable. In fine, tho' he bears no great Majesty in his Looks, yet they shew abundance of Good Nature, and his Ways and Action have something of the Prince in them, and shew him to be such.

From his Apartment we went into another, where a *Mandarine* treated us with *Tea*, and presented us as from the Emperor, with about a hundred Pistols. The Gift seem'd but Mean, considering whom it came from, but was very Considerable in respect to the Custom of *China*, where it is the Maxim of all Great Persons to take as much, and give as little as they can. On the other hand he loaded us with Honours, and ordered one of his Officers to wait on us to our House.

I confess, *Madam*, that a Man must be wholly insensible to all the Concerns of this World, not to be moved with a secret Complacency, at the having such Respect paid him by one of the mightiest Princes in the World. But one must not judge of us on that account, by what is usual with the Men of this World in the like Occasions.

The truest Cause of the Pleasure we receive from the Favour of Princes, is Self-Interest. It is well known that their Caresses are ever beneficial, and a Courtier would never be so over-joyful at a kind Look or Expression from his King, if he did not expect some more solid Bounties would follow: But as for us, whom our Vows and Missions forbid to have such hopes, we look unconcernedly on all this World, and especially that Part of it, can do to elevate us.

It is true, God is sometimes well pleased to see Religion respected in the Persons of his Ministers : That he often uses those Methods to strengthen the Faith of New Converts, who need such Natural Supports to fortifie them against Trials and Temptations ; and that it breeds even in the Gentiles a Disposition to embrace Christianity. These Thoughts indeed made us take more Delight in those Tokens of the Emperor's Favour, or to speak more properly, made us find them less disagreeable.

Your Highness is, perhaps, astonished to see the Sovereign of an Idolatrous Nation, so openly countenance our Religion, and would gladly know what Motives had induced him to it. His Kindness for such Strangers as we, proceeds, doubtless, from the great Esteem he has long since had for the Missionaries at *Pekin*. Besides the Commendation of their Learning, he has always found them Sincere, Honest, very Zealous and Affectionate to him, ever ready to obey his Will, where their Faith did not forbid them, Harmless to a Degree, he never could give over admiring, and ever desirous to proclaim the True God.

He is above all so well perswaded that this is the sole End of all their Enterprises, that he takes a secret Delight in contributing to the Propagation of the Faith, thinking he can no other way better recompense these Fathers earnestness in his Service.

And so Father *Verbieft*, on his Death-Bed wrote a Letter to him, in part of which he thus expressed himself ; *Dread Sir, I die contented, in that I have spent almost all my Life in your Majesties Service ; But I beg your Majesty will be pleased to remember when I am dead, that my Only Aim, in what I did, was, to gain in the greatest Monarch of the East, a Protector to the most Holy Religion of the World.*

Perhaps,

Perhaps, *Madam*, you may have seen certain *Libels*, (for I know not what to call them else) which represent our Society as a sort of Men possessed with Avarice and Ambition, who undertake these Long and Painful Travels, only to enrich themselves by a Sacrilegious and Scandalous Traffick. Your Highness might have expected that Calumny , (the inseparable Companion of a Spirit of Sedition and Heresie) not satisfied with Persecuting our Religion in *Europe*, should come even to the utmost Parts of the World, to slander those who endeavour to settle it there, as pure as we received it from our Forefathers ; and you will not be sorry to hear, how That very Idolatry which we destroy, cannot forbear witnessing our good Intentions, and that if *China* saw what Pictures are drawn here of her Missionaries, she would hardly know them. But it is not before your Highness they need an Advocate.

Among the several things which happened then at *Pekin*, nothing was more Doleful, and at once more Honourable to us, than the Funeral of Father *Verbeist*, which his Imperial Majesty had ordered to be put off till the last Devoirs had been paid the Empress Dowager. Father *Thomas* a Jesuit, has described this Ceremony at large. I dare hope an Extract of what he has wrote will not be unwelcome to you both because it will give you some insight into their Customs on the like Occasions, and that you will thereby grow better acquainted with a Man whom his Merit has made known to all the World. Be pleased then to accept of it as follows.

It seemed good to Divine Wisdom , to take to himself from this Mortal Life, Father *Ferdinando Verbieft*, a Fleming, and to bestow on him the Recompence of Saints. Our Missionaries Affliction may not easily be expressed, but much harder would it be

to reckon by how many Exemplary Vertues, and Considerable Services he has merited their Esteem and Gratitude.

Besides several other good Qualities, the Greatness of his Soul is particularly to be admired, which has never failed him in the most Cruel Persecutions, so that he was ever Triumphant over the Enemies of the Faith. The Survey of the Mathematicks was at first proffered him, which Dignity he accepted of, in hopes it would enable him to set on foot our Missions, which were then wholly laid aside.

He did, indeed, obtain a Toleration for Evangelical Pastours, who after a long Banishment had their Churches restored them. He stifled some Persecutions in their Birth, and others he prevented, which threatned the tender Flocks. The *Mandarines* no sooner knew him, but they had a Respect for him, and the Emperor entertained so Good an Opinion of his Capacity, that he kept him above a quarter of a Year near his Person, and during that time, spent three or four hours every day with him in private, discoursing of several Sciences, especially Mathematicks.

In these Conversations, our Zealous Missionary endeavoured to bring him into a Liking of our Religion: He would explain to him its most stupendious Mysteries, and made him observe its Holiness, its Truth, and Necessity; insomuch that the Emperor, struck with his powerful Arguments, often owned *that he believed a God*: He assured him of it by a Writing under his Majesty's own Hand, wherein he said among other things, *That all the Religions of his Empire seemed to him Vain and Superstitious, that the Idols were nothing, and that he foresaw Christianity would one day be built on their Ruins.* A Chinese Doctor having in one of his Books taken the liberty to place the Emperor's Religion among the several Heresies

China was infected with ; the Emperor upon the Father's Complaint , struck out those Lines himself , telling him all the Empire should know what he had done.

Father *Verbieft's* Interest was such, that at his Instigation the old Instruments which stood on the Platform of the Observatory were pulled down, to make room for new ones of his Contriving. He gave Directions for the casting of Brass-Guns, which saved the States from Ruin. He applyed himself to several other Works, to serve the Publick, or satisfy the Emperor's Curiosity ; and one may say, that on this last account, he has searched into the most rare and ingenious Inventions, that Arts and Sciences have ever offered us.

The whole Court looked upon him as the Wisest man of his Age, but, above all, was charmed with his Modesty. It is true , no Man ever was more Mild and Tractable than he ; humbling himself before every one, while every one strove to Exalt him : Insensible to all the Things of this World, except where Religion was concerned ; for then he was no more the same Man , and as tho' he had been animated by a new Spirit, his Looks, his Words, his Actions, all were Great, and becoming a Christian Hero. The very Emperor dreaded him at such times, and was not easily perswaded to admit him into his Presence ; *He will fly out*, would he say, *into some undecency, which I must be forced, tho' unwillingly, to resent.*

This holy Boldness proceeded from a lively Faith, and a great Confidence in God. He despaired of nothing, though humanly impossible ; and would often say, *We must never forget two of the Chief Maxims of Christian Morality: First, That let our Projects be never so well laid, they will certainly fall, if God leaves us to our own Wisdom. Secondly, That it were in vain*
the

46 *The Manner of our Reception*

the whole Universe should arm it self to destroy the Work of God ; nothing is Powerful against the Almighty, and every thing Prospers that Heaven approves of. So he never entered on any Enterprize without imploring its help, tho' however he left no Means untried that Reason and Christian Prudence offered him.

Thus did his Zeal each day increase in Strength and Purity : The Establishment of our Faith wholly employed his Thoughts, and whatever Occupation else he was put upon, proved a Torment to him. He avoided all idle Visits and Conversations, and could not endure to see People study only for Curiosities sake: He never so much as read the News that came from *Europe*, which at such a Distance we are usually so greedy of ; only he would hear the Chief Heads, provided you would speak them in a few words. He would spend whole Days and Nights in writing Letters of Consolation, Instruction or Recommendation for the Missionaries ; in composing divers Works for the Emperor or Chief Lords at his Court ; and in Compiling the Kalendar, Calculating with an indefatigable Industry, the Motion of the Stars for every Year.

This and *the Care of all the Churches* , so impaired his Strength, that in spite of the Strength of his Constitution, he fell at last into a kind of Consumption, which yet did not hinder his framing great Designs for the Advancement of his Religion. He had taken such exact Measures for the settling of it in the most remote Parts of *China* , in the Eastern *Tartary*, and even in the Kingdom of *Kovia* ; that nothing but his Death could have prevented the Execution of so well contrived a Project.

Let us view him now in Private. At his first Admittance into our Order he was a true Monk, strict in the Performance of its Rules, very observant to his Superiours, and loving Study and Retirement above
all

all things, which he persisted in, even among the multitude of Business, in the midst of which he would be as Sedate as a Hermit in his Cell.

His Conscience was Nice to Extremity, so that no Man could take more Care than he did to be always ready to make his Appearance before him who can espy Faults even in Saints and Angels. To preserve his Innocence, he never went out without a severe *Cilice* or an Iron Chain, and used to say, It was a shame for a Jesuit to be clothed in Silks, and in the Livery of the World, and not to wear the Livery of Christ.

His Soul was naturally great, and when others Necessities wanted a Supply, his Charity was boundless. But he was hard-hearted to himself, courting Poverty even in Plenty to that degree, that the Emperor, who took great Notice of him, often sent him Stuff with express Orders to wear it, and be more Sumptuous in his Apparel. His Bed, Table, and Furniture were indeed too mean for a *Mandarine*; but he ever preferred his Station in the Church before that in the State. He has often protested, He would never have accepted of that Office, had he not hoped by seeming to the Gentiles the Head of the Christians, to have thereby born all their Envy, and been the most exposed to their Malice, and the first Sacrificed in case of Persecution.

This Hope made him be satisfied with his Condition, and his Writings expressed so ardent desire of Dying for *Jesus Christ*, that nothing but Martyrdom was wanting to his being a Martyr; yet he might in some measure be reckon'd such, since he begged it of God with that Groaning in Spirit, which is a continual Suffering to those that cannot obtain it, *Reckon me, O Lord, did he often cry out, among those who have desired, but never could shed their Blood for thee. I have, indeed, neither their Innocency, their Vertue, nor their Courage,*

rage, but thou may'st apply their Merits to me, and (which will make me much more agreeable in thy sight) thou canst cloath me with thine own. Under that Veil of thine Infinite Mercy, I dare offer my Life as a Sacrifice to thee. I have been so happy as to Confess thy Holy Name among the People, at Court, before the Tribunals under the weight of Irons, and in the darkness of Prisons, but what will this Confession avail me, unless signed with my Blood?

Being penetrated with these Lofty Thoughts, and already ripened for Heaven, by the Practise of every Christian Vertue, he was seiz'd with a Sickness of which he died. It began with a Faintness and an Universal Decay of Nature, which grew into a Consumption. The Emperor's Physicians kept him up some time with the help of Physick, especially Cordials, in which the *Chinese* have a wonderful Success; but his Fever increasing, Art at length was forced to yield to Nature. He received the Sacraments with a Zeal that charmed all that were present; and when he yielded up the Ghost, they were equally struck with Devotion and Sorrow.

The Emperor, who the day before had lost the Empress his Mother, felt a double Grief when he heard the News. He ordered the Burial to be put off till the Court should be out of Deep Mourning; and then he sent two Lords of the highest Quality to pay him on his behalf the same Devoirs which private Men usually pay to their Dead. They kneeled before the Coffin, which was expos'd in a Hall, bowed several times, remaining a long while with their Faces to the Ground, and wept and groaned heavily, for that is the Custom. Then after those, and several other Expressions of their Sorrow, they read aloud his Encomium which the Emperor himself had composed, and which was to be set up near the Corpse. It runs thus :

We seriously consider within our selves, that Father Ferdinando Verbiest, has of his own good will, left Europe to come into our Dominions, and has spent the greatest part of his Life in our Service; We must say this for him, That during all the time that he took Care of the Mathematicks, his Predictions never failed, but always agreed with the Motions of the Heavens. Besides, far from neglecting our Orders, he has ever approved himself to be Exact, Diligent, Faithful, and Constant in his Labour, till he had finished his Work, and ever the same. As soon as We heard of his Sickness, We sent him Our Physician, and when We knew that a dead Sleep had taken him away from Us, Our Heart was wounded with a lively Grief. We give Two hundred golden Crowns, and some Pieces of Silk, as a Contribution to the Charges of his Funeral: And it is Our Pleasure that this Declaration bear Witness of the Sincere Affection We bore him.

The prime *Mandarines* and several Lords at Court followed their Sovereign's Example. Some wrote Speeches in his Praise on large Pieces of Satin, which were hung up in the Hall where the Body lay in State; others sent in Presents, and all mourned for his Loss. At length the Day of his Obsequies being agreed upon, which was the 11th of *March* 1688. every Body was willing to contribute something towards the Ceremony.

The Emperor in the Morning sent his Father-in-law, who is also his Uncle, with one of the Chief Lords of his Court, attended by a Gentleman of the Bed-chamber, and five Officers of his Household, to represent his Person; who all began by falling down before the Corpse, and wept a pretty while; during which, all things were disposed for the Procession.

The Colledge is Situated near the South Gate, whence you go to the North Gate by a Street built in a strait Line, about a hundred Foot broad, and a League long, which near the middle is crossed by another exactly like it, one end of which leads to the Western Gate, being within six hundred Paces of our burying place, which the Emperor *Vauli* had formerly bestowed on Father *Recin*, but had been taken away during the late Persecution, and not restored till now by a special Favour from the present Emperor. Thro' these two Streets the Funeral passed, in the Order I am going to describe.

First was seen a Pageant of about thirty Feet in height, varnished over with Red, on which was written in large Golden Characters, the Name, and Titles of Father *Verbieft*. This was, as one may say, the Signal of the ensuing Pomp, which began by a great Cross stuck with Flags, and carried between two Rows of Christians all clothed in White, holding in one hand a lighted Taper, and in the other a Handkerchief to wipe off their Tears. The Gentiles are used on such Solemnities to shed feigned ones, but These had suffered a loss, which forced most true ones from them. Next, some distance off, followed in the same Order the Picture of the *Virgin Mary*, in a Frame, round which were pieces of Silk, neatly plated in several manners instead of Carving; and then *St. Michael's* Representation was born with the like Ceremonies. And I may say, that the Christians who walked on either side, devoutly praying, inspired even the Heathen with a Veneration for those precious Tokens of our Faith.

Immediately after came the Father's Encomium, of the Emperor's own Composing, written on a large piece of yellow Satin; a Crowd of Christians surrounded it, and two Rows of those who had been

been invited, followed it in a Respectful manner. At length appeared the Corpse, in a Coffin made of an ordinary Wood, but varnished and gilt after the Country fashion, carried by sixty Bearers, and attended by the Missionaries, the Deputies from Court, and a Throng of Lords and Mandarines, who closed up the Procession. It took up above a thousand Paces which were hem'd in on each side, by an infinite number of Spectators, who astonish'd beheld our Christian Rites triumphing, even in their Capital City, over Pagan Superstition.

When we were come to the Burying place, the Missionaries in their Surplices read the Prayers of the Church, before the *Mandarins*. The Body was besprinkled with Holy Water, and perfumed with Incense in the usual manner; then it was let down into a very deep square Vault, enclosed with four good Brick Walls. It was like a Chamber underground, and in the Scripture Phrase became to him an *Everlasting Habitation*. Having pray'd near it some time, we remained on our Knees to hear what the Emperor's Father-in-law had to say to us; which was this: *Father Verbiest has been considerably serviceable to the Emperor and the State; of which his Imperial Majesty being sensible, has sent me with these Lords to make a Publick Acknowledgment of it on his behalf, that all the World may know the singular Affection his Majesty did ever bear him while he lived, and the great Grief he has received by his Death.*

We were so moved with the Dismal Ceremony, the Christians continual Lamentations, our own great Loss, and the Emperor's surpris'g Bounty, that we were not able to Reply. Every one melted into Tears; but that Prince, who expected another Answer from us, was oblig'd to press us for it, when, at length, Father *Pereira* thus spoke on our behalf: *My Lord, our Anguish was not so much the cause of our Silence,*

52 The Manner of our Reception

as the Emperor's unparallel'd Goodness ; for what can we say or think, when we consider that so great a Monarch uses us who are Strangers, Unknown, Useless, and perhaps Troublesome to him, as if we had the Honour to be in his Service? Were we his Children he could not love us more ; he takes care of our Health, of our Reputation, of our Life : He honours our very Death, not only with his Elogies, his Liberality, the Presence of the most Noble Lords of his Court, but (which never can enough be priz'd) by his Grief. What Return, My Lord, can we then make, not to all his Favours, but to that alone which your Highness has been pleas'd to deliver? We will only be bold to beg your Grace would acquaint his Majesty, that we Weep because our Tears may indeed make known our Sorrow, but that we remain Silent, because no Words can express our Gratitude.

The Emperor was informed of what had pass'd, and some days after the * Chief

* As with us the Colledge of Heralds.

Court of Rites, presented a Petition, That his Majesty would suffer them to Decree some new Honours to be paid that Illustrious Father's Memory. The Emperor not only granted it, but willed them to consider that Stranger of so extraordinary a Merit, was not to be look'd upon as an ordinary Man. In the very first Meeting they ordered seven hundred golden Crowns should be laid out on a Tomb for him, and the Encomium which the Emperor had wrote, should be ingrav'd on a Marble Stone, and that some *Mandarines* should be once more deputed to pay him their last Devoirs in behalf of the Empire. Then they promoted him, that is, gave him a higher Title than any he had enjoyed during his Life.

While the Emperor honoured the Saint on Earth, he, no doubt, pray'd for him in Heaven : For it is very observable, that that Prince never was more inquisitive about Religion then at that time. He sent one
of

of his Gentlemen every Minute to the Fathers, to inquire about the Condition of Souls in the other World, about Heaven, Hell, Purgatory, the Existence of a God, his Providence, and the Means necessary to Salvation: So that God seemed to move his Heart after an extraordinary Manner, and to affect it with those Holy Doubts which usually precede our Conversion. But that happy Moment was not yet come. However, who knows but Father *Verbiest's* Prayers, and the Care of several zealous Missionaries who have succeeded him, may hasten the Execution of those Designs which Providence seems to have on that great Prince? I am most respectfully,

Madam,

Your Highnesses most humble

and obedient Servant

I. J.

L E T T E R III.

To his Highness the Cardinal of
FURSTEMBERG.

O f the Cities, Houses, and Chief Build-
ings of China.

My Lord,

AMONG the several Empires into which the World has hitherto been divided, that of *China* has ever obtained so considerable a Place, that a Prince cannot be wholly ignorant of what concerns it without neglecting one of those Sciences which seem a part of his Prerogative.

This, *My Lord*, was, no doubt, the Motive that induced your Highness to inquire so particularly into the State of that Country, and to desire an Exact Account of the Number and Bigness of its Cities, the Multitude of its Inhabitants, the Beauty of its Publick Buildings, and Manner of its Palaces.

By this it plainly appears that the vast *Genius* you have for Business, does in no wise lessen the Acuteness of your Judgment in the Sublimest Arts, and especially in Architecture, of which, the most Excellent Works raised by your Directions at *Modave*, *Saverne*, *Berni*, *St. Germans*, and above all in the famous Cathedral of *Strasbourg*, are several Instances.

It having been my Business to run over all *China*, where in Five years time I have travelled above Two thousand Leagues, I may perhaps satisfy your Highness with more ease than any one besides, and shall give a Description of what has seemed to me most worth my Observation.

Pekin, that is, the North-Court, is the chief City of *China*, and the usual Seat of its Emperors. It is so named to distinguish it from *Nankin*, the South-Court, another very considerable City, so called from the Emperor's Residing there in former Ages, it being the Finest, the most Commodious and best Situated of the whole Empire; but the continual IncurSIONS of the *Tartars*, a Warlike and very Troublesome Neighbour, obliged him to settle in the most Northerly Provinces, that he might be always ready to oppose them, with the numerous Army he usually keeps near his Court.

Pekin was the place fixed upon, being Situate in the 40th Degree of Northern Latitude, in a very Fertile Plain, and not far from the Long Wall. Its Neighbourhood to the Sea on the East, and the great Canal on the South, afford it a Communication with several fine Provinces, from which it draws part of of its Subsistence.

This City, which is of an exact Square Form, was formerly four long Leagues round, but *Tartars* settling there, forced the *Chinese* to live without the Walls, where they in a very short while built a new Town, which being more Long than Large, does with the old one compose an irregular Figure. Thus *Pekin* is made up of two Cities; one is called the *Tartar's*, because they permit none else to inhabit it; and the other the *Chinese*, as large, but much more full than the first. Both together are Six great Leagues in Circuit, allowing 3600 Paces to each League. This I can aver to be true, it having been measured by the Emperor's special Command. E 4 This,

This, *My Lord*, will seem strange to those who are acquainted with *Europe* only, and think *Paris* the Largest, as it is doubtless the Finest City in the World; yet the Difference between them is great. *Paris* according to the Draught *Mr. Blondell* has made, by Order from our Magistrates, on the account of a Design they have to surround it with new Walls, contains in its greatest Length but 2500

* In the Draught the Length does not bear a reciprocal Proportion to its Circuit.

Paces, and * consequently, tho' we should suppose it Square, would be but 10000 Paces round; so we should find it half as big as the *Tartar's Town* alone, and but a

quarter as large as all *Pekin*.

But then if one reflects that their Houses are generally but one Story high, and ours, one with another, are four, it will appear that *Pekin* has not more Lodgings than *Paris*, but rather less, because its Streets are much wider, that the Emperor's Palace, which is of a vast Extent, is not half inhabited, that there are Magazines of Rice for the sustenance of above 200000 Men, and large Courts filled with little Houses in which those who stand for their Doctor's Degree are examined; which alone would make a very big City.

It must not however be inferred that there are at *Paris* and *Pekin* the like number of Inhabitants; for the *Chinese* are very close together in their Dwellings, so that Twenty or more of them will lye in as little room as Ten with us; and it must needs be so, since the multitude of People in the Streets is so great, that one is frightned at it; it being such that Persons of Quality have always a Horse-man going before them, to make way. Even the widest Streets are not free from Confusion; and at the sight of so many Horses, Mules, Camels, Wagons, Chairs, and Rings of 100 or 200 Persons who gather here and there round
the

the Fortune-Tellers, one would judge that some unusual Shew had drawn the whole Country to *Pekin*.

Indeed, to outward appearance our most populous Cities are Wilderesses in respect of this, especially considering there are more Women then Men, and that among so vast a Multitude you shall very seldom meet with any. This I suppose has made some People think both Cities might contain Six or Seven Millions of Souls, which was a great mistake. By the following Reflexions it will, perhaps, appear that one must not always guess at the Number of Inhabitants in a Place by the Crowds that are seen in it.

First, From all the Neighbouring Towns a Multitude of Peasants daily flock to *Pekin*, with several useful and necessary Commodities; now no River coming up to the City, these must be brought by Land, which increases the number of Carters, Wagons, Camels, and other Beasts of Burthen. So that Morning and Night, at the opening or shutting of the Gates, there are such Throngs of People going in or out, that one must wait a long while before they can go by: Now all these, who spread about the Streets, must not be reckoned among the Citizens.

Secondly, Most Artificers in *China* work in their Customers Houses; as for Example, If I want a Suit, my Taylour comes in the Morning to my Lodging, where he works all Day, and at Night returns home; and so of the rest. These are continually about, looking out for Business, to the very Smiths, which carry with them their Anvil, their Furnace, and other Implements for their ordinary use. This helps to increase the Multitude.

Thirdly, All Persons that are pretty well to pass, never go abroad but on Horse-back or in Chairs, with a numerous Train. If at *Paris* all Officers, Gentlemen, Lawyers, Physicians, and wealthy Citizens were always thus attended, the Streets would not be so free.

In

In the fourth place, When a *Mandarine* goes any where, all his Inferiour Officers follow him in all their Formalities, so that they form a kind of Procession. The Lords at Court, and Princes of the Blood, never are without a great Guard of Horse, and being necessitated to go almost every Day to Court, their very Equipage is sufficiently cumbersome to the City.

It is evident that these Customs which are peculiar to *China*, do very much increase the Throng, and it must not be wondred at, that the City should seem much more Populous then it really is: And what must convince us, is, That as I have shewn there may more People lodge in *Paris* then in *Pekin*. Then taking it for granted that 20 or 25 Persons there, take up no more room then 10 here, as I have already said, we must conclude on the whole, that *Pekin* contains near twice as many as *Paris* does, and I think I shall not be very wide of the Truth, if I allow it Two Millions of Inhabitants.

I have been something prolix upon this Point, because I find it but slightly enquired into by most Historians. Nothing is more deceitful then Number at first sight. We think upon a view of the Sky that the Stars are numberless, and when told, are surpris'd to find they are so few. To see an Army of a hundred thousand Men in the Field, you would imagine all the World were there; and even those who are used to such a sight, are apt to mistake if they are not aware.

It is good to examine every thing our selves, especially in *China*, where they never reckon but by Millions; and tho' in these Cases one cannot be so very exact, it is not impossible to come something near the Truth, that we may not deceive the inquisitive Reader.

Almost all the Streets are built in a direct Line, the greatest being about a hundred and twenty-foot broad,

broad, and a good League long, and the Shops where they sell Silks and China-ware, which generally take up the whole Street, make a very agreeable Perspective. The *Chinese* have a Custom which adds to the Beauty of the Sight. Each Shop-keeper puts out before his House, on a little kind of Pedestal, a Board twenty or two and twenty Foot high Painted, Varnished, and often Gilt, on which are written in large Characters, the Names of the several Commodities he sells. These kind of Pilasters, thus placed on each side of the Street, and almost at an equal Distance from each other, make a pretty odd show. This is usual in almost all the Cities of *China*, and I have in some places seen so very neat ones, that one would think they had designed to make a Stage of the Street.

Two things however detract much from their Beauty. The first, That the Houses are not proportionable, being neither well built nor high enough. The second, That they are always pester'd with Mud or Dust. That Country, so well regulated in every thing else, is very deficient in this: Both Winter and Summer are equally troublesome to those that walk abroad, and therefore are Horses and Chairs so much in request: For the Dirt spoils the silken Boots which they wear there; and the Dust sticks to their Clothes, especially if they are made of Sattin, which they have a way of oyling, to give it the more lustre. There is so much of the latter raised by the multitude of Horses, that the City is always covered with a Cloud of it, which gets into the Houses, and makes its way into the closest Closets, so that take what care you will, your Goods should ever be full of it. They strive to allay it by a continual besprinkling the Streets with Water, but there is still so much left, as is very offensive, both as to Cleanliness and Health.

Of all the Building this mighty City consists in,
the

the only remarkable one is the Imperial Palace, which I have already described to your Highness. I shall only add, to give you a more exact Notion of it, that it not only includes the Emperor's House and Gardens, but also a little Town inhabited by the Officers at Court, and a great number of Artificers who are employed and kept by the Emperor; for none but the Eunuchs lye in the inner Palace. The outward Town is defended by a very good Wall without, and divided from the Emperor's House by one of less strength. All the Houses are very low and ill contrived, far worse than those in the *Tartars* City; so that the Quality of its Inhabitants, and the Conveniency of being near the Court, are the only things that it is commendable for.

The inner Palace is made up of Nine vast Courts, built in one Line, in length, for I comprehend not those on the Wings, where are the Kitchin, Stables, and other Offices. The Arches thro' which you go from one to another are of Marble, and over each there stands a large square Building, of a *Gothick* Architecture, the Timber of whose Roof becomes an odd kind of Ornament; for the Rafters being left of a length sufficient to come out beyond the Wall, have other shorter pieces of Wood put upon them, which forms a kind of Cornish that at a distance looks very fine. The sides of each Court are closed by lesser Apartments, or Galleries; but when you come to the Emperor's Lodgings, there, indeed, the *Portico's* supported by stately Pillars, the white Marble-steps by which you ascend to the inward Halls, the gilt Roofs, the Carved-work, Varnish, Gilding and Painting, they are adorned with, the Floors made of Marble or Porcelain, but chiefly the great number of different Pieces of Architecture which they consist of, dazle the Beholders Eye, and truly look great, becoming the Majesty of so great a Monarch.

Monarch. But still, the imperfect Notion the *Chinese* have of all kind of Arts, is betrayed by the unpardonable Faults they are guilty of. The Apartments are ill contrived, the Ornaments irregular, and the former wants that Connexion which makes the Beauty and Conveniency of our Palaces. In a word, there is as it were an unshapeness in the whole, which renders it very displeasing to Foreigners, and must needs offend any one that has the least Notion of true Architecture.

Some Relations, however, cry it up as Arts Master-piece: The reason is, because the Missionaries who wrote them, had never seen any thing beyond it, or that long use has accustomed them to it; for it is observable, that let us measure a thing never so, Time will at length make it supportable. Our Fancy habituates it self to any sight, and therefore an *European*, that has spent Twenty or Thirty years in *China*, can seldom give so good an account of it, as he that makes no stay there. As the true Accent of a Language is often lost among those who pronounce it ill, so the Sharpness of a Man's Judgment is blunted by conversing with those who have none.

The Guards placed in the Gates and Avenues of the Palace have no other Arms but their *Cimeters*, and are not so numerous as I had at first imagined; but there is a multitude of *Lords* and *Mandarines*, constantly attending at the usual time of Audience. Formerly the whole Palace was inhabited with Eunuchs, whose Power and Insolence was grown to such a pitch, that they were become an insupportable Grievance to the Princes of the Empire; but the last Emperors of *China*, especially those descended from *Tartary*, have so humbled them, that they make at present no Figure at all. The youngest serve as Pages, the other are put to the vilest Employments, their Task being to sweep the Rooms and keep them clean;

and

and for the least Fault they are severely punished by their Overseers, who are very strict.

The number of the Emperor's Wives or Concubines is not easily known, it being very great, and never fixed. They never were seen by any one but himself, and scarce durst a Man inquire about them. They are all Maidens of Quality which the *Mandarines* or Governors of the Provinces choose, and as soon as they are entered the Palace they have no farther Correspondency with their Friends, no not with their very Fathers. This forced and perpetual Solitude, (for most of them are never taken Notice of by the Emperor) the Intreagues they set on work to get into his Favour, and the Jealousie they have of one another, which wracks them with Suspicions, Envy and Hate, makes the most part of them very miserable. Among those who are so happy as to gain their Prince's approbation, Three are chosen which bear the Title of Queens. These are in a far higher Degree of Honour than the rest, having each their Lodgings, their Court, their Ladies of Honour, and other Female Attendants.

Nothing is wanting that can contribute to their Diversion. Their Furniture, Cloaths, Attendance is all Rich and Magnificent: It is true, all their Happiness consists in pleasing their Lord, for no Business of any Consequence comes to their Knowledge; and as they do not assist the State with their Counsels, so they do not disturb it with their Ambition.

The *Chinese* differ very much from us in that Point; They say Heaven has indued Women with Good Nature, Modesty, and Innocence, that they might look after their Families, and take care of their Childrens Education; but that Men are born with strength of Body and Mind, with Wit and Generosity, to Govern and Rule the World. They are astonished when we tell them that with us the Scepter
often

often falls into a Princesses Hands, and often say by way of Jest, *That Europe is the Ladies Kingdom.*

This, *My Lord*, is all that can be said in General of the Emperor of *China's* Palace, so much boasted of by Historians, because perhaps in all *Pekin* they met not with any worth their notice: For indeed all besides are so mean, that it would be, if I may say it, a debasing of our Terms to give the Name of Palace to their *Grandees* Houses. They are but one Story high, as are all the rest; tho', I confess, the great number of Lodgings for themselves and their Servants, does make some amends for their want of Beauty and Magnificence. Not but that the *Chinese* are as much as any Nation, in love with looking great and spending high, but the Custom of the Country, and the Danger of being taken notice of, is a Curb to their Inclinations.

While I was at *Pekin*, one of the Chief *Mandarines* (I think he was a Prince) had built him a House something more lofty and stately than the rest; this was imputed to him as a Crime, and those whose Province it was, accused him before the Emperor, inso-much that the *Mandarine*, fearful of the Event, pulled down his House while the Business was under Examination, and before it had been decided. This Policy, in former Ages, made sure the Foundation of the greatest Monarchies, and could the *Romans* but have ever observed it, they might perhaps still be as powerful in *Europe*, as the *Chinese* are in *Asia*.

Their Halls, where they plead, have little advantage over the rest. The Courts are large, the Gates lofty, and sometimes imbellished with Ornaments of Architecture something tolerable; but the inward Halls and Offices can boast neither State nor Cleanliness.

Religion indeed has made her Party better; you frequently meet with their Idols Temples, which the Princes

Princes and People, equally Superstitious, have raised at a vast Expence, and beautified with great numbers of Statues. The Roofs especially are observable, for the splendor of their Tiles varnished with yellow and green, numberless Figures curiously wrought, which are placed on every side, and Dragons shooting out at the Corners, painted with the same Colours. The Emperors have founded several within the outward Bounds of the Palace, among which Two more eminent than the rest were built by the late Monarch, at the Prayers of the Queen his Mother, who was very much infatuated with the Religion of the *Lama's*, a sort of *Tartarian* Priests, and the most Superstitious of all the *Bonzes*.

We were forbidden the Entrance of these Temples, being told it would prove of an ill Consequence, and give great Offence to our fellow Christians, so that Curiosity gave place to our desire of Edifying them. But we had the liberty of seeing the famous Imperial Observatory, so much celebrated by all Travellers. Be pleased, *My Lord*, to read what one of our ablest Mathematicians, has upon their Report spoken of it. *Nothing in Europe is to be compared to it, whether for the Magnificency of the Place, or the Bigness of those vast Brazen Machines, which having been during these Seven hundred years exposed on the Platforms of those large Towers, are still as fair and entire as if they were but new molten. The Divisions of those Instruments are most exact, the Disposition most proper for their Design, and the whole work performed with an unimitable neatness. In a word, it seemed that China insulted her Sister Nations, as if with all their Learning and Riches they could not come up to her in that point.*

Indeed if *China* insults us by the Sumptuousness of her Observatory, she is in the right to do it thus, at 6000 Leagues distance, for were she nearer, she durst not, for shame, make any Comparison.

Full of these great Thoughts of it we visited this famous Place, and found it to be as follows. First, Being entred into a Court of a moderate Extent, we were shewn a little House, their Dwelling, who look after the Observatory. Turning to your right Hand, as you come in, you meet with a very narrow Stair-case, by which you mount to the top of a square Tower, such as we formerly used to fortifie our City Walls withal; it is indeed contiguous on the inside to that of *Pekin*, and raised but Ten or Twelve Feet above the Bulwork. Upon this Platform the *Chinese* Astronomers had placed their Instruments, which tho' but few, yet took up the whole Room: But Father *Verbieft*, when he undertook the Survey and Management of the Mathematicks, having judged them very useless, perswaded the Emperour to pull 'em down, and put up new ones of his own contriving. These old Instruments were still in the Hall near the Tower, buried in Dust and Oblivion. We saw them, but thro' a Window close set with Iron Bars. They appeared to us large, well cast, and of a shape not much unlike our Astronomical Rings. But they had laid in a by-Court a Celestial Globe of about three Foot Diameter; that we had a full view of; it was something enclining to an Oval divided with little Exactness, and the whole Work very Course.

They have in a lower Room near that place contrived a *Gnomon*. The Slit which gives Entrance to the Suns Rays, is raised about 8 Feet from the ground, *Horizontally* placed, and made of two Copper Plates suspended, which may be moved too and fro, to make the Orifice larger or smaller. Under it lyes a Table trimm'd with Brass, in the midst of which length-ways, they have struck a *Meridian* Line 15 Feet long, divided across by other Lines, which are neither exact nor fine. They have cut little holes out into the sides wherein to put water, to set it exactly *Horison-*

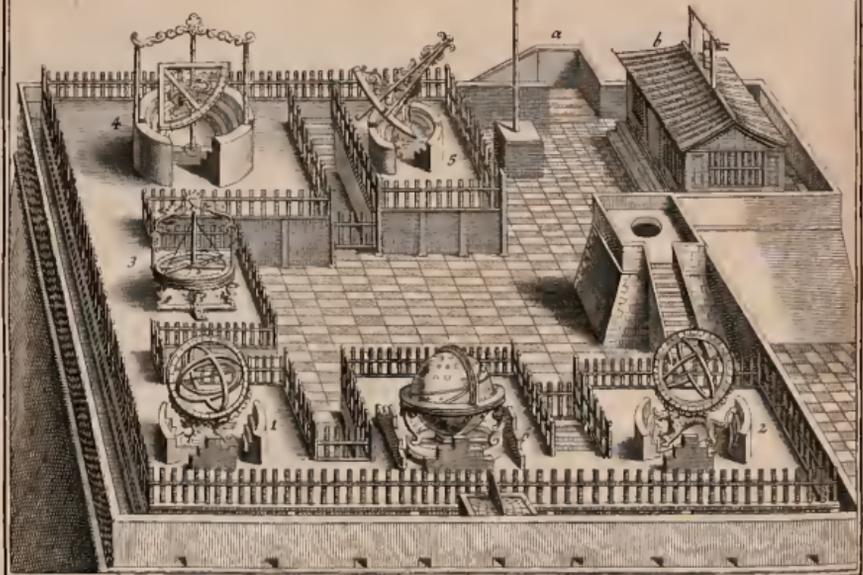
tal; and this indeed is of a *Chinese* Contrivance the most tolerable of any I have seen, and might be serviceable to a careful Astronomer; but I question whether their Skill who invented it is so great as to use it rightly.

This Observatory, of little worth, as to its ancient Machines, and less as to its Situation and Building, is now enriched with several Brazen Instruments which Father *Verbieft* has set up in it. They are large, well cast, imbellished with Representations of Dragons, and very well disposed to the Use they are designed for; and was but the niceness of their Divisions answerable to that of the Work, and *Telescopes* fastned to them instead of *Pins*, according to the new Method used by the *Royal Academy*, nothing that we have of that kind, might be brought into Competition with them. But tho' the Father was, no doubt, very careful of the Division of his Circles, the *Chinese* Artificer either was very negligent, or very incapable of following his Directions: so that I would rather trust to a *Quadrant* made by one of our good Workmen at *Paris*, whose *Radius* should be but one Foot and a half, than to that of six Feet which is at this Tower.

Perhaps your Highness may be willing at one view to see how they are disposed. This Draught is very conformable to the Original, and far from flattering it, as Pictures and Cuts generally do, I may say that it does not express half its Beauty. But each several Piece shewing but confusedly in this little space, I have added, in as few words as I could, an Explanation of the Frame and Embellishments of those Noble Instruments.



The Observatory at Pekin.



a. Steps going up to the Observatory | *1. a Zodiacal Sphere* | *3 an Azimuthal Horizon* | *5. A Sextant*
b. A Retiring Room for those that make Observations | *2 an Equinoctial Sphere* | *4 a Quadrant* | *6 a celestial Globe*

I. *SPHÆRA ARMILLARIS ZODIACALIS*,
of six Feet in Diameter.

This is supported by four Dragons Heads, whose Bodies after several windings are fastned to the ends of two Brazen Beams laid a-cross, that bear the whole weight of the Sphere. These Dragons, which were picked out among all other Creatures, because the Emperor bears them in his Coat of Arms, are as the *Chinese* represent them, wrapt up in Clouds, with long Hair on their Heads between their Horns, a fuzzy Beard under their lower Jaw, flaming Eyes, long sharp Teeth, their Mouth open, and breathing a whole Stream of Flame. Four Lions of the same Metal, stand under the End of the aforesaid Beams, whose Heads are raised higher or lower by Screws fastned with them. The Circles are divided both in their Exteriour and Interiour Surface by Cross-lines into 360 Degrees each, and each Degree into 60 Minutes, and the latter into portions of 10 Seconds each by small Pins.

II. *SPHÆRA EQUINOXIALIS* of six Foot Diameter.

This Sphere is supported by a Dragon, who bears it on his back bowed, and whose four Claws seize the four Ends of its Pedestal, which as the former is formed of two Brazen Beams Cross-wise, whose Ends are also born by four small Lions, which serve to set it right. The Design is noble and well performed.

III. *HORISON AZIMUTHALE*, six Feet in Diameter.

This Instrument, useful for the taking of Azimuths, is composed of a large Circle horizontally placed. The double *Alhidada*, which serves it for a Diameter,

runs over all the Limb, and carries round along with it an upright Triangle, the upper Angle of which is fastned to a Beam raised perpendicular from the Center of the said Horison. Four folded Dragons bow their Heads under the inferiour Limb of that Circle, to make it fast; and two others wound round two small Columns, mount on either side Cemicircular-wise, as high as the said Beam, to which they are fastned, to keep the Triangle steady.

IV. *A large QUADRANT whose Radius is six Foot.*

The Limb is divided into Portions of 10 Seconds each; the Lead which shews its Vertical Situation, weighs a Pound, and hangs from the Center by a very fine Bras-wyre. The *Albidada* moves easily round the *Limb*. A Dragon folded in several Rings, and wrapt up in Clouds, seizes on all parts the several Plates of the Instrument to fasten them, lest they should start out of their due Position. The whole Body of the *Quadrant* hangs in the Air, and a fixed *Axis* runs thro' its Center, round which the *Quadrant* turns towards the Parts of the Heavens which the Mathematician chooses to observe: And lest its weight should cause it to shiver, and lose its Vertical Position, a Beam is raised on each side, secured at the bottom by a Dragon, and fastned to the middle Beam or *Axis* by Clouds which seem to come out of the Air. The whole Work is solid and well contrived.

V. *A SEXTANT, whose Radius is about eight Feet.*

This represents the sixth Part of a great Circle born by a Beam, the Basis of which is Concave, made fast with Dragons, and crossed in the middle by a Brazen Pillar, on one end of which is an Engine, the help of whose Wheels serves to facilitate the Motion

Motion of that Instrument. On this Engine rests the middle of a small Brazen Beam which represents a *Radius* of the Sextant, and is fastned to it. Its upper part is terminated by a big *Cylinder*, which is the Center, round which the *Albidada* turns, and the lower is extended above two Feet beyond the Limb, that it may be grasped by the Pully which serves to raise it. These large and heavy Machines are of greater Ornament than use.

VI. A CELESTIAL GLOBE of six Feet Diameter.

This in my opinion is the fairest and best fashioned of all the Instruments. The Globe it self is Brazen, exactly round and smooth: The Stars well made, and in their true places, and all the Circles of a proportionable breadth and thickness. It is besides so well hung that the least touch moves it, and tho' it is above Two thousand weight, the least Child may elevate it to any Degree. On its large Concave *Basis* rest in an opposite Station four Dragons, whose Hair standing up an end, support a noble *Horison* commendable by its Breadth, its several Ornaments, and the Delicacy and Niceness of the Work. The *Meridian* in which the *Pole* is fixed, rests upon Clouds that issue out of the Basis, and slides easily between them, its motion being facilitated by some hidden Wheels, and moves with it the whole Globe to give it the required *Elevation*. Besides which the *Horison*, Dragons, and two Brazen Beams which lye cross in the Center of the Basis's Concavity, are all moved at pleasure, without stirring the Basis, which still remains fixed; this facilitates the due placing of the *Horison*, whether in respect of the Natural *Horison*, or in respect of the Globe. I wondred how Men, who live Six thousand Leagues from us, could go through such a piece of Work; and I must own that if all the

Circles which are divided, had been corrected by some of our Workmen, nothing could be more perfect in that kind. These Machines being most of them above 10 feet from the Ground, have for the Astronomers greater conveniency, Marble Steps round them, cut Amphitheater-wise.

How inviting soever these new Instruments may seem, the *Chinese* could never have been persuaded to make use of them, and leave their old ones, without an especial Order from the Emperor to that effect. They are more fond of the most defective Piece of Antiquity than of the perfectest Novelty, differing much in that from us who are in love with nothing but what is new. Indeed we are all to blame, for Time can add to or detract nothing from the real worth of things: But if we do not take great care of our selves, Fancy, Custom, and Prejudice, will prevail over our Understanding, which only perceiving the Difference of things, is only able to judge of it. If this Failing of the *Chinese* extended but to their Temporal Concerns, the Mischief perhaps would not be great; but it unhappily reaches to the Point of Religion; and whereas in *Europe* it seems that a Doctrine, tho' never so absurd, has a Title to our Belief when recommended by Novelty, in *China* it is quite contrary; for they think it a sufficient reason to reject the Christian Faith, because in respect of their Monarchy it is not old enough: As tho' Time and Ignorance were to be preferred to Truth, or that long standing could render Superstition lawful or reasonable.

The Fondness for Antiquity and for the Observance of ancient Customs, is perhaps what keeps the *Chinese* so close to their Astronomical Observations, for it has ever been their continual Practise, but it is a shame, that they have during so long a time made no greater Improvements. One would think, that having
watched

watched the Motions of the Stars above 4000 years, they should be perfectly acquainted with them; yet when our Missionaries entered that Country, they found them to be so unskilful herein, that with all their care they never could arrive to the Composing of an Exact Calendar; and their Tables of Eclipses were so uncorrect, that scarce could they foretel about what time that of the Sun should happen. As for those two Points they are now at rest, for those Fathers have settled the Calendar, and that which is given out in the beginning of each year, notes with the greatest nicety all the Motions of the Heavens which are during the year to happen out of Course.

However they still continue their Observations. Five Mathematicians spend every Night on the Tower in watching what passes over head; one is gazing towards the *Zenith*, another to the *East*, a third to the *West*, the fourth turns his Eyes *Southwards*, and a fifth *Northwards*, that nothing of what happens in the four Corners of the World may scape their diligent Observation. They take notice of the Winds, the Rain, the Air, of unusual *Phenomena's*, such as are Eclipses, the Conjunction or Opposition of Planets, Fires, Meteors, and all that may be useful. This they keep a strict accompt of, which they bring in every Morning to the Surveyor of the Mathematicks, to be registred in his Office. If this had always been practised by able and careful Mathematicians, we should have a great number of curious Remarks; but besides that, these Astronomers are very unskilful, they take little care to improve that Science; and provided their Salary be paid as usual, and their Income constant, they are in no great trouble about the Alterations and Changes which happen in the Sky. But if these Phenomena's are very apparent, as when there happens an Eclipse, or a Comet appears, they dare not be altogether so negligent.

All Nations have ever been astonished at Eclipses, of which they could not discover the Cause ; there is nothing so extravagant as the several Reasons some have given for it, but one would wonder that the *Chinese*, who as to Astronomy may justly claim Seniority over all the World besides, have reasoned as absurdly on that Point as the rest. They have fancied that in Heaven there is a prodigious great Dragon , who is a professed Enemy to the Sun and Moon, and ready at all times to eat them up. For this reason, as soon as they perceive an Eclipse, they all make a terrible rattling with Drums and brass Kettles, till the Monster frightned at the noise has let go his Prey. Persons of Quality, who have read our Books, have for these several years been undeceived, but (especially if the Sun looseth its Light) the old Customs are still observed at *Pekin*, which (as is usual) are at once very Superstitious and very Ridiculous. While the Astronomers are on the Tower to make their Observations, the chief *Mandarines* belonging to the *Lipou* fall on their Knees in a Hall or Court of the Palace, looking attentively that way, and frequently bowing towards the Sun, to express the pity they take of him, or rather to the Dragon, to beg him not to molest the World, by depriving it of so necessary a Planet.

Now all that the Mathematicians have foretold concerning the Eclipse must prove true, should it happen sooner or later, be greater or less, longer or shorter, the Surveyor and his Brethren would go near to lose their Places. But they never run that hazard ; let what will happen the Registers are ever exact ; and provided the Officers be well paid, they are ever in Fee with the Heavens.

I am afraid, *My Lord*, that I have been too tedious in this Digression ; your Highness having for these several years been busied in Affairs of greater moment, must needs have little regard for such obstruse Notions,

ons, unfit to excite you to those elevated Sentiments so natural to such great Souls as yours, and I might have spent my time more to your Satisfaction in writing the Wars of the *Tartars*, and the Conquest of *China*. But besides the inclination every Man has to speak of what belongs to his Profession, I have perhaps been over-ruled by the habit we contract in *China* to entertain great Persons with these Matters; and have hoped, that a Prince curious, and endued with a *Genius* to which nothing is impossible, would with patience hear, that which makes the Delight of the Greatest and most Learned Emperor in the whole World.

I should do *Pekin* a very great injustice if I passed over in silence its noble Gates and stately Walls, which indeed become an Imperial City. The former are not embellished with Statues or other Carving as are most Publick Buildings in *China*, but all their Beauty consists in a prodigious height, which at a Distance makes the finest shew in the World. They consist in two large square Buildings built separately, but bound together by two tall and very thick Walls, so that they form a Square which may contain above Five hundred Men in Battel. The first Building, which looks like a Fortrefs, faces the Road. There is no way thro' it, but you go in at the Side-wall, where there is a Gate proportionable to all the rest; then you turn to the Right, and meet with the second Tower which commands the City, and has a Gate like the former, but whose Gate-way is so long that it grows dark towards the middle. There they constantly keep a *Corps du Guard*, and a small Magazine to supply it readily with Stores in case of Necessity.

If you respect only the neatness of the Workmanship, and the Ornaments of Architecture, I must, indeed, confess, that the Gates of *Paris* are incomparably finer. But yet, when a Man approaches *Pekin*,
he

he must own that these immense Buildings, and, if I may speak it, those proud Masses have in their unshapenels a State preferable to all our Ornaments. The Arches are built with Marble, and the rest with very large Brick, bound with excellent Mortar.

The Walls are answerable to their Gates, so tall that they hide the whole City, and so thick that Centries on Horse-back are placed upon them. From place to place, at a Bow-shots distance, they are defended with square Towers. The Ditch is dry, but very broad and deep. All is regular, and as well kept as if they were in continual Apprehension of a Siege. This, *My Lord*, is a pretty exact Description of the chief City of all *China*, valuable by its Extent, large Gates, strong Walls, sumptuous Palace, good Garrison, (which consists in the best Forces of the whole Empire) and the Number of its Inhabitants, but commendable for nothing else.

What may be said of all the rest in general is this; The *Chinese* divide them into two kinds. Those which are solely designed for the Defence of the Country they call *Cities of War*, and the rest *Towns of Traffick*. The fortified Places which I have seen are not much stronger than the others, unless it be by their Situation, which makes some almost inaccessible. The Frontier Towns, especially those near *Tartary*, are somewhat singular; and our Missionaries have assured me, that there were several narrow Passages so well fortified, that it was almost impossible to force them: I my self have seen some which a hundred Men might easily defend against a whole Army. Their usual Fortifications are a good Bulwork, some Towers, Brick-walls, and a large and deep Ditch, filled with running Water. This is all the *Chinese* Engineers skill consists in, which indeed is no wonder, since our selves knew no better, before Cannons were in use, which has put us upon inventing new ways of defend-
ing

ing our Cities, as there were new ones contrived of attacking them.

I confess, *My Lord*, that running over all those Cities, which their Inhabitants esteem the strongest in the World, I have often with no little pleasure reflected on the facility with which *Lewis* the Great would subdue those Provinces, if Nature had made us a little nearer Neighbours to *China*; he whom the stoutest Places in *Europe* can at best withstand but during a few days. God has, by an equal and just Distribution, given the *Chinese* but Ordinary Commanders, because no Extraordinary Actions could be performed there; but to vanquish such Enemies as ours, so great a Hero was wholly necessary.

It must however be granted, that in the way of Fortification the *Chinese* have outdone all the Ancients in the prodigious Work that defends part of their Country. 'Tis that which we call the Great Wall, and with themselves stile *Van li Cham, Chim, The Wall 10000 Stadium's long*, which reaches from the Eastern Ocean to the Province of *Chanfi*: Not that its length is so great as they speak it; but if you reckon all its windings, it will really appear to be no less than 500 Leagues. You must not conceive it as a plain Wall, for it is fortified with Towers much like the City Walls I have mentioned; and in the places where the Passes might be more easily forced, they have raised two or three Bulworks one behind another, which may give themselves a mutual Defence, whose enormous Thickness, and the Forts which Command all the Avenues, being all guarded by great numbers of Forces, protect the *Chinese* from all Attempts on that side.

China being divided from *Tartary* by a Chain of Mountains, the Wall has been carried on over the highest Hills, and is now tall and then low as the Ground allowed; for you must not think, as some have

have imagined, that the Top of it is level throughout, and that from the bottom of the deepest Vales it could have been raised to be as high as the tallest Mountains. So when they say that it is of a wonderful height, we must understand it of the Spot of Ground it is built on; for of it self it is rather lower than those of their Cities, and but four, or at most, five feet in thickness.

It is almost all built with Brick, bound with such strong Mortar, that not only it has lasted these several Ages, but is scarce the worse. It is above 1800 years since Emperor *Chibohamti* raised it to prevent the Insurrections of the Neighbouring *Tartars*. This was at once one of the greatest and maddest Undertakings that I ever heard of; for tho' indeed it was a prudent Caution of the *Chinese* thus to guard the easiest Avenues, how ridiculous was it of them to carry their Wall to the top of some Precipices which the Birds can scarce reach with their Flight, and on which it is impossible the *Tartarian* Horse should ascend: And if they could fancy that an Army could have clambered up thither, how could they believe that so thin and low a Wall as they have made it in such places, could be of any Defence.

As for my part, I admire how the Materials have been conveyed and made use of there; and, indeed, it was not done without a vast Charge, and the loss of more Men than would have perished by the greatest Fury of their Enemies. It is said, that during the Reigns of the *Chinese* Emperors, this Wall was guarded by a Million of Soldiers; but now that part of *Tartary* belongs to *China*, they are content with manning well the worst situated, but best fortified Parts of it.

Among the other Fortresses of the Kingdom, there are above a Thousand of the first rate; the rest are less remarkable, and indeed scarce deserve that Name;

yet

yet all are very well garrisoned, and by that one may judge what vast Armies are constantly kept on foot. However, that is not the *Chinese's* chiefest boast, for if they are considered but as to the Military part, they will raise our wonder, but who can enough admire the Numbers, Greatness, Beauty, and Government of their Trading Towns? They are generally divided into three Classes; of the first there are above 160, of the second 270, and of the third near 1200, besides near 300 walled Cities more, which they leave out as not worth observing, tho' they are almost all well inhabited and traded. The greater and lesser Villages are numberless, especially those of the Southern Provinces. In the Province of *Chanfi* and *Chenfi* they are for the most part surrounded with Walls and good Ditches, with Iron Gates which the Country People shut at Night, and guard in the Day-time, to protect themselves from Thieves, as also from the Soldiers, who as they pass by, which they continually do, would in spite of their Officers insult them.

The largeness of these Cities is not less amazing than their number. *Pekin*, which I have already had the honour to mention to your Highness, is not to be compared to *Nankin*, or, as it is now called, *Kiamnin*, a Town formerly enclosed within three Walls, the outermost of which was 16 long Leagues round. Some Works of it are still to be seen, which one would rather think to be the Bounds of a Province than a City. When the Emperors kept their Court there, its Inhabitants were, no doubt, numberless. Its Situation, Haven, Plenty, the Fertility of the Neighbouring Lands, and the Canals made near it for the Improvement of Trade, could not but make it a fine City. It has since lost much of its former Splendour, however, if you include those who live in its Suburbs, and on the Canals, it is still more populous than *Pekin*, and tho' the unarable Hills, the ploughed Lands,
Gar-

Gardens, and vast empty Places which are within its Walls, render it really less than it seems, what is inhabited does still make a prodigious big City.

The Streets are moderately broad, but very well paved ; The Houses low, but cleanly, and the Shops very rich, being filled with Stuffs, Silks, and other costly Wares : In a word, it is as the Center of the Empire, where you may find all the Curiosities which are produced in it. There the most famous Doctors and the *Mandarins* who are out of Business, usually settle themselves, having the conveniency of several Libraries filled with choice of good Books ; their Printing is fairer, their Artificers are better Workmen, the Tongue more polite, and the Accent smoother than any where else ; and truly no other City were more proper for the Emperor's Seat, were it not for the State's advantage that he should reside near the Frontiers. It is also famous for several other Reasons.

First, Because of the River *Kiam* on which it is situated, which is the Largest, Deepest, and most Navigable in the whole Empire ; being, in that part of it which bathes the City, near half a League broad.

Secondly, The Royal Observatory on the Top of a Mountain, where stood formerly a Platform and proper Instruments (which were since removed to *Pekin*) but now only some old Buildings remain, and a large square Hall, newly built as an Acknowledgment of Emperor *Camby's* kind Visit to that City. This was a Trick of the *Mandarins*, who under pretence of raising a Monument of that Prince's Favour, got considerable Sums of Money from the Inhabitants, not half of which was laid out.

In the third place for a large Tower, vulgarly called the *China Tower*. There is without the City (and not within, as some have wrote) a House named by the *Chinese*, *The Temple of Gratitude*, (*Pao-gren-sse*) built 300 years ago by Emperor *Yonlo*. It is raised on a
Massive

Massive Basis, built with Brick, and surrounded with a Rail of unpolished Marble: There are ten or twelve Steps all round it, by which you ascend to the lowermost Hall, the Floor of which stands one foot higher than the *Basis*, leaving a little Walk two feet wide all round it.

The Front of this Hall or Temple is adorned with a Gallery and some Pillars. The Roofs (for in *China* there are usually two, one next to the top of the Wall, and a narrower over that) are covered with Green varnished shining Tiles; and the Ceiling within is painted, and made up of several little Pieces differently wrought one within the other, which with the *Chinese* is no little Ornament. I confess that medley of Beams, Jices, Rafters and Pinions, bears a surprising singularity, because we must needs judge that such a Walk was not done without great Expence: But to speak truth, it proceeds only from the Ignorance of their Workmen, who never could find out Noble Simplicity which becomes at once the Solidity and Beauty of our Buildings.

This Hall has no Light but what comes in at the Doors, of which there are three very large ones that give admittance into the Tower I speak of, which is part of this Temple. It is of an Octogonal Figure, about 40 Feet broad, so that each side is 15 Foot wide. A Wall in the like form is built round it, at two Fathoms and a half Distance, and being moderately high, supports the one side of a Pent-house, which issues from the Tower, and thus makes a pretty kind of a Gallery. This Tower is nine Stories high, each Story being adorned with a Cornish three Feet wide, at the bottom of the Windows, and distinguished by little Pent-houses like the former, but narrower, and (like the Tower it self) decreasing in breadth as they increase in height.

The Wall is, at the bottom, at least twelve Feet thick,

thick, and above eight and a half at the top ; incrust-
ed with *China* Ware laid flat-wise ; for tho' the Wea-
ther has something impaired its Beauty, there is yet
enough remaining to shew that it is real *China*, tho' of
the courser sort ; since 'tis impossible that Bricks could
have retained that Lustre above 300 years.

The Stair-case within is narrow and troublesome,
the Steps being very high. Each Story is made up of
thick pieces of Timber laid cross-wise, and on them
a Floor, the Cieling of each Room being enriched
with Paintings, if *their* Painting can enrich a Room.
The Walls of the upper Rooms bear several small
Niches full of Carved Idols, which makes a pretty
kind of Checker. The whole Work is Gilt, and looks
like carved Stone or Marble ; but I believe it to be
only Brick, for the *Chinese* are very skilful in stamp-
ing all kind of Ornaments on it, which thro' the fine-
ness of their sifted Mould, becomes more easie to them
then to us.

The first Floor is the most lofty, but the rest are
of an equal height. I have told the Steps, which are
190 in number, being almost all 10 large Inches high,
having measured them very nicely, which amounts
to 158 Feet. If you add to this the height of the Ba-
sis, that of the ninth Story, which has no Steps to
mount thence to the Top, and the *Cubilo*, the Sum will
be at least 200 Feet in height from the Ground.

This *Cubilo* is not one of the least Ornaments of
that Building, being, as it were an extraordinary thick
Mast, or May-Pole, which from the Floor of the
eighth Story rises above 30 Feet higher than the top
of the Tower. Round it a great piece of Iron runs
in a Spiral-line, several Feet distant from the Pole,
so that it looks like a hollow Cave, on the top of which
is placed a very large golden Ball. This it is that the
Chinese call the *Porcelain Tower*, and with some *Europe-
ans* would name the *Brick-one*. Whatever it may be
made

made of, it is undoubtedly the best contrived and noblest Structure of all the *East*. From its Top you have a Prospect of the whole City, and especially of the Mountain on which stands the Observatory, which lyes a good League North-East and by East from it.

Nankin was also famous for the bigness of its Bells, but their weight having worn down the Steeple which they were hung in, the whole Building fell down, and they still lye upon the ground. There is one in the way between our Colledge & the Observatory whose height is 11 Feet, and that of its Handle or Ear by which it hangs 2, and its Diameter is 7; the outward Circumference is 22 Feet, which indeed lessens towards the top, but not in the same proportion with our Bells here, for the Figure is almost a Cilinder, if you take away a considerable Swelling towards the middle where the Circumference is equal to that of the bottom. Its lower Brim is six Inches and a half thick, but grows thinner and thinner, to the bowing where the *Cone* begins, so that under the Ear it is not above two Inches thick, which may be measured exactly enough, because they bore their Bells at the top to increase their Sound, as they conceit it. The Metal is brittle, and the Cast not clear, being full of little knobs.

These Bells were cast during the Ninth Reign before this: Each have their particular Name; the one being called *Tchoui*, *The Hanger*; another *Che*, *The Eater*; a third *Choui*, or *So*, *The Sleeper*; and a fourth *Si*, *The Flyer*; for tho' there are but three in the City, the *Chinese* Geographers place a fourth beyond the *River Kiam*. Now supposing that a Cubical Foot of Brass weighs 648 Pound, the Bell which I measured should weigh about 90 Thousand, supposing it to be of an equal bigness and thickness. As for the bigness, there is no great difference, but the thickness lessens from the bottom to the top, where, as I have said, it is but two Inches thick; so that allowing it be one

with another four Inches thick and better throughout, the Bell will weigh about 50000 l. and be twice as heavy as that at *Erfort*, which Father *Kircher* affirms to be the biggest in the World.

But this is nothing to what there is at *Pekin*, which can shew seven cast under the Reign of Emperor *Youlo* near 300 years ago, weighing 120000 l. each. They are 11 Feet wide, 40 round, and 12 high, besides the Ear, which is at least 3 foot in height. This, *My Lord*, I own is surprising, and could scarce be believed, had we not Father *Verbiest's* word for it, who himself has exactly measured them.

But as much as their Bells exceeds ours in bigness, so much do ours exceed them in Sound, whether our Metal or Cast be better. Be pleased however to read what Father *Magalbaens* writes of that which is in the Palace at *Pekin*. *Its sound*, says he, *is so clear, so pleasant, and harmonious, that it seems to proceed from a Musical Instrument much rather than a Bell*. All this must be understood comparatively; and perhaps the Author had never heard any thing of that kind like it. As for my part, all the Bells I have heard there, have seemed to me to make but a dull, obscure noise, as one may easily imagine, for their Clappers are not made of Iron, but Wood. However the thing be (for it deserves not a longer Enquiry) it is certain that the *Chinese* have in all their Cities very big ones, with which they distinguish the Watches of the Night. Of these they usually reckon five, from seven or eight of the Clock in the Evening: They begin the first with striking once, which they repeat a moment after, and so on till the second Watch, when they strike two strokes, at the third three; and so on: So that these Bells are as so many repeating Clocks, which every other moment inform you what time of Night it is. They also use for the same purpose a very great Drum, which they beat in the same manner.

These

These two Imperial Cities, which I have now been describing, might alone render *China* deservedly famous, but the Metropolis of most Provinces are so big, that each were fit to be the Chief of an Empire. *Signanfou*, the Capital City of *Chensi*, is three Leagues round. I have had the Curiosity to measure it myself, which was not difficult, the Walls which inclose it making an exact Square. Its Ditches, which are partly dry and partly filled with water, are very fine; its Walls thick and tall, as well as the square Towers that defend them; its Bulworks very broad; and its Gates, at least some, most stately, and like those at *Pekin*. The City is divided into two Parts by an Earthen Wall, which runs almost from one End to the other. The one half is inhabited by the *Tartars*, who keep the biggest Garrison, tho' in the other where the *Chinese* dwell, there be also a good Body of Troops. There may still be seen an old Palace, the former Residence of the ancient Kings of that Country, who were powerful, not only because of the vast Extent of their Dominions, but also thro' the Bravery and Courage of their Subjects; for among all the *Chinese*, there are not any better proportioned, or more strong, stout and laborious than these. As for the Houses, they are, as every where else in *China*, low and not over-well built; their Furniture is not so neat as in the Southern Parts, their Varnish not so smooth, their *China* so abundant, or their Workmen so ingenious.

Hamt-chéou, the Chief City of the Province of *Chekiam*, is also one of the richest and greatest in the Empire. The *Chinese* say it is four Leagues round, and, I believe, they tell no lye. The Streets are as full of People as at *Paris*, and the Suburbs besides being very large, and the Canals crowded with an infinite number of Boats, I believe it to be as populous as the greatest Cities in *Europe*. The Garrison consists

in 10000 Men, 3000 of which are *Chinese*. The Water of their Canals is not clear, nor their Streets broad, but the Shops are neat, and the Merchants there are reputed to be very rich.

Eastwards from the City runs a River half a League broad, being near the Sea, but indeed not very considerable, for a little higher it is but an useless Torrent, which runs thro' abundance of Rocks. A Lake lyes close to it to the Westwards, which at most is two Leagues round. The Water is clear, but very shallow; Deep enough however for some large Flat-bottom'd Boats, which the *Chinese* keep there, like so many floating Islands, where their young People take their Pleasure themselves. In the middle stands an Island where they usually land, having built there a Temple and some Houses for their Diversion. Of this Lake some Relations have made an Inchaned Place. I have read that it was built round with stately Houses and noble Palaces. This might be; but if true, a great care was certainly taken that not so much as the least Track or Memory of it should remain. But perhaps they gave that Name to some Wooden thatched Dwellings, in which *China* does every where abound, then indeed a short while might make great Alterations, for Time needs not use it's utmost Efforts to pull them down. However, if this City is not so eminent for Buildings, it is commendable for being one of the best situated in the Empire, for the prodigious Number of its Inhabitants, the Convenience of its Canals, and the great Traffick which is made there in the finest Silks in the World.

What is surprising in *China* is, That whereas, being gone thro' one of these Cities, you would scarce expect to meet with the like, you are hardly out of sight of it before you are in view of such another. As for example; Going along the great Canal from *Hamt-chéou* you come to *Sout-chéou*, which is not far
from

from it, and if you believe the Inhabitants, contains four Leagues in Circuit, being indeed of a vast Extent. It is also the usual Residence of a Viceroy, and has as great a Trade as any City in the Empire. I do not find it to be proportionably as Populous as those I have mentioned; but the Suburbs, and multitude of Boats amaze new Comers. Those who have the Patience to spend a few Minutes on the Water-side, and view the Throngs of People that come to cheapen Commodities, would imagine it to be a Fair to which the whole Empire were crowding; and the Officers there, tho' not over strict, are so busied in receiving the Customs, that they are obliged to put off to the next day a great many Traders, who come to make their Payments. This continual Hurry among the most covetous Nation in the World, should occasion frequent Quarrels, but their Government is so good, and the *Mandarines* Orders so strictly observed, that besides Abusive Language, in which the *Chinese* are very fluent, other Injuries are seldom offered. Not far from *Sout-chéou* you meet with other Cities at small Distances from each other, some a League and a half, and some two Leagues round. As soon as you are come to the River *Kiam*, you meet with *Shin Kiamson*, a Town built on its Banks, one of whose very Suburbs, which lyes North-west, is a large German League in Circuit; This Place is so Populous, that when I passed thro' it, it was no small trouble to me to make my way thro' the Crowd, and is usually as great in those Streets as here at a Solemn Procession. Over against it, on the other side of the River, stands *Qua-chéou*, another great trading Town; a little beyond lyes *Yam-chéou*, one of the most remarkable Cities in the whole Empire, which, according to the *Chinese*, contains two Millions of Inhabitants.

If I did not here recal my self, I should unawares describe all the Cities of *China*; but designing only

to give your Highness a general account of their Largeness and Number, I shall without a needless, tedious descending into Particulars, assure your Eminency that my self have seen seven or eight of them as big at least as *Paris*, besides several others where I have not been, which I am assured are not less. There are fourscore of the first Rank, equal to *Lyons* or *Bourdeaux*. Among 260 of the Second, above a Hundred are like *Orleance*; and among 1200 of the Third, there are five or six hundred as considerable as *Rochel* or *Angoulesme*; besides an innumerable quantity of Villages greater and more populous than *Marenes* and *St. John de Luz*. These, *My Lord*, are no *Hyperbole's*, neither do I speak by Hear-say, but having travelled in Person over the greatest part of *China*, I hope your Highness will favour me so far, as not to question the sincerity of my Relation.

I shall conclude with the several Ports and Havens of *China*, which do not a little contribute to the Increase of its Wealth. Its *Chinese* Emperors had forbid the Entrance of them to Foreigners; but the *Tartars*, more fond of Money than of Ancient Customs, have of late years granted a free Access to all Nations.

The first, beginning Southwards, is *Macao*, famous for the great Traffick which the *Portuguese* formerly made there, before the *Dutch* had expelled them out of the greatest part of the *Indies*. They still have a Fortress in it, but their Garrison is small, as indeed they are not able to keep a very great one. Besides, their best way to maintain themselves in this Post is, to ingratiate themselves with the *Chinese*, by a blind obsequiousness to all their Commands, which they do very wisely. The Town, if I may so call a few Houses not inclosed with any Walls, is built on a narrow uneven Soil, on the Point of a small Island which commands a good Road where Ships, by the means of several other little Islands which lye to the Windwards,

wards, are secure from any Storm. The Haven is Narrow, but Safe and Commodious. All the Customs belong to the Emperor; and tho' the *Portuguese* do still preserve a Form of Government among themselves, yet they obey the *Mandarines* in whatsoever bears the least Relation to the *Chinese*.

The second Haven of this Coast is formed by a pretty wide River, up the which great Vessels can go as far as *Canton*. This place is very convenient to Foreigners, because the City supplies them with abundance of all kind of Merchandises and Refreshments; but the *Mandarines* are not fond of letting them approach too near their Walls, least they should be surpris'd, or rather, they are unwilling that their Merchants should deal with ours, to whom themselves do underhand sell their Commodities by the means of their Brokers.

The Province of *Fokien* adjoining to that of *Canton* has another celebrated Haven, which they call *E-moui*, from the Island which forms it, for it is properly speaking, but a Road lockt in on the one hand by the Continent, and on the other by the said Island. The biggest Ships ride here secure, and the Banks so high, that they may come as near the Shoar as they will. The late great improvement of Trade in that City, invites to it a considerable number of People, and this Post has been judg'd of such a Consequence, that the Emperor has for some years past kept there a Garrison of six or seven Thousand Men under a *Chinese* Commander.

The fourth called *Nimpo*, lyes in the most Easterly part of *China*: There it was we landed. The Entrance is very difficult, and wholly impracticable to great Vessels, the *Bar* at the highest Tides not being above 15 Foot under Water. That Place is nevertheless very well traded, for thence they make a speedy Voyage to *Japan*, being but two days in their passage

to *Nangazaki*. Thither they carry Silks, Sugar, Drugs and Wine, which they Exchange for Gold, Silver and Brass.

Nimpo is a City of the first Class, and was in former times very remarkable, but has been much damaged by the late Wars; however, it daily regains something of its former Splendour; the Walls are in a good Condition, the City and Suburbs well inhabited, and the Garrison pretty numerous. The Town is still full of a kind of Monuments called by the Chinese *Paisam*, or *Pailou*, and by us Triumphal Arches, which are very frequent in *China*.

They consist in three great Arches abreast, built with long Marble Stones. That in the middle is much higher than the other two. The four Columns which support them are sometimes round, but oftner square, made of one only Stone placed on an irregular *Basis*. In some this *Basis* is not to be seen whether they never had any, or that thro' Age it was sunk into the Ground. They have no *Capitals*, but the Trunk is fastned into the *Architrave*, if we will give that Name to some Figures over the Pillars. The *Frize* is better distinguished, but too high in proportion to the rest; they adorn it with Inscriptions, Figures and Embossed Sculptures of a wonderful beauty, with Knots wrought loose one within another, with Flowers curiously carved, and Birds flying as it were from the Stone, which in my Mind are Master-pieces.

Not that all these Arches are of this make: Some are so ordinary that they are not worth the seeing; but others there are which cannot enough be prized. Instead of a Cornish, they have before and behind large flat Marble Stones like Pent-houses. There are so many of these Monuments at *Nimpo*, that in some places they are more a Trouble than an Ornament, tho' at a Distance they make an agreeable Prospect.

I have omitted the Haven of *Nankin*, which, me-
thinks,

thinks, because of the breadth and depth of the River *Kiam* should have been first in order ; but not any Ships put in there at present. I do not know whether the Mouth of the said River is now choaked up with Sand ; but sure I am, that the whole Fleet of that famous Pyrat who besieged *Nankin* during the late Troubles, passed it without any difficulty ; and perhaps it is to prevent any such Accident for the future, that the *Chinese* will not make use of it, that by degrees it may grow out of knowledge.

This, *My Lord*, is in general what may be said of the Ports, Fortresses and Cities of *China*, the number of which is so great, that scarce can a Traveller distinguish them, they lye so thick together. Therefore the *Chinese* have ever thought that no Nation in the World was to be compared to them, much like those People whom the Prophet represents, saying , * *This is that* * Zeph. 2. 15. *great and glorious City which has subsisted for so many years, and saith, I truly am a City, and there is none besides me.* The *Chinese* indeed were something excusable in this Point, since they knew of nothing beyond the Seas of *Japan* and Forests of *Tartary* ; but what we have told 'em, That the *West* had also its Cities and Kingdoms, which in several things exceeds theirs, has very much humbled them, being not a little vexed that their Title to the *Universal Monarchy* should now be questioned, after having enjoyed it above 4000 years.

Our Comfort, *My Lord*, is, that these proud Cities which stiled themselves *Ladies of the Universe*, have been forced to open their Gates to the Gospel, and art partly subdued by our Religion. * *Those that dwell in high* * *Isaiah* 26. 5. *places have bowed their heads, and the Lord has in a holy manner brought low the lofty Cities.* This, *My Lord*, has often supported me in the midst

of my Labours and Travels. I have seen but few Cities where *Christianity* had made no Progress; and among those Crowds of Worshippers of *Belial*, I have observed a *chosen People* which worshipped the Lord *in Spirit and in Truth*. Our Churches are now the Ornament of those very Cities, which during so many Ages had been defiled with Idols; and the Cross raised above their Houses, confounds Superstition, and gains it self Respect from the very Gentiles.

What then remains, *My Lord*, but that we labour with the utmost Diligence to the perfecting of a Work worthy the Zeal of the first *Apostles*. Woe to those who are kept there by the Care of the Head of the Church, and the Liberality of Christian Princes, if thro' Negligence, or an ill-grounded Cowardice, they fail of rendring the Inhabitants of those vast Cities a *Holy Nation*. Hitherto, thro' God's good Grace, the Ministers of the *Gospel* have not been ashamed of their Profession, not before the Pagan Magistrates; and when forced by a long Exile to quit their beloved Churches, they all might with *St. Paul* say, *You know I have endeavoured to serve the Lord in all humility, with many tears, and notwithstanding the Crosses I have met with from the Heathen; that I have bid nothing from you that might be to your advantage, no hinderance being strong enough to prevent my preaching it both in publick and private; but rather admonishing you all to be penitent towards God, and faithful to our Lord Jesus Christ.*

I know that those who have Composed whole Volumes to cry down our Catholick Missions, will not agree to what I have said. Men, who have once professed themselves Enemies to the Orthodox Doctrine, attack it every where, and make it their Business to slander such as preach it; But it may be a Comfort to us, that we have no other Adversaries but those who are such to our Church, and that we are only blamed by those whose Praise would be a Reproach to

However, we stand in daily need of the Assistance of our kind Protectors ; For in what part of this World can Naked Truth and Distressed Innocence withstand alone the Force of Inveterate Malice ? In you, *My Lord*, we hope to find one full of Zeal and Justice. The Approbation of so great a Prince, whose Wit, Judgment and Uprightness are well known to all *Europe*, is able alone to Silence and Confound our Enemies. And when it is once known that you are in some Concern for our Affairs , that you are sensible of our Labours, perswaded that our Designs are good, and willing to contribute to carry them on ; none sure will then be so daring and hardened a Calumniator as to speak against our Missions to *China*, or reflect on our Conduct in that Country. I am with a profound Respect,

My Lord,

Your Eminences most humble

and obedient Servant

L. J.

LET-

LETTER IV.

To the Count de CRECY.

*Of the Clime, Soil, Canals, Rivers and
Fruits of China.*

My Lord,

THE *French* Missionaries to *China*, are so highly obliged to your whole Family, that among the most important Commands, they have honoured me with for *Europe*, that of returning you their hearty Thanks was earnestly recommended to my Care.

I know, *My Lord*, that how great soever your Favours may have been, your several Employments, and the unbounded Application with which you serve his Majesty, have somewhat curbed your Zeal.

But what is not owing from us to that other Self of yours, (pardon the Expression) whom his Blood, Name, Wit, and a thousand excellent Qualifications, do so confound with you, that we can scarce distinguish the one from the other? In all our Travels in which some of us have already reckon'd above 40000 Leagues, we have not made a Step without his Orders and Assistance. His Zeal has excited us to Noble Enterprises, his Prudence directed us how to carry them on, his Courage strengthened us against all Opposition, and I hope his unshaken Constancy will

at last give Success to one of the most Noble Atchievements that this Age has produced, to our Churches good, to the Improvement of Learning, and to his Glory who Sways the *Gallick* Scepter.

Thus, *My Lord*, while you make known his Name in the several Courts of *Europe*, he spreads yours a-broad thro' the new World, where he is equally revered by the Preachers of the Gospel, whose Support he is, and dreaded by those of Paganism and Idolatry, whose Ruin he is the occasion of. I the more willingly do Justice to his Merit, because I cannot write on a Subject more agreeable to your Lordship; and if I had not already spoke to it in a private Conversation, I were to blame, to give over so soon.

But after having indulged a Father's Tenderness, is it not time you should satisfy a State-man's Curiosity? I have often described *Europe* to the *Chinese*, who have admired its Politeness, Beauty and Magnificence; it is but just that I make *China* known to that *European* who is best able to judge of its true Grandeur. I have, *My Lord*, pitched upon the following Particulars, being such as will give you a true Idea of that Country, and will perhaps give some pleasure in the reading.

China being of a large Extent, the Nature of the Soil is different, according to its particular Situation, as it lyes more or less Southwards. I can however assure your Lordship, that the least of its fifteen Provinces, is so Populous and Fertile, that in *Europe* it would make alone a considerable State; and a Prince who should enjoy it, might have Wealth and Subjects enough to content a moderate Ambition.

This Land, like all others, is divided into Hills and Plains; but the latter are so even that one would think the *Chinese* have ever since the Foundation of their Monarchy been employ'd in nothing else but levelling them, and making them into Gardens; and
their

94 *Of the Clime, Soil, Canals, Rivers*

their manner of meliorating their Ground being to let Water thro' it, they could not think of a better way to distribute it equally; else those Parts which lye highest would have laboured under a continual Drought, and the rest lain always under Water.

This is also their way even in Filling and Manuring their Hills, for they cut them out like a pair of Stairs from the Foot to the Top, that the Rain-water may spread equally, and not wash down the Ground with its Seeds.

Thus they have, as it were, forced Nature by making Artificial Plains, where she had raised Mountains; and a long Series of such Hills surrounded and crowned, as I may say, with a hundred such Terrasses, losing in Breadth as they gain in Height, and whose Soil is as fruitful as that of the best Cultivated Valleys, must needs make a very entertaining Landskip.

It is true that their Mountains are not for the most part so Stony as ours, their Mould is rather Light, Porous, and easily Cut; and what is most surprising, so deep, that in most Provinces you may dig three or four hundred Feet in depth before you come to the Rock. This does not a little contribute to its goodness, because the continual Transpiration of Salt Spirits is ever renewing it, and thus endues the Soil with a perpetual Fertility.

Nature has not however been equal in her Distribution, she was less lavish to the Provinces of *Cbenfi*, *Honan*, *Canton* and *Fokien*. Yet even their Mountains are not wholly useles, bearing all kind of Trees, which grow tall and streight, and are fit for all kind of Building, especially for Shipping. The Emperor reserves some for his private use, and sometimes sends 300 Leagues for Trees of a prodigious bigness, of which he makes Pillars to his Temples or other Publick Buildings.

The Inhabitants also trade much in them, for having
lopt

lopt off all the Branches, they tye 80 or 100 of them together, and fasten so many such Rows one behind another as reach almost a Mile, which they drag in that manner along the Rivers and Canals till they have sold all ; for they build them little convenient Houses on these kind of Floats, where the Timber-Merchant, his Family and Servants lye during the whole Voyage, which is sometimes three or four Months long.

They have other Mountains which are of a greater and more publick Advantage. Those produce Iron, Tin, Brass, Mercury, Gold and Silver. It is true, the Silver Mines are not now made use of, whether they think the Empire is sufficiently stocked with it, or that they are unwilling to Sacrifice the Lives of poor People, by putting them upon so laborious and dangerous a Task.

As for their Gold the Torrents wash a great quantity away into the Plains, which proves the occasion of a great many Peoples livelyhood, who have no other Occupation then to look for it among the Sand and Mud, where they find it so pure, that it need no Refining as at *Peru*.

If you will believe the *Chinese*, who themselves are Credulous to an Excess, their Mountains have wonderful Properties. Some, they say, are ever covered with Clouds, while others always continue Calm and Serene. Some produce none but useful, wholesome Herbs, while not a rank poysonous Weed can grow there. They affirm that a Hill in the Province of *Chensi* is shaped like a Cock, and Crows sometimes so loud as to be heard three Leagues off ; and that another in that of *Fokien*, moves too and fro when a Storm approaches, like a Tree agitated with the Wind. The hoary Heads of others are cover'd with a continual Frost ; and there is one in the Province of *Kiamsi*, called the *Dragon-Tiger*, because the *Bonzes* pretend

96 *Of the Clime, Soil, Canals, Rivers*

tend that its upper part is shaped like a Dragon, and seems to Assault the lower that is like a Tiger.

That of *Fokien* especially is admired, the whole Extent of which is nothing else but a Representation of the Idol *Foé*, so hugely big, that its Eyes are several Miles broad, and its Nose many Leagues in length. I cannot suppose it to be a piece of *Chinese* Workmanship, for they would not certainly have made its Nose so big, who love theirs should be little, which they look upon as a great Beauty.

The Mountain of *Cbenfi* is no less wonderful, for at the Sound of a Drum, or any other Instrument, it breathes out Fire and Flames, raises Wind, Rains, Storms and what not : And, to conclude, one in the Province of *Houkam* has this strange property, that it makes Thieves so giddy, that should they steal any thing on it, it would be impossible for them to go off with their Booty ; whereas an easie Egress and Regress is allowed to such as come thither with an Honest Mind.

China abounds in such like Curiosities which some of our Philosophers admire, and endeavour to reduce to Natural Principles, but I should rather advise them to leave that Discussion to the *Chinese*, who being the Authors, should best know the Causes of these fancied Effects.

The idlest Dream, and that to which they give most Faith, is, That there is a Dragon of an extraordinary strength and Sovereign Power. It is in Heaven, in the Air, on the Waters, and usually among the Mountains. They also believe that in those Mountains live a sort of Men which they call the *Immortal Race*, believing really that they never dye ; and some are so infatuated with this ridiculous Opinion, that they wander among those Rocks, and there loose themselves in quest of Immortality. There are several famous *Grotto's*, where some *Bonzes* lead a very
auster

austere Life ; but for a few that behave themselves well, abundance thro' their execrable Vices, are grown Contemptible to Persons of Quality, and Odious to the People, who only tolerate them, thro' a mistaken Zeal.

The most famous Temples are also built on Mountains. Pilgrims repair thither from 200 Leagues off, and their Number is sometimes so great, that the Roads are crowded with them. The Women especially are very exact in the performance of this piece of Devotion, for having no other Opportunity of going abroad, they are glad of that Pretext. But these Holy Travels being somewhat prejudicial to their Vertue, their Husbands are not over-well pleased at it ; therefore only your ordinary sort of Women perform these Journeys ; but as for Persons of Quality, they force their Wives Zeal into a narrower Compass.

If after having viewed their Mountains, we take a Prospect of their Plains, it must be confessed that no Art can equal their Natural Beauty. They are all Cultivated, and have neither Hedge nor Ditch, nor scarce a Tree, so much they are afraid of losing an inch of Ground. In most Provinces they make Harvest twice a year, and between those two Seasons they sow Herbs and Pulse.

All the Northern and Western Provinces, as *Pekin*, *Chansi*, *Chensi*, *Sout-chouen*, bear Wheat, Barley, several kinds of *Millet*, and Tobacco, with black and yellow Pease, with which they feed Horses as we do with Oats. Those to the *South*, especially *Houquam*, *Nankin*, and *Sbekiam* are fruitful in Rice, it being a low, watry Country. The Husbandmen at first sow it disorderly like other Corn, and when it is grown about two Feet from the Ground, they pull it up by the Roots, and transplant it in a strait Line, in small parcels like little Sheaves, checkerwise, that the Ears may

98 *Of the Clime, Soil, Canal, Rivers*

support each other, and the easier resist the Wind; so that these Plains look more like spacious Gardens than a plain Field.

The Soil is proper for all manner of Fruits; it bears Pears, Apples, Apricocks, Peaches, Figs, Grapes of all kind, and especially excellent Muscadines. There are also Pomegranates, Walnuts, Chesnuts, and generally all that we have in *Europe*. Their Olives are different from ours; they press no Oyl out of them, because, perhaps, they are not fit for that purpose, or that the *Chinese* have not yet thought of it. Their Fruit generally speaking, is not near so good as ours, being wholly Strangers to the Art of Grafting. But they have three kind of Melons which all are excellent: The first are small, yellow within, and of a sweet Sugar-taste, which they eat with the Rind as we do an Apple: I have not met with those any where but in the Province of *Chensi*. The others are very big and long, their inside being of some white, and of others red; tho' they are full of a cooling Juice which tastes like Sugar, they never prove offensive, and may be eaten during the greatest Heats of Summer, without fear of a Surfeit; those are called Water-Melons. The third sort are like our ordinary Melons.

Besides the Fruits which they have in common with us, others grow there which are not known in *Europe*. The most delicate they call *Letchi*, and is found in the Province of *Canton*. It is as big as a Nut, the Stone is long and big, and the Meat on it soft and waterish, but of a most delicious Taste; I know not any Fruit in *Europe* that comes near it. All this is inclosed in a rough thin Rhind, and the whole is shaped like an Egg. It is unwholesome to eat a quantity, and of so hot a nature, as to cause a Man's whole Body to break out into Pimples. The *Chinese* dry it with the Rhind, and then it grows black and rinkled

rinkled like our Prunes, and so it is preserved and eat all the year round, being used especially in Tea, to which it gives a little sharp Taste, more agreeable than that of Sugar.

In the same Province, and in that of *Fokien*, grows another small Fruit which they call *Lowyen*, *Dragon's-Eye*. The Tree that bears it is large as those which produce our Walnuts. This Fruit is exactly round, the outer Rhind being smooth and grey, but as it ripens it grows yellowish. The Meat is white, sowerish, and very full of Juice, and is fitter for a Dessert to those who have well dined, than to satisfy the hungry Stomach: It is very cool and inoffensive.

The *Séze*, another kind of Fruit peculiar to *China*, grows almost in all parts of it; of this, as of Apples, there are several kinds. Those in the Southern Provinces taste much like Sugar, and melt in ones Mouth. In the Provinces of *Chanfi* and *Chensi*, it is more firm, bigger, and may easier be preserved. The Rhind of the former is clear, smooth, transparent, and of a shining red Colour, especially when the Fruit is ripe. Some are in shape like an Egg, but usually bigger, the Pips black and flat, and the Meat very watery and almost liquid, which they suck out at one of the ends. When they are dried like our Figs they become mealy, but in time there grows a sort of a sugar'd Crust upon them, from which they receive a most delicious flavour.

Those in *Chanfi* are, as I have said, much more firm, their Meat being like that of our Apples, but of a different Colour. Those they either gather early to ripen them on the Straw, or dip in scalding Water, to free 'em of an ill sower Taste which they have at first gathering. The *Chinese* are not over careful of this Fruit, it being a Natural Product of the Earth which grows in any Soil. But did they endeavour to bring it to perfection by grafting, I question

not but it might be made an excellent one.

I purposely omit their *Anana's*, *Goyaves*, *Coco's* and other Fruits, for which they are indebted to the *Indies*, and which have been abundantly described in other Relations; but I cannot pass by their Oranges, commonly known with us by the Name of *China Oranges*, because the first we saw of that kind came from thence. The first and only Tree out of whose Stock all ours are said to be produced, is still preserved at *Lisbon* in the Garden of the Count *de St. Laurence*, and we are, indeed, beholding to the *Portuguese* for that Delicious Fruit; but they brought only of one kind over, tho' there be several in *China*.

That which is most valued, and sent as a Rarity to the *Indies*, is no bigger than the Balls with which they usually play at Billiard; the Rhind is of a reddish yellow, fine, clear, and very smooth. Yet the bigger sort seem to me the best: Those of *Canton* especially are very agreeable both to our Palate and Constitution. They are commonly given to sick People, being first softned with the fire, then filled with Sugar, which incorporating with their Juice, makes a very sweet wholesome Syrup, then which nothing can be better for the Lungs. I know not how to distinguish them from those we have in *Provence*, and that are brought from *Portugal*; unless by their being more firm, that they are not easily parted from the Rhind, neither are they divided into Segments like ours, tho' else they do not differ in shape.

When I was at *Siam*, most of my Country-men were transported with the goodness of certain Oranges whose Rhind is rough, thick, almost all over green. They may perhaps be willing to know if *Cbina* can shew any as good. As to matter of Taste, a Man does not always agree with himself, much less can he do so with others. All I can say to it is, that each is excellent in its kind, and that usually the last eaten seem best tasted.

Lemons,

Lemons, Citrons, and what the *Indians* call *Pampelimonfes*, are very common there, and therefore not so much regarded as in *Europe*; but they Cultivate with a great deal of Care a particular Species of Lemon-Trees, whose Fruit being no bigger then a Walnut, perfectly round, green and sowerish withal, are excellent in all kind of Ragousts; and these Shrubs they often plant in Boxes to adorn their Courts and Halls therewith.

But of all the Trees that grow in *China*, that which produces Tallow is in my Opinion the most prodigious. This very Proposition is no doubt surprizing, and there being no where else any thing like it, will seem a *Paradox*; yet there is nothing more true, and perhaps, *My Lord*, a particular Account of the Nature and Properties of so extraordinary a Tree, will not be unwelcome.

It is about the height of our Cherry-Trees; the Branches are crooked, the Leaves shaped like a Heart, of a lively brisk red, its Bark smooth, the Trunk short, and the Head round and very thick. The Fruit is inclosed within a Rhind divided into three Segments, which open when it is ripe, and discover three white Kernels of the bigness of a small Nut. All the Branches are very thick of it; and this mixture of white and red makes at a distance the finest Prospect in the World; the Fields, where these Trees are planted, which they usually are in a direct Line and Checkerwise, shewing afar off like a vast *Parterre* of Flower-Pots.

But the wonder is, that this Kernel has all the qualities of Tallow; its Odour, Colour, and Consistency; and they also make Candles of it, mixing only a little Oyl when they melt it to make the Stuff more pliant. If they knew how to purifie it as we do our Tallow here, I doubt not but their Candles might be as good as ours, but they make them very awkwardly;

So that their Smell is much stronger, their Smoak thicker, and their Light dimmer than ours.

It is true, the Fault does not a little lye in the Wick; for instead of Cotton, tho' they are well stocked with that Commodity, they use a small stick of a dry light Wood, wrapt round with the inner part of a Rush, which is very porous, and thereby fitted for the Filtration of the small Particles of that greasie Matter by which the Flame is preserved. This wooden Wick, besides that it does not burn so clear as Cotton, increases the Smoak, and causes an offensive Smell.

Among the Trees peculiar to the Country I am speaking of, I must not omit those which bear Pepper; not like that which we make use of in *Europe*, but another sort of Seeds indued with the same qualities. They grow on a Tree like those who bear our Walnuts, about as big as a Pea, and of a greyish Colour; with little red streaks. When they are ripe they open of themselves, and discover a little Stone as black as Jet, casting so strong a smell very offensive to the Head, for which reason they gather them by intervals, not being able to remain on the Tree any considerable time. Having expos'd these Grains to the Sun, they cast away the Stone which is too hot and strong, and only use the rest, which tho' not quite so agreeable as our Pepper, is however of good use in Sauces.

I shall add, *My Lord*, that you may better judge of the Fertility of that vast Empire, that there is no place in the World like it for the abundance of Roots and Pulse; it is almost the only Food of the Inhabitants, who omit nothing to have them good. It would be too tedious to give you a List of all those different Herbs; for besides those we have here, their Ground brings forth several others unknown to us, on which they set a greater value. Their Care and
Dexterity

Dexterity herein is beyond all our Gardners performances; and if our *Parterre* excels theirs, they exceed us in their Kitchen Garden.

Tho' this Subject, common in it self and not worth your notice, yields no great Rarity, I cannot forbear speaking of a kind of Onions which I have seen; they do not seed like ours; but towards the latter end of the Season their Leaves bear some small Filaments, in the midst of which is a white Onion like that in the Ground. This does in time produce its Leaves, and those a like Head, and so on, which grow less and shorter as they are farther from the Ground; the Dimensions are so just, and the Proportions so exact, that one would think them Artificially done; and it seems as if nature were minded to shew us that even Sporting, it can exceed the Skill of the nicest Artist.

If what has been written of what they call *Petse* were true, it would be a great wonder. It is a kind of *Lenusar*, that grows under Water, whose Root is fastned to a white Matter covered with a red Skin, that divides it self into several Heads, which when fresh, taste like a small Nut. I have been assured that it has this Property, that it softens Brass, and as it were renders it eatable, if a piece of the Metal be put into the Mouth with one of this Plant.

This seemed the stranger to me, because the Juice which issues from it is very mild and cooling, and not endued with any of those Corrosive qualities which seem necessary to work such an Effect. As soon as we were arrived at *Hamt-chéou*, where this *Petse* is much eaten, we had the Curiosity to enquire into the truth of it; and to that purpose took a piece of their Money, which was made of a very brittle sort of Molten Brass, and wrapt it up in a slice of this Root. One of us who had stronger Teeth than the rest, broke it into several pieces, which the others,

loath to strain their Jaws, had not been able to do : But these broken pieces were as hard as ever, which made us think that the Root had indeed no other Virtue then that by being wrapt up round the Brass it saved his Teeth ; which a piece of Leather might have done as well. We often repeated the Experiment at *Kiabin*, but with no better success ; so true it is that these mighty Wonders should be heard twice, before they are once believed.

Tho' *Cbina* were not of it self so fruitful a Country as I have represented it, the Canals which are cut thro' it, were alone sufficient to make it so. But besides their great usefulness in that, and the way of Trade, they add also much Beauty to it. They are generally of a clear, deep and running Water, that glides so softly, that it can scarce be perceived. There is one usually in every Province, which is to it instead of a Road, and runs between two Banks, built up with flat course Marble Stones, bound together by others which are let into them, in the same manner as we use to fasten our strong wooden Boxes at the Corners.

So little Care was taken, during the Wars, to preserve Works of Publick Use, that this, tho' one of the Noblest in the Empire, was spoiled in several places, which is a great pity ; for they are of no little use, both to keep in the Waters of these Canals, and for those to walk on who drag the Boats along. Besides these Cawseys they have the conveniency of a great many Bridges for the Communication of the opposite Shoars ; some are of three, some five, and some seven Arches, the middlemost being always extraordinary high, that the Boats may go through without putting down their Masts. These Arches are built with large pieces of Stone or Marble, and very well framed, the Supporters well fitted, and the Piles so small that one would think them at a distance to hang

in the Air. These are frequently met with, not being far asunder, and the Canal being strait, as they usually are, it makes a Prospective at once stately and agreeable.

This great Canal runs out into smaller ones on either side, which are again subdivided into small Rivulets, that end at some great Town or Village. Sometimes they discharge themselves into some Lake or great Pond, out of which all the adjacent Country is watered. So that these clear and plentiful Streams, embellished by so many fine Bridges, bounded by such neat and convenient Banks, equally distributed into such vast Plains, covered with a numberless multitude of Boats and Barges, and crowned (if I may use the Expression) with a prodigious number of Towns and Cities, whose Ditches it fills, and whose Streets it forms, does at once make that Country the most Fruitful and the most Beautiful in the World.

Surprised and as it were astonished at so Noble a Sight, I have sometimes bore a secret Envy to *China* in *Europe's* behalf, which must own that it can boast nothing in that kind to be compared to the former. What would it be then, if that Art which in the wildest and most unlikely Places has raised magnificent Palaces, Gardens and Groves, had been employed in that rich Land, to which Nature has been lavish of her most precious Gifts.

The *Chinese* say their Country was formerly totally overflowed, and that by main Labour they drained the Water by cutting it a way thro' these useful Canals. If this be true, I cannot enough admire at once the Boldness and Industry of their Workmen who have thus made great Artificial Rivers, and of a kind of a Sea, as it were created the most Fertile Plains in the World.

It will scarce be believed, that Men so ignorant in the Principles of Physicks, and the Art of Levelling, could

could bring such a Work as that to Perfection ; yet it is certain that these Canals are ^{not} natural. For they are usually strait, the Distribution is equal and orderly ; there are Flood-gates made for the Rivers to let in their Water at, and others to let it out when they are too full ; so that it cannot be doubted but that the *Chinese* are only beholding to their own Industry for that great Conveniency.

Among all those Canals in the Southern Provinces, one above the rest is called the *Great Canal*, because it goes thro' the whole Country from *Canton*, which lyes Southwards to *Pekin*, situated in the most Northerly parts of the Empire. You must' only travel a short days Journey by Land to cross the Hill *Moilin*, that does on one side bound the Province of *Kiamsi*. From this Mountain issue two Rivers ; one runs Southwards to the Sea, and the other Northwards as far as the River of *Nankin*, whence by the *yellow River*, and several Canals, you may proceed by Water to the very Mountains of *Tartary*.

But, by reason in this huge Extent of Ground, of above four hundred Leagues in length, the Earth is not Level, or, hath not a Descent proportionable to the Emanation of the Waters, it was necessary to set a great number of Sluices awork. They call them so in the Relations, notwithstanding they be much different from ours. They are Water-falls, and as it were certain Torrents, that are precipitated from one Canal into another, more or less rapid, according to the difference of their Level : Now, to cause the Barks to ascend, they make use of a great Company of Men, who are maintained for that purpose near the Sluice. After they have drawn Cables to the right and left to lay hold of the Bark, in such a manner that it cannot escape from them ; they have several Capstans, by the help of which they raise it by little and little, by the main force of their Arms, till such time as it be in
the

the upper Canal, in a Condition to continue its Voyage whither it is bound. This same Labour is tedious, toilsome, and exceeding dangerous. They would be wonderfully surpris'd, should they behold with what easiness one Man alone, who opens and shuts the Gates of our Sluices, makes the longest and heaviest laden Barks securely to ascend and descend.

I have observed in some Places in *China*, where the Waters of two Canals or Channels have no Communication together; yet for all that, they make the Boats to pass from the one to the other, notwithstanding the Level may be different above fifteen Foot: And this is the way they go to work. At the end of the Canal they have built a double *Glacis*, or sloping Bank of Free-stone, which uniting at the Point, extends it self on both sides up to the Surface of the Water. When the Bark is in the lower Channel they hoist it up by the help of several Capstanes to the plane of the first *Glacis*, so far, till being raised to the Point, it falls back again by its own weight along the second *Glacis*, into the Water of the upper Channel, where it skuds away during a pretty while, like an Arrow out of a Bow; and they make it descend after the same manner proportionably. I cannot imagine how these Barks, being commonly very long and heavy Laden, escape being split in the middle, when they are poised in the Air upon this Acute Angle; for, considering that length, the Lever must needs make a strange effect upon it; yet do I not hear of any ill Accident happen thereupon. I have past a pretty many times that way, and all the Caution they take, when they have a mind to go ashoar, is, to tye ones self fast to some Cable for fear of being tost from Prow to Poop.

We meet with no such Sluices in the Grand Canal, because the Emperor's Barks, that are as large as our Frigots, could not be raised by force of Arm, nay,
and

108. *Of the Clime, Soil, Canals, Rivers*

and would infallibly be split in the Fall, all the difficulty consists in ascending back again upon these Torrents, of which I have spoken; yet this is what they perform successively, tho' not without some Trouble and Expence.

The Canal to sail upon, was necessary for the Transportation of Grain and Stuffs, which they fetch from the Southern Provinces to *Pekin*. There are, if we may give Credit to the *Chineses*, a Thousand Barks, from Eighty to an Hundred Tun, that make a Voyage once a year, all of them Freighted for the Emperor, without counting *those* of particular Persons, whose number is infinite. When these prodigious Fleets set out, one would think they carry the Tribute of all the Kingdoms of the *East*, and that one of these Voyages alone was capable of supplying all *Tartary* where-withal to Subsist for several years; yet for all that *Pekin* alone hath the benefit of it; and it would be as good as nothing, did not the Province contribute besides to the Maintenance of the Inhabitants of that vast City.

The *Chineses* are not only content to make Channels for the Convenience of Travellers, but they do also dig many others to catch the Rain-water, wherewith they water the Fields in time of Drought, more especially in the Northern Provinces. During the whole Summer, you may see your Country People busied in raising this Water into abundance of small Ditches, which they contrive across the Fields. In other places they contrive great Reservoirs of Turf, whose Bottom is raised above the Level of the Ground about it, to serve them in Case of Necessity. Besides that, they have every where in *Chensi* and *Chanfi*, for want of Rain, certain Pits from Twenty to an Hundred foot deep, from which they draw Water by an incredible Toil. Now if by chance they meet with a Spring of Water, it is worth

worth observing how cunningly they husband it; they Sustain it by Banks in the highest places; they turn it here and there an Hundred different ways, that all the Country may reap the benefit of it; they divide it, by drawing it by degrees, according as every one hath occasion for it, insomuch that a small Rivulet, well managed, does sometimes produce the Fertility of a whole Province.

The Rivers of *China* are no less considerable than its Canals, there are two especially, which the Relations have made famous. The first is called *Kiam* or *Yamçe*, which they commonly Translate the *Son of the Sea*: But I am afraid they are mistaken; for the Letter the *Chineses* use for to write *Yam* is different from *that* which signifies the Sea, altho' the Sound and Pronunciation may have some Affinity: Amongst several significations that this Letter may have, *that* which they gave it in former times makes for our purpose. Under the Reign of the Emperor *Yon* it signified a Province of *China*, limited by this River on the *North*; and it is somewhat probable that they gave this same Name to the River, because that Prince drain'd all the Water that overflow'd the whole Country into it.

This Floud takes its rise in the Province of *Yunnan*, crosses the Provinces of *Soutchouen*, *Houquam*, and *Nankin*; and after it hath watered four Kingdoms far and wide for 400 Leagues together, it disimbogues into the East-Sea over against the Isle of *Tçoummim*, cast up at its Mouth by the Sands which it carries along with it; the *Chineses* have a Proverb amongst them that says, *The Sea bath no bounds, and the Kiam bath no bottom* *.

And, in truth, in some places there is none to be found; in others they

pretend there is Two or Three hundred Fathom water. I am nevertheless perswaded that their Pilots,

that

* *Haï vou pim :
Kiam vou ti.*

that carry not above Fifty or Sixty Fathom Cord at longest, never had the Curiosity to Sound so deep as Three hundred Fathom; and the impossibility of finding the bottom with their ordinary Plummet, is sufficient, in my opinion, to incline them to such like Hyperboly's.

I have many times sailed upon this River; I have moreover taken a diligent account of its Course and Breadth from *Nankin*, to the Mouth of another River, into which Men enter to pursue the way to *Canton*. It is off of *Nankin* Thirty Leagues from the Sea, a little half League broad; the Passage along it is *be* come dangerous; and becomes more and more infamous every day for its Shipwracks. In its Course, which is exceeding rapid, it forms a great number of Isles, all of them very beneficial to the Province, by reason of that multitude of Bull-rushes Ten or Twelve foot high that it produceth, serving for Fuel to all the Cities thereabouts; for they have scarce Wood enough for Buildings and Ships. They yield a great Revenew, and the Emperor draws considerable Duties from them.

The River which the Torrents of the Mountains do sometimes swell extraordinarily, grow so rapid, that many times they bear away the Isles with them, or lessen them by the half; and for the same reason form other new ones in some other place; and one cannot but admire to see them change place in such a short time, just as if by diving, they had past under Water from one place to another; that does not always come to pass: But there is observed such considerable Change every year, that the *Mandarins* least they should be mistaken, get them to be measured every Three years, to augment, or diminish the Imposts and Duties, according to the Condition they are found to be in.

The second River of *China* is called *Hoambo*, as much as to say, *The yellow River*, because the Earth it sweeps away with it, especially in times of great Rains, give it that Colour. I have seen a great many others, whose Waters at certain Seasons of the year, are so over-charged with slime, and so gross and thick, that they rather resemble Torrents of Mud, than real Rivers. The *Hoambo* takes its source at the Extremity of the Mountains that bound the Province of *Soutchouen* in the *West*: From thence it throws itself into *Tartary*, where it flows for some time all along the great Wall, at which it re-enters *China* between the Province of *Chanfi* and *Chenfi*. After that it waters the Province of *Honan*; and when it hath run cross one part of the Province of *Nankin*, and flowed above Six hundred Leagues into the Land, it disimbogues at length into the East-Sea, not far from the Mouth of *Kiam*. I have crost it, and coasted it in divers places; it is every where very broad and rapid, yet neither deep nor navigable, to speak of.

This River hath in former times caused great Desolation in *China*, and they are still forced to this very day to keep up the Waters in certain places by long and strong Banks, which notwithstanding does not exempt the Cities thereabouts from Apprehensions of Inundation. So likewise have they been careful, in the Province of *Honan*, the Ground lying very low thereabouts, to surround the greatest part of the Cities, about a Mile from the Walls, with a Terrace, cased with Turf, to prevent being surpris'd by Accidents and Casualties in case the Bank be broken, as happened about Fifty two years ago. For the Emperor, endeavouring to force a Rebel (who, for a long time laid close Siege to the City of *Honan*) to draw off, caused one part of the Banks to be broken down, thereby to drown the adverse Army. But the Relief he afforded the City proved more fatal than the Fury
of

of the Besiegers would have been ; the whole Province almost was laid under Water, together with many Cities, and abundance of Villages, above Three hundred thousand Persons drowned in the Metropolis, amongst whom were some of our Missionaries, who at that time had a numerous Flock of Christians ; there they, and their Church lost their Lives.

The Low Country ever since is become a kind of a Marsh or Lake ; not but that they have some design to repair this loss, but the Undertaking is difficult and very expensive. The Sovereign Court that takes care of Publick Works, importuned the Emperor more than once to send Father *Verbiest* thither, and peradventure, that Prince would have consented thereto at last, but he discovered that the *Mandarins* made use of this pretence, to remove the Father at a distance from Court, and that their Design was to engage him in a difficult Enterprize, that was enough to destroy him ; or out of which he could never have disintangled himself with any honour.

There is to be seen in *China* abundance of other Rivers less Famous, but yet more Commodious for Commerce and Trade.

Since they afford nothing uncommon, it would be to abuse your Patience, *Sir*, to descend to the Particulars. As to what concerns Fountains, it were to be wisht there were more of them, and better. 'Tis certain that their usual Waters are not good, which, perhaps, hath obliged the Inhabitants, especially in the Southern Provinces, to drink it always warm ; but because warm Water is unpalatable and nauseous, they bethought themselves of putting some Leaves of a Tree to it, to give it a Gusto, *Those* of *Tea* seemed to be the best, and so they frequently make use of it.

It may be also that God Almighty, whose Providence hath so universally provided for the Wants of his People, and if I may be bold to say it, for their Delight
and

and Pleasure, would not deprive *China* of that which is necessary to Life; so that for to Supply the Defect of Wells and Fountains, which the Nature of the Ground hath made every where salt and brackish, he hath been pleased to produce that Species of a particular Tree in abundance, whose Leaves serve not only to purge the Waters from their noxious Qualities, but also to make them wholesome and pleasant.

We are assured that there is to be found in *China* amongst Fountains, several that suffer Flux and Reflex as regularly, as the Sea doth, whether it be that they have some Communication with the Ocean by certain Subterraneous Conveyances, and Conduits, or whether it be in passing through certain Earths, they are impregnated with Salts and Spirits apt to cause this Fermentation. I leave others to determine.

Since I have begun to speak of the different Waters of *China*, I cannot pass over in Silence the Lakes and Ponds that are every where almost to be seen in all the Provinces. Those that are produced in Winter by the Torrents from the Mountains, lay waste the Fields, and render the whole Country during Summer, barren, sandy, and full of Flints. Those that arise from Springs are abounding in Fish, and yield a considerable Revenew to the Emperor by the Salt they afford. There is one of them amongst the rest, if I be not mistaken it is in *Chanfi*, in the middle whereof appears a small Island, where People divert themselves, during the excessive Heat, to sprinkle Water all over. There is made in a little while, a Crust of a certain Salt very white, and of a pleasant Scent, which they continue all the Summer long, with that Success, that the Salt would be sufficient for the whole Province, if it were as Salt as that of the Sea; they commonly make use of it to Season Meat withal.

114 Of the Climate, Soil, Canal, Rivers

Altho' I have not seen all those famous Lakes in *China*, whereunto Historians ascribe so many Miracles, yet shall I relate something, which I do not care to warrant for Gospel; which nevertheless, will let you understand the *Genius* of the Country, where People so easily give Credit to what seems most incredible.

In the Province of *Fokien* there is *one* whose Water is green, and changes Iron into Copper. They have built a Palace upon the Banks of another not far distant from the former, in an Apartment of which one hears the ringing of Bells every time Heaven threatens a Storm. There are Waters in the Province of *Canton* that change Colour every year, in Summer and in Winter, they are very clear; in Autumn they turn blue, but of such a fine blue, that People make use of it to dye Stuffs.

In that place is to be seen a Mountain full of Caverns, whose very Aspect is very terrible, in which is found a Lake of that Nature, that if one throw a Stone into it, one may hear a noise like Thunder; sometime after there ariseth a gross Mist, which immediately dissolves into Water.

But the most famous of them all, is, that of the Province of *Fannan*. The *Chineses* would make you believe that this Lake came all on the sudden, during an Earthquake that swallowed up all the Country with its Inhabitants: This was a just Judgment upon them for their wickedness, for they were very dissolute Livers. Of all that were there at that time, there was but one Child that was saved, which they found in the middle of the Lake born up upon a piece of Wood.

In the Isle of *Hainan*, belonging to *China*, there is a sort of Water, whether it be Lake or Fountain, I know not, that petrifies Fish. I my self have brought over Crawfish, that preserving their intire Natural Figure,

Figure, are so far changed into Stone, that the Claws and Body of them are very hard, very solid, and little differing from Stone. The Wonders of Nature are not so far particular to *China*, but the like may be met with elsewhere; and if one does not credit all the *Chineses* relate, it is not because there is sometimes no foundation for their Stories: But because they have somewhat of the Air of Fable, and Hyperbolic in them, that would make a Man even suspect their being true.

I wish with all my heart, *Sir*, (that I may not omit any thing that any way relates to this Subject) I were able to explain all the kinds of Fish that the Rivers and Lakes furnish them with, as well as *those* that are Caught upon their Coasts; but to tell you the truth, I am not well enough informed to engage myself upon a particular Relation of them; I have seen, as far as I can guess, all the Fish in *China*, that we have in *France*: I have taken notice of a great many others that I did not know, no not so much as their Names; that is all I can say of it: Besides that I shall confirm to you, what possibly you may have read in the Relations touching the Fish they call the *Golden and Silver Fish* that are found in divers Provinces, and do afford particular Ornaments in the Courts and Gardens of great Persons.

They are commonly of a fingers length, and of a proportionable thickness; the Male is of a most delicate red, from the head to the middle of the Body, and further; the rest, together with the Tail, is gilded; but with such a glittering; and burnisht Gold, that our real Gildings cannot come near it. The Female is white, its Tail, nay and one part of its Body, perfectly washt over with Silver; the Tail of both of them is not even and flat as *that* of other Fish, but fashioned like a Nosegay, thick and long, and gives a particular Grace to this pretty Animal, that sets it

116 *Of the Clime, Soil, Canals, Rivers*

off, being besides perfectly well proportioned.

Those who would breed them, ought to have great Care, for they are extraordinary tender, and sensible of the least Injuries of the Air. They put them into a great Basin, such as are in Gardens, very deep and large; at the bottom of which they are wont to place an Earthen Pot turned upside down, full of Holes on the sides, that they may retire into it when it is very hot Weather, and by that means shelter themselves from the Sun. They likewise throw upon the Surface of the Water some particular Herbs that keep always green, and maintain the coolness. This Water is to be changed two or three times a Week, yet so that fresh Water may be put in, according as the Basin is emptied, which must never be left dry. If one be obliged to remove the Fish from one *Vase* to another, great care must be taken not to touch them with the Hand; all those that are touched dye quickly after, or shrivel up; you must for that purpose make use of a little Thred Purle, fasten'd at the upper end of a wooden Circle, into which they are insensibly engaged; when they are once got into it of themselves, one must take heed of hurting them, and be sure to hold them still in the first, which empties but slowly, and gives time to Transport them to the other Water. Any great noise, as of a Cannon, or of Thunder, too strong a smell, too violent a motion, are all very hurtful to them, yea, and sometimes occasions their dying; as I have observed at Sea every time they discharged the Cannon, or melted Pitch and Tar: Besides, they live almost upon nothing; those insensible Worms that are bred in the Water, or that most Terrestrial Parts that are mixt with it, suffice in a manner to keep them alive. They do, notwithstanding, throw in little Balls of Past now and then; but there is nothing better than a Wafer, which steep't, makes a kind of Pap, of which they are ex-
tream

ream greedy, which indeed is very proportionable to their natural Delicacy and Tenderneſs. In hot Countries they multiply very much, provided care be taken to remove their Eggs, which ſwim upon the Water, which the Fiſh moſt commonly eat: They place them in a particular *Vaſe* expoſed to the Sun, and there they preſerve them till the heat hatcheth them; the Fiſh come out of a black colour, which ſome of them keep ever after, but is changed by little and little in other Colours, into Red, White, Gold, and Silver, according to their different Kind: The Gold and Silver begins at the extremity of the Tail, and expand themſelves ſomewhat more or leſs, according to their particular Diſpoſition.

All this, *Sir*, and other Marvels of the Univerſe, makes us acknowledge the Finger of God every where, who for our ſakes hath embellished the World many thouſand ways. He is not only content to enlighten the Heavens, and enrich the Earth, but deſcends into the Abyſſes, into the very Waters; he hath left ſome Footſteps of his profound Wiſdom, and not to mention thoſe prodigious Monſters, that ſeem to be made to aſtoniſh Nature, he hath likewiſe created thoſe wonderful Fiſh I but now deſcribed, which, as little as they are, yet by their ſingular Beauty are the Subject of our Admiration, and furniſh us with ſome faint *Idea's* of the Greatneſs of the wiſe Creator.

Here I preſent you, *Sir*, in a Compendium, the Draught, and as it were the Map of that Country, which I deſign'd to give you ſome knowledge of; theſe are but the outside, and if I may ſo ſay, but the Body of that Empire, whoſe Soul and Spirit is diſperſt through its Inhabitants. Peradventure, when you ſhall have read what I have writ to you about it, you will be apt to enquire what People they be who are ſo happy as to receive the greateſt, faireſt, and

18 *Of the Clime, Soil, Canal, Rivers, &c.*

most fertile Portion of the Earth for their Inheritance; such a Land, in a word, that it wants nothing to make it a real Land of Promise, but to be Cultivated by God's People, and inhabited by true *Israelites* indeed: If we had nothing, as the *Hebrews* had, but the Red-Sea and Wilderness to go through, probably Forty years might suffice to bring it under Subjection to the Gospel: But that vast Extent of Seas, those infinite and unpracticable Land Journeys, that were capable of putting a stop to *Moses* and the Prophets, do allay the Zeal of the Ministers of Jesus Christ, and lessen the number of his New Apostles.

Oh! that I could, as the *Hebrews* did, whom *Moses* sent to discover the Promised Land, represent the immense Richness, and most precious Harvest that *China* promises to the Labourers in the Vineyards, we have hopes that probably the prospect of such an abundant Crop, might in time prevail with all *Europe* to come and reap it: At least, I hope that my Testimony will not be insignificant, and that the more than ordinary Zeal of the small Company of Missionaries that shall succeed me, will make amends for the vast Number of *those* which such a vast Empire might demand. I am, with all the respect imaginable,

S I R,

You most humble

and most affectionate Servant

I. J.

LET.

L E T T E R V.

To the Marquis de TORSI, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.

Of the peculiar Character of the Chinese Nation, its Antiquity, Nobility, Manners, and its good and bad Qualities.

My Lord,

Seeing in the Employment wherewith the King hath honoured you, and which you do already discharge with so much Wisdom, nothing can contribute more to promote you to that high pitch of Perfection, that all *Europe* expects from you, than the exact Knowledge of the Manners and *Genius* of Foreigners, I made account that by ordering me to write to you concerning the Empire of *China*, you did particularly desire to learn what was the *Genius* of its Inhabitants.

It is true, that to judge of the future by preceding Reigns, such Informations would perhaps stand you in no stead. Hitherto *France* hath had nothing to do with that People, and Nature seems not to have placed them at such a distance from us, but only intirely

to separate them from our Interests. But under the Reign of *Lewis the Great*, for whom Nature her self hath so often changed her Laws, is there any thing impossible? Nay, will not Heaven, which seems to have employed all Nations to make him Renowned, oblige *China*, as proud and haughty as it is, to contribute something to his Glory?

It is, according to all Human Probability, under your Ministry, *My Lord*, that we shall behold the most flourishing and mighty Empire of the *West*, unite it self with the most puissant Realm in all *Europe*. And perhaps, if it had not been for this fatal War, the dire Consequences of which have made themselves be felt as far as the Extremities of the Universe, you would e're this have given Audience to the *Envoys* of a Prince, who never acknowledged any other Sovereign besides himself in the World. This Negotiation, so glorious for you, and so much conducing to the Establishment of Religion, which the Iniquity of the Times hath hitherto interrupted, may be hereafter set afoot again; and it is on purpose to dispose and incline you to the same, that I presume to take the liberty, *My Lord*, to let you understand the Character of those who are to be employed therein.

The *Chineses* are so Ancient in the World, that it fares with them as to their Original, as with great Rivers whose Source can scarce be discovered. It is necessary for that purpose, to look back farther then all our Prophane Histories; and that very Time observed by the Vulgar, is not so long to verifie their Chronology.

It is very true, the Vulgar History of that Grand Monarchy, is not only dubious, but manifestly false besides, for it computes Forty thousand years since the Foundation of the Empire, but *that* wherein all Knowing and Learned Men agree, is so much in vogue

vogue, so well circumstantiated, established by so constant a Tradition, that one cannot call it in question among them, without passing for Ridiculous, and as they themselves express it, for Heretical.

According to this History, which none of their Learned Men ever questioned, *China* hath had its Kings for above Four thousand years, that have continued to this present Time without any Interruption. The same Family hath not been always seated upon the Throne, there hath been Twenty two of them severally, that hath produced Two hundred thirty six Emperors. Several Doctors carry this Monarchy back Six hundred years higher yet, but, altho' their Opinion be very probable, yet may we nevertheless stick to the first. And this is the thing that makes the Grandeur and Nobility of this Empire plainly to appear, since Five or Six hundred years, more or less, does not produce any notable diminution in its Antiquity.

Certainly, after all the Inquiries and Examinations that have been made into this Chronology, it is no longer left to our Liberty to doubt of it, than of the Histories that are the most authentickly received amongst us: And it ought so much the rather to be believed, forasmuch as it was incapable of admitting any Alteration from Foreigners; forasmuch as it was always currant amongst the knowing Men of the Country, for true, sure, and uncontestable, for having been written in a natural, plain uneffected Stile, that carries with it that Air of Verity that ever persuades: And because *Confucius*, esteemed for his great Capacity, Sincerity and Uprightness, never doubted of it; nay, and did even establish his whole Doctrine thereupon, Five hundred and fifty years before the Birth of our Saviour, because his Books are very conformable to the Holy Scripture, in reference to the Age of the first Men; for they assure us that *Tobi* reigned

reigned an hundred and fifty years; *Cbinnum*, an hundred and forty; *Hoamti*, an hundred and eleven; *Yao*, an hundred and eighteen, and so for the rest, always decreasing, conformable to what Holy Writ teaches us. In a word, the Eclipses observed at that time, must needs happen in effect; which they could not know, but by observation, and nor by any Calculations that were not extant enough: All this perswades us that there is little certainty in the Prophane History of the World, if we can reasonably doubt of that of *China*.

In a word, this Empire was involved in the Common Fate of all others, whose Origin is still little considerable. It seems probable that the Children, or Grand-children of *Noah*, disperst themselves into *Asia*, and at length penetrated as far as this part of *China*, that is most Westerly; which is called at this day *Chanfi* and *Cbenfi*. They lived at the beginning in Families, and the Kings were Fathers, to whom a long continuance of years, abundance of Flocks, and other Country Pastoral richness added some authority.

Fobi was the first that laid the Foundation of the Monarchy; his Wisdom, Discretion, his good Morals, Power, and Reputation, which his great Age had acquired him, made them give ear to him, as to an Oracle: He regulated all Private, as well as Politick and Religious Matters; insomuch that the State became in a very flourishing Condition in a short time, his Subjects possessed the Province of *Honan* at first, and some years after all the Lands and Territories that are extended as far as the South Sea.

It is probable that the *Chineses*, from their very original, did look upon themselves as something more than other Men, like to those Princes, who as soon as they are born, discover a certain natural loftiness that ever distinguisheth them from the Vulgar. Whether it was that the neighbouring Kingdoms were
barbarous

barbarous, or inferiour to them in point of Wisdom, I don't know; but at that very time they laid down a Maxim of State amongst themselves, *To have no Commerce with Foreigners and Strangers, but just so much as should be necessary to receive their Homages.* Neither did they court and seek after these Badges of Sovereignty out of a Spirit of Ambition, but whereby to have an occasion to prescribe to other People of the World Laws and Constitutions of perfect Government.

So that when any one amongst their Tributaries failed to appear at the time appointed, they did not oblige him by open Force to submit, but on the contrary had Compassion on him. *What do we lose by it, say they, if he still remain barbarous? since he is so averse to Wisdom, he needs to blame nobody but himself as often as he shall fail in his Duty through Passion or Blindness.*

This grave Policy acquired the *Chinese* so great a Reputation, that throughout all the *Indies*, all *Tartary* and *Persia* lookt upon them as the Oracles of the World; yea, and the People of *Japan* had such an high Conceit of them, that when *St. Xavier* brought the Faith amongst them (altho' *China* at that time came short of her pristine Probity) one of the great Reasons they objected against the good Man, was, That a Nation so Wise, so intelligent, had not yet embraced it.

But this piece of Policy that induced them to difference themselves from others, which at first might probably be a profitable Maxim, degenerated afterwards into Pride. They lookt upon themselves as a chosen elect People, that Heaven had produced in the Center of the Universe to give them a Law; a People only capable to Instruct, Civilize, and Govern Nations. They fancied other Men but as Dwarfs, and pitiful Monsters, that had been the Out-casts into the Extremities of the Earth, as the Dross and Off-
scouring

scouring of Nature; whereas the *Chineses* placed in the middle of the World, had alone received from God Almighty, a rational Form and Shape, and a true Size. Their Ancient Maps are filled with such like Figures, and a great many Emblems apt to inspire that Disdain they shew'd of all Mankind.

But perceiving the *Europeans* instructed in all sorts of Sciences, they were stricken with Astonishment. *How can it possibly be, said they, that a People so far remote from us, should have any Wit or Capacity? They have never perused our Books; they were never modelled by our Laws, and yet they speak, discourse, and argue aright as we do.*

Our Workmanship, as Stuffs, Clocks, Watches, Mathematical Instruments, and such like Curiosities, surpris'd them still more; for they imagined that dextrous and expert Artificers were no where to be met with but in *China*. Then they began to understand that we were not so barbarous as they imagined; and said in a joking way, *We supposed all other People blind, and that Nature had bestowed Eyes upon none but Chineses: that is not universally true, if the Europeans do not see so clearly as we, they have at least one Eye apiece.*

I have taken notice of some *Frenchmen* so moved at this ridiculous Vanity, that they were not Masters of their Passion; they would possibly have done better to have laugh'd at it (at least the *Chineses* deserve Excuse) till that time, they had seen none but *Indians* and *Tartars*, and they beheld the *West* at a distance, as we at present behold the *Terra Australis Incognita*, and Forests of *Canada*: Now if at 300 Leagues distance from *Quebec* we found *Iroquian* Mathematicians, or Learned *Alkonkins*, that could discover to us a New Philosophy, more clear, comprehensive, and more perfect than ours, we should be no less blameworthy than the *Chineses*, for preferring our selves to that People, and for having hitherto termed them Barbarians.

Abating

Abating this Pride, you must confess that the *Chinese* Nation hath been endued with rare Qualities; with a great deal of Politeness in practising the World, with great Sense and Regularity in their Business, with much Zeal for the Publick Good, True and Just Idea's of Government, with a *Genius*, mean indeed as to Speculative Sciences, but yet right and sure in Morality, which they have always preserved very conformable to Reason.

The People principally applied themselves to the Education of Children in their Families; they esteemed Agriculture above all other things; they were Laborious to excess, loving and understanding Commerce and Trading perfectly well. Judges and Governors of Cities affected an outside Gravity, Sobriety at their Tables, Moderation in House-keeping, and Equity in all their Judgments, that gain'd the Love and Respect from all the People in general. The Emperor placed his Happiness in nothing more than to procure it for his Subjects, and lookt upon himself not so much a King of a Grand State, as a Father of a Numerous Family.

This Character of *China*, *My Lord*, that I have given you, is not flattering, but faithfully deduced from its own History, that furnishes us with an infinite number of Examples of the conspicuous Wisdom that hath been so long the Soul that informs its Government. 'Tis true indeed, the Civil Wars, the Weak, or Wicked Kings and Foreign Dominion, have from time to time disturbed this goodly Order: But be it that the Fundamental Laws of the State were excellent, or that the People from their Cradles were indued with happy Dispositions, is not material; but it is most certain, these Fatal and Troublesom Intervals did not long continue; if so be they were but never so little left to their own disposal, they took to their former Conduct again: And we see at this very day,

in the midst of Corruption, which the Domestick Troubles and Commerce with *Tartars* have introduced, some Footsteps of their ancient Probity remaining.

I do not pretend, *My Lord*, to enlarge any further upon this Subject. I know very well that it is a Letter that I have the honour to write to you, and not a History; besides, they are about Translating into *French* that History which the *Chineses* themselves have left behind them, and I am confident it will please, by its Novelty and Extraordinary Matters it contains.

I content my self in this place to draw you out the Portraiture of the present State of *China*, in relation to the Manners and Customs of its People; I could decipher it in a few words, by telling you that they live there as we do in *Europe*. Avarice, Ambition, and Love, bear a great stroke in all Transactions. They Cozen and Cheat in Traffick; Injustice reigns in Sovereign Courts; Intrigues busie both Princes and Courtiers. In the mean time Persons of Quality take so many measures to conceal Vice; and the Outworks are so well guarded, that if a Stranger be not careful to be instructed concerning Affairs to the bottom, he imagines that every thing is perfectly well regulated. That is the thing wherein the *Chineses* resemble the *Europeans*. Now I will here shew you wherein they differ from them. Their Countenance, Air, Language, Disposition, Civilities, Manners and Behaviour, are not only different from ours, but also from those we may observe in all other Nations of the World.

Without doubt, *My Lord*, you may have taken notice that the Figures that are painted upon the Porcelain Dishes and Cabinets that come from *China*; our Pictures in *Europe* do always flatter us, but those of *China* make them maimed and ridiculous. They are not

not so ill-favoured as they make themselves; it is true, they do not agree in the Idea that we frame to our selves of real Beauty. They would have a Man big, tall, and gross; they would have him have a broad Fore-head, Eyes little and flat, a short Nose, great Ears, a Mouth of a midling size, a long Beard, a black Hair. That curious Feature, that lively Aspect, that stately and noble Gate and Deportment the *French* so much esteem, does not at all please them. That is an handsome Man that fills an Elbow-Chair, that by his Gravity and healthful Constitution can make a good huffing Figure. As for their Colour, they are naturally as fair as we, especially towards the *North*; but being the Men take no care of themselves, travel much, wear upon their Head nothing but a little Bonnet not proper to defend their Face from the Sunbeams, they are commonly as Tawny as the *Portuguese* in the *Indies*: The People also of the Provinces of *Canton* and *Fannon*, by reason of the excessive Heat, working half naked, are of a Dun Complexion.

As much as the Men neglect themselves in this particular, so much do the Women take all the care imaginable to preserve themselves. I am not sure if painting be usual with them; but some body told me that they rub their Faces every Morning with a sort of white Meal, more fit to tarnish than to enhance their Beauty. They have all of them little Eyes, and short Noses, excepting that, they come nothing short of *European* Ladies, but their Modesty, so natural to them, doth infinitely set off their Handsomeness; a little Collar of white Sattin fastened to a Vest, keeps them light, and covers their Neck all over. Their Hands are always hid in long Sleeves; they tread softly and gingerly, with their Eyes upon the Ground, their Head on one side, and a Man would imagine, to look on them, that they were a Company of Nuns or Devotees by Profession, set apart, and sequestred from

from the World, only taken up in the Service of God. So that it is observable, That Custom hath many times more power to perplex and trouble the fair Sex, than the most austere and rigid Vertue : Nay, and it were a thing to be desired, that Christianity were able to obtain from Christian Ladies here, what the Practice of the World hath for so many Ages inspired into the Idolatrous *Chineses*.

This Modesty nevertheless ' does not hinder them from being possess'd with Womanish Whimseys ; the more they are confin'd, the less they love Solitude ; they dress themselves gorgeously, and spend all the Morning in making themselves fine, thinking they may be seen in the day time, altho' perhaps they are not by any one but their own Domesticks. Their Head-dress, which usually consists of several Locks buckled up, interlaced with Flowers of Gold and Silver, is somewhat odd. But I neither can, nor will, *My Lord*, give you a particular Description of it, because I know you do not expect it from me. However, I am perswaded if People should see the Model of them in *France*, they would go near to be tempted to quit that extravagant Company of Ornaments they use, to dress their Heads *a-la-mode de Chineses*.

The Ladies wear, as Men do, a long Sattin or Cloath of Gold Vest, red, blue, or green, according to their particular Phanisie ; the eider sort habit themselves in black, or purple ; they wear besides that, a kind of *Surtout*, the Sleeves whereof, extream wide, trail upon the Ground, when they have no occasion to hold them up. But that which distinguisheth them from all the Women in the World, and does in a manner make a particular *Species* of them, is the littleness of their Feet, and here lyes the more essential point of their Beauty. That is miraculous, and cannot be comprehended ; this Affectation proceeds sometimes

times even to that Excess that would pass for Folly, did not an extravagant and ancient Custom (which in the business of the *Mode*, evermore prevails over the most natural *Idea's*) oblige them to follow the Streams, and comply with the Custom of the Country.

So soon as ever the Girls are born, the Nurses take care to tie their Feet extream hard for fear of growing; Nature that seems to be disposed for this Torment, does more easily buckle to it than one could imagine; nay, one does not perceive that their Health is impaired thereby. Their Shoes of Sattin, embroidered with Gold, Silver, and Silk, are extraordinary neat; and tho' they be very little, yet do they study to let them be seen as they walk; for walk they do (which one would not be apt to believe) and would walk all day long by their good will, if they had liberty to go abroad. Some have been perswaded that it was an Invention of the ancient *Chineses*, who to bring Women under a necessity of keeping within Doors, brought little Feet in fashion. I have more than once inquired about it of the *Chinese* themselves, that never heard nothing of it. *These are idle Tales*, says one of them smiling, *our Fore-fathers knew Women but too well, as we do, to believe that in retrenching half of their Feet, they could be deprived of the power of walking, and of longing to see the World.*

If People would have given themselves the trouble to have consulted the Relations concerning the Countenance and Physiognomy of the *China* Women; it would not have been so easie a matter to impose upon the easiness of the Ladies of *Paris*, who entertain'd a poor *French* Woman the last year, giving her all manner of Relief, because she said she was an Outlandish Woman, and of one of the best Families in *China*. This Accident surpris'd all Curious Persons, and the Marquis *de Croisi* intimated to me that I would do him a kindness in examining the truth of the story.

Charity, added he, is no less acceptable to God, altho' it be misplaced upon Objects that deserve it not. If the Business were only a bare Mistake in Matter of Alms, one might, without any Scruple of Conscience, leave those in an Errour whom one deceives under a false pretence of Necessity. But this Maid saith she was an Heathen, she is exhorted long since to be Converted; she conceives already, or at least makes as if she did conceive our Mysteries; in fine, she desires to embrace our Religion; and they are just upon the point to baptize her. If she be a *Chinesse*, well and good; and we have cause to admire Divine Providence from bringing this Soul from so remote a Place, to be admitted into the Bosom of the Church; but if she be a *French* Woman, who probably hath been baptized from her Infancy, this Abuse of the Sacrament that she's a going to receive a second time, is a Sacrilege deserving the severest Punishment; of which Sacrilege, those that assist her become Guilty themselves.

I was already much prepossessed with an ill Opinion of this pretended *Chinesse*; but, besides the order of the *Marquis de Croissi*, I thought it would be good to sift out the Business to the bottom, to undeceive those that were any ways concern'd therein. When she understood that I would come and see her, she was not a little perplexed. *He is not a China Father*, says she, *but one of the Indian Missionaries, whom the Revolution of Siam hath made to come back.* Nay, they had much ado to find her, when I appeared; they sought for her all up and down a good while, and at length unkennell'd her, and perswaded her to make Appearance.

So soon as I saw her, I had no need of Examination, the Features of her Face, her Gate, her Feet, her whole Behaviour betray'd her. She feigned in speaking *French*, that she did not well understand the
Language;

Language ; but, besides the placing of the words ; which she endeavoured not to pronounce articulately, was altogether natural, which is scarce ever got by Strangers, she did also pronounce with a great deal of firmness several Letters not in use with the *Chineses*, which it is impossible for them to express.

After the first Discourses, I demanded of what Province, and what Family of *China* she was, and by what strange Adventure she was at such a great Distance from her Country ? *I am of Pekin it self*, says she, *the Metropolis of the Empire, born in the Emperor's Palace, brought up at Court, and Daughter to Prince Coronné*: That is to say, who does dispose Sovereignly every thing ; more a Master, and more powerful than the Emperor himself ; whose Pleasures are never interrupted by the Cares of Publick Affairs ; who being little concerned at the good or bad Condition of the Empire, confines all his Ambition to the rendering himself happy, and to lead an easie and pleasant Life.

I embarked with my Mother, who had a design to pass into Japan, there to treat of a Marriage for me. In the Passage our Vessel was attacked by an Holland Pirate, that took it, and blew it up ; and brought me away Prisoner. However the barbarous Pirate took such care of me, as was capable to sweeten my Captivity, if the loss of my Mother had not reduced me to a Disconsolate Condition, for she died before mine Eyes, and the Representation of so fatal an Accident that lay night and day heavy upon my Spirit, would scarce permit me to reflect upon the many kind Offices he did me.

Nevertheless, my Condition was not so deplorable as I imagined ; the victorious Hollander was at length overcome by a French Privateer ; I was a second time a Captive, and treated by the new Captain with so much harshness, that I was at that very moment apprehensive that my Grief might increase, and that the excess of Miseries that one en-

dures in this World, is never so great, but one may become still more miserable. This Voyage was to me the longest; most dangerous, and accompanied with sorrow and bitterness. At length we came ashore at a place I know not; they brought me out of the Ship, and after they had dragged me through several Provinces, they barbarously forsook me, and I found my self destitute, comfortless, and without any support, in the middle of this great City, which I hear called Paris.

'Tis true, Heaven hath not quite forsaken me; the word Pekin, the only word, by which I can make known my Country; and to that purpose did I so often repeat it; hath brought me out of Misery. Some Ladies, at the hearing of this word were moved with Compassion, took me into their House, and have ever since treated me with so much Charity, that, I do not know if I ought to complain of Fate that hath conducted me into so good hands.

She had, indeed, some cause to be well pleas'd with her Lot, much better in effect, than she could naturally expect. They treated her as a Maid of some Noble Family; nay, it was an Hundred pound to a penny but they had given her the quality of Princess Couronné, a Name much better known in France than China, where this Dignity is still in fieri. They told me moreover that divers Persons were impatient to do her a kindness, and that Monsieur N. one of our most famous Writers, had already Composed three extraordinary eloquent Letters in her Name; one for the Emperor, another for Prince Couronné, and the third for some other Prince of her Family. He hath, without doubt, what he deserved from the Persons that engaged him in it; yet I do not believe that China will ever thank him for it.

For my part, My Lord, I do confess that the bare recital of this Adventure appear'd to me somewhat fabulous, and carries with it such a Romantick Air that is capable of undeceiving those, whom an excess of
Charity

Charity had not quite blinded. Prince *Couronné* is a *Chimera*, that hath not the least appearance of Truth in it. The Birth of a Maid in a Palace where there is none but Eunuchs, is still more hard to be beleived. The *Hollanders* are not at War with the *Chineses*, and it is not their best way to fall out with them, by Assauling their Ships.

The *Chinese* Dames, that scarce ever stir out of their Houses, do not care for undertaking long Voyages at Sea : And the Match they were going to mannage is no more likely than *that* of a Princess of *France* that some body might feign to Embark at *Brest*, to Sail into the *Indies* to espouse some *Mandarin* of *Siam*.

Besides, We know all the Vessels that we have taken from the *Hollanders*, as well as those that are arrived in *France* from the *Indies* : we know the Captains of them, we know their Prizes, their Engagements, their Adventures, and yet we hear not one word of what our *Chinese* relates. Now if she be so unfortunate as to be found in the Streets of *Paris* miserable, forlorn, and unknown, she ought not so much to lay the fault upon our *French* People, as upon her ill Fortune that took no care to place her better in this World.

But to Convince all those who were present at our Interview, I put divers questions to her about the principle Cities in *China* ; I examined her concerning the Money, their Writing, the Characters and Language of the Country. She told me she had often travelled from *Pekin* to *Nankin* in less then Three days, notwithstanding it is above Three hundred Leagues from one to another ; that they used Gold Money, altho' Gold is not currant through all the Empire, but as precious Stones are in *Europe* ; that the Silver Coin was stamp as ours is, round, flat, bearing the Emperors Arms, with divers Figures according to the Custom of Eastern Nations, notwithstanding the Silver hath no regular Figure, they cast it into Ingots,

they reduce it to what form they please without Arms, Order, or Ornament, they clip into great Pieces, as occasion serves; and it is only by weight, not by the Emperor's Mark that they know its value.

I writ down some *Chinese* Characters; for she had boasted that she could read, a Person of her quality durst not say the contrary; but the Misfortune was, she mistook her self, and took the Paper at the wrong end, boldly reading the Letters, turn'd upside down, as if they had been right: upon the whole, that which she pronounced had no manner of relation to the genuine Sense of the Writing. At last I spoke *Chinese* to her, and for fear least she might avoid the difficulty, I acquainted her that I spake the *Mandarin* Language so currant throughout the Empire, which they constantly use at the Court. She was so impudent as to frame *ex tempore* a wild, ridiculous Gibberish, but so little understood, that it was evident she had not time enough to make it hang well together; so that not being able to understand what I said to her, I should have been sore put to it to explain what she meant, if indeed she did mean any thing.

After this Trial and Examination, she might blush for shame, and ingeniously confess the Imposture; but she still keeps up her Conversation without being concerned, and with such an Air of Confidence that would make any one judge that this *China* Romance was not the first Story she had made.

I thought, *My Lord*, that you would be very glad to be acquainted with this; besides that it may afford you some pleasure, it will also serve to let you understand, that the Mind, Countenance, and Behaviour of the *Chinese* Women have no Affinity with those of the *Europeans*; and that a *French* Woman must needs be brazen-fac'd, when under the borrowed Name of a *Chinese*, she pretends to impose upon Persons who have, as long as I have done, seen both Nations.

After

After this little Digression, you may be willing I should take up my former Discourse again. The Mens Habits, as every where else, are there much different from the Womens; they shave their Head all over, except behind, where they let grow as much Hair as is needful to make a long Tress. They do not use a Hat as we do, but wear continually a Bonnet or a Cap, which Civility forbids putting off.

This Bonnet differs according to the different Seasons of the year: That which they use in Summer is in form of a Cone, that is to say, round, and wide below, but short, and strait above, where it terminates in a meer Point. It is lined within with a pretty Sattin, and the top covered with a very fine Mat. very much esteemed in the Country. Besides that, they add thereto a great flake of red Silk, that falls round about it, and reaches to the Edges; so that when they walk this Silk flows irregularly on all sides, and the continual Motion of the Head gives it a particular pleasing Grace.

Sometimes in lieu of Silk they wear a sort of long Hair, of a vivid shining red, which Rain does not deface, and is more especially in use amongst Men when they ride. This Hair comes from the Province of *Sout-chouen*, and grows upon the Legs of certain Cows; its natural Colour is white, but they give it a tincture, that makes it dearer than the finest Silk. In Winter they wear a Plush Cap, bordered with a Sable Fox-skin; the rest is of a curious Sattin, black or purple, covered with a great flake of red Silk, like the Summer Cap. There is nothing more handsome than these Caps, which are sold sometimes for Eight or Ten Crowns; but they are so shallow, that they always discover the Ears, which is mighty inconvenient in the Sun, or upon a Journey. When the *Mandarins* are in their Formalities, the upper part of the Bonnet hath a Diamond in the Crest, or some other

precious Stone ill cut, yet incased in a Button of very curious wrought Gold: the others have a huge Tuff, or Button of Stuff, Agate, Crystal, or some other Matter.

Their Habit is long, and convenient enough for Students, but cumbersome for Men on Horseback: It consists of a Vest that reaches to the Ground, the Skirts or Sides of which are folded before one over the other, in such a manner that the uppermost is extended to the left side, where they fasten it all along, with four or five Gold or Silver Buttons. The Sleeves, that are wide towards the Shoulder, grow straiter and straiter to the Wrist, like the Sleeves of a Priest's *Albe*, but they do in a manner cover the whole Hand, and leave nothing to be seen but the Fingers ends: They keep the Vest close with a broad silken Sash, whose two ends hang down to the Knees. The *Tartars* stick an Handkerchief to it on both sides, with a Sheath for a Knife and Fork, and Tooth-pick, a Purse, and other pretty Implements. In Summer their Neck is all bare, which looks very ill, in Winter they cover it with a Collar of Sattin fastened to the Vest, or with a Tippet of Sable or Fox-skin, about three or four Fingers broad, which is fastened before with a Button, which is very decent, and becomes Horsemen wonderfully.

Besides the Vest they put on a kind of *Surtout* with short wide Sleeves like those of your Baresters Gowns; the Students wear them very long; the Gentlemen, and especially the *Tartars*, will have them short; and those they use reach no farther than their Pocket-holes: As for their under Garment, they use in Summer only a single pair of Drawers of white Taffaty, under a very broad and short Shirt of the same Stuff; but in Winter the Shirt is of Linnen, and under it they have Breeches of course Sattin quilted with Cotton, or raw Silk, which is warmer.

All this is natural enough; but perhaps, *My Lord,*
you

you will be surpris'd to hear that the *Chineses* are always booted ; and when any one renders them a Visit, if they chance not to have their Boots on, they make them wait till they go fetch them.

We stand in need of this Example to authorize our ancient Custom, but we carried on the Mode farther than they ; for we have seen, that the *French* Men, not satisfied with walking booted along the Streets, armed them with huge jingling Spurs, that nothing might be wanting to the Ornaments of a Gentleman on Horseback ; but we are recovered as to this Point, and several others ; but the *Chineses* in all probability, that dote upon Antiquity, will not be cured of it in haste ; it is indeed, in respect of them, an extravagant piece of Foppery, not to dare to go into the City without their Boots, because they are always carried in a Sedan.

This Mode would be still the more pardonable in Winter ; for their Boots being of Silk, and their Boot-hose of a pinked Stuff, lined with Cottons a good inch thick, the Leg is thereby well defended against the Cold : But in Summer, where the Heat is excessive, no body living besides the *Chineses*, for the keeping up of an Air of Gravity, were able to endure to be at that rate in a kind of a Stove from Morning to Evening : And what is more strange, your People that work scarce ever use them, either by reason of the inconvenience, or to save charges.

The form of these Boots is somewhat different from ours, for they have neither heel nor top ; when they ride any long Journey, they are made of obsolete, old fashion'd Leather, of thick, black, pinked Cotton ; but in the City they usually wear them of Sattin, with a course border of Plush or Velvet upon the Knee. The People in publick, and Persons of Quality within Doors, are instead of Shoes, shod with Pattins of black Linnen, or some very pretty
Silk

Silk, very convenient ; they stick close to the Foot of themselves, by a Border that covers the Heel, without needing to try them before.

They have not introduced the use of the Muff and Gloves into *China* ; but the Sleeves of the Vest being very long, they draw up their Hand into them when it is cold to keep it warm. I know not if I may make bold, *My Lord*, to add another Custom, which is very ancient among the *Chineses*, and by no means suitable to the *French* Politeness ; their Doctors, and other Learned Men, let their Nails grow excessively, insomuch that in some they are little shorter than their Fingers ; it obtains amongst them not only for an Ornament, but a Distinction, by which it may be known, that by their Condition they are separated from Mechanick Arts, and are wholly addicted to Sciences. In short, since they affect a starched Gravity in all their ways, which conciliates Respect, they imagine with themselves that a long Beard might contribute thereto, so they suffer it to grow ; now if they have not much, it is not for want of Cultivating : But Nature in this point has been very niggardly, there is not a Man of them that does not envy the *Europeans*, whom they look upon in this respect as the greatest Men in the World.

Here you have, *My Lord*, a particular Description, that may in some measure acquaint you with the Deportment and Aspect of the *Chineses* ; I do not believe, says a *Spaniard* to me one day, that they ought to be offended at it in France ; In all likelyhood those Modes formerly reigned amongst you ; for tell me, is there any one of them, that hath escaped the fertile Invention of the *French* ; in Fourteen hundred years, which is as long as the Monarchy hath continued, there have been above Fourteen hundred Modes. So that perhaps there is not that Habit in the World, that should seem strange to you ; and all that we can say, when any Mode that is presented to
you,

you, displeases you, is, that it is out of fashion.

'Tis true, the *Chineses* are not so fickle as we, but they have carried on things to another extremity : for rather than forsake their ancient Habit, they renewed a Cruel War against the *Tartars* ; I, and the greatest part of them had as live lose their Head, as let their Hair be cut, of all the Excesses in point of Mode, none is more uncouth and phantastical than that, and how ridiculous soever the *Chineses* may fear to look, after they have parted with an Head of Hair, yet they might be convinced that a Man whose Head is lop'd off, is worse disfigured. However, we must grant that the Constancy of this People is admirable, for when the *Tartars* attacked them, they had kept their Habit for above Two thousand years, which can be ascribed to nothing but the good order observed in the Empire, the Government of which hath always been uniform, where the Laws have been exactly observed in the least Punctilio's.

Notwithstanding I am perswaded these ways would not please all our *French* People ; nay, and the Modes, of which we are so fond, do not appear so handsome to the *Chineses* as we imagine ; but above all, the Periwig does strangely run in their Mind ; and they look upon us as a sort of People, who, for want of a Beard, would get an Artificial one clapt to the Chin, that should reach to the Knees. This Phantastical Head-dress, say they, and that prodigious heap of curled Hair, are proper upon the Stage for a Man that would represent the Devil ; But has one the shape of a Man when he is thus disguised ? Insomuch that the *Chinese* Politeness will go near upon this Article alone to arraign us of Barbarity.

They have likewise much ado to be perswaded, that long Shanks discovered, with a Stocken drawn strait, and narrow Breeches, look handsome, because they are accustomed to an Air of Gravity that gives them other
 Concep

Conceptions. They would sooner be reconciled with the Figure of a Magistrate shaven, without a Periwig, who should in his Lawyers Gown go booted, than with all this Attire that makes our Cavaliers have a fine Shape, and easie and fine Gate, a quick and disingaged Carriage ; which will by no means go down with them. Thus Ridiculoufness pleases, and one is often times offended at Real Prettiness , according as Prejudice or Custom have differently changed the Imagination ; there is notwithstanding in all these Modes some other intrinsick real Beauty, which naked Simplicity, which Nature in her Innocence, and exempt from Passion, have inspired into Men, for the Necessity and Conveniency of Life.

Altho' Persons of Quality observe exactly all the Formalities and Decencies suitable to their State, and never appear uncovered in Publick, how great soever the heat be, yet in Private, and among their Friends they assume a freedom even to a fault ; they ever and anon quit their Bonnet, Surtout, Vest, and Shirt, reserving nothing but a single pair of Drawers of white Taffaty, or Transparent Linnen. That is the more surprizing, because they condemn all Nakedness in Pictures, and are even offended that our Engravers represent Men with their Arms, Thighs, and Shoulders uncovered ; they seem to be in the right for being displeas'd at the unchristian Licence of our Workmen ; but yet they are ridiculous to blame that upon a piece of Linnen, or Paper, which they practise themselves with so much liberty and undecency in their own proper Persons.

As for the Vulgar, they transgress in that respect all the Bounds of Modesty, especially in the Southern Provinces, where Water-men, and certain other Handicrafts-men, are impudent to the highest degree ; and intruth the most barbarous *Indians*, notwithstanding the Climate seems to excuse them, appear'd to me in this
respect

respect much less barbarous than the *Chineses*; almost all the Artificers and inferiour Tradesmen go along the Streets with single Drawers, without Cap, Stockings, or Shirt, which makes them much tanned, and of a swarthy hue. In the Northern Provinces they are a little more reserved; and the Cold, in spite of their Teeth, makes them modest, and keep within bounds.

After having described to you the Modes of *China*, perhaps you may be desirous, *My Lord*, that I should speak of their Stuffs. Here is what I have observed of them in general: Their Silk, without question, is the finest in the World; they make of it in many Provinces, but the best and fairest is to be found in that of *Tchekiam*, because the Soil is very proper for *Mulberry Trees*, and because the Air is indued with a degree of Heat and Moisture, more conformable to the Worms that make it. Every body deals in it, and the Traffick of it is so very great, that this Province alone is able to supply all *China*, and the greatest part of *Europe*.

Yet the finest and fairest Silks are wrought in the Province of *Nankin*, the Rendezvous of almost all the good Workmen. It is there that the Emperor furnisheth himself with the Silks spent in the Palace, and with those he presents to the Lords of the Court; the Silks of *Canton* notwithstanding, are valued above all amongst Strangers; and the Silks of this Province are also more saleable, and go off better than *those* of all the other Provinces of *China*.

Altho' all these Silks have some resemblance to ours, yet the Workmanship hath something in it that makes a difference. I have there seen Plush, Velvet, Tissa of Gold, Sattin, Taffaty, Crapes, and several others, of which I do not so much as know the name in *France*; that which is the most currant amongst them is called *Touanze*; it is a sort of Sattin, stronger, but not so glossy

glossy as ours, sometimes smooth, and sometimes distinguished by Flowers, Birds, Trees, Houses, and shady Groves.

These Figures are not raised upon the ground by a mixture of raw Silk, as our Workmen are used to do in *Europe*, which makes our Work not so durable; all the Silk of that is twisted, and the Flowers are distinguished only by the difference of Colours, and shadowing, when they mix Gold or Silver with it, it does much resemble our Brocado, or flower'd Silk, but their Gold and Silver is wrought a way that is particular to them alone; for whereas in *Europe* we draw the Gold as fine as possibly it can be twisted with the thred, the *Chineses* to save the matter, or because they did not bethink themselves of this Trick, satisfy themselves to gild or silver over a long Leaf of Paper, which they afterward cut into little Scrowls, wherein they wrap the Silk.

There is a great deal of Cunning in that; but this gilding will not last long, Water, or even Moistness itself, will tarnish the Splendor of it quickly: yet for all that, when the Pieces come out of the Workmans hands, they are very fine, and one would take them for valuable Pieces. Sometimes they are contented only to put into the Piece these little Scrowls of gilded Paper, without rolling them upon the Thred, and then the Figures, altho' pretty and finely turn'd, do not last so long by far; and the Silk thus flowered is at a lower rate.

Amongst the different Figures they represent, the Dragon is the most ordinary: There be two sorts of them; one, to which they make five Claws, called *Lom*, is only used upon the Stuffs designed for the Emperor: that is his Arms, which *Tobi*, Founder of the Empire, first took for himself and Successors, above Four thousand years ago. The second sort of Dragons hath but four Claws, and is named *Mam*. The Emperor

ror *Vouvam*, who reigned Two thousand eight hundred thirty two years ago, ordain'd that every body might bear the same ; and since that time, the use of it is grown common.

They make use of another kind of Stuff in Summer, which the *Chineses* call *Cha* ; it is not so close, nor hath so good a gloss as our Taffaty, but much more substantial ; altho' several People desire to have it smooth and even, yet most wear it powdered with great Flowers pierced through, and cut into Flowers like your *English* Lace ; and many times these hollowings are in such a great number, that one can scarce discern the body of the Silk. These Summer Garments are extraordinary convenient, and wonderful neat, so that all the Persons of Quality use them : Besides, the Taffaty is not dear ; a whole Piece, enough to make a long Vest and Surtout, will not amount to above 2 Guinea's.

The third is a particular sort of Taffaty, that serves for Drawers, Shirts, Linings, they call it *Tcheouze* ; it is close, and withal so plyant, that it is vain to fold and double it, and squeeze it with your hand ; you can scarce ever rumple it. It is sold by weight ; and is so serviceable, that they wash it as they do Linnen, without losing much of its former lustre.

Besides the ordinary Silk of which I but now spoke, which we know in *Europe*, *China* hath of another sort, which you meet with in the Province of *Chanton*. The Worms from which they take it are wild, they go to seek for them in the Woods ; and I am not sure, whether or no they breed of them in Houses. This Silk is of a grey Colour, void of any gloss ; so that those who are not well acquainted with it, take the Stuffs that are made of it for red Linnen, or for one of the coarsest Druggets ; yet for all that they infinitely value it, and it costs more than Sattin too, they call them *Kien-Tcheou* ; they will endure a long time ; tho' strong and close, yet do they not fret ; they wash them

them as they do Linnen; and the *Chineses* assure us, that Spots cannot spoil them, and that they do not so much as take Oil it self.

Wooll is very common, and withal very cheap, especially in the Provinces of *Chensi* and *Chansi*, and *Sout-chouen*, where they feed abundance of Flocks, yet do not the *Chineses* make Cloath. That of *Europe*, where with the *English* furnish them, is highly esteemed, but by reason they sell it much dearer than the finest Silks, they buy but little of it. The *Mandarins* make themselves studying Gowns for the Winter of a kind of coarse Ruffet, for want of better Cloath. As for Druggets, Serges, and Tammies, we scarce meet with better than theirs; the *Bonze's* Wives do commonly work them, because the *Bonze's* make use of them themselves; there is a great Trade driven of them every where in the Empire.

Besides Cotton Linnen, that is very common, they use also for the Summer nettle Linnen for long Vests; but that which is the most valued, and is to be found no where else, is called *Copou*: because it is made of a Plant that the People of the Country call *Co*, found in the Province of *Fokien*.

It is a kind of creeping Shrub, whole Leaves are much bigger than Ivy-leaves; they are round, smooth, green within, whitish, and cottony, or downy, on the outside; they let them grow and spread along the Fields. There be some of them as thick as your finger, which is plyable, and cottony as its Leaves are. When it begins to dry, they make the sheaves of it to rot in Water, as they do Flax and Hemp; they always peel off the first skin, which they throw away; but of the second, which is much more fine and delicate, they divide it by the hand into very slender and very small Filaments, without beating, or spinning it, they make that Linnen of which I spake; it is transparent, pretty fine, but so cool and light, that one would think he had nothing on his back.

All Persons of Quality make long Vests of it during the excessive Heat, with a Surtout of *Cba*. In the Spring and Autumn they put on *Kien-tcheou*, and *Touanze* in Winter, that is to say, coarse Sattin, or flowered Silk. Grave Persons desire to have it even, others wear it flowered; but no body, except the *Mandarins* in the Assemblies, or upon certain Solemn Visits, use Silk flowered with Gold or Silver. The Vulgar, that usually habit themselves in coarse Linnen dyed blue, or black, quilt it with Cotton, or line it with Sheepskin during the cold weather: But great Persons line their Vests and Surtouts with the noble Skins of Sable or Ermyn, Fox or Lamb: They use also for the same purpose Plush and *Petit-gris*.

Because Ermyn is very rare in *China*, they content themselves only to border their Vests and extremity of their Sleeves with it; that which I have seen did not appear to me to be of a fair white.

Sable is pretty well known in *France*, but much less common there than in *China*, where all the considerable *Mandarins* wear it: One Skin only of a Foot long, and between four and six Inches broad (for the * Animal is but small) will sometimes cost Ten

* They call it *In-chu Tiao-chu*.

Crowns: But when one chooseth some of the finest for a compleat Habit, the whole Lining of a Vest will cost between 5 and 6000 Livres; yet one may have a pretty handsome one for 200 Pistols.

Fox-skins are likewise much used, those who would be magnificent take nothing but the Belly of this Animal, where the Hair is long, fine, and softest; and of a great number of small pieces patched together, they compose an entire Lining, which for the Vest and Surtout comes to a matter of five or six hundred Livres.

There are also several other sorts of Furs that *Tartary* perhaps supplies them withal, which the *Mandarins*

L make

make use of to sit upon the Ground, especially at the Palace when they wait, and expect the time of their Audience. They put some of them also under the Quilt, not only to heat the Bed, but also to take away its dampness. Besides, there is another Fur of a particular *Species*, that is perfectly handsome and fine, the Hair of it is long, soft, very thick set; it is of a pretty whitish grey mixt with black, striped with black and yellow Lists as those of Tigres; they make great Winter Gowns of them to wear in the City, putting the Fur on the out-side, so that when the *Mandarins* are thick and short, (which is very common with them) besides two Furs underneath for the Vest and Surtout, when, I say, they have put on their back one of these furr'd Gowns with long Hair, they differ but a little from Bears, or from the Animal of whom they borrowed the Skin; altho' in this Condition they think themselves to be very gentile, and to make a graceful Figure.

Of all the Furrings the most common are Lambskins *. They are white, downy, and very warm, but burthensome, and at first of a strong smell, in a manner like those greazy Gloves that smell of Oil: I wonder they bring not up the Mode in *France*; those who delight in slender fine Shapes, would not submit to it, yet otherwise there is nothing more gentile, nor more convenient for Winter.

Upon the whole, if great Caution be not used, all these Furs are easily spoiled, especially in hot and moist Countries, Worms breed in them, and the Hair falls off: To prevent them, the *Chineses*, so soon as ever the Summer approaches, expose them to the Air for some days, when it is fair and dry Weather; then they beat them with Sticks, or shake them often, to get out the Dust; and when they have enclosed them in huge earthen Pots, into which they throw Corns of Pepper,

Pepper, and other bitter Drugs, they stop it up very close, and there let them lye till the beginning of Winter.

Besides their usual Garments, there are yet two sorts that deserve to be known: They put on one to defend them from the Rain; for the *Chineses*, who delight in Travelling, spare for no cost to travel commodiously; they are made of a coarse Taffaty, crusted over with a condensed Oil, which is in lieu of Wax, which being once well dried, makes the Stuff green, transparent, and extraordinary gentile: They make Bonnets of it, Vests, and Surtouts, that resist the Rain for some time; but it gets through at last, unless the Garment be a choice one, and carefully prepared. The Boots are of Leather, but so little that the Stockings are spoiled at the Knee, except one be a Horseback, like the *Tartars*, with their Legs doubled up, and their Stirrups extream short.

The Mourning Habit hath also something odd in it, The Bonnet, Vests, Surtout, Stockings and Boots are made of white Linnen, and from the Prince to the most inferiour Handicrafts-man, none dare wear any of another colour. In close Mourning the Bonnet seems phantastick, and very difficult to be represented; it is of a red and very clear Canvas Cloath, not much unlike the Canvas we use for packing up Commodities. The Vest is kept close with a Girdle of Canvas; the *Chineses* in this posture do at the beginning affect a careless Behaviour, and Grief and Sorrow seems painted all over the outward Man; but all being nothing but Ceremony, and Affectation with them, they easily put on their own Face again; they can Laugh and Cry both with a wind; for I have seen some Laugh immediately after they had shed abundance of Tears over the Tomb of their Fathers.

Perhaps, *My Lord*, you may have the Curiosity to know after what manner the Missionaries, who labour about the Conversion of the Infidels, are habited; the

Laws, that suffer no Foreign Mode to take place, determined the first Jesuits to take the Garb of the *Bonzes* at the beginning: But this Garb, though grave and modest enough, was so cried down by the ignorance and irregular Life of those wicked Priests, that that alone was sufficient to deprive us of the Company and Correspondence of honest People.

In effect, nothing was so diametrically opposite to Religion: so that after a long deliberation, they thought it more adviseable to take the Students Habit, which, together with the quality of *European* Doctor, did capacitate us to speak to the People with some Authority, and to be heard by the *Mandarins* with some respect. From that very time we had free Access every where, and God did so far vouchsafe a Blessing to the Labours of our first Missionaries, that the Gospel in a short time was propagated with considerable Success.

But in the late Revolution of the Empire, these Fathers, as well as the *Chineses*, were forced to go in the *Tartarian* Fashion, after the manner as I told you. In the Visits made to the *Mandarins* upon the account of Religion, we could not dispense from wearing a Vest and Surtout of common Silk; but in the House we are clothed in Serge or painted Linnen.

So that, *My Lord*, preserving as much as lyes in us the Spirit of Poverty suitable to our Condition, we endeavour to *become all things to all Men*, after the Apostles example, *that we may the more easily win over some to Jesus Christ*; being perswaded, that as to a Missionary, the Garment, Diet, Manner of Living, and exterior Customs ought all to be referred to the great Design he proposes to himself, to Convert the whole Earth. A Man must be a Barbarian with Barbarians, Polite with Men of Parts, Austere and Rigid to Excess among the *Indian* Penetents, handsomely Drest in *China*, and half Naked in the Wilderness
of

of *Medura*, to the end that the Gospel always uniform, always unalterable in it self, may the more easily insinuate it self into the Minds of Men whom an holy Compliance and Conformity to Customs regulated by Christian Prudence, have already prepossest in favour to us. I am with the most profound Respect,

My Lord,

Your most humble

and most obedient Servant

I. J.

L E T T E R VI.

*To the Dutcheſs of Bouillon.**Of the Oeconomy and Magnificence of the
Chineſes.*

M A D A M,

THE Zeal that your Grace hath ſhewn to be fully informed of the preſent State of the Miſſions in *China* hath been an infinite Satisfaction to me : But I confeſs, I was a little ſurpriſed, that amongſt ſo many curious things to be met with in this new World, you have in a manner wholly inſiſted upon that which relates to the Neatneſs and Magnificence of the *Chineſes*. I know very well that it is the uſual Subject of Diſcourſe among the Ladies, and I could have almoſt expected no more from any other.

But for you, *Madam*, when I had the honour to ſee you, I had prepared my ſelf for Subjects of a quite different nature ; I made account you would diſcourſe with me concerning the Ingenuity, Sciences, and Politeneſs of this People : And whereas Travellers do uſually affect to prefer what they have ſeen amongſt Foreigners, to that which is found in their Native Soil, I pleaſed my ſelf that I could ſincerely and ſafely tell you, that the *French* Ladies (I mean thoſe, who like you, have raiſed themſelves above thoſe Toyiſh Cares,

that

that do in a manner totally poſſeſs the fair Sex) have more Wit, Capacity, and a more raiſed *Genius*, even in the ſolid and ſubſtantial Sciences, than all the great Doctors of that Empire ; for as for Politenefs, I can ſcarce believe, *Madam*, that you can doubt of it ; and it is not neceſſary to be Miſtreſs of as much of it as you are, to deſace and eclipse the moſt Polite Courts of the Eaſt.

But ſince, either by Chance, or by Reflexion, you have been pleaſed to confine your ſelf to another Subject, and that you deſire a Methodical Account of what I have had the honour to relate to you of it, I ſhall obey you, *Madam*, not only with that profound reſpect I owe to your Quality and Merit, but alſo with all the Sentiments of grateful Acknowledgment the Favours you have vouchſafed to honour me, have inſpired me withal.

The *Chineseſes* come far ſhort of us in the Magnificence of their Houſes, beſides that the Architecture is not beautiful, nor the Apartments ſpacious, they do not ſtudy to adorn them ; and that chiefly for two Reaſons : The firſt is, Becauſe in all the Palaces of the *Mandarins* belong to the Emperor, he lodges them (and I cannot tell whether they obſerve the ſame order throughout the whole Empire) but the People furniſh them in ſome places. The People are always at as little Expence as they can ; and the *Mandarins* do not care to ruin themſelves to embellish Palaces, that they are every day in danger of forſaking, becauſe their Places are properly nothing but Commiſſions, which are many times taken away upon the leaſt Fault.

The 2d Reaſon is fetch'd from the Cuſtom of the Country, which does not allow to receive Viſits in the inner part of the Houſe, but only at the Entrance in a *Divan* they have contrived for the Ceremonies. It is a Banqueting Houſe all open, that hath no other Ornament beſides one ſingle Order of Columns of

152 *Of the Oeconomy and Magnificence*

Wood painted or vernished, which they use only to uphold the Beams and Timber, that often appears under the Tiles, no body taking care to cover it with a Cieling. So that it is no wonder if they retrench all the superfluous Ornaments of their Apartments, seeing Foreigners and Strangers scarce ever set foot in them; they have neither Looking-glasses, Tapestry-hangings, nor wrought Chairs: Gildings are not in fashion, save only in some of the Emperors or Prince of the Bloods Apartments. Their Beds, which amongst them are one of the principal Ornaments, never come in sight, and it would be a piece of gross Incivility to carry a Stranger into a Bed-chamber, even when you pretend to shew him your House.

Insomuch that all their Magnificence may be reduced to Cabinets, Tables, Vernisht Skreens, some Pictures, divers Pieces of white Sattin, upon which there is writ in a large Character some Sentance of Morality, which is hung here and there in the Chamber, together with some Vessels of Porcelain; neither have they occasion to use even them as we do, because there is no Chimney to be seen in the Chamber.

Nevertheless all that is very handsome and neat, when one understands how to manage the Ornaments. Vernish, which is so common in *China*, is disperst all over; it takes all Colours, they mix Flowers of Gold and Silver with it, they paint Men, Mountains, Palaces, Huntings, Birds, Combats, and several Figures, that make a bas relief in the Work, and renders it extremely pleasing and delightful, so that in this point the *Chineses* are Magnificent for small Charges.

Besides the brightness and lustre which is the property of Vernish, it hath moreover a certain quality of preserving the Wood upon which it is applied, especially if they do not mix any other Matter with it. Worms do not easily breed in it, nay, and Moisture scarce ever penetrates it, not so much as any Scent can

fasten

fasten to it; if during Meals there be any Grease or Pottage spilt, if it be presently wiped with a wet Clout, one not only finds no remainders or signs of it, but does not so much as perceive the least smell.

People were mistaken when they fancied that Vernish was a Composition, and a particular Secret, it is a Gum that distils from a Tree, much what after the same manner as Rosin doth. In the Tuns wherein it is transported, it resembles melted Pitch or Tar, excepting only that it hath no smell when it is used. There must be Oil mixt with it to beat it up with more or less, according to the quality of the Work.

For Tables and ordinary Chairs, it is sufficient to lay on two or three layers of Vernish, which makes it so transparent, that one may discern every Vein of the Wood through it. Now if you would hide all the Matter on which you are at work, you must do it over and over again, till at length it be nothing but Ice, but so fine at first, that it may serve for a Mirror. When the Work is dry, they paint upon it several Figures in Gold, Silver, or in any other Colour; they go over that again, if they please, with a sleight touch of Vernish, to give them a lustre, and the better to preserve them.

But those who would perform a finishing stroke, glew upon the Wood a kind of Pastboard composed of Paper, Packthred, Lime, and some other Substance well beaten with which the Vernish incorporateth. They compose a ground of it perfectly even and solid, upon which is applied the Vernish by little and little, in little *Stratums*, which they let dry one after another. Every Workman hath a peculiar Secret to perfect his Work, as in all other Occupations. But in my opinion, besides the dexterity and slight of hand, and the due tempering the Vernish requires, that it may be nether too thick nor thin: Patience is one thing that contributes the most to the well succeeding
in

154 *Of the Oeconomy and Magnificence*

in this Operation. There are very pretty and curious Cabinets at *Tonkin*; but what is brought to us from *Japan*, as to that matter, are no way inferiour to the *China* work.

As for Porcelain, it is such an ordinary moveable, that it is the Ornament of every House; the Tables, the Side-boards, and very Kitchen is cumber'd with it, for they eat and drink out of it, it is their ordinary Vessel: There is likewise made huge Flower-pots of it. The very Architects cover Roofs, and make use of it at times to incrustate Marble Buildings.

Amongst those that are most in request, they are of three different Colours; some are yellow, yet tho' the Earth be very fine, they appear more coarse than the others; and the reason is, because that Colour does not admit of so fine polishing; it is used in the Emperor's Palace. Yellow is his own proper Colour, which is not allowed to any Person to bear; so that one may safely say, that as for the business of Porcelain, the Emperor is the worst served.

The second sort is of a grey Colour, with abundance of small irregular Lines in it, that cross one another, as if the Vase were all over striped, or wrought with inlaid or Mosaic work. I cannot imagine how they form these Figures; for I have much ado to believe that they are able to draw them with a Pencil. Perhaps when the Porcelain is baked, and yet hot, it is exposed to the cold Air, or that they infuse it in warm Water that opens it in that manner, on all sides; as it often happens to Crystals during Winter, after that they add a *Stratum* of Vernish to it, which covers these inequalities, which by means of a gentle fire into which they put it again, it is made as even and polished as before. However it is, these sort of Vases partake of a particular Beauty; and sure I am, the Curious amongst us would much value them.

Last of all, the third sort of Porcelain is white, with
divers

divers Figures of Flowers , Trees and Birds, which they paint in blue, just such as come hither into *Europe* : This is the commonest of all, and every body uses it. But in respect of Glasses and Crystals, as all Work is not equally beautiful, so amongst Porcelains some of them are but indifferent, and are not worth much more than our Earthen Ware.

Those that have Skill do not always agree in their Judgment they pass upon them ; and I perceive that in *China*, as well as in *Europe*, Phancy bears a main stroke in the matter ; yet it is granted by all hands, that four or five different things are to concur to make them compleat and perfect ; the fineness of the Matter, the whiteness, the politeness, the painting, the designing of the Figures, and fashion of the Work.

The Fineness is discovered by its Transparency, in which respect is to be had to its Thickness, the Brims are commonly thinner, and it is in that place where they ought to be considered : When the Vessel is big, it is a difficult matter to determine any thing thereupon, unless one have a mind to break off some pieces below ; for there the Colour of the inner part alone, or as they term it, the Grain, affords a shrewd guess, which appears likewise, when the two pieces can be joyned together again so perfectly, that no rupture appears therein, for that is a sure token of the hardness, and consequently of the fineness of the matter.

The Whiteness is not to be confounded with the brightness of the Vernish by which the Porcelain is overspread, which shews like a Mirrour ; so that beholding it near to some other Objects, the Colours are painted upon it ; and this Reflexion alone is capable of making one pass a wrong Judgment upon its native whiteness ; it must be carried into the open Air, to be able to understand its beauty and defects. Albeit this Vernish be perfectly incorporated with the
Matter,

156 *Of the Oeconomy and Magnificence*

Matter, and tho' it continues to perpetuity, yet is it tarnished at long run, and loseth that brisk splendour it had at the beginning, from whence it comes to pass that the whiteness appears more taking and pretty in old Porcelains; not but the new ones for all that are as good, and will in time assume the same colour.

The Smoothness and Politeness consists in two things, in the brightness of the Vernish, and evenness of the Matter. The Vernish should not be thick, otherwise there will be a Crust introduced, which will not be incorporated enough with the Porcelain; besides, its lustre will be too great and sprightly. The Matter is perfectly equal and even, when it has not the least bump, when there is to be observed in it neither grain, rising, nor depression: There are few Vessels but have some one of these defects; there must not only be found no spots, nor flaws, but notice must be taken whether there be some places brighter than others, which happens when the Pencil is unequally poised; sometimes also that may happen when the Vernish is laid on, if every part be not equally dry; the least moisture causeth a sensible difference therein.

The Painting is not one of the least beauties of the Porcelain; for that purpose one may make use of all Colours, but commonly they use red, and much more blue. I never saw any Vessel whose red was lively enough; it is not because the *Cbineses* have not very lovely red, but perhaps because this Colour is tarnished upon the Matter, and asperates, and makes rugged the subtlest and deepest colour'd parts: for the different grounds contribute much to the heightening or lessening the lustre of the Colours. As for blue, they have it most excellent; however, it is very difficult to hit upon that exact temperature, where it is neither too pale, deep, intense, nor too bright. But that which Workmen most diligently seek after, is, to perfect the extremities of the Figures, so that the Colour

lour do not extend beyond the Pencil, to the end that the whitenefs of the Porcelain may not be ſullied by a certain bluifh Water, which flows, if ſpecial care be not taken, from the Colour it ſelf, when it is not well pounded, or when the Matter on which it is laid, hath not attained a certain degree of drinefs; much after the ſame manner as happens to Paper that blots when it is moiſt, or when you write with naughty Ink.

It were to be wiſht, that the deſigns the *Chineſes* uſe in painting Porcelain were fairer; they paint likewise Flowers upon them, but Humane Figures are all mutilated. But in that very thing they diſgrace themſelves in the Opinion of Strangers, who do not know what they are but only by that, and who imagine, that they are in effect as monſtrous in their ſhape, as they appear in the Pictures; yet thoſe are their uſual Ornaments. The more regular Deſigns and ſkilful Draughts would be ſometimes leſs pleaſing to them than theſe Anticks.

To make amends, they are very ingenious and expert in turning their Vaſes well, of what ſize ſoever they be. The Figure of them is bold, well proportioned, perfectly rounded, nay, and I do not believe that our ſkilfulleſt Workmen are able to faſhion the great pieces better; they, as well as we, put a great value upon ancient Vaſes, but for a reaſon quite different from ours; we value them becauſe they are fairer; they for their Antiquity; not but that the Artificers are as expert, and the Matter as good conditioned now as heretofore: There are ſtill very fine ones made at this day; and I have ſeen at ſome *Mandarins* Houſes whole Services that were ſuperfine. But the *European* Merchants do no longer Trade with the good Workmen, and having no Skill in them themſelves, they accept whatſoever the *Chineſes* expoſe to Sale; for they vend them in the *Indies*. Beſides, no body takes care to furniſh them with examples of Draughts, or to beſpeak particular Pieces of Work before hand. If M^r *Conſtance* had

158 *Of the Oeconomy and Magnificence*

had lived, we should quickly have known in *France* that *China* had not lost the secret Art of Porcelain : But this is not the greatest loss we have sustained by his death ; what Religion suffers by it through all the *East*, will scarce give us leave to take notice of the Alterations it hath caused in Arts and Trading.

There is yet another Reason that makes the curious Porcelain so rare ; The Emperor has constituted in the Province where the Manufacture chiefly is, a particular *Mandarin*, whose care it is to make choice of the fairest Vases for the Court ; he buys them at a very reasonable rate, so that the Workmen being but ill paid, do not do their best, and are not willing to take any pains for that which will not enrich them. But should a private Man employ them, who would not spare for Cost and Charges, we should have at this day as curious Pieces of Workmanship, as those of the ancient *Chineses*.

The *China* Ware that is brought to us from *Fokien*, does not deserve the name of it ; it is black, coarse, and is not so good as our *Fayance*. That which is most lookt upon is that which is made in the Province of *Quamsi*, the Clay is found in one place, and the Water in another, because it is clearer and cleaner ; perhaps also, this Water they make use of before any other, is impregnated with some particular Salts, proper to purifie and refine the Clay, or by the more strictly uniting the parts, as it happens in Lime, which is good for nothing, if it be not slaked in some certain Waters, whereas others make it more compact, strong, and adhering.

In brief, it is a mistake to think that there is requisite one or two hundred years to the preparing the Matter for the Porcelain, and that its Composition is so very difficult ; if that were so, it would be neither so common, nor so cheap. It is a Clay stiffer than ordinary Clays ; or rather, a kind of soft white Stone, that

that is found in the Quarries of that Province. After having waſht the pieces of it, and ſeparated the heterogeneous Earth that may chance to be mixt with it, they bray it ſmall till it be reduc'd to a ſubtil Powder. How fine ſoever it may appear, yet they continue pounding it for a long time, altho' by the touch no difference is to be perceived, yet they are perſwaded that it is indeed made much more ſubtil, that the inſenſible Parts are leſs mixt, and that the Work thereby comes to be whiter and more transparent. Of this ſubtil Powder they make a Paſte, which they kneed, and beat a long while likewiſe, that it may become ſofter, and that the Water may be the more perfectly incorporated therewith. When the Earth is well elaborated, they endeavour the figuring of it. It is not likely that they uſe Moulds, as they do in ſome other ſorts of Potteries; but it is more probable that they faſhion them upon the Wheel like us. So ſoon as their Work pleaſes them they expoſe it to the Sun, Morning and Evening, but they retire it when the Sun waxes too hot, for fear of warping it. So the Vaſes dry by degrees, and they apply the painting at their leiſure, when they judge the ground proper for to receive it; but becauſe neither the Vaſes nor the Colours have ſufficient luſtre, they make a very fine Broth or Ly of the Matter of the ſame Porcelain, wherewith they paſs ſeveral ſtrokes upon the Work, that gives them a particular whiteness and luſtre: This is what I call the Verniſh of the Porcelain. They aſſured me in the Kingdom of *Siam* that they mixt with it ſome common Verniſh, with the Compoſition made of the white of an Egg, and ſhining Bones of Fiſh; but this is but a phanſie; and the Workmen of *Fokien*, who work juſt as thoſe of *Quamſi*, don't do otherwiſe. After all theſe Preparations, they put the Vaſes in the Furnace, wherein they kindle a gentle and conſtant uniform Fire, that bakes them without breaking;

breaking; and for fear least the exterior Air should do them damage, they do not draw them out till a long while after, when they have acquired their due consistence, and after they have been let cool at leisure.

This is all, *Madam*, I have to say as to the Mystry of Porcelain, that they have so long sought after in *Europe*. Providence, and the Prosperity of Religion, that obliged me to run over the greatest part of *China*, did not carry me into the Province of *Quamsi*, where the Metal is found whereof they make it; so that I do not sufficiently know it, as to mine own particular, for to be able to describe the nature and particular qualities thereof; perhaps it is not much different from some soft Stones that are found in several Provinces of *France*. And if so be the Ingenious would please to make some Experiments, and operate diligently, by making use of several sorts of Waters, after the above-mentioned manner, it might not be impossible to succeed.

Besides these Vernisht Cabinets and Vessels of Porcelain, the *Chineses* adorn likewise their Apartments with Pictures: They do not excel in this Art, because they are not curious in perspective, notwithstanding they diligently apply themselves thereto, they take delight in it; and there are a great Company of Painters in the Country; some paint the Cieling, representing upon the Chamber-walls, an order of Architecture without Symetry, by Bands or Fillets continued all along around at the top and bottom of the Wall, and above the Capital of the Colomn, which contains only single Colomns, placed at an equal distance, without any other Ornament of Architecture. Others only whiten the Chamber, or glew Paper upon it. They hang the Pictures of their Ancestors up and down, with some Maps and Pieces of white Sattin, on which is painted Flowers, Fowls, Mountains, and Palaces; upon some others they write in Capital Letters Sentences of Morality, that explain
the

the Maxims and Rules of perfect Government. Some Chairs, vernisht Tables, some Cabinets, Flower-Pots, Lanthorns of Silk, all this well ordered, and placed in due proportion, makes a pretty handsome Apartment.

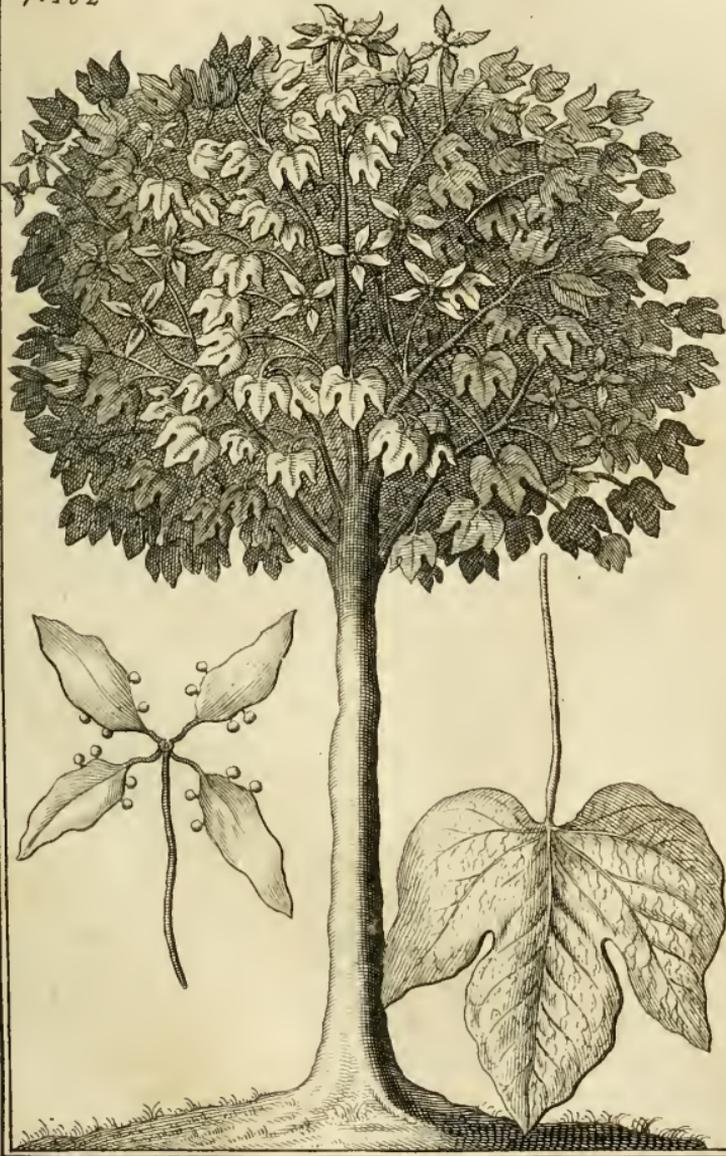
Altho' you do not enter the Bed-chamber, yet are their Beds very fine; in Summer they have Taffaty Curtains powdered with Flowers, Trees, and Birds in Gold and Silk embroidery. This sort of Work that comes from the Province of *Nankin* are in request, and as to point of Moveables, I have seen nothing in all *China* more magnificent. Others have Curtains of the finest *Gaze*; that is not a sufficient Baracado against the Air, but close enough to defend them against Flies and Gnats, that are intollerable in the Night. In Winter they make use of course Sattin stitched with Dragons and other Figures, according as every ones Capricio leads them: The Counterpain is in a manner the same. They do not use Feather Beds; but their Cotton Quilts are very thick; their Bedstead ordinarily is of Joyners work, beautified with Figures. I have seen some very fine and exquisite.

By all that I have said, you may judge, *Madam*, that these People have shut themselves up within the Bounds of Necessity and Profit, without being over solicitous about Magnificence, which is very regular, tho' but very indifferent in their Houses. They likewise seem more negligent as to their Gardens, they have in that respect Conceptions much different from ours; and setting aside places designed for the Sepulchre of their Ancestors, which they leave untilled, they would think themselves out of their Wits, to put the Ground to no other use than to make Alleys and Walks, to cultivate Flowers, and plant Groves of unprofitable Trees. The benefit of the Commonweal commands that all should be sowed; and their own particular Interest, that more nearly concerns them than the Publick Good, doth not permit them to prefer Pleasure to Profit.

'Tis true, the Flowers of the Country do not deserve their looking after; they have none curious; and tho' many may be met with like those in *Europe*, yet do they cultivate them so ill, that one has much ado to know them. Nevertheless there are Trees to be seen in some places, that would afford great Ornament in their Gardens, if they knew how to dispose them. Instead of Fruit they are almost all the year long laden with Flowers of a florid Carnation; the Leaves are small, like those of the Elm, the Trunk irregular, the Branches crooked, and Bark smooth. If Alleys were made of them mixing therewith (which might easily be done) some Orange Trees, it would be the most pleasant thing in the World: But seeing the *Chineses* walk not much, Alleys do not agree with them.

Amongst other Trees they might dispose of in Gardens, there is one they call *Outom-chu*, resembling the Sycomore; the Leaves are in Diameter between 8 or 9 Inches, fasten'd to a Stalk a foot long; it is extremely tufted, and laden with Clusters of Flowers so thick set, that the Sun cannot intersqueeze a Ray: The Fruit which is extraordinary small notwithstanding the Tree be one of the biggest, is produced after the manner I am about to relate: Towards the Month of *August*, or end of *July*, there Springs out of the very point of the Branches, little bunches of Leaves different from the other, they are whiter, softer, and as broad, and are in lieu of Flowers, upon the border of each of these Leaves grow three or four small Grains, or Kernels as big as green Peas, that inclose a white Substance, very pleasant to the taste, like to *that* of an Hazle Nut that is not yet ripe. This Tree being fruitful, and the manner of bearing its Fruit being something extraordinary, I was apt to believe, *Madam*, you might be desirous to see the Description of it, which I have caused to be engraven.

The *Chineses*, who so little apply themselves to order
their



Outom-Chu A Tree in China

their Gardens, and manage the real Ornaments, are nevertheless taken with them, and are at some cost about them; they make Grotto's in them, raise little pretty Artificial Eminences, transport thither by piecemeal whole Rocks, which they heap one upon another, without any further design, than to imitate Nature. If they could, besides all this, have the convenience of so much Water as is necessary to water their Cabbage and Ligumenous Plants, they would think they could desire no more as to that point. The Emperor hath *Fets d'eau*, or Fountains, of *European* Invention, but private Persons content themselves with their Ponds and Wells.

Now if this People be careless in Domestick Ornaments, there are none who do more affect to appear magnificent in Publick. The Government that condemns, or rather does not allow, but regulates Expences as to other matters, does not only approve of this, but contributes to it on these occasions, for reasons that I shall tell you in the sequel of the History.

When Persons of Quality receive Visits, or make any, when they go along the Streets, or when upon their Journey, but especially at such time when they appear before the Emperor, or make their Address to the Viceroy, they are always accompanied with a Train and Air of Grandeur that fills one with Astonishment.

The *Mandarins* richly habited are carried in a Sedan gilded, and open, born upon the shoulders of 8, or 16 Persons, accompanied with all the Officers of their Tribunal, who surround them with Umbrello's and other Marks of their Dignity. There be some that walk before them two and two, bearing Chains, Fasces, Scutcheons of vernisht Wood, upon which may be read in large gold Characters, all the Titles of Honour annex't to their Places of Trust, together with a broken Bason upon which they beat a certain number of strokes, according to the Rank they bear in the

148 *Of the Oeconomy and Magnificence*

Province; they continually speak aloud, and threaten the People to make way. Other Officers follow in the same order, and sometimes four or five Gentlemen on Horseback bring up the Rear. Such a *Mandarin* there is, that never appears in Publick without a Train of three or fourscore Domesticks.

Those that belong to the Army go commonly on Horseback, and when they are of any considerable Rank, they are evermore at the Head of Twenty five, or Thirty Cavaliers. The Princes of the Blood at *Pekin* are preceded by four of their Officers, and follow themselves in the middle of a Squadron that marches without order. In brief, they wear no Liveries in *China*, but the Domesticks are habited according to the Quality of their Masters in black Sattin, or painted Linnen. Altho' the Horses be neither fine, nor well managed, yet are the Trappings and Harnes very magnificent; the Bits, Saddle, and Stirrups are gilded, or else of Silver. Instead of Leather they make Bridles of two or three Twists of course pinkt Sattin two fingers broad. Under the Horses Neck, at the beginning of the Breast-plate, hang two great Tossels of that curious red Horse-hair wherewith they cover the Bonnets, which are fastened to two huge Buttons of Brass gilded or washt with Silver, hung at Rings of the same Metal, that makes a Horse look great upon a March, altho' upon a long Journey, especially upon a Course, it is cumbersome.

Not only the Princes and Persons of the highest Rank appear in Publick with a Train, but even those of a meaner quality go always on Horseback along the Streets, or in a close Sedan, followed by several Footmen: The *Tartarian* Ladies do often make use of Calashes with two Wheels, but they have not the use of the Coach.

The Magnificence of the *Chinese Mandarins* principally displays it self in the Journeys they take by Water; the

the prodigious bigness of their Barges, that are little inferiour to Ships, the finery, carving, painting and gilding of the Apartments, the great number of Officers and Seamen that serve aboard, the different Badges of their Dignity every where display'd, their Arms, Flags, Streamers, all this, I say, does abundantly distinguish them from the *Europeans*, who are never worse accounted, or more careless than when they Travel.

Besides, the *Chineses* have their Solemn Feasts, which they celebrate with great pomp and charges; the first three days in the year are spent in rejoicing throughout the whole Empire; they Array themselves magnificently, they visit one another, they send Presents to all their Friends, and to all the Persons whom it any way concerns them to observe. Gaming, Feasting, and Comedies take up every bodies time. Ten or twelve days before are committed abundance of little Robberies, because those who are destitute of Money, seek how to come by it, and are resolved to have some whoever go without, to supply them in these Diversifements.

The 15th day of the first Month is still more Solemn; they call it the *Day or Feast of Lanthorns*; because they hang them up in all the Houses, and in all the Streets, in such a great number, that it is a Madness, rather than a Festival: They light up, it may be, that day two hundred Millions. You will see, *Madam*, by what I am going to relate, that they have run into Extremes in this Ceremony, which otherwise might have been tolerated, as several other Customs are, to comply with that Peoples humour, which are become the most serious delight of Persons of Quality.

They expose to view that day Lanthorns of all prices; some of them cost Two thousand Crowns; and such a Grandee there is who retrenches every year something from his Table, from his Apparel, and from

166 *Of the Oeconomy and Magnificence*

his Equipage, to appear magnificent in Lanthorns. It is not the Materials that is dear, the Gilding, Sculpture, the Painting, Silk, and Vernish make all the shew. As for the bigness, it is immense. There are some of them to be seen of upward of Twenty seven foot Diameter : These are Halls, or Chambers, and three or four of these Machines would make pretty handsome Apartments ; insomuch that you will admire, *Madam*, to understand that in *China* we may Eat, Lye, receive Visits, represent Comedies, and Dance Balls in a Lanthorn.

There would be to enlighten it need of a Bonfire, such as we kindle in one of our Publick Squares ; but because it would be inconvenient, they are satisfied with an infinite number of Wax Candles or Lamps, which at a Distance shew very pretty. There is also represented divers shews to gratifie the Vulgar ; and there are Persons concealed, who, by the help of several little Machines make Puppets to play of the bigness of Men and Women, the Actions of which are so natural, that even those who are acquainted with the Trick, are apt to be mistaken : For my part, *Madam*, I was not deceived, because I was never present at these Spectacles. What I relate is upon the report of the *Chineses*, and upon the credit of some Relations whose Authors are well known, and whom I should be loath to condemn.

Besides these prodigious Lanthorns, there are an infinite number of a middle size, of which I can more safely speak ; I have seen of them not only neat, but magnificent ; they are commonly composed of six Faces, or Pains, each of which makes a frame of four foot high, a foot and an half broad, of vernisht Wood, and adorned with some Gildings. They hang it on the inside with a Web of fine Transparent Silk, whereon is painted, Flowers, Trees, Rocks, and sometimes Humane Figures. The painting is very curious, the
Colours

Colours lively, and when the Wax Candles are lighted, the Light disperfeth a Splendor that renders the Work altogether agreeable.

These fix Pannels joyn'd together compofe an Hexagone furmounted by the Extremities of fix carved Figures, that make the Crown of it. There is hung round about broad strings of Sattin of all Colours, like Ribonds, together with divers other filken Ornaments that fall upon the Angles, without hiding any thing of the Light, or Pictures. We fometimes ufe them for an Ornament to our Churches. The *Chineses* hang of them in the Windows, in their Halls, and fometimes in Publick Places.

The Feaft of Lanthorns is alfo celebrated by Bonfires that are kindled at that time in all Quarters of the City, and by Fireworks; for there is no body but lets off Squibs and Crackers. Some have fpoken of thefe as the fineft Fireworks in the World. There is represented (according to them) whole Trees covered with Leaves and Fruit, you may there diftinguifh the Cherries, Raifins, Apples, and Oranges, not only by their Figures, but alfo by their particular Colour, every thing is painted to the Life, infomuch that one would really imagine that they are naturally Trees that are enlightned in the Night, and not an Artificial Fire, on which they have beftowed the Figure and Appearance of Trees.

These Descriptions that are to be read in fome Relations of *China*, excite in thofe who travel thither, a real Paflion to behold all thefe Miracles; I fhould have been very glad, as others are, to have upon mine own Personal knowledge been able to have related them. I have often fought for an occafion, but all in vain. Thefe Fires are not fo ordinary as People imagine; and to retrieve them, it will perhaps be neceffary to go back to their time who writ of them. The Father Miffionaries that fojourn at *Pekin*, who have been

Eye-witnesſes of what was performed upon this account in the Emperor's Palace, have often told me, that it was not at all as they imagined it to be, and, at the bottom, that there was nothing very extraordinary in it.

Nevertheless, *Madam*, it is not juſt wholly to condemn theſe Authors, as Perſons of no Credit, they are good honeſt Miſſionaries, who would not impoſe upon us at pleaſure, and what I have ſeen in *India*, and eſpecially upon the Coaſt of *Coromondel*, may juſtify them in ſome reſpect; they do there really repreſent all ſort of Figures, not by Artificial Works that burſt in the Air like our Squibs (for to me it ſeems not poſſible to reduce Flame to ſuch determined Figures as would be neceſſary to diſtinguiſh Raiſins, and Leaves, and much leſs to imitate every reſpective Colour that are natural to Fruits) but by means of a combuſtible Matter compounded of Sulphur, Camphire, and ſome other Ingredients, wherewith they dawb pieces of Wood in form of a Croſs, of Trees, and Flowers, or in any other form they pleaſe.

As ſoon as they have given fire to it, that expanded Gum is ſet on fire on all ſides like Coal, and repreſents, till it be totally conſumed, the Figure of the Wood on which it was apply'd; ſo that it is no great wonder that they ſhould make Trees and Fruits of Fire; and I do imagine thoſe they ſo much magnifie in *China*, may be ſome ſuch thing.

Not but that theſe ſorts of Fires have their Beauty; for, beſides their particular Colour, the prettieſt, moſt ſplendid, and withal the moſt pleaſant to the Eye imaginable, it is no mean Ornament in a Publick illumination, to be able to repreſent Men, and Horſes of Fire, Palaces all on fire, with their order of Architecture, Cartouches, and Armories of Light, and a great company of other Representations, that might be made in *Europe* with a great deal more exactneſs than

in the *East* ; where the Artificers neither have Ingenuity to contrive great Deſigns, nor Dexterity enough perfectly to Execute them.

Perhaps, *Madam*, you will have the Curioſity to learn what might have given occaſion to the *Chineſes* to ordain ſuch an extravagant Feſtival as this, whereof I have the honour to ſpeak to your Grace. As it is very ancient, ſo the original ſeems very obſcure. The Vulgar aſcribe it to an Accident that happened in the Family of a famous *Mandarin*, whoſe Daughter walking one Evening upon the Banks of a River, fell in, and was drowned ; this afflicted Father, with his Family, run thither, and the better to find her, he cauſed a great Company of Lanthorns to be lighted. All the Inhabitants of the place thronged after him with Torches, they ſearched for her all Night to no purpoſe, and the *Mandarin's* only Comfort was to ſee the willingneſs and readineſs of the People, every one of which ſeem'd, as if he had loſt his own Siſter, becauſe they lookt upon him as their Father.

The year enſuing they made Fires upon the Shore on the ſame day, they continued the Ceremony every year, every one lighted his Lanthorn, and by degrees it commenc'd into a Cuſtom. The *Chineſes* are pretty Superſtitious in that reſpect ; but there is no probability that ſuch a ſmall Loſs ſhould have ſuch a lively influence upon a whole Empire.

Some *Chineſe* Doctours pretend that this Feſtival deduceth its Original from a Story which they report in the manner following : Three thouſand five hundred eighty three years ago, *China* was governed by a Prince named *Ki*, the laſt Emperor of the firſt Race, whom Heaven was pleaſed to endue with Qualities capable of conſtituting an Hero, if the love to Women, and the ſpirit of Debauchery, that took poſſeſſion of his heart, had not reduced him to a Monster in the Empire, and an Object of Abhorrence in Nature.

He had rare Parts, a winning, pleasing way with him, great Courage, and of such extraordinary strength of Body, that he broke Iron with his Hand. But this *Sampson* had his Mistresses, and grew weak; amongst other Extravagancies, they relate, that he exhausted all his Treasures in building a Tower of precious Stones to honour the Memory of a Concubine; and that he fill'd a Pool with Wine, for him and Three thousand young Men to bathe in, after a Lascivious manner. These Excesses, and many other Abominations prevailed with the wisest of his Court to offer him some Advice, according to the Custom, but he put them to death; yea, and he imprisoned one of the Kings of the Empire, who endeavoured to divert him from these Disorders: At length he committed a Fact that consummated the Destruction of himself and all his Family.

One day, in the heat of his Debaucheries and Jollity, complaining that Life was too short, *I should be content*, says he to the Queen whom he doted on, *if I could make you eternally happy; but in a few years, nay in a few days peradventure Death will, in spite of us, put an end to our pleasures; and all my Power will not suffice to give you a Life longer than that which the lowest of my Subjects hopes to have; this thought continually troubles my Spirit, and dispenses into my Heart a bitterness that binds me from relishing the sweetness of Life: Why cannot I make you reign for ever? And seeing there are Stars that never cease shining, must you needs be subject to death? you that shine more bright upon Earth, than all the Stars do in Heaven?*

'Tis true, My Lord, with this foolish Princess, that you cannot make your Life eternal, but it depends on you to forget the brevity of it, and to live as tho' you should never die: What need have we of the Sun and Moon to measure the duration of our Life? The morning Star that rises every morning, and the night that comes every evening, do continually

nually put in us mind of the beginning and end of our days ; as those begin and end, so do ours that are begun, advance with precipitation, and will speedily be at an end.

Come, come, Sir, let us no longer cast our Eyes upon these Globes that roll over our Heads : Have you a mind once for all to cure your imagination ? Build your self a new Heaven, ever enlightened, always serene, always favourable to your desires ; where we shall perceive not the least footstep of the instability of humane things. You may easily do it , by erecting a great and magnificent Palace, shut up, on all sides, from the light of the Sun ; you may hang up all around magnificent Lanthorns, whose constant splendor will be preferable to that of the Sun.

Cause to be transported thither whatsoever is capable of contributing to your pleasure ; and for fear of being one moment distracted by them, break off all correspondence with other Creatures. We will both of us enter into this new World that you shall create : I will be to you in lieu of all things, you alone will there yield me more pleasure than all the old world can offer ; yea, Nature it self , that will be renewed for our sakes, will render us more happy than the Gods are in Heaven. 'Tis there that we will forget the vicistude of days and nights ; Time shall be no more in respect of us ; no more incumbrance, no more shadow, no more clouds nor change in Life : And provided, My Lord, that you on your part will be always constant, always passionate, my felicity will seem to me unalterable , and your happiness will be eternal.

The Emperor, whether it was that he thought he could deceive himself, or whether he had a mind to please the Queen, is not certain ; but he caused this enchanted Castle to be built, and there immured her and himself. There he past several Months steeped in delights, and wholly taken up with his new Life ; but the People not being able to endure such Excess, obliged one of the wisest Kings of the Empire to declare against him.

156 *Of the Oeconomy and Magnificence*

So soon as the Emperor had notice of the Conspiracy, he appeared presently in the old World, which, whether he would or no, stuck more to his heart than the new: He appears at the Head of an Army to punish this Rebel; but seeing himself abandoned by the People, whom he had so foolishly deserted, he thought it his wisest course to abdicate, and betake himself to flight. During the three remaining years of his Life, he wandered from Province to Province *incognito* in a poor Condition, always in danger of being discovered, as if God by his disquietness and continual agitation, had a mind to punish him for that soft and effeminate Repose, wherein he thought to have found constant Delights and eternal Felicity. In the mean time they destroyed his Palaces, and to preserve the Memory of such an unworthy Action to Posterity, they hung up Lanthorns in every quarter of the City, this Custom became Anniversary, and since that time a considerable Festival in the whole Empire; it is solemnized at *Yamtcheou* with more magnificence than any where else: And the report goes that the Illuminations there are so splendid, that an Emperor once not daring openly to leave his Court to go thither, committed himself, with the Queen, and several Princesses of his Family, into the hand of a Magician, who promised him to transport them thither in a trice. He made them in the Night to ascend magnificent Thrones that were born up by Swans, which in a moment arrived at *Yamtcheou*.

The Emperor saw at his leisure all the Solemnity, being carried upon a Cloud, that hovered over the City, and descended by degrees; and came back again with the same speed and Equipage, no body at Court perceiving his absence. This is not the first Fable the *Chinese*s have told; they have Stories upon every thing, for they are Superstitious to excess. And in point of Magick, be it feigned or true, there is no
People

People in the World that have come near them.

However it be, certain it is that they take huge delight in Publick Illuminations; and one of their Kings, who for his good qualities was become the darling of the People, once thought he could not better demonstrate to them his reciprocal Affection, than by inventing for their sakes such like Feasts. So that once a year, for eight Nights one after another, he opened his Palace, which they took care to illuminate by abundance of Lanthorns and Fireworks. He appeared in Person without any Guards, and was pell mell in the middle of the Croud, not suffering them to distinguish him from others, to the end that every one might enjoy the liberty of speaking, playing, and hearing divers Consorts of Musick there performed.

This Action hath rendred this Prince renowned in the *China* History; but what would they have said if they had chanced to be in the Apartments of *Versailles*; where the best and most potent of Kings so often assemble all the innocent Pleasures that Christianity allows, to make his Court, if possible, as happy as himself; if they did but behold those Illuminations, those Consorts, those Sports, those magnificent Banquets, and the Prince himself striving to mix with the Multitude; nay, and would be unknown, were it not for an Air of Grandeur which is not annexed to his Dignity, and whereof he cannot devest himself, distinguish him from all the rest?

Since I am speaking, *Madam*, of the Magnificence of the *Chineses*, I cannot, without being wanting in a material point, pass over in silence what relates to their Emperors, who never appear in Publick, but as so many Deities, environed with all the Splendor that may attract the respect and veneration of the People. Heretofore they rarely shewed themselves; but the *Tartars*, who reign at present, are much more Popular, and the late King did not stand so much upon nice Punctilio's.

The

174 *Of the Oeconomy and Magnificence*

The present Emperor in that, as well as in all things else, observes a Medium, which contents his Nation, without totally displeasing the *Chineses*. Nevertheless, as moderate as he is, in comparison of the Ancients, one may boldly say he never marches but at the head, or in the midst of an Army.

At such time he is accompanied with all the Lords of the Court: There is nothing but Silks, Gildings, and precious Stones, every thing there is splendid and pompous; the Arms, the Horses Harness, the Umbrello's, the Streamers, and a thousand other Badges of Dignity Royal, or of the particular quality of every Prince, every where sparkles at that time. In a word, there is nothing more regular on these Occurrences than this Croud; every one knows his respective Rank; and the Head of that Man, or at least his Fortune, lyes at stake, who shall presume indiscreetly to discompose the order of the March.

When he takes a Progress to visit the Provinces of the Empire, he goes commonly Post, followed by a few Guards and some Officers of his Confidants; but in all the Cities upon the Road, and in all the difficult Passages, there are so many Troops drawn up into Batalia, that he seems to ride Post cross an Army.

He goes sometimes into *Tartary* to take the divertisement of Hunting, but yet always accompanied as if he went to the Conquest of some new Empire. He carries along with him no less than Forty thousand Men, who endure a great deal of hardship, whether the Weather be hot or cold, because they encamp in a very inconvenient manner; nay, and it sometimes happens, that in one of these toilsome Huntings their dies more Horses then he would lose in a pitch'd Battel; but he counts the Destruction of Ten thousand Horses as nothing.

The Fathers that accompany him thither say, That never does his Magnificence more display it self than
upon

upon this occasion ; there he sees sometimes thirty or forty petty *Tartarian* Kings, that come to address him, or pay him Tribute; yea, there be some of them that bear the name of *Ham* or *Kam*, that is to say, Emperor; they are all of them, just as the *Mandarins* of the first order, his Pensioners ; he gives them his Daughters in Marriage ; and to make them the more sure to his Interest, he declares himself their Protector against all the Western *Tartars* who often annoy them ; nay, and have sometimes Forces enough to attack *China* itself with good Success.

Whilst the Croud of these petty Sovereigns appears in the Emperor's Camp, the Court is wonderful sumptuous : and to the end he may possess these Barbarians with some Idea of the Power of *China*, the Train, Habits, and Tents of the *Mandarins*, are rich and glorious, even to excess and profusion. This is what the Missionaries, who have been witness of the same, do report ; and I suppose we may give credit to their Relations, not only because they all unanimously agree in this Matter, but also because what they say does altogether comport with the *Genius* of the *Chinese*s.

That which the Relation of Father *Magalhens* reports, newly translated with Notes , equally learned and instructive, concerning the pompous March of the Emperor, when he goes to the Temple to offer Sacrifices to Heaven, hath something odd in it, and deserves here to be repeated ; and so much the more, because these things can neither be supposed, nor magnified, for the orders observed in Publick Ceremonies is known to every body to be so regular, that the very Emperor dares not add or diminish the least Article.

This pompous Ceremony begins with Twenty four Trumpets, adorned with Golden Coronets with 24 Drums ranked, each of them into two Files ; 24 Men armed with Truncheons vernisht and gilt, 6 or 8 foot long, follow them in the same order, and front ; after
that

160 *Of the Oeconomy and Magnificence*

that follow 100 Soldiers bearing noble Halbards, armed with a Semicircle of Iron in form of a Cressant; followed with 100 Serjeants at Mace, and two Officers whose Pikes are painted with red Vernish, in different places with Flowers and golden Figures.

Next after this first File is born 400 curiously wrought Lanthorns, 400 Flamboys of a gilded Wood that flame like our Torches, 200 Lances charged with huge Tufts of Silk, 24 Banners whereon are painted the Signs of the Zodiak, and 56 others that represent the Celestial Constellations: There is to be seen moreover 200 Fans with Figures of Dragons, and other Animals; 24 Umbrello's still more magnificent, and a Livery Cupboard born by the Officers of the Palace, whose Utensils are of Gold.

All this does immediately precede the Emperor, who at last appears on Horsback, gloriously attired, surrounded with six white led Horses, whose Harness is covered with Gold and precious Stones, with 100 Life-guard and Pages of Honour; they bear up before him an Umbrello that shades him and the Horse, and dazles the Sight with all the Ornaments that Man could possibly invent to enrich it.

The Emperor is followed by all the Princes of the Blood, by the *Mandarins* of the first order, by the Viceroy's and principal Lords of the Court, all in their Formalities: Immediately after is seen 500 young Gentlemen of Quality, which may be called the Band of Gentlemen Pensioners, attended by 1000 Footmen, array'd in Carnation Silk, bordered with Flowers, stitched with little Stars in Gold and Silver. This is properly the King's Household.

This Retinue is still more extraordinary by what follows, then by what went before: For immediately 36 Men bear an open Sedan that resembles a Triumphant Chair, 120 Bearers support another close one, and so big that one would take it for an intire Apartment.

Apartment. Afterwards there appear four Chariots; the two first of which are drawn by Elephants, and the other two by Horses. Each Sedan and Chariot hath a Company of 50 Men for its Guard: The Charioteers are richly apparelled, and the Elephants as well as the Horses, are covered with embroidered Housings.

At length this proud Cavalcade is brought up in the Rear by 2000 *Mandarin* Officers, and 2000 Officers of the Army, all most richly cloathed, marching in order, and according to their Custom, with that Gravity that commands respect. It is not needful that the Court should be at great Charges for this Pomp; and as soon as ever the Emperor is pleased to go offer Sacrifice, they always are in readiness to attend him in this order. I do not know, if in our Caroufels and Solemn Festivals, we have any thing more splendid and magnificent.

But the King of *China* never appears greater, then when he gives Audience to foreign Ambassadors; that prodigious number of Troops who are at that time in Arms, that incredible number of *Mandarins* in their Formalities, distinguished according to their rank and quality, placed in order without confusion, without noise, without imbarasment, in such order as they would appear in the Temples of their Gods; the Ministers of State, the Lord Chief Justices of all the Sovereign Courts, the petty Kings, the Princes of the Blood, the Heirs of the Crown, more humbled before this Prince, then they are exalted above the People: The Emperor himself seated on a Throne, who beholds prostrate at his feet all this Crowd of Adorers; all this, I say, bears an Air of Sovereignty and Grandeur in it, that is to be found no where but in *China*, which Christian Humility does not so much as permit Kings to desire in the most glorious Courts of *Europe*.

I should never make an end, if I had a mind to descend

scend to all the particulars of the Publick Ceremonies, where the *Chineses* display all their Magnificence; I suppose, *Madam*, I have spoken enough to inform you with a just Idea of it; now if you please to permit me, in the close of this Letter, to add what I think of it my self in reference to *France*, where the Riches and Ambition of private Persons have carried Statelines to an higher pitch, than in any other Realm in *Europe*; It seems to me that the *Chineses* do almost ever surpass us in Common and Publick Actions, by a more affected and specious outside; but, that in Domestick Things, our Apartments are incomparably richer, the Retinue of Persons of Quality more decently clothed, tho' not so numerous, the Equipages more commodious, the Tables better served, and generally speaking, the Expencc more constant, and better regulated. I am with a most profound respect,

Madam,

Your most humble

and most obedient Servant

L. J.

LET.

L E T T E R VII.

*To the Archbishop of Rheims,
first Peer of France.*

*Of the Language, Characters, Books, and
Morality of the Chineses.*

My Lord,

AFTER having had the Honour to entertain your Grace at your spare hours, concerning the different Properties of the Empire of *China*, I believed you would not take it amiss to see from me in writing that which relates to their Language, Characters, Books, and Morals.

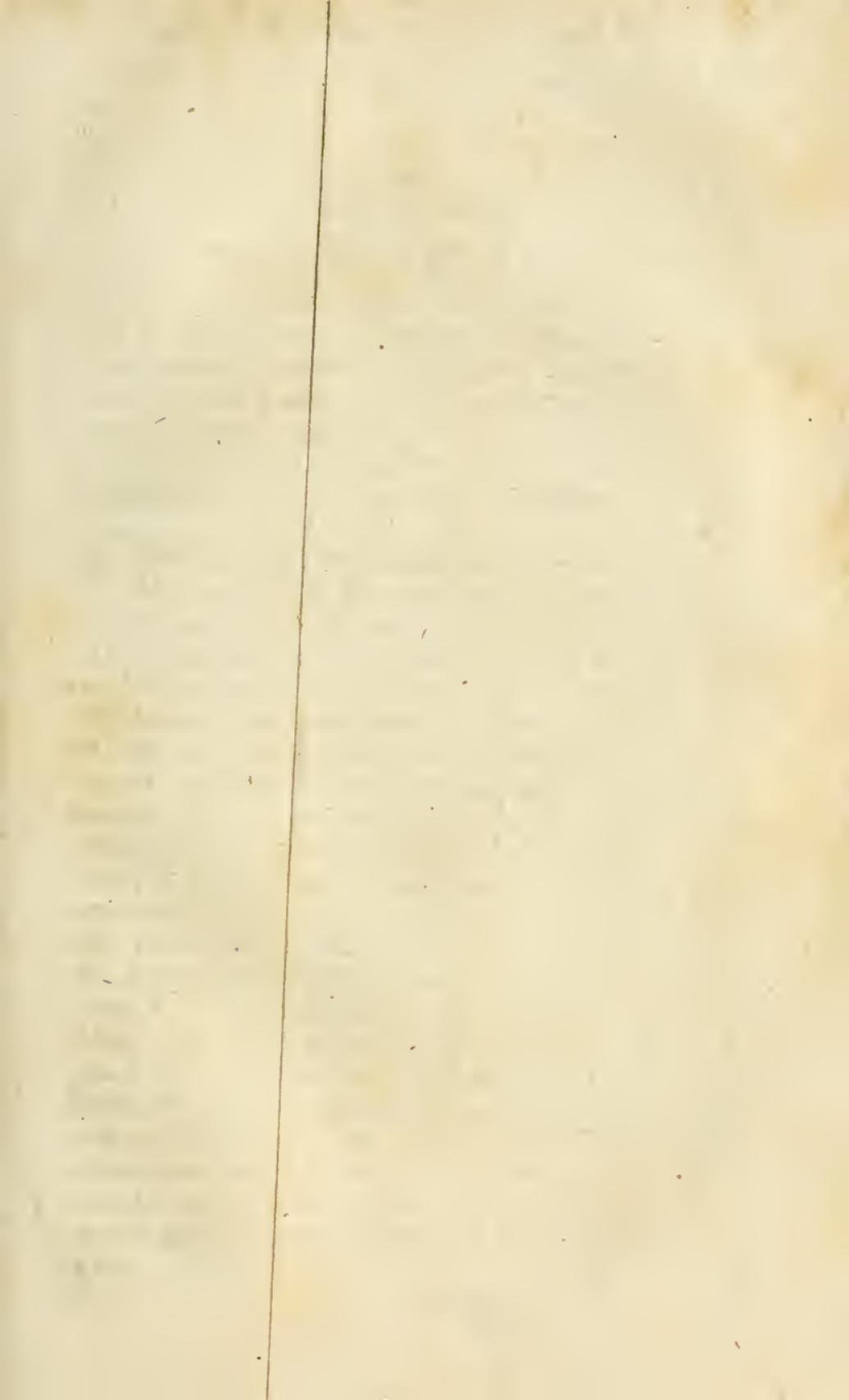
There are certain Points of History that one cannot enter upon without much preparation, and especially when one is to explain them to such a Person as your self, whose particular Character it is, to know to the bottom, and with the greatest exactness, whatsoever you do know, there is required an exactness, and a certain order, which is scarce ever met with but in writing.

I well know, *My Lord*, that it is difficult to add, upon this Subject, any new Knowledge to that which hath rendered you one of the most knowing Prelates of the Age; how good and diffusive soever the Morality

of *China* may be, yet are there but faint Glimpses in it of a circumscribed Reason, that disappear, as soon as they are brought near those Divine Lights that Religion discovers to us, and whereinto you have so long dived by the continual reading of Fathers, Canons, and Councils.

Nevertheless, altho' all the Philosophy of that renowned Nation be not able to instruct us, yet is it worth our enquiry to know, To what pitch of Perfection it heretofore brought Sciences, and that too at a time when other People in the World were either ignorant or barbarous; and to begin at their Tongue and Character, which among them contain the chief Points of Literature, this is what I have observed of them.

The *Chinese* Language hath no Analogy with any of those that are in vogue in the World, no Affinity neither in the Sound, in the pronunciation of the Words, nor yet in the disposing and ranging of the Conceptions. Every thing is mysterious in this Language, and you will, no question stand amazed, *My Lord*, to understand, that all the terms of it may be learnt in two hours, altho' there is required several years study to speak it, that one may be able to read all the Books, and to understand them perfectly, without apprehending any thing, if another read it; that a Doctor may compose a Book with all the elaborateness possible, and this very same Doctor may not know enough of it to explain himself in ordinary Conversation. That a Mute instructed in the Characters, might with his fingers, without writing, speak almost as fast as is necessary, not to weary the Auditors. In a word, that the self same words do often signify quite different things, and of two Persons that shall pronounce them, it will be a Complement in the Mouth of the one, and foul Language in the Mouth of the other. These Paradoxes, how surprising soever they



A List of all the Words that form the Chinese Tongue.

ca	cai	cam	can	cao	co	cou	coue	cha	chay	cham	chan	chao	che
chin	chiéou	chi	chiao	chim	cin	cho	choa	chou	chouan	choué	choui	choun	choum
ta	tan	tan	teou	n	to	toe	toi	tou	touen	foum	guet	hai	ham
nan	hao	he	hem	hen	heou	hi	ha	hai	hiam	hao	hie	hien	hiéou
hin	hin	hio	hiu	hiué	hiuen	hjoum	hiun	ho	hao	hoai	hoam	hoan	hé
hoet	hœan	hou	houm	houan	y	va	yai	yam	ao	ie	ien	icou	in
in	io	iu	iué	iuen	iun	iun	ke	kem	ken	keou	ki	kia	kiou
kie	kein	kieou	kim	kin	kio	kiu	kiué	kieuen	kioum	kiun	la	lai	lam
ian	iao	ie	ieam	leao	lem	leou	lh	li	lie	lien	heou	lim	lin
lio	liu	lo	lou	loui	loum	louan	loun	ma	mai	mani	man	miao	
mou	me	mem	meu	meou	mi	miao	mié	mien	miun	min	mo	mou	mouen
moui	moum	mouon	na	nai	nam	nan	nao	nem	ngai	ngan	ngao	ngué	noéu
ngeou	ngo	ni	niam	niao	niao	ni	nien	nieou	no	mi	niu	no	nou
nou	noum	nouan	nun	o,ou	pa	pai	pam	pan	pao	pe	peou	pi	piao
pie	pien	pim	pin	po	poi	pou	fouen	poum	pouh	qua	quoué	quouai	quouam
quouet	quouen	quouo	quouon	fa	fai	fam	fan	fao	té	tem	fen	icou	fi
nam	hao	hé	hien	heou	fin	fin	ho	hiu	huc	huen	hün	to	jou
fu	fou	fu	foum	fun	fouon	ta	ta	tam	tan	tao	te	teu	teou
ti	tiao	tie	tien	tieou	tin	to	tou	toi	toam	tun	toou	tia	tia
tiam	tian	tiao	tié	tien	tiéou	ti	tiam	tiao	tié	tuen	tucou	tum	tün
tuo	tui	tiué	tüen	tjoum	tjou	tio	tjou	tü	tui	tjoum	tün	tjouan	tchi
tcham	tcham	tchan	ti hao	tché	tchen	tcheou	tchi	tchim	tchin	tcho	tenoua	tchouan	tchi
tchoua	tchoum	tchoué	tchoum	tchun	ua	va	vai	vam	van	ven	ve	vi	vo
von	vou	voum	oum	226.									

Place this between *Fol. 180* and *181.*

they may seem, are very true notwithstanding; and your Grace will grant it, if you please to give your self never so little trouble to cast your Eyes upon that which I have to write to you about it.

This Tongue contains no more than Three hundred and thirty words, or thereabouts, all of one Syllable, or at least they seem to be so, because they pronounce them so succinctly, that a Man can scarce distinguish more than one: Altho' it be a tedious thing to read the whole Series of them, yet shall I describe them in this place, as well to let you understand the Tone, as to give you the Satisfaction to see, at one Glance of your Eyes, comprised in one single Page, a Language so ancient, so famous, and I may say, so eloquent as this is.

These few words would not be sufficient to express a Man's self roundly upon all Subjects, to supply words to Arts and Sciences, to maintain Eloquence in a Discourse, or in a Work, which is very different among the *Chineses*, if he had not found out the Art to multiply the Sense, without multiplying the Words. This Art chiefly consists in the Accents they give them; the same word pronounced with a stronger or weaker inflexion of the voice, hath divers significations; so that the *Chinese* Language, when it is spoken exactly, is a kind of Musick, and contains a real Harmony, which composeth the Essence and particular Character of it.

There are five Tones that are apply'd to each word, according to the Sense one means to give it. The first is an uniform Pronunciation without lightning or falling the Voice, as if one should continue for some time the first Note of our Musick: the second raiseth the Voice notably higher: the third is very acute: in the fourth you descend all on the sudden to a grave Tone: in the fifth you pass to a more deep Note, if I may presume

182 *Of the Language, Characters, Books,*

so to express my self, by hollowing, and framing a kind of Base. A Man cannot make himself be understood in this Matter but by the Language it self.

However you already see, *My Lord*, that by this diversity of Pronunciation of 333 words, are made 1665. besides that, one may pronounce smoothly, or asperate each word, which is very usual, and does still increase the Language by half. Sometimes these Monosyllables are joyned together, as we put our Letters together, thereby to compose different words: Nay, they do more then all that, for sometimes a whole Phrase, according as it follows, or goes before another, hath a quite different sense; so it plainly appears that this Tongue, so poor, so seemingly succinct, yet for all that is in effect very rich and extensive, to express a Man's self.

But these Riches cost Foreigners dear to come by them; and I cannot tell whether some Missionaries had not better have labour'd in the Mines than to have apply'd themselves for several years to this Labour, one of the hardest and most discouraging that one can experience in matter of study. I cannot apprehend how any one can have other thoughts; and I must confess I admired to read the new Relation of Father *Magalben*, that the *Chinese* Language is easier than the *Greek*, *Latin*, and all the Languages in *Europe*. He adds, one cannot doubt of it, if it be considered that the difficulty in Tongues proceeds from the Memory; now one hath no trouble at all in this, that hath but very few words in comparison of others, nay, and may be learnt in a days time.

To argue as this Father does, Musick must cost us but an hours time, seven Words, and seven Tones, do not much burthen the memory, and if one have but a Voice never so little flexible, one would think it were no hard matter to learn them; nevertheless, we see by daily experience, who so begins at thirty or forty years, unless

unless he have a more than ordinary inclination for Musick, scarce ever learns it to purpose; nay, and after much application, and long exercise, is still to his dying day but a pitiful Musician. How will it fare with a Person who hath six Tones to combine with above 300 Words, that he does not know by the writing, which he must call to mind *ex tempore*, when he would speak fluently, or when he is to distinguish in another person that precipitates his words, and who scarce observes the Accent and particular Tone of each word?

It is not the Memory that is put to a stress upon this occasion, but the Imagination and Ear, which in some certain Persons never distinguish one Tone from another; the turn of the Tongue also conduces infinitely thereto; and there are certain Persons that have Memory sufficient to learn a Book in few days, who will tug at it for a Month together to pronounce only one word, and all to no purpose: How happens it that, let him take what care he will, a Man has never a good Accent in our Language, when he is born in certain Provinces, and when he departs from them when he is well stricken in years.

Nevertheless, to make your self understood in *Chinese*, you must give to each word its peculiar Accent; vary but never so little, and you fall into another Tone that makes a ridiculous Counter-sense; so that one would call *Him a Beast*, whom he intends to call *Sir*, because the word that is common to them both, hath not a different Sense, but only by the different Tone they give it: So that it is properly in this Language that one may say, the Tone is all in all.

This is that also that makes the *Chinese* Tongue more difficult than others. When a Stranger that hath but a smattering, intends to speak *French*, if he pronounce some words but never so little well, we easily guess at those he speaks ill, and we know his meaning; but in

China one single word badly pronounced, is enough to render the whole Phrase unintelligible; and one Phrase at the beginning that is not well heard and understood, hinders the understanding of what follows. So when one chances to come into a Congregation, where they have already begun to speak about some Business, he stares about a good while, without understanding, till such time as by degrees they put him in the way, and till he gets hold of the thread of the Discourse.

Besides what I have been saying, this Tongue hath particular Characters that distinguish it from all others. First of all they do not speak as they write, and the most quaint Discourse is barbarous, harsh and unpleasant when printed. It is necessary to write well, to make use of more select Terms, more noble Expressions, more particular Turns, that do occur in common practice, which are proper to the composing of Books, the stile of which is more different from the common Elocution, then our obscurest Latin Poets are from the smoothest and most natural Prose.

Secondly, Eloquence does not consist in a certain disposition of Periods, such as Orators affect, who, to impose upon the Auditors, stuff it sometimes with a parcel of words, because they have but few things to tell them. The *Chineses* are eloquent by their lively Expressions, noble Metaphors, bold and succinct Comparisons, and above all, by abundance of Sentences and Passages taken from the Ancients, which amongst them are of great moment: they deliver a great many things in a few words, their Stile is close and mysterious, obscure, and not continued, they seldom make use of all those Particles that illustrate, and connect our Discourse. They seem sometimes to speak not to be understood, or, as tho' they pretend that a Body may understand them, even when they do not speak, so much sense, and thought, do they inclose in a few words.

It is true, this obscurity almost quite vanishes in respect of those who have a perfect knowledge in the Characters; and a Learned Man that reads a Work, is seldom mistaken in it, but in speaking one is often at a stand: And I have convers'd with some Doctors, who to understand one another in familiar Discourses, were obliged to describe with their Finger, in the Air the particular Letter that express't their words, whose Sense could not be determined by the Pronunciation.

Thirdly, The Sound of the words is pretty pleasing to the Ear, especially in the Province of *Nankin*, where the Accent is more correct than in any other part; for there many pronounce the different Tones so fine and delicately, that a Stranger hath much ado to perceive it. Besides, they never use *R*, which contributes not a little to mollifie that Language; yet must it be allowed that most part of the *Chineses*, that pretend to speak correctly, have something of unpleasant in the Language, they drawl out their words in length intollerably; and tho' they be all Monosyllables, yet by meer extending them, they make words infinite and like to intire Phrases.

They have moreover a Termination which often occurs, which we express commonly by a double *ll*; the sound comes from the bottom of the *aspera arteria*, so uncouth and unnatural, that it alone is capable of spoiling a Language: But as certain forc'd Aspirations in the *Castillian* Tongue, do notwithstanding please the *Spaniards*; so the *Chineses* are perswaded that these same Gutturals that displease us, are a real grace; and that these more Masculine and stronger Tones, gives a body to their Language, without which it would be apt to degenerate into a Puerile delicateness, which would at best have no grace but in the Mouth of Women and Children.

Fourthly,

186 *Of the Language, Characters, Books,*

Fourthly, They want abundance of Sounds which we express by our Letters; for Example, they do not pronounce *A, b, d, o, r, x, z,* after the same manner as we do in *France*; and when any one forces them to pronounce them, they always make some alteration, and use sounds, that in their Language comes the nearest to them, never being able almost to express them exactly. That formerly was a great difficulty for the *Chinese* Priests in Consecrating the Host, who could not say Mass in *Latin* without falling into a ridiculous jargon. Yet there was so much pains taken to frame their Tongue, that at length they have succeeded to admiration: So that the *Latin* in their mouth is not much more different from that of the *Portuguese*, than that of the *Portuguese* is from ours.

All that I have been saying, *My Lord*, is to be understood of the *Mandarin* Language that is currant all over the Empire, which is universally understood every where; for the common People at *Fokien* besides that, speak a particular Tongue, that hath no affinity with the same, who look upon it in *China*, as we do upon the *Biscay* Language, or *Basbreton* in *France*.

What relates to the *China* Character is no less singular than their Tongue; they have not any Alphabet as we have, that contains the Elements, and as it were the Principles of Words; nay, they cannot so much as comprehend, how we are able, with so small a number of Figures, each of which signifies nothing, to express upon a piece of Paper all our Conceptions, to compose such an infinite number of Books, as to stock whole Libraries. This Art of putting Letters together, to compose words of them, to combine them both into a prodigious number of Senses, is to them an hidden Mystery, and that which is so common amongst other Nations, never obtained amongst them, either thro' the little Converse they have had with other neighbour Nations, or thro' the small account they made of Foreign Inventions.

Instead

Instead of Characters, at the beginning of their Monarchy they used Hieroglyphicks; they painted instead of writing; and by the natural Images of things, which they drew upon Paper, they endeavoured to express, and convey their Ideas to others; so that to write a Bird, they painted its Figure; and to signify a Forest, they represented a great company of Trees; a Circle signified the Sun, and a Crescent the Moon.

This sort of writing was not only imperfect, but very inconvenient; for besides that one expressed his Thoughts but by halves, even those few that were expressed, were never perfectly conceived, and it was besides utterly impossible not to be mistaken: Moreover, there needed whole Volumes to express a few things, because the painting took up a great deal of room. Inasmuch that the *Chineses* by little and little changed their writing, and composed more simple Figures, tho' less natural; they likewise invented many to express some things that painting could not represent, as the Voice, Smell, the Senses, Conceptions, Passions, and a thousand other Objects that have neither Body nor Figure; of several simple Draughts, they after made compound ones; and at this rate they multiplied their Characters *ad infinitum*, because they destined one or more of them for each particular word.

This abundance of Letters is in my opinion the source of the *Chineses* ignorance, because they employ all their days in this study, and have not leisure so much as to think of other Sciences, phansying themselves learned enough if they can but read. However, they are far from understanding all their Letters: It is very much, if after several years of indefatigable study, they be able to understand fifteen or twenty thousand. The vulgar sort of the Learned, content themselves with less: and I cannot believe that there was ever any Doctor that understood the third part;

188 *Of the Language, Characters, Books,*

part ; for they reckon upward of Twenty four thousand.

As for Strangers, it is scarce credible how much this study disgusts them ; it is an heavy Cross to be forc'd all a Man's life long (for commonly it is not too long for it) to stuff his Head with this horrible multitude of Figures, and to be always occupied in deciphering imperfect Hieroglyphicks, that have in a manner no analogy with the things they signifie, there is not the least Charm in this, as in the Sciences of *Europe*, which, in fatiguing, do not cease to captivate the Spirit with Delight. It is necessary in *China*, that a Man may not be discouraged, to seek out more sublime Motives, in defect of natural Inclination ; to make a Vertue of a Necessity, and to please ones self to think, that this study, how crabbed and ingrateful soever it seems, is not sterile, because it is a sure way to bring Men to the Knowledge of Jesus Christ.

It is that way whereby we make our selves understood by great ones ; whereby we insinuate our selves into their Spirits, and thereby prepare them for the grand Truths of Christian Religion ; there is not that Person to whom this hope of preaching the Gospel successfully, does not incourage, and inspirit. We cannot also doubt, but that our blessed Lord may accompany the Effects of our good Will, with a particular Blessing ; and it is more than probable, that if it had not been for the Assistance from above, the Missionaries would never have been so great Proficients, as to make such a progress that has astonisht the ablest Doctors of the Empire.

Amongst these Characters there are some of divers sorts. The first are almost out of use, and they preserve them only out of Veneration to Antiquity. The second not so ancient by far, take place only in Publick Inscriptions ; when there is occasion for them, they consult Books, and by the help of a Dictionary
it

it is easie to decipher them. The third much more regular and fair, serve for the impressiion, and also for the ordinary writing: Nevertheless, the strokes or draughts of them being very exact and curious, there needs a considerable time to write them in. And for that reason they have contrived a fourth kind of writing, the strokes whereof being more joynd, and less distinguisht one from another, facilitate the writing faster; for that reason they are called *voluble Letters*: These three last Characters do much resemble one another, and do answer to our Capital Letters, to the printed Letters, and ordinary Writing.

Instead of a Pen they use a Pencil held in the hand, not obliquely, as our Painters, but directly, as if the Paper were to be prickt. The *Chineses* always write from top to bottom, and begin their first Letter where ours ends; so that to read their Books, the last page must first be sought for, which with them is the beginning: Their Paper being very thin, and almost transparent, they are fain to double it, for fear least the Letters do run one into another when they write on the backside: But these doubled Leaves are so even, that one can hardly perceive it.

To write a bad Hand, was never in *China*, as formerly in *France*, a sign of Nobility; every Body is ambitious to write fair; and before one stands Candidate to be admitted to the first degree of Learning, he must give a Specimen of his fair Hand. A Letter ill cut in a Composition, in a Work, in a Petition, is a considerable fault; and because one stroke often alters the whole Sense, there needs no more to make one, upon examination, to lose the Degree of Doctor, and consequently to ruin his Fortune. So that all the *Mandarins* write fair, and the Emperor excels in that, as in all other things.

Printing, which is but an Art in its infancy in *Europe*, hath been, from all Antiquity in use in *China*; however it is something different from ours; as we have but few Letters, from which we can compose huge Volumes, by putting them together, few Characters suffice, because those that have served for the first Leaf, are still employed for all the others. The prodigious number of *China* Characters hinder you from using this way, except only in some Restrictions that concern the Palace, and Title pages, into which few Letters can come in: On all other occasions, they find it more easie to Engrave their Letters upon Wooden Boards, and the Charge is much less.

This is the way they go to work. He who intends to print a Book, gets it fair written over by a Master Scribe, the Engraver glews each Leaf upon an even smooth Table, and then the Draughts with the Graving Tool are done so exactly, that the Characters have a perfect resemblance with the Original; so that the Impression is good or bad, according as a good or bad Scribe hath been employed; this Skill of the Gravers is so great, that one cannot distinguish that which is imprinted, from what was written by the Hand, when they have made use of the same Paper and Ink.

It must be confest that this sort of Printing is somewhat incommodious, inasmuch as the Boards must be multiplied, as much as the Leaves, so that an indifferent big Chamber will not suffice to contain all the little Tables, that served for the Impression of a large Volume; yet when the engraving is finisht, one is not obliged at the same time to draw off all the Copies, by running a venture of not selling above half, and ruin his Estate by a needless Charge. The *Chineses* print their Leaves according as they put them off; and the Wooden Plates, which they easily run over again, after they have drawn off Two or Three hundred Copies,

Copies, serve for many other different Impressions. Besides that, they have no occasion for a Corrector of the Press; for provided that the Leaf be exactly written, it is very rare that the Engraver makes any Faults, which is none of the least Advantages.

The Paper of *China* seems so fine, that they imagined in *France* that it was of Silk, or Cotton; but Cotton is not so proper for that purpose as People imagine; and the Artificers have assured me, that the little threads of Silk cannot be beat small enough, to compose an uniform Paste, such as is requisite for the Leaves. All the *China* Paper is made of the Bark, or inward Rhind of *Bambou*; it is a Tree, more even, thicker, straiter, and stronger than the Elder: They throw away the first Rhind, as too hard and thick; the undermost, as being whiter, softer, pounded with fair Water, serves for the Matter whereof they compose Paper, which they take up with Frames or Moulds, as long and broad as they think fit, as we do here: There are Leaves of ten and twelve foot long; and the Paper of the Leaves is as white, and much more even and smoother than ours.

Instead of Glew, they pass Alom upon it, which does not only hinder it from sinking, but renders it also so shining, that it appears as washt over with Silver, or impregnate with Vernish: It is extream smooth under the Pen, but especially under the Pencil, that requires an even Ground; for it be rugged and knotty, like our Paper, the little threads separate, and the Letters are never well terminated. *if*

Yet for all that the *China* Paper is not lasting, it is subject to fret; any Moisture or Dust sticks to it; and by reason of its being made of the Bark of a Tree, Worms infallibly breed in it, if care be not taken to beat the Books now and then, and expose them to the Sun. So that they cannot preserve in *China*, as we do in *Europe*, ancient Manuscripts; and they con-

continually renew the Libraries, that are therefore ancient, because they consist of Authentick Copies of Ancient Originals.

Since I have told your Grace all things that concern the Books and Printings of *China*, I hope you will not take it amiss, if I speak a word or two concerning the particular quality of their Ink: It is most excellent; and they have hitherto vainly tried in *France* to imitate it; that of *Nankin* is most set by: And there be Sticks made of it so very curious, and of such a sweet Scent, that one would be tempted to keep some of them tho' they should be of no use at all.

I say Sticks of Ink, for it is not a Liquor like ours; it is solid, and resembles our Mineral Colours, tho' lighter by far: They make it into all Figures; the more usual are four-square, but not so broad as long; about half an Inch thick. There are some of them gilded with Figures of Dragons, Birds, and Flowers; they contrive for that purpose pretty Moulds of Wood so curiously wrought, that one would have much ado to make any thing more compleat upon Metal.

When one has a mind to write, they have a little polished Marble upon the Table, made hollow at the end, proper to hold water; they infuse one end of the stick therein, which they rub gently upon the smooth part of the Marble; and in a moment, according as they rub, there is produced a Liquor, more or less black, wherein they dip the point of the Pencil to write with. This Ink is shining, extream black, and altho' it sinks when the Paper is so fine, yet does it never extend further than the Pencil, so that the Letters are exactly terminated, how gross soever the strokes be.

It hath moreover another quality, that makes it admirable good for designing, that is, it admits of all the Diminutions one can give it; and there are many things that cannot be represented to the Life without using this Colour. In a word, it is not so difficult to be made as People imagine; altho' the *Chineses* use Lamb-black, drawn from divers Matters, yet the best is made of Hogs-grease burnt in a Lamp: They mix a sort of Oil with it, to make it sweeter, and pleasant Odours to suppress the ill smell of the Grease and Oil. After having reduc'd it to a Consistence, they make of the Paste little Lozenges, which they cast in a Mould; it is at first very heavy, but when it is very hard, it is not so weighty by half, and that which they give for a Pound, weighs not above eight or ten Ounces.

The binding of Books in *China* is likewise very pretty and curious, tho' it comes much short of ours. They don't gild upon the Edges, nor so much as colour them. The ordinary Books are covered with a grey Pastboard, handsom enough. They bind others according as they please; in a fine Sattin, or a kind of flowered Taffity, that is very cheap, and is commonly made on purpose for this use. I have seen some covered with rich Silk, flowered with Gold and Silver; the Form is always the same, but they are at Cost, according to the Matter they are willing to employ. I should never have presumed, *My Lord*, to take the liberty to set down all these minute Circumstances, if I were not perswaded, that a little Account is not always disagreeable to Learned Men, who, like you, are acquainted beforehand with the most essential Matters. Hence I present you with something more solid, which, without doubt, you may have read; but I add it in this place briefly, only to refresh your memory.

The first History that was in the World, was, without all Controversie the Book of *Genesis*; but it must be granted, that of all the Books that have reached our knowledge, those of *China* are the first that have been published: They name them by way of Excellence, *The five Volumes*; and the *Chineses* hold nothing more Sacred than the Doctrine therein taught. It is about Four thousand three hundred years since the Emperour *Hoamti*, after he had invented the Characters, composed Treaties of Astronomy, Arithmetick, and Medicine.

Near upon Three hundred years after, they made a Collection of all the Ordinances, and writ the History of King *Yao*, a Prince recommendable for his Piety, Prudence, and the mighty Care he took to establish a Model of Government in the State. *Chun* and *Isu* his Successors, were no less famous; they regulated the Ceremonies of the Sacrifice, that they were bound to offer to the Supream Master of Heaven, and to the inferiour Spirits that presided over Rivers and Mountains; they divided the Empire into Provinces; they fixt their different Situation with respect to the Constellations of Heaven; they regulated the Taxes that the People were to pay; they made several other Constitutions very wholesome and proper for introducing good Manners, and very necessary for the Publick Quiet. All these things were written; and whatever these three Emperors have left behind them to Posterity, hath been always considered by the *Chineses* as Oracles.

Nevertheless, being the first Laws never comprehend all things, the Emperors who reigned a Thousand seven hundred seventy six years before our Saviour, upon mature deliberation, and by the Counsel and Advice of their Sage Ministers, thought themselves obliged to make an Addition of new ones. They report that *Cootson*, a Prince, in whom Piety
and

and Zeal in Religion, did infinitely inhanche the Noble qualities he had received from Nature, saw in a Dream the Figure of a Man coming from Heaven. After he was awake, the Image remained so lively engraven upon his Mind, that he caused him to be sought for, and found him at length amongst the Masons. So soon as this Man apply'd himself to the Government, he seemed to be inspired, and made several beneficial Regulations, that perfected the ancient Ordinances, which were again augmented under succeeding Reigns; insomuch that being all collected together, there was a Book composed of them which the Chinese call **Cbukim*, which amongst them is of as great Authority, in reference to the Politick State, as *Moses* and the Prophets are amongst the Jews; as to what concerns the Worship of God, and Form of Religion.

* The first Book called *Chu-kim*.

The Second Book, which the Chinese reverence for its Antiquity, is a long Continuation and Series of Odes, and Poems composed under the Reigns of the third Race †. Where are described the Manners and Customs of the petty Kings of *China*, who governed the Provinces in dependance upon the Emperor. *Confucius* mentions them with great Elogiums; which makes us incline to judge that in process of time they had been corrupted by a mixture of several bad Pieces; there are some such found in them very ridiculous, not to say impious. *Fobi*, Founder of the Monarchy, composed before that time Poems of that Nature, but they were so obscure, that what care soever they took to put a good Construction on them, yet have they been fain to confess that they were not intelligible. This Obscurity, so impenetrable by all the Lights of the Learned, hath given occasion to many Superstitions.

† The second Book *Chi-kim*.

196 Of the Language, Characters, Books,

The *Bonze's* wrest them to a wrong use, that they may say what they please ; they are in respect of them an inexhaustible Fountain of Fables and Chimera's, which they make use of, for to cause the People to pin their Faith upon their Sleeve.

* The third Book
U-ki-m.

However, they have compiled a * Tome of them, which holds the third Rank amongst Classick Authors.

† The Fourth
Tchun-tsiou.

The † Fourth contains the History of several Princes, their Vertues, Vices, and Maxims of the Government, that have been collected by *Confucius*, and Commented upon by his Disciples.

|| The fifth *Li-ki.*

The || Fifth treats of Customs and Ceremonies. There is mention made of Temples, Sacred Vessels ; of the Duty of Children to their Parents, and Wives to their Husbands ; Rules of real Friendship, Civilities at Feasts ; of Hospitality, Musick, War ; of Funeral Honours, and of a thousand other things that regard Society.

These five Books are very ancient, and all the others that have any Authority in the Empire are nothing but Copies, or Interpretations of them. Amongst abundance of Authors, who have taken pains about these so famous Originals, none is so conspicuous and eminent as *Confucius* ; they have a great esteem, especially of that which he compiled in four Books, upon the ancient Laws, which are lookt upon as the Rule of Perfect Government. There he treats of the grand Art of Reigning, of Mediocrity, Vertues and Vices, of the Nature of Things, and of common Duties. This last Tome notwithstanding, is not so much the Work of *Confucius*, as of *Mencius* his Disciple, of a Life less regular than that of his Master, but of a Stile more eloquent and pleasant.

Besides

Besides these Nine Books, there be some others much in vogue, as the Universal History of the Empire, the truth of which is no less confirmed in *China*, than it is in our most noted Histories in *Europe*. The Books that treat of the Education of Children, of Obedience, of Loyalty, are ascribed to *Confucius*. Some of them may be met with that Discourse of Medicine, Agriculture, Plants, of the Military Art, of Arts Liberal and Mechanick, of particular Histories, Astronomy, Philosophy, and a great many other Parts of Mathematicks. In short, they have their Romances, Comedies, and what I place in the same rank, a plain, abundance of Treaties composed by the *Bonze's*, concerning the Worship of the Deities of the Country, which they alter, diminish, and increase, according as they find it necessary to inveigle the People, and swell their Revenues.

Of all these Books they have compiled numerous Libraries, some whereof were composed of above Forty thousand Volumes; but all these brave Works that Antiquity took so much pains to bring forth, which private Persons had amassed with so vast Expences, were well-nigh all destroy'd by the Tyrannical order of one Emperor. Three hundred years, or thereabouts, after the Death of *Confucius*, that is to say, Two hundred years before the Birth of our Saviour Christ, the Emperor *Cchiboamti*, illustrious by his Valour and Military Science, of which he was Master beyond all his Predecessors; and still more conspicuous by the prodigious Wall he caused to be built, to secure his Territories from the Irruptions of the *Tartars*, resolved to extirpate all Sciences; and not satisfied with putting a great number of Doctors to death, he ordered his Subjects upon pain of death, to set fire on all the Books in the Empire, except those that treated of Agriculture, Medicine, and Sorcery.

This Conflagration, the most remarkable that ever the Republick of Letters suffered, was like to have utterly ruined the Empire, and would have made in time, of the most polite and accomplisht State, the most barbarous and ignorant Kingdom in the World, if after the Tyrant's death, the Love of Sciences, that began to Revive in all Men's Breasts, had not in some measure repaired this loss.

The old Men, who according to custom had, during their youth, learnt almost all these Books by heart, received order to write them faithfully over: They found some of them in the Tombs, that the most zealous had concealed, to which they gave a Resurrection, by publishing them in another Edition. Some of them they fetched from the Graves, and Holes of Walls, that indeed suffered great Damage by Moisture and Worms, however, in a Condition to serve their turns that laboured after their Restoration, what was defaced in these latter, being pretty intire in some others.

All this Care did not hinder the new Edition to be defective; there remains in some places *Lacuna's*, and there hath been inserted into others, some Pieces by the by that were not in the Originals. The *Chineses* themselves take notice of these Faults, and of some others of less moment; but they are so Superstitious in preserving what was handed down to them from Antiquity, that they even pay Reverence to its Faults.

I should not, *My Lord*, afford you a Light diffusive enough into the *Chinese* Literature, should I not speak more particularly of *Confucius*, who makes the principle Ornament of it. He is the most pure Source of their Doctrine; he is their Philosopher, their Law-giver, their Oracle; and albeit he was never King, one may nevertheless avouch, that during his Life, he hath governed a great part of *Cbina*, and that he hath
had

had since his death a greater share than any one in the Administration of the Affairs of State, by the Maxims that he hath promulgated, and the fair Examples that he hath exhibited; so that he is still the Model of all honest Men : His Life hath been writ by several Persons : I shall report what they commonly say of it.

Confucius, whom the *Chineses* name *Coum-tse*, was born in the Province of *Chauton*, the Thirty seventh year of the Reign of the Emperor *Kim*, Four hundred fourscore and three years before the Incarnation of our Saviour; the Death of his Father that preceded his Birth, made them call him *Tcesse*, which signifies *Child of Sorrow*; he derived his Pedigree from *Tiny*, Twenty seventh Emperor of the Second Race : How illustrious soever this Family might be by a long Series of Kings, it became much more so by the Life of this great Man : He eclipsed all his Ancestors, but he gave his Posterity a lustre that still continues, after more than Two thousand years. *China* acknowledges no true Nobility but in this Family, equally respected by Sovereigns, who have derived from thence, as from the Source the Laws of Perfect Government, and beloved by the People, to whose Happiness he hath so successfully contributed.

Confucius did not proceed by the ordinary degrees of Childhood, he seem'd Rational a great deal sooner than other Men ; for he took delight in nothing that other Children are fond of : Playing, going abroad, Amusements proper to his Age, did not at all concern him ; he had a grave, a serious Deportment, that gained him respect, and was at that very time a Presage of what one day he was like to be : But that which distinguisheth him the most, was his Exemplary and Unbiased Piety. He honoured his Relations; he endeavoured in all things to imitate his Grandfather, who lived in *China* all that time, and whose

Memory was precious for his Sanctity: And it was observable that he never eat any thing but he prostrated himself upon the Ground, and offered it to the Supream Lord of Heaven.

Being yet a Child he heard his Grandfather fetch a deep Sigh, he came up to him, and when he had saluted him, bowing several times to the very ground, *May I be so bold,* says he, *without losing the respect I owe you, to ask you the occasion of your Grief? Perhaps you are afraid that your Posterity may neglect the Care of Virtue, and may dishonour you by their Vice. What put this Thought into your head?* says *Coum-tse* to him, and *where have you learnt to speak after this manner?* From you your self, replied *Confucius*; I attentively hear you every time you speak, and I have often heard you say, that a Son, who by his manner of living does not keep up the Reputation of his Ancestors, degenerates from them, and does not deserve to bear their Name. When you spoke after that manner, did not you think of me? and might not that be the thing that troubles you? This good old Man was overjoy'd at this Discourse, and after that seemed not to be disquieted.

Confucius, after his Grandfathers death, was a constant adherer to *Tcem-se*, a famous Doctor of those times; and under the Conduct of so great a Master, he became in a short time a considerable Proficient in the Knowledge of Antiquity, which he lookt upon, even there, as the most perfect Model. This Love for the Ancients had like one day to have cost him his Life, tho' he was then but Sixteen years of Age: For discoursing with a Person of the highest quality, who spoke of the obscurity and unprofitableness of the *Chinese* Books, this Child read him somewhat too severe a Lecture concerning the respect that is due to them

The Books you speak of, says *Confucius*, *contain profound Doctrine, the Sense of which is not to be penetrated but by*
the

the Learned: the People would undervalue them, could they comprehend them of themselves. This dependance of Spirits, by which the more Stupid are subject to the more enlightened is very profitable, and useful in Humane Society: Were all Families equally rich, equally powerful, there would remain no form of Government: But there would happen yet a more strange disorder, if Men were equally knowing, every one would be a governing, and no body would believe himself obliged to obey.

Some time ago, added this witty Child, one of the Skum of the Vulgar spoke to me as you do, I did not wonder at it; but I admire at present that a Doctor, as you are, should speak to me like this Man of the Dregs of the People. This Discourse was capable to gain the affection and respect of the Mandarin: But Confusion that possess'd him to be thus gravelled by a Child, did so nettle him, that he resolv'd to be revenged. He caus'd his House to be invest'd by his Menial Servants, and, without doubt, he would have flowen out into some Extremity, had not the King, who had notice of it, given him order to withdraw.

When *Confucius* was a little more advanced in years, he made a Collection of the most excellent Maxims of the Ancients, which he intend'd to follow, and inspire into the People. Each Province was at that time a distinct Kingdom, that a Prince, who depend'd upon the Emperor, govern'd by particular Laws: He levied Taxes, dispos'd of all Places of Trust, and made Peace as he judg'd expedient. These petty Kings had sometimes Differences amongst them; the Emperor himself stood in fear of them; and had not always Authority enough to make himself be obey'd by them.

Confucius being perswaded that the People would never be happy, so long as Interest, Ambition, and false Policy should reign in all these Petty Courts; resolv'd to preach up a severe Morality, to prevail upon

upon Men to contemn Riches and worldly Pleasures, and esteem Temperance, Justice, and other Vertues; to inspire them with Grandeur and Magnanimity proof against all Humane Respects, a Sincerity incapable of the least disguise, even in respect of the greatest Princes; in fine, a kind of Life that should oppose the Passions, and should intirely cultivate Reason and Vertue.

That which is most to be admired is, That he preached more by his Examples, than by his Words; so that he every where reapt very considerable Fruit of his Labours. Kings were governed by his Counsels, the People revered him as a Saint; every Body commended him; and even those who did not comply to follow his Examples, did nevertheless admire them: but sometimes he took upon him such a Severity, that made his very Friend have an aversion for him.

Being chosen to fill a considerable Place of Trust in the Kingdom of *Lou*, in less than Three Months time, after he exercised the Charge, he introduced such a prodigious Change, that the Court and Provinces were quite another thing than they were before. The neighbouring Princes began to be jealous; they perceived that a King ruled by a Man of this Character, would quickly render himself too powerful, there being nothing that can be more capable to make a State flourish than Order, and an exact observance of Laws. The King of *Tai* assembled his Ministers, and propounded to them an Expedient to put a stop to the Carriere of this new Government: After a long deliberation, this was the Expedient they bethought themselves of.

They chose a great Company of young Maids, handsome, well educated, and perfectly well instructed in whatsoever might please. Then, under presence of an Embassy, they presented them to the
King

King of Lou, and to the principal Officers of his Court ; the Present was joyfully accepted, and obtained its desired effect. They thought of nothing but of diverting the fair Strangers ; for several Months together there was nothing but Feasting, Dancing, and Comedies, and Pleasures was the whole Business of the Court.

Confucius perceiving that the Publick Affairs would suffer by it, endeavoured to bring Men to themselves again ; but this new kind of Life had so charmed them, that all his endeavours proved ineffectual : there was no remedy, the Severity of the Philosopher, whether he would or no, must give place to the Gallantry and Irregularities of Courtiers. So that he thought it did not stand with his Reputation to remain any longer in a place where Reason was not listened to, and so he resigned up his place to the Prince ; and sought other Kingdoms more inclinable to improve his Maxims.

But he met with great Obstacles, and run from Province to Province almost, without reaping any advantage ; because the Politicians dreaded him, and the Ministers of Princes had no mind to have a Competitor, that was in a capacity to lessen their Authority, or deprive them of their Credit. So that forsaken by all the World, he was often times reduced to utmost Extremity, in danger of being starved, or to lose his Life by the Conspiracy of mischievous Men. Nevertheless, all these Disgraces did not move him ; and he would often say, *That the Cause he defended was too good, to apprehend any evil Consequences from it ; That there was not that Man so powerful, that could hurt him ; and that when a Man is elevated to Heaven by a sincere desire of Perfection, he is so far from fearing a Tempest, that he did not so much as hear the noise in this lower World.*

So that he was never weary of instructing those who loved Vertue. Amongst a great Company of Disciples that put themselves under his Tuition, he destined some to write a fair hand, others apply'd themselves to argue exactly, and to deliver themselves eloquently in Publick. He would have others to study to frame to themselves a true Idea of a good Government: But he counselled those for whom he had a more particular kindness to govern themselves well, to cultivate their Mind by Meditation, and to purifie their heart by Vertue.

Humane Nature, said he often to others, came from Heaven to us most pure and perfect, in process of time Ignorance, the Passions, and evil Examples have corrupted it; all consists in the re-instating it, and giving it its primitive Beauty: and that we may be perfect, we must re-ascend to that point from whence we have descended. Obey Heaven, and follow all the Orders of him who governs it. Love your Neighbour as your self; never suffer your Senses to be the Rule of your Conduct, but hearken to Reason in all things: It will instruct you to think well, to speak discretely, and to perform all your Actions holily. He sent Six hundred of his Disciples into different places of the Empire, to reform the Manners of the People; and not satisfied to benefit his own Country, he often took a Resolution to pass the Seas, and extend his Doctrine to the Extremity of the Universe. There is scarce any thing can be added either to his Zeal, or to the purity of his Morality, they were so Superlative. Methinks he sometimes speaks like a Doctor of the New Law; rather than like a Man that was brought up in the Corruption of the Law of Nature: and that which perswades me that Hypocrisie had no share in what he said, is, That his Actions never bely'd his Maxims. In fine, his Gravity and Mildness in the Use of the World, his rigorous Abstinence, (for he pass'd for the soberest Man of the Empire) his Contempt

tempt of the Good Things of the World, that continual Attention and Watchfulness over his Actions, and then, what we find not amongst the Sages of Antiquity, his Humility and Modesty would make a Man apt to judge that he was not a meer Philosopher formed by Reason, but a Man inspired by God for the Reformation of this New World.

The *Chineses* report that he had frequently this saying in his Mouth, *It is in the West where the True Saint is found* : And this Sentence was so imprinted upon the Spirit of the Learned, that Sixty five years after the Birth of our Saviour, the Emperor *Mimti* touched with these words, and determined by the Image of a Man that appeared to him in a Dream coming from the *West*, sent Ambassadors that way, with strict order to continue their Journey till they should meet the Saint whom Heaven had acquainted him with.

It was much about the same time that St. *Thomas* preached the Christian Faith in the *Indies* ; now if these *Mandarins* had followed his Orders, peradventure *China* might have received benefit from the Preaching of this Apostle. But the danger of the Sea, that they feared, made them stop at the first Island, where they found the Idol *Fo*, or *Foe*, who had corrupted the *Indies* several years before with his damnable Doctrine : They learnt the Superstitions of the Country ; and at their return propagated Idolatry and Atheism in all the Empire.

Confucius lived secretly Three years, but spent the latter end of his days in Sorrow, in seeing the Wick- edness that reigned amongst the People. He has been often heard to say, *The Mountain is fallen, and an high Machine was destroyed* ; to denote that the grand Edi- fice of Perfection, that he had Erected with so much Care in all the Realms, was as good as overthrown. *Kings*, said he, one day during his last Sickness, do

206 *Of the Language, Characters, Books,*

not follow my Maxims ; I do no good in the World, so it is time I should depart out of it. At that very Moment he fell into a Lethargy, that continued Seven days, at the end of which he gave up the Ghost in the Embraces of his Disciples.

He was Lamented by the whole Empire, that from that very time honoured him as a Saint, and influenced Posterity with a Veneration of him, which in all probability will never have an end but with the World. Kings have built Palaces for him after his death in all the Provinces, whither the Learned at certain times go to pay him Honours. There is to be seen in several places, these Titles of Honour writ in huge Characters, *To the great Master, to the head Doctor, to the Saint ; to him who taught Emperors and Kings.* However, what is very extraordinary, never did the *Chineses* Deifie him ; they, I say, who have given the quality of God, or as they speak, the quality of pure Spirits to many *Mandarins*, not so eminent as he ; as if Heaven, that had given him Birth for the Reformation of Manners, was unwilling that such a well-ordered Life, should, after his death, administer occasion of Superstition and Idolatry.

They preserve to this day in *China* Anticks that represent him to the Life, and pretty well agree with what History hath left us concerning him. He was no handsom Man ; he had moreover upon his Forehead a Swelling, or a kind of Wen, that disfigured him, which he made others often to take notice of to humble him. As for the rest, his Stature was so comely and proportionable, his Behaviour so grave, his Voice so strong and shrill, that if he was but never so little pathological, one could not choose but be affected, and hear him with respect. But the Maxims of Morality he hath scattered here and there in his Works ; or which his Disciples took care to collect, draw a much more lively and advantagious Pourtraiture

traiture of his Soul. There would need an entire Volume to relate them all. Here are some of them that came to my knowledge, that I have taken out of a Book composed by one of the principle *Mandarins* of the Empire, who Rules at present in *Pekin*.

Maxim I.

Beauty is not to be desired by a wise Man.

Confucius going to see the King of a Province, he found him with his Favourite that was a Lord wonderful handsome. The King, so soon as he saw him come in, said to him smiling, *Confucius*, if thy Countenance could be changed, I would willingly give you all the Beauty of this young Courtier. Sir, answered the Philosopher, that is not the thing I wish; the exterior form of a Man is of little use to the Publick Good. What do you desire then, said the Prince? I desire, My Lord, says he, in all the Members of the Empire that just Symmetry that makes up the Beauty of the Government, and hinders the Body of the State to be deformed.

Maxim II.

A Man must confine himself, if he means to be happy.

So soon as he understood that his Mother was dead, he came into his Country to pay his last Devours to her, he wept for her bitterly, and spent three days without eating; that was perhaps too much, yet

208 *Of the Language, Characters, Books,*

a Philosopher of that Country thought it not enough. *As for me, says he, I have been seven days without taking Sustenance, upon the death of my Relations; and you, who are Grandson to a Saint, on whom all the World casts their Eyes to see how you will imitate him, you have satisfied your self with three days Abstinence. Confucius answered him, The Ceremonies have been regulated by the Ancients to restrain the indiscreet, and stir up the backward. It is our duty to be obedient to the Laws, if we would not go astray: It is in this golden mean, that Wisdom, and the wise Man reside? that you may never stray out of it. Remember that Vertue is not an excess, and that Perfection hath its limits.*

Maxim III.

A Man ought to change often, if he would be constant in Wisdom.

A Person of Quality said one day to *Confucius*, *Your Grandfather was never wanting in any duty of Civility in respect of great Persons; nevertheless his Doctrine, tho' holy, never obtain'd, or got footing: How do you imagine then that yours should be followed, seeing you have a Magisterial Gravity that repulses Men, and proceeds sometimes to haughtiness? This is not the way to be welcome at Princes Courts. Every Age hath its ways,* answered *Confucius*, *in my Grandfather's time Princes and Officers were polisht; they delighted in order, every one kept his Station; to insinuate a Man's self in their Affections, it behoved a Man to be polisht, and regular like them. At this day Men value nothing but Courage and Haughtiness, wherewith Princes endeavour to inspire their Officers; a Man ought to change with the World, that he may be in a*
capacity

capacity to win it : A wise man would cease so to be, should he always act as the wise men of former times acted.

Maxim IV.

The Grandees of a Kingdom are not always the great Men of the State.

Confucius coming to the Court of one of the Kings of *China*, was very well received. This Prince allowed him an Apartment in his Palace, and came to visit him there himself: At the end of the Visit, he said to him, *You come not for nothing into my State; probably you have a design to do me some good, My Lord,* replied *Confucius*. *I am but an unprofitable Man, yet I avow if your Majesty will but follow my Counsel, you will not be the worse for it. My intent is to present to you wise Men, to occupy the principle places of your State. Withal my heart, says the Prince, Who are they? My Lord, Li-in, the Son of a Husband-man is a Man on whom you may rely. The King burst out a laughing; How, says he, an Husband-man? I have not Employments enough for the Lords of my Court, and would you have me take a Labourer into my Service.*

The Philosopher, without being moved, replied; *Vertue is of all Trades and Conditions, although it is more commonly annex to a mean Condition: We have two Kingdoms in the Empire that have been founded by two Labourers*.*

What Inconvenience is there, tho' a

* *Tcheou-coum, and*

Cham-tcho.

Man of that Character govern yours?

Believe me, Sir, the Court hath hitherto supply'd you with a good Company of evil Ministers: Suffer a Country Village to present you with a wise Man. You want Employ-

ments, you say, to place all the Lords that encompass you. If Vertue alone were rewarded, you would find in your Court more places than Officers ; nay, and perhaps would be fain to call for Labourers to supply them. When the Body of the Nobility does not furnish the State with great Men, the great Men that may be found amongst the People must be chosen, and of them must be composed the Body of the Nobility.

Maxim V.

A small Fault often denotes great qualities.

He one day advised the King of *Ooui* to set a certain Officer of Reputation at the Head of his Army ; but the King excused himself for not doing it, because that being formerly a *Mandarin*, he took a couple of Eggs from a Country Fellow. *A Man who hath abused his Authority, says he, deserves not any longer to command. These Sentiments of Equity, replied Confucius, are very laudable in a King ; but perhaps the Mandarins Moderation, that stole but two Eggs, is no less to be admired. Such a small fault in the whole Life of a Man denotes in him great qualities : In a word, a prudent Prince makes use of his Subjects in the Government, as a Carpenter uses Timber in his Works, he does not reject one good Beam, because there is a flaw in it, provided it be strong enough to support a whole Edifice : I would not advise your Majesty, for the loss of a couple of Eggs, to turn off a Captain, who may conquer you two Realms.*

Maxim

Maxim VI.

The Prince is void of Counsel who bath too much Wit , and when he delivers his Opinion the first.

The same King one day held a Counsel in presence of *Confucius* , where he spoke of some Affairs with so much vehemence of Spirit, that his Ministers applauded him, and forthwith allowed him to be in the right , and comply'd with him without more ado. At the close, this King said to *Confucius* ; *What's your Judgment of the course we have taken in our last Deliberation? Sir, says the Philosopher, I do not perceive that they have yet deliberated; you spoke with a great deal of Wit; your Ministers very attentive to please you, have faithfully repeated the Discourse; they have told your Opinion, and not their own; and when you adjourned the Assembly, I still expected the beginning of the Counsel.*

Some days after the same King asked him his Advice concerning the present Government. He answered him ; *No body speaks ill of it. That is my desire, says the King. And that, Sir, is what you ought not to desire, reply'd Confucius : A sick Person forsaken, whom they flatter that he is well, is not far from death : a Man is bound to discover to the Prince the defects of the Mind, with the same liberty Men discover to him the maladies of the Body.*

Maxim VII.

The wise Man goes forward apace, because the right way is always the shortest; on the contrary, the crafty Politician arrives later at his end, because he walks in By-ways and crooked Paths.

The King of Ouei confessed to Confucius, That there was nothing so fine as Wisdom; but the difficulty of acquiring it, discouraged the most Courageous, and diverted the best disposed Minds. *As for my part, added he, I have used endeavours, but all in vain; I am resolved to torment my self no longer about it, and a small parcel of Policy will supply the defect of that Wisdom that is necessary to good Governing.* Sir, answered Confucius, 'tis true, *Wisdom is seated on a lofty Place, but the Road to it is not so impracticable as People imagine, it grows plainer and plainer, according as you go on; and once got at it, one cannot go back without running great danger to fall down the Precipice; in such a sort, that a wise Man cannot cease being so, without doing violence to himself in some respect.*

But do you think that a Prince hath no trouble when he marches in the indirect Paths of a too Artificial and Knavish Policy? All these Refinements and Subtilties perplex the Spirit: But which is the way to unravel all these Intrigues? None engages in a Labyrinth without fear; oftentimes a man loseth himself therein; and when one gets out, it is after a great many wandrings, and mis-
sing

sing the way, that disquiets the Mind. Take you which way you please; as for me, Sir, I am perswaded that in a Popular Government, solid and constant Vertue goes farther than the most subtle and refined Policy.

Maxim VIII.

Those who desire the most perfect State, do not always search the Perfection of the State, but the Sweetness. Would you be fixt in the World? let this sink into your Mind, That to take up a new Course of Life, is nothing else but to pass from one Trouble to another.

The Son of a King being wrought upon by the Life that *Confucius* lead, perceived those first desires of Wisdom to spring up in his heart, that a good Education, and good Examples are wont to infuse into young Persons, when they have not been yet corrupted by the Commerce of the World. He went to find him out, and told him, That *he was resolved to abandon all things for to become one of his Disciples; for, the truth is, there are a thousand Sorrows to be undergone in that Course of Life, wherein my Birth engageth me; whereas yours seems to me full of Sweetness and Delight.*

Since 'tis the Sweetness you look for in my state, answered Confucius, I should not advise you to enter upon it: A Man often times meets with Trouble, the more he avoids it. Heaven hath inspired me with the love of a

214 *Of the Language, Characters, Books,*

Private Life, hath been pleased to make you to be born to Rule. Be a King, and do not seek after Peace too much: On the contrary, If you be not willing to lose your States, wage an advantageous War with your Enemies; but fight more courageously against your Passions, and against being in love with a sweet and easie Life, if you have not a mind to destroy your self.

Maxim IX.

Those who are diligent, and would do all, put off many things till the next day.

His own Son said to him one day, *I carefully apply my self to all sorts of study, I omit nothing whereby to become a good Scholar, and yet I make small progress. This wise Father said to him, Omit something, and you will make a great progress. Amongst all those that take long Journeys afoot, did you ever see one of them that ran? In all things one must go orderly to work, and not desire to embrace that which is not for the length of his Arms; otherwise you will give your self unprofitable motions. The Saints have first of all apply'd themselves to the most easie things; Success gave them courage and strength to grapple with more difficult things, by little and little they became perfect. Those, who like you, would do all in one day, do nothing all their Life: On the other hand, those who never apply themselves but to one thing, find at the long run that they have done all.*

Maxim X.

One ought not to wonder that the wise Man walks slower in the Way of Vertue, than the ill Man does in that of Vice; Passion hurries, and Wisdom guides.

One of his Friends complained of the small progress he made in Vertue; I labour, said he, these several years to imitate the Primitive Saints, and I am still imperfect. Had I but never so little applyed my self to imitate the Wicked, and follow their Example, I should have rid a great deal of Ground in a short space: Why is it not so easie to attain to Perfection, as to abandon ones self to Vice?

This is no wonder, says Confucius, Vertue is on high, and Vice is in the lowest place. It requires pains and time to go upward, one Minute sufficeth to fall down the Precipice. However, let me intreat you not to let your self be abused by this seeming easiness. It is true, that one is sooner determin'd to evil than to good; but seeing one repents of it at length, it is a certain sign that there is less trouble to do well, than to persevere in evil.

Maxim XI.

True Nobility does not consist in Blood, but in Merit; we are of an elevated Station indeed, when Vertue prevents our groveling with the rest of Mankind.

Confucius seeing a Man carry a Fish, sigh'd, and told them who demanded the Reason of it; This Fish,

that might have easily preserved its life, hath lost it notwithstanding, for letting it self be allured by the pleasures of a deceitful Bait. The want of Reason pleads for its greediness; but are Men excusable for to lose Vertue that is much more precious than Life, in letting themselves be catched by the Baits that the Good Things and Vanity of the World presents them with? If one knew, what he lookt after, he would take another Road to find it. Would you be rich? contemn every thing, nay, even the Contempt and Scorn Men cast upon you: That Man is raised to a pitch far above others, when Calumny and Reproaches cannot reach him.

Maxim XII.

In the state wherein we are, Perseverance in well-doing consists not so much in not falling, as to rise again as often as we fall.

You are very happy, Confucius, says some Mandarins that he instructed, for having arrived at the highest degree of Vertue; It is a long time, Ple warrant you, since you left sin: As for us, what Efforts soever we make to become good Men, there passes not a day but we commit considerable Faults. Although every fault be blameable, says Confucius, you are not so unhappy as you think in committing many: your Life, as well as mine, is a long Journey; the way is difficult, and our Reason half extinct by Passions, furnishes but little Light to guide us: What means is there to avoid stumbling sometimes in the dark? When one gets up again, the fall retards our Journey, but does not quite put it off and interrupt it. It would be an unhappiness for us, to commit no more but one, like the wicked that fall but once, because the first Precipice stops them; but honest good Men that continue their walking, fall often.

Maxim

Maxim XIII.

There is not that Man living but hides half of his Faults ; however, as much flattered as he is, he would blush to appear to the Eyes of others, what he appears to himself.

One complained one day, *That Nature in bestowing two Eyes upon Men to behold the Beauty of Bodies, had bestowed none on them that are able to see Minds, and discover the Secrets of Hearts : Thus Vertue and Vice, say they, are confounded in the World.*

Confucius said, you and I should be in a woful taking, if we were not cut short as to that matter, for we should not secure our own Failings and Weaknesses, we gain more by it than you are aware of ; for I maintain that the Philosopher would suffer more to appear weak, than the wicked Man to appear vicious.

Maxim XIV.

Never speak of your self to others, neither good nor bad ; not good, because they will not believe you ; not evil, because they know more already than you would have them.

Thus he spoke one day to his Disciples, who took a pride ever and anon to blame themselves : To which he added,

For

218 *Of the Language, Characters, &c.*

For a Man to confess his Faults, when he is reprov'd for them, is Modesty.

To lay them open to his Friend, is Ingenuity, is Confidence.

To reprove himself for them, is Humility.

But to go preach them to every body, is, if one have not a great care, a piece of Pride.

By this Scantling of *Confucius* his Philosophy you may judge, *My Lord*, that Reason is of all Times, and of all Places. *Seneca* hath spoken nothing better; and had I the leisure, as I have a Design to make an intire Collection of the Maxims of our Philosopher, peradventure there might be whatsoever might be requisite to give him a place amongst our Sages of Antiquity. I wish at least, *My Lord*, that the Pourtraiture I have offer'd, may not displease you; were he still alive at this day, as much a Philosopher as he is, I am sure he would be sensible of the Approbation you should afford him. Such a Testimony as yours, always clear, always sincere, must needs do a kindness to the greatest Men. Perhaps, hitherto in *France* they have not a due Estimate of the *Idea* all the *East* have of him, but so soon as you shall please to honour him with your Esteem, every Body will be perswaded that Antiquity hath not flattered him, and that *China*, in chosing him for a Master and a Doctor, hath done Justice to his Merit. I am with a most profound respect,

My Lord,

Your Grace's most humble

and most obedient Servant

L. J.

LET.

L E T T E R VIII.

*To my Lord Philipeaux Secretary
of State.*

*Of the particular Character of the Wit
and Temper of the Chineses.*

My Lord,

IF in this Letter, which I have the honour to write to you, I confine my self to what relates to the particular Character and *Genius* of the *Chineses*, it is not but that I know the Obligation wherein I stand, to give you an exact Account of all the other Things we are acquainted with in our Voyages ; yet I supposed that I could not more fitly begin to discharge this Duty, than by entertaining you, at the first sight, with that which naturally ought to be more pleasant to you ; a Captain would more willingly hear a Discourse of Wars, and of the Bravery of the *Tartars*, and a Courtier of the Gentility of the *Chineses* ; but when a Man has such extraordinary Parts as you have, and is Heir to a Family that hath always signalized it self by its insight into Sciences, and penetration in the management of the most important Affairs, I was apt to believe that

one

one could not treat of a Subject that can be more proper, and more delightful to you.

Of all the People of the habitable World, there is not any one that does not stand upon Wit and Ingenuity, and oftentimes the most barbarous prefer themselves before the most polite and accomplisht. The Inhabitants of the *Cape of Good Hope*, whom we cannot represent to our selves, but with a kind of horreur, whom we can scarce give our selves leave to rank amongst Men, do nevertheless look upon the *Europeans* as Slaves, and look upon the *Hollanders* as no other than a Company of stupid Fellows, not versd in the method of Government. The People of *Siam*, whose Physiognomy is well enough known in *France*, who have, in respect of the *Indies*, Souls adapted to their Bodies, do usually say, That Heaven, in distributing its Benefits and Natural Qualities, hath granted to the *French* the Bravery and Science of War; to the *English* the Art of Navigation; to the *Hollanders* a particular knack in Trading; to the *Chinese* the Wisdom of Well-governing, but that it hath given Wit to the People of *Siam*. Had not they intimated it to us, perhaps we should not have made such a Reflection, and it is a Discovery that we owe to them. After all this, we must not wonder if the *Chinese*, who term all the People of the *East* blind, have reserved to themselves the Preheminence, and have believed themselves to be, without all dispute, the most intelligent Nation in the World.

There is no question to be made but they are an ingenious People, but methinks no Body yet hath been truly acquainted with their Character. To see their Libraries, Universities, the prodigious number of their Doctors, their Observatories, and the care they take to be exact in their Observations, one would be apt to conclude, That this Nation is not
only

only ingenious, but perfectly well vers'd in all sorts of Sciences, that they have a vast reach, invention, and a *genius* for every thing. Nevertheless, albeit for these Four thousand years, they have allowed Recompences to learned and expert Men; and tho' the Fortune of an infinite number of Men depends upon their good Parts, yet have they not had one single Man, of great Atchievements in Speculative Science: They have detected all these precious Mines, without ever seeking for them themselves: Enjoying peaceably for so many Ages, the Reputation of the most Knowing Men in the World, because they see no Body more Ignorant than themselves.

So that I suppose I may safely aver, without offering them any Injury, That amongst the Qualities wherewith Heaven hath respectively enriched the People of the World, they have not shewed that Spirit of Penetration and Nicety, so necessary to those who addict themselves to the re-search of Nature. That Logick which we have so much improved, that Geometry that we in *France* have brought to such a high degree of Perfection, which may pass for the Master-piece of Humane Understanding, will never get admittance into their Academies; and maugre all the Natural Pride that possesses them, they will not stick to confess, That as to these Matters, the *Europeans* will in all Humane probability be their Masters.

It is true a Philosophy they have; it is likewise true that they lay down certain Principles for the explaining the Composition of Bodies, their Propriety, their Effects. Neither are they altogether ignorant in Anatomy; nay, they grant a Circulation of the Blood and Humours; but all their Notions are so general, contused, and generally so false, that I am afraid in this place to particularize them.

Their

Their Arithmetick is more perfect, altho' they do not make use of the Cypher, as we do, which is notwithstanding a great help. They do not practise the Rules of Arithmetick by Calculation; but they use an Instrument composed of a little Board a Foot and an half long, cross which they score Ten or Twelve little parallel Lines, or Sticks, upon which are strung several moveable Buttons, by putting them together, or by separating them one from another, they reckon, almost as we do, by Counters; but with such great dexterity and easiness, that they will keep pace with a Man, let him read a Book of Accompts never so fast. At the end they find the Operation performed, and want not a certain way to prove it.

Their Geometry is very Superficial, it is restrained to a very few Propositions, and to some Problems of *Algebra*, which they resolve without Elements or Principles, and that only by Induction.

They pretend to be the Inventers of Musick, and to have heretofore carried it to its *Acme* of Perfection: But either they are mistaken, or they have quite lost it; for that they practice at this day is so imperfect, that it does not so much as deserve the Name of Musick.

As for Astronomy, it must be confest that never did People in the World addict themselves so constantly to it. This Science is beholding to them for abundance of Observations; but the History that reports them in general, hath not been careful to descend to particulars, which would be necessary for the reaping all the benefit such Elucidations seem to promise. However, it hath not been unprofitable to Posterity. We have above Four hundred Observations, as well of the Eclipses and Comets, as Conjunctions, that make good their Chronology, and may conduce to the perfecting of ours.

Altho'

Altho' their Tables were imperfect, yet have they been very serviceable to regulate the Time; but after a certain continuance of years, their Astronomers were obliged to make some Amendments therein, because they did not exactly agree with the Heavens till the beginning of this Century, that they attained some Skill in our Astronomy. The *Europeans* since have every way reformed their Kalendar, which Business has made them so famous, and so necessary in that State, that nothing hath so much contributed to settle Religion in that Country, and also to defend it in the various Circumstances of Persecution it hath lain under.

If *China* hath been deficient in excellent Mathematicians; they have at least had perfect Astrologers; because for the well succeeding in judicious Astrology, it sufficeth to be an able Deceiver, and to have a knack of Lying handsomly, which no Nation can dispute with *China*. There have been for this many Ages cheating Mountabanks by Profession, who promise, by the insight they have in the Motion and Influence of the Stars, the Philosophers Stone, and Immortality, they mark in the Almanack every year, the good and bad days for Building, Marriages, for undertaking Journeys and Voyages, and for such like Actions, the Success whereof depends more upon the Wisdom and Discretion of Men, than upon the Influence of the Heavens.

The Missionaries fearing lest they might ascribe these Fooleries and ridiculous Superstitions to them, because they make them the Authors of the Kalendar, thought themselves obliged to make a publick Declaration how little hand they have in the Matter, they protested that they absolutely condemned them: And the Emperor, that is not subject to these Weaknesses, was willing they should explain themselves, as to that business, for his particular Satisfaction.

Me-

Medicine hath not been quite neglected and laid aside; but because they wanted Physicks, or Natural Philosophy and Anatomy, the Principles thereof, they never make any great progress therein; yet must it be confessed that they have acquired a particular skill in *Pulses*, that hath made them famous in the World. The Emperor *Hoamti* composed a Treatise of the same above Four thou-

* It is just 4392 years.

sand years ago *. Ever since that time the Physicians of *China* have lookt upon that Science as the Foundation of all Medicine.

They feel the Pulse after such a manner as would make a Man smile that is not accustomed to it. After they have apply'd their four Fingers along the Artery, and have prest strongly and uniformly the Patients Wrist, they relax their Finger by degrees, till the Blood that was stopt by the pressing, hath retaken its usual Course; then, a moment after, they begin again to press the Arm close, which they continue a considerable time; after that, just like Men that intended to touch the fret of a Musical Instrument, they raise and fall their Fingers successively one after another, pinching softly, or hard, sometimes slower, sometimes faster, till such time as the Artery answers to the Touches which the Physician moves, and till the Strength, Weakness, Disorder, and other Symptoms of the Pulse be manifest.

They pretend that there never happens any extraordinary Accident in the Constitution, but does alter the Blood, and consequently causes a different impression upon the Vessels. It is not so much by Reasoning and Arguing that they are instructed in this Point, as by a long Experience, which much better discovers to them all these wonderful Changes than Theory and Speculation.

When

When they have a long time been attentive to the Voice of Nature, that explains it self by the Beatings of the Pulse, they perfectly and truly perceive those Differences, which otherwise seem imperceptible. The *Perwigilium* and Lethargy, Loss of Appetite, or Desire to Eat, the Head-ach, Weakness of Stomach, Fulness or Emptiness; all these, are the Cause or the Effect of some Distemper in the Mass of Blood.

So that its Motion will be at that time less frequent or quicker, fuller or weaker, uniform or irregular. Sometimes there will be an Undulation or Trembling, caused by the Ebullition of the whole Mass of the Humours; which may be perceived like to a Bell that trembles after it hath been rung; sometimes also the Artery will not beat a stroke, but will swell by little and little. By pressing it, one will moreover be able to perceive several Effects that do not declare themselves to the bare touch; for at that time the Course of the Circulation, which is suspended or lessened, which begins again immediately after, with more force, will give occasion to judge variously and differently of the Disposition of the Heart, of the Fermentation there performed, of the Quality of the Blood there prepared, of the Obstacles that impede its passages, of Gross and Crude Matter that over-charges it, of the Nature of the Spirits that too much rarifie it, and precipitate Transpiration. The *Chinese* Physicians pretend to have, by a long Experience distinguished all these Differences of Pulses, and to have been able to know all the Distempers that are incident thereto; so that they hold the Patient's Hand a quarter of an hour at least; sometimes the right, sometimes the left, and sometimes both of them at the same time. And after all, as if they were inspired, they play the Prophet; *You were never troubled with the Head-ach, say they, but*

Q

with

The particular Character of the

with an Heaviness that hath made you drowsie; or else you have lost your Appetite, you will recover it again within Three days precisely. This Evening, about Sunset, your Head will be freer; your Pulse indicates pain in the Belly, without you have eaten such or such Meat; This Indisposition will last five days, after which it will cease. And so for other Symptoms of the Malady which they find out, or prognosticate pretty exactly, when they are expert in the Science; for, as for others, they are commonly false Prophets.

It is not to be questioned, after all these Testimonies we have, but that in this respect they have something extraordinary, nay, and even wonderful: However, a Man should always mistrust them, and one cannot be too much upon his guard against them, because they make use of all means imaginable to get themselves secretly instructed concerning the Patient's Condition before they visit them. Nay, they are so cunning (to get themselves Reputation) as to feign a kind of Distemper, which sometimes they themselves procure afterward. A Person told me, that sending for a Physician, and a Chyrurgeon to cure him of a Wound, one of them told him, *That the Malady was occasioned by a small Worm that was insinuated into the Flesh, which would infalibly produce a Gangreen, if by some Remedy or other it were not fetch'd out: That he was the only Man in all the Country that had this Arcanum, and would put it in practice for his sake, provided he would not grudge him a considerable Sum of Money.* The sick Person promised him he would not; and paid him part of it before-hand. But this cheating Sophister, after divers unprofitable Medicines, entangled at last a little Worm in his Plaister, which he pull'd out an hour after in triumph, as if it came out of the very Wound. His Companion, that gain'd nothing by the management of this Business, afterward detected
it,

it, but it was too late; and the Chyrurgeon comforted up himſelf more eaſily for the loſs of his Reputation, than the ſick Perſon for the loſs of his Money.

However the Caſe may ſtand as to the Capacity of the *Chineſe* Phyſicians, yet certain it is, that they Predict the Diſtemper eaſier than they Cure it; and Men dye in their hands as they do elſewhere. They prepare their own Remedies, that ordinarily conſiſt of Pills; thereafter as they are prepared, they are either Sudoriſick, purge the Blood and Humours, fortifie the Stomach, ſuppreſs Vapours; or are Reſtringent, diſpoſe to Evacuation; but ſeldom work by Stool. They do not let Blood, nor know the Clyſter, but ſince they have had Correſpondence with the Phyſicians of *Macao*. They do not diſapprove the Remedy, but name it *The Remedy of the Barbarians*. They apply Cupping-Glaſſes not only upon the *Scapulæ*, but alſo upon the Belly, to aſſwage the pain of the Colick.

They are in a manner all perſwaded, that the majority of Diſeaſes are cauſed by malignant and corrupted Wind that have ſlipt into the Muſcles, and do ill affect all the Parts of the Body: The moſt ſure means to diſſipate them, is to apply, in different places, red hot Needles, or Buttons of Fire: This is their ordinary Remedy. One day a *Chineſe* ſaid to me, ſeeming to be ſurpriſed at it, alluding to Phlebotomy, *They treat you in Europe with the Sword, but here they martyr us by fire; this Mode will probably never alter, becauſe Phyſicians feel not the Miſchief they do us, and are no worſe paid for tormenting of us, than for curing us.*

I cannot tell whether or no they might have learnt this violent Remedy of the *Indians*; or whether the *Indians* themſelves might not have received it from

The particular Character of the

the *Chinese* Physicians ; but they pretend in the *Indies* that Fire cures all Diseases: This Perswasion they persisting in, makes every day a great many miserable Persons, whom they Cauterize upon the slightest inconvenience.

Yet there be some Maladies that are not curable, but by that means. The People of the Country, but especially the Slaves, are much troubled with a violent Colick, which the *Portuguese* call *Mordetchin*, occasioned by the indigestion of the Stomach, and accompanied, for the most part, with continual Vomitings; the Gripes it produceth are cruel, and the Grief and Angish often deprives them of their Wits. This Grief is infallibly mortal, if they do not remedy it after the following manner: They lightly apply an Iron-peal red hot to the Soles of the Feet; if the Patient shews no signs of feeling, they pass no farther, and he is cured: if he be insensible of this first Operation, they lay it on harder, and still continue to press the Peal, burning unmercifully to the very Bone, without desisting till the Patient complain, which puts an end to the Malady and Remedy. But if the Fire, how violent soever, makes not it self be felt, they despair of healing, and in a short time the Patient dies.

Amongst all the *China* Remedies there are none so much esteemed as Cordials; they are provided with all sorts of them, and very natural ones; for they consist for the most part of Herbs, Leaves, and Roots. Their Simples are numerous; and if the People of the Country may be believed, they have all of them Sovereign and Experienced Virtues. I brought along with me hither near Four hundred, designed in their natural Colours and Figure, according to those the Emperor caused to be painted for his Closet. Father *Visdclou*, one of the six Jesuits his Majesty sent thither

ther *Anno* 1685. is very intent upon the Translation of the *Chinese* Herbal ; wherein are all the Vertues and Qualities of all those Plants explained. This Father, who hath accomplisht himself in the Knowledge of Books, will thereto add particular Reflexions of his own ; and I make no question but what he supplys us with thereupon, will enrich our Botany, and satisfie the Ingenious and Curious.

Amongst these Simples there are two that I may speak of before hand: The first is the Leaf of * *Thee*, as they call it in *China*; they are much divided in their Opinions touching the Properties they ascribe to it. Some do maintain that it hath admirable ones ; others, that it is but a phancy and meer whim of the *Europeans*, that are always doters on Novelties, and put a value upon that which they do not understand ; In that, as in all other things where Men do not agree, I believe there is a *medium* to be taken.

* *Thee* is a corrupt word of the Province of *Fokien*, it must be called *Tcha*, it is the term of the Mandarin Language.

In *China* they are subject neither to Gout, Sciatica, nor Stone ; and many imagine that *Thee* preserves against all these Distempers. The *Tartars* that feed upon raw Flesh, fall sick, and suffer continual Indigestions so soon as ever they give over drinking of it ; and that they may have plenty of it, they bargain to furnish the Emperour with almost all the Horses that serve to remount his Cavalry ; when any one is troubled with a *Vertigo* that over-charges the Brain, he finds himself extreamly relieved so soon as he accustoms himself to *Thee*. In *France* there are abundance of People that find it good for the Gravel, Crudities, Head-aches ; and there are who pretend to have been cured of the Gout by it, almost miraculously ; so quick and sensible has been its effect. All this proves that *Thee* is no Chimera, and Con-

The particular Character of the

ceit. Nay, some after drinking of it sleep the better, which argues that it is not proper to suppress Fumes: Some there be who never take it after Meals, without experiencing mischievous Effects; their Digestion is interrupted and disturbed; and they find along time after Crudities, and a troublesome Repletion. Others find no benefit by it neither in Gout nor Sciatica. A great many say that it dries, makes lean, and that it obstructs; and that if there be any good qualities in it, the most part of other leaves would in a manner produce the same effect. These Experiments evince that its Virtue is not so Universal as People imagine.

So that in my opinion, one should speak moderately of it, both as to its good and bad qualities. Perhaps warm Water alone is a good Medicine against Distempers, the cure of which they attribute to *Thee*: And there are several People that are exempt from many Inconveniencies because they are used to drink warm Liquors. Nevertheless it is certain that *Thee* is of a corrosive nature, for it attenuates hard Victuals where-with it is boiled, and consequently is proper for digestion, that is to say for dissolution. That very thing proves that it resists Obstructions, and that Liquors impregnated with its Particles or Salts, carry off, and more easily separate all that which adheres to the Tunicks of the Vessels. This very quality is proper to consume superfluous Humours, to put into motion those that stagnate and corrupt, to evacuate others, that cause the Gout and Sciatica: So that *Thee*, with caution, is a very good Remedy, altho' it be not so effectual, nor universal, but that the temperament of certain Persons, the height of the Distemper, together with certain occult Dispositions, may many times retard the Effect, or even frustrate its Virtue.

To use it with benefit, it is requisite to know it, for there is more than one sort of it. That of the Province

vince of *Chensi* is course, harsh, and unpleasant. The *Tartars* drink of it: There is necessary to them a stronger *Menstruum* than to the *Chineses*, by reason of the crude Flesh they feed on. It is exceeding cheap in the Country, and a pound of it will cost Three pence. In this same Province there is found a particular Species of it, more resembling Moss, than the Leaves of a Tree; and they pretend that the oldest is of excellent use in Acute Distempers. They likewise administer to sick People a third sort, whose Leaves are very long and thick, and its goodness increases in proportion to its being kept; but that is not the *Thee* in use.

That which they commonly drink in *China*, hath no particular Name, because it is gather'd hand over head in different Territories and Soils: It is good, the Infusion is reddish, the Taste faint and somewhat bitter: The People use it indifferently at all hours of the day, and it is their most usual drink.

But Persons of Quality use two other kinds that are in request in *China*. The first is called *Thee Soum-lo*; it is the name of the Place where it is gathered; the Leaves are somewhat long, the Infusion clear and green when it is fresh, the Taste pleasant; it smells, as they say in *France*, a little of Violets, but this Taste is not natural; and the *Chineses* have often assured me, that to be good, it ought to have no Taste at all. This is that they commonly present at Visits; but it is exceeding corrosive; perhaps the Sugar they mix with it here corrects its Acrimony; but in *China*, where it is drunk pure, too great a use of it would be apt to spoil the Stomach.

The second kind is called *Thee Voüi*; the Leaves that are little, and inclining to black, tinge the Water with a yellow Colour. The Taste is delicious, and the weakest Stomach agrees with it at all times. In winter it is to be used temperately, but in Summer

The particular Character of the

one cannot drink too much. It is especially good in Sweating, after Travelling, Running, or any other violent Exercise. They give of it also to sick People; and those who have any Care of their Health, drink no other. When I was at *Siam*, I heard them often talk of the Flower of *Thee*, of Imperial *Thee*, and of several other sorts of *Thee*, the price of which was yet more extraordinary than the Properties they ascribe to it: but in *China* I heard no such thing.

Generally speaking, that the *Thee* may excel, it ought to be gathered early, when the Leaves are yet small, tender and juicy. They begin commonly to gather it in the Months of *March* and *April*, according as the Season is forward; they afterward expose them to the steam of boiling Water to soften them again; so soon as they are penetrated by it, they draw them over Copper-plates kept on the fire, which dries them by degrees, till they grow brown, and rowl up of themselves in that manner we see them. If the *Chineses* were not such great Cheats, their *Thee* would be better; but they oftentimes mix other Herbs with it, to swell the size at a small charge, and so get more Money by it: So that it is a rare thing to meet with any purely without mixture.

It commonly grows in Valleys, and at the foot of Mountains; the choicest grows in stony Soils; that which is planted in light Grounds holds the second rank. The least of all is found in yellow Earth; but in what place soever it is cultivated, care must be taken to expose it to the South; it gets more strength by that, and bears Three years after being sown. Its Root resembles that of a Peach Tree, and its Flowers resemble white wild Roses. The Trees grow of all sizes, from two foot to an hundred, and some are to be met with that two Men can scarce grasp in their Arms; this is what the *Chinese* Herbal relates. But this is what I have seen,

Entring

Entering upon the Province of *Fokien*, they first made me observe *Thee* upon the declining of a little Hill ; it was not above five or six foot high, several Stalks, each of which was an inch thick, joyned together, and divided at the top into a many small Branches, composed a kind of Cluster, much what like our Myrtle. The Trunk, tho' seemingly dry, yet bore very green Branches and Leaves. These Leaves were drawn out in length at the point, pretty strait, an inch, or an inch and an half long, and indented in their whole Circumference. The oldest seemed somewhat white without, they were hard, brittle, and bitter. The new ones, on the contrary, were soft, plyable, reddish, smooth, transparent, and pretty sweet to the Taste, especially after they had been a little chewed.

- It being the Month of *September*, I found three sorts of Fruit. In the new Branches there were little slimy Pease, green without, and full of yellow Grains within. In others, the Fruit is as big as Beans, but of different Figures ; some round, containing a Pea ; others drawn out in length, that contained two ; some others of a Triangular Figure, bore three, very like to those that bear the Tallow-grain, so famous in *China*. The first Membrane or Skin wherewith these Grains are infolded, is green, very thick, and somewhat even. The second is white, and thinner ; under which a third very fine Pellicle covers a kind of Gland, or small Nut perfectly round, that sticks to the Bark by a little Fibre, from whence it derives its Nourishment. When this Fruit is young, it hath bitterness in it ; but a day or two after it has been gathered, it withers, grows long, and yellow, and wrinkles even like an old Hazel Nut ; at length it becomes unctious and very bitter. Besides that, I found a third sort of hard, old Fruits, the first Skin of which, between open and shut, shewed within a hard
bark,

The particular Character of the

bark, brittle, and altogether resembling that of a Chestnut. After I had broken it, scarce did I find any sign of Fruit, so dry and flat was it grown. In some others the same Fruit was pulverized; in others was found a little Nut quite dried up, and covered with its first Pellicle.

Amongst these Fruits, a great number of them have no Germ or Bud, which they call Females; those that have any may be sown, and produce Trees: but the *Chineses* do commonly make use of Grasses to plant. The better to understand the nature of this Tree, I had the Curiosity to taste the Bark of the Trunk and Branches. I chewed likewise some of the Wood and Fibres; both of them seemed to me not to have any bitterness, nay, at least, I found a pretty taste of Liquorish, but scarce discernable, and is not discovered till after making some reflexion upon it. Altho' this particular Account may displease those that are not concerned in the Knowledge of Plants, yet I am sure that the more Curious could wish a more Specifical Account, as the delicate mixture of Colours in the Flower, the orderly disposition of their Fibres, the conformation of the small Branches and Roots, and a thousand other Particulars relating to the Anatomy of them; but that is the business of time and leisure: I had but a quarter of an hour to examine the Tree of which I have the honour to write to you.

There is in *China* another Simple much less common than *Thee*, and upon that very account more valued, which they call *Gin-sem*: *Gin* signifies a Man, and *Sem* a Plant, or Simple, as much as to say, *The Humane Simple*, the Simple that resembles a Man. Those who till this time have given another construction to these words are excusable, because they do not understand the Emphasis of the *Chinese* Characters, which do alone contain the true signification
of

of terms: The Learned give it abundance of other Names in their Writings, that sufficiently declare how much they set by it; as the Spirituous Simple, the pure Spirit of the Earth, the Fat of the Sea, the *Panacea*, and the Remedy that dispenses Immortality, and several others of that Nature.

It is a Root as thick as half the little finger, and as long again. It is divided into two Branches, which makes a Figure pretty like a Man with his two Legs; its Colour inclines to yellow, and when it is kept any time it grows wrinkled, and dry'd like Wood; the Leaves it shoots forth are little, and terminate in a point; the Branches are black, the Flower violet, and the Stalk covered with hair; they say that it produces but one of them; that this Stalk produces three Branches, and that each Branch bears the Leaves by fours and fives; it grows in the shade, in a moist Soil, yet so slowly, that it comes not to perfection till after a long term of years. It is commonly found under a Tree called *Kia-chu*, little differing from the Sycomore. Altho' they fetch it from several places, yet the best came heretofore from *Pet-cij*. That which is at this day in use is taken in *Leautom*, a Province depending upon *China*, and situate in the Oriental *Tartary*.

Of all Cordials, according to the *Chineses* opinion, there are none comparable to *Gin-sem*; it is sweet and delightful, altho' there be in it a little smack of bitterness: Its effects are marvellous; it purifies the Blood, fortifies the Stomach, adds motion to a languid Pulse, excites the Natural Heat, and withal augments the Radical Moisture. Physicians never know how to make an end when they specify its Virtues, and have whole Volumes of its different uses. I have a Collection of their Receipts that I should report intire in this place, if I were not afraid to be tedious, and trespass upon your Patience. I may print
them

The particular Character of the

them at last, together with a great many Treatises relating to Physick or Medicine of the *Chineses*. I shall only add, to what I have but now spoken, the usual Course they take in Distempers attended with Faintness and Swowning, whether it proceeds from some Accident, or from old Age.

Take a Dram of this Root, (you must begin with a little Dose, and may increase it afterward, according to the Effect the former Doses shall produce) dry it before the fire in a Paper, or infuse it in Wine, till it be imbued and penetrated by it; then cut it in little pieces with your Teeth (and not with a Knife, Iron diminishing its Virtue) and when it is calcined, take the Powder in form of a Bolus, in warm Water or Wine, according as your Distemper will permit. This will be an excellent Cordial, and by continuing it you will find your self sensibly fortified.

Take also the same quantity of *Gin-sem*, or more if you be extream weak, and when you have divided it into little pieces, infuse it in half a Glass full of boiling Water, or else you may boil it with the Water it self; the Water, if you drink it, will have the same effect. The Root may serve a second time, but it abates of its force. They likewise make Broths of it, Electuaries, Lozenges, and Syrups, which are excellent Remedies for all sorts of Distempers.

They have also another Root which the *Portuguese* in the *Indies* call *Pao-China*, which is an excellent Sudorifick, very proper to purge the Humours and corrupted Blood; but the Description of all these Simples would make me deviate too much, and is not proper for such a short Letter as this.

The Physicians of *China* do not employ Apothecaries for the Composition of their Medicines, they prescribe and give them at the same time themselves.

Some

Sometimes in the Patients Chamber, when it may be conveniently done; and sometimes in their own Houses. They think it strange the *Europeans* should act otherwise, and that they commit the principal point of the Cure to Men that are not concerned in curing them; and are not solicitous about the goodness of the Drugs, provided they get rid of them to their advantage. But there is another disorder in *China* a great deal more dangerous than that they lay to our charge; and that is, That there, every Body is admitted to practise Physick, like other Mechanick Arts, without Examination or Taking their Degrees. So that a pitiful Fellow, that knows not where to put his Head, studies perhaps a Physick Book two or three Months, and sets up for a Doctor *cum privilegio* at the Expence of the Patient's Life, whom he chooseth to kill, rather than be forced to starve himself for lack of Employment. The Vulgar, tho' ill served by them, take a strong phansy for these Pickpockets; and they would reprove themselves for their Covetousness, when they are indisposed, if they did not dye, or cause their Relations to dye some other way, than by the way of Nature.

Yet some of them you shall have confess their Fault when it is too late; and I remember that an Inhabitant of the City of *Soutcheou*, losing his Daughter more through the Ignorance of the Physician, than by the Power of the Disease, was so enraged, that he caused a Paper to be printed, wherein the bad Conduct of the pretended Doctor was laid open with several Reflections tending to decry him; he affixt Copies of it in all the publick Places, and caused of them to be distributed to the principal Houses of the City. This Revenge, or, as he termed it, this Zeal for the Publick Good, had the Effect he promised himself. The Physician lost, together with his Reputation, all his Practice, and was reduc'd to
fo

The particular Character of the

so great an Extremity, that he quickly found himself not in a Condition to kill any Body.

The *Chineses* that are mean Proficients in Sciences, succeed much better in Arts; and tho' they have not brought them to that degree of Perfection we see them in *Europe*, yet know they in this respect not only what is necessary for the common use of Life, but also whatever may contribute to Convenience, Neatness, Commerce, and even to well-regulated Magnificence: They would have got a great deal farther, had not the form of Government, that hath prescribed Bounds to the Expences of private Persons, put a stop to them. The Workmen are extraordinary industrious, and if they be not so good at invention as we, yet do they easily comprehend our Inventions, and imitate it so and so. There is made in several places of the Empire Glasse, Watches, Pistols, Bombs, and a great company of Pieces of Workmanship that they may thank us for; but they have had time out of mind Gun-powder, Printing, and the Use of the Compass, which are Novel Arts in *Europe*, for which perhaps we are obliged to them.

They divide the Compass in 24 parts only, whereas we describe 32; they evermore imagined that the Needle did every where shew the true place of the Pole, and by divers Experiments which we made before them, they have observed some Variation and Declension: The Loadstone is found almost in every Province; it comes also to them from *Japan*: but the grand use they make of it is in Physick; 'tis bought by weight, and the best are not sold for above Eight pence or Ten pence an Ounce. I have brought one with me an Inch and an half thick, which tho' indifferently guarded, takes up nevertheless Eleven pound weight; it will raise Fourteen or Fifteen when it is right fixt. In fine, they are very dex-

dexterous in cutting them ; for in *France*, tho' they bring them into all Figures, yet it is not without great labour and cost. They cut mine in *Nankin* in less than two hours ; the Engine they make use of to that purpose is a plain one ; and if our Workmen would use it, they would abridge their Labour. I supposed, *Sir*, that you would not be unwilling to see the Figure of it, of which see here the Explanation.

It is composed of two Jaumbs three or four foot high, Arch-like, with two Strings like a Setting-iron, and parted by a Board or Shingle, which goes cross to it, and closed by a Mortise in the Lee-board. On the head of the Jaumbs is set flat a little Rolling-pin or Cylinder, of an Inch and an half diameter, which can turn circularly by means of a string rolled in the middle, whose two ends hanging are tied to a step, on the which the Workman sets his foot.

At one of the Extremities of the Cylinder a flat piece of Iron is fastned with Mastick by its Center, that piece of Iron is very thin, very round, and very sharp all about ; it is 8 Inches diameter, and moves with a great swiftness, according as the Steps are set high or low. In the mean time the Workman presents the Loadstone in one hand, and in the other the Mud made of a very fine Sand, which cools the Iron, and serves to cut the Stone ; but because the Iron, in going thorow the Sand, throws it about with violence, which might blind the Workman, care is taken to place just under it a little Blead, turned in the manner of a half Circle, which receiveth it and defends the Workman.

Navigation is another Point that shews the address of the *Chineses* ; we have not always been in *Europe* such able and adventurous Sailors as we are at present ; the Ancients were not so forward to venture them.

The particular Character of the

themselves upon the Seas, where it is necessary to lose the sight of Land for a long time together. The danger of being mistaken in their Calculation (for they had not then the use of the Compass) made all Pilots circumspect and wary.

There are some who pretend that the *Chineses*, a long time before the Birth of our Saviour Christ, had sailed all the Seas of *India*, and discovered the *Cape of Good Hope*: However it be, it is most certain that from all Antiquity they had always stout Ships; and albeit they have not perfected the Art of Navigation, no more than they have done the Sciences, yet did they understand much more of it than the *Greeks* and *Romans*; and at this day they sail as securely as the *Portuguese*.

These Vessels are like ours of all Rates, but the Model is not so fine; they are all flat-bottom'd; the Fore-castle is cut short without a Stem, the Stern open in the middle to the end, that the Rudder, which they shut up as in a Chamber, may be defended on the sides from the Waves: This Rudder, much longer than ours, is strongly tied to the Stern-post by two Cables that pass under the whole length of the Vessel to the fore-part, two other such like Cables hold it up, and facilitate the hoisting or lowering it, as occasion serves; the Bar is as long as is necessary for the guiding it; the Seamen at the Helm are also assisted by Ropes fastened to the Larboard and Starboard, and rolled upon the extremity of the Bar they hold in their hand, which they fasten or slacken as they see occasion, to thrust or stop the Helm.

The Mizen-mast is quite toward the fore-part, the Main-mast is not far from the place where we place our Mizens. A Cord that goes from Starboard to Larboard, according as the Wind chops about, serves them for a Stay and Shrowds; the Bolt-sprit, which is
very

very weak, is at the Larboard, at a considerable distance from the middle, where we are wont to place them. The Round-tops they use are very short, but the Main-mast is of a prodigious height and thickness; it is strongly seized, as far as the upper part of the Deck, by two side Beams that strengthen it wonderfully, yea, and deprive it of playing, which we leave to ours, because it serves to give the Vessel Air, and to quicken its motion.

The low Sails are of very thick Matt, trimm'd up with Laths and long Poles to strengthen them, from two foot to two foot, fastened to the whole length of the Masts by several little loops; they are not fastened in the middle, but have three quarters of their breadth loose, that they may be accommodated to the Wind, and readily tackt about as occasion serves. A great many small Cords, hanging at the sides of the Sail, where they are placed at several distances from the Sail-yard to the bottom are gathered up, and keep tight the whole length of the Matt, and further the motion when the Ships Course is to be changed.

As for the Okam to calk withal, they do not use melted Pitch and Tar, but a Composition made of Lime and Oil, or rather of a particular Gum with Flax of rasped Bambou; this Matter is not subject to the Accidents of Fire, and the Okam is so good, that the Vessel seldom or never Leaks, neither do they ever use the Pump, a Well or two serves to keep the Keel dry. In your huge Vessels the Anchors are of Iron; in the middle sort they are of an hard, heavy Wood, and they only strengthen the ends; but I have observed that that was not sufficient: a Spring-tide, or a fresh Gale of Wind, runs the Ship adrift, when it is not well anchored: And to spare the cost of an Iron Anchor, they often run the risk to be cast
[R] away.

The particular Character of the

away. As for the Cables they are of Flax of *Coco*, *Canvas*, or *Rotin*. The *Rotin* is a kind of long Cane which they make into Tresses like little Cords, the Twists of them are usually flat, and are stronger than all the other; but because they easily snap under Water when they come to touch upon any Rock, they do not much use them but only upon Rivers, for to tow against the Tide.

The *Chineſes* have in their Vessels a Captain, as we have; but his chief business is to keep the Crew in awe, and victual them; the Pilot marks out the Rhumb, and places the Compass. When they can discover no Land, or when they do not ken it, those upon duty at the Helm, steer as they please; so soon as they come within ken of the Coast, or enter into the Port, the Mariners are so vigilant, and so intent upon their duty, that they don't expect to be commanded.

You see, *My Lord*, by what I have said, that we far surpass the *Chineſes* at Sea in the Art of Navigation; but it must be confessed that upon Rivers and Channels, they have a particular address that we are not Masters of; they there mannage with a few Mariners, huge Barks as big as our Ships; and there is such a great number of them in all the Southern Provinces, that they always keep Nine thousand, nine hundred, ninety nine ready equipped amongst those

that are designed for the Service of the Emperor. After this manner do the People speak; for this way of expressing themselves hath a greater Emphasis in their Language, and seem to denote something more, than if they should say in one word, that there are Ten thousand of them; it is a hard matter to convince them of an untruth; for really there is such a prodigious number of them, that they cannot be reckoned; they

* *Kiou-tchien*,
Kiou-pé, *Kiou-ché*,
Kiou.

they are all flat bottom'd, their Sails and Maſts are not much different from thoſe I but juſt now deſcribed; but the Model is not the ſame. The Body of the Veſſel, that is alike broad from Prow to Poop, hath two Wells; upon the firſt, or upon the Deck, they build from one end to another, little Cabins, that are raiſed above the ſides Seven or Eight foot, or thereabouts; they are painted within and without, varniſht, gilded, and all over ſo neat and handſome, that they are capable of making the longeſt Voyages too ſhort, tho' ſome they take that laſt four or five Months without intermiſſion; for they lodge, they diet, and are always aboard theſe noble Barks; and when a good company of *Mandarins* go together (which pretty often happens) there is no place where they paſs the time away more delightfully. They viſit one another almoſt every day without Complement; they Play, they Treat one another mutually, as if they were all of a Family. This Society ſeems ſo much the more acceptable to them, becauſe it is not forced, and conſtrained, as in other places, by the Incumbrances of nice Ceremonies, nor ſubject to Suſpicions that ſuch a free Correſpondence would not fail to foment, if they behaved themſelves ſo in the Cities.

Notwithſtanding theſe Barks be extraordinary big, and tho' they always be either under Sail, or tugg'd along by Ropes, yet do they by times make uſe of Oars, when they are upon great Rivers, or croſs Lakes. As for ordinary Barks, they do not row them after the *European* manner; but they faſten a kind of a long Oar to the Poop, nearer one ſide of the Bark than to the other, and ſometimes another like it to the Prow, that they make uſe of as the Fiſh does of its Tail, thruſting it out, and pulling it to them again, without ever liſing it above Water. This Work produces a continuing rolling in the Bark;

The particular Character of the

but it hath this advantage, that the Motion is never interrupted, whereas the Time and Effort that we employ to lift up our Oars is lost, and signifies nothing.

The knack the *Chineses* have to Sail upon Torrents is somewhat wonderful and incredible: They in a manner force Nature, and make a Voyage without any dread, which other People dare not so much as look upon without being seized with some Apprehension. I speak not of those Cataracts they ascend by meer strength of Arm, to pass from one Canal to another, which in some Relations are called Sluices; but of certain Rivers that flow, or rather run headlong quite cross abundance of Rocks, for the space of Three or Fourscore Leagues. Had I not been upon these perillous Torrents my self, I should have much ado to believe, upon anothers report, what I my self have seen. It is a rashness for Travellers to expose themselves, if they have been but never so little informed of it; and a kind of madness in Sailors to pass their Life in a Trade, wherein they are every moment in danger of being destroy'd.

These Torrents whereof I speak, which the People of the Country call *Chan*, are met with in several places of the Empire; many of them may be seen when one Travels from *Nam-tcham-fou*, the Capital City of *Kiam-si* to *Canton*. The first time I went that way with Father *Fontaney*, we were hurried away with that Rapidity, that all the Endeavours of our Mariners could not overcome, our Bark, abandoned to the Torrent, was turn'd round like a Whirlgigg for a long time, amongst the sinuosities and windings that the Course of the Water formed; and at last dash't upon a Rock even with the Water, with that violence, that the Rudder, of the thickness of a good Beam, broke like a piece of Glass, and the whole

whole Body of it was carried by the force of the Currant upon the Rock, where it remained immoveable : If instead of touching at the Stern , it had hit sideways, we had been infallibly lost ; but those are not the most dangerous places.

In the Province of *Fokien*, whether one comes from *Canton*, or *Hamt-cheou*, one is, during Eight or Ten days , in continual danger of perishing. The Cataracts are continual, always broken by a Thousand Points of Rocks, that scarce leave breadth enough for the passage of the Bark ; there are nothing but Turnings and Windings, nothing but Cascades and contrary Currants, that dash one against another, and hurry the Boat along like an Arrow out of a Bow ; you are always within Two foot of Shelves, which you avoid only to fall foul upon another, and from that to a third ; if the Pilot by an address, not sufficiently to be admired , does not escape from Shipwrack that threatens him every moment.

There are none in all the World besides the *Chinese* capable of undertaking such like Voyages, or so much concerned or interested, as not to be discouraged, maugre all the Accidents that befall them, for there passes not a day that is not memorable for Shipwracks ; nay, and I wonder all Barks do not perish. Sometimes a Man is so fortunate as to split in a place not far distant from the shoar, as I chanced twice to do, then indeed one escapes by swimming, provided one has strength enough to struggle out of the Torrent, which is usually very strait. Other times the Barks run adrift, and in a moment is upon the Rocks, where it remains aground with the Passengers ; but sometimes it happens, especially in some more rapid Vortices, that the Vessel is in pieces, and the Crew buried before one has time to know where they are. Sometimes also when one descends the Cas-

The particular Character of the

cares formed by the River, that altogether runs head-long, the Boats by falling all on sudden, plunge into the Water at the Prow, without being able to rise again, and disappear in a trice. In a word, these Voyages are so dangerous, that in more than Twelve thousand Leagues that I have Sail'd upon the most tempestuous Seas in the World, I don't believe I ever run through so many Dangers for Ten years, as I have done in Ten days upon these Torrents.

The Barks they make use of are built of a very thin, light Timber, which makes it more fit to follow all the impressions one has a mind to give them. They divide them into five or six Apartments separated by good Partitions, so that when they touch at any place, upon any point of a Rock, only one part of the Boat is full, whilst the other remains dry, and affords time to stop the hole the Water has made. For to moderate the Rapidity of the Motion, in places where the Water is not too deep, six Seamen, three on each side, hold a long Spret or Pole thrust to the bottom, wherewith they resist the Current, yet slackning by little and little, by the help of a small Rope made fast at one end to the Boat, and twined at the other round the Pole, that slips but very hardly, and by a continual rubbing, slackens the motion of the Bark, which, without this Caution, would be driven with too much Rapidity: insomuch that when the Torrent is even, and uniform, how precipitous soever its Course be, you float with the same slowness, as one does upon the calmest Canal; but when it winds in and out, this Caution is to no purpose; then indeed they have recourse to a double Rudder, made in fashion of an Oar, of forty or fifty foot long, one whereof is at the Prow, and the other at the Poup. In the plying of these two great Oars consists all the Skill of the Sailors, and Safety of the Bark; the reciprocal Jerks and cunning Shakes they

they give it, to drive it on, or to turn it right as they would have it, to fall just into the Stream of the Water, to shun one Rock, without dashing on another, to cut a Currant, or pursue the fall of Water, without running head-long with it, whirles it about a Thousand different ways : It is not a Navigation, it is a *Manege* ; for there is never a managed Horse that labours with more fury under the hand of a Master of an Academy, then these Boats do' in the hands of these *Chinese* Mariners: So that when they chance to be cast away, it is not so much for want of Skill as Strength ; and whereas they carry not above eight Men, if they would take fifteen, all the Violence of the Torrents would not be capable to carry them away. But it is a thing common enough in the World, and especially in *China*, rather to hazard a Man's Life, and run the risk to lose all he has, then to be at indifferent Charges one thinks not absolutely necessary.

Seeing I am speaking of the Address and Skill of the *Chineses* upon Rivers, I cannot forbear, *My Lord*, letting you observe what they are Masters of in matter of Fishing, besides the Line, Nets, and the ordinary Instruments we make use of in *Europe*, which they employ as well as we, they have moreover two ways of catching Fish, that seem to me very singular, and odd : The first is practised in the Night, when it is Moon-shine ; they have two very long, strait Boats, upon the sides of which they Nail from one end to the other, a Board about two foot broad, upon which they have rub'd white Varnish, very smooth and shining ; this Plank is inclined outward, and almost toucheth the Surface of the Water: That it may serve their turn, it is requisite to turn it towards the Moon-shine, to the end that the Reflexion of the Moon may increase its brightness, the Fish playing and sporting; and mistaking the Colour of the Plank,

The particular Character of the

for that of the Water, jerk out that way, and tumble before they are aware, either upon the Plank, or into the Boat, so that the Fisher-man, almost without taking any pains, hath in a little time his small Bark quite full.

The second manner of Fishing is yet more pleasant: They breed, in divers Provinces, Cormorants, and they order and mannage them as we do Dogs, or even as we do Hawks for the Game; one Fisher-man can very easily look after an hundred; he keeps them perched upon the sides of his Boat, quiet, and waiting patiently for orders, till they are come at the place designed for fishing in; then, at the very first signal that is given them, each takes its flight, and flies toward the way that is assigned it. 'Tis a very pleasant thing to behold how they divide amongst them the whole breadth of the River, or of the Lake; they seek up and down, they dive, and come, and go upon the Water an hundred times, till they have spy'd their Prey; then do they seize it with their Beak, and immediately bring it to their Master. When the Fish is too big, they help one another interchangeably, one takes it by the Tail, another by the Head, and go after that manner in company to the Boat, where they hold out long Oars to them; there they perch themselves with their Fish, which they part not with till they go seek for another. When they are weary, they let them rest a while; but give them nothing to eat till the Fishing is over; during which time their Throat is tied with a small Cord, for fear they should swallow the little Fish, and may have no list to work longer.

I forbear speaking, *My Lord*, of their dexterity and neatness in the Manufactures of Silk, Earthen Ware, Vernish, Architecture: These Matters have been exhausted in publick Relations. It is well known that the Silk-Stuffs of *China* are not only

handsome,

handsome, but good and serviceable; that their Porcelain is of a neatness and matter unimitable; that their Vernish, and the use they make of it upon their Cabinets, Tables, Skreens, have procured them the admiration of all *Europe*. As for their Architecture, altho' they have an inclination far different from ours, and coming short of that Perfection that we suppose our selves arrived to; yet must it be confess'd however, that there are some pieces of Sculpture in *China* perfectly well wrought, and the Publick Edifices, as Gates of great Cities, Towers, and Bridges, have something in them most noble and beautiful. In fine, the *Chinese* in point of Arts are dexterous, laborious, curious to find out the Inventions and Contrivances of other Nations, and very apt to imitate them. But what is peculiar to them, is, that in all their Works they perform with a very few Instruments and plain Engines, what our Artificers in *Europe* do not execute with almost an infinite number of Utensils.

The better to let the Character of their Ingenuity be known, I shall add, That there is no Nation under the Sun, that is more fit for Commerce and Traffick, and understand them better: One can hardly believe how far their Tricks and Craftiness proceeds when they are to insinuate into Mens Affections, manage a fair Opportunity, or improve the Overtures that are offered: The desire of getting torments them continually, and makes them discover a thousand ways of gaining, that would not naturally come into their Head: Every thing serves their turn, every thing is precious to the *Chinese*, because there is nothing but they know how to improve. They undertake the most difficult Voyages, for the least hopes of gain, and that's the reason why all things are in motion; in the Streets, upon the Roads, upon the Rivers, and all along the Coasts
of

The particular Character of the

of Maritime Towns, you shall see a world of Travellers : The infinite Trade and Commerce that is carried on every where, is the Soul of the People, and the *primum mobile* of all their Actions.

If they would accompany Labour and natural Industry with a little more honesty, especially in respect of Strangers, nothing could be wanting to them that might contribute to the making of able, compleat Merchants ; but their essential quality is to deceive and cousin, when it lyes in their power ; some of them do not conceal it, but boast of it : I have heard of some so brazen fac'd, that when they have been taken in the Fact, to excuse themselves by their Simplicity, say, *You see that I do not understand cunningness ; you know more of it than I ; but perhaps I shall be more lucky, or more subtle another time.* They falsifie almost every thing they vend, when things are in a condition to be falsified. They say particularly, that they counterfeit Gammons of Bacon so artificially, that many times a Man is mistaken in them ; and when they have boil'd them a long time, they find nothing, when they come to eat them, but a huge piece of Wood under an Hogs-skin. It is certain a Stranger will be always cheated, if he buy alone, let him take what care he will ; he should employ a trusty *Chinese*, who is acquainted with the Country, who knows all the Tricks ; and indeed you will be very happy, if he that buys, and he that sells, do not collogue together to your Cost, and go snips in the profit.

When one lends them any thing, he must have Sureties ; for as for their word, those who know them cannot rely upon it. Some of them have been observed to borrow a very small Sum, promising to restore the Principal with vast Interest, which they punctually performed upon the day appointed, to gain themselves the Reputation of down-right honest Men.

Men. After that they demanded a greater Sum, which they repay also without failing. At length, they continued this Commerce whole years together, till such time as engaging to Credit them, and lend them considerable Sums, they carried their Money far enough off, and disappeared for ever.

When they would obtain a Favour, they do not discover themselves all on the sudden; there are some who prepare for it whole years before-hand. They make presents to the Master, and to all those of the Household; they seem so much the more disinterested, and to have no design, as they mistrust Peoples good will; but when one has accepted their Toys, which they thought they might do without fearing any bad Consequence, then they begin to shew their design; and they have already so well play'd their Game, that they seldom receive a Repulse for what they demand.

This Subtilty of Deceiving is still more extraordinary in Thieves and Robbers: They break through the thickest Walls, burn Gates, and make great holes in them by the help of a certain Engine which fires the Wood without any flame. They penetrate into the most private Recesses, without ever being perceiv'd; and when People awake in the Morning, they are amazed to find their Bed without Curtains and Coverlets, their Chamber unfurnisht, Tables, Cabinets, Coffers, Plate, all is marcht off, without so much sometimes as perceiving any foot-steps of the Thieves, but the Hole in the Wall at which they went out with all the Moveables of the House.

When they are apprehended, if they be armed, they suffer death; but now if they be not in a condition to wound, or kill any body, they inflict some other Corporal Punishment, according to the quality of the Goods so stoll'n; for if they have taken nothing, the Judges are satisfied to punish them with
thirty

The particular Character of the

thirty or forty blows with a Cudgel. They say these Felons have a certain Drug, the Fume of which extremely stupifies, and casts into a deep sleep, which affords them time and opportunity to do their Job; and they are so perswaded of that Truth, that Travellers cause a Basin of cold Water to be brought in to their Chamber in the Inn, which is a sure Remedy to frustrate the power or charm of the Fume.

Not but that after all one may meet with honesty and disinterest amongst the *Chineses*; for, (not to speak of Christians, in whom Religion hath reformed the evil Inclinations of Nature) I do remember that at my first arrival into *China* with my Companions, Strangers, unknown, exposed to the Avarice of the *Mandarins*, not one of them did us the least wrong; and what appeared yet more extraordinary was, That offering a Present to a Commissioner of the Custom-house, People that are usually greedy, and attentive to the improvement of such sort of occasions, he protested, notwithstanding all our earnest Intreaties, that he would never take any thing of any Body so long as he was in his Office; but if one day he should chance to be in another Condition, he would with all his heart receive from us some *European* Curiosity. After all, these are rare Examples, and the same is not the Character of the Natives.

As the *Chineses* have a Genius for Commerce, so have they likewise for Affairs of State; their Wit has been a long time adapted to Politicks, and negotiating Affairs, not with Foreigners, whom they look upon as Barbarians, and their Subjects, whom the ancient haughtiness of the Empire forbids to correspond with, but amongst themselves, according as they are bound by Interest, or, as their Fortune engages them therein. There is Policy amongst Princes, and other Grandees of the Realm, as much as in any Court

Court of *Europe*; They continually apply themselves to know the Gusto, Inclinations, Humours, and Designs one of another; and they study it so much the more, as they are more reserved, and dissembling themselves, they keep a fair Correspondence with every Body, nay, and even observe a Decorum with their Enemies.

As the way of Challenging a Duel is not allowed in the State, all their Revenge is reasonable and secret; one cannot imagine by how many Shifts and Contrivances they endeavour to destroy one another, without making any shew of having any such thing in their head. They are not only Dissemblers, but patient, even to insensibleness, in expecting a favourable Moment to declare themselves, and to strike home. But as they observe all sorts of measures with their Enemies, the better to lull them asleep, so they sometimes huff their best Friends, for fear least a too strict Bond of Friendship should involve them in some unlucky business. So far are they from that barbarous Friendship that inclines us in *Europe* to engage those in our private Quarrels that are most devoted to us, and to expose, without any advantage, a Life that we should defend even by the loss of our own.

The Lords of the Court, the Vice-Roys of Provinces, and Generals of Armies, are in perpetual motion, to preserve or acquire the principal Places of the State; they carry on their business by Money, Favour, and by intrigue: And since the Laws give nothing, either to Solicitation, Riches, or Ambition of private Persons, but solely to Merit, the most subtle seem always most moderate, whilst in the mean time, by an hundred hidden Springs, they endeavour to obtain the choice and esteem of the Emperor.

In short, if some Neighbours, more potent, and better

The particular Character of the

ter Head-pieces than the *Tartars* could have been able to have accustom'd them to make Treaties, as the different People of *Europe* do amongst themselves, I am perswaded that Policy and Negotiations would have proved more powerful to defend them from their Enemies, then that prodigious Wall, of which they endeavoured to make a Bulwark, and all those numerous Armies, wherewith they have hitherto, but all in vain, opposed them.

After all that I have said, I leave you to judge, *My Lord*, of the Character of these People, and of the value that ought to be put upon them; when a Man hath a gust as good as yours, he does not think of things nicely, but also judges of them solidly, and with the greatest exactness; so that I suppose no body will take it ill that I submit the *Chinese* to your Censure. They only would find some difficulty to subscribe to it, if they understood the defect of their Wit and *Genius*, as much as we understand the delicateness of yours; but as they believe themselves the most witty Nation in the World, I am sure they will be glad to be given over to the Judgment of a Person, whom all *France* begins to admire, and what is more, whom *Lewis the Great* honours particularly with his esteem. You will observe, *My Lord*, in *China* some Faults which one cannot excuse; all the favour I beg of you for them, is to reflect, That formerly they have been wiser, more sincere and honest, less corrupted than they are at present. Vertue, which they cultivated with so much care, which contributed infinitely to model their Reason, made them at that time the wisest People of the Universe; and being their Manners were more regular, so I doubt not but they were then more spiritual, and more rational.

However, in the very Condition wherein they are at present, you will perhaps esteem them notwithstanding, and find withal, that though they have
not

not Ingenuity enough to be compared with our Learned and Knowing Men in *Europe*, yet do they not give place to us in Arts; that they equal us in Politeness, and that perhaps they may surpass us in Politicks and in Government. I am with the most profound Respect,

My Lord,

Your most humble

and most obedient Servant

L. J.

THE

T H E

Present State

O F

C H I N A.

P A R T II.

To the Cardinal D'Estrees.

*Of the Policy and Government of
the Chinese.*

WHEN I had the honour to give your Eminence an account of the present State of *China*, I did a long time doubt whether or no I should venture to describe to you their Form of Government. To handle so nice a Subject requires the abilities of the most exact Politician, and a knowledg of State-
R
Affairs

Affairs exquisite as yours; a Subject not to be managed by any without pains and trouble, but which lies too deep for those of my Character whose knowledg in the Affairs of this World is slight and superficial.

But yet it would be the greatest of injuries to the *Chinese*, to pass that over in silence, which they look upon as the thing to which they owe all their good qualities, and which they esteem as a Masterpiece of the most exact Policy: Thus therefore, my Lord, tho' I should own it a piece of imprudence in me to meddle with these mysterious Arcana of Government, and to search never so little into the depths of worldly Wisdom; I could be content to be blamed for it in *Europe*, if *China*, to whom I own I bear a kindness, and respect, approve of it in me, and get any Credit thereby.

Amongst the several Models and Plans of Government which the Antients framed, we shall perhaps meet with none so perfect and exact as is that of the *Chinese* Monarchy. The antient Lawgivers of this Potent Empire, formed it in their days very little different from what it is in ours. Other States, according to the common fate of the things of this World, are sensible of the weakness of Infancy; are born mishapen and imperfect; and like Men they owe their perfection and maturity to time. *China* seems more exempted from the common Laws of Nature; and as though God himself had founded their Empire, the Plan of their Government was not a whit less perfect in its Cradle, than it is now after the experience and tryal of four thousand years.

During all which time the *Chinese* had never so much as heard of the Name of Republick; and when lately, on the *Hollanders* arrival, they heard of it, it seemed so strange to them that they have scarcely yet done admiring at it. Nothing could make them understand

derstand how a State could regularly be governed without a King, they looked upon a Republick to be a Monster with many Heads, formed by the ambition, headiness, and corrupt inclination of Men in times of publick disorder and confusion.

As they bear an aversion to Republican Government, so are they yet more set against Tyranny and Oppression; which they say proceeds not from the absoluteness of the Princes power, for they cannot be too much their Subjects Masters; but from the Princes own wildness, which neither the Voice of Nature, nor the Laws of God can ever countenance. The *Chinese* are of Opinion that the Obligation which is laid on their Kings not to abuse their Power, is rather a means to confirm and establish them, than to occasion their ruin; and that this useful constraint which they themselves lay on their Passions does no more diminish their Power or Authority here on Earth, than the like constraint derogates from the Majesty and Power of the Almighty, who is not the less powerful because he cannot do evil.

An unbounded Authority which the Laws give the Emperor, and a Necessity which the same Laws lay upon him to use that Authority with moderation and discretion, are the two Props which have for so many Ages supported this great Fabrick of the *Chinese* Monarchy. The first Principle thereof that is instilled into the People, is to respect their Prince with so high a Veneration as almost to adore him. They stile him the Son of Heaven, and the only Master of the World. His Commands are indisputable, his words carry no less Authority with them than if they were Oracles: in short every thing that comes from him is Sacred. He is seldom seen, and never spoken to but on the knees. The Grandees of the Court, the Princes of the Blood, nay his own Brothers bow to the ground, not only when he is present, but

even before his Throne; and there are set days every week or month, in which the Nobility assemble, who meet in one of the Courts in the Palace, to acknowledg the Authority of their Prince by their most submissive Adorations, tho' he perhaps be not there in Person.

When he is ill, especially if dangerously, the Palace is full of Mandarins of every Order, who spend night and day, in a large Court, in Habits proper for the occasion, to express their own grief, and to ask of Heaven their Princes Cure. Rain, Snow, Cold, or any other inconveniences excuse them not from the performance of this Duty; and as long as the Emperor is in pain, or in danger, any one that saw the People would think that they fear nothing but the loss of him.

Besides, Interest is no small occasion of the great respect which is shown him by his Subjects; for as soon as he is proclaimed Emperor, the whole Authority of the Empire is in his hand, and the good or ill Fortune of his Subjects is owing wholly to him.

First, All Places in the Empire are in his disposal, he bestows them on whom he thinks fit; and besides, he is to be looked upon as the disposer of them the more, because none of them are ever sold. Merit, that is Honesty, Learning, long Experience, and especially a grave and sober behaviour, is the only thing considered in the Candidates, and no other considerations can lay any claim to favour. Neither is this all, that he hath the choice of all Officers of State; but if he dislikes their management when chosen, he dismisses or changes them without more ado. A Peccadillo has heretofore been thought enough to render a Mandarin incapable of continuing in his Place; and I am told that a Governour of one of their Cities was turned out, because on a day of Audience his Cloaths were thought too gay to become the

the gravity of his Office; the Emperor thinking a Person of that humour not fit to fill such a Place, or to act as a Magistrate who represents his Prince.

I my self saw at *Pekin* an Example of this Sovereign Power, at which I was the more surpris'd because it was brought about with so little disturbance. It was discovered that three *Colaos* (who are Mandarins as honourable for their Places amongst the *Chinese*, as our Ministers of State are amongst us) had taken mony underhand for some services done by them in the Execution of their Office. The Emperor, who was informed of it, took away their Salaries immediately, and ordered them without farther trouble to retire. What became of the two first, or how they were used, I cannot tell; but the other, who had a great while been a Magistrate, and was as much esteemed for his Understanding as he was respected for his Age, was Condemned to look after one of the Palace Gates amongst other common Soldiers, in whose company he was Listed.

I saw him my self one day in this mean condition: he was upon Duty as a common Sentinel; when I pass'd by him I bow'd to him, as indeed every one else did; for the *Chinese* still respected in him the slender remains of that honour which he had just before possess'd.

I must confess, I soon left wondering at so severe a punishment inflicted on so great a Man; when I saw after what manner even the Princes of the Blood themselves were used. One of them was a mighty lover of sports, especially of Cock-fighting (which is a usual Diversion in the East, and the obstinacy of those Creatures, which armed with Gavelocks, fight till they dye with an incredible Skill and Courage, is very surpris'ing.) The Emperor did not think it amiss that this Prince should spend a few hours in such sort of Diversions. He knew that Great Men have

spare time as well as others ; and that it does not derogate from any Man's Character to throw away an hour or two sometimes in those Diversions which are more suitable to young People, and that it is not at all improper for Men of Understanding and Gravity to condescend to mean and ordinary Sports, in order to give some relaxation and ease to their weary Spirits. Nevertheless, he could not bear to see him spend his whole time in things so much below his Quality, and so unbecoming his Years, he therefore told him of it ; but finding that this admonition did not work with him, the Emperor resolved to make an Example of him, and did therefore declare that he had forfeited his Title and Honour of Prince, he was besides deprived of his Retinue, his Salary, and his Quality, until he should by some great and extraordinary Action make it appear to the whole Kingdom that he was not unworthy of the Blood from whence he sprang.

The Emperor went yet a step farther, for perceiving that the number of the Princes of the Blood was very great, and that the ill Conduct of many of them might in time bring their Quality into contempt : he published an Order that none should hereafter bear that Character without his express leave, which he gave to none but those who by their Virtue, Understanding, and Diligence in their Offices, did very well deserve it.

Such Administrations in *Europe* would cause Heart-burnings and Factions in the States ; but in *China* they are brought about without any the least disturbance, these Changes create no manner of trouble if they are done for the Publick Good, and not from a personal Hatred or violent Passion ; however if the Emperor should be so far transported as to act thus to satisfy his own Passion, yet if his Government be generally equitable and just, such particular ill Administrations

ministrations raise no Faction in his Subjects against him.

You will have a plain proof of the absoluteness of the Emperors Power from a passage which happened in a late war with one of the Kings of *Tartary*. The Emperor sent a mighty Army under his Brothers Command, to punish the Vanity and Rashness of that puny King, who had dared to make inroads into the Countries of several of the Allies of the Empire. The *Tartar*, whose warlike Troops fought only an opportunity of signalizing themselves, advanced to engage the Imperial Army, and set upon them with so much violence and vigour, that at last, notwithstanding he was so much inferior to them in number, he beat them from their ground, and forced them to retreat in disorder.

The Emperors Father in Law, an old *Tartar*, well versed in the Trade of War, commanded the Artillery, and plaid his part so well that he was killed at the head of a few, yet brave Soldiers, whom he encouraged as well by his Example as by his Words; but the General was accused for flying first, and drawing by his flight the rest of the Army after him. The Emperor who is himself a Man of Courage, and an admirer of Glory, was less troubled at the loss of the Battle than he was at that of his Brothers Honour. He sent for him immediately to Court, to be tryed before a Council of the Blood, whom he assembled in his Palace.

The Prince, who was on all other accounts a Person of singular Merit, surrendered himself with the same humility and submission, as he could have done had he been the meanest Officer in the Army, and without staying till Sentence was pronounced he condemned himself, and owned that he deserved death. *You deserve it*, said the Emperor, *but you ought, to recover your lost Honour, to seek your death in the midst*

of the Enemies Troops, and not here among us in the midst of Pekin where it can only encrease your disgrace. At last the Emperor was inclineable to Pardon him; but the Princes, who thought themselves in some measure disgraced by this Action, earnestly begged of the Emperor to use the utmost of his Power to punish him: and his Uncle who assisted at the Council treated him with so much scorn and contempt, that amongst us such usage would afflict any Gentleman so sensibly as to go near to break his Heart.

The Emperor, who has power over the lives of the Princes of the Blood, can certainly dispose of his other Subjects: the Laws make him so far Master of their lives, that neither Viceroy, nor Parliaments, nor any other Sovereign Court throughout the whole Empire can Execute any Criminal without express order from Court. They are Arraigned and Tryed up and down in the several Provinces, but the Sentence is always presented to the Emperor, who either confirms or rejects it as he pleases, most an end he agrees to it, but he very often cuts off part of the Sentence, and makes it less rigorous.

Secondly, although every one be perfect Master of his Estate, and enjoys his Lands free from disturbance and molestation: the Emperor, can nevertheless lay what Taxes he thinks fit upon his Subjects to supply the pressing wants, and relieve the necessities of the State. This power indeed he rarely makes use of, whether it be that the standing Revenue, and ordinary Taxes are sufficient to maintain a War abroad; or whether it be that in a Civil-War they are unwilling to run the hazard of provoking their Subjects too much by laying too great a load on them. They have likewise a Custom of exempting every year one or two Provinces from bearing their proportion in the Tax, especially if any of them have suffered thro' the sickness of the People, or if the Lands thro'

thro' unseasonable weather have not yielded so good an encrease as usual.

It is true that the Subsidies which the Laws grant are so considerable, that were the *Chinese* less industrious, or their Lands less fruitful, this Empire, like the rest of the *Indian* Kingdoms, would be only a Society of poor and miserable Wretches. It is this prodigious Income that makes the Prince so powerful, and that enables him at an hours warning to raise a Potent and a numerous Army to keep his People in Obedience.

It is very difficult to reckon what the Revenue of this Empire amounts to; because, beside the money that is raised in Specie, vast sums are paid in in Goods. After the best examination which I could get both from the Officers and from their Books, I believe the Treasury receives in money about twenty two thousand Crowns of *China*, which the *Portuguese* call *taëls*, each of which in our money comesto about six shillings. But the Rice, Corn, Salt, Silks, Cloaths, Varnish, and a hundred other Commodities which they pay in, together with the Customs and forfeited Estates amount to more than fifty millions of the *Chinese* Crowns. So that after having allowed for the Goods received into the Treasury their value in Silver, and having made the nearest and most exact Calculation possible, I find the ordinary Revenues of the Emperor to amount in our money to one and twenty millions six hundred thousand pounds at least.

Thirdly, The right of making Peace and War is the Emperors, he may make Treaties on what conditions he pleases, provided they be not such as are dishonourable to the Kingdom. As for the Judgments which he himself passes they are irrevocable, and to have them put in Execution he need only send them to his Sovereign Courts or Vice-Roys, who dare not in the least delay Registering and Publishing them.

When

When on the other hand the Sentences pronounced by their Parliaments or other Magistrates, are no ways obligatory 'till approved and confirmed by the Emperor.

Fourthly, Another instance of his Supreme Authority is this, that he has the liberty of making choice of his Successor, which he may not only chuse from the Royal Family, but from amongst his other Subjects. This antient right hath been heretofore put in practise with so much Impartiality and Wisdom, as would be admirable even in a Prince who to his other Titles hath that of Most Christian. For some of these Emperors, finding none of their Family, tho' numerous, able to support the weight of a Crown, chuse for their Successors persons mean as to their Birth and Fortunes, but eminent for their Virtue, and admirable for their Understanding; saying that they acted thus not only from a desire of their Kingdoms good, but also out of respect to the Honour and Credit of their own Children, for whom it would be more glorious to live privately, than to sit upon a Throne exposed to the Censure, and oftentimes to the Curses of all their People. *If, said they, a Lofty Title could create Merit in those who had it not before, we should indeed injure our Children in excluding them from the Crown. But since it serves only to publish and spread their defects more abroad, we think our selves obliged, by the Kindness and Tenderness which we bear to them, to keep them from that shame and disgrace which a Crown would necessarily expose them to.*

However, Examples of this Nature have been very seldom known, for the Emperors for many Ages have bounded their choice within the Compass of their own Families; yet they do not always chuse the eldest. He who now Reigns with so much Wisdom, was a younger Brother; and sees his elder Brother as dutiful, and free from Ambition as the meanest
of

of his Subjects. The great number of Princes of the Blood is with us in *Europe* as great an occasion of Fears and Jealousies, but in *China* it is quite otherwise, for at the death of the last Emperor of *China*, there were above ten thousand Princes up and down the several Provinces, yet was there no confusion or disorder in the least; which could certainly proceed from nothing but the excessive Authority of this Emperor, who finds as little trouble in *China* in Governing a multitude of Princes, as other Princes do in Governing the Common People.

Furthermore, The Emperor after he has made Choice of, and publickly owned who shall be his Successor, may afterwards exclude him, and renew his Choice; but not unless he have very good reason for doing so, nor unless the Sovereign Courts of *Pekin* do in a manner give their consent to it; for if he act thus without observing these methods, it would not only raise the Peoples Tongues, but perhaps their Hands against him.

Fifthly. The Grave itself cannot put an end to his Power over his Subjects, which is exercised even over the Dead, whom he either Disgraces or Honours (as much as if they were alive) when he hath a mind either to Reward or Punish themselves or their Families. He makes some after their decease Dukes, others Counts, and conferring upon them several other Titles which our Language knows no name for. He may Canonise them as Saints, or as they speak, may make them naked Spirits. Sometimes he builds them Temples, and if their Ministry hath been very beneficial, or their Virtues very eminent, he commands the People to honour them as Gods. Paganism hath for many Ages authorised and countenanced this abuse of Religion; yet this reparation Religion has from the Empire of *China* for the foremention'd injury, that ever since the Foundation of this Empire, the

the Emperor has been always looked upon as the Chief Priest and Principal Servant of Religion; for there are some Ceremonies, and Publick Sacrifices, which he alone is thought worthy to offer up to the great Creator of Heaven.

Sixthly, There is another Instance, which tho' of less importance than the preceeding, yet may serve as well as them to shew how unlimited the Authority of this Emperor is. It is this, the Emperor hath power to change the Figure and Character of their Letters, to abolish any Characters already received, or to form any new one. He may likewise change the names of Provinces, of Cities, of Families: he may likewise forbid the using of any expression or manner of speaking, he may forbid the use of some expressions which are generally received, and may bring into use and practise those ways of speaking which have been looked upon as obsolete and uncouth, and this either in common Discourse or in Writing. So that *Custom* which exercises so unalterable an Authority over the signification of Words, that the *Greek* and *Roman* Powers were too little to subdue it, and which for that reason hath by some been called a fantastical and an unjust Tyrant, equally commanding both Princes and common People; this Custom, I say, of which even in *Europe* we complain so much, is submissive and humble in *China*, and is content to alter and give way when the Emperor commands.

One would imagine that this unlimited power should often occasion very unfortunate Events in the Government, and indeed it sometimes hath, as nothing in this World is without its Alloy of inconvenience. Yet so many are the Provisions, and so wise the Precautions which the Laws have prescribed to prevent them, that a Prince must be wholly insensible of his own Reputation, and even Interest, as well

well as of the Publick Good, who continues long in the abuse of his Authority.

For if he hath any regard for his Reputation, there are three things which will prevail with him to Govern by Justice and not Passion. First, the old Lawgivers have from the first Foundation of the Government made this a standing Maxim, that Kings are properly the Fathers of their People, and not Masters placed in the Throne only to be served by Slaves. Wherefore it is that in all Ages their Emperor is called Grand-Father, and of all his Titles of Honour, their is none which he likes to be called by so well as this*. This Idea of their Prince ** Ta-fou.* is so deeply imprinted in the minds of his People, and of his Mandarins, that when they make any Panegyrick in the praise of their Emperor, it is upon the Topick of his Affection to his People. Their Teachers and their Philosophers constantly set forth in their Books that the State is but a large Family, and that he who knows how to Govern the one, is the best capable of Ruling the other. So that if the Prince neglects never so little the practice of this Maxim, he may be a good Warriour, an able Politician, a learned Prince, and yet meet with little or no esteem from his People. They do not form their Character of their Prince from these or such like qualities, his Reputation encreases or diminishes with them, in proportion as he is or is not a Father to them.

Secondly, Every Mandarin may tell the Emperor of his faults, provided it be in such a submissive manner as is agreeable to that veneration and profound respect which is due to him; this the manner they usually take to bring it about. The Mandarin who perceives any thing in the Emperors management disagreeable to their Constitution or Laws, draws up a request, in which, after having set forth the respect

ſpect which he bears towards his Imperial Maieſty, he moſt humbly prays his Prince that he will pleaſe to reflect upon the Antient Laws and good Example of thoſe holy Princes his Predeceſſors: afterwards he takes notice wherein he apprehends that his Prince hath deviated from them.

This Requeſt lies upon a Table among many other Petitions which are daily preſented, and which the Emperor is obliged to Read: if he does not hereupon change his Conduct, he is put in mind of it again, as often as the Mandarin hath Zeal and Courage to do it, for they had need of a great deal of both who dare venture thus to expoſe themſelves to their Princes indignation.

A little before I arrived at *Pekin*, one who had an Office in that Court, which is appointed for the inſpection into the Mathematicks, had the Courage to adviſe the Emperor in the aforeſaid manner, concerning the Education of the Prince his Son, ſetting forth that inſtead of breeding him up to Learning and Knowledg, his Tutors made it their whole care and endeavour to make him expert in the buſineſs of War, to ſhoot with the Bow, and to manage his Arms. Another let the Emperor know that he went too often from his Palace, and that contrary to the Cuſtoms of the Antient Kings he made too long ſtays in *Tartary*. This Prince who was one of the moſt haughty, as well as the moſt Politick Governours that ever ſat in the Throne, ſeemed to pay ſome deference and reſpect to their Advice. Nevertheless, ſince theſe his Journeys into *Tartary* contributed much to the preſerving his Health, the Princes of his Houſhold begged of him to regard that more than the idle whimsies of particular Men.

As for the Mathematician who had troubled himſelf with what did not belong to him, the Education of the Prince, he was turned out of his Office,
and

and the rest of his Fellow-Officers, tho' they had no hand in the business, were deprived of a years Salary. This method hath been practis'd for a long time in *China*, and their Histories take notice that no means has been found so powerful as this to oblige their Emperors, when they act amiss, to return to their Duty, altho' this means proves often dangerous to those particular persons who make use of it.

Thirdly, If their Princes have any regard for their Reputation, the manner in which their Histories are wrote, is alone sufficient to keep them within bounds. A certain number of Men who for their Learning and Impartiality are purposely chosen for this Affair, remark with all the exactness possible not only all their Princes Actions but also his Words; each of these persons by himself, and without Communication with the others, as things fall out sets them down in a loose Paper, and puts these Papers thro' a Chink into an Office set a part for this purpose. In these Papers both the Emperors Vertues and Faults are set down with the same liberty and impartiality. *Such a day, say they, the Princes behaviour was unseasonable and intemperate, he spoke after a manner which did not become his Dignity. The punishment which he inflicted on such an Officer was rather the effect of his Passion, than the result of his Justice. In such an affair he stop'd the Sword of Justice, and partially abrogated the Sentence passed by the Magistrates. Or else, He enter'd Courageously into a War for the defence of his People, and for the maintenance of the honour of his Kingdom. At such a time he made an honourable Peace. He gave such and such marks of his love to his People. Notwithstanding the commendations given him by his Flatterers, he was not puffed up, but behaved himself modestly, his words were tempered with all the sweetness and humility possible; which made him more loved and admired by his Court than ever. And in this manner*

manner they set down every thing that occurs in his Administration.

But that neither fear on the one side, nor hope on the other, may byas these Men to a partiality in the account they give of their Prince: this Office is never opened during that Princes life, or while any of his Family sit in the Throne. When the Crown goes in another Line, which often happens, all these loose Memoirs are gathered together, and after they have compared them, to come to the more certain knowledg of the Truth, they from them Compose the History of that Emperor, to propose him as an Example to Posterity, if he have acted wisely, or to expose him to the common Censure and Odium of the People, if he have been negligent of his own Duty and his Peoples good. When a Prince loves Honour and Glory, and sees that it is not in the power of Flattery and Imposture to persuade the People to give it him, he will then be circumspect and cautious how he behaves himself during the whole Reign.

Interest, which has a far greater command over some tempers than the love of Reputation, is as great a motive to the Emperor to be guided by the antient Customs, and to adhere to the Laws. They are so wholly made for his advantage, that he cannot violate them without doing some prejudice to his own Authority; nor can he make new and unusual Laws, without exposing his Kingdom to the danger of Change and Confusion. Not that the Grandees of his Court, or his Parliaments, how zealously soever they may seem to assert their Antient Customs, are easily provoked to a revolt, or to make use of their Princes Government, as an occasion to diminish his Authority. Altho' there are some Examples of this in History, yet they seldom occur, and whenever they do, it is under such Circumstances as seem to go a great way toward their justification.

But

But such is the temper of the *Chinese*, that when their Emperor is full of Violence and Passion, or very negligent of his Charge, the same Spirit of Perverseness possesses also his Subjects. Every Mandarin thinks himself the Sovereign of his Province or City, when he does not perceive it taken care of by a Superior Power. The chief Ministers sell Places to those who are unfit to fill them. The Vice-Roys become so many little Tyrants. The Governours observe no more the Rules of Justice. The People by these means oppressed and trampled under foot, and by Consequence miserable, are easily stirred up to Sedition. Rogues multiply and commit Insolencies in Companies; and in a Country where the People are almost innumerable, numerous Armies do in an instant get together, who wait nothing but an opportunity, under specious pretences, to disturb the Publick Peace and Quiet.

Such beginnings as these have occasioned fatal Consequences, and have oftentimes put *China* under the command of new Masters. So that the best and surest way for an Emperor to establish himself in his Throne, is to give an exact regard and an intire obedience to those Laws, whose goodness have been confirmed by the experience of more than four thousand years.

This is the ordinary Form of Government which the Laws prescribe. The Emperor hath two Sovereign Councils; the one is called the Extraordinary Council, and is Composed of Princes of the Blood only; the other, called the Council in Ordinary, has besides the Princes several Ministers of State named *Colaos* admitted into it. These are they who examine all the Affairs of State, and make their report to the Emperor, from whom they have their final determination. Beside these there is at *Pekin* six Sovereign Courts, whose Authority extends over

258 *Of the Policy and Government*

all the Provinces of *China*, each of these Courts have their different Matters assigned to them, of which they are to take Cognisance: the Names of them, and what is committed to their judgment, are as follows.

The Court called *Liipou*, presides over all the Mandarins, and does give them, and take away from them their Offices. That called *Houpou* looks after the Treasury, and takes care of raising the Taxes. That called *Lipou* is to look after the Antient Customs; to this Court is also committed the care of Religion, of Sciences and Arts, and of Foreign Affairs. That called *Pimpou* has charge over the Soldiery and its Officers. That called *Himpou* takes Cognisance of all Criminals. That called *Compon* looks after all Publick Buildings, and all the Emperors Houses and Palaces. Each of these Courts are divided in several Offices, some of them into fifteen; the Principal of which Offices is managed by the President and two Assistants, who have the final inspection into those things which come under the notice of that Court; the rest are Under-Offices, and consist of a President and several Cancellors, all of which are subject to the President of the Principal Office, from whom there is no Appeal.

But because it is the Emperors Interest to keep such considerable Bodies as these so far under, as that it may not lie in their power to weaken the Emperors Authority, or to enterprise any thing against the State; care is taken that tho' each of these six Courts have their particular Charges of which they are constituted sole Judges, yet no considerable thing can be brought to perfection and maturity without the joynt help and mutual concurrence of all these Courts; I explain my self by the instance of War: the number of the Troops, the quality of their Officers, the march of the Armies, are provided for by the fourth
Court,

Court, but the money to pay them must be had from the second. So that scarce any one thing of Consequence to the State can be promoted without the inspection of many, and oftimes of all the Mandarins.

The second means used by the Emperor, for this purpose, is to place an Officer in each of these Courts, who has an Eye to all their proceedings. He is not, it's true, of the Council, yet he is present at all their Assemblies, and informed of all their Proceedings; we may call this Officer an Inspector. He either privately advertises the Court, or else openly accuses the Mandarins of the faults which they commit in their private capacities as well as of those which they commit in the Execution of their Office. He observes their Actions, their Behaviour, and even their Words, so that nothing escapes his notice. I am told that he who once undertakes this Employ can never quit it for any other, that so the hopes of a better Preferment may never tempt him to be Partial to any one, nor the fear of losing his Place frighten him from accusing those who misbehave themselves. Of these Officers whom they call *Colis* even the Princes of the Blood stand in awe; and I remember that one of the greatest of the Nobility having built a House somewhat higher than the Custom of *China* suffers, did of himself pull it down in a few days, when he had heard that one of these Inspectors talked of accusing him.

As for the Provinces they are under the immediate inspection of two sorts of Vice-Roys. One sort has the Government of one Province only. Thus there is one Vice-Roy at *Pekin*, at *Canton*, or at *Nankim*, or in any other Town but a little distant from the chief City of the Province. Besides this, these Provinces are under the Government of other Vice-Roys, who are called *Tsounto*, and have under their Jurisdiction

on two, or three, nay sometimes four Provinces. There is no Prince in *Europe* whose Dominions are of so large extent as is the Jurisdiction of these General Officers; yet how great soever their Authority may seem to be, they do in no wise diminish that of the particular Vice-Roys; and each of these two Vice-Roys have their particular Right so well settled and adjusted, that they never clash or contend with each other in their Administrations.

These have all of them in their several Lordships many Courts, of the same nature with those at *Pekin* already described, but are subordinate to them, so that from these they Appeal to them: there are beside these several other inferior Offices for the preparing business, or for finishing it according to the extent of their Commissions. There are three sorts of Towns, each of which have their particular Governour, and a great number of Mandarins who Administer Justice; amongst which Cities there is this difference, that those of the third sort or rank are subordinate to those of the second, as those of the second are to them of the first; these of the first Rank are subject to the Jurisdiction of the General Officers of the Capital Cities, according as the nature of things require, and all the Judges, be their quality what it will in the Civil Government, have their dependance on the Vice-Roy, in whom resides the Imperial Authority. He from time to time convenes the Principal Mandarins of his Province, to take Cognisance of the good or bad Qualities of the Governours, Lieutenants, and even inferior Officers: he sends private Dispatches to Court to inform the Emperor who misbehave themselves, who are either therefore deprived of their Offices, or else cited to appear and offer what they have to say in their justification.

On the other hand the Vice-Roy's power is counterpoised by that of the great Mandarins who are about him, and who may accuse him when they are satisfied that it is necessary for the Publick Good. But that which principally keeps him upon his Guard is that the People, when evil ~~is~~ treated or oppressed by him, may Petition the Emperor in person for his removal, and that another may be ordered them. The least Insurrection or Disturbance is laid at his door, which if it continues three days he must answer for it at his peril. It is his fault, says the Laws, if Disturbances spring up in his Family, that is in the Province over which he has the Charge. He ought to regulate the Conduct of the Mandarins under him, that so the People may not suffer by their ill management. When People like their Masters they do not desire to change them; and when the Yoak is easie it is a pleasure to bear it.

But because private persons cannot easily come at the Court, and because the just Complaints of his People, cannot always reach the Ears of their Prince, (especially in *China* where the Governours easily corrupt with Bribes the General Officers, and they the Supreme Courts;) the Emperor disperses up and down secret Spies, persons of known Wisdom and Reputation; these in every Province by their cunning management, inform themselves from the Countrymen, Tradesmen or others, after what manner the Mandarins behave themselves in the Execution of their Offices. When from their private but certain informations, or rather when by the Publick Voice, which seldom imposes on us, they are acquainted with any disorder. Then they publicly own their Commission from the Emperor; they take up those Criminal Mandarins, and manage the Cause against them. This heretofore kept all the Judges to their Duty; but since the *Tartars* have been Masters of *China*, these

Officers have been laid aside; in as much as some of them abused their Commission, enriching themselves by taking money of the Guilty to conceal their Faults, and of the Innocent, whom they threatned to accuse as Criminal. Nevertheless, that so useful a means of keeping the Magistrates to their Duty may not be wholly lost: the Emperor himself, who has a tender love for his Subjects, hath thought it his Duty to visit in person each Province, and to hear himself the Complaints of his People; which he performs with such a diligence as makes him the terror of his Mandarins, and the delight of his People. Amongst the great variety of Accidents which have happened to him during those his Progresses, they report that being once separated from his Attendants, he saw an old Man weeping bitterly, of whom he enquired what was the occasion of his Tears. Sir, Said the old Man who did not know to whom he spoke, I have but one Son who was the comfort of my life, and on whom lay the whole care of my Family, a Mandarin of *Tartary* has deprived me of him; which hath made me helpless at present, and will make me so as long as I live; for how can I, who am so poor and friendless, oblige so great a Man as he to make me Restitution? That's not so difficult as you imagine, said the Emperor; get up behind me and direct me to his House who has done you this wrong. The good Man complied without any Ceremony, and in two hours time they both got to the Mandarins House, who little expected so extraordinary a Visit. In the interim the Guards, and a great company of Lords, after a great deal of search made came thither, some of which attended without, others entered with the Emperor, not knowing what the business was which brought him there. Where the Emperor having Convicted the Mandarin of the Violence of which he was accused, condemn'd him on the spot to death; after-

afterward turning round to the afflicted Father who had lost his Son: To make you a good recompence for your loss, says he, after a grave and serious manner, I give you the Office of the Criminal who is just now dead; but take care to Execute it with Equity, and let his Punishment, as well as his Crime, prove for your Advantage, for fear lest you in your turn are made an Example to others.

They have still a farther means to oblige the Vice-Roys and other Governours to a strict care of their Charge, which Expedient I do not believe any Government or Kingdom, tho' never so severe, did ever yet make use of. It is this, every Governour is obliged from time to time with all humility and sincerity to own and acknowledg the secret or publick Faults committed by himself in his Administration, and to send the account in writing up to Court. This is a more troublesome business to comply with than one readily imagins, for on one side it is an uneasie thing to accuse our selves of those things which we know will be punished by the Emperor, tho' mildly. On the other side it is more dangerous to dissemble them; for if by chance they are accused of them in the Inspector's Advertisement, the least Fault which the Mandarin shall have concealed will be big enough to turn him out of his Ministry. So that the best way is to make a sincere confession of ones Faults, and to purchase a Pardon for them by mony, which in *China* has the vertue of blotting out all Crimes, which remedy notwithstanding is no small punishment for a *Chinese*; the fear of such a punishment makes him oftentimes exceeding Circumspect and careful, and sometimes even Virtuous against his own inclinations.

After these Provisions which the Laws-make, as I have said, they give the following directions how to proceed in the business of punishing Criminals.

There is no need of having a Warrant to carry them before the Magistrate, nor that the Magistrate should sit in a Court of Justice to hear the Accusation and Plea of the Criminal. Such Formalities as these are not insisted on there. Wherever the Magistrate sees a Fault, there he has power to punish it on the spot, be it in the Street, in the Highway, or in a private House, it is all one; he may take up a Gamester, a Rook, or a Debauché, and without more Formalities he orders some of his Attendants to give him twenty or thirty Stripes: after which, as tho' nothing extraordinary had happened he goes on his Journey without any concernment. Notwithstanding this punishment, the person damaged may accuse the same Criminal again in a Superior Court, where he is tryed, the result of which is usually a farther punishment.

Farther, the Plaintiff may in common Cases bring his Action in any Higher Magistrates Court, even before it has been pleaded in an Inferior Court. I mean, an Inhabitant of a Town of the third Rank may forthwith apply himself to the Governour of the Capital City of the Province, or even to the Vice-Roy, without having it examined before the Governour of his own Town; and when it once comes before a Superior Judge, the Inferior ones may not take Cognizance of it, unless it be deputed to them by those Superior Judges, as it often is. When the Cause is of great Consequence, there lies an Appeal from the Vice-Roy to one of the Supreme Courts at *Pekin*, according to the nature of the Affair, where the Cause is examined in one of the under Offices, who make their report to the President of the Supreme Office, who gives Sentence after he has advised with his Assistants, and Communicated his Opinion to the *Colaos* who carry it to the Emperor. Sometimes the Emperor desires better information, sometimes gives Sentence on the spot, and in his name the Supreme Court

Court makes a brief of the Sentence, and sends it to the Vice-Roys for them to put it in Execution. A Sentence pronounced in this manner is irrevocable, they call it the holy Commandment; that is to say the Commandment, which is without defect or partiality.

You will think it doubtless an inconceivable thing, that a Prince should have time to examin himself the Affairs of so vast an Empire as is that of *China*. But besides that Wars and Foreign Negotiations never spend his time, which in *Europe* is almost the sole business of the Councils, besides this, I say, their Affairs are so well digested and ordered, that he can with half an Eye see to which Party he ought to incline in his Sentence, and this because their Laws are so plain that they leave no room for intricacy or dispute. So that two hours a day is time enough for that Prince to Govern himself an Empire of that extent, that were there other Laws might find Employment for thirty Kings. So true is it that the Laws of *China*, are wise, plain, well understood, and exactly adequate to the particular Genius and Temper of that Nation.

To give your Eminence a general Notion of this, I shall think it sufficient to remark to You three things, which are exceeding conducive to the Publick Peace, and are as it were the very Soul of the Government. The first is the Moral Principles which are instilled into the People. The second is the Political Rules which are set up in every Thing. The third is the Maxims of good Policy which are, or ought to be every where observed.

The first Moral Principle respects private Families, and enjoyns Children such a Love, Obedience, and Respect for their Parents, that neither the severity of their treatment, the impertinency of their old Age, or the meanness of their Rank, when the Children
have

have met with Preferment, can ever efface. One can't imagin to what a degree of Perfection this first Principle of Nature is improved. There is no Submission, no point of Obedience which the Parents can't command, or which the Children can refuse. These Children are obliged to comfort them when alive, and continually to bewail them when dead. They Prostrate themselves a thousand times before their dead Bodies, offer them Provisions, as tho' they were yet alive, to signify that all their Goods belong to them, and that from the bottom of their Heart they wish them in a Capacity to enjoy them. They bury them with a Pomp and Expencc which to us would seem extravagant, they pay constantly at their Tombs a Tribute of Tears, which Ceremonies they often perform even to their Pictures, which they keep in their Houses with all imaginable care, which they honour with Offerings, and with as due a respect as they would their Parents were they yet alive. Their Kings themselves are not excused this piece of Duty, and the present Emperor has been observant of it, not only to his Predecessors of his own Family, but even to those who were not. For one day when in Hunting he perceived a far off the magnificent Monument which his Father had erected for *Tcountchin*, the last *Chinese* Emperor, who lost his Life and Crown in a Rebellion, he ran to the place, and fell on his Knees before the Tomb, and even wept; and in a great concern for his misfortune: *O Prince!* says he, *O Emperor worthy of a better fate! you know that your destruction is no ways owing to us; your death lies not at our door, your Subjects brought it upon you. It was them that betrayed you. It is upon them, and not on my Ancestors, that Heaven must send down vengeance for this act.* Afterward he ordered Flambeaus to be lit, and Incense to be offered. During all which time he fixed his Countenance on
the

the ground, and arose not till all these Ceremonies were over.

The ordinary term of Mourning is three years, during which time the Mourner can exercise no Publick Office. So that a Mandarin is obliged to forsake his Employ, and a Minister of State his Office, to spend all that time in grief. If a Father be honoured after his death as a God, to be sure he is obeyed in his Family like a Prince, over whom he exercises a Despotick Power; as absolute Master not only of his Estate which he distributes to whom he pleases, but also of his Concubines and Children, of whom he disposes with that liberty and power that he may sell them to Strangers when their behaviour displeases him. If a Father accuses his Son of any Crime before a Mandarin, there needs no proof of it; its supposed to be true that the Son is in the Fault if the Father be displeas'd. This Paternal power is of that extent, that there is no Father but may take his Sons life away, if he will stick to his Accusation. When we seem'd amazed at this procedure, we were answer'd: who understands the merit of the Son better than the Father, who has brought him up, Educated him, and such a long time observed all his Actions? And again, can any person have a greater Love, or a more sincere Affection for him? If therefore he who knows his Case exactly, and loves him tenderly, Condemns him, how can we pronounce him guiltless and innocent? And when we objected that some persons have an inbred dislike of others, and that Fathers who were Men, as well as Fathers, were capable of such antipathies against some of their Children; they answer'd, that Men were not more unnatural than Savage Beasts, the cruellest of which never destroyed their young ones for a Frolick; but supposing there be such Monsters among Men, their Children by their modesty and sweetness of temper must

must tame and soften them. But after all, say they, the love of their Children is so deeply imprinted in the Hearts of Parents, that antipathy, or dislike, unless provoked and inflamed by the undutiful stubbornness and disorderly behaviour of their Children, can never erase.

If it should happen that a Son should be so insolent as to mock his Parents, or arrive to that height of fury and madness as to lay violent hands on them; it is the whole Empires concern, and the Province where this horrible Violence is committed is alarmed. The Emperor himself judges the Criminal. All the Mandarins near the place are turned out, especially those of that Town, who have been so negligent in their Instructions. The Neighbours are all reprimanded for neglecting, by former Punishments, to stop the iniquity of this Criminal before it came to this height, for they suppose that such a Diabolical temper as this must needs have shewed it self on other Occasions, since its hardly possible to attain to such a pitch of iniquity at once. As for the Criminal there is no Punishment which they think too severe. They cut him into a thousand pieces, burn him, destroy his House to the ground, and even those Houses which stand near it, and set up Monuments and Memorials of this so horrible an insolence.

Even the Emperors themselves can't reject the Authority of their Parents without running the risque of suffering for it; and History tells us a Story which will always make the Affection which the *Chinese* have to this Duty appear admirable. One of the Emperors had a Mother who managed a private Intreague with one of the Lords of the Court; the notice which was publickly taken of it, obliged the Emperor to shew his resentment of it, both for his own honour and that of the Empire: so that he banished her into a far distant Province; and because he knew
that

that this Action would not be very acceptable to his Princes and Mandarins, he forbid them all, under pain of death, giving him advice therein. They were all silent for some time, hoping that of himself he would condemn his own Conduct in that Affair; but seeing that he did not, they resolved to appear in it, rather than suffer so pernicious a Precedent.

The first who had the Courage to put up a request to the Emperor in this matter was put to death on the spot. His death put not a stop to the Mandarins proceedings; for a day or two after another made his appearance, and to shew all the World that he was willing to Sacrifice his life for the Publick, he ordered his Hearse to stand at the Palace Gate. The Emperor minded not this generous Action, but was the rather more provoked at it. He not only sentenced him to death, but to terrifie all others from following his Example, he ordered him to be put to the Torture. One would not think it Prudence to hold out longer. The *Chinese* were of another mind, for they resolved to fall one after another rather than basely to pass over in silence so base an Action.

There was therefore a third who devoted himself. He, like the second, ordered his Coffin to be set at the Palace Gate, and protested to the Emperor that he was not able any longer to see him still guilty of his Crime. *What shall we lose by our death, says he, nothing but the sight of a Prince, upon whom we can't look without amazement and horror. Since you will not bear us, we will go and seek out yours and the Empress your Mothers Ancestors. They will hear our complaints, and perhaps in the dark and silence of the night you will hear ours and their Ghosts reproach you with your Injustice.*

The Emperor being more enraged than ever at this Insolence, as he called it, of his Subjects, inflicted on this last the severest Torments he could devise.

Many

Many others encouraged by these Examples, exposed themselves to Torment, and did in effect dye the Martyrs of Filial Duty, which they stood up for with the last drop of their blood. At last this Heroic Constancy wearied out the Emperor's Cruelty; and whether he was afraid of more dangerous Consequences, or was himself convinced of his own Fault; he Repented, as he was the Father of his People, that he had so unworthily put to death his Children; and as a Son of the Empress he was troubled that he had so long misused his Mother. He recalled her therefore, restored her to her former Dignity, and after that the more he honoured her, the more was he himself honoured of his Subjects.

The second Moral Principle which obtains among them, is to honour their Mandarins as they would the Emperor himself, whose Person the Mandarins represent. To retain this Credit the Mandarins never appear in Publick without a Retinue, and Face of Grandeur that commands Respect. They are always carried in a magnificent Chair open, before them go all the Officers of their Courts, and round them are carried all the marks and badges of their Dignity. The People, wherever they come, open to the right and left to let them pass thro'. When they Administer Justice in their Palaces, no body speaks to them but on their Knees, be they of what Quality they will, and since they can at any time command any persons to be whipped, no one comes near them without trembling.

Heretofore when any Mandarin took a Journey, all the Inhabitants of the Towns thro' which he passed ran in a croud to meet him, and profer their Services, conducting him with all Solemnity thro' their Territory: now when he leaves his Office which he has Administred to the satisfaction of all Men, they give him such marks of honour, as would
engage

engage the most stupid to the love of Virtue and Justice. When he is taking his leave in order to lay down his Office, almost all the Inhabitants go in the Highways, and place themselves some here, some there for almost fourteen or fifteen Miles together. So that every where in the Road one sees Tables handsomely painted, with Satin Table-Cloaths, covered with Sweet-meats, Tea and other Liquors.

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

Then he hears himself called publick Benefactor, the preserver and Father of his People. They bewail the loss of him with wet Eyes; and a Mandarin must be very insensible indeed, if he does not in his turn shed a Tear or two, when he sees such tender marks of Affection. For the Inhabitants are not obliged to shew him this Respect, and when they do not like the Administration of a Governor, they shew themselves as indifferent at his departure, as they do affectionate and sorry at the loss of a good one.

The extraordinary respect which Children pay to their Parents, and People to their Governors, is the greatest means of preserving quietness in their Families, and Peace in their Towns; I am persuaded that all the good Order, in which we see so mighty a People, flows from these two Springs.

The third Principle of Morality established among them is this, that it is very necessary that all People should observe toward each other the strictest Rules of Modesty and Civility, that they should behave themselves so obligingly and complaisantly, that all their Actions may have a mixture of sweetness and courtesie in them. This, say they, is that which makes the distinction between Man and Beast, or between the *Chinese* and other Men: they pretend also that the disturbance of several Kingdoms is owing to the rough and unpolished Temper of their Subjects. For those Tempers which fly out into Rudeness and Passion, perpetually embroiled in Quarrels, which use neither respect nor Complaisance toward any, are fitted to be Incendiaries and Disturbers of the Publick Peace. On the contrary, People who Honour and Respect each other, who can suffer an Injury, and dissemble or stifle it; who religiously observe that difference which either Age, Quality, or Merit have made; a People of this stamp are naturally lovers of Order, and when they do amiss it is not without Violence to their own Inclinations.

The *Chinese* are so far from neglecting the Practice of this Maxim, that in several Instances they carry it on too far. No sort of Men are excused from it; Tradesmen, Servants, nay even Countrymen have their ways of expressing Kindness and Civility to one another; I have often been amased to see Footmen take their leave of each other on their Knees, and Farmers in their Entertainments use more Complements and Ceremonies than we do at our publick Treats. Even the Seamen, who from their manner of living, and from the Air they breath, draw in naturally Roughness, do yet bear to each other a love like that of Brothers, and pay that deference to one another, that one would think them united by the straitest bands of friendship.

The State, which has always, in Policy, accounted this as most conducive to the quiet of the Empire, has appointed forms of Salutation, of Visiting, of making Entertainments, and of writing Letters. The usual way of Salutation is to lay your Hands cross your Breast, and bow your Head a little. Where you would still show a greater Respect, you must joyn your Hands together, and carry them almost to the ground, bowing your whole Body; if you pass by a Person of Eminent Quality, or receive such an one into your House, you must bend one Knee, and remain in that Posture 'till he whom you thus Salute takes you up, which he always does immediately. But when a Mandarin appears in publick, it would be a Criminal sauciness to Salute him in any sort of Fashion, unless you have occasion to speak to him: you must step aside a little, and holding your Eyes on the ground, and your Arms cross your Sides, stay till he be gone past you.

Altho' very familiar Acquaintance make Visits without any Ceremony, yet for those Friends who are not so, Custom has prescribed a set form of Visiting. The Visiter sends his Servant before with a piece of red Paper, on which is wrote his own name, and a great many marks of Respect to the Person he Visits, according as his Dignity or Quality is. When this message is received, the Visitor comes in, and meets with a reception answerable to his Merit. The Person visited sometimes stays for the Visitor in the Hall, without going out to meet him, or if he be of a much Superior Quality without rising from his Seat: sometimes he meets the Visitor at his Door; sometimes he goes out into the Court-yard, and sometimes even into the Street to bring him in. When they come into view, they both run and make a low Bow. They say but little, their Complements are in form, one knows what he must say, and the other

how he must answer; they never beat their Brains, like us, to find out new Complements, and fine Phrases. At every Gate they make a halt where the Ceremonies begin afresh, and the Bows are renewed to make each go first; they use but two ways of speaking on this Occasion, which are *Tsin*; that is, *pray be pleased to enter*, and *Poukan*, *it must not be*. Each of them repeats his word four or five times, and then the Stranger suffers himself to be persuaded, and goes on to the next Door, where the same thing begins anew.

When they come to the Room where they are to stay, they stand near the Door in a row, and every one bows almost to the ground; then follow the Ceremonies of kneeling, and going on this or that side to give the right Hand, then the Chairs are saluted (for they have their Complements paid them as well as the Men, they rub them to take all Dust away; and bow in a respective manner to them) then follow the Contentions about the first Place; yet all this makes no Confusion. Use has made it natural to the *Chinese*, they know before what themselves, and what others are to do, every one stays till the others have done in their order what is expected, so that there happens no Confusion or Disturbance.

It must be owned that this is a great piece of Fatigue, and after so many Motions and different Postures in which they spend a quarter of an hour before they are to sit down; it must be own'd they have need enough of rest. The Chairs are set so that every Body sits opposite to one another; when you are late, you must sit straight, not lean back, your Eyes must look downward, your Hands must be stretched on your Knees, your Feet even, not across, with a grave and composed behaviour, not be over-forward to speak. The *Chinese* think that a Visit consists not in mutual Converse so much as in outward Comple-

Complement and Ceremony, and in *China* the Visitor may truly and properly say he comes to pay his Respects, for oftimes there is more honours paid than words spoken.

A Missionary did aver to me that a Mandarin made him a Visit, in which he spoke never a word to him. This is always certain that they never overheat themselves with discoursing, for one may generally say of them that they are Statues or Figures placed in a Theatre for Ornament, they have so little of Discourse and so much of Gravity.

Their Speech is mighty submissive and humble, you will never hear them say, for Example, *I am obliged to you for the favour you have done me*, but thus, *The favour which my Lord, which my Instructor has granted to me, who am little in his Eyes; or who am his Disciple, has extremely obliged me.* Again, they dont say, *I make bold to present you with a few Curiosities of my Country;* but *The Servant takes the liberty to offer to his Lord a few Curiosities which came from his mean and vile Country.* Again, not *Whatsoever comes from your Kingdom or Province is well worked;* but *Whatsoever comes from the precious Kingdom, the noble Province of the Lord is extraordinary fine, and exceeding well wrought.* In like manner in all other Cafes, they never say I or You in the first or second Person? but *me your Servant, me your Disciple, me your Subject.* And instead of saying *You*, they say *the Doctor said, the Lord did, the Emperor appointed.* It would be a great piece of Clownishness to say otherwise, unless to our Servants.

During the Visit the Tea goes round two or three times, where you must use a Ceremony when you take the Dish, when you carry it to your Mouth, or when you return it to the Servant. When you depart it is with the same Ceremonies with which you came in, and you conclude the Comedy with the same

Expence you began it. Strangers are very uncouth at playing their parts herein, and make great blunders. The reasonable part of the *Chinese* smile at them and excuse them; others take exceptions at it, and desire them to learn and practice before they venture in publick. For this reason they allow Ambassadors forty days to prepare for their Audience of the Emperor; and for fear they should miss any Ceremony, they send them, during the time allowed, Masters of the Ceremonies, who teach them, and make them practice.

Their Feasts are ceremonious even beyond what you can imagin, you would think they are not invited to eat, but to make Grimaces. Not a mouthful of Meat is eat, or a drop of Wine drank but it costs an hundred Faces. They have, like our Consorts of Musick, an Officer who beats time, that the Guests may all together in Concord take their Meat on their Plates, and put it into their Mouths, and lift up their little Instruments of Wood, which serve instead of a Fork, or put them again in their places in Order. Every Guest has a peculiar Table, without Table-Cloath, Napkin, Knife or Spoon; for every thing is ready cut to their Hands, and they never touch any thing but with two little wooden Instruments tipped with Silver, which the *Chinese* handle very dexterously, and which serve them for an Universal Instrument.

They begin their Feasts with drinking Wine, which is given to every Guest at one and the same time in a small Cup of *China* or Silver, which Cup all the Guests take hold of with both Hands: every one lifts his Vessel as high as his Head, presenting their Service thereby to one another without speaking, and inviting each other to drink first. It is enough if you hold the Cup to your Mouth only without drinking during the time while the rest drink; for if the out-
ward

ward Ceremonies are observed and kept, it is all one to them whether you drink or not.

After the first Cup, they set upon every Table a great Vessel of hash'd Meat, or Ragoo. Then every one observes the motions of the Master of the Feast, who directs the Actions of his Guests. According as he gives the sign, they take their two little Instruments, brandish them in the Air, and as it were Present them, and after Exercising them after twenty Fashions which I can't express, they strike them into the Dish, from whence they cleverly bring up a piece of Meat, which must be eat neither too hastily nor too slowly, since it would be a rudeness either to eat before others or to make them stay for you. Then again they exercise their little Instruments, which at length they place on the Table in that posture wherein they were at the first. In all this you must observe time, that all may begin and end at once.

A little after comes the Wine again, which is drank with all the Ceremonies aforesaid. Then comes a second Mess, which they dip into as into the first, and thus the Feast is continued until the end, drinking between every mouthful, 'till there have been twenty or four and twenty different Plates of Meat at every Table, which makes them drink off as many Cups of Wine; but we must observe that, besides that I have said that they drink as much or as little as they will at a time, their Wine Cups are very little, and their Wine is small.

When all the Dishes are served, which are done with all imaginable Order, no more Wine is brought, and the Guests may be a little more free with their Meat, taking indifferently out of any of these Dishes before them, which yet must be done when the rest of the Guests take out of some of their Dishes, for Uniformity and Order is always Sacred. At this

time they bring Rice and Bread, for as yet nothing but Meat has been brought; they bring likewise fine Broths made of Flesh or Fish, in which the Guests, if they think fit, may mingle their Rice.

They sit at Table serious, grave, and silent, for three or four hours together. When the Master of the House sees they have all done eating, he gives the sign to rise, and they go aside for a quarter of an hour into the Hall or Garden to entertain and divert themselves. Then they come again to Table, which they find set out with all sorts of sweetmeats, and dried Fruits, which they keep to drink with their Tea.

These Customs so strictly enjoyned, and so extremely troublesome, which must be performed from one end to the other of the Feast, keeps all the Guests from eating, who do not find themselves Hungry 'till they arise from the Table. Then they have a great mind to go and Dine at Home; but a Company of Strolers come and play over a Comedy, which is so tedious that it wearies one as much as that before at the Table did. Nor is tediousness the only fault, for they are commonly very dull and very noisie, no Rules are observed, sometimes they Sing, sometimes bawl, and sometimes howl, for the *Chinese* have little skill in making Declamations. Yet you must not laugh at this folly, but all the while admire at the Politeness of *China*, at its Ceremonies, Instituted, as they say, by the Discretion of the Antients, and still kept up by the Wisdom of the Moderns.

The Letters which are wrote from one to another, are as remarkable for their Civilities and Ceremonies, which are as many and as mysterious as the others. They dont write in the same manner as they speak; the bigness of the Characters, the distances between the Lines, the innumerable Titles of Honour given to the several Qualities of Persons,
the

the shape of the Paper, the number of red, white or blew Covers for the Letter, according to the Persons conditon, and an hundred other Formalities puzzle sometimes the Brain of the most understanding men amongst them, for there is scarce any one who is Secretary enough to write and send one of their Letters as it ought to be.

There are a thousand other Rules practised by the better sort in ordinary Conversation, which you must observe, unless you would be accounted a Clown; and tho' in a thousand Instances these things favour more of a ridiculous affectation than of real politeness, no one can deny nevertheless but that these Customs, which People observe so exactly, do inspire into them a sweetness of Temper, and a love of Order. These three Moral Principles, that is, The Respect which Children pay their Parents, The Veneration which all pay the Emperor and his Officers, and The mutual Humility and Courtesie of all People, work their effect the better, because supported by a wise and well understood Policy. The Principle Maxims of which are, my Lord, as follow.

The first is, never to give any one an Office in his own Province, and that for two Reasons: because, first, a Mandarin of ordinary Parentage is usually despised by those who know his Family. Secondly, because being brought into favour and repute, by the great number of his kindred and Friends, he might be enabled either to make, or at least to support a Rebellion, or at least it would be very difficult for him to execute Justice with an Universal impartiality.

The second Maxim, is to retain at Court the Children of the Mandarins employed in the most considerable Offices in the Province, under pretence indeed of educating them well, but in reality keeping them as Hostages, lest their Fathers should fall from that Duty which they owe the Emperor.

The third Maxim, is that when one goes to Law, such a Commissary is made use of as the Emperor pleases to name, unless the Office or Quality of the Criminal gives him the liberty to refuse him. If the Emperor dislikes the first Sentence, he may Commission new Judges to re-examine it until the Sentence be agreeable to his mind. For otherwise it would be in the power of Money, or of Artifice to save a Man whose life would be noxious to the good of the State. On the other side, say they, we need not fear the Princes Passion, who if he have a mind to take off a good Man may find ways enough to do it without going so openly about it. But it is but fitting that there should be a means efficacious enough to rid the Empire of an ill Man.

The fourth Maxim of Policy is never to sell any Place, but to bestow it always upon Merit; that is to those of good life, and who by a diligent Study have acquainted themselves with the Laws and Customs of their Country. To this end Informations are exhibited of the life and manners of the Candidate, especially when a Mandarin is removed from an Inferior to a Superior Office; as for their Understanding the Laws, they undergo so many Examinations and Tryals of it, that it is impossible for an ignoramus to be thought understanding, so severe are the measures which they take.

When they resolve to set a Child apart to Learning, they put him to a Master, for the Towns of *China* are full of Schools, where Reading and Writing are taught, which to learn well will take up some years. When the Youth has made a pretty good progress in this, he is presented to a Mandarin of the lower Order to be examined. If he writes a good Hand, and makes their Characters handsomely, he is admitted among those who apply themselves to the knowledge of Books, and endeavour to obtain a degree.

Of which there are three sorts which answer to our Bachelour, Master of Arts, and Doctor. As the fortunes of the *Chinese* do wholly depend upon their Capacity and Understanding, so they spend their whole life in Study. They say by Heart all their Staple Books with a wonderful alacrity, they make Comments on their Laws: Composition, Eloquence, Imitation and Knowledge of their antient Doctors, and the delicacy and politeness of the modern ones, from six to sixty are their constant employ. In some the quickness and readiness of Wit saves them a great deal of Labour, for some have been Doctors at an Age when others can write but indifferently; but these are Hero's amongst the *Chinese*, of which one in an Age is enough.

The Examinations are strict, Masters of Arts are created by the Principal Mandarins of the Province; Bachelours by those Mandarins assisted by a Commissary from Court; as for Doctors they Commence only at *Pekin*: but because some who deserve this Degree, have not wherewith to defray so expensive a Journey, what is necessary for it, is bestowed on them gratis, that so poverty may not deprive the State of the Service of those Men who may prove useful and beneficial to it.

Every ones Character is taken from his ability to Invent or Compose. For this purpose the Candidates are shut up in a close Room, without Books, without any other Paper than what is necessary for them to write on. All the while they are forbidden all manner of Correspondents, at the Doors are placed by the Mandarins Guards, whose fidelity no Bribes can Corrupt; the second examination is yet more strict, for least the Commissary sent by the Court should himself be byassed thro' favour or the hopes of gain, he is not suffered to see or speak with any Person 'till the Examination is over.

In Creating the Doctors, the Emperor often engages himself; the present Emperor is more fear'd by the Candidates than any of the other Posers, not only for his nice Exactness and rigorous Justice, but for his extraordinary Abilities in judging of any thing of this Nature. When the Doctors are named, they are presented to him; to three Principal of which he gives Garlands of Flowers, or any other marks of Honour, to distinguish them from the rest; some of them likewise he chuses for Members of his Royal Academy, from whence they never remove, unless into Posts of the greatest Consideration and Credit in the Kingdom.

The great number of Presents which they receive from their Kindred and Friends keeps the Doctors from being poor. Every one hopes to make some advantage from his friendship; but lest high Promotion should make them negligent, and sit loose to their Studies; they still undergo several Examinations, where if they appear to have been negligent, they certainly meet with severity and reproof; whereas if they have still continued to forward and improve their Studies, they meet with a suitable encouragement and reward.

No small share of the Publick Good is owing to this Principle of Policy. The Youths, whom idleness and sloth never fail to Corrupt, are by this constant Employment diverted from ill Courses, they have scarce time enough to follow their loose Inclinations? Secondly, Study forms and polishes their Wits. People who never engage in Arts and Sciences, are always blockish and stupid. Thirdly, all Offices are filled by able Men, and if they cant prevent that injustice which proceeds from the Covetousness and Corrupt Affections of Officers, at least they will take care to hinder that which arises from Ignorance and Immorality. Fourthly, since the Places are given,
the

the Emperor may with greater Justice turn out those Officers whom he shall find undeserving. We ought indeed to punish every Offender; yet it would be natural to bear with a Mandarin who is negligent of his Office for want of Understanding or Application, who is too mild or over severe, if taking away his Place would ruin his Family whose whole Fortune it may be was laid out in the purchase of it, when as if a Place be disposed only by Donation, the Prince who gave it may easily without any disturbance take it from one, and gratifie another with it.

Lastly, no Fees are paid for the Administration of Justice. The Judge whose Office cost him nothing, and who has his Salary stated, can require nothing of the parties at Law; which impowers every poor Man to prosecute his own Rights, and frees him from being oppressed by the opulence of his Adversary, who can't be brought to do justly and reasonably because the other has not mony.

The *Chinese* have established this as a fifth Maxim of Policy never to suffer Strangers to have any share in their Administration. The small esteem they bear them, makes the *Chinese* use them so courly. They fancy that a mixture of Natives and Foreigners would bring them to contempt, and occasion nought but Corruption and Disorder. From thence also would spring particular Grudges, making Parties, and at last Rebellions. For difference of People necessarily supposes difference of Customs, Languages, Humour and Religion. This makes them no longer Children of the same Family, bred up to the same Opinions, and tempered with the same Notions; and be there all imaginable care used in instructing and forming Strangers, they are at most but adopted Sons, who never have that implicit Obedience and tender Affection, which Children by Nature bear to their own Parents. So that should Foreigners be better qualified

fied than Natives, which you can never make the *Chinese* believe, they would fancy it for the good of their Country to prefer Natives to them: and it is little less than a Miracle in favour of Christianity, that a few Missionaries have been suffered to settle there.

This last piece of Policy is extremely good when those of a false Religion are kept out, which teaches Rebellion and Disturbance; itself being the Product of Caballing and Riot, but the Case is otherwise in Christianity, whose Humility, Sweetness and Obedience to Authority, produces nought but Peace, Unity, and Charity among all People. This is what the *Chinese* begin to be convinced of, having had tryal of it for an whole Age together. Happy were it if they would embrace it as a Constitution equally necessary for the Salvation of their Souls, as conducive to the Peace and Good of their State.

Their sixth Maxim is that Nobility is never Hereditary, neither is there any distinction between the Qualities of People; saving what the Offices which they Execute makes, so that excepting the Family of *Confucius* the whole Kingdom is divided into Magistracy and Commonalty. There are no Lands but what are held by Socage-Tenure, not even those Lands which are destined for the *Bonzes*, or which belong to the Temples of the Idols. So that their Gods, as well as Men, are subjected to the State, and are obliged by Taxes and Contributions to acknowledge the Emperors Supremacy. When a Vice Roy or Governour of a Province is dead, his Children, as well as others, have their Fortunes to make; and if they inherit not their Fathers Virtue and Ingenuity, his name which they bear, be it never so famous, gives them no quality at all.

The Advantages which the State makes of this Maxim are first, Trading is in a more flourishing condition, which the laziness of the Nobility is the likeliest means to ruin. Secondly, the Emperors Revenues are encreased by it; because no Estates are Tax-free. In Towns which pay Poll-Mony no Person is exempt. Thirdly, by this means Families are hindred from ingratiating themselves with the Populace, and so kept from establishing themselves so far in the Peoples favour, that it would be a difficulty to the Prince himself to keep them within bounds. Lastly, its a received Opinion among the *Chinese*, that if an Emperor would be obeyed he must lay his commands upon Subjects, and not upon so many little Kings.

Their seventh Principle of Policy is to keep up in Peace, as well as War, great Armies, as well to maintain a Credit and Respect from the Neighbours, as to stifle or rather prevent any Disturbance or Insurrection which may happen at Home. Heretofore a million of Soldiers were set to Guard their great Wall. A less number also than that to Garrison their Frontiers and great Towns would have been too little. Now they think it enough to keep Garrisons in their most important Towns.

Besides these standing Forces, there are fifteen or twenty thousand Men in each Province, under the command of private Officers; they have also Soldiers to keep their Islands, especially *Haynan* and *Formosa*. The Horse Guards of *Pekin* are above an hundred and sixty thousand. So that, I believe, in the greatest and securest Peace the Emperor has in Pay and at Muster no less than fifty hundred thousand effective Men, all armed according to the Custom of the Country with Scimeters and Darts. They have but a very small Infantry, and of those which they have there are no Pikemen, and very few Musketeers.

Their

Their Soldiers are very graceful, and pretty well Disciplined, for the *Tartars* have almost degenerated into *Chinese*, and the *Chinese* continue as they always were, Soft, Effeminate, Enemies of Labour, better at making an handsome Figure at Muster or in a March, than at behaving themselves gallantly in an Action. The *Tartars* begin with heat and briskness, and if they can make their Enemies give ground in the beginning, then they can make their advantage of it; otherwise they are unable to continue an Attack a good while, or to bear up long against one, especially if made in order and with vigour. The Emperor, whom I have had the honour to speak with, who says nothing but what is proper, as he does nothing but what is great, gave this short Character of them, they are good Soldiers when opposed to bad ones, but bad when opposed to good ones.

The eighth Maxim is concerning their Rewards and Punishments. Great Men who have faithfully served their Country never lose their Reward; and because be a Prince never so Opulent, he can never have enough to reward all his Subjects, this defect is made up by Marks and Titles of Honour, which are very acceptable to the Subjects, and no charge to the Prince.

These Titles of Honour are what they call the several Orders of Mandarins. They say such an one is a Mandarin of the first Rank, or the Emperor has placed such an one in the first Class of the Mandarins of the second Rank, and in like manner of others. This Dignity, which is merely honorary, makes them take place in Assemblies, Visits, and Councils, but is no profit to them. To make these Rewards of greater extent, which the People chuse much sooner than Pensions, they are sometimes bestowed even upon the dead, who are oftimes made Mandarins after their Funerals, who therefore fill sometimes the
greatest

greatest Places of Honour amongst the Nobility when the Emperor can't bestow upon them the meanest Place among the living. They have oftentimes at the Publick or the Princes Charge lofty Monuments raised for them, and that Court which looks after the Publick Expences judges what recompense shall be paid to their desert. These Rewards are oftentimes accompanied with Elogies in their praise made by the Emperor himself, which makes them and their Family famous to all Posterity. But the highest Honour is to make them Saints, to build them Temples, and offer them Sacrifices as to the Gods of the Country. By this means Paganism has been mightily supported by the Emperors, adoring themselves the Work of their own Hands, and paying Worship and Honour to them, who when alive would have been glad to be Prostrate at their now Worshippers feet.

They Reward also in private Men those vertuous Actions which bring no publick Advantage to the State. We read in History that Temples have been raised to the memory of some Maids who all their lives kept their Chastity inviolable. And I my self have seen in several of their Towns Trophies with honorable Inscriptions raised up for Inhabitants of mean rank and degree, to publish to all the World their Virtue and Merit.

If the *Chinese* are very liberal in their Rewards, they are as severe in their Punishments even of the slightest Faults; their Punishments are adequate to their demerits. The usual Punishment is the Bastinado on the Back. When they receive but forty or fifty blows they call this a Fatherly Correction. To which as well Mandarins as others are subject; this Punishment is not accounted very scandalous, and after it is executed, the Criminal must fall on his Knees before the Judge, and if able bow three times down to the ground, and give him humble thanks for taking this care of his Education. Yet

Yet this Punishment is of that Violence that one stroke is enough to fell one that is of a tender Constitution; and oftimes persons die of it; it is true there are ways of softening this Punishment when the Execution of it is in Court. The easiest is to Bribe the Executioners, for there are many of them; because lest the Executioners weariness should lessen the Punishment, after five or six strokes another succeeds, and so till the whole be performed. But when the Criminal has by mony made them his Friends, they understand their business so well, that notwithstanding all the care which the Mandarins present can use, the Punishment becomes light and almost nothing.

Beside this in the Courts there are persons to be hired, who keep a good understanding with the Officers. Who, upon a signal given, take the place of the Criminal, who escapes among the croud, and receives his Punishment. For mony there are every where these sort of Vicarious Persons to be met with. For it is a Trade at *China*, where several Persons are maintained by the blows of the Cudgel.

By such a trick as this *Yam-quam sien*, a famous Persecutor of Christianity escaped the just Sentence of the Judges. He engaged a paltry Fellow for a large sum of mony to take upon him his name, and go to the Court of Justice in his stead. He told him that let it come to the worst it was but a good Cudgelling, and if after that he was imprisoned, there should be found out a way to redeem him thence. The poor Fellow went according to agreement, and when the Cryer called out aloud *Yam-quam sien*, the Fellow answered as loud, *Here*; his Sentence was passed, and the Mandarin condemned him to death. The Officers, who had been bribed, seized on him immediately, and according to Custom gagged him; for after Sentence the Criminal is not suffered to speak. Afterward

terward he was brought to the place of Execution, where the poor Wretch suffered a miserable death.

The second sort of Punishment is the *Carcans*, which differs from the former only in the place where the Bastinadoes are given : in this they are given the Criminal at one of the City Gates or in the Highway ; the Punishment here is not so sharp but the Infamy is greater, and he who has once undergone this Punishment can never more recover his Reputation.

They have several different ways of inflicting death. Mean and ignoble Persons have their Heads cut off, for in *China* the separation of the Head from the Body is disgraceful. On the contrary Persons of Quality are Strangled, which among them is a death of more Credit ; if the Crime be very notorious they are Punished like mean Persons, and sometimes their Heads are cut off and hanged on a Tree in the Highways.

Rebels and Traytors are punished with the utmost severity ; that is to speak as they do, they cut them into ten thousand pieces. For, after that the Executioner hath tyed them to a Post, he cuts off the Skin all round their Forehead, which he tears by force till it hangs over their Eyes, that they may not see the Torments they are to endure. Afterwards he cuts their Bodies in what places he thinks fit, and when he is tyed with this barbarous Employment, he leaves them to the tyranny of their Enemies, and the insults of the Mob.

Often Criminals are cruelly whipped till they expire. Lastly, the Torture which is the cruellest of all Deaths is here used ; and generally the Hands and Fingers suffer most in it.

Ninthly, They think it good Policy to forbid Women from all Trade and Commerce, which they can only benefit by letting it alone ; all their business lies

within Doors, where they find continual Employment in the careful Education of their Children. They neither Buy nor Sell; and one sees Women so seldom in the Streets, that one would imagine them to be all Religiouses confined to a Cloyster. Princesses never Succeed to the Crown, nor ever have the Regency during the young Princes minority; and tho' the Emperor may in private consult them, it is reckoned mean and ignoble to do it. In which thing the *Chinese* seem in my Opinion less reasonable than in others. For wit and foresight is equally the Portion of the one as of the other Sex; and a Prince is never so understanding as when he knows how to find out all his Treasures wheresoever Nature has placed them, nor ever so Prudent as when he makes use of them.

Lastly, Their tenth Maxim is to encourage Trade as much as possible thro' the whole Empire. All the other Policy is conducive to the plenty or convenience of their Country; but this is concern'd for the very lives of the People, who would be soon reduced to the last extremity if Trade should once fail. It is not the Peoples care only, but the Mandarins also, who put out their mony to trusty Traders to make the best advantage of it. By this private way *Ousanguay*, the little King of *Chensi*, who brought the *Tartars* into *China*, made himself so rich and powerful, that he was able himself to support for a long time the War against the Emperor.

To encrease Commerce Foreigners have been permitted to come into the Ports of *China*, a thing till lately never known. On the other side the *Chinese* spread themselves over all the *Indies*, where they carry Silk, China, Physical Drugs, Sugar, Japanned Works, Wine, and Potters Ware. They go to *Batavia*, *Siam*, to *Achim*, *Malacca* and especially to *Fajpon* and *Manilla*; from which they are distant but a few days Sail.

Sail. From all these places they bring Silver, all of which that is brought from *Mexico* to the *Philippine* Islands by the *Pacifick* Ocean, is carried from thence to *Canton*, whence it is spread thro' the whole Empire:

But the greatest part of their Trading lies within themselves, from one Province to another, which like so many Kingdoms Communicate to each other their Riches. That of *Houquam* sends Rice, that of *Canton* Sugar, from *Cbequiam* comes good Silk, from *Nankin* neat and handsome pieces of Workmanship; *Cbenfi* and *Chanfi* are rich in Iron, Horses, Mules, Cammels and Furs. *Tokiern* yields Tea. *Leautoms* Drugs, and so the rest. This mutual Commerce unites the People, and fills their Towns with plenty: These, my Lord, are not all the *Chinese* Maxims, there are a World of others; but I have wrote down these as the most known and most essential ones for the Publick Good.

Good order in the Inferior Governments is as useful a part of Policy to the State as any whatever, by these Inferior Governments I mean those of the Cities, and of the several Camps. All these are settled in *China*; for from the Foundation of that Empire the State has thought it worth while to look after even the most inconsiderable things.

Among Persons of Quality there never happens any Dispute about taking place, because every one knows exactly what is due to his own, and to others Quality; and it was a great surprize to every body to see about six or seven years ago a Prince of the Blood, and a *Colao* engaged in such a sort of Dispute. The occasion of it was this; the Laws Ordain that when a *Colao* is about to speak to a Prince of the Blood he must bend the Knee, but Custom has laid as strong an Obligation on the Prince to take him up immediately.

The Prince thought that an obliging Custom tho' constantly practis'd by the Royal Family on several occasions ought not to prejudice his right by Law. He did therefore give Audience to a *Colao* on his Knees and never made any motion to him to rise. The Minister of State in a great Confusion to see himself kept so long in so humble a Posture complained of it to the Emperor, who assembled his Council forthwith. They looked into the Ceremonial to observe what they could find that would contribute to the deciding this Novel Case, but when they could find nothing therein serviceable to that end they were more perplex'd than ever.

Finally the Council who were against Innovations, judged that the Practise ought to be continued as before; and not freeing the *Colaos* from their obligation of speaking to the Princes of the Blood on their Knees, they thought it requisite also that the Princes should use that Civility towards them as not to keep them in that posture long. *You can't*, said they to the *Colao*, *honour the Princes too much, and you do not do well to omit any occasion where you can shew the respect you bear them.* Princes, added the Emperor to him who had occasioned this Dispute, *are by their own Rank set high enough above the rest of mankind, as not to need proudly to seek to debase them lower. They can want nothing to make them honourable, but Temper and Modesty. When you are denied the Respect due to you, all the World knows you have not what you ought to have; but when you insist upon every little Mark of Respect, it will make the World begin to inquire whether you deserve it.* Thus both of them were reprimanded, and that no new Laws might be made they let Custom be their Rule.

Every thing that belongs to the Princes or Mandarins, is punctually stated; their Pensions, their Houses, the number of their Servants, the shape and bigness

bigness of their Sedans, and the Badges of Honour by which they are distinguished. So that when they come into Publick their Quality is presently known, and the respect which is due to them with as little trouble paid. When the *Chinese* governed the Empire, even private Men wore their marks of distinction; and there was no learned Man but his Degree and Rank might be known by the Fashion or Colour of his Garb.

The Towns have their determinate Figure; they ought all to be square as far as the Ground they are built upon will suffer it; in such sort that the Gates may be so built as to answer the four principal Quarters of the World, that is the North, South, East, and West. The Houses have thorough Lights, and are esteemed ill built if their Doors do not lie exactly parallel to one of the sides of the Town.

Towns of the several Orders have different bigness, the chief Towns are nine or twelve Miles round, those of the first Rank are but six, those of the second or third Orders are less in proportion. This Rule nevertheless is not so universal as to admit of no Exception. The Streets are strait, generally laid out by the Line, large, well paved, yet very inconvenient; because every Person of any account goes up and down them either on Horseback or in a Chair. The Houses are low, of an equal height. The jealousy of the Husbands would not suffer that their Neighbours Houses should be higher than their own, lest thereby their Windows should overlook their Court-Yards and Gardens.

The whole Town is divided into four parts, and those again into several smaller Divisions, each of which contain ten Houses, over every one of which subdivisions an Officer presides, who takes notice of every thing which passes in his little Ward, tells the Mandarin what Contentions happen, what extraor-

dinary things, what Strangers come thither or go thence. The Neighbourhood is obliged to give mutual assistance, and in case of an allarm to lend one another an helping hand, for if any Theft or Robbery be committed in the Night, the Neighborhood must contribute toward repairing the loss. Lastly, in every Family the Father is responsible for the disorders and irregularities committed either by his Children or Servants.

The Gates of the Cities are well looked after, and even in time of Peace are shut up at the approach of night. In the day-time there are Guards to examine all who come in; if he be a Stranger, if he comes from another Province, or from a Neighbouring Town, they know him by his Tone, by his Mien, or his Habit, which in every place are somewhat different. When they observe any thing extraordinary or suspicious, they take the Person up, or inform the Mandarin of it. So that *European* Missionaries, whose Aspect is infinitely different from that of the *Chinese*, are known as soon as seen, and those who have not the Emperors approbation find it very difficult to make a long Journey.

In certain places, as at *Pekin*, as soon as night comes on they tie Chains cross the Streets; the Guards go the Patrole up and down the chief Streets, and Guards and Sentinels are placed here and there: The Horse go the Rounds upon the Fortifications; and wo be to him who is found then from Home. Meetings, Masquerades and Balls, and such like Night-works are good, say the *Chinese*, for none but Theives and the Mob. Orderly People ought at that time either to sit up providing for their Family, or else take their rest, that they may be refreshed, and better able the next day to manage the business of the Family.

Gaming is forbidden both to the Commonalty and
Genry.

Gentry. Which nevertheless hinders not the *Chinese* from playing, sometimes even so long as till they have lost all their Estate, their Houses, their Children and their Wives, which they sometimes hazard upon a Card; for there is no degree of Extravagance to which the desire of Lucre and Riches will not carry a *Chinese*. But besides that it is a disorder which the *Tartars*, since they became Masters of *China*, have introduced amongst them, they take great heed to conceal their gaming; and by consequence the Law which forbids it always flourishes, and is able to suppress great disorders.

What I have said concerning Wives, that their Husbands may sell them, or lose them at Play; puts me in mind to give some account of the Rules which their Civil Constitution rather than their Religion have ordained concerning Marriages; those who have a mind to Marry do not, as among us, follow their own fancies in their choice of a Wife. They never see the Woman they are about to have, but take her Parents word in the case, or else they have their information from several old Women who are as it were inspectors, but who are nevertheless in fee with the Womans Friends to set her out more than she deserves, so that it is very seldom that they make a true Description, or give a just Character of her whom they go to view.

The Womans Parents give mony generally to these Emissaries to oblige them to give a favourable Character. For it is for the Parents advantage that their Daughter should be reputed handsome, witty, and genteel; because the *Chinese* buy their Wives, and, as in other Merchandises, they give more or less according to the good or bad properties of them.

When the Parties are agreed about the price the Contract is made, and the mony paid down. Then preparation is made on both sides for the Nuptial

Solemnites, when the day of Marriage is come they carry the Bride in a sumptuous Chair before which go Hautboys, Drums and Fifes, and after it follow her Parents and other particular Friends of her Family. All the Portion which she brings is her marriage Garments, some Cloaths, and household Goods which her Father presents her with. The Bridegroom stands at his door richly attired waiting for her: he himself opens the Sedan which was closely shut, and having conducted her into a Chamber, delivers her to several Women invited thither for that purpose, who spend there the day together in feasting and sporting, while the Husband in another Room entertains his Friends and Acquaintance.

This being the first time that the Bride and Bridegroom see each other, and both or one very often not liking their Bargain, its very often a day of rejoicing for their Guests, but of sorrow for themselves. The Women must submit tho' they don't like, because their Parents have sold them, but the Husbands sometimes are not so complaisant, for there have been some who when they first opened the Sedan to receive the Bride, repulsed by her Shape and Aspect have shut the Chair again, and sent her and her Parents and Friends back again, willing rather to lose their Money than enter upon so bad a Purchase.

When the *Tartars* in the late War took *Nankin*, there happened a passage which made the *Chinese* merry notwithstanding all their misfortunes. Among all the disorders which the Victors committed in that Province. they endeavoured to seize upon all the Women they could to make money of them. When they took the chief City of that Province, they carry'd all the Women thither, and shut them up higgly piggly together in the Magazines with other Goods. But because there were some of all ages and degrees of Beauty, they resolved to put them into
Sacks

Sacks and carry them to Market, and so sell them to any one at a venture ugly or handsome. There was the same price set upon every one, and for sixteen or eighteen shillings take which Sack you will without opening it. After this manner the Soldiers, who were ever insolent in Prosperity, abused their Victory, and approved themselves more barbarous in the most Polite and Civil City in the World, than they had been in the Deserts of *Tartary*.

At the day of Sale there came Buyers enough. Some came to recover if haply they could their Wives or Children who were among those Women, others were led thither thro' hopes that good fortune and a lucky chance would put a Fortune into their Hands. In short the novelty of the thing brought a great Concourse from the adjacent places. An ordinary Fellow who had but twelve shillings in the World, gave it and chose a Sack as did the rest, and carryed it off; when he was got out of the crowd, whether thro' curiosity or a desire to relieve the person in the Sack who complained, he could not forbear opening it. In it he found an old Woman, whom age, grief, and ill treatment had made deformed to the highest degree; he was so confoundedly mad at it, that to gratifie his Passion and Rage he was going to throw the old Woman and Sack both together into the River, that the gratification of his Passion might be some comfort to him for the loss of his mony.

Then the good old Gentlewoman said to him. Son, your lot is not so bad as you imagine; be of good chear, you have made your Fortune: take care only of my life, I will make yours happier than ever it has been yet. These words somewhat pacified him. Wherefore he carried her into a House hardby, where she told him her Quality and her Estate. She belonged to a Mandarin of note in the Neighbourhood, to whom she wrote immediately. He sent her an Equi-

Equipage agreeable to her Quality, and she carried her deliverer along with her, and afterwards was so good a friend to him, that he never had reason to complain that he had lost the two Crowns which he lay'd out in purchasing her.

But to return to the *Chinese* Marriages, I must farther tell you, that a Husband may not Divorce his Wife, excepting for Adultery, and a few other occasions which seldom or never fall out; in those cases they sell them to whosoever will buy them, and buy another. Persons of Quality never do thus, but common People do frequently. If a Man has the boldness to sell his Wife without just reason, both the Buyer and Seller are severely punished, yet the Husband is not obliged to take her again.

Although a Man be allowed but one Wife, he may have as many Concubines as he will; all the Children have an equal claim to the Estate, because they are reckon'd as the Wives Children tho' they be some of the Concubines; they all call the Wife Mother, who is indeed sole Mistress of the House; the Concubines serve and honour her, and have no manner of authority or power but what they derive from her.

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

Altho' the *Chinese* are extremely jealous to that degree that they suffer not their Wives to speak in private even to their own Brethren, much less give them liberty

liberty to enjoy all that freedom and publick Diverſion which in *Europe* is eſteemed only Gallantry and Curioſity : nevertheleſs there are Huſbands ſo very complaiſant to their Wives as to let them freely commit Adultery, which permiſſion ſome Women make the condition of their Marriage : Thoſe who according to ſuch agreement follow theſe courſes (as there is a certain ſort of People who do) have no manner of power to hinder Debauchées from frequenting their Houſes, and from making ill uſe of the eaſineſs or unruly Paſſions of ſuch Women. But ſuch Families as theſe are abhorred by the *Chineſe*, who think ſo ill of them, that their Children tho' never ſo deſerving or intelligent can never obtain any degree, or be employed in any honourable Office.

Of all their Civil Inſtitutions there is no one which coſts the *Chineſe* ſo much trouble as does the ordering of their time, and their Holydays. There are in the Emperors ſervice above an hundred perſons, on purpoſe to regulate the Kalendar, which they make anew every year, and with a great deal of Ceremony ſend it up and down to the Vice Roys of each Province. They regulate the number of Months, which is ſometimes twelve, ſometimes thirteen, which are Lunar months, and ought to agree with the Suns courſe. In theſe Almanacks the Equinoxes, Solſtices, and the Suns entry into each Sign is ſet down : The Eclipſes of the Sun or Moon are there, and the time when viſible at *Pekin* or any of the Principal Cities. The Planets courſes, their places in the Ecliptick, their Oppoſitions, Conjunctions, and Propinquity to any Stars are deſcribed, and indeed every thing elſe is well calculated, which Astronomy has that is curious or excellent. They mix with this divers points of judicial Aſtrology, which Ignorance or Superſtition have invented, concerning happy or unhappy days, times proper for Marriage, Building, or undertaking Journeys.

Journies. These prejudices generally guide the People; but the Emperor, and all other Men of Sence are wiser than to mind such trifles.

Altho' there be no publick Clocks as in *Europe*, the day is nevertheless divided into four and twenty parts which have all their particular Names, and begin from midnight. They tell me that antiently they divided their day into twelve parts, each of which were subdivided into eight; which made the natural day consist of fourscore and sixteen, which were exactly distinguished in their Calculations. But their Sundials (and they have very antient ones) were divided into four general divisions, each of which contained four and twenty little subdivisions, which added to the four great divisions divided the whole Circle into an hundred parts.

This sort of Dialling seems very irregular, nor can I see for what use it was intended. Since they have received the new Kalendar from the Missionaries, they have regulated their Dials by hours, and reckon their time almost as we do; only we must take notice that instead of two hours they reckon but one, so that their natural day consists of but twelve hours, the names of which diversly combined with ten other terms which they have invented, make a Revolution of sixty, which serves them instead of a Cycle to mark their different years. I dare not trouble you, My Lord, with particular enumerations which would be tedious, and are in foregoing Relations sufficiently explained.

As for the People, they are not very nice herein; they content themselves with knowing the time of the Suns rising and setting, and Noon. In the night they make use of Bells and Drums which are very often sounded, and serve to distinguish the night into five Watches.

The Current Coin is very odd. They have round Copper pieces with a hole in the middle, that they may be strung, they are full of Characters; the metal is neither pure nor well hammered; and altho' they are thick, one may break them with ones Fingers if one strive; ten of these make a peny, ten of which are the tenth part of the *Chinese* Crown, called by the *Portuguese*, in the *Indies*, *Taël*, and by themselves *Leam*, which Crown amounts to six shillings two pence halfpeny, and $\frac{2}{3}$ of a farthing.

This Crown piece is not coined with any stamp or image on it as our mony in *Europe* is; the *Chinese* Silver mony is not made in any determinate regular form, they take for mony any irregular pieces or bits of Silver by weight, which if they do not believe to be good Silver they may cut asunder. This they practise to prevent false and counterfeit mony, and they are so expert in guessing at the goodness and value of any piece of Silver by looking on it only, that they are seldom mistaken, especially if it be melted after the manner practised there.

They know the goodness of it three ways; by the colour, by several little holes which are made in it by the melting pot, and by divers small Circles which the Air makes on the surface of the metal when it cools after melting. If the colour be white, the holes small and deep, if the Circles be many, and those close, and very fine, especially toward the center of the piece, then the Silver is pure: but the more it differs from these three qualities so much the more Alloy it has.

To explain my self better, I must tell you, they divide their Silver with respect to its purity into a hundred sorts, as we do Gold into four and twenty, called Carats; The Silver which is current in Trade is all the sorts between the fourscorth and the hundredth sort or degree of purity. If it be of a baser Alloy

Alloy they will not take it, but punish those who offer it. They take our money as Silver of the four-score and fifteenth sort, tho' those who understand Silver well, judge it to be but of the four-score and third sort at most. So that in an hundred Ounces of our Silver there are seven of Alloy, or, which is all one, an hundred Ounces of it is worth but ninety three of fine Silver.

As for Gold, it never passes in *China* for money no more than Jewels do; they buy it as they do other Goods or Merchandise, and the *Europeans* make a good Market of it; because in *China* a pound of Gold bears but the same proportion to a pound of Silver as one does to ten, whereas among us it is as one to fifteen, so that the Merchant gets by it generally a third part.

Since almost every thing is there sold by weight, amongst several sort of Scales, they make use of a small portable Balance, kept in a small varnished case which is very light and useful; they are something like the *Roman* balance, consisting of a small dish, an arm, and a weight that slides up and down that arm, which is made of Ivory or Ebony, in bigness, length, and shape like a Pen; it is divided into three small parts on three different surfaces, it hangs by silken threads at one of the ends in three different points, that it may the better weigh weights of every sort. They weigh very nicely and exactly; for in those whose arm is of any considerable length, the thousandth part of a Crown will sensibly turn the Scale.

There are two sorts of those Scales, one more agreeable to the antient Balances, which are used in Courts of Justice; the beam of this is so divided as exactly to agree with the weight of the *French* money, since it hath been increased by a sixth part in weight, so that every division of the beam weighs the weight

of a Sou or Peny; so that seventy two *Chinese* Sours or Penys weigh exactly a *French* Crown, or an ounce *English*. But the common Balance, which is most used in *China*, is somewhat different from this; for a *French* Crown will weigh seventy three divisions of this beam; this I thought my self obliged to take notice of, that we may the better understand what the Relations hitherto have so much differed about.

The *Chinese* divide their pound weight as we do into sixteen ounces, each ounce into ten parts called *Tçien*; each of these into ten peny weights, and each of these again into ten grains. There are a great many other divisions, which decrease in the same proportion that 1 has to 10, which divisions our Language has no names for. Altho' these smaller divisions come almost to nothing when single in the Scale, yet in great Traffick they reckon them, where the multiplication of them arises to a considerable sum. In short if we suppose that our Crown should weigh three drachms, or one and twenty peny weight and eight grains, then the *Chinese* pound will contain 19 ounces, 3 drachms, 2 peny weights, 13 grains $\frac{6}{7}$. And on the contrary our pound will contain 13 ounces *Chinese*, 1 *Tçien*, and 4 peny weights, understanding these two last weights as they are explained above.

As to the common measures in use in this Empire, they have by diverse persons been represented in different manners; because of those who have wrote upon this Subject, some have had recourse to the measures of one Province, others to those of another. I have examined all of them carefully, and do think that Father *Verbiefts* Measures, which they use in the Mathematical Court, are the exactest. The *Chinese* Foot is very little different from ours. Not but that ours is somewhat longer almost $\frac{1}{10}$; but this difference is nothing with the *Chinese*, who do not stand so nicely
and

and strictly to their measure as we do, which the People have to measure with, and not to contend and quarrel by.

The Civil Government of the *Chinese* does not only preside over the Towns, but extends also over the Highways, which they make handsome and easily passable. The passages for their Water are in several places fenced in with Stone Walls for the convenience of travelling, over which there are a great number of Bridges, which unite the Towns and the Fields together. Canals are also cut for the water to pass thro' all the Towns of the Southern Provinces, to make their Ditches more secure, and the Towns more pleasant. In low and marshy grounds, they throw up prodigious long Banks which keep their Roads in those parts good; to perform which they stick at no cost, cutting a passage even thro' Mountains when they stand in their way.

The Road from *Signanfou* to *Hamteboum* is one of the strangest pieces of work in the world. They say, for I my self have never yet seen it, that upon the side of some Mountains which are perpendicular and have no shelving they have fixed large beams into them, upon the which beams they have made a sort of Balcony without rails, which reaches thro' several Mountains in that fashion; those who are not used to these sort of Galleries, travel over them in a great deal of pain, afraid of some ill accident or other. But the People of the place are very hazardous: they have Mules used to these sort of Roads, which travel with as little fear or concern over these steep and hideous precipices as they could do in the best or plainest Heath. I have in other places exposed my self very much by following too rashly my Guides.

One can't imagin what care they take to make the common Roads convenient for passage. They are fourscore foot broad or very near it; the Soil of them

them is light and soon dry when it has left off raining. In some Provinces there are on the right and left hand Causeways for the foot Passengers, which are on both sides supported by long rows of Trees, and oftimes tarrased with a Wall of eight or ten foot high on each side, to keep Passengers out of the fields. Nevertheless these Walls have breaks, where Roads cross one the other, and they all terminate at some great Town.

There are several wooden Machines made like Triumphal Arches set up in the Roads about a Mile and a half distant from each other, about thirty foot high, which have three doors, over which is wrote upon a large Frize in Characters so large as may be read at almost half a quarter of a Mile distance, how far it is from the Town you left, and how far to the Town you are going to. So that you have no need of Guides here, for you may by these directions see what place the Road leads to, and from whence you came, how far you have already gone, and how far you have yet to go.

The great care which they have taken to lay out all these distances by the Line, makes the account which these inscriptions give to be pretty sure; yet they are not equal, because the Miles in some Provinces are longer than in others. It has happened likewise that some of these Arches being ruined and consumed by decay and time, have not been set up exactly in the same place; but generally speaking they serve for a good measure of the Highways, besides that in several places they are no small Ornament.

On one side of these Ways about the same distance are fixt little Towers made of earth cast up, on which they set up the Emperors Standard; near it is a Lodge for Soldiers or Country Militia: These are made use of in time of Rebellion, or indeed at any other

time, to carry any Express if occasion be, or to hand Letters from one to another; but especially they take care to stop Highway men and Robbers.

Every Man who goes by armed is obliged to give an account whence he came, whither he is going, and upon what business, and must shew his Pass. Beside these Guards upon case of an allarm give a helping hand to Travellers, and stop all those who are suspected or accused of Robbery. Among the mighty number of Inhabitants which are in *China* a great part of which scarce know how to get a Subsistence, a body would imagine that abundance must needs turn Thieves; yet one may travel there with as great safety as here. I have travelled there six thousand Miles up and down thro' almost all the Provinces, and was never but once in Danger of being robbed. Four strange Horsemen followed me for a whole day together, but the Roads were so full of Travellers up and down that they could never get the coast clear for a quarter of an hour together, and so fell short of their aim.

Their Posts are as well regulated as ours in *Europe* are; at the Emperors sole charge, who for that End maintains a great number of Horse. The Couriers go from *Pekin* for the Capital Cities; the Vice-Roys of which as soon as they have received the Dispatches from Court, send them forthwith by other Couriers to the Towns of the first Rank: from whence they are by these Governours conveyed to those of the second Rank under their Jurisdiction; and from thence they are transmitted to the Towns of the third Rank. It is true these Posts were not established for the conveyance of private Letters, yet the Postmasters for a little mony undertake to carry Letters for private Men, as they always do for the Missionaries, who find it as sure a way as that used in *Europe*, and much less chargeable.

As it is a matter of importance that the Emperors orders be quickly transmitted, so it is a great part of the Mandarins Care to see that the Roads be good ; and the Emperor to keep them the more strictly to this, spreads a report that he intends shortly to Visit this or that Province. The Governours of those Provinces spare no charge or pains to repair those Roads, because it not only concerns their Fortunes, but sometimes their Life, if this care be omitted.

As I once passed just by a Village of the third Rank, in the Province of *Cbenfi*, they told me that the Governour had just hanged himself thro' despair lest he should not have time enough to repair a Road thro' which the Emperor was to pass to the Capital Town. The Emperor nevertheless never went the Journey, so that the Mandarin might have saved his life by a little patience. But yet all the care which the *Chinese* can use, will never prevent a mighty inconvenience which happens to those who travel in their Roads.

The Soil of *China* is mighty light, and very much beaten by the vast multitudes who travel, some on foot, some on Camels, others in Litters, and again others in Charriots, so that the Roads are perfectly ground into very fine powder ; when this is raised by Travellers, and carried about by the winds, it is enough to blind all Passengers if they have not Masks or Veils on them. Thro' these clouds you must continually make your way, and suck them in instead of Air, during whole Journeys together. When the weather is hot, and the wind in ones Face, scarce any one except a Native can withstand it, I have sometimes been forced to desist from my Journey and come back again.

But of all their wholesome Institutions there is nothing which contributes so much to the keeping up Peace and Order, as does their method of Levying

the Emperors Revenue. They are not troubled in *China* with such swarms of Officers and Commissioners as we are. All the Estates there are measured, and all the Families Registred; and whatsoever the Emperor is to have by Excise on Goods, or Tax upon Persons, is publickly known, every body brings in what is due from him, to the Mandarins or Governors of the Towns of the third Rank, for there is no particular Receiver appointed. Those who neglect to bring in their Dues, do not lose their Estates by Confiscation, which would be to punish the Innocent of that Family with the Guilty; but the Persons so offending suffer imprisonment, and undergo the Bastinadoe 'till they have made satisfaction.

These Mandarins of the lower Rank, give in an account of what they receive to a general Officer of the Province, who accounts with the Court of *Pekin* which looks after the publick Exchequer. A great part of the Revenue is disbursed up and down the Provinces in Pensions, Salaries, Soldiers Pay, publick buildings: what is over is carried to *Pekin*, to maintain the Emperors Court, and other expenses in that Town, where the Emperor keeps in pay above an hundred and sixty thousand regular Troops, to whom as well as to the Mandarins, is given out every day Meat, Fish, Rice, Pease, and Straw, according to every ones Rank, besides their constant Pay, which they regularly receive.

That which comes from the Southern Provinces, is alone sufficient to answer this expence, this they bring by water in the Emperors Vessels: yet they are so jealous lest the Revenue should at any time fall short of the disbursements, that in *Pekin* there are Magazines of Rice before hand sufficient for three years. Which will keep a great while if it be well fanned and mixed, and altho' it looks not so well,
nor

nor taſts ſo pleaſantly as new Rice, yet it is much more wholeſome and nourishing.

This numerous Army about the Emperor, well looked after, duely payed, and exactly diſciplined, one would think ſhould awe all *Aſia*, yet their idleneſs, and the ſmall uſe they ever have occaſion to make of their Weapons, does contribute to weaken them as much as their natural Effeminacy. The *Western Tartars* do not value their numbers a ſtraw, and frequently ſay in deriſion of them, that the neighing of a *Tartary* Horſe is enough to rout all the *Chi-neſe* Cavalry.

Yet they take all poſſible care to have good Soldiers, for they take no Officers into the Guards, 'till they have made trial of their ſtoutneſs, ſkill, and dexterity in Military Affairs. They are regularly examined, ſo that as learned Men have their Doctors to examine them, ſo theſe have alſo their Profeſſors.

Theſe Officers do regularly Exerciſe their Companies, they form them into Squadrons, march them, teach them to divide their Files to march thro' narrow paſſages, ſhew them to give the onſet, to rally at the ſound of the Cornet or Trumpet; beſides they are very dexterous in managing their Bow, or handling their Scymitar: yet ſoon broke, and by the leaſt thing in the world put into diſorder. The occaſion of this I apprehend to be, becauſe in the Education of their Youth they never inſtil into them Principles of Honour and Bravery, as we do as ſoon as ever they are big enough to know what Weapons are. The *Chi-neſe* are always talking to their Children of Gravity, Policy, Law, and Government; they always ſet Books and Letters in their view, but never a Sword into their Hands. So that having ſpent their youthful days behind the Counter, or at the Bar, they know no other courage but that of defending obſtinately an ill Cauſe, and are liſted into the Soldiery

on no other consideration but that they hope there will be no occasion for fighting. The *Chinese* Policy hinders hereby a great many Domestick Feuds and Disturbances; but in the same time it does expose its Subjects hereby to the Insults of Foreigners, which is ten times worse.

Thus, my Lord, I have set before you a general Scheme of the Government of *China*, of which People have spoke such wonders, and which is indeed admirable for its antiquity, for the wisdom of its Maxims, for the plainness and uniformity of its Laws, for that exemplary Virtue which it has produced in a long Succession of Emperors, for that regularity and order which it has kept the People in, in despite of Civil or Foreign Wars; which notwithstanding, like the rest of the things of this world, is subject to a great many inconveniences; to Rebellions which have depopulated whole Provinces, to the injustice of some Princes who have abused their power, to the Avarice of Mandarins who have often oppressed the People, to Invasions from abroad, and Treachery from home, to such a number of Changes, as would have unhinged the very Government and Laws, if a more Politick People than are the *Tartars*, were near enough the Empire to introduce their own method of Government.

It would, my Lord, be a piece of flattery to my self, to imagine that I have by this tedious account added any thing to that immense store of Knowledge which you have drawn from the best Springs of Antiquity, from the Conversation of the most ingenious of the Moderns, from the management of the most momentous Affairs, or (which is a greater Fountain of Understanding) from your own natural Wit and Ingenuity, which has made you (if I may use the Expression) a Native of all Countries, and a Philosopher of all Ages.

But

But I am sure you will be glad to see that the truest Maxims of good Policy are not altogether strangers in the East; and that if *China* do not form so great Ministers as you are, it forms great enough to understand Your worth, and to follow your steps, and improve themselves from the Copy you set them, if they could but know you. I am in the most profound manner,

My Lord,

Your Eminence's most obedient

and most humble Servant

L. J.

To my Lord Cardinal de Bouillon.

Concerning the Antient and Modern
Religion of China.

My Lord,

I Do not at all wonder that your Highness is pleased to hear Relations of *China*. It belongs only to great Princes to be thoroughly acquainted with all that concerns the several Kingdoms of the World, and to make a true judgment of the Power and Grandeur of Empires. God who has sent such Men into the World to Govern it, has given them a more than ordinary ability and knowledge to perform it. So that, my Lord, if I take upon me the liberty to acquaint your Lordship with what repeated Voyages for the space of several years have given me opportunity to know in this affair, it is not so much to instruct you in it, as to beg your Highnesses judgment of it.

I may say this still with more truth when I have the honour to write to you of Religion. This is more particularly your concern; and I may say that if your Quality, your Ingenuity, and your incomparable Learning have made you above all Men our Judge; your Eminent Dignity in the Church obliges us, in Sacred concerns to hear and consult your Highness as our Oracle.

'Tis on this prospect, my Lord, that I now present to you these Memoirs with some Reflections which the Customs of the *Chinese*, and the reading of their Books have suggested to me concerning their Religion, being of this mind, that after so many different Opinions and long Disputes which have for a whole Age divided the most learned Missionaries, there is no better way of coming to decision, than to obtain your Highnesses judgment therein.

Religion has always had a great share in establishing the greatest Kingdoms, which could never support themselves, were not the Peoples Minds and Hearts tied together by the outward worship of some Deity; for People are naturally Superstitious, and rather follow the guidance of Faith than Reason. It was therefore for this reason that the antient Lawgivers, always made use of the knowledge of the true God, or of the false Maxims of Idolatry, to bring the barbarous Nations under the Yoak of their Government.

China, happier in its Foundation than any other Nation under the Sun, drew in the chief of the holy Maxims of their antient Religion from the Fountain Head. The Children of *Noah*, who were scattered all over the Eastern parts of *Asia*, and in all probability founded this Empire, being themselves in the time of the Deluge witnesses of the Omnipotence of their Creator, transmitted the Knowledge of him, and instilled the fear of him into all their descendants; the footsteps which we find in their Histories, will not let us doubt the truth of this.

Fohi, the first Emperor of *China*, carefully bred up seven sorts of Creatures, which he used to Sacrifice to the Supreme Spirit of Heaven and Earth. For this reason some called him *Paohi*, that is *oblation*; a name which the greatest Saints of the Old or New Testament would have been proud to have, and
which

314 *Concerning the Antient and Modern*

which was reserved for him alone, who made himself an Oblation both for Saints and Sinners.

Hoamti, the third Emperor, built a Temple to the Sovereign Lord of Heaven; and altho' *Judea* had the honour of Consecrating to him one more rich and magnificent, hallowed even by the presence of our Creator, and the prayers of our Redeemer; it is no small glory to *China*, to have sacrificed to their Creator in the most antient Temple of the World.

Tçouen bio, the fifth Emperor, thought afterwards that one place was too narrow to contain the Services paid to the Lord of the Universe: He therefore instituted Priests or Ecclesiastical Mandarins in several Provinces to preside over the Sacrifices. He gave them strict command to observe that Divine Service was performed with all humility and respect, and that all the Religious Ceremonies were strictly observed.

Tibo, his Successor, took as much care of Religion as he had done. Histories relate that the Empress his Wife, being barren, begged Children of God during the Sacrifice with such fervour and earnestness, that she conceived in few days, and sometime after was brought to bed of a Son who was famous, for that forty Emperors successively reigned of his Family.

Yao and *Chan*, the two Princes who succeeded him, are so famous for their Piety, and for the Wisdom of their Governments, that it is very likely that Religion was still more flourishing during their Reigns.

It is also very probable that the three succeeding Families did preserve the knowledge of God, for about two thousand years, during the Reign of fourscore Emperors; since the learnedest among the *Chinese* maintain that before the Superstitions introduced with the God *To* into *China*, there were no Idols or Statues seen there. This is certain that during
all

all that space of time, the observation of the Emperor *Tao's* Maxims was recommended to the Princes, of which the most essential and principal was concerning the Worship of the Sovereign Lord of the World; and altho' some Emperors have been so wicked as to reject them so far as even to threaten Heaven itself, and foolishly challenge it to fight, they have been nevertheless looked upon as Monsters; and other Emperors about that time have discovered by their actions a good sense of Religion.

You-vam, the first of the third Line, did himself according to antient Custom offer Sacrifices, and his Brother who bore him a passionate love, and thought his life still necessary for the good of the Kingdom, seeing him one day in danger of dying, prostrated himself before the Divine Majesty to beg his recovery. *It is you, O Lord*, said he, *who have given him to his People; he is our Father, he is our Master. If we fall into any disorder, who can set us to rights again so well as he? And if we follow exactly what thou hast inspired him to teach us, why punishest thou us by taking him? As for me, O Lord*, continued the good Prince, *I can be but little serviceable in this World; if you desire the death of a Prince, I offer up my Life with all my heart for a Sacrifice, if you will be pleased to spare my Master, my King, and my Brother.* The History says his Prayer was heard, for he dyed as soon as he had put up this Petition. An example which demonstrates that not only the tenour of Religion was preserved among those People, but farther that they followed the dictates of the purest Charity, which is the very quintessence and perfection of Religion.

But *Tchim-vam*, his Son and Successor, gave such bright marks of his Piety, toward the end of his life, that it leaves us no room to doubt of the truth of what I have advanced. You shall hear what the an-
 tient

316 *Concerning the Antient and Modern*

tient *Chinese* Books say of him. This Prince, say they, who had always regulated his behaviour, according to the Ordinances of the Supreme Governour of Heaven, fell dangerously ill in the fiftieth year of his Age, and thirty seventh of his Reign. When he knew the danger he was in, he called together the principal Officers of his Court, with a design to nominate his Successor, and that he might omit nothing which was usually performed on such occasions, he arose from his Throne where he had ordered his Servants to set him: He made them wash his Hands and Face, Cloath him with his Imperial Habits, and put his Crown on his Head; and then leaning on a Table of precious stone, he spake to the Company in this manner.

‘ My sickness is every day worse and worse, for
 ‘ thus has Heaven ordained, I fear Death will seize
 ‘ upon me: and therefore thought my self obliged to
 ‘ acquaint you with my last Will. You know how
 ‘ great the Reputation of my Father and Grandfather
 ‘ was, and how bright the Examples of Virtue, which
 ‘ they set the Empire, did appear. I was very un-
 ‘ worthy to fill the place in which these great Men
 ‘ sat; notwithstanding I did succeed them; I do ne-
 ‘ vertheless acknowledge my ignorance and unfit-
 ‘ nefs.

‘ It is for this reason perhaps that Heaven has
 ‘ shorten’d the days of my Reign. I ought in this
 ‘ as well as in all other things to acquiesce; for you
 ‘ have all seen that I have hitherto received its Orders
 ‘ with an humble fear, and a profound respect. I
 ‘ have endeavoured to follow them, without ever de-
 ‘ viating from them the least in the World, I have
 ‘ also all my life time had in my Heart my Ancestors
 ‘ instructions touching my Duty to Heaven, and to
 ‘ my People. On these two Heads I cannot accuse
 ‘ my self of any fault, and if my life has had any
 ‘ Repu-

‘ Reputation, it is all owing to that teachableness,
 ‘ which has brought down upon me the blessings of the
 ‘ Sovereign Master of the World.

‘ It is on your account that I speak this (addressing
 ‘ himself to his eldest Son) it is on your account, O
 ‘ my Son, be you the Inheritor of your Ancestors
 ‘ Virtue, rather than of my Power and Crown. I
 ‘ make you a King, ’tis all that you can have of me;
 ‘ be a wise, vertuous and unblameable Prince, this I
 ‘ command you, and the whole Empire expects from
 ‘ you.

Under the Reigns of this Prince and
 his Son * it was that Peace, Honesty, * *Cam-uam*
 and Justice reigned in *China*, so that
 they oftimes sent their Prisoners to dig or plough
 the Grounds, or get in the Corn, without thinking
 that the fear of punishment would make them run a-
 way. After Harvest they came again to receive that
 punishment of their faults, which the Mandarins had
 appointed.

Lastly, If we examine well the History of *China*,
 we shall still find that for three hundred years after,
 that is to say down to the times of the Emperor
Yeou-uam, who reigned eight hundred years before
 Christ, Idolatry had not corrupted this People. So
 that they have preserved the knowledge of the true
 God for near two thousand years, and did honour
 their Maker in such a manner as may serve both
 for an Example and Instruction to Christians them-
 selves.

They had all along a strict care to breed up Beasts
 for Sacrifices, and to maintain Priests to offer them
 up; besides that the internal Worship of the mind
 was prescribed, they did oblige themselves to a nice
 observation of even the smallest Ceremonies which
 might in any ways be serviceable to the Peoples Edi-
 fication; The Empreses did themselves breed up
 Silk-

318 *Concerning the Antient and Modern*

Silkworms, and with their own Hands worked coverings for the Altars, and Habits for the Priests. The Emperors have oftimes Tilled the Ground which produced the Corn or Wine destined for Sacred uses. Again, the Priests never dared to offer Sacrifices before the People, unless prepared for it by an abstinence of three or seven days from Conjugal enjoyments. They have had their solemn Fastdays, and days of Prayer in Publick, especially when the Empire laboured under any publick Calamity, either by Barrenness, by Floods, by Earth quakes, or Wars from abroad.

With this outward Worship it is that the Emperors prepare themselves for Wars; for taking upon themselves the Government, or resisting the Provinces; and that Heaven may favour their Enterprises with success, they inquire of their Subjects of their own Faults that they may amend them, believing that all publick Calamities are occasioned thro' their ill Government. We meet with a signal instance of this in History, which I cannot forbear reciting.

An universal barrenness having continued over all the Provinces for seven years together, (which time seems not far distant from the seven years of barrenness of which the Scripture speaks, and perhaps this thing a little looked into may serve to amend or con-

** This Emperor dyed 1753 years before the birth of Jesus Christ, and the seven years of scarcity, according to the Scripture, happen'd 1743 years before the same birth.*

firm our Chronology*) the People were reduced to extreme want; and when Prayers, Fasts, and other acts of Humiliation were used without success, the Emperor not knowing any means proper to be used to gain relief from this publick misfortune, after having offered to God several Sacrifices to appease his indignation, he resolv'd at last to offer up himself for a Sacrifice;

For this purpose he called together the chief Persons of his Kingdom, in the presence of them all dismantled himself of his Royal Apparel, and cloathed himself meanly. In this Habit, with his Head and Feet bare, in the same fashion that a Criminal appears before a Judge, he marched attended by his whole Court, to a Mountain a good distance from the Town. When, prostrating himself before the Divine Majesty, to whom he paid his Adorations nine times, he spake in these words: *O Lord, you know the miseries to which we are reduced. It is my sins which have brought them upon my People, I come hither to own and acknowledge it in the presence of Heaven and Earth. That I may the better amend my faults, give me leave, O Lord of all the World, to ask what Action of mine has more particularly given you offence. Is it the splendor of my Palace? I will take care to retrench what is superfluous? Perhaps the profuseness of my Table or the delicacy and Voluptuousness of it have brought this scarcity: hereafter nothing shall be seen there but thriftiness and temperance. The Laws permit to me the use of Concubines; but perhaps you dislike that I have too many. I am ready to lessen the number. And if all this be not sufficient to appease your just indignation, and you must have an Oblation; behold one, O Lord, I am heartily willing to dye, if thou wilt spare this good People: Let Rain come from Heaven on their Fields to relieve their necessities, and thunder on my Head to satisfy your Justice.*

The Princes Piety pierced the Clouds, for the Air was presently overcast, and an universal Rain immediately fell, which did in due season bring forth a fruitful Harvest. When Idolaters seem scandalised at the Death of *JESUS CHRIST*, we use the Example of this Prince to justify our Faith. You not only approve of this Action, say we to them, in which one of your Emperors disrobed himself of all that was
magni-

magnificent, and offered himself as a Sacrifice for his Subjects; but you admire it, and recommend it to Posterity as a fit Pattern for all the Princes of the World: how then can you dislike that the excessive love and kindness, which made *JESUS CHRIST* offer himself an Oblation and Sacrifice for all Men; and despoil himself of the brightness of his Majesty to invest us one day with his Glory and Divinity?

These footsteps of the true Religion which we find in *China* for so many Ages together, carry us naturally to make a reflection which will justify the Providence of the Almighty in the Government of the World: People are sometimes amazed that *China* and the *Indies* have been overshadowed by the clouds and darkness of Idolatry, almost ever since the birth of our Saviour, while *Greece* a great part of *Africk*, and almost all *Europe* have enjoyed the clear light of Faith; but they never consider that *China* for two thousand years had the knowledge of the true God, and have practised the most pure Morality, while *Europe* and almost all the World wallowed in Error and Corruption.

God, in the distribution of his gifts, is not an unjust respecter of Persons; yet he has laid out his times, to let his Grace shine forth in due season, which like the Sun rises and sets in different parts of the World, according as People make a good or bad use of it.

I do not know whither I may make bold to add, that as the Sun, which by its constant motion hides itself to some to shew itself to others, has notwithstanding at the years end distributed to every Country its equal Portion of light and warmth; so God by the secret and hidden course of his Grace and Spirit which have been communicated to the World, hath equally divided them to all People in the World, tho' in different manners and at different times. How-
ever

ever it be that God has made his wise distribution of Grace, I am sure of all Nations *China* has the least reason to complain, since no one has received a larger Portion than she.

The knowledge of the true God, which lasted many Ages after the Reign of *Cam van*, and in all probability along while after the time of *Confucius*, was not always supported in the same purity. Their minds were possessed by Idolatry, and their manners became so corrupt, that the true Faith being but the occasion of greater ill, was by little and little taken away from them by the just judgment of God. Among all the Superstitions which followed hereupon; there were two sorts which were principally established, and do between them at this present comprehend almost all the Empire.

Li-Laokun gave rise to the first of these. He was a Philosopher who lived before *Confucius*; his birth was prodigious if you believe what his Followers say of it; for his Mother carried him more than fourscore years in her Flanks, from whence a little before her death he sprang out of her right side which opened itself. This Monster, to the sorrow of his Country, survived his Mother, and by his pernicious Doctrine in a short time grew famous: nevertheless he wrote several useful Books; of Virtue, of the good of avoiding Honour, of the contempt of Riches, of that incomparable retiredness of mind, which separates us from the World the better to know ourselves. He often repeated the following Sentence, which he said was the foundation of true Wisdom. *Eternal reason produced one, one produced two, two produced three, and three produced all things*: which seems to shew as if he had some knowledge of the Trinity.

But he taught that God was Corporeal, and that he governed other Deities as a King governs his Subjects. He applied himself mightily to Chymistry, of which some pretend he was the inventor. He beat his Brains likewise about the Philosophers Stone, and did at length fancy, that by a certain sort of Drink, one might be immortal. To obtain which his Followers practice Magick, which Diabolical Art in a short time was the only thing studied by the Gentry. Every body studied it in hopes to avoid death; and the Women thro' natural Curiosity, as well as desire to prolong their life applied themselves to it, wherein they exercise all sorts of Extravagancies, and give themselves up to all sorts of Impieties.

Those who have made this their professed business, are called *Tien se*, that is, *Heavenly Doctors*; they have Houses given them to live together in Society, they erect in divers parts Temples to *Laokun* their Master; King and People honour him with Divine Worship; and altho' they have Examples enough to have undeceived them from these errors, yet they vehemently pursue immortality, by his Precepts who could never gain it himself.

Time, which strengthens and confirms what is ill, did at length gain these false Doctors such a Reputation as made them almost innumerable. The Covenants which they make with the Devil, the Lots which they cast, their Magical wonders whither true or only seeming, make them dreaded and admired of the common Herd; and whencesoever it comes to pass, there is no body who does not give some credit to their Maxims, or does not hope to avoid Death by their means.

One of these Doctors * got himself so great a Reputation that the Emperor gave him the name *Cham-ti*; which is the name by which they call God himself, and signifies

* *Cham-y.*

ties Supreme Emperor. This piece of Impiety gave the killing blow to the antient Religion; for 'till then the *Chinese* as much Idolaters as they were did always make a distinction between the *Cham ti*, and the other Gods. But by a just judgment from God the Family of that Prince was extinct, and the Empire which had hitherto observed its own Rules of Government, was the first time forced to submit to those of the Western *Tartars*. This a famous *Colao* * who printed a Book could not but acknowledge. *In this time*, says he, * *Kieou-Kiouk=Chan.*
the Emperor Hoei-tçoum did against all manner of reason give the attributes of the Supreme God to a Man. This most powerful and adorable God above all the Spirits in Heaven, was sensible of the wrong done him; for he punished severely the wickedness of this Prince, and utterly rooted out his Family.

The second Sect which is prevalent in *China*, and is more dangerous and more universally spread than the former, adore an Idol which they call *Fo* or *Foë* as the only God of the World. This Idol was brought from the *Indies* two and thirty years after the Death of JESUS CHRIST. This Poyson began at Court, but spread its infection thro' all the Provinces, and corrupted every Town: so that this great body of Men already spoiled by Magick and Impiety, was immediately infected with Idolatry, and became a monstrous receptacle for all sorts of Errors. Fables, Superstitions, Transmigration of Souls, Idolatry and Atheism divided them, and got so strong a Mastery over them, that even at this present, there is no so great impediment to the progress of Christianity as is th's ridiculous and impious Doctrine.

No body can well tell where this Idol *Fo*, of whom I speak, was born; (I call him an Idol and not a Man, because some think it was an Apparition from Hell) those who with more likelihood say he was a

324 *Concerning the Antient and Modern*

Man, make him born above a thousand years before JESUS CHRIST, in a Kingdom of the *Indies* near the Line, perhaps a little above *Bengala*. They say he was a Kings Son. He was at first called *Che-Kia*; but at thirty years of Age he took the name of *Fo*. His Mother who brought him into the World thro' her right side, died in Childbirth: she had a fancy in her Dream that she swallowed an Elephant, and for this reason it is that the *Indian* Kings pay such honour to white Elephants: for the loss of which, or gaining some others they often make bitter Wars.

When this Monster was first born he had strength enough to stand alone, and he made seven steps, and pointed with one Hand to Heaven, and the other to the Earth. He did also speak, but in such a manner as shewed what Spirit he was possess'd withal. *In Heaven or on the Earth*, says he, *I am the only person who deserve to be honoured*. At seventeen he married, and had a Son, which he forsook as he did all the rest of the World, to retire into a Solitude with three or four *Indian* Philosophers, whom he took along with him to teach. But at thirty he was on a suddain possessed, and as it were fulfilled with the Divinity, who gave him an universal knowledge of all things. From that time he became a God, and began by a vast number of seeming Miracles, to gain the Peoples admiration. The number of his Disciples is very great, and it is by their means that all the *Indies* have been poysoned with his pernicious Doctrine. Those of *Siam* call them *Talapoints*, the *Tartars* call them *Lamas* or *Lama-sem*, the *Japoners* *Bonzes*, and the *Chinese* *Hecham*.

But this Chimerical God found at last that he was a Man as well as others. He died at 79 years of Age; and to give the finishing stroke to his Impiety, he endeavoured to persuade his Followers to Atheism at his Death,

Death, as he had persuaded them to Idolatry in his Life time. Then he declared to his Followers that all which he had hither told them was enigmatical; and that they would be mistaken if they thought there was any other first Principle of things beside nothing; *It was, said he, from this nothing that all things sprang, and it is into this nothing that all things must return. This is the Abyss where all our hopes must end.*

Since this Impostor confessed that he had abused the World in his life, it is but reasonable that he should not be believed at his death. Yet as Impiety has always more Champions than Virtue, there were among the *Bonzes* a particular Sect of Atheists, formed from the last words of their Master. The rest who found it troublesome to part with their former prejudices, kept close to their first Errors. A third sort endeavoured to reconcile these Parties together, by compiling a body of Doctrine, in which there is a twofold Law, an interior and an exterior. One ought to prepare the mind for the reception of the other. It is, say they, the mould which supports the materials 'till the Arch be made, and is then taken away as useles.

Thus the Devil making use of Mens Folly and Malice for their destruction, endeavours to erate out of the minds of some those excellent ideas of God which are so deeply ingraved there, and to imprint in the minds of others the Worship of false Gods under the shapes of a multitude of different Creatures, for they did not stop at the Worship of this Idol. The Ape, the Elephant, the Dragon have been worshipped in several places, under pretence perhaps that the God *Fo* had successively been transmigrated into these Creatures. *China* the most superstitious of all Nations, increased the Number of her Idols, and one may now see all sorts of them in the Temples, which serve to abuse the folly of this People.

326 Concerning the Antient and Modern

It is true they sometimes do not pay to these Gods all that respect which seems due to their Quality. For it often happens that if the People after worshipping them a great while do not obtain what they desire, they turn them off, and look upon them as impotent Gods; others use them in the most reproachful manner: some load them with hard names, others with hard blows. How now, *Dog of a Spirit*, say they to them sometimes, we give you a lodging in a magnificent Temple, we guild you handsomely, feed you well, and often offer Incense to you, and after all this care which we take of you, you are so ungrateful as to refuse what we ask of you.

Then they tye him with Cords, pluck him down, and drag him along the Streets thro' all the Mud and Dunghils, to punish him for the expence of Perfume which they have offered up to him for nothing. If in the mean time it happens that they obtain what they did desire, then they take the Idol and with a great deal of Ceremony carry him back and place him in his Nich again, after they have washed and cleansed him: They fall down to him, and make excuses for what they have done. In truth, say they, we was a little too hasty, as well as you was somewhat too long in your grant; why should you bring this beating on your self? Were it not better to have granted our Petition of your own free will, rather than be forced to do it? But what is done can't be now undone, let us not therefore think of it any more, if you will forget what is passed we will guild you over again.

A few years ago there happened a passage at *Nankin*, which does very well discover what an Opinion the *Chinese* have of their Gods. A Man whose only Daughter was very ill, tryed all the Physicians but without effect, he thought it therefore his best way to betake himself to the assistance of his Gods. Prayers,
Offerings,

Offerings, Alms, Sacrifices, and all other means were used to obtain relief. The *Bonzes* who were greased in the Fist promised that an Idol whose power they mightily boasted should grant her recovery. For all this the Woman dyed, the Father out of measure grieved resolved to revenge himself, and to bring a formal accusation against the Idol.

He put in his complaint therefore to the Judge of the place, in which after he had lively shewed forth the deceitfulness of this unjust God, he said that he deserved an exemplary punishment for having broke his word. If this *Spirit*, said he, could cure my Daughter, it is palpable cheating to take my mony, and yet let her dye. If he could not do it, what does he signifie? And how came he by his quality of Godship? Do we Worship him, and the whole Province offer him Sacrifice for nothing at all? So that he concluded it to be either from the Malice or Weakness of the Idol that the cure was not performed, wherefore his Temple he judged ought to be pulled down, his Priests shamefully dismissed, and the Idol punished in his own private Person.

The Business seemed of Consequence to the Judge, wherefore he sent it to the Governour, who desiring to have nothing to do with those of the other World, desired the Vice-Roy to examine into it. After he had heard the *Bonzes*, who were extremely concerned at it, took their part, and advised him not to persist in the Cause any longer: for, said he to him, you are not wise, to concern your self with these sort of Spirits. They are naturally ill tempered, and I am afraid will play some ill trick. Believe me you had better come to an agreement. The *Bonzes* assure me that the Idol shall do what is reasonable on his part, provided you on your part do not carry things too high.

But the Man who was almost mad for the death of his Daughter, did constantly protest that he would sooner perish than relinquish his just rights. The Sentence is given for me, said he, the Idol fancied that he might commit any sort of injustice without punishment, because he thought no body would be bold enough to take him to task; but he is not so safe as he thinks, and a little time will shew which of us is the most wicked, and the most a Devil of the two.

The Vice-Roy could not now go back, and was fain therefore to grant a Tryal, he sent the case to the Sovereign Council at *Pekin*, who remitted the Tryal to him again, he therefore Subpœna'd the parties. The Devil, who has but too many friends among all sorts of Men, had also his share among the Lawyers and Proctors, those of them to whom the *Bonzes* gave largely, found their Cause good, and spoke with so much concern and vehemence that the Idol itself could not have pleaded better its own Cause. Yet they had to deal with a subtil Adversary, who had been before hand with them, and had cleared the Judges understanding by a large Bribe, being thoroughly persuaded that the Devil must be very cunning indeed, to withstand so clear an Argument as this last was to the Judges.

In short, after a great many hearings, the Man carried his point. The Idol was condemned to a perpetual banishment, as useless to the Kingdom, and his Temple was to be plucked down; and the *Bonzes* who represented him were severely chastised; they might notwithstanding apply themselves to the service of other Spirits to make themselves amends for the damage they had received for loving this.

Can any one who has not lost his senses adore Gods of this Character, weak, fearful, and whom one may affront safely? But, alas! We may flatter our
selves

selves that we are never so wise, yet how much is our Wisdom distant from Reason, when it is distant from the true Faith.

Instead of coming hereby to a knowledge of the weakness of their Gods, the People grow more and more blind every day. The *Bonzes* are above all obliged to keep up their Credit and Reputation, because of the advantage they make thereby. To bring this about the better, they make use of the following Maxims of Morality, which they take great care to propagate.

We must not think, say they, that good and evil are as confused in the other World as they are in this; there are there rewards for the good, and punishments for the bad; which has occasioned different places to be set apart for the souls of Men, according to every ones Merit. The God *Fo* was the Saviour of the World, he was born to teach the way of Salvation, and to make Expiation for all our sins.

He has left us ten Commandments. The first forbids the killing of any living Creature of what sort soever; the second commands not to take another Mans Goods; the third not to give up ones self to Impurity; the fourth not to Lie; and the fifth to drink no Wine.

Besides these they recommend to the Peoples practise several Works of Mercy. Entertain and nourish up, say they, the *Bonzes*; build them Monasteries and Temples, that their Prayers and voluntary Penances may obtain for you exemption from that punishment which your sins have deserved. Burn Paper gilt and washed with Silver, Habits made of Stuff and Silk. All these in the other World shall be turned into real Gold and Silver, and into true and substantial Garments, which shall be given to your Fathers faithfully, who will make use of them as they have occasion. If you do not regard these Com-
mands,

mands, you shall be after your death cruelly tormented, and exposed to several *Metempsycofes* or transmigrations. That is to say you shall be born in the shape of Rats, Horses, Mules, and all other Creatures. This last point makes a great impressiion upon their minds.

I remember that being in the Province of *Chanfi*, I was sent for to Christen a sick person. It was an old Man of threescore and ten, who lived upon a small Pension, which the Emperor had given him. When I came into his Chamber, O my good Father, says he, how much am I obliged to you, who are going to deliver me from a great deal of torment. Baptism, answered I, does not only deliver from the torment of Hell, but entitles us to the enjoyment of a place in Paradise: O how happy will it be for you to go to Heaven eternally to live in the presence of God! I do not, said the sick Man, understand what you mean, nor perhaps have I explained my meaning clearly to you, you know, Father, I have lived a long time upon the Emperors bounty. The *Bonzes*, who are perfectly well acquainted with all the transactions of the other World, assure me that I shall be obliged after my death, by way of recompense for my Pension to serve him, and that my soul will infallibly go into one of his Post Horses, to carry Dispatches from Court thro' all the Province. They have therefore been advising me to mind my duty in that new state; not to stumble, nor kick, nor bite, nor otherwise hurt any one: Run well, and eat little, and be patient, say they, and you may move the Gods to compassion, who often of a good Beast make at length a person of Quality, or a considerable Mandarin. I protest, Father, the very thoughts of it makes me quake, it never comes into my mind but I tremble; yet I dream of it every night, and sometimes methinks in my sleep I am already in the
 Harness,

Harnes, ready to run at the first jerk of the Postilion. Then I wake in a great sweat, and half mad, scarcely knowing whither I am a Man or a Horse. But alas ! What will be my sorrow when this will be no more a dream but a reality.

This therefore, Father, is the course I took. They tell me that those of your Religion are not subject to those changes ; that Men are always Men, and are in the other World of the same kind as they are here. I beg of you therefore to receive me among you. I know your Religion is hard to observe ; yet if it had ten times more difficulties, I am ready to embrace it ; and whatsoever trouble it put me to I had rather be a Christian than be turned into a Beast. This discourse and the condition the Man was in, wrought me into compassion ; and afterwards considering with my self, that God makes use of Ignorance and Folly to bring Men to the knowledge of the Truth, I took an occasion from thence to undeceive him of his mistakes, and to lead him into the way of Salvation. I instructed him a great while : at last he believed : and I had the comfort to see him dye not only with a clearer and better understanding of things, but farther with all the marks of a good Christian.

In process of time, the Superstitions of the People grew so numberless, that I do not believe any Nation under the Sun is so full of whimsies as *China*. The Mandarins are obliged to condemn all these Sects as Hereticks, as indeed they do in their Books ; but yet springing themselves mostly from idolatrous Families, and having been instructed by the *Bonzes*, they in their practise follow the example of the common People.

Two of these *Bonzes* seeing one day in a rich Farmers Yard, two or three large Ducks, fell on their Faces before the Door, and sigh'd and wept grievously.

The

The good woman seeing them out of her Chamber window, came down to see what was the occasion of their Tears. We know, said they, that the souls of our Fathers are transmigrated into those Creatures, and the fear we are in lest you should kill them, will without doubt go near to kill us: It is true, said the Woman, we did intend to sell them, but since they are your Fathers, I promise you we will keep them.

This answer was not for the *Bonzes* purpose. But, continued they, perhaps your Husband will not be so charitable, and then if any accident should happen to them, you may be sure it will kill us. At last after a long discourse, the good Woman was so far moved with their pretended grief, that she gave them the Ducks to look after for some time to comfort them. They took them with a great deal of respect, prostrating themselves twenty times to them; but that very evening they made an Entertainment of them for some of their company, and fattened themselves with them.

A Prince of the Blood lost a young Man for whom he had a particular love; a few years after he spoke of it with a great deal of warmth and concern to the *Bonzes*, who said, to him: My Lord, do not trouble your self any more, your loss may be repair'd; he whom you grieve for is in *Tartary*, and his soul is pass'd into a young Man's body; but there must be a great deal of mony to find where he is, and you must give good Presents to the Priests of that Country. This news pleased the Prince mightily so that he gave them what they desired, and a few months after they got a Boy any where, and gave him to the Prince instead of the Boy who was dead. Thus it is that the whole Country from the Peasant to the Prince are bubbled by these Ministers of Iniquity.

If they can't thus trick People out of their mony, they try to get it out of them by doing acts of Penance publickly, which the People esteem them mightily for, and shew them a great deal of pity and compassion. I have seen them dragging after them a long Chain of Iron as thick as ones Arm, about thirty foot long, fastened to the Neck or Legs. Thus it is, say they, at every Door as they pass, that we expiate your Faults, sure this deserves some small Alms. Others in publick places knock their Pates with all their force with large Bricks, till they are almost cover'd with blood. They have several other penitential Actions; but what I was most surpris'd at was this.

One day I met in the middle of a Town a young *Bonze* of a good Mien, a genteel and modest look, such as might easily move any ones Compassion and Charity. He stood upright in a sort of a Sedan very close shut, the inside of which was like a Harrow full of Nails very thick, with their points sticking out towards the Man in the Chair, so that he could not bend either one way or t'other without wounding himself. Two Fellows were hired to carry him from House to House where he beg'd the People to have compassion on him.

He told them he was shut up in that Chair for the good of their Souls, and was resolv'd never to go out from thence till they had bought all the Nails (of which there were above two thousand) at the rate of six pence apiece, of which Nails the very smallest he said would derive incomparable blessings on them and their Families. If you buy any of them, you will do an action of Heroick vertue, and your Alms are not bestowed on the *Bonzes*, to whom you may take other opportunities of bestowing your Charity, but to the God *Fo*, in whose honour we are going to build a Temple.

In the mean while I happened to pass thro' the Street, the *Bonze* seeing me, came and told me the same tale. I told him that he was very unhappy to torment himself thus in this World for no good, and did counsel him therefore to come out of his Prison, to go to the Temple of the true God to be instructed in heavenly truths, and submit to Penances less severe, but more wholesome. He was so far from being in a passion with me, that he answer'd me calmly and courteously that he was much obliged to me for my good advice, and would be more obliged to me still, if I would buy a dozen of his Nails, which would certainly make me have a good Journey.

Here hold your hand, says he, turning on one side, take these, upon the Faith of a *Bonze* they are the very best in all my Sedan, for they prick me the most, yet you shall have them at the same rate at which I sell the others. He spoke these words in such a manner as would have made me on any other occasion have laugh'd; but at that time his blindness rais'd my compassion, and I was strangely concerned to see that bond-man of the Devil suffer more to work out his own destruction, than a Christian need do to gain his Salvation.

Yet all the *Bonzes* are not Penitents. While some abuse the credulous by their hypocritical pretences, others get money out of them by magical Arts, secret Thefts, horrible Murders, and a thousand detestable abominations, which modesty wont let me mention here. People who are only outwardly religious, spare nothing to gratifie their Passions, and if they can but escape the justice of Men, which in this place spares none who are caught wronging their Neighbour, they care not what they do in the Eyes of that God whom they will scarcely own.

Although

Although the generality of the People are prejudiced in favour of them, yet the wiser sort are always upon their guard against these Wretches; and the Magistrates always take great notice of what they do in their Monasteries. It happened a few years ago that a Governour of a Town passing with his Train in the Highway, saw a great company of People got together, and had the curiosity to send to know what was the occasion of their meeting there.

The *Bonzes* were solemnizing an extraordinary festival, they had set a Machine upon a Stage, at the top of which a young Man put out his Head over a little Rail which went all round the Machine. The Rail hid his Arms and all his Body; one could see nothing at liberty but his Eyes, which he rowled about as if he was distracted. Below this Machine an old *Bonze* appeared upon the Stage, who told the People that the young Man which they saw was going to Sacrifice himself according to Custom in this manner. There ran by the Road side a deep River into which he would presently throw himself headlong. He cant die, added the *Bonze*, if he would, because at the bottom of the River he will be received by Charitable Spirits, who will give him as good a welcome as he can desire. And indeed it is the greatest happiness that can possibly befall him: an hundred Persons have desired to Sacrifice themselves instead of him; but we chose him before the rest, because of his Zeal and other Virtues.

When the Mandarin had heard this speech, he said that the young Man indeed had a great deal of Courage; but he wonder'd much that he did not himself tell the People of this his resolution: let him come down a little, said he, that we may talk with him. The *Bonze*, who was confounded at this order, did all he could to hinder it, and did protest that the whole Sacrifice would be ineffectual if he
spake

spake a word, nay if he did but open his mouth, and for his part he could not answer for the mischief such a thing would bring upon the Province. For the mischief you talk of, replied the Mandarin, I'll be responsible. And then he commanded the young Man to come down; he gave no other answer to these commands but hideous and frightful looks, and various distortions of his Eyes which almost started out of his Head.

You may from hence, said the *Bonze*, judge what violence you offer him in commanding him down. He is already almost distracted, and if you continue your commands you will make him die with grief. This did not make the Mandarin change his resolution, but he ordered some of his Retinue to go up and bring him down. They found him tied and bound down on every side, with a gag in his mouth; and as soon as they had untied him, and taken away the gag from the poor Fellows mouth; he cried out as loud as he could bawl; Ah! my Lord, revenge me against those Assassins, who were going to drown me, I am a Bachelor of Arts, and was going to the Court at *Pekin*, to assist at the Examinations there: yesterday a company of *Bonzes* seized upon me violently, and this morning very early they bound me to this Machine, taking from me all power of crying out or complaining, and intending to drown me this evening, being resolved to accomplish their accursed Ceremonies at the expence of my Life.

When he began to speak the *Bonzes* were marching off, but the Officers of justice, who always attend the Governours, stopped several of them. The chief of them who had pretended just before that the young Man could not be drowned, was himself immediately thrown into the River and drowned, the others were carried to Prison, and did after receive that punishment which they deserved.

Since

Since the *Tartars* have been Emperors of *China*, the *Lamas*, another sort of *Bonzes* have been established there. Their Habit is different from those of *China* both in shape and colour; but their Religion is the same with the *Chinese*, and they worship the God *Fo*, they differ from the *Chinese* only in a few particular superstitious practises. These *Lamas* are Chaplains to the *Tartar* Nobility who live at *Pekin*; but in *Tartary* they themselves are the Gods which the People worship.

There it is that the God *Fo* has his most famous seat, where he appears under a sensible figure, and as they say never dies. He is kept in a Temple; and an infinite number of these *Lamas* serve him with an ineffable veneration, which they strive as much as they can to imprint upon the minds of all others whatsoever. When he dies, for he is but a Man placed there, they put in his room a *Lamas* of the same Stature, and as near as they can of the same Features, that the People may be the better deceived by it. Thus the People of this Country, and especially all Strangers are eternally bubbled by these Impostors.

Among the different Religions exercised in *China*, I do not think it worth while to mention to your Highness a few *Mahometans*, who have lived for this six hundred years, in several Provinces, and are never disturbed, because they never disturb any one else upon the score of Religion, being content to enjoy it themselves, or to propagate it there among their Kindred by Marriages. However it may be of use to tell you of a third Sect which is the Religion, or Philosophy, or Policy of some of the learned, for one cannot tell by what name to call this Doctrine, which is so obscure that the very Professors of it scarce understand what they teach. They call it in their Language *Iukjao*, and it is a Sect of learned Men.

338 Concerning the Antient and Modern

That you may understand what I am going to tell you, you must know that Civil Wars, Magick, and Idolatry having put the Empire into confusion for many Ages, love of learning was quite cashiered, and there were found few Doctors who could by their Writings awaken the minds of Men out of that Lethargy into which ignorance and the corruption of Manners had lulled them. Only a-

* After our Saviour. about 1070. * Some creditable Expounders were found, and in 1200. one Doctor did distinguish himself from all others for his extraordinary understanding. By his example they began by degrees to take some pleasure in reading antient Books which they had before thrown aside.

Lastly in the year 1400. the Emperor being willing to stir up in his Subjects a love of Learning, made choice of fourscore and two of the most ingenious Doctors, whom he commanded to compile a System agreeable to the Sentiments of the Antient Writers, which might serve as a direction for the learned hereafter. The Mandarins who had the Commission, set themselves diligently to work; but being prejudiced with those Opinions which Idolatry had diffused all over *China*, instead of following the true sense of the Antients, they tryed by false Glosses and Interpretations to distort the words and sayings of the Antients to their prejudicate Opinions.

They spake of God as nothing different from Nature itself; that is from that power, energy, or natural Virtue which did produce, and put in order all the parts of the World, and which does still keep them in that order. He is, say they, a most pure and most perfect Principle; he is the Source of all things, and the Essence of all beings; and that which Constitutes the formal difference of every thing. They made use of those magnificent expressions of the Antients,

tients, that they might seem to keep to their Doctrine; but indeed they raised new Opinions, because they understand hereby I cant tell what sort of insensible soul of the World, wick they imagine spread thro' Matter, upon which it produces the several mutations we see. This is not that Supreme Emperor of Heaven all just and all powerful, the chief of all Creatures: in their Works nothing is found, but a better sort of Atheism, and a licentious freedom from the Worship of God.

But, whether it was because they were unwilling to express themselves plainly, or did accidentally make use of expressions of a larger signification than their meaning, yet they talk of Heaven as did the Antients, and ascribe to Nature almost all those perfecti-
 ons which we attribute to God. They tolerate willingly the *Mahometans*, because like them they adore the Master and King of Heaven. They Persecute all other Sects with great violences, which at Court they took up a resolution utterly to abolish throughout the whole Empire.

Yet many reasons persuaded them from putting this resolution in practice, the chief of which were these, even several among the learned were Dissenters from this new established Doctrine, for they could not shake off the prejudices they had sucked in: besides all the People were wholly byas'd in favour of Idols, so that their Temples could never be pulled down, but Insurrections and Disturbances must necessarily ensue. They were therefore contented to adjudge at *Pekin* all the other Sects Hereticks (which they still do every year) without setting themselves effectually to stop the practise of them.

These new Books composed by their most learned Men, and honoured by the Emperors own approbation, were greedily received by every body. Some liked them because they destroy'd all sorts of Reli-

gion, and these make up the greatest number of this Sect. Others approved of them, because the Religion which they contained was so very little, that it cost them no pains nor trouble to practise it. And thus was the Sect of the learned formed, of whom one may justly say, they honour God with their Mouth and with their Lips, for they often say that we must adore and obey Heaven; but their Hearts are distant from him, seeing they explain those words in such a sort as destroys the very being of God, and stifles all sense of Religion.

Thus this People so wise heretofore, so full of Knowledge, and, (if I may use the expression) of the Spirit of God, are now in these last days miserably fallen into Superstition, Magick, Paganism, and lastly into Atheism itself, falling by degrees Story by Story till they come to the very bottom of the Building; becoming thereby enemies to that reason which they had so constantly followed, and abominable to that very Nature to which they now give such high Encomiums.

This is, my Lord, an account of the present State of *China*, with respect to the several Religions there in use: For as for the political Honours which they pay to *Confucius*, they are not Divine Worship, and the Palaces which are called by his name are not Temples, but Houses for learned Men to assemble in. I was unwilling to particularize their Ceremonies, their Opinions and their Morals. Besides that it would be tedious and endless, it is very difficult to give a certain account of them: because the *Bonzes* do every day invent new whimsies, and if they can but live at other Peoples charge by abusing them, they do not value whether they exactly follow the Doctrine of their Predecessors, which is in effect neither better nor freer from absurdities than their own.

Nothing now remains but that I give your Eminence an account to which of these Sects, which divide the Kingdom, the Emperor is most inclinable. This Prince, who is naturally wise and politick, has always kept in with the People. As he is upon a Throne which the least blast may shake, he endeavours as much as he can to strengthen it by his Peoples love: he is so far from provoking them, that he makes himself very popular, yet not to such a degree, as his Father did, lest he should bring upon himself the Mandarins hatred; yet much more than did the antient Emperors, to the end that he may as much as possible sweeten that Yoak, which a new Government has put on their Shoulders.

He does therefore permit or rather tolerate Superstition: he pays a great deal of respect to several *Bonzes* of the first Rank, who have behaved themselves well in any of the Provinces or at Court; nay he does his own Temper that violence as to let some of them live in his Palace, those whom the Princess his Mother had before brought and established there. But tho' he thus favours their Persons, he is no slave to their Opinions. He perfectly understands the folly of them, and does upon several occasions laugh at those things which they enjoyn for Principles of Religion, as Extravagancies and Fables. He often sends those who speak to him of them to the Missionaries: *Hear*, says he, *those Fathers who reason so well, I am sure they will not be of your mind.* One day he said to Father *Verbiest* his Mathematician. *Why do not you speak of God as we do? People would be less set against your Religion. You call him Tien-tchu * and we call him Cham-ti. Is it not the same thing? Will you leave the use of a good word because People give false Interpretations of it? My Lord,* said the Father, *I know that your*

* Tien-tchu signifies Lord of Heaven: Cham-ti Sovereign Emperor.

Majesty does follow the old Doctrine of China; which several Doctors have forsaken: and if we should use their words, they would fancy we believe as they believe. But if your Majesty will by a Proclamation publickly declare that the word Cham-ti signifies the same in effect, that the Christians mean by Tien-tshu, we are ready to make use of any one of them as soon as the other. He liked the Fathers answer, but reasons of State hindred him from following his advice.

When the Queen Mother was dead, those who had the care of the Funeral committed to them, informed the Prince that it was necessary, according to antient Custom, to pull down part of the Palace wall, that the body might be carried thro' the breach; because that the Royal Family would be exposed to a great many misfortunes if the body was carried thro' the ordinary passages. *You do not talk rationally, said the Emperor to them, your heads are full of whimsies: What folly is it to think my good or bad fortune depends upon the way by which my Mother goes to her Tomb! It was my unhappiness to lose her, and to fear any misfortune after so great a loss, would be to dishonour her after her death, by superstitious Rites and ridiculous Ceremonies.* Some time after several Maids of Honour to the Empress, came and fell at the Emperors feet, and begged with Tears that he would suffer them, who had served the Empress here, to follow her into the other World, where their services might be needful to her. He said to them. *I have taken care of that already, you need not therefore put your selves to farther trouble about it.* And for fear lest a cruel zeal might prompt them to lay violent hands on themselves, he commanded their Hair to be immediately cut off, and that they should be confined. When they are shaved, they fancy themselves useless, and unfit to serve Persons of Quality in the other World.

These Examples are enough to let us see that the Emperor is very far from giving himself up to all these popular extravagancies. He honours *Confucius* as the first and wisest Philosopher in the World; in several things he follows Custom, when he judges it much for his interest; at certain times of the year he offers Sacrifices in the Temples, according to ancient practice, yet he says it is only in honour of the *Cham ti*, and that he adores no other but the Supreme Lord of the Universe. Thus far the instruction of the Missionaries have worked upon him. He believes in one God, but State Reasons and the gratification of his Passions which are opposite to the Spirit of JESUS CHRIST, have never suffered him to open his Eyes to the truth of the Gospel. The rigidness and severity of Morals which this requires, oftentimes stops the most resolute, and we see every day persons in this World, who have a greatness of soul enough to deserve the name of Hero's, who do yet want courage when they ought to behave themselves as those who bear that of Christians.

Nevertheless this Prince would not have any one think that he rejects our Religion for want of courage. He told his mind to Father *Verbiest* one day in these words: *Your Law is hard, yet whatever difficulty was to be undergone, I should not stick one minute to be of it, were I convinced of the truth of it. If I was once a Christian, I am pretty well satisfied that in three or four years the whole Empire would be so too. For I am their Master.* We might have some hopes from these Sentiments of the Prince, if we were not on the other side persuaded that the love of pleasure, and the fear of giving occasion to some Revolution in the Empire were not almost invincible hindrances to his Conversion.

But who can find out the Almighty's designs? And who has hitherto penetrated into the mysteries of his

eternal Councils? Are not the Hearts of the greatest Princes as well as of the meanest People in his keeping? It is from that Almighty hand that all our hopes are, which has already confounded an infinite number of Idols, and overthrown many of their Temples; it has made Vice-Roys, Ministers of State, Princes, and one Empress submit to the Yoak of Christianity. The more the Conversion of the Emperor requires Miracles, the more worthy is it of the great power and infinite goodness of God, who is called Great for no other reason than for the great and mighty things which he hath done.

Thus, my Lord, if *Europe* continues to send into *China* fervent and devout Missionaries, we may hope that God will vouchsafe to make use of their Zeal for the accomplishment of his great Work. I am in the most profound manner.

My Lord,

Your Eminence's most obedient

and most humble Servant.

L. J.

To Monsieur Rouillié, Counsellor of
State in Ordinary.

Of the Establishment and Progress
of the Christian Religion in
China.

Sir,

THE Ardent Zeal which you have always shewed towards establishing and promoting the Christian Religion in *China*, makes me hope that you will be pleased with the Letter, which I now take the boldness to write to you. You will not only read therein those things which I have already had the honour to discourse with you about so often, but also many other useful remarks, which I hope may be worthy your curiosity and attention.

It will without doubt bring you a great deal of comfort, by shewing you that your Care, your Prayers, and your Bounty have been seconded by Heaven; and that in contributing so much as you have done to the Conversion of so many Souls, you will at the end of the World be accounted a Father of many faithful.

But if in spite of all that I can say, you will not be made sensible of the great good you do there, for it is with the greatest difficulty that you are brought to believe

346 *Of the Establishment and Progress*

believe you do good : you will at least see that the fervent Missionaries, who for more than an Age have laboured in the large field of the Gospel, are not altogether unworthy their Employment, and that the Fruits which they gather there, should be an encouragement to all *Europe*, to perfect this great Work which by them has been so happily began.

Among other things which the Emperor objected against us when discoursing of the Christian Religion, this was none of the weakest. If the knowledge of JESUS CHRIST, says he, sometimes is necessary for Salvation ; and if God desires the Salvation of all Men ; why has he so long kept us in ignorance and error ? It is now above sixteen Ages since your Religion, the only way Men have to obtain Salvation, has been established in the World ; we knew nothing of it here. Is *China* so inconsiderable as not to deserve to be thought of, while so many barbarous Nations have been enlightned ?

The Missionaries have very solidly answered this objection, and that with so good a Face of Reason, as did give ample satisfaction to the Emperor. I do not here tell you, Sir, their answer ; you do your self know all that could be possibly said thereto. But perhaps it will not be tedious to you to let you know that *China* has not been so much neglected as it thinks. We cannot inform our selves of all that has passed in this New World, since the death of our Saviour ; for the *Chinese* Histories seldom speak of any thing but what concerns Political Government. Yet the Divine Providence would be sufficiently justified in this point, if it had acted for the Salvation of *China* no more than has come to our knowledge.

There is no doubt but St. *Thomas* preached the true Faith in the *Indies*, and it is as certain that the *Indians* had then great dealings with the *Chinese*, to whom almost all *India* was tributary. It is therefore very probable

bable that this Apostle, to whom the care of this New World was committed, did not neglect the best part of it, which was then as much distinguished above the rest of the Eastern parts, as *Italy* was above the Western in the most flourishing condition of the *Roman* Empire. So that perhaps he himself travailed there, or at least sent some of his Followers.

This Conjecture, which carries its own Evidence with it, does still receive confirmation, from what the *Chinese* Histories relate concerning those times. Their History says that a Man came into *China* and preached Heavenly Doctrine. He was not an ordinary Man, adds the History, his Life, his Miracles, and his Vertues made him admired by all the World. Furthermore one may read in an antient Breviary of the Church of *Malabar*, wrote in *Chaldee* these words, which are in the Office for *St. Thomas* his day. *It was by St. Thomas's means that the Chinese and Æthiopi-ans were Converted and came to the knowledge of the Truth.* And in another place. *It was by St. Thomas, that is to say, by the preaching of St. Thomas that the Kingdom of Heaven went into the Empire of China.* And in an Anthem we read these words which follow: *The Indies, China, Persia, &c. offer up, in memory of St. Thomas, the worship due to thy holy Name.* We can't tell what Conversions he wrought there, nor how long Religion flourished; but this is certain that if Religion hath not been kept up in *China* till now, the *Chinese* may thank themselves, who by a criminal neglect and voluntary stubbornness, did so easily part with the gift of God.

Neither is this the only time wherein our Lord hath visited them. A great while after, that is in the seventh Century, a Catholick Patriarch of the *Indies* sent Missionaries thither, who preached the true Religion with good success. Altho' their History hath mentioned something of this, yet it is done in so few words,

348 *Of the Establishment and Progress*

words, and in so careless and obscure a manner, that we should never have had the happiness of being thoroughly acquainted with this Mission, were it not for an Accident which happened a few Years ago, which it pleased God to bring about, for the stronger establishing the Faith in this great Empire.

In the Year 1625, some Masons digging near *Signanfou*, the Capital of the Province of *Cbensfi*, found a long Table of Marble, which had been heretofore erected as a Monument in the manner they build them in *China*, and which time had buried in the ruins of some Building, or had hid in the Ground, so that no remains of it were visible. This Stone which was ten foot long and six foot broad, was very nicely examined, the more for this reason, because on the top of it there was a large Cross handsomly graved, below which was a long discourse in *Chinese* Characters, and other Letters which the *Chinese* did not understand; they were *Syriack* Characters. The Emperour had notice of it, and had a Copy of it sent him, and did command that the Monument should

be carefully kept in a *Pagode* *,
 * *An Idols Temple.* where it now is, about a mile from
Signanfou. The substance of the
 Inscription on the Table is as follows.

‘ There is a first principle of all things, of a spiritu-
 ‘ al and intelligent Nature, who created all things out
 ‘ of Nothing, and who subsists in three Persons. At
 ‘ Man’s Creation he endued him with original Justice,
 ‘ made him King of the Universe, and master of his
 ‘ own Passions; but the Devil drawing him into
 ‘ Temptation, corrupted his mind, and disturbed the
 ‘ inward peace and innocence of his heart. Hence
 ‘ sprang all those Misfortunes which overwhelm hu-
 ‘ man kind, and all those different Factions into which
 ‘ we are crumbled.

‘ Man;

‘ Mankind, who since that fatal Fall did always
‘ walk in Darknes, would never have found out the
‘ path of Truth, if one of these three Persons of the
‘ Divinity, had not taken upon him the Nature of
‘ Man, which Man we call the *Messia*. An Angel
‘ proclaimed his coming, and some time after he was
‘ born of a Virgin in *Judea*. This miraculous Birth
‘ was set forth by a new Star in the Heavens. Some
‘ Kings who observed the Star, came and offered Pre-
‘ sents to the Divine Infant, that so the Law and Pre-
‘ dictions of the twenty four Prophets might be ac-
‘ complished:

‘ He governed the World by instituting a very plain,
‘ Spiritual and Heavenly Law. He established eight
‘ Beatitudes. He endeavoured to dissuade men from
‘ setting their hearts on the good things of this World,
‘ in order to fix in them a love of those good things
‘ which will never fail. He set forth the beautiful-
‘ ness of the three principal Vertues. He set open the
‘ gates of Heaven to the Just, to which place he him-
‘ self ascended at mid-day, leaving on Earth seven and
‘ twenty Books of his Doctrine, proper for the Con-
‘ version of the World.

‘ He instituted Baptism for the washing away Sin,
‘ and lay’d down his Life on the Cross for all men
‘ without exception. His Ministers cut not off their
‘ Beards, but have their Heads shaved excepting a
‘ circle of Hair which they leave on. They have no
‘ Servants, for they make themselves Superior to none
‘ whether in the height of Prosperity or in the depth
‘ of Affliction. Instead of heaping up Riches they
‘ willingly impart their little all to those who are in
‘ want. They Fast both for mortification of them-
‘ selves, and in observance of the Laws. They re-
‘ verence their Superiours and honour all good men.
‘ They pray seven times a day for the Dead and the
‘ Living. They offer Sacrifice every Week, to purge
‘ them

‘ them from their Sins, and to purifie their Hearts.

‘ Even Kings who follow not this Law, whatsoever they do, can never make themselves truly estimable among men. In the Reign of *Tai-tçoum* a most wise and honoured Prince, *Olopoiën* coming from *Judea*, after a long course of dangers by Sea and by Land, at last arrived at *China* in the Year of our Lord 636. The Emperour having notice of it, sent a *Colao* to meet him in the Suburbs of the Imperial City; with Orders to conduct him to the Place. When he came there his Law was examined, and the truth of it acknowledged; so that the Emperour in favour of him made the following Edict.

‘ No particular Name comprehends the true Law, neither are the Saints fixed to one place; they are scattered thro’ the whole World, that they may be universally useful. A Man of *Judea*, of exemplary Vertue is arrived at our Court: We have examined his Doctrine, and found it admirable, with no mixture of Pride, and built upon those Principles which suppose the World had a beginning. This Law teaches the way of Salvation, and cannot but be extremely useful to all our Subjects. I therefore judge it necessary that it be taught them. Afterward he commanded that a Church should be built, and nominated one and twenty Persons to serve that Cure.

‘ *Kao* the Son of *Tai-goum*, succeeded him in the Year 651, and endeavoured to make that Religion flourish which his Father had received. He highly honoured the Bishop *Olopoiën*, and built in all the Provinces Churches for the true God. So that the *Bonzes* some Years after being alarm’d at the progress which Christianity had made, used all means to stop the course of it.

‘ The Persecution was great, and the number of the
‘ faithful grew small, when our Lord raised up two
‘ persons of extraordinary Zeal, who defended the
‘ Faith with so much vigour, that in a little time it
‘ recovered its former lustre. The Emperor on his part
‘ strove to confirm it more and more; even so far as
‘ to command five Kings to go to Church, and pro-
‘ strate themselves, before the Altar, and to erect o-
‘ ther Churches in several Towns to the Honour of
‘ the God of the Christians. Thus the Foundation,
‘ shook by the struggle which the *Bonzes* made, be-
‘ came more solid and better fixed than ever.

‘ In the mean while the Prince himself continued
‘ to give great signs of his Piety; he made the Pi-
‘ ctures of his Predecessors be carried to Church; he
‘ offered himself an hundred pieces of Silk upon the
‘ Altars; payed mighty respect to *Ki-bo*, a Missio-
‘ nary newly arrived out of *Judea*, and all his life
‘ time omitted nothing that was necessary for the
‘ propagating the Gospel in his Dominions. *Ven-*
‘ *min* who succeeded him in the year 757. inherited
‘ his Vertue as well as Crown. He built five Churches.
‘ He was famous for his other great Qualities as well
‘ as for his care of Religion.

‘ The following Emperors confirmed Christianity
‘ by their Edicts and Examples. We can pray for them
‘ without fearing that our Prayers will not be heard,
‘ for they were humble and peaceable; they bore with
‘ the faults of their Neighbours; and did good to all
‘ sorts of Men. Which is the true Character of Chri-
‘ stianity, and is the true way to make Peace and
‘ Plenty flow into the greatest Kingdoms.

‘ Others of them were exercised in the Works of
‘ the brightest Charity. The Emperor *Sotçoum* of-
‘ fered at the Altar, and built Churches; besides he
‘ assembled together the Priests of four Churches, and
‘ for forty days served them himself with great re-
‘ spect;

352 *Of the Establishment and Progress*

‘ spect; he fed the Poor, cloathed the Naked, healed
 ‘ the Sick, and buried the Dead. It is to keep up the
 ‘ memory of these great Actions, and to let Posterity
 ‘ know the present State of the Christian Religion here,
 ‘ that we have erected this Monument in the year 782.

This, Sir, is a faithful Epitomy of what is remarkable in this famous remain of *Chinese* Antiquity. The *Bonzes* who keep it in one of their Temples near *Signan-fou*, have erected over against it, a long Table of Marble every way like it, with Encomiums upon the Gods of the Country, to diminish as much as they can the glory which the Christian Religion receives from thence. The Chronicle of *China* confirms by the Order and Succession of the Emperors what the Monument says of it; but I am apt to think that the Vertues of those Emperors mentioned therein are exalted too much some of whom in History are said to have done as much for Paganism, as this says they did for Christianity. However that be it is a plain testimony that the Faith was preached there and received by a great many persons. It flourished there at least an hundred fourscore and six years, and perhaps much longer for we have no account of its failure, for the very memory of it was lost; and when the new Missionaries of our Society came thither, they found no sign or footstep of it.

It was in the year 1552. that Saint *Xavier* went thither in hopes to add this new Conquest to the Kingdom of JESUS CHRIST. It seemed that that great Man had made but an Essay in the *Indies*, and if I may use the expression, had but served an Apprenticeship to that Zeal, which he would be perfect Master of in *China*. And surely *Moses* never had a more ardent desire to enter into the Holy Land, to gather with his People the Temporal Riches of that Country, than this Apostle longed to carry into this new World the Treasures of the Gospel. Both one and
 t’other

other dyed by the Providence of God, in a time when their long Voyages and infinite Labours seemed answered by a great probability of success.

The Scripture tells us *Moses's* death was a punishment to him for his lack of Faith; Saint *Xavier's* seems to be a reward for the abundance of his. God had a mind to reward his Zeal, his Labours, and his Charity; and was willing to defer for a time that torrent of Mercy which he designed for the Empire of *China*, that he might reward his Servant with that Glory, which he had procured for so many Nations. He dyed in the Isle of *San-cham*, or as we speak it *San-ciam*, under the Jurisdiction of the Province of *Canton*; it is well known that he lay in the ground several months, all which time God preserved him from the usual Corruption, from hence he was carried to *Goa*, where from that time he hath been honoured as the Protector of that place, and the Apostle of the East.

The touch of his body Consecrated the place of his burial. That Island became not only a famous place, but also an holy Land. Even the Heathens honoured it, and fled thither as to a City of Refuge. In the mean time Pirats haunted those Coasts, that no Vessels dared to go thereabouts, so that the place where this Sacred Tomb lay, was quite unknown to the *Europeans*; and it is but a little while ago that they discovered it by a particular accident.

In the year 1688. a *Portuguese* Vessel which coming from *Goa*, had on Board the Governour of *Macao*, was seized by a sudden gust of Wind, and forced to let the Ship drive towards these Islands do what they could. They cast Anchor between the Isles of *San-ciam* and *Lampacao*, which were so near one another as to make a kind of Haven. Contrary Winds continuing eight days, gave Father *Caroccio* a Jesuite, who was on Board, an opportunity of satisfying his de-

354 *Of the Establishment and Progress*

vout resolutions. He went on shoar, and was resolved in spite of Danger to go in search of the Saints Tomb. The Pilot and most part of the Sailors followed him, they searched the whole Island but to no purpose.

At at last a *Chinese*, an Inhabitant of the place, imagining with himself what it was which they so ardently sought after, undertook to guide them, and led them to a place which all the Inhabitants revered, and where he himself began to perform Actions and Gestures of Piety. The Father who could not understand him, began to search about for some sign or mark of the Sepulchre, and found at last a Stone five Cubits long, and three broad, upon which was cut these words in *Latin, Portuguese, Chinese, and Japonese, Here Xavier a Man truly Apostolical was buried.*



*a. the Isle of Sanciam. b Lampacao c the Port
d the Tomb of Saint Xavier.*

Then they all fell on their Knees, and did with Devotion kiss that Earth, which the Tears and the last Groans of that Apostle had sanctified. The Inhabitants of the place came in and followed the Example of the *Portuguese*: even the *English*, for one of their Vessels came to an Anchor in the same place, came thither to honour the Saint, and prayed a great while at his Tomb. Father *Caroccio* some time after said Mass in his *Pontificalibus*, while the two Vessels, the *English* and *Portuguese*, did several times discharge their Artillery, and gave marks of their common joy.

Lastly, to preserve the memory of that holy place, they resolved to build a good square Wall all round the Tomb, and to dig a Ditch to secure it from all inundations. In the midst between these Walls they raised the Stone which they found overturned, and built an Altar, as a Memorial of the august Sacrifice of the Eucharist which had been offered up there, which might also serve to Celebrate it upon again, if either Accident or Devotion should carry the Ministers of JESUS CHRIST thither any more. The People of the place did themselves assist toward the carrying on this little work, and showed as much Zeal for the honour of the Saint as the Christians did.

This place is of itself very pleasant. You see there a small Plain extended from the bottom of a Hill, on one side of which is a Wood, on the other are Gardens Cultivated; a Rivulet which turns and twines about, renders the Island very Fertile. It is not uninhabited, as some have wrote, there are seventeen Villages in it. The Land is manured, even the very Mountains, and the Inhabitants are so far from wanting the necessaries of Life, that the growth of their Island is enough to carry on such Commerce as yields them a moderate plenty.

You will easily pardon me, Sir, for this short digression concerning *St. Francis Xavier*. A Missionary can't speak of him without being naturally inclined to enlarge about every thing that concerns this great Man. It was he who settled upon a solid Foundation all the Missions into the *Indies*, and who, in the last Years of his Life, encouraged his Brethren to enterprize the great Design of the Conversion of *China*. His Zeal passed into their minds and hearts; and tho' every body but *Xavier* thought it impossible that the Design should take effect, the Fathers *Roger*, *Pasio*, and *Ricci*, all three *Italians*, did resolve to spend all their pains, and if it were necessary, all their blood in this great Work.

The Difficulties which the Devil raised, did not discourage them. They entred one after the other into the Southern Provinces. The Novelty of their Doctrine brought them Auditors, and the Sanctity of their Lives made those Auditors have a favourable opinion of them. At first they heard them with Pleasure, and afterwards with Admiration. Father *Ricci* above all distinguished himself by his Zeal and Understanding. For he was thoroughly instructed in the Customs, the Religion, Laws, and Ceremonies of the Country, all which he had studied a long time before at *Macao*. He spoke their Language fluently, and understood their Writings perfectly; this was joyned to a sweet, easie, complaisant temper, and a certain insinuating behaviour, which none but himself had, which it was hard to resist; but above all, an ardour which the Holy Ghost instils into the Workmen of the Lords Harvest; all this, I say, got him the repute of a great Man and an Apostle.

Not but that he met with a great many rubs in the work of God. The Devil overthrew his Designs more than once. He had the Superstition of the People,

ple, the Jealousie of the *Bonzes*, and the ill humour of the *Mandarins* to deal with; all which violently opposed what he was about to establish. Yet he never gave over, and God gave him Perseverance, a Vertue very necessary in the beginning such Enterprises as these, which always meet with opposition, and which men of the best intentions in the World sometimes let fall, discouraged for want of present success to fortifie them in the prosecution of their Design.

Father *Ricci*, after many Years fruitless labour, had at last the comfort of seeing the Gospel flourish. He made many and mighty Conversions in the Provinces. The *Mandarins* themselves opened their eyes to the light of our holy Faith, which our Missionary carried even almost as far as to the Court. The Emperor *Vanli* then reigning, received him with great marks of Respect and Kindness: and among divers *European* Curiosities which the Father presented to him, he was so taken with some Pictures of our Saviour and the Virgin *Mary*., that he ordered them to be set up in an high place in his Palace, as things to which he would have a respect shewn.

This kind Welcome from the Emperour, gained him the Good will of all the Lords at Court; and in spite of the opposition of some Magistrates, who according to their custom, could never deal handsomely by a Stranger, he bought an House at *Pekin*, and gained such a Foundation and Establishment there, as hath been since the support of all the Missions into this Empire.

Religion was by this means known (and without it it would have been impossible to have supported it) thus it came into esteem, and was preached by the new Missionaries, who made great advantage of Father *Ricci's* first Labours. The Court and all the

358 *Of the Establishment and Progress*

Provinces resounded every where with that adorable Name*, which the Jews heretofore, thro' the respect they bore to it, never so much as pronounced to their Profelites, and which the new-converted *Chinese* named to their Country-men with a respect yet greater. For the *European* Workmen being but few, gave an opportunity to several *Mandarins* to preach the Gospel, and there were some of them who by their Zeal and Understanding promoted the Affairs of Religion as much as the most fervent Missionaries.

It is true that these Successes were sometime after interrupted; for it is the Character of Truth, that it makes it self Enemies, and the lot of the Christian Religion always to be persecuted. Providence being desirous to try the Fidelity of these new Christians, and to re-inflame the Zeal of their Ministers, permitted the Idol Priests to oppose the preaching of the Gospel. So that it very near came to pass, that a Cabal of some *Bonzes*, supported by several *Mandarins*, had by the destruction of Father Ricci overthrown in one minute the Work of several Years.

But the greatest danger to this Holy Man and his Mission came from his own Brethren, I mean the *European* Christians. Some *Portuguese* of *Macao* incensed against the Jesuits, resolved to destroy them in *China*, altho' with them they destroyed the Christian Religion there. They could not but know what the Holy Intentions of those Fathers were in going thither, yet they accused them as Spies, who under pretence of preaching the Gospel, secretly managed a Conspiracy, and had a design to seize upon *China* by the force and assistance of the *Japonese*, *Hollanders*, and *Christians* of that Country.

It must needs be a great amazement to any one, who observes the rage and bitterness of these false Brethren, who altho' engaged by their Religion to propagate

propagate the work of God even with the loss of their Lives, were yet resolved to destroy it by such vile and false Aspersions.

This Ridiculous Story which was set forth with Heat and Violence, and built upon some Circumstances which carried some shew of Truth, easily found Credit among the *Chinese*, naturally excessively Suspicious, and very well satisfied by a long experience that the least Commotions or Rebellion might bring the most powerful Empires to ruin.

The Persecution was very sharp, the weak Christians were scandalized, and did Apostatize from the Faith. Father *Martinez* was taken up, imprisoned, and bastinado'd, till at length he died thro' his Torments: and if this Accusation of the Christians had ever came to the knowledge of the Court, it is very probable it would have been the utter overthrow of Christianity here. But our Lord stop'd the growing Evil in its bud, and by the means of a *Mandarin* a particular Friend of Father *Ricci* gave Peace to the Mission and Liberty to the Evangelical Workmen.

After having surmounted a great many Obstacles of this nature, and preached the Gospel to an infinite number of People, this fervent Missionary died. The Heathens judged him the wisest and most understanding Man of his Age, the Christians loved him as their Father, and the preachers of the Gospel made him a Model whereby to form themselves. He had the satisfaction of dying in the midst of a plentiful Harvest; but was disturbed that there were so few Workmen to get it in. So that he recommended nothing more earnestly to his Brethren who assisted him in his last Sickness, than to receive with all imaginable joy and comfort all those who should come to partake of their Labours. *If they find*, says he to them, *when they arrive here Crosses from the Ene-*

mies of Christianity, do you sweeten the bitterness of them, by demonstrations of the most tender Friendship, and most inflamed Charity.

The Churches of *China*, of which he was the main support, were shaken by his Fall; for altho' the Emperour for some Years afterward shewed himself somewhat favourable to the Christian Religion, yet in 1615, there arose against it the cruellest Tempest that it had ever yet suffered. It was occasioned by one of the principal *Mandarins* of * *Chinkio*. *Nankin* *. They chiefly set upon the Pastors, thereby the easier to disperse the Flock. Some were cruelly beaten, others banished, almost all imprisoned and carried afterwards to *Macao*, after having the honour of suffering a thousand injuries and reproaches for the love of *JESUS CHRIST*.

The Tempest lasted near six Years; but at last the Persecutor being himself accused, was by Gods Judgment deprived both of his Offices and also of his Life. His death gave the Christians some respite, who after that multiplied more than ever, thro' the labours of a great many Missionaries. It * 1631. was about this time * that the Right Reverend Fathers of the Order of *St. Dominick* joined with us; many of whom do at this time labour in *China* with a great deal of Zeal and Success.

About this time Father *Adam Schaal* a *German* appeared at Court, and added a new Lustre to Christianity which had but newly sprang up again. He was perfectly skilled in *Mathematicks*, and made use of his knowledge therein to obtain the Emperors kindness; he was in a little time so highly in the Emperours favour, that he thought he should be able by his own Interest alone to Establish the Christian Religion solidly. He began to make use of his Interest with good success, when an Insurrection overturned the whole

whole Government, and with it all his promising hopes.

This great State whose Power seemed to be enough to secure it from the most violent Shock whatever, was made sensible then that there is nothing constant in this World. Some Robbers being met together, by the access of multitudes of Male-contented who joined them formed vast Armies: they burned Towns and plundered whole Provinces. *China* presently changed its Aspect, and from the most flourishing Empire became the Stage for the most bloody War. Never were there seen so many Murders and Barbarities. The Emperour being surpris'd at *Pekin*, strangled himself for fear of falling into the hands of the Victors. The Usurper was soon drove out of the Throne by the *Tartars*, who seiz'd upon it. The Princes of the Blood who in different places were proclaimed Emperours, were vanquished or killed. Then all the *Mandarins* rose, some declaring for *Tartary*, others for Liberty: others only carried on the Fighting Trade, in hopes to make their private Fortunes from the publick Ruin.

Some of those last were rather Monsters than Men, who giving themselves to all that Licentiousness which the most inhumane Cruelty and Barbarity could prompt them to, made whole Provinces desolate, and shed more blood to satisfy their Brutality, than the most ambitious Prince in the World would for the Conquest of an Empire.

Religion, which groaned amidst those Troubles, had the comfort nevertheless of seeing many great Persons Converted; one Empress with her Son were Baptis'd; scarce either of them lived after their reception of the Faith, the fruits of which they could not enjoy but in the other World. Lastly, the *Tartars* by their Valour, and by a Conduct equal to the Policy of ancient *Rome*, made themselves Masters of

China,

China, and in a few Years obliged all the Provinces to submit to a foreign Yoak.

Then we thought Religions Case desperate ; but God, who needs not the assistance of Men when he hath a mind to support his own Work, inspired on a sudden this new Prince with a greater affection for the Christian Religion, than we dared hope for from the *Chinese* Emperours. He not only took away the Government of the Mathematicks from the *Mahometans*, which they had possessed for 300 Years, and gave it to Father *Adam* ; but by a special Privilege he suffered that Father to apply himself to him immediately in all things which concerned the Missionaries, without first passing thro' the Formalities of the Courts of Justice, who are very severe to Strangers. This signal Favour, joined with many others, raised up the Courage of the Christians, and gave the Heathens greater liberty to close with the true Religion. Many Persons of the best Quality at *Pekin* desired Baptism ; the Provinces follow'd the Example of the Court, and the Harvest became so plentiful, that the Workmen were too few to gather it in.

Those who were employed therein, laboured with such an hearty Zeal, that we do at this present feel the effects of it. There were found Persons of eminent Vertue, Prudence, and Understanding, whom God had formed during the Troubles and Civil Wars, and which the Spirit of the Almighty drew out of the Chaos, like so many Stars, to shed forth the Light of the Gospel, unto the most hidden parts of this vast Empire, accompanying their Preaching with Signs and Wonders.

Among those extraordinary Men Father *Faber*, a Frenchman, distinguished himself above the rest. I had the happiness to tarry some time in that Province which was allotted to his care ; and I have, after so many Years, found the precious remains
there,

there, which are the necessary consequences of Holiness. Those who were witnesses of his Actions, tell to their Children the Miracles which he wrought to confirm them in their Faith, and altho' one need not believe all which they relate of him, we cannot nevertheless deny that God did in many occasions give an extraordinary concurrence in several great things which he enterprised for his Glory.

It is worth knowing after what manner he founded the Mission of *Ham-tçoum*, a Town of the first Rank in *Cbensi*, two days Journey distant from the Capital. He was invited thither by a Mandarin, and the small number of Christians which he found there, made him the more laborious to encrease their Number. God put into his hands a means of doing this which he never expected. One of the great Boroughs, which in *China* are as big as the Towns, was then overrun by a prodigious multitude of Locusts, which eat up all the Leaves of the Trees, and gnawed the Grass to the very Roots.

The Inhabitants after having used all imaginable means, thought fit to apply themselves to Father *Faber*, whose repute was every where talked of. The Father took from thence an occasion to explain the principal Mysteries of our Faith, and added that if they would submit themselves thereto, they should not only be delivered from the Present Plague, but that also they should obtain innumerable Blessings, and Eternal Happiness. They embraced it willingly, and the Father to keep his word with them, marched in Ceremony into the Highways in his Stole and his Surplice; and sprinkled up and down holy water, accompanying his Action with the Prayers of the Church, but especially with a lively Faith. God heard the Voice of his Servant, and the next day all the Insects disappeared.

But the People, whose minds were wholly bent upon the things of this World, as soon as they saw themselves delivered, neglected the Counsel which the Missionary had given them. They were therefore immediately punished, and the Plague grew worse than it was before. Then they accused one the other of their want of Faith; they ran in Crouds to the Father's House, and casting themselves at his Feet: we will not rise up Father, said they, till you have pardoned us. We confess our fault, and protest that if you will a second time deliver us from this Affliction with which Heaven threatens us, the whole Borough will immediately acknowledge your God, who alone can work such great Miracles.

The Father, to increase their Faith, made them beg a great while. At last inspired as before, he sent up his Prayer, and sprinkled his holy water, and by the next day there was not an Insect to be found in the Fields. Then the whole Borough being brought over to the Truth, followed the guidance of God's Holy Spirit; they were all instructed and formed into a Church, which, tho' it was abandoned for some years, is still reckoned one of the devoutest Missions in *China*.

They say also of this Father that he has been carried over Rivers thro' the Air, that they have seen him in an extasie, that he foretold his own Death, and did several other such Wonders; but the greatest Miracle of all was his life, which he spent in the continual exercise of all the Apostolical Virtues, in a profound Humility, in a severe Mortification, in a settled Patience, proof against all sorts of Injuries, in a flaming Charity, and a tender Devotion to the Mother of God, all which he practised to his death; to the Edification, and I may say the Admiration even of the Idolaters

While Christianity spread its Root deep throughout the Provinces, it flourished every day more and more at *Pekin*; the Emperor did not seem far from it. He came often to our Church, and did there adore the Divine Majesty in such an humble manner as would have been commendable in a Christian. There are still Writings from his own hand, wherein he acknowledges the beauty and the purity of our holy Law; but a Heart set upon sensual pleasures can never follow the directions of the Spirit; When Father *Adam* has been pressing upon him. *You are, said he, in the right, but how can you expect that any one should be able to practise all these Laws? Take away two or three of the difficultest, and after that perhaps we may agree to the rest.* Thus this young Prince divided between the Voice of human Nature and Grace, thought that we might favour Nature at the expence of Religion; but the Father gave him to understand, that we were only the Publishers, not the Authors of the Gospel. Nevertheless, my Lord, says the Father to him one day, tho' we propose to the corrupt World a body of Morals which surpass their forces to comply with, and Mysteries which are above their Reason to comprehend, we do not from thence despair to have our Doctrine received; because we do it by his order who can enlighten the most darkned Understanding, and strengthen the most weak Nature.

These difficulties which the Emperor looks upon as insuperable did not take any thing from that kindness and respect which he bore to Father *Adam*. He always called him his Father, placed always his confidence in him: he made him twenty visits in two years; and gave him leave to build two Churches in *Pekin*; and order'd those which in the Persecution had been demolished in the Provinces to be rebuilt: nay granted him whatever could any ways contribute toward

toward the solid establishment of the Faith, which without doubt would have made an infinite progress, had not a violent Passion changed the temper of that Prince, and took him away from us at a time when we had the most need of his Protection: we may justly say that his death was owing to an extraordinary grief for the loss of a Concubine. This Woman, whom he had taken from her Husband, inclined him to the worship of false Gods, to that excess that he was wholly altered from what he was before as to his Opinions of Religion. And that time it was that he fell sick, his mind being full of Notions from the *Bonzes*, who swarmed in his Palace, and being vehemently tormented by his Passion, so that he could not get a Moments rest. In the mean while as he loved the Father extremely, so was he desirous to see him once more before he dyed.

At this last meeting the good Missionary's Bowels yearn'd upon him. He was kneeling at the Prince's Beds-feet, whom he had Educated as his own Son, in hopes one day to make him Head of the true Religion. He saw him there under the load of a violent Distemper, disturbed with the impure desires of unlawful Love, given up to Idols and their Priests, just upon the brink of death, and that death an Eternal one. The Emperor, who saw him in this concern, would not let him speak upon his Knees; but raised him up, and heard his last advice with somewhat less prejudice against it than usual; ordered him afterward a present of Tea, and dismissed him with such marks of tenderness as touched him to the bottom of his Soul, of which he was the more sensible, because he never could bring it about, to work in him a true Conversion.

His death was equally fatal to the *Bonzes*, who were thereupon driven from the Palace, and to the true Religion which was thereby brought within a
nails

nails breadth of destruction. Many Churches built upon the Coasts of the Maritime Provinces were destroyed, by an Edict which commanded that every body on the Coasts should retire ten or eleven Miles within Land, and destroy all Habitations within that compass all round the Coasts, because a famous Pirate made use of them in carrying on a War against the Emperor. They were also just going to ruin *Macao*, and order was given to drive the *Portuguese* thence, when Father *Adam* used his utmost effort to save it. At this time all his Credit and Interest, which he had employed so much to the advantage of Religion, ended. For in a little time he became the object of the most bloody Persecution that ever the Church suffered.

The four Mandarins who had the Regency during the Emperors minority, moved upon different Topicks, and especially animated against the Christians, to whom this Father was the main support, put him and three of his Companions into Prison. Other Preachers of the Gospel were summoned to *Pekin*, who met with the same treatment, and were loaded each with nine Chains. They burned their Books, their Beads, and Medals, and whatever else carried the Face of Religion; nevertheless they spared the Churches; as for the Christian Flock they met with a more mild usage.

Those famous Confessors had the honour to be dragged before all the Seats of Judgment. There it was that their Enemies did admire their Courage. But they were above all moved by the miserable condition of Father *Adam*. That Venerable old Man, who but a day or two before was the Oracle of the Court, and the Favourite of a great Emperor, now appeared in the form of a Slave, loaded with Chains, and oppressed with Infirmities, dejected by the weight and burthen of Age, but much more by that of calumny

lummy which labour'd to blemish his Innocence. He had a sort of Catarrhe which hindred him from making his defence; but Father *Verbiest* forsook him not, and answered for him, to his Enemies, in so sensible a manner, that the Judges could not enough admire the Constancy of the Person accused, nor the heroical Charity of the Person who defended him. However as innocent as he was, he was condemned to be strangled, which is in *China* an honourable kind of Death; but afterwards, as tho' they repented that they had not been unjust enough, they repealed the Sentence, and gave another, wherein the Father was condemned to be publickly expos'd in the Market-place, and be hacked alive into ten thousand pieces.

The Supreme Court sent the Sentence to the Regency, and to the Princes of the Blood to have it confirmed; but God who had till then seem'd to have relinquish'd his Servant, began to speak in favour of his Cause by a terrible Earthquake. The whole Land were confounded at this Prodigy. Every body exclaimed that Heaven itself would punish the injustice of the Magistrates: who therefore to appease the People opened all the Prisons in the Town, and made an Act of Oblivion for all Criminals, excepting the Confessors of JESUS CHRIST who were still kept in Chains, as tho' they had been the only Victims for whom Heaven had no concern.

But because there arriv'd divers Prodigies, and in particular fire consumed great part of the Court of Justice, at last fear obtained that from these unrighteous Judges, which innocence could not. They set Father *Adam* at liberty, and permitted him to go home to his House, till the Emperor should otherwise dispose of him. This great Man blemish'd; indeed to outward appearance, by an ignominious Sentence which was never repealed; but in truth full

of glory, for having defended the honour of Religion by exposing his own life, dyed a little while after, worn away by the toil of an Apostolical life, but more by the hardships and inconveniences of a troublesome Prison.

His death was too precious in the Eyes of God, to be unaccompany'd with some signal blessing upon the sorrowful remains of persecuted Christianity. It is true that the Missionaries of the Provinces were banished to *Canton*, among which three were *Dominicans*, one a *Franciscan*, (and another of the same Order dyed in Prison) and one and twenty Jesuits; yet four were kept at the Court, whom the Providence of God made use of afterwards to settle Christianity again in its pristine splendor.

God himself revenged the innocence of his Servants. *Sony* the first Mandarin in the Regency, the most dangerous Enemy the Fathers had, dyed a month or two after. The second, named *Soucama*, was afterwards indicted and condemned to a cruel death, his Goods Confiscated, his Children, in number seven, had their Heads cut off, excepting the third, who was cut to pieces alive, the punishment which that wicked Judge had design'd for Father *Adam*, and with which God chastised his Crimes in the Persons of his Children. *Yam-quam-sien*, who had been the chief Instrument in the Persecution, fared no better than them. After the death of Father *Adam* he was made President of the Mathematicks, and had the charge of the Kalendar of the Empire committed to him. Father *Verbieft* accused him, and plainly made appear the ignorance of this pitiful Mathematician.

This was a bold stroke, because the Presidents Party was very strong, and the flames which had caused the Persecution were not yet quenched. But many things concurred to give good success to this Enterprize. The understanding of the Father, the

kindness which the new Emperor had for the *Euro-peans*, but especially the particular Providence of God which did secretly manage this important Affair. For it is certain that in the several tryals whereby they proved the goodness of our Mathematicks, the Heavens did so exactly agree with what our Fathers had foretold, even above the certainty which our Tables and Calculations could promise us, that it seemed as tho' God had guided the Stars, in such a course as was necessary to justify our Missionaries account of them.

The President of the Mathematicks used his best endeavours to defend himself; and because he could not hide his Ignorance in Astronomy, he endeavoured to put upon the Judges, and persuade them that the Christian Religion contained much greater errors than those he was guilty of. In the midst of some meetings where the Emperor was present, he behaved himself in such manner as the Emperor could scarcely bear with him. He layed his Hands across, and cryed out as loud as he could: *See here, do but observe what these Fellows adore, and what they would have us worship too, a Man who was hanged, a person who was crucified, let any one judge hereby of their understanding and good sense.*

But all these Excursions served only to diminish his own Credit. This wicked person, more blameable for his Crimes than for his Ignorance, lost his charge and was condemned to death. Notwithstanding the Emperor suspended the Execution of the Sentence by reason of his extraordinary old Age; but God himself executed his Sentence of Vengeance. He smote him with an horrible Ulcer, and by his sorrowful death, delivered Religion from this Monster of Iniquity.

Then the care of the Mathematicks was committed to Father *Verbiest*, the antient Missionaries were recalled to their old Churches, but forbid to go about to build new ones, or to labour in the Conversion of the *Cbinese*. Lastly, to magnifie our happiness, the memory of Father *Adami* was mightily respected even at Court. He was publickly justified and cleared, his Charges and Titles of honour were remanded him; and his Ancestors made Nobility. The Emperor himself appointed considerable sums of mony to build him a stately Mausoleum, which at this present is to be seen, in room of a Sepulchre, adorned with Statues and several Marble Figures according to the Custom of the Country.

Thus it is that God by a continual Vicissitude, proves the constancy of the Faithful by Persecution, and encourages them again by punishing their Persecutors. This happy Peace which the Church gained thro' Father *Verbiests* means, encouraged the Missionaries to repair that damage which Heil had done. Besides the Jesuits, there were several Fathers of the Orders of St. *Francis*, and St. *Augustin*, who entered into the Lords Vineyard. New establishments were gained every where, and notwithstanding any Prohibition a great number of Heathens were Converted to the Faith, being more afraid of eternal punishment, than of that with which the Laws of Man seemed to threaten them.

So ardent and so hasty a Zeal will perhaps make you amazed; but besides that Charity is always hazardous, many things contributed to confirm those who might else be afraid of fatal consequences. The first of these is the great Authority which the Missionaries have acquired at Court in a small time. Especially the Emperor is satisfied that they despise Honours, and that at home they lead an Austere life:

The Prince is inform'd of this such ways that it is impossible he should be deceived. He had information from Spies, of all that passed in their Houses; even so nicely as to know their Mortifications and corporeal Penances.

He sends also to the Fathers Houses a young *Tartar*, of good parts, under pretence to learn Philosophy, but in reality to discover the most secret things in their Families, and to be himself, I think, an occasion of offence. He stays there a year, without knowing what the Princes intentions are, who having sent for him into his presence commands him to tell him all the private disorders of these Fathers, and especially how they have behaved themselves towards him. And when these young Men constantly bear Testimony of the Fathers innocence: I see very well, says the Emperor, they have stop'd your Mouth with Presents, but I know a way to open it again. Then he makes him be severely fashed at several times, yet is not the pain enough to make the young *Tartar* speak against his Conscience. Which pleases the Prince mightily, who would be disturbed to find himself deceived in the Idea which he has formed to himself of these fervent Missionaries.

This obliges him afterward to take their part in an Assembly of the Mandarins, some of which do not esteem the Missionaries because their outward carriage seems so good. *As for that Matter*, says the Emperor to them, *neither you nor I can find fault with them. After all that I can do to get information, I am persuaded that these People teach us nothing but what themselves practice, and they are indeed as modest as they appear outwardly to be.*

The second reason which engaged the Emperor to favour the Missionaries, was the great understanding of Father *Verbieft*, who in a small time was reckoned the
learnedst

learnedst Man in the Empire in all Faculties. His Reputation is every where spread abroad, and upon many occasions his Opinion has the repute of an Oracle. Some Mandarins one day speaking of the Trinity, and using it as a Fable, one of them said, *I do not know what the Christians mean, and am as much puzzled as you; but Father Verbiest is of that opinion: what say you to that? Can a Man of his sence and understanding mistake?* They all held their Tongues, and seemed to yield to this reason. So true is it that the use of humane Learning is so far from being (as some think) opposite to the Spirit of the Gospel, that it sometimes serves to establish it, and to render the most obscure mysteries therein credible.

The third Reason, is that hearty love which the Emperor believes the Missionaries have for him: It is true the Missionaries omit nothing which they think will please him; and as they are the most inflexible and resolute against doing any thing contrary to their Religion, so are they the most complaisant and ready to comply with all the reasonable requests of the Emperor. A Rebellion which happened at this time, put it into Father *Verbiests* power to do the Crown a considerable piece of Service.

Ousanguai, that famous Chinese General, who had brought the *Tartars* into the Empire, thought he had then a good opportunity to drive them out again. He was naturally courageous, and in *Chensi* commanded the best of the Chinese Soldiery, and had got together a vast deal of mony. This made him set up to be Emperor, and made him believe he could easily compass his design. And indeed he so ordered his matters that he made himself presently Master of the three great Provinces *Yunnam*, *Soutchouen*, and *Gueitcheou*, afterwards a great part of the Province of *Houquans* acknowledged him. So that these possessions and *Chensi*, which he had in possession a good

while before made him Master of almost a third of *China*.

These Conquests seemed to be the more secure to him, because at the same time, the Vice-Roys of *Quantoum* and *Fokien* followed his example, and gave the Emperor on that side a mighty diversion, and beside a powerful Pirate with a great Fleet attacked and in few days took the Island *Formosa* at the same time.

Less than this would have ruined the *Tartars*, if they had all concerted their business together; but jealousy which does oft overthrow the firmest Leagues, ruined their Projects. The King of *Fokien* fell out with that of *Formosa*, and to preserve himself from being damaged by his Fleet, made his Peace with the Emperor, who gave him such assistance as that he made his party good. The King of *Quantoum* being unwilling to be any ways under the direction or command of *Ousanguai*, left him, and put himself under the Protection of the *Tartars*, who turned all their Forces against this last Rebel, more formidable than all the rest together; for he was Master of all the Western Provinces, and the success which his Troops had hitherto met with, gave them Heart and Courage enough to undertake any thing.

After the Emperor had tryed many several ways to no purpose, he saw plainly that it was impossible to force them from the places where they had entrenched without using his great Artillery: but the Cannon which he had were Iron, and so heavy that they dared not carry them over such steep Rocks, as they must do to come to him. He thought Father *Verbiest* might be assistant to him in this matter; he commanded the Father therefore to give directions for casting some Cannon after the *European* manner. The Father presently excused himself, saying that he had lived his whole life far from the noise of War, that he was there-

therefore little instructed in those affairs. He added also that being a Religious, and wholly employed in the concerns of another World, he would pray for his Majesty's good success; but that he humbly begged that his Majesty would be pleased to give him leave not to concern himself with the warfare of this World.

The Fathers Enemies (for a Missionary is never without some) thought that now they had an opportunity to undermine him. They persuaded the Emperor that what he commanded the Father to do, was no ways opposite to the will or intention of the Gospel: and that it was no more inconvenient to him to cast Cannon than to cast Machines and Mathematical Instruments, especially when the good and safety of the Empire were concerned: that therefore without doubt the reason of the Fathers refusal was because he kept Correspondence with the Enemy, or at least because he had no respect for the Emperor. So that at last the Emperor gave the Father to understand, that he expected obedience to his last Order, not only upon pain of losing his own life, but also of having his Religion utterly rooted out.

This was to touch him in the most sensible part, and he was indeed too wise to stand out for a nicety or a scruple at the hazard of losing all that was valuable. I have already assured your Majesty that I have very little understanding in casting Cannon, said he to the Emperor; but since you command me I will endeavour to make your Workmen understand what our Books direct in this affair. He took therefore upon himself the care of this Work, and the Cannon was proved before the Emperor, and found to be extraordinary good. The Emperor was so well pleased with the Work, that he pulled off his Mantle, and in the presence of the whole Court gave it to Father *Verbieft* for a token of his Affection.

All the Pieces of Cannon were made very light and small, but strengthened with a stock of Wood from the mouth to the breech, and girt with several bands of Iron; so that the Cannons were strong enough to bear the force of the Powder, and light enough to be carried thro' any, even the worst Roads: This new Artillery did every way answer what they proposed from it. The Enemy were obliged to leave their Intrenchments in disorder, and soon after to Capitulate; for they did not think it possible to hold out against those any longer, who could destroy them without coming themselves into reach.

Ousanguai was himself dead: his Son *Hom-hoa*, who carried on the War, strangled himself thro' despair; and the rest of them were in a small time utterly routed. So that the Emperor then began to Reign in Peace, and continued more and more to shew marks of Favour and Affection to the Missionaries. So that Father *Verbieft* has often sighing said, that the Lord's Vineyard was now open, that the Heathens themselves gave liberty to enter upon the Harvest, but that yet there were scarce any Workmen to bring it in.

They send to him for Pastors from every place, *Tartary*, the Kingdom of *Corea*, the Provinces of *China*, which have been left destitute by the death of their antient Pastors, invite or rather press him to succour them. Neither does this scarcity come from the *Europeans* want of Zeal, but from the differences which have arose between the sacred Congregation, who send Vicars Apostolical into the East, and the King of *Portugal*, who pretends to a right to nominate all the Bishops there, exclusively to any superior Ecclesiastical Power.

This Dispute cools the ardour of those fervent Missionaries, who dare not engage themselves where they must incur either the indignation of their Holy Father,

ther, or of a mighty Prince, both which things are very formidable. And thus the Work of God stood still, and those precious minutes were lost, which the favour of a great Emperour and the diligence of a zealous Missionary, might have made so useful to the firm establishing our Holy Faith. But this is one of the *Arcana* of Providence, which, after it hath confounded all the opposition of the enemies of the Gospel, even at the expence of working Miracles, does sometimes suffer that the Zeal of Catholics should do more harm to Religion, than the Hatred and Jealousie of Idolaters.

Sometime after my Lord Bishop of *Heliopolis* was sent by the sacred Congregation with some French Ecclesiasticks, full of ardour to reform and encrease the new Christianity. This courageous Prelate had once already missed his Voyage: For contrary Winds having obliged him sometime before to put in at *Manilla*, a considerable Island under the Spanish Government, he was taken up upon suspicion there, and obliged to return back into *Europe* by the way of *Mexico*. This accident which had broken his first measures, served only to fill his mind with new and those greater ones. He came to *Paris*, where his good intentions were well known. *Rome* heard him with pleasure, and followed his Projects in all that respected the Eastern Missions. So that he came honoured with a Power from the Holy See, and laded with the Alms of the Faithful, who expected nothing less from his Zeal than the Conversion of the New World.

He therefore once more passed over the Seas, and happily arrived at *China*, where he began to scatter abroad that Flame which should warm all the Missionaries. The Jesuits and other Religious not only acknowledged his Authority, but also took the new Oath, which the sacred Congregation had appointed,
altho'

378 *Of the Establishment and Progress*

altho' the King of *Portugal* had absolutely forbid it. For they thought that that Prince, in whom the love of Religion had always prevailed before his private interest, would not take it ill when he should know that their refusal of it might have occasioned the destruction of Christianity in *China*, and perhaps of the Missions in all the other parts of the East.

This was matter of great joy to the Bishop, who after this happy beginning, made ready, according to his former notions, to new Till this Vineyard of the Lord, whether he thought himself

* *Jer. 1. 10.* sent like the Prophet heretofore *. *Ecce constitui te super gentes, ut destruas, & disperdas, & dissipas, &c.* But God Almighty was satisfied with his good Intentions, and took him to himself a few months after his arrival. His death greatly surpris'd all the Faithful, it did especially afflict the fervent Ecclesiasticks who were the Companions of his Voyage; the other Missionaries submitted with resignation to the Will of God, being perswaded that whatsoever Providence appoints, is always for his Glory, and for the good of the Elect, if they make a right use of it.

This was sweetned by the arrival of two other Bishops, who a little while after supplied his place under the Title of Vicars Apostolical. The first was Monsieur *d' Argolis*, an *Italian* of the Order of *St. Francis*, noted among those of his Order for his excellent Vertues, and extraordinary Knowledge. He had been employed in the chiefest business there, and our Holy Father thought he could not make choice of a wiser Man than he to place at the Helm of so flourishing a Mission. As he went by *Siam*, Monsieur *Constance* understanding his worth presented him to the King, who would fain have kept him in his Kingdom; but because the Orders of the Holy See obliged him to go farther, he resolv'd at least to shew him

him some marks of his esteem and affection toward him, in ordering him, and two of his Companions of the same Order, a considerable Pension. So that had it not been for the Revolutions which a little while after happened in his Kingdom, this Prince worthy of a better Fortune, would have had his Missionaries in *China*, as well as the most zealous Princes in *Europe*:

Since this wise Prelate hath been in *China*, the natural sweetness of his Temper hath very much contributed to the comfort of the Faithful, and conversion of the Heathen. He hath visited all the Provinces which the Holy See committed to his care, consecrating Priests, teaching and exhorting them, administering the Sacrament of Confirmation, uniting all their affections as much as possibly he could, whose different interests seems to have cooled their mutual Charity to one another in JESUS CHRIST. And tho' one would think that the *Portuguese* could never have a respect for him, because their pretensions are wholly opposite to this institution of Vicars Apostolical, yet he has behaved himself with so much Prudence, that all Nations here think themselves particularly obliged to him.

The second Bishop whom the Holy See has dignified with the Title of Vicar Apostolical, is Monsieur *de Basilee a Chinese*, educated by the Fathers of Saint *Francis's* Order, afterwards taking upon himself the Order of *St. Dominick*. When he was only a Missionary, he had a flaming zeal for the Conversion of his dear Country, and during the Persecution of Father *Adam*, he was the main support of Religion in all the Provinces which he travelled through, and strengthened in the Faith. When he was consecrated Bishop, he performed all his Duties perfectly well, and the Holy See did so far approve of his Conduct as to let him nominate his Successor. He nominated his Vicar-
General

380 *Of the Establishment and Progress*

General the Reverend Father *de Leonissa*, an *Italian* of *St. Francis's* Order, who in his private Life might have been a Pattern to the most strict Religious, and in the important Employment of Vicar Apostolical, has shewn that he has all that Zeal, all that Prudence, and all that Constancy, which the Government of a great Church requires.

My Lord Bishop of *Basilée* after he had thus chosen this worthy successor of his Apostleship, fell sick at *Nankin*, and died full of those happy Visions which God gives even in this World to his Saints. At his Death that Faith shined brightly, which had animated him in his Life-time; and his last minutes, wherein he appeared to be fulfilled with the most sensible touches of Christian hope, seemed to give him an antepast of the Joys of Paradise. All his trouble was for the Missionaries by whom he was affectionately beloved, and for the Christians who lost in him the first Priest, the first Religious, and the first Bishop that ever *China* had yet given to Christianity. And as his blessed Memory was every where spread abroad, they have set up his Picture in several places; which the Reverend Father *de Leonissa* sent to the sacred Congregation, to preserve the Memory of a Prelate whose own Merit, as well as our particular Obligations to him, ought to make eternally respected.

Besides this the Pope honoured Mr. *Maigrot* and Mr. *Pin* with the Title of Vicars Apostolical, both of them Doctors of the *Sorbon*, diligent, zealous, and set upon following the Intentions of the Holy See, and in a word Companions of Mr. *Heliopolis*, and Inheritors of a double portion of his Spirit.

If the number of Missionaries had been answerable to that of the Pastors, the Churches in *China* had now been perfectly filled; but, as I have said, the over care which every one has taken to provide
for

for it exclusively of others, has rendered People less desirous of going. Good men, nay even those who have occasioned these disorders, have mourned for them in secret. Some zealous Persons have endeavoured to remedy this. My Lord Bishop of *Munster* and *Paderborn*, whom the care of his own Diocese did not hinder from extending his care even as far as the East, gave a settlement for six Missionaries for ever to *China*; but dying a little while after, his last Will was never executed. Others in *France*, in *Spain*, in *Italy*, took a great deal of pains to help this forsaken Mission, but they could never compass their designs.

Lewis the Great, who is himself as zealous for establishing the Gospel, as all the other Princes put together, among the great Designs which he has been intent upon to make Religion flourish in *Europe*, thought that he ought not to neglect that good which he might do in *Asia*. He was very sensible of the Necessities of *China*, which Father *Verbiest* had represented to him in one of his Letters, in the most sensible manner in the World; and although he very well knew, that he could not make Missionaries (a quality which no body can give us but the Vicar of JESUS CHRIST) he doubted not but that Religiouses who were exactly skilled in Mathematicks, in attaining, according to his Orders, an exact knowledge in Astronomy, might at the same time with good success, labour according to the design of their Institution, in the Conversion of Infidels. He was very well satisfied, that of all the means which human prudence could advantageously make use of in the most holy Actions, there were none which promoted the concerns of Religion in *China* more than the Mathematicks.

Being therefore willing at once to satisfy his zeal for the advancement of the Gospel, and the desire
which

which he had of bringing the Sciences to perfection, he made choice of six Jesuits whom he thought capable of giving good satisfaction to the Learned, and Instruction to intelligent Persons. Those who were thus appointed, could have wished they had all the abilities necessary for this Employment: They did nevertheless set out with a good Will, being ready to sacrifice their Lives and all their small Talents to the greater Glory of God, and by consequence to the pious Designs of the greatest Prince in the World.

When we came into *China*, we found it in the Condition I have been relating, the Harvest was plentiful every where, but it was almost destitute of Workmen; or (to make use of Father *Intorcetta's* words, one of the most noted Missionaries) drowned in those Tears, which the sorrow of seeing her self abandoned forced continually from her: *Benedictus Deus qui fecit nobiscum Misericordiam suam, liberavit vos à naufragio, ut prope naufragam nostram missionem ab aquis lacrimarum, summique mœroris eriperet, vos omnes in corde servo, & tanquam veros Societatis filios virosque Apostolicos intimis animi præcordiis amplector, &c.* Thus he spake to us in his first Letter, to encourage us to assist in the glorious Labours of his Mission.

Providence put it into our power in a little time to employ our selves usefully there; and if we had done no other good than was the drawing after us by our Example several other Missionaries who followed us, and who now are full of their holy Labours in the Work of God; it would be a great comfort to us, and a very great advantage to *China*. But that which is much more comfortable is, that we have hereby contributed very much toward removing those lets and hindrances to the propagating the Gospel of which I spake before. For at the Remonstrance of Father *Tachard*, supported also by that of the Reverend Father General, *Innocent XI.* suspended the Oath.

Oath. And after *Clement VIII.* granted to the King of *Portugal* to nominate three Bishops, one of *Pekin*, the other of *Nankin*, and the third of *Macao*. And at this present our Holy Father, who in his own self hath all the Zeal, all the Piety, and all the Wisdom of his Predecessors, animated by the same Spirit, and moved (if I might do my self the honour of saying so) with what I have had the honour to represent unto him of the present State of these Missions, is about to regulate all the particulars therein by the prudent Council and Advice of the sacred Congregation. To the end that hereafter nothing may be so much laid to heart as the Interest of Religion, and that all Kingdoms of *Europe* being united in the Love of JESUS CHRIST, may with one consent labour to bring about and perfect this great Work.

Thus, Sir, I have given you a general View of the Establishment and Progress of Christianity in the Empire of *China*, from the Preaching of the Apostles till these last Times. This Church heretofore very Famous, but after that wholly overturned by Superstition, hath at last been re-established one Age ago by one of the greatest Men of our Society, and augmented by the Labours of a great many Missionaries, governed by wise Prelates, honoured by the Protection of many Emperours, supported by the Bounty of all the Princes of *Europe*; and, which is more for its Glory, persecuted by all the enemies of Truth, and made precious in the Eyes of God by the Chains, the banishment and blood of the Confessors. I am with all imaginable respect,

S I R,

Your most humble

and most obedient Servant,

L. J.

To

To the most Reverend Father De la Chaize,
Confessor to the King.

Concerning the Manner how each Missionary preaches the Gospel in China, and of the Fervency of the New Christians.

Most Reverend Father,

ALtho' the important Affairs of *China*, which detain me at present at *Rome*, require all my Application, and seem to be my Excuse if I am wanting in performing any Parts of my other Duties so exactly as I could desire; I cannot nevertheless in the least forget both the Obligations which I my self have to you in particular, as well as the Missions in the East in general.

It was you, most Reverend Father, who formerly drew out the Platform of them, who just then made Choice of their Ministers, whom your Testimonials, together with the Esteem of one of the greatest Princes upon Earth, have rendred in Procces of Time more Renowned than all their particular Qualifications.

This Royal Protection, under which we have undauntedly affronted Dangers; those Letters written on our behalf to Sovereigns and their Officers; those magnificent Presents, those regularly settled Pensions, those extraordinary Helps, (and what we value much more)

more) those so grave Counsels, favouring so much of the Spirit of God, wherewith you have in a manner hallowed our First Voyages, and which we still look upon as the safest Rule of our Behaviour and Conduct, are Benefits either received from your self, or procured by your means. 'Tis but just, most Reverend Father, that in what part of the World soever we be, we should testifie our Acknowledgments. For my part, I am perswaded that one cannot give you more solid Demonstrations of them, than by maintaining by our great Zeal, what you have performed to our Advantage. I supposed you would be satisfied, and that at least I should perform my Duty, by acquainting you with the Success wherewith it hath pleased God to crown our Labour; and what Benefits we may hope to reap from the Missionaries which you your self will form, or at least who shall come to us out of your hands.

In a Word, the Time I shall employ in writing to you upon this Subject, is so far from any ways diminishing that due Care, and constant Endeavour to promote the welfare of our Missions, that without all doubt, it will much contribute to their future Establishment; for I hope that your Protection becoming thereby more effectual and solid, will more advance our Affairs, than all the Pains and Care which I can possibly take for their Success.

Pursuant to the First Project that we laid, we were all of us to stay at *Pekin*, in the Palace, and Service of the Emperor; but Providence otherwise order'd it, and they at last gave way to our Inclination, which moved us to disperse our selves all over the Provinces, for the propagating of Religion. They were content to detain Father *Gerbillon* and Father *Bouvet* at Court, where they immediately applied themselves to the study of Languages with such Success, that they were quickly in a Condition to assist the Christians, yea,

and to be employed by the Emperor in several important Affairs. The most considerable, was the Peace between the *Moscovites* and *Chinese*; the Treaty of which, was then about 300 Leagues from *Pekin*, whither Father *Gerbillon* was sent with Prince *Sofan* who was nominated Plenipotentiary for the Empire.

Nipchou was the place where the Ministers of the Two Nations assembled; each of them having a Body of Souldiers attending, to terminate if Occasion served, what the Negotiation could not decide: the Haughtiness of both, did oftentimes make them fly out into extremes, which would have proved fatal to both Parties, if Father *Gerbillon* by his Discretion had not moderated Animosities. He continually passed from Camp to Camp, made Speeches, propos'd Expedients, pacified their Minds, and he dissembled whatever might be apt mutually to exasperate them in the Conclusion: He so dexterously managed the common Interests, that the Peace was concluded to the Satisfaction both of *Chinese* and *Moscovites*. Prince *Sofan* was so well pleased with the Zeal and Wisdom of this Father, that he declared publickly, that if it had not been for him, all had been in a desperate Condition; he express'd himself about the matter, to the Emperor to the same effect, insomuch that this Prince had the Curiosity to be acquainted with him. He found him to be a very sensible Person, capable, sincere, forward to execute, and even to anticipate his Orders. This Character wonderfully pleased the Emperor; he had a mind to have him near his Person, at the Palace, in the Campaign, and in his Progress into *Tartary*, where he bestowed upon him so many signal marks of Esteem, that the Grandees of his Court, might have perhaps conceived some Jealousie from them, had not the Father's Modesty won him the Affection of every Body.

These First Favours were followed by an extraordinary

dinary one that was much better relished by this Missionary: He pitch't upon him for his Tutor in Mathematicks and Philosophy conjointly with Father *Bovet*, whose merit he likewise much esteem'd The Passion this Prince hath for Sciences, makes him very intent upon Studies every day in a manner Two or Three Hours together, which he spares from his Pleasure: It is more than probable, that by the inquiry into natural Truth, Providence will conduct him by degrees to the eternal Fountain of Truth, without which, all others serve not so much to perfect the Mind, as to puff it up with Pride in the eyes of Men, and render it inexcusable before God.

Father *Verbieft* had already begun to explain these Sciences to him; but, besides his making use of the *Chinese* Tongue in his Lectures, which is not proper, by reason of its often repeated Equivocals, to illustrate Notions otherwise obscure enough of themselves: Besides that, I say Father *Verbieft* died. These Fathers supposed the *Tartarian* Tongue would be better liked by this Prince, and that it might serve their turn the better to make their Notions intelligible. It happened according to their Expectation, and the Emperor became in a short time so capable, that he compos'd a Book of Geometry. He afterwards gave it to the Princes his Sons, and undertook to be their Master in it; he call'd them together every day, explain'd to them the most difficult Propositions of *Euclid*; yea, and this Prince having upon his Shoulders the Government of one of the most potent Empires of the World, did not disdain, with his Rule and Compass in his Hand, to spend his Time in the Family in Speculations, which Interest alone scarce makes delightful to private Persons.

Whilst these Two Fathers by their Credit made themselves fit to be in a short time the main Support of Religion, Father *Fontaney*, Father *Visdelon*, and my

self did endeavour not to be unserviceable in the Provinces. Father *Fontaney* went to *Nankin*, Father *Vissdelou* took Care of the Churches of *Chansi*, where I also remained some time with him, from whence afterwards I removed to *Chensi*, the ancient Place of Father *Faber's* Mission, the Christians of which Place, notwithstanding their having been deserted this many Years, do nevertheless preserve their first Fervency, and are still look'd upon as the *Mould* of that great Flock, and *Model* of other Believers. We understood at that Time by our own proper Experience, what was often told us, that *the Harvest truly was great*, and that *happy is that Labourer whom the Master of the Harvest doth please to make use of to gather it in*. Every thing is matter of Consolation in this glorious Employment; the Faith of the new Converts, the Innocence of the Ancient, the Aptness of the Children, the Devotion and Modesty of Women; but yet one is more especially affected by some eminent and exemplary Conversions, to perceive the Work of Grace now and then wrought in the hearts of Idolaters.

The Truth is, these are in respect of us convincing Proofs of that Truth which we preach and declare: For indeed, by what secret Charm could we be able to animate dead Minds, and raise them, (if I may presume so to say) to Reason, to God, to all the Maxims of the most pure and refined Morality; Minds that have been buried, and immersed from their very Infancy in Flesh and Blood? What Force and Power, what Blandishment could be able in an instant, to bring into Captivity rebellious Minds under the Yolk of a Religion so severe as ours is, if Jesus Christ himself did not work Miracles, and if the holy Spirit, by the inward and invisible Operation of Grace, did not supply the Defect of his Ministers?

This is that, most reverend Father, which we experience every day, with astonishing Comfort, which doth

doth establish, strengthen and settle us unmovable in the same Faith which God produceth in Idolaters. I would to God I were able to relate to you particularly all that passeth in *China* on this Subject, where in spite of all the Stratagems of Devils, God is so constantly and resolutely Glorified. Yet not being able upon my departure, to pick up the particular Memorial of each Church, I shall only content my self to tell you in Part what I my self have observed in my Mission, and after what manner I have made it my Business to adorn it, according to the Ideas and Practice of the most grave and ancient primitive Missionaries.

All my Business was reduced to Three principal Points; the First was to cherish, and keep up the Piety of old Believers by the preaching of the Word of God, and above all, by particular Exhortations, which is abundantly more profitable and edifying than any thing that is spoken in Publick, where the Discourse is often not understood, either because of the People's Stupidity, or else by reason of the Preacher's ill Utterance, and Pronunciation. These poor Souls whom Simplicity and Fervency make teachable, do oftentimes hear that, with Tears in their Eyes, which they do not comprehend but by halves; but yet they always improve and edify, by what they understand perfectly. They are especially most taken with Comparisons, Parables, and Histories, and albeit they are not acquainted nor accustomed to that vehement, and sometimes passionate Action of our Preachers, yet for all that, they are moved and wrought upon, when they speak to them with Earnestness, and Concern.

I no sooner came to a private House to confess sick Persons, or about other Business, but presently you should have all the Family, nay, and the Christians too of the Neighbourhood flock together about me, and intreat me to speak to them concerning God. I had made but an indifferent Progress in understand-

ing and pronouncing their Tongue, especially when I first began to preach, which nevertheless gave them no manner of Offence, so far from it, that if they could but never so little apprehend what I meant, they never were cloy'd with hearing me.

I have moreover taken notice that they had always rather I should preach my self, how barbarous soever my Language might appear, than that I should get them instructed; as I sometimes did by the help of a *Chinese* Catechist, that had been formed some time before to Exercises of this Nature: But my Visits not being so frequent as I could have wished, I endeavoured to make them up by godly Books, with which by God's Blessing, *China* is very well stored, there having been some Missionaries sufficiently zealous, and able to compose Books, and that very politely, upon all the Points of Religion.

They have very curious and complete Catechisms, wherein the intire and complete Body of the Doctrine of Christianity, the Life, Miracles, and Death of our blessed Lord, the Commandments of God and the Church, are clearly explained. There are likewise to be found particular Expositions upon the Gospels, Treatises upon Moral and Christian Duties, some solid Controversies adapted to every Body's Capacity, Practices of Piety for the different Conditions of Life, Prayers and Instructions for the Use of the Sacraments, a Body of Divinity for the Learned, for they have translated some part of *Tho. Aquinas*, and last of all, *St. Ignatius's* Exercises for those that mind heavenly things. Infomuch, that this spiritual Seed of the evangelical Word is scattered all over, and multiplied an Hundred-fold.

I could have wished there might have been a Translation of the *Missal*, upon the account of saying Mass in *Chinese*, together with an exact Version of the holy Scriptures. Conformable to the Permission obtained for

for that purpose the *Missal* was finished, and Father *Couplet* presented it some Years ago to the Pope: However after having duly examined the Matter, it was not thought convenient to make use of it, but they continued to say Mass in the Latine Tongue, as in other Places. As for the complete Version of the Bible, there are such weighty Reasons why it should not forthwith be published, that it would seem a rash piece of Impudence to do it; and so much the more, because there is already expounded in divers Books, what is contained in the Gospel; yea, and even whatsoever is most Instructive in the rest of the holy Scriptures.

The Second Method to increase the fervent Zeal of Christians, was Prayer: Besides the time appointed for Mass, I assembled them Twice a day to make publick Prayers. They sung in Two Choirs with such marvellous Devotion, that it made me wish that the European Christians might have been witnesses of their Piety; for their rude, and sometimes scandalous Deportment before our altars, will certainly be condemned at the great Tribunal, by the Modesty of those later Christians.

They do not understand either singing by Notes or Musick as we do, yet have they Tunes of their own compofure no ways unpleasant, which seems to me abundance more tolerable, than what are used in several Societies of *Europe*: They had likewise several sorts of Instruments; Consorts they seem to admire, and our Villages in *France* would serve their turn well enough in that point.

The *Chinese* are of that Temper, that they had need of something sensible to heighten their Devotion; sumptuous and magnificent Ornaments, Singing, pompous Processions, the Noise of Bells, and Instruments, and the Ceremonies of the Church are very taking with them, and allure them to divine Service.

I took extraordinary care in that matter to procure for them all that the Church, out of her most wise Conduct, hath permitted to the servants of God; yet always distinguishing that which Superstition, if one have not a care of it, is wont, in process of time, to put into the common Peoples head.

I applyed my self more especially to inspire them with respect to our Mysteries, they made their Confession usually every Fortnight. Their Confession was not only attended with Tears, (for the *Chinese* are more subject to Weeping than we) but also with severe Penance in the Evening in the Vestry.

The lively Faith they had for the adorable Sacrament, made them constant attenders on the Altar; and when I permitted them to receive it, they communicated with affections of veneration capable of inflaming not only such who are but Lukewarm, but almost Christians: You might see them prostrate at several times with their Face on the ground lamenting, and commonly shedding abundance of tears. Such like postures, more frequent and ordinary amongst *Asiatiques* than *Europeans*, yet evermore edifying and submissive, do exceedingly contribute to excite Devotion in the Soul, and to impress upon the Mind that profound Veneration which the Majesty of our Mysteries deserve at our hands.

This respect extended it self also to the Images, Reliques, to the Medals, Holy Water, and in general to whatsoever bears the Character of our Religion.

They bore more than that, a particular veneration for the Virgin *Mary*, which perhaps had gone too far, if care had not been used to regulate it. They call her the Holy Mother (*Chin-Mou*) and do invoke her in all their Straits and Exigencies. The experience they have had of her Protection, hath confirmed them in this warm Devotion, and the benefits they receive daily from her, persuade them she is acceptable to God.

The

The Women are yet more animated with these Sentiments than the Men. All their Churches are dedicated to her under the Title of *Chin-mou tam*, that is to say, the Temple of the blessed Mother. There they meet together, for they never enter into the Church of the Men, as the Men dare not presume to set foot into theirs. But the passionate love that the Christians have for Jesus Christ, make them really Devout, and walk worthy of the Profession they have embraced. They continually repeat these following words, *Jesus the Master of Heaven, who shed his blood for us: Jesus who died to save us.* Being it is the Mystery wherein we most carefully instruct them, so it is *that* they most stedfastly believe. Every one shall have their Crucifixes in their Chambers; and notwithstanding the nakedness of our Images did at first give some offence, yet have they in process of time accustomed themselves to them. We distribute them to the People with some precaution, for fear they may chance to fall into the hands of Idolaters, who might either through ignorance or malice, be apt to profane them.

And this was the reason why after Mass was said, I commonly removed from the Altar a large graven Crucifix, the *Pagans* do oftentimes come out of curiosity to see our Churches; now they might have stole it away, or spoken of it irreverently and blasphemously; which nevertheless was not brought to pass by the Paints of Christ's Passion which I left with them.

Now as for Christians, we are far from concealing from them this sacred Mystery of our Redemption, or from dissembling in the least circumstance of the same. What certain Hereticks have writ concerning it is a foul Calumny, which all the *Chinese* Books and Cuts therein engraven, have long ago disproved and confuted.

The

The Cross is carried publickly in the Streets in Procession, planted on the tops of Churches, painted over the Doors of the Christians Houses. I have nowhere observed the Ceremony of the Adoring of the Cross, performed every *Good Friday* publickly, practised with more Adoration than in *China*; nay, I sincerely protest, that I never assisted thereat without being forced to mingle my Tears with *those* of the Believers, who outdo themselves in Devotion and publick Penance on that day especially. Those who have accused their Faith in this point, would themselves be ashamed at the insensibleness of *Europeans*, had they assisted at our Ceremonies. For our part, we are overjoyed to see the *Opprobrium* of the Cross to Triumph, as far as the utmost limits of the Universe, over the most proud and haughty Nation in the World.

The particular Instruction of the *Chinese* Women is much more troublesome than that of Men; they are never Visited but in the time of their Sicknels, neither do they ever come to visit the Missionaries; but they may be spoken with in their Churches, or else one may cause them to meet every Fortnight to say Mass, and administer the Sacrament to them; they dare not come oftner for fear of Scandal, the Laws of the Country doth not so much as allow them that, because the disorders that happens every time the Pagan Women visit the Temples of the *Bonzes*, causeth our Assemblies to be suspected, and affords a specious pretence to the Gentiles to cry down Religion.

Notwithstanding a man cannot imagine what Fruit may be reap'd by it. I came to this Church upon *Friday* Evening to hear Confessions. 'Tis always in a place exposed to every ones view; for in this case one cannot act with too much caution. On *Saturday* morning I finished the Confessions of those
that

that were not able to get a place the day foregoing. Almost every one of them Confess, and would be glad so to do every day if they had liberty granted. Whether it be tenderness of Conscience, or esteem for the Sacrament, or some other reason best known to themselves, I know not, but they think they can never set time enough apart to discover their Faults. There is required abundance of patience to hear them; and being naturally of a mild disposition, they would take it very ill to be handled roughly; yet have they one good quality, that they are seldom Testy and Froward. They receive the Instructions from their Director in all humility; they blindly pin their Faith upon his Sleeve: we never inflict great Penance on them, nay tho' it be a difficult matter to reduce them from their ordinary peccadilloes, yet do not they find it so hard to bewail and lament for them.

As for notorious Sins they very rarely commit them, because their Condition exempts them from the most dangerous opportunities; and if they could be brought to keep Peace in their domestic Affairs, their Life would be otherwise wonderful innocent. I have observed in many of them a certain Devotion that wanted but little of Holiness. They always apply themselves to Business or to Prayer, seeking all opportunities for the Education of their Children, or for their own improvement: Very scrupulous and nice in the observation of the Practice of every Christian Duty; Charitable, frequent in Mortification; in a particular manner zealous for the Conversion of Idolaters; attentive to all Occasions that present themselves to do Acts of Charity: Insomuch that I have heard the ancientest Missionaries say, That if *China* once turn'd Christian, almost all the Women would be saved. This is not an affected *Encomium* of the *Chinese* Women; I do faithfully and honestly relate what I have

have seen, and I judge of other Churches by *this* whereof I have the Care and Conduct.

The Instruction of the Youth of riper years gave me as much trouble. I was perswaded that this Age above all other, requir'd cultivating, especially in *China*, where many things concur to make them have an aversion for the service of God: their easie soft Temper, the Complaisance of all about them; their Relations that dote upon them, and seldom carry a strict hand over them, but let them have their Wills. The company of Heathen Children always corrupted and vicious very soon; their dependance, their complaisance with School-masters, who many times have such influence on them as to inspire them with an aversion for Religion. All these are Obstacles to their Instruction, very hard to surmount, what care soever we take.

Yet was I willing to discharge my Duty by several ways and means. That which appeared to me the most effectual, was to take a Christian School-master into my House, who was an able zealous Man. The Children came thither to learn, and I took the opportunity to instil Devotion into them; to expound to them the principal Articles of Religion, to train them up and discipline them against the Assaults of the Gentiles, to accustom them to the Ceremonies of the Church where they assisted at Mass every day. This Practice did also produce another good effect. The Children of Idolaters who came to Study under the Tuition of the same Master, whether by reason of cheapness, or because of the nearness of the place, heard, whether they would or no, what was taught to their School-fellows: These Instructions form'd and season'd them by little and little to Christianity, and replenished their Mind with abundance of good Notions and Ideas, which, as so many Seeds, in process of time did produce

Evan.

Evangelical Fruit, that is to say real Conversions. It were to be wish'd there were a good number of Christian School-masters that might teach *gratis* in Cities, that would be the best means to propagate Religion, and to preserve good Manners, and keep up *decorum* in Families; but the Missionaries are so far from being in a condition to maintain them, that they are hard put to it to subsist themselves; for they do not lead such a Life as some ill informed, or rather ill-affected Authors would have made the World believe they did. Nay, and I speak even of those who are at Court, who seem by their outside to live in the affluence of all Accomodations. It is true indeed they go in their Silks, (according to the mode of the Country) when they go to visit Persons of Quality, yea and they are sometimes carried in a Sedan, or else on Horseback, attended by Servants. All which is necessary to keep up their Credit, and preserve the protection of the *Mandarins*, for want of which the Christians would be often oppress'd. But yet that makes the Missionaries to lead an hard Life; for these expences consuming their whole Revenue, or Pension, which never amounts to an hundred Crowns *per Annum*, the small portion that remains is scarce sufficient to live on. The Missionary is very decently (not to say very poorly habited) in his House; his Lodging is very inconvenient, he lies upon the hard Ground, or upon a very thin Quilt without Sheets. As for his Table, it is so frugal, that there is never a Monk in *Europe* to whom the Canon prescribes such a vigorous Abstinence; some of them pass whole Years together with only Rice, leguminous Vegetables, and Water; for the *Thee* that is usually drank, is neither pleasant to the Palat of a *Chinese* nor a Foreigner.

However, I speak only of the time that they are in their House; for as soon as ever they come abroad

to travel about the Provinces, and to seek the lost Sheep in the Villages, Mountains, and the most remote places, one is not able to express the continual fatigues of their Mission; (I speak chiefly of those that perform in the Western Provinces; for the Channels that water almost all the Provinces of the South, make these Perambulations less tedious.) Then it is that they labour Night and Day, lie in Barns, eat with the poor Country Men, and are exposed to the scorching Sun, and the most vehement Cold, oftentimes covered all over with Snow, and wet to the Skin with Rain. And then we meet with nothing to comfort us at our arrival but fervent Christians, that quite weary us out by the exercise of our Ministry that they expect from us.

The Province of *Chensi*, that fell to my care, is one of the vastest in all *China*. I had some Christians and Churches established an hundred Leagues of one another, whether I must go by Roads so toilsom, that even Horses are of no use. They have Mules bred in the Mountains, and managed for these sort of Journeys, that is to say, for the easiest Ways; as for the other Ways you are fain to foot it, whether you creep on all four up the Rocks, or descend into the Precipices. You cross over the Valley in Water and Dirt, exposed to Tygres, but yet more to Robbers; whose retreat the Country does favour.

They are not like those fine Ways and delightful pleasant Champain Provinces of the South, which Art and Nature have seem'd rather to have made for the delight of the Inhabitants, than for the convenience of Travellers. The Valleys of the *Alps* and *Pyrenees* are much more passable; and one may properly say of *China*, that where it is fine nothing in the World is finer; and when it ceases to be so, nothing is more horrid and frightful. Nevertheless since the death of Father *Faber*, one takes delight to travel

travel along these tedious Roads that he watered formerly with the sweat of his Brows; where he hath shed abroad that sweet savour of Holiness, that still upholds the Faith of Christians, and animates the Zeal of the Missionaries.

The other Churches of this Province are more easily come at. I spent a great part of the Year in travelling from Village to Village, Catechizing, Preaching, administering the Sacraments to Believers that assembled upon my passage in all the places that I appointed. I divided my Time between them and the Idolaters, whose Conversion always proves more frequent in these solitary remote places than in great Cities, or in the Metropolis of a Province. Some of them there were, who being already convinced of the Truth by reading, or by their commerce with Christians, came of their own accord to receive Baptism: Others shaken, and roused either by their Relations or Friends, came to hear Disputations, and at last surrendered themselves to the Grace of JESUS CHRIST: Many allured by novelty, or by the intreaty of their Neighbours, heard attentively, and always disputed with a great deal of heat; amongst whom some there were that withdrew from the Disputation more hardened than ever; yet others more faithful to the drawings of the Spirit, gave Glory to God, and humbly acknowledged their Errors. All my trouble in these sorts of Controversies, was, that I could not deliver my self as I would. The difficulty of explaining my self in a foreign Language deprived the Truth of its Weight and Power. I thought if I could but have spoken my native Tongue, there should not have been one Idolater in my Auditory, that should not have opened his eyes to Truth first, and then to Faith. But besides that, Men commonly speak enough of it to make every Man inexcusable, as *St. Paul* saith; yet I made moreover
this

this Reflection, That he that Plants, and he that Waters, what pains soever he may take, and how expert soever he may be in Planting and Watering well, yet does but very little by that. A Man ought to refer this great Work of converting Souls to God; 'tis he alone that causes these Plants to encrease, that nourishes them, that raises them up to himself, according to the order of his infinite Mercy and eternal Purposes. And at these set Times fixed and ordained in the eternal Counsels of Divine Predestination, how many times have I seen a few ill words pronounced sensibly to triumph over Error, because the Holy Spirit, that Master within the Elect, doth unfold the sense of them; whereas prolix Discourses have had none other effect, but only to harden the heart; when, by a just Judgment, God was not pleased to accompany them with an extraordinary evidence and demonstration of the Spirit.

You will, without doubt, most Reverend Father, be exceeding glad to understand the nature of the main difficulties we meet withal in the Conversion of the Gentiles. I have observed three sorts of them, that seem peculiar to the *Chinese*. Persons of Quality, and those who would be thought wise, objected chiefly against the Mysteries: Their hearts rose chiefly against the Trinity and Incarnation; a God that was penetrable, a God that could die, was no less in respect of them, than of the Jews a stumbling block and a piece of folly. The Existence of God, Eternal, Supreme, infinitely Just, infinitely Powerful, went easily down with them, and the convincing proofs of it that I urged to them, made them sometimes forbear entering into the Lists with me thereupon.

To proceed in order, and to follow the roads which Prudence and Holy Fathers have chalked out for us on these occasions, I divided our Religion into two parts. In the first I proposed to them whatsoever

soever Reason exempt from Passion dictates to us. That there is a God ; that this God being infinitely Holy, enjoyns us to love Vertue, and shun Vice, to obey Princes, to respect our Relations, to do no wrong to ones Neighbour ; that good Men that are oftentimes miserable in this World, enjoy a certain reward in the next: That on the contrary wicked Men, who spend their life in inordinate Pleasures, are rigorously punished after death: That this same Hope and Fear, that are the beginning of Wisdom, are likewise the first rule of our Demeanour ; but yet that the enflamed Love that every Man ought to have for this supreme Arbitrator of Life and Death, is capable alone to render us perfect.

After I had convinced them by these Maxims, I bid them practise with this Spirit of Love and Fear, these Divine Lessons ; prostrate your selves every day before the infinite Majesty of this God that you acknowledge ; in this posture, with tears in your Eyes, and an Heart broken, and contrite with grief for knowing him so late, beg of him from the bottom of your heart, that he would please to raise you to these sublime Truths, which Reason doth not discover to you, but which it hath pleased him to reveal to the World by his beloved Son, which at present make up the particular Character of the Christian Faith.

It was not always such an easie matter to obtain what I demanded ; the most part of the Gentiles accustomed blindly to pursue their Passions, found more difficulty to embrace this Novel-kind of Life, than to believe the most abstruse Mysteries. Yet I can assure you, Reverend Father, that of all those that submitted thereto in earnest, I see not any that was not a few days after disposed to believe the most difficult things which the New Testament teacheth us : So true it is, that Faith is the gift of God, that

cannot be acquired by all the force of Reasoning; and those only obtain, who follow our Saviour's Counsel: *Seek and ye shall find, knock and it shall be opened to you.* God indeed, to accomplish this promise, did concur pretty often to the Conversion in a most miraculous manner, and I observed in several new Converts so many enlightnings, just upon their resolving to live well, and be constant in Prayer, that the Holy Spirit must needs have illuminated them.

A Gentleman whom reading and disputing had made to waver in his Opinion, could not yet resolve to believe; yet he determined notwithstanding to practice the Morality of JESUS CHRIST, supposing that a good Life would much conduce to dispel these Mists. At the first his Doubts got ground of him instead of being vanquished: The more he looked upon the Cross, the more did his Spirit revolt. He compared the Fables of his own Religion with the ignominious death of a God-man, that lays the Foundation of ours. They both seem'd to him equally ridiculous; and take what care he could to search, nothing could he find that confirm'd him more in Christianity, than in Idolatry. His Relations and divers of his Friends and Acquaintance, used their utmost endeavour to win him over to JESUS CHRIST, but all to no purpose, and he was just upon the point of taking up his old course again, when our blessed Lord stopt him upon the very brink of the Precipice

One Night (as I had it from his own mouth) he saw in his Dream Heaven open; JESUS CHRIST appear'd to him full of Majesty, sitting at the right hand of the Father, and surrounded with an infinite company of blessed Spirits: on one hand he shewed him those eternal Rewards that are promised to Christians; on the other he discovered to him profound
Abysses,

Abyſſes, which the Torments and Shreiks of a great many Idolaters made gaſtly and frightful. *That is thy portion,* ſaith he, with a threatening countenance, *if thou doſt not follow me.* Oh! Son, continued he with a more mild countenance, *Must my Croſs diſcourage you? And muſt a death which is the ſource of my glory, make you aſhamed?*

This Viſion frightened him, and he awakened quite another Man; he did not look upon it as a Dream, he did not buſie himſelf to find out what extraordinary thing, chance, and an over-heated imagination were capable oftentimes to produce during ſleep: the poor Man being perſuaded that God had ſpoken to him, demanded to be baptiſed with a great deal of importunity: nay, and he was ſo far from having any trouble to ſubmit to the belief of our Myſteries, that he profeſted he would willingly part with his life to defend the Truth of them.

Another leſs knowing, yet much more obſtinate, did not only not forſake his Errors, but did even ſcoff at, and deride our moſt holy Myſteries, and was preſent at my inſtructions, only to jeer them: yet had he permitted his Wife to turn Chriſtian, becauſe he was not willing, by croſſing her deſire, to breed a diſturbance in his Family. But ſaid he would have a great care of following her example; for fear the World ſhould be apt to believe that all his Family was run mad.

Being naturally of a more ſpritely temper, and briskeſt than your *Chineſe* uſually are, I endeavoured to win by fair means, more than by Diſputation; at length, perceiving neither of them prove effectual, I went one evening to his Houſe to ſee him, and taking him aſide; I depart to morrow, Sir, ſaid I, and am come to take my leave of you. I muſt needs confeſs it is not without ſome ſorrow, not only becauſe I leave you, but more eſpecially becauſe I leave

you in your Errors. At least, before my departure, do me one small kindness, your Wife is a Christian, she hath an Image of the God-man, whose Religion I Preach, do so much as Prostrate your self sometimes before this same Image, and beseech him whom it represents to illuminate your mind, if it be true that he hath power so to do, and if he be capable of hearing you. He promised me he would do it, and presently after my back was turned he performed his promise.

His Wife, ignorant of what had past, seeing him upon his Knees adoring JESUS CHRIST by often bowing his Head before this Image, supposed he was Converted, and sent one of her Relations into an House adjoyning where I was, to acquaint me with it: I ran thither, and found him still so taken up in this Action, and in Prayer, that I had not a mind to interrupt him.

As soon as he rose from his Knees, I told him I could not sufficiently signify my joy to him, occasioned by the wonderful change God had lately wrought in him.

How! saith he, all amazed, did you see at such a distance what past in my mind, or hath God revealed it to you? JESUS CHRIST himself, reply'd I, lets me understand so much, for he acquaints us that those who ask any thing of his Father in his name shall be heard! Oh! Father, cryed he, it is true, I am no longer the same Man, I perceive myself a Christian without yet knowing what Christianity means; but pray instruct me, I am ready to submit, and to receive Baptism this very moment if you please.

I told him I baptized no body before I had first instructed them, that being obliged to depart, I would nominate a Christian to whom he might have recourse in my absence. He consented to every thing,
and

and we prostrated our selves before this miraculous Image, to return thanks to the Divine Majesty, who can, when he sees good, from the hardest Stones raise up Children unto *Abraham*.

Amongst several other effects of that Grace, where-with it hath pleased God to bless my Mission, the Conversion of an old Officer in the Army seems worth the relating to you. From a private Sentinel, he was got up to be the King's Lieutenant in one of the Cities of the third Order, notwithstanding he was very rich, yet had he never a Concubine; his Wife being a Christian, obliged him to live in a more regular manner than other Mandarins. But nothing could determine him to turn Christian; not that he was bigotted to Paganism, his desire of advancing himself in the World took up all his thoughts, and had till that time never owned any Deity but his Fortune. This indifferency for all sorts of Religion, is of all conditions the most dangerous; and I have found by Experience that a Man is never at a greater distance from the true God than when he acknowledges none at all.

Yet had he a great value for Christians, because he edified by their innocent life. When I chanced to go to his City he always made me a Visit; and because he thought it pleased me, he went sometimes into the Church to lie Prostrate before the Altars. I thereupon took occasion to lay the business of his Salvation home to him, but he heard the most serious things, that I spoke to him thereupon, with a smile.

One day speaking to him of Hell in a more terrifying manner than usual; you must not be surprized at my undauntedness, says he, it would be a great shame for an old Officer, as I am, to be afraid. Ever since I turned Soldier I took up the resolution to fear nothing: but after all, saith he, what reason can I have to fear, I do no body wrong; I serve my

Friends, and am faithful to the Emperor, and if heretofore I have been subject to the usual disorders of Youth, I am at present temperate enough in my Pleasures. That is as much as to say, replied I, that you strive to gratifie the World, but you are no wise solicitous to render to God what you owe to him; could you imagine you should be a good Officer, in discharging the particular duty of your Calling, if you refused at the same time to obey and acknowledge the Emperor.

'Tis not enough to be regular in all the Actions of a private life; the principal duty of a Subject is to submit to his Sovereign, and the whole duty of a Man is to own and fear God. You are in the right, saith he, I do seriously think it. You think so in vain, replied I, if that God, which I speak to you of, does not give good thoughts. Beg of him this Evening to enlighten your Understanding, he will hear your Voice; but do you remember also to listen to *his*, and follow it.

Altho' I could hope no more from this Discourse, then from several other preceeding ones, yet I observed he was wrought upon: I mention'd some such thing to his Wife, who took an occasion thereupon to speak home to him, and one of his Officers being very Zealous, and well instructed, desired him at least to assist at Evening-Prayer to be performed in his House. His presence stirred up the fervency of his Domesticks, and they all beg'd of JESUS CHRIST that he might be Converted, with Cries and Tears, which the infinite goodness of the Almighty can scarce ever withstand.

From this very moment he began to waver, and the various thoughts he revolved in his mind a great part of the night concerning the danger wherein he was, made him take up a resolution to go through with Religion. But our Lord instructed him concerning

cerning it immediately; for he seriously protested, that being a little sleepy, he had such horrible representations of Hell, that he was no longer in suspense whether or no he should resolve: upon his awakening he found himself a Christian, or at least he took up a firm resolution so to be as soon as possible he could. He forthwith repaired to the Church where I said Mals; when it was finished, I was surpris'd to him see at my Feet begging Baptism of me, with his Eyes bathed in Tears. Weeping, I say, for scarce could he utter his mind, so much did his Sights and Tears interrupt his Discourse: he spoke likewise with a much more confident Air, and there was observed in his Action I know not what sort of fear, that had seized him, of which he was not Master. Whether it was that his imagination was still smitten with the representation of Hell, or whether God by this change was pleas'd to make us, as well as him, apprehensive that all the bravery and haughtiness that War is capable of inspiring, is not proof against that saving horror which he darts (when it pleases him) into the most undaunted Hearts.

I had a great mind, according to my custom, to take some time to examine and instruct him, but he protested that he would not go out of the Church till he was baptis'd. *Perhaps I shall dye this very night,* said he to me, *and you will be griev'd to know me eternally damn'd.* His resolution not to forsake me, the intreaty of Christians, that went down to the ground to me to obtain this favour, and I know not what internal motion prevail'd upon me. I examin'd him about every point of Religion: he understood one part of it, and learnt the rest with so much easiness, that two hours after I thought I could initiate him into our Mysteries. His Conversion made a great noise in the City, several Idolaters followed his example; and since in Heaven itself there is rejoycing at the repentance

tance of one sinner; there is no question but the Saints and Angels were joyful of the Conversion of this very Man.

This submission of our spirit to the obscurest Mysteries, how difficult soever it may seem, yet is it not the thing that troubles the Gentiles most; several other considerations are greater rubs in their way. The first is the restitution of ill gotten Goods, which in reference to the Merchants and Mandarins is an almost unsurmountable obstacle.

Injustice and Cozenage are so common in *China*, in these two conditions, that few of them there are who have enriched themselves any other way. A Merchant always puts off his Wares at the dearest rate he can possibly, and never utters his good Merchandise but when he cannot get rid of his bad. Cunning and Craft, so peculiar to this Nation, seem to intitle it to the right of Sophisticating all things. But the sanctity of our Religion doth not permit what human Laws tolerate: a Man when he is become Rich by unjust dealing, must come and make up his Accounts with God, when he does in earnest think he is come to the knowledge of him. I must confess that I never insisted upon this point but it made me tremble. This is for the most part a Rock of offence to a *Chinese*.

They do not boggle at the Mysteries, nor ever call them in question, and the reason is because they seem not cut out for speculative Sciences. But as to the business of Morality they have a certain penetrating aptness, and think themselves little inferiour to us.

‘It is very true, says a Merchant to me one day, a
 ‘Man is not allowed to defraud or do wrong to his
 ‘Neighbour; but it is not I that Cheat when I sell too
 ‘dear, or when I put off my bad Stuffs, the Buyer a-
 ‘buses himself. As he for his part desires to have
 ‘them for nothing, or as little as he can, if I agree to
 ‘it.

‘ it. So I likewise am in the right to exact large rates
‘ from him, and to receive them, if he be so simple
‘ as to give them me; this is the fruit of our Industry,
‘ and this profit is no violence, but the effect of my
‘ Calling, that teaches me to improve my Trade.

‘ Moreover, adds he, altho’ it should be true that I
‘ should possess another Man’s Goods, and that I
‘ should have committed a fault by enriching my self
‘ at his cost; how can I have the Conscience at pre-
‘ sent to strip my Children naked, and reduce them to
‘ beggery? Believe me, Father, those from whom I
‘ have extorted what they had, have I’ll warrant you
‘ done as much to others, who again have enriched
‘ themselves after the same manner. Here it is the
‘ Custom to deal thus, and every one in particular,
‘ (if they have any reason) ought mutually to par-
‘ don one another for these small faults; otherwise
‘ we must undo and overthrow whole Families, and
‘ introduce a disorder worse than the mischief that one
‘ hath committed. As for my part I freely pardon
‘ those who have choused me, provided no body will
‘ molest me about the pretended wrong I have done
‘ him.

This is the Language of the Children of darkness,
of whom JESUS CHRIST saith, that it is easier for
a Camel to go through the Eye of a Needle, than for
a rich Man to enter into the Kingdom of Heaven.
Let a Man represent to them what he pleases; yet
will they always have their own way, being more
obdurate than blind; for they seldom fail of admiring
Justice, and an unbyassed humour in others. See
here an example of what I say, whereof I have been
witness my self.

A young Man travelling in the Province of *Chensi*,
where I chanced to be, found a Purse upon the Road
of about ten or twelve Crowns; he had the honesty
to inquire after the person to whom it belonged, that
he

he might restore it. This was look'd upon as an heroic Action by the *Chinese*; now the Mandarin of the place would not let him do it without a recompence, he made an *Encomium* of it himself in a Discourse that was printed in a large Character, and affix'd upon the Palace-Gate.

But God Almighty, to whom even natural Vertues are acceptable, was infinitely more gracious to this young Man. For proceeding on his Journey, a person unknown to him accosted him, and said how came it to pass that you restored the mony so generously? Do not you know that it is none but the Christians duty to do such things as these, and know, that in the state wherein you are, all your moral Actions will not hinder you from being damned: believe me you will do well to go to the Father of the Christians, and embrace their Religion, without which all your uprightness and natural equity will stand you in no stead after death.

He immediately obeyed, and returned back to find me out, he related to me with abundance of modest simplicity what had happened to him, and ever and anon he would be saying; what is it to be a Christian, and what would you have me do? I instructed him with so much the more easiness, because he took nothing amiss: in a word, he was indued with so much innocence and candor, that I was much taken with him; so that when I found him well disposed, I proceeded to the baptising of him, and put him in a way to sanctifie his good inclinations for the future.

The Devil, who understands the blind side of the *Chinese*, as to matter of Interest, hath inspired the Idolaters with a Maxim that always retains them in their Errors. The People fancy that one is Christian enough if one be poor, and that Christianity was the Religion of beggerly Fellows. So that if there happen any misfortune in a Family; if there chance to be

be a Christian in it, all others presently lay the blame upon him, and load him with their imprecations. One cannot without a strong Faith resist this Persecution, and when one proposes to an Idolater, prepossessed with this false idea, to embrace the Christian Religion; inward Grace must be exceeding strong to oblige him to Sacrifice his Fortune, and to forsake, as he imagines, all his temporal Interests.

This very reason sways almost with all the Mandarins, who venture all as soon as they think of becoming Christians. Father *Adam's* fall, that drew along with it so many illustrious Families in the late Persecution, makes their Hair still stand an end. They know that the Religion of the *Europeans* is not approved of by the Laws, and withal that they may deprive all such as embrace it of their Lives and Fortunes. What Protection soever the Emperor may grant to the Missionaries, he may hereafter revoke it, he may die. And the Parliament watch all opportunities imaginable to root out Christianity; so that the fear of losing the deceitful riches of this World, deprive a multitude of People of eternal Blessings, which they cannot sufficiently value, nor know the worth of.

But now if a Mandarin, who has any work of Grace upon his Heart, wave all these considerations, yet upon his Conversion, he meets with another notable obstacle to his perseverance, still more difficult to surmount than the former. Since the Pensions of the Officers are not capable to supply the usual Expences of their Family, they have no other fund for to maintain it besides injustice.

The Ministers of State, and chief Presidents of Sovereign Courts of Judicature of *Pekin*, do underhand exact considerable sums from the Vice-Roys. And these latter, to make it good, have recourse to the principal Mandarins of the Province; who again
lay

lay a Tax upon the Subaltern Officers. None dare presume to dispense with it, without running into the danger of being quite undone, insomuch that every one of them, that he may maintain his Post, gapes after getting mony by hook or by crook.

This Ministry of injustice, which the ambition of the Grandees, and Avarice of some of inferior Rank, have introduced into the Empire since the last Revolution, gives a mortal blow to the establishment of our most holy Faith upon a solid Foundation, because a Christian Mandarin, ceases to be a good Christian, if he fleeces and robs, or else he ceases to be a Mandarin if he do not cheat.

However, we meet with a great many of them, whom Providence preserves, who have not bowed the Knee to *Baal*. We have seen in *China*, as in the Primitive Church, some examples of this Christian generosity, that count the Goods of this World as nothing, in hopes that the Kingdom of Heaven will one day be their Inheritance. During the time of the Persecution there past an hundred things of this nature, that might afford matter of Edification; but being I set down nothing but what I have seen, I shall content my self to relate a more recent example which likewise much affected me.

A fervent Christian of the Province of *Chensi*, after he had enriched himself in divers honourable employs, did at last retire from the World, resolving to lay out one part of his Estate in the service of God, and to dispose of the other in leading a peaceable and innocent life with his Family. He had built a Church in the Country, whither I sometimes went to Administer the Sacraments, and Baptise the Catechists, whom he took special care to train up himself. But his House standing in a place that was a great thorow-fair, the Troops that are continually going, and coming in *China*, laid all his Grounds
waste,

waste, not daring to do the least Damage to *those* of his neighbour Idolaters; and this is the Reason that induced them to deal with him at this rate.

The *Chinese* are wont publickly to belch out Curses against those that do them wrong, especially, if they cannot be revenged of them other ways. If a man hath been rob'd in his House, and one cannot discover the Robber, every Morning and Evening for several days together, the Family's Business is to curse him; the Father, Mother, Children, and the Servants, take it by turns, and relieve one another in this Exercise, and wish him all mischief imaginable; they have, (if I may so express it) *Formula's* of foul Language, and dire Expressions, which they repeat an Hundred Times, bawling as loud as possibly they are able, at the Gate, or upon the House-top; and they imagine that the Robber will come to some harm by them, wherever he be, 'till such time as he hath made amends for the Wrong.

Notwithstanding, there is not one of an Hundred of these Robbers, that give any heed to this tedious Noise, yet, some there be that are frighted at it; and this Fear prevents abundance of Violences. Christians who love their Enemies, and wish well to those that do ill by them, are far from cursing them; so that the Soldiers that I told you of, fearing the Curses of the *Gentiles*, spared their Goods, and fearing nothing from the Wrath of this zealous Christian, they plundered his House, stole his Fruit, cut down his Corn, and pluck'd up his Trees: So you see his extraordinary Patience, drew upon him all the Damage which otherwise would have equally fall'n upon others.

His Friends more concern'd at his Losses than himself, often laugh'd at his insensibleness, and reproach'd him much what in the same manner as *Job's* Friends did him on such a like Occasion, telling him, that all his Blessing of God, would not secure him from losing

sing his Estate, and probably not from starving: *Benedic Deo, & morere*, bless God and die.

They were always telling him, that it was a strange Thing, that for the bare Observance of his Religion, he would see himself reduc'd to the utmost Extremity. If so be, say they, you are afraid your self to utter Curses against those Rogues, send one of your Servants to do it for you, or else let out your Estate to *Gentiles*, who will not be troubled with these ridiculous Scruples.

This good Man abounding in a lively Faith, and that godly Simplicity so conformable to the Gospel, made Answer, that all he had, was at God's disposal, that he would preserve it, and that upon the whole, he had rather receive Hurt, than to do any. He told me one day; my Children take it very ill, that I leave my House, and Goods, at Sixes and Sevens, to be plundered at this rate: You know, I have my particular Reasons to do thus, but they have none at all to complain, since the Goods do not belong to them; they have wherewithal to live, without being beholding to any Body, upon what I have reserved for my self; but altho' they should be in want, yet, I had rather, when I come to die, leave Examples of Vertue for their Portion, that contribute to the saving of their Souls, than Riches, that may make them lose them.

These Sentiments, most reverend Father, were such matter of Joy, that I am not able to express it to you. I said sometimes to my self in the Excess of my Joy, *Is there more Faith than that in Israel?* No, O Lord, I have lost nothing by leaving *France*, since I find some Saints here; *thy Spirit hath indeed filled all the Earth*, and that profound Science of Salvation, that we in *Europe* have enjoy'd for so many Ages, begins at length to be spread abroad to the Extremities of the World, by the stupendous Efficacy of thy holy Word.

Never

Nevertheless, because his Children were very urgent with me, to find out some Way or other to remedy this Disorder, and that indeed it was convenient to prevent the *Gentiles* Malice from prevailing over the Christians Patience; I permitted them on such Occasions as these, to make use of Threatnings instead of Cursings; and to tell them, I wish you no Harm, yea, and I forgive that you have done me; but God who pleads my Cause, knows how to punish, tho' I do not pretend to do it: the Time will come, when you shall be smitten with all the *Anathema's* that your unjust Violence deserves, and that Curse he sends on you at present, will be to you the Source of all the Miseries which his Law forbids me to wish to you. This Expedient took Effect, and the Christians growing eloquent for their own Interest, did so lively represent the Judgment of God, that the Idolaters durst no longer blame them.

The Second Obstacle in my Way in converting the *Chinese*, proceeded from the multitude of Wives which the Laws of that Country permit them; that is, in respect of the Persons of Quality only, who, besides their own Wives, take as many Concubines as they are able to maintain; for as to the ordinary Sort, they have not Wealth enough to allow this Expence. The *Mandarins* are by their condition debar'd from all ordinary Divertisements, they are permitted only to eat now and then with their Friends, and give them a Play: Gaming, taking the Air, Hunting, private Visits, publick Assemblies would be lookt upon in them, as Crimes of State; so that they seek no further than their House to find wherewithal to supply the want of those Pleasures which the Laws abridge them of.

Here and there one of them applies himself to study, as the surest means to advance him; but the greatest part of the *Mandarins* compose a kind of *Seraglio*,
where

wherein they spend all the time that they can steal from their Affairs. One may judge by that, how little they are inclined to deprive themselves of Delights, to be satisfied with one Wife, whose Age, nay, and many times Antipathy, have but already too much disgusted them.

It is true, those who are converted, are permitted to take one of their Concubines to Wife, in case the lawful Spouse hath not a mind to turn Christian; but the Laws prohibit them to do so: And in *China*, one cannot divorce his Wife, except in some very few particular Cases authorised by Custom: Moreover, the Relations of her, whom her husband should have thus repudiated, would certainly be revenged on him, nay, and would force him by Law to take her again. So that when we propose to the *Mandarins* the other Difficulties of our Religion, they dispute, they consider how to conquer them; they do not despair to do Violence upon their Inclinations; but this last Point discourages them at first Dash, and deprives them of all thoughts of being converted. I will give you a notable Example of what I say.

I was going one day from one Village to another, in pretty bad Weather, and making haste to get there in time, I heard an horse-man behind, who gallop'd up to me; he was a man of betwixt Fifty and Three-score, well mounted, and attended by some Servants: As soon as he had overtaken me, he told me, that the great Esteem he had for the Christian Religion, gave him some thoughts of getting himself fully instructed therein, and that nothing could ever be able to divert him from this Resolution, because he perceived in his mind, a wonderful desire to embrace it. This Ardency, saith I, Sir, without all doubt comes from God, Flesh and Blood do not inspire such like Sentiments into you; for my part, I am ready to assist you; I hope on your part, you will be perswaded to follow
the

the Voice that calls you : We were afoot in the middle of a great High-way, and taking him aside a little, I began to instruct him : every thing appeared Rational to him ; and after having run over all the mysteries that are most difficult, I advised him to follow me into the Church, whither it was my Duty to go, when I call'd to mind that I had forgot the material Point ; I suppose Sir, added I, that you have no Concubines, or at least, you are resolv'd to send them packing ; for without doubt, you are not ignorant, that it is not allowed Christians to marry several Wives. The Religion which I preach, and Jesus Christ taught, applies itself principally to wean our Hearts from sensual pleasures, nay, and doth even sometimes exhort us, to deprive our selves of those which Reason permits.

How, saith he, start'd at this, am I oblig'd (if I have any thoughts of being a Christian) to turn off my Concubines ; ah ! what hurt is there in keeping them ? what will People say of me in the World ? what will become of my Children ? and what will become of my self ? But, is that same really an Article which cannot be dispens'd with ? I endeavour'd to pacifie him, and make him apprehend, that he labour'd under a mistake : If to overcome the Difficulties of his Conversion, he relied wholly upon his own natural Strength, and present Inclination ; God, said I, who knows our corrupt Nature, hath secret Methods whereby to assist us, that we do not at First so much as dream of ; endeavour only to keep alive that good Will he hath granted you, he will accomplish the rest, you will find your self changed in respect of this, as of all other things.

He listened to me a good while without speaking a Word, but at length taking his leave of me on the suddain, and making a low Bow, he mounts briskly on horse-back, puts Spurs to his Horse, and rides full Speed towards the Place from whence he came ; I quickly

lost sight of him, but methought I still see him, so lively was his Countenance for some time imprinted upon my Spirit; and I am still quite disconsolate, for losing a Soul in an instant, which the Grace of our Lord Jesus Christ had been so long a preparing for me.

But now in respect of Womens Conversion, it is much more difficult. A Concubine, for Example, acknowledged the Verity of Religion, and the Miserableness of her State and Condition; she had a great Desire to come out of it, and receive Baptism, it was told her, that the first Step that Faith acquired of her, was to live separately from her pretended Husband, and to forsake her sins; so far she consents, nay, she desires it with all her Heart; but observe what she represents to her self, I belong to a *Mandarin* who bought me, if I go out of his Doors, he hath right to claim me, and take me again, and inflict Punishment upon me as his Slave. If by good Fortune I avoid his Pursuit, whither can I retire to be in more Security? my Kindred who sold me dare not harbour me, and I shall infallibly fall into the hands of another Person who will engage me in the State that I seek to avoid; I must therefore remain in the House where I am, but how shall I be able to resist a brutish Fellow, who only consults his Passion, justified by the Laws, and Example of the whole Empire: it is to no purpose to lay before him the holiness of Christianity that I desire to embrace; my Intreaties, Tears, yea, my Resistance, and all the Efforts that I, poor I can make, are not able to hinder him; nevertheless, I am resolved to run away whatever it costs me: Order me to do something, but pray do not refuse me baptism.

It so falls out sometimes, that an Idolater taking distaste at some extravagant *Caprichio* of his Christian Wife, does wrongfully accuse her, and obtains leave, by the force of Money to sell her to another; yea, sometimes without any legal Process of Justice, he sells her
and

and retires into another Province; this Woman gets into the hands of another Man: How can she avoid Sin, receive the Sacraments, and persevere in the Faith? in truth the Missionaries are at their Wit's end, having at that time no other Course to take, but to go to Prayer, that God, who sincerely desires the Salvation of all men, would please to make use of those secret means, that his Almighty Power is wont to produce, when his ordinary Providence, and the Efforts of our good Desires, prove ineffectual

We have, most reverend Father, so much the more Reason to hope for these distinguishing Favours from God in such like Occasions, because he often grants them, even then when we do not judge them absolutely necessary. It is true, Miracles are not so common in *China*, as the State of that Empire would seem to require: The Emperor to whom they have related *those* which God hath been pleased to work in other Nations, does sometimes reprove us for it. Are we, saith he, in a worse Condition than the *Barbarians*, that have so frequently seen their Sick healed, and their Dead raised to Life? What have we done to God that he renders our Conversion so difficult? You come from the utmost ends of the Earth, to preach up a new Law to us, contrary to Nature, elevated above Reason: Is it Just, that we should take your Word for it? Do some Miracles that may warrant the Truth of your Religion, and I'll pass my Word for the sincerity of our Faith.

We have frequently told him, that God was the Master and Giver of these Gifts, and that he distributed them, according to the Decrees of his eternal Wisdom; that it is out of our Sphere to fathom their Depth; that sometimes he did not work these Prodigies in Kings Courts, because he foresaw the ill use they were likely to make of them; sometimes because giving them better Parts and Abilities, and more Pene-

tration than to others, these ordinary Graces were sufficient for them; whereas the simple, vulgar, and the rude, unciviliz'd Nations, stood in need of the sensible Marks of his Almightyness, for the more easy discovering of the Truth; yea, and it is more than probable also, that carnal Prudence which is at such enmity with the Spirit of the Blessed Jesus, the Softness, Ambition, and Luxury of great Persons, draw upon them this terrible Chastisement, and that God in his just Judgment refuseth Miracles to Persons, who do themselves refuse to submit to the most plain, and ordinary Laws of Nature.

But, my Lord, (have some replied) the Charity of that great Number of Missionaries, who joyfully forsake *Europe*, where their Quality, Estates, and their Science, ought naturally to detain them; who traverse a Thousand Dangers, to come hither to sacrifice themselves to the Happiness of your People; and with so unbiaſſed and constant Zeal Sir. Is not there something of a Prodigy in it? and should it not be as powerful to perswade you as Miracles? If they be such Knowing, Learned Men as your Majesty allows them to be, how do they abuse themselves? and if they be Wise, as you seem to think them; why do they abandon all the Pleasures of this World, to come so far to deceive others, and all to no purpose? After all the Reflections they have made this Hundred Years upon the different Religions of *China*, there is not one of them, who hath not judg'd them all wholly contrary to Reason; but during so many Ages that we have examined the Christian Religion, we have not observed amongst us one wise Man, and of good Morals, that hath suspected it of Falshood. These Answers do usually put him to a stand, and force him to make certain Reflections that do not a little disturb him.

In short, most Reverend Father, if Miracles be wanting at *Pekin*, the Business is otherwise in the Pro-

vinces, several are there wrought, and *those* of Father *Faber* are so generally known, that it is somewhat difficult not to believe them; not that I go about to justify all that is related of those, nor of a great many more Prodiges, which they relate on small grounds; but, you'll give me leave not to doubt of those whereof I my self have been Witness; and peradventure, most Reverend Father, you rely so much upon my Sincerity, as to be inclined to believe them likewise upon my Testimony.

In a Village in the Province of *Chensi*, near the City of *San-uyen*, there lived an Idolater, devout in his way, and extremely addicted to these Superstitions: At the time of Full Moon, he burnt commonly in honour of his Gods, Gilded, or Silver'd Papers, wrapt up in different Figures, according to the Custom of the Country. One day preparing to Offer this kind of Sacrifice before his Gate, there arose a Storm that forc'd him to retire into his House, where he lighted the said Papers in the middle of a Hall, without taking any farther Care; but the Wind blowing open the Gate, drove them up and down every where, and they had not time to prevent one part from flying into a Stack of Straw, which set fire on the House.

People came running, but the conflagration became so furious, in a moment that it was impossible to extinguish it. The House on one side adjoining to the Idolater's, belonged to a Christian, and by this time seem'd (half encompassed with the Flames driven furiously by the Wind) to be in Danger of being quickly quite consumed; this poor Man, attended with divers others, got upon the House-top, and did his Endeavour, but all in Vain, to defend himself from the Conflagration; when his brother very confidently came as near the Fire as he durst possibly, and fell on his Knees upon the Tiles, and looking up to heaven, said, O Lord, forsake not those that put their Trust in thee; all that thou

hast bestowed upon us is here; if we lose it, the whole Family is reduced to the utmost Extremity: Preserve it, O my God, and I promise before thee, that I will assemble all the Christians in the Neighbourhood, and we will go to Church together, to demonstrate my acknowledgment of the same. Thereupon, he loosed a small Relique from his Chaplet, threw it into the middle of the Flames that by this time cover'd part of the House.

This Action, perform'd with such a sprightly Air, did equally attract the Attention of Christians and Idolaters, who mightily astonish'd at their Companions Confidence, expected the event of the Business; when Heaven all on the suddain, declar'd it self in a most miraculous manner; The Wind blowing violently, forthwith slacken'd, and a contrary Wind stronger than that arising at the same time, drove the violent Streams of the Flames to the opposite side, upon the House of a wicked falsehearted Christian, that had lately abjured. It was consumed in a Moment, becoming an Example of divine Vengeance, as the House that Heaven preserv'd, was an evident Token of his Protection.

I was at that time Six Miles from the Village. 'Tis true, my urgent Business hindred me from being my self upon the Spot; but I sent very credible Persons thither, to be inform'd about it. The Pagans first of all, bore Witness to the Truth; and some while after, the Christians thereabouts, conducted by *him* who was lately heard in his Prayer, appear'd in my Church to fulfil his Vow; where with one accord, they eccho'd forth the Praises of the Great God, who alone is able to cause his Voice to be heard by the most insensible Creatures, to the Confusion of false Gods, that are not themselves capable to hear the Voice of rational Creatures.

Some Months after, there happened a thing no less surprizing, the Consequences whereof, were very beneficial.

nesficial to Religion: An Idolater of an indifferent Fortune, felt himself assaulted with an unknown Distemper; it was so catching, that his Mother and Wife shar'd in it likewise: Two or three times a Week he fell into fainting Fits, which at the beginning, look'd like Swooning, and then turned again into cruel Head-aches, Pains in the Stomach and Bowels, sometimes they found themselves extremely agitated, as if they had had a Fever; they lost the use of their Reason, their Eyes rolled in their Heads, and men judged by several other unusual Postures, that the Devil had a hand in the matter.

They were the more perswaded to it, because they often found their House all put out of Order, the Chairs, Tables, and earthen Vessels overthrown, not knowing on whom to lay the Fault. The Physicians whose Interest it was to pass Judgment, that Nature on the one hand, and the Malice of the People of the Family on the other, were the Cause of these several Actions, made use of all their Medicines to Cure them. The *Bonzes* on the contrary assured them, that the Devil was the Author of the Mischief, and demanded unreasonable Alms to stop it's Course. So that the good People abused on every hand, had thrown away all their Estate in Four Years time upon the Covetousness of these Impostors, without finding any Benefit: However, seeing the Distemper afforded them some Intervals, they sought up and down in the Cities thereabouts for new Remedies for their Grievs.

One Day, this Idolater going for this purpose to the chief City, he found a Christian upon the Road, to whom he told his Condition, and how miserably he was handled; no Question, saith the Christian, but it's the Devil that torments you; but you well deserve it; Why do you serve so bad a Master? we fear no such thing, because we acknowledge one God, whom the Devils adore; yea, they tremble before his Image;

and the Cross only that we wear about us, hinders him from coming near us. If you will accept of a Picture of JESUS CHRIST, and you and all your Family will Honour it; it will not be long before you see the Effects of it: However, it is soon tried, it shall cost you nothing, and you may judge by that, that I have no other aim but your Benefit.

The Idolater consented to it, and hanging the holy Image in the most honorable Place of the House, he prostrated himself before it with profound Respect, and begged every day Morning and Evening of our Saviour, that he would vouchsafe to heal his Body, and enlighten his Mind. His Mother and Daughter followed his Example, and from that very Moment the Demons abandoned the Place, of which JESUS CHRIST had taken possession.

These good People growing stronger and stronger in Faith, as the evil Spirit gave ground, began at last to think of being Converted in good earnest. They came to enquire for me at *Signanfou* the usual Place of my Residence, and demanded Baptism of me; they had already got themselves Instructed; they had moreover got all the Prayers by heart that we teach the late Catechumens: But their Distemper making a great Noise in the Country, I was willing every Body should be Witnesses of this Conversion, and so went to the Village my self, hoping this Miracle might settle Christianity therein, upon a solid Basis.

Just upon my appearing, all the Inhabitants followed me to the Place where the Image was still hanging; then I began to tell them, that they were not to question the Verity of our Religion; God, having himself spoken by a manifest Miracle; but that I had caused them to assemble, to Instruct and Baptize them: For, in a Word, what do you desire more to be convinced of the Weakness of your Gods, and the Power of our God? the *Demon* laughs at you so long as you
oppose

oppose him with nothing but Idols ; but he is not able to hold it out against the Image only of the Christian's God. Do you imagin to escape this God after Death, whose Power Hell owns, and whose Justice it experiences every Moment.

The multitude interrupted me by a Thousand ridiculous Objections, which I easily answered ; at last some body told me, that the Devil had no hand in the Malady in Question ; that how extraordinary soever it appeared, might proceed from several natural Causes: that is, said I, the most rational Thing you can say ; but yet does no way extenuate the greatness of the Miracles. Let the Malady come from the Devil, or from Nature, I will not examin that ; but it is certain at least, that the Cure comes from God, whose Image this man hath worshipped ; and there is no less Power requisite to cure natural Distempers, than to drive out evil Spirits. This Reason should have made an equal Impression on all Minds, but Grace that acted differently in the hearts, gave place in some to voluntary Obdurateness, whilst it triumph'd over the Obstnacy of others. Twenty five Persons at last *gave Glory to God, who alone worketh great Marvels : Qui facit Mirabilia magna solus ;* and were shortly after Baptized.

These Hauntings, and Infestations of *Demons*, are very ordinary in *China* amongst the Idolaters ; and it looks as if God permitted it so to be, to oblige them to have Recourse to him. Sometime after this Accident that I but just now Related, a Maid, just upon her Marriage, was attacked with a Complication of several Diseases, which the Physicians knew not what to say to, and which the *Chinese* are wont to ascribe to the *Demons*. Her Mother persuaded her to turn Christian, and he that was to marry her, promised to build a Church to the God of the Christians, in case Baptism gave her any Relief : As soon as ever this Maid had
taken

taken this Course, she found herself not only Relieved, but perfectly Cured.

But her Husband was so far from following her Example, that he misused her several times for having obliged him to renounce his Faith; for the *Bonzes* perswaded him, that this Sickness was but a piece of Artifice in his Mother in Law; and this Fancy alone, put him into such a fit of Melancholy, that he was insupportable to the whole Family, but especially to his Wife, who from that very instant, became an object of his Aversion. It was in vain to represent to him his own Mistake, and the Malice of the *Bonzes*, for he always protested, that if she would not take up her old Religion again, he would lead her an ill Life all her Days.

God, to undeceive him, suffered *the Demon* to torment his Wife as before; so she relaps'd into her former Convulsions: She was more especially scared at the sight of a great Company of *Specters*, that let her not have an hours rest. Thus tost up and down, abandoned to her Husband's Inhumanity, that beat her Cruelly, she in all appearance led a very uncomfortable Life: Yet remaining unmovable in her Faith, God always upheld her, and temper'd and allay'd by the inward sweetness of his Grace, the bitterness of these Afflictions; he comforted her likewise by sensible Visitations, by his Word, and by the unspeakable Cogitations, that he from time to time infused into her Soul. Insomuch, that this Condition that gain'd her the Compassion of all that knew her, was to her a fore-taste of Paradise. She express'd her self much-what to this purpose to her Mother in Law, who related it to me with Tears in her Eyes; for her Husband could not endure that I should see her.

At first, I gave little Credit to this Discourse, yet at length, I was apt to believe there was something Supernatural in it; for one Day, coming to a City distant

distant from the chief City where I sojourn'd, about Threescore Miles; there I found this good Woman with a great Company of Christians of the Neighbour-Towns, which she had taken Care to get together, being confident, that I would come at the very Minute that she had fixt in her Mind, and it fell out accordingly. It much surpris'd me to see her there, for I had no design to come thither, and it was only by Chance that some body had, about Five or Six hours before, made me resolve to come thither, so that no body could give her Notice of this my Resolution. I took her in Private, to learn of her how she came to know this, she told me that her Daughter, after a violent assault of a *Demon*, had been visit'd by our Blessed LORD, that when this *Extasie* was over, she advis'd her to acquaint the Christians, and bring them to this Village; for without all peradventure I would come thither on such a day: In fine, added she, not being able to come thither my self, and seeing my Sins render me unworthy to partake of those sacred Mysteries, pray desire the Father to offer up the holy Sacrifice of the Mass for me, and the Conversion of my Husband. This poor Mother relating to me this Accident, wept bitterly for the present State of her Daughter, Nevertheless, the accomplishment of this Prophecy, comforted, and built her up in her most holy Faith. I cannot tell what happened since that time, for the necessity of my Affairs, oblig'd me to leave that Province.

The extraordinary Things that I have seen, the Zeal of the Christians, and the Inclination of Idolaters to be convert'd, inspir'd me with an affectionate Zeal for their Salvation; and I heartily wisht to bestow the remainder of my Life, upon the Cultivating this precious Portion of our Lord's Inheritance: But some superior Reasons which I am bound to obey, snatch me from it sore against my Will: At this Se-
para-

paration, I was more sensible than ever of my Loss!

These good People so affectionate to their Pastors, were almost ready to offer Violence to me; but understanding that they could not detain me without opposing the Will of God, they abandon'd themselves to sorrow, and gave such abundant Marks of their Affection, that I my self never shed more real and bitter Tears: They waited for me upon the High-way in Crowds, where they had spread Tables from Space to Space, covered with all sorts of Fruits, and Confectionaries. It was sometimes necessary to make a stop, not to eat, but to hear their Complaints, and to comfort them, for leaving them *as Sheep without a Shepherd*. They made me promise them to return as soon as possible, or to send them some Body in my Place. Thus I took my leave of these fervent Christians, melted with their Tears, but much more edified with their Faith and the innocence of their Lives.

God, who knows the Violence I committed upon my self, comforted me by an eminent Conversion he vouchsafed to work at the farthest Limits and last Village of this Province. There is something in it so Signal that I cannot forbear relating it.

I departed from *Signanfon* the Metropolis of this Province upon the Eve of a considerable Festival of our Lady's, which I was naturally engaged to spend in that Church, where the Multitude, and Devotion of Believers invited me to say Mass that Day, and to administer the Sacraments to them, being the last Time I was likely to do it; yea, and the publick Edification did even seem to require it of me, every one in general desired I would; and I don't know how contrary to Reason; I was very Obstinate and Resolute not to delay my Journey a Minute; but the Truth is, I felt inwardly I know not what internal Motion that would not give me leave to stay any longer; nay, more than that, in Spight of the Superstition

tion of the *Chinese*, who observe lucky and unlucky Days to begin Journeys, I made my Idolater Guides to depart on a Day mark'd in the Kalendar for an Unfortunate one. They were surpris'd at this Precipitation; yea, and I my self reflecting afterwards upon it, could not choose but condemn it, not understanding then by what Spirit I was influenced, and impuls'd, but God let me presently understand it, on the Fourth Day after my Departure, I continu'd my Journey, and I was just upon my Arrival in the very farthest City of the Province of *Chensî*, when a man that rid Post, passing just by me, fell to the Ground, and by his Fall was like to have turned me over on the other side: This Accident stopt me a little, and afforded time to the Traveller who was got up again, to take a View of me:

Notwithstanding the multitude of Passengers was great, yet my long Beard, and *European* Mein made me presently known to be a Missionary: I am very Fortunate, says the Man immediately, to meet with you; that Accident that happened to me, spares me the Labour of a long Journey, and will engage you to a good Deed. My Master, who lives not above Half a League from hence, ordered me to ride Post to *Signanfou*, to engage you to come to him; he hath been indispos'd these several Months, and we are apt to believe that he seriously thinks of being Converted. I quickly left the High-way, to follow him, and we reach'd the house at one a Clock in the Afternoon.

He was a Doctor, in high Renown by his Extraction and Understanding, living formerly at *Pekin*; but Bannish'd some Years before into *Chensî*, for I know not what bad Business; the time of his Banishment expired, and he was resolv'd to return to Court, as soon as his Health should permit him to take his Journey; for he did not look upon his Distemper to be dangerous: The Fever had left him, and besides a Cough
that

that troubled him now and then, and made him still keep his Bed, he perceived no considerable Inconvenience.

His Servant being but just departed, when he see me come into his House, he was seized with Astonishment, as if God had transported me into his House in a Moment; Is it possible, cries he all in Tears, that Heaven should work Wonders for such a wretch as I am? God hath solicited me these many Years to go to him, without receiving any thing from my hardness of heart; 'tis but a Moment since I begg'd of him to come to me in the Person of one of his Ministers, he not only hears me, but does even anticipate my Desires. This is somewhat beyond the Power of Nature, and this Favour does the business of my Change. You know by that, Father, that this Great God is concerned in my Salvation, and that it is his Pleasure that you should contribute something to further it. Then proceeding, you see saith he, my Wife, Children, and Daughter, they have been all Christians along time ago: and I can say that God hath made use of me as an Instrument, to undeceive them of their errors. I have given them your Books, I have explained the Maxims and Morality of it to them, the Sanctity which your Religion inspires, persuaded me I should have a well ordered Family, as soon as it should be a Christian Family I was not mistaken, and my Conscience would not have given me the lie, had I followed their Example; but I have a long time laboured to procure their Welfare, and could never find in my heart to consult mine own: Now it is high time to follow that Way I have showed to others. The Court whither I am going, is not a proper Place for Conversion; and I thought that it was my Duty, *whilst it is called to day*, to seek God, for fear the Hurry of the World, wherein I am going to engage, should hinder me from finding him hereafter.

All his Family which came about us upon this, wept for joy ; but that which affected me most, was that Fervency I saw expanded in the Eyes, Countenance, and in all the motions of the sick Person. I had taken no refreshment, and it was near Two a Clock, and I was desirous to defer his Baptism till after Dinner, but I found it impossible to obtain any delay. I therefore began to examine him, and he was ready to answer to all the Articles of Religion, that I yielded at length to all his urgent Intreaties. I baptized him, and he accompanied the whole action with such ardent and lively meditations of Love, Humility, Faith and Hope, that nothing in all my Life did ever so much demonstrate to me what the Holy Spirit is able to do in an Heart, when it alone pleases to take it to task, without the assistance of its Ministers. Some while after I left him alone full of Consolation, and retired to a Chamber to take a little repose, of which I had extream need.

But scarce had I been there half an hour, but I heard great Cries in all the Family. They called for me every where ; and running upon the noise to the sick Man's Chamber, I found him expiring in the Embraces of his Wife and Children. I endeavoured to put him in mind of the last thoughts of Baptism : He still repeated with a languishing note the names of *Jesus* and *Mary* ; but yet he received the Extream Unction in a manner insensible, after which he calmly gave up the Ghost. All those that were present cried, O it was a Miracle ! And recollecting what had happened at my departure, upon the Road, and in the House, they did no longer question but that all that had been managed by an over-ruling Providence, that had made use of all these secret methods, for to procure him a blessed *exit*.

At that time the Spirit of the Lord seized upon all hearts, no body wept ; the spiritual Joy was so universal,

versal, that nothing was heard any where but Blessings, Praises and Thanksgivings, to that gracious God, that had but now wrought such stupendious Miracles in his Servant. What is to be most admired is, that there was not observed in him that deformity that Death commonly leaves behind it; but on the contrary, I know not what ayre of sweetness and devotion seemed display'd over his countenance, and did sufficiently intimate the blessed state of his Soul. He was laid in State, according to the custom of that Country, where I found him the next day twenty hours after just as he was; his Hands and Arms besides were as flexible as if he had been but in a slumber.

Thus God by one of those many profound secrets of his Predestination, vouchsafes to enlighten a Soul sometimes in the midst of the darkness of Idolatry, and snatch it from the Jaws of Hell by a continual series of Miracles; whilst millions of others, educated in the bosom of the Church, are, by his just Judgment, given over to a reprobate mind.

Those are, most Reverend Father, the most extraordinary things that have happened to me during the small time that I have had the care of the Mission of *Chensi*: If I mention not what pass in the other Provinces of *China*, it is because God doth not work such like Miracles therein; but by reason I have no exact Memorial of them, I was afraid lest relating upon hear-say, I should be deficient in some considerable Circumstances; and I had rather let them be set down in writing hereafter, by those who are better informed than my self.

This I can add over and above, to give you a more exact account of what good there hath been done in the Empire. There are above two hundred Churches or private Chappels, dedicated to the true God, and governed by certain Ecclesiastical Superiors;

periors; *Pekin, Nankin, and Macao*, have each its particular Bishop, by the nomination of the most Serene King of *Portugal*, who by his Zeal and Liberalities, continues to uphold Christianity throughout all the East, which all his Predecessors have there Establish'd with so much Glory.

The other Provinces when I departed, were under the Jurisdiction of three Apostolick Vicars, * one whereof is an

Italian of the Order of *St. Francis*, † the two others are Ecclesiasticks, *Frenchmen* by Nation, Doctors of

* The Reverend
Father *de Licniffa*.
† *Monf. Maigrot*
and *Monfieur Pin*.

the *Sorbonne* of singular worth: the Missionaries that labour under their Order are likewise of different Nations. There are four Ecclesiasticks of the Seminary of foreign Missions of *Paris*, amongst whom the Abbot of *Lionne* is very eminent for his Zeal, and application to the study of Languages, they reckon much about the same number of Fathers of *St. Dominic*, twelve or fifteen *Franciscans*, and three or four of the Order of *St. Augustin*: All these Monks are *Spaniards*, and come into *China* by *Manille*.

The Jesuits who Founded this Mission, and who by the extraordinary favours of his Majesty the King of *Portugal*, as well as of the Emperor of *China*, have been in a capacity to make considerable settlements, do maintain a great number of Missionaries there; there was about forty of them at the time of my departure. Since that time the Fa-

thers *Grimaldi* and *Spinola* * brought several others thither. But what signifies forty or threescore Labour-

* Father *Spinola*
died by the way.

ers in such a vast Field? May it please the Master of the Harvest to hear the Voice of those that labour therein, who groaning under the burthen and heat of the day, beg relief: Or at least, may he please to shed abroad abundantly upon us that first Spirit

of the Gospel, which, in one Apostle alone, was sufficient heretofore to Convert the greatest Empires.

Not but that the present State of the Church doth afford matter of Consolation to those who are concern'd for the Glory of JESUS CHRIST. They labour with no small success; nay there are but few Missionaries that do not Baptize every Year three or four hundred Persons; insomuch that in five or six Years they reckon above fifty thousand Idolaters Converted. Besides that, they Baptize every Year four or five thousand Children in the Streets of *Pekin*, which they go to look for every morning from door to door, where we find them half perish'd with cold and hunger, nay sometimes half eaten up by Dogs. If they should do no more good but this, the Missionaries would think themselves well enough rewarded for all the pains they take.

But that which ought to animate us to cultivate this Mission better than all others, is the hope one day to Convert the Emperor; the change of whose Religion would infallibly be followed by the intire Conversion of the whole Nation; so that although we should wait for this happy moment three or four Ages, without any other profit than what we hope for, in time to come, we should be too happy in preparing by our patience the way of the Lord in this New World, which perhaps will make better improvement of the Faith, than our Successors shall bring to it, than *Europe* does at present of *that* our Forefathers intrusted it withal.

In short, altho' amongst the Christians that are in *China*, we can reckon no more Princes and Ministers of State since the last Persecution of Father *Adam*, yet for all that we Baptize every Year *Mandarins*, Doctors and other Persons of Quality; yet it is true that the common People make up the greatest number: *Non multi potentes, non multi nobiles.*

And

And it is no news to own that the Poor have always been the elect Portion and precious Inheritance of JESUS CHRIST in the Church.

The main body of Christians is in the Province of *Nankin*, and more especially in the Territory *Cham-Hai*; but the Faith is more lively in the Provinces of *Chanton*, *Pechely*, *Chenfi*, and *Chanfi*. There are in proportion as many *Tartarians* as *Chinese* Christians; these are more docil, and much easier to be Converted; yet in time of Temptation they have not half so much Courage. The *Tartars* on the contrary being naturally of a brisk temper, do not easily stoop under the Yoak of the Gospel; but those over whom Grace hath once triumphed, are endued with a Vertue that is proof against the forest Persecutions. As for Women, which we see more rarely, altho' they be less instructed than the Men; yet their Innocence, their constant attendance at Prayer, their blind submission to the Precepts of Faith, and the most harsh and severe Practices of Christian Piety, does in some measure supply their defect of Knowledge as to the particulars of our Mysteries.

It were to be wish'd that the Beauty and Ornament of our Churches might answer the devout Fervour of Christians: But, besides that, the *Chinese* are no great Architects; this novel Christianity, so frequently shaken by Persecutions, composed for the most of the poorer sort of People, only tolerated by the by, and always fain to observe a great many punctilio's and keep within bounds, hath not yet been in a condition to rear magnificent Temples. Nevertheless it is matter of astonishment that the Missionaries with such a pitiful Fund as theirs is, should be able on this score to do so much.

The Church of *Pekin* is very well built; the Frontispiece, the Stones of which were laid by the Missionaries themselves, is very proportionable and pleasing

Those in *Kiam cheou*, *Cham-bai*, and *Fou-tcheou*, that which the Fathers have at *Canton*, and divers others, are as fine as our ordinary Churches of *Europe*; but the Church of *Cham-tcheou* was so very pretty and neat, that one could not enough admire it: You could see nothing but Gildings, Paintings, and curious Pictures, it was all over adorn'd with them; yea and there was a great deal of Symetry and Order in the whole. That delicate red and black Vernish which the *Chineses* are so expert at, to which they give a particular relief or embossment, by the Flowers of Gold and other Figures wherewith they enrich it, did produce the finest Effect in the World to compleat the whole.

But this goodly Church, the product of Christians Devotion, and of Father *Intorcetta's* Zeal, is lately reduc'd to ashes by a dreadful Conflagration that consum'd one quarter of the City; and in all probability we shall not be in a capacity a long time to perform any thing like it. Nevertheless it will be our comfort to support us after this loss, if it shall please our blessed Lord to destroy at the same that pack of Idols which have overflow'd the whole Empire; and that he will vouchsafe to raise himself Living Temples in the hearts of the new Believers, where he may be worshipp'd in Spirit and in Truth; wherein, for want of *ours*, they may offer to him the sacrifices of Praise and Thanksgiving.

I shall not entertain you, most Reverend Father, concerning the Transactions of the *Indies*, where the Revolution of a huge Kingdom, the Jealousies of some *Europeans*, together with the continual thwartings of Hereticks, have broken all the measures that Christian prudence oblig'd us to take for the Cause of Religion; so that the most part of the French Missionaries have been hitherto more conspicuous by their Sufferings, than by their Conversion of Idolaters.

Some

Some of them, after having lingerd out several Years in the most darksom Prisons, scarce begin to see the Light, and are not yet in a condition even to exercise their Functions with any freedom. Others droven from their settlements, wander up and down upon the most tempestuous Oceans, carrying along with them the miserable remainders of their ruin'd Missions; and that they may return to the remotest parts of the World, they commit themselves a fourth time to the mercy of the Waves and their Enemies.

Several buried in Shipwracks, or worn out with Toils, have gloriously finished their course; and tho' their Companions live still, it is only to consume by little and little the sacrifice of their Lives, by the ill habit of body they have contracted by their first labours.

You see, most Reverend Father, what sort of Persons they be I speak of, you know their names, you understand their worth, and since they were chosen from amongst a great many other Candidates for the *East-Indies*, you have been pleas'd always to honour them with a most particular affection: and may I be bold to add, that you were not satisfied with only sending of them, you followed your self in some respect, and became the Fellow, or rather the Head of their Apostleship, sharing, like one of the most zealous Missionaries in the success of their holy undertakings, zealously lending an helping hand to their Labours, delivering them from their Chains by a powerful protection, or at least lightning the weight by consolatory Letters, full of that lively hope that makes a Man take delight in the most rigid Persecutions.

This Courage, most Reverend Father, which you have inspired into us does not only alleviate our Sufferings, but also assures us that the ruins of this grand Edifice, that we have laid the first Stone of to the glory of God, will one day serve for a Basis to ano-

ther Work, yet more considerable and solid than the first.

* *Barnaby, Theonvil, Nivart.* † *Rochette, le Blanc Serly, Daudy.*

So that neither the Shipwreck of * three of our Brethren buried in Sea, nor the loss of † three more who Sacrificed their lives a board the Vessel in relieving the Sick, nor yet the death of a great many more whom the Fatigues of the Mission have snatch'd from us in the Indies, nor the Prisons of *Pegu, Siam, Moluccas, Batavia, Rotterdam* nor *Middleburg*, where Pagans and Hereticks have tried our Patience by turns: all that, I say, does not blunt the edge of our Courage, being fully perswaded that JESUS CHRIST hath made use of the Cross to Propagate and Establish Religion: so the Missionaries Cross is always to be the Foundation of their Churches, and as it were the Seed of New Christians.

In the mean time these first Labours have not been altogether in vain; we baptised at *Boudybery* above four hundred Idolatrous Children: the People of *Coromandel* have been relieved, as were those of *Ceylon, Pegu* and *Bengala*. They labour'd with no small success in divers Provinces of the Empire of the *Great Mogul*, and above all in the Missions of *Madura*. Such Missions, as in them we see in our days the Ages of the Primitive Church revived; wherein Believers, wretchedly poor and deprived of all the comforts of life, seem to live only by their Faith, Hope, and Charity, wherein the Missionaries, to comply with the Customs of the Country, and obtain the Peoples favour, spend their lives in Forests and Deserts, half naked, scorched by the Sun beams, walk for the most part upon scalding hot Sands; where upon the Ways full of Briers and Thorns, they take no other sustenance but a little Rice, with some insipid Plants, and no other Beverege but yellow muddy water from the Ditches and Marshes. There

There it is where a great number of our Brethren have suffered, and do still daily suffer Imprisonments, Chains; Scourgings, and all the torments that Hell is wont to suggest to the Enemies of our most holy Faith. There Father *Brito*, illustrious by his Birth, as also by the particular esteem wherewith his Majesty of *Portugal* honoured him, but yet more, much more by his rare Vertues, had the honour to part with his life in the Cause of JESUS CHRIST, where his Brethren, after his example, labour by their fervency to obtain the same favour from Heaven.

Perhaps, most Reverend Father, this Portraiture will not please the Men of this World, not being ready to bestow upon Sufferings the just value they deserve, *and to savour the things that are of God*, yet I know that will not abate the Zeal of our Fathers living in *France*, who have so many years aspired to toilsome tedious Employments.

The Missions in respect of them have so many more allurements, as they appear to others more hideous and frightful: If they expected to find in the *Indies* only common crosses, whereunto Providence makes every Kingdom subject, but wherewith JESUS CHRIST hath in special manner enrich'd Christianity, they would have been contented with their Recluse Religious way of living, and with the eminent Vertues practised therein; they would never perhaps have had the least thought of leaving their Friends, Relations, and Country. But they seek elsewhere, what we here want of the Passion of JESUS CHRIST, according to the Apostles Counsel, and they are willing to fill up the whole extent, the breadth, and depth of this Divine Law, which carries them out with *St. Paul*, to become Victims of the most pure Charity, even so far as to be Anathemised that their Brethren may be saved.

Yet these are those Apostles, most Reverend Father, whom Envy sometimes in *France*, paints out to us in such black Colours, whom Heresie, ever more opposite to true Zeal, so often accuseth of Ambition, Avarice, Impiety and Idolatry, they are too happy in being the *Butt* that all the Shots of Calumny level at, provided they have none for their Enemies but the Enemies of the Church and Truth; and without doubt the War that such Adversaries declare against them, with so much heat and animosity here in *Europe*, does no less justify them than that which they themselves declare against Paganism in the *Indies*.

Nevertheless, what Justice soever wise Men may do them in this point, yet it is most true that that does not suffice to justify them before God, before whom the very Angels are impure; after all the efforts of our Zeal, we must not only acknowledge in all humility that we are unprofitable Servants, but confess likewise with thoughts full of horror, that it is in vain to win over all the Nations upon Earth to JESUS CHRIST; if in the mean time we be so sluggish as to neglect our own Salvation, and unfortunately lose our selves. I am with a profound respect,

Most Reverend Father,

Your most humble

and most obedient Servant,

L. J.

To

To my Lord Cardinal de Janson.

*The Christian Religion newly approved
of by a Publick Ediēt, through-
out the whole Empire of China.*

My Lord,

IT seems as if Heaven, sensible of the Labours of our Missionaries, who for these several years have with the sweat of their Brows watered *China*, had a mind at length to establish this New Church upon a solid Foundation. Hitherto it hath been subject to abundance of Revolutions, flourishing under the Reign of some Emperors, persecuted in the time of their minority, and in a manner totally ruin'd during the Intestine Commotions; but always in a tottering condition by reason of the rigour of the Laws, that have permitted a right to destroy it, even to those that have the most defended it.

For the Sovereign Courts of *China*, declared Enemies to all Foreign Worship, rather out of a Spirit of Policy, than any sincere affection to the Religion of the Country, have frequently condemned the Christian Doctrine, and punished those who had the Courage to embrace it. Several of them for all that hearkned to the Voice of God, rather than to the voice of Man; but the greatest part apprehending danger as to their Fortune, were so far from pursuing the known Truth, that they durst not so much as get themselves instructed therein

It

It is a matter of an hundred years that we have labour'd to remove this almost invincible obstacle to the Conversion of Great Persons. The hour of the Lord was not yet come, he was pleas'd to exercise the patience of his Christians, to try the constancy of the Missionaries and thereby inhance the worth of them both. But now at last the happy Day begins to dawn, and the Emperor hath granted an intire Liberty of Conscience to his Subjects by allowing in a publick Edict the Christian Faith throughout the whole extent of his Empire. * *Thou*

* *Pfal. cxix. hast, O Lord, broken the Chains that held thy holy Religion Captive, now can we offer sacrifices, and call publickly upon thy name; we present to thee our Vows, not in secret as formerly, but in presence of all the People, in the Temples they suffer us to rear to thy glory, who are about to change the Old Babilon into the New Jerusalem. Here I do present you, my Lord, with the occasion, and the whole continued series of this happy event.*

Father *Alcala* a Spanish Dominican, one of the most Zealous Missionaries in *China*, had purchased an House at *Lanki*, a little Village of the Province of *Chekjam*, notwithstanding this settlement was expressly against the Edict of 1669. the Mandarin of the place, who at first did not oppose it, being afterwards netled at some indiscreet words that escaped unawares from some of this Fathers menial Servants, was resolv'd not to dissemble the matter any longer, but to proceed according to the course of Law against him.

He therefore asked the Missionary how he durst presume to settle in the City? Why he preached up a Foreign Doctrine? And moreover by what right he pretended to remain in the Empire? This Father foresaw the storm gather, and had prepared himself beforehand. 'I wonder, my Lord, says he in answer to the Mandarin, that you reckon that Cri-
 { iminal

' minal in me at present that you did not disapprove
 ' at the beginning. You know that for some years
 ' the Emperor hath kept and preserved in the Empire
 ' five of my *European* Brethren (he meant us) that he
 ' hath not only sent for them to Court, but also hath
 ' by a publick Edict granted them power to settle in
 ' whatsoever place of the Kingdom they shall think
 ' fit : it is for one of them that I have bought this
 ' House, and I Lodge in it till such time as he come
 ' himself to take Possession of it.

' Moreover, you cannot be ignorant that the Mis-
 ' sionaries had liberty granted them to come again in-
 ' to their Churches, when the Emperor did them the
 ' favour to recal them from their Banishment. Con-
 ' sult, I pray, consult your Registers upon the busi-
 ' ness, and there you will find my name.

Some months after another Mandarin solicited by
 him of *Lanki*, or at least urged to it by his Example,
 was resolved to put a stop to the progress of our holy
 Doctrine, he prohibited the Exercise thereof through
 the whole extent of his Government, by an order
 which he caused to be affixed in divers places. They
 treated Religion in such despightful manner, that Fa-
 ther *Intorcetta* of our Society, and Missionary in the
 Metropolis of this Province, thought himself obliged
 not to dissemble the Affront without betraying his
 Ministerial Function.

He supposed likewise that he had right on his side
 formally to accuse this sworn Enemy of the Gospel,
 whose behaviour was so excentric from the Em-
 perors intentions; for this Prince had blotted out with
 his own hand a great many Lines of a Book that
 ranked the Christian Doctrine in the number of
 dangerous and popular Heresies: this Book was of
 moment, not only by reason of its Author, eminent
 for his quality and desert, but much more for that it
 was Composed for the Peoples Instruction, by whom

it was to be Read, according to the Custom, several times a year.

Father *Intorcetta* did therefore judge it a piece of boldness that made the Mandarin liable to the lash, to condemn, by his private Authority, that which the Emperor seemed to allow of, and approve, so that the Father writ a very smart pithy Letter to the Governour of the Capital City, in which he desired him to cause this Subaltern Officer to retract his words, and so get this injurious Writing to be torn in pieces: he likewise added, that to repair this fault, he could wish that the Mandarin might affix other Papers in the place of the others, more favourable to the Religion, and more conformable to the Emperors intentions.

The Governour dispatched this Letter to the Mandarin, and as ill luck would have it, it was delivered to him upon a day that he heard Causes, in sight of all the People, at the very time that he was busie in passing Judgement. He so much resented this affront, that contrary to the Custom of the *Chinese*, and maugre his natural Phlegm; he started from the Bench transported with Choler, complained of the Impudence of the Missionary, and protested openly that he would be revenged.

That he might carry on the business more successfully, he associated himself with the Mandarin of *Lanki*, and combined with him, if possible, utterly to destroy the Christian Religion. Their first attempt was to assault the *Dominican* Frier, on whom they thought more easily to accomplish their design, for they could not imagin that he was of the number of the Antient Missionaries. To be rightly informed of the matter, they caused to be produced certain Authentick Copies of every procedure during the whole course of the Persecution against Father *Fii*, (for so was he called) with a design to confront him with himself.

It

It is a peculiar trick, pretty common in *China*, with the Mandarins, to question the Criminals not only about matters of Fact, but also concerning abundance of insignificant Circumstances, causing all they answer carefully to be taken in Writing. Then when they have talked a pretty while of a matter quite foreign to the Subject in hand, to distract their mind, all on a sudden they return to the thing in question; they begin over and over the Declaration, they change the order of the Interrogatives, and cunningly interpose Answers contrary to those the guilty Person made, on purpose to make him contradict himself, the more easily to sift out the Truth.

Father *Alcala*, without all doubt, would have been put to his Trumps if he had not, by a particular Providence, preserved a Copy of these antient proceedings. Wherefore knowing the intent and design of his Judges, he so well informed himself of all that had heretofore past to this purpose, and delivered himself so pertinently, and conformably to the first Interrogatory, that his Enemies were never able to prevail over him as to his answers.

So that all the Storm fell upon Father *Intorcetta* again, against whom they were much more animated and incensed; but forasmuch as this Father did not live within their Jurisdiction, they Suborned many considerable Mandarins, and the Vice-Roy in particular, who added to his absolute power in the Province, a greater aversion for the Christian Religion.

They all unanimously resolved to beat down Christianity, and after having caused all the proceedings formerly made against Missionaries, to be sought out in the Archives of the Intendant of the City Government: they found at last the Decree of 1669. that strictly prohibited them to build any Churches; to Teach in publick or in private the *European's* Law, to Administer Baptism to the *Chinese*, to distribute
Medals

Medals, Chaplets, Crucifixes, or other such like tokens of Religion, to Christians.

The Missionaries were not ignorant of these Prohibitions, but their particular Zeal, and the example of *Pekin*, where the Gospel was preached under the Emperors very Nose, no body pretending to say any thing against it; put them upon waving the usual Rules of human Prudence. These very considerations made most part of the Mandarins to connive, and whenever any one of them took upon him to impede the progress of the Faith, they endeavoured to pacifie him by Presents, and Letters of Recommendation procured for us by the Fathers of *Pekin*, or else, if need required, we made use of the Emperor's Authority against him.

The Christians of *Ham-tcheou* under the Cure of Father *Intorcetta*, were none of the least Zealous: Their Courage had appeared under the Government of divers Mandarins, great Sticklers against our most holy Faith; but their Courage was never more apparent than in the present occasion, for the Vice-Roy supposing that he was impowered to undertake any thing by Vertue of the Decree aforementioned, caused to be affix'd to the Gate of our House, in all the publick places of the Capital City, and afterwards in above seventy Cities of his Government, a new Sentence, by which he forbid under grievous Penalties to exercise the Christian Religion, charging

* *This happened about the middle of August, An. 1691.* all those that embraced it to forsake it *.

Moreover, being informed that Father *Intorcetta* was formerly in the Province of *Kiansi*, and that he had not obtained leave from the Court to settle in *that* of *Che-Kiam*, he sent to ask him by what Authority he durst presume to stay there; yea, and he commanded him forthwith to avoid the Country, the Officer, that brought

brought this Order, added, I command you withal, in the name of the Vice-Roy, to burn all the Books of your Religion, together with the *Tables* of Printing that you have in your House. They are thin Boards upon which they have Engraven all the Leaves, from which they may take Copies according as occasion serves.

The Father, not at all surpris'd, answered that he was in the City by the Authority of *him* who granted the privilege to the Vice-Roy himself to remain there. 'Have you forgot, added he, that the Emperor passing this way three years ago, sent two Grandees of his Court to my Church to offer Presents, in his name, to the true God, with express order to lie Prostrate before the Altars. I went to render him my most humble thanks for his gracious favour, and that I might give him further demonstrations of my acknowledgement, I was willing to accompany him upon the *Canal* at his departure, where he was with his whole Court.

'This grand Prince, who had formerly honoured me with more than ordinary demonstrations of his benevolence, taking notice of my Barge amongst a great number of others, caused it to approach his own, and spoke to me such obliging things; that after all that I could not suspect I should be expos'd to any straits, or insults from any one of his Officers.

'But since this example hath made no impression upon the spirit of the Vice-Roy; Go tell him, that the Emperor, not being willing I should accompany him any farther, sent me back with these his last words to me, which are too advantageous to me to presume to alter, add, or diminish any thing in them. Your years, says he to me, do not permit you to attend me any longer, you are no ways in a condition to indure the fatigues of a Journey, I order you to return to your Church; and there to
' spend

‘ spend the remainder of your days. But, now, if
 ‘ the *Vice-Roy* does not only disturb this tranquility by
 ‘ Ordinances injurious to the God whom I Adore,
 ‘ but forces me shamefully to quit his Province, I
 ‘ leave him to judge whether of us two does more
 ‘ openly, and peremptorily contradict the Emperors
 ‘ will and pleasure.

‘ As to what relates to the Table, on which they
 ‘ have engraven the Law and Maxims of JESUS
 ‘ CHRIST. God forbid I should be so wicked as to
 ‘ commit them to the Flames. However the Vice-
 ‘ Roy is the Master, since I cannot resist his Violence,
 ‘ but tell him from me, that before he resolve upon
 ‘ that, he must begin with the burning of my self.

The Vice-Roy surpris'd at the undauntedness of the Missionary, durst attempt nothing upon his Person, but he referred the business to certain Subaltern Mandarins, who received order to summons this Father before their Tribunals, and to perplex and trouble him upon all accounts, without allowing him a moments respite. Father *Intorcetta*, who just then fell Sick, might have been dispens'd with from appearing; but he was afraid to lose these precious junctures of time that Providence had put into his hand, openly to confess the name JESUS CHRIST; and being resolv'd not to recoil, or give ground during the Combat he got himself carried before Judges; much oppress'd by reason of the Malady he laboured under, and much more at the sight of his desolate Church: but besides, he was so animated by the Holy Spirit, wherewith Martyrs are corroborated, that of all the Mandarins that Interrogated him; not one of them but admir'd the greatness of his Courage.

So that in despite of the vigorous Orders of the Vice-Roys, every one of them almost treated him with abundance of deference; even to that degree, that one of them caus'd an Officer of Justice to be
 foundly

foundly bastinadoed in open Court, for having been wanting in his respect to the Father. Adding, withal, that Indictments do not render a Man guilty, and that he must have been Convicted to deserve to be treated as a Malefactor.

Father *Intorcetta* presently foreseeing that the Persecution would be violent, had written to the Missionaries at Court, to the end that they might remedy it. The Emperor was then in *Tartary*, where he diverted himself in Hunting. Father *Gerbillon* a French Man by Nation, and one of those the King sent to *China*, accompanied this Prince thither, by whom he was particularly beloved, retaining him almost always near his Person; so that the Letters were directed to him.

This Father did not judge it convenient to speak of it to the Emperor, but contented himself to desire a Letter of Recommendation from Prince *Sofar*; one of the most powerful Ministers of the Empire, and his particular Friend, who immediately writ to the Vice-Roy in a most effectual manner. He represented to him, that such a procedure as his was smelted somewhat of Violence, and was inconsistent with his wonted Moderation and Prudence. We live in a time, saith he, that requires much gentleness and discretion. The Emperor seeks all occasions to favour the Doctors of the Christian Law, how can you possibly think to please him in Persecuting that? Believe me, Sir, the example of a Prince ought to make greater impression upon our Spirits than all the Decrees of Courts of Judicature, and the antient Edicts, that the Court itself can no longer follow, ought not at present to be the rule of its Conduct. If you favour the Missionaries, reckon that the Emperor will take it kindly from you, and if I may be permitted to subjoin any thing to this last motive, be assured also that I shall resent all the good

Offices you render them upon my Recommendation.

Prince *Sofan* is so Considerable through the whole Empire, (whether it be by the Honour he hath to be a near Relation to the Emperor, or whether by his Place of Grand Master of the Palace, or whether by his Credit and Capacity) that upon any other Occasion, the Vice-roy of *Chequin* would have look'd upon it as a great Favour, to receive one of his Letters, and would not have balanced one Moment to satisfy him; but Passion had blinded him, and the Vexation to perceive himself less powerful at Court than a Stranger, inclined him to let the Missionary understand, that he was at least the Master in his own Province.

Wherefore he began to seize upon several Churches, which he bestowed on the Priests of the Pagan Gods, after he had violently taken away the sacred Monuments of our Religion.

He issued out Proclamations much more rigorous than the former, he threatned the Father with his Indignation, if he did not abandon his Flock, and he caused several Christians, that had but too openly declared themselves, to be apprehended; some of them were haled to Prison, they severely punished others, and then the Persecution became bloody by the Torments, that these generous Confessors suffered for the Name of *JESUS*.

Amongst those who signalised themselves, a Physician more eminently made his Faith appear; he was much grieved to see the Altars of the true God violated and despoiled, Crosses broken in pieces, the holy Images exposed to the Scorn, Laughter, and Impiety of Idolaters: To repair this Loss, and that Believers might not be left destitute of the ordinary Marks of their Religion, he distributed to each of them Images and Crucifixes. He went from door to door with the precious Pledges of our Salvation; animating the Weak, confirming the more Courageous in their Faith;

do not fear, said he to them, *him who can only exercise his weak Power upon the Body; but fear that Great God, who as he has deprived you of Life, can also punish your Soul with an eternal Death, and rather suffer all sorts of Torments, than forsake his holy Law.*

The *Mandarin* offended at the Boldness of the Physician, commanded him to be loaden with Chains, and having caused him to be dragged before his Tribunal, they prepared all things for his being cruelly Bastionado'd, when his Godson, who came running thither with other Christians, threw himself on his Knees at the Judge's Feet, and begged of him with Tears in his Eyes, that he would permit him to receive the Chastisement for his Godfather.

This zealous Physician, who aspired to nothing more than Martyrdom, was so far from giving his Place to another, that he constantly, and stedfastly forbid it; and at that time there arose such a Scuffle between them, that the Angels admired and that made the Christian Religion to be respected by the very Idolaters. The Judge stood amazed at it; and turning towards those eminent Confessors of Jesus Christ, *go your way, saies he to them, this forwardness to suffer the Punishment of your Faults, deserves some Indulgence; I pardon you, but henceforward, think of pleasing the Vice-roy, and be more careful to obey the Emperor's Orders.*

When the Spirit of God hath once seized on the Heart, Men's Words are not capable to touch them. This Zealous Physician, whom the sight of Execution had made more couragious, continu'd his Acts of Charity as before, and his Zeal made such a Noise up and down, that the *Mandarin* durst no longer mince the Matter, he seem'd much concerned at the Contempt he us'd of his Threatnings: Insomuch that he gave Order to his Officers to bring him out, to make a severe Example of him.

In effect, he caused him to be beat so cruelly in his Presence, that those who were present, were equally surpris'd at the Severity of the Judge, and Patience of this good Christian. This bloody Execution once over, some of his Relations who came running at this doleful Spectacle, were thinking to carry him to his House; but he positively desired to be carried to Church, and what endeavours so ever they used to divert him from it, yet he had Strength enough left to crawl thither himself, born up by the Arms of several Christians. He came thither all bathed in his Gore; and kneeling down at the Foot of the Altars, *O Lord, saith he, thou seest this Day, that I prefer thy holy Law to all the Sweetness of Life: I come not to demand Justice of thee for all the Blood thy Enemies have spilt; I come to offer thee that which remains of mine own; I do not deserve to die for such a good Cause; but thou, O my God, deserwest the intire Sacrifice of my Life: and then turning towards Father Intorcetta, who began to comfort him: Ab! Father, answer'd he, I shall be now at the height of my Joy, if it were not my Sins, but my Zeal that had brought this light Chastisement upon me.*

This Example and many others, that I forbear to relate, made such Impressions upon the Idolaters hearts, that a great many of them resolv'd to embrace the Christian Faith, being persuad'd that Sentiments so opposite to corrupt Nature, could not possibly proceed either from Passion or Error.

Among them whom the holy Spirit did effectually touch, were Three who appeared full of that very Faith, that made in former time almost as many Martyrs in the primitive Church as Believers; they were Young, handsome, of Quality, and what is more, engag'd by their Condition blindly to comply with the Vice-roy's Inclinations. Nevertheless, counting their temporal Estate as nothing, they demanded publick Baptism.

The

The Father to bring the Faith of these *Neophytes* to the Test, hid nothing from them that might anywise stagger them; but it was all in vain to represent to them the rigour of the Edicts, the Vice-roy's Indignation, the Desolation they were like to cast their Families into, the Danger of losing their Estates, Honour, Life, and all these Considerations served only to animate them the more, so that after a pretty long Tryal, they were initiated into our sacred Mysteries, and took part as others did, in the Cross of Christ. Their Conversion fortified the Feeble-minded, and comforted Father *Intorcetta* for all the Evils that the Persecution had made his Church to suffer.

But the Vice roy was so much the more provoked, because he had not the Liberty at that time to shew his Resentment: for just then, they delivered him Two Letters from Prince *Sosan*, one of them was for Father *Intorcetta*, the other that was directed to himself, was full fraught with Reproaches, for that he seemed to make no account of the Prince's recommendation. *I could never have believed, saith he to him, that to please a Company of ill affected People, who have exasperated your Spirit at the Christians, you would have deviated from the Counsels I gave you. It is as a Friend that I endeavoured to inspire you with better Sentiments; think upon it once more, and reflect seriously with your self that it is I that speak to you. I expect three Things from your Friendship, First, that you deliver the Letter your self to Father Intorcetta, according to the Supercription The Second, that you do so well satisfy the Father, that he may have Occasion to bless himself for the kind Offices you render him, and that he himself may testify the same to me: And the Third is, that henceforward you do not any longer disturb either Missionaries, or Christians: in short, I am extremely sorry, for being obliged to write to you so often about this Subject. If you for the Future mend your Manners, I shall write to you a third Time to thank you, but if*

your Passion continues, this is the last Letter you shall ever receive from me.

Then did the Vice-roy repent him of his former Proceedings; yet was he so far engaged, that he thought he could not handsomely go back with any Honour. He found it especially very hard to sue to a Missionary for his Friendship, whom he but just now treated, and that publickly, with the utmost Disdain; but yet dreading Prince *Sosan's* resentment, who was the most Powerful, and in most Credit, of all the Ministers of the Empire: On one hand, he resolved to stand to what he had done already against the Christians, without driving matters any further, and on the other hand, to dispatch one of his Officers to *Pekin*, to purge, and clear himself to the Prince.

In this interim, Father *Intorcetta* having a secret Item of the Letter that the Vice-roy had received, intimated to the Fathers at Court, the small Effect they had produced; insomuch that those Fathers resolved to signify the same to the Emperor, in case Prince *Sosan* should think it advisable. Wherefore they related to him what had passed at *Hain-cheou*, the Obstinacy of the Vice-roy, the Affliction of Father *Intorcetta*, the Danger wherein his Church was, the Ruin whereof would infallibly involve in it, the utter Ruin of all the Missions in the Empire. *Since all your Endeavours, My Lord, added they, seem Ineffectual; there appears nothing that can put a Stop to the Violence of this obstinate Mandarin, but the Emperor's Authority; but we should be wanting to our true Interests, (and what swaies the more with us) to the Acknowledgment that we are bound to give for your Favours; If we were ruled by any other Considerations than yours.*

The Prince already provoked by the Vice-roy's behaviour, was not sorry at this Overture, and believed he had now found a fair Opportunity to revenge himself: So that these Fathers having recommended the

Importance of their Affairs to God Almighty, where-
in the solid Establishment, or utter Ruin of Religion
was concerned; came to the Palace on the 21st of
December 1691, and demanded Audience.

The Emperor sent some Eunuchs his Confidants
to know what their Business was: The Father pre-
sently declared to them, the heinous Excess of the
Vice-roy of *Ham-cheou*, as well in respect of the Mis-
sionaries, as in respect of the Christians under his Go-
vernment; they added moreover, that they had suf-
fered a long time without Complaining, in expecta-
tion, that their Patience would pacifie his Spirit; but
since the Mischief became every day greater and
greater, without all hopes of Remedy, they came to
prostrate themselves at the Emperor's feet, as to the
usual *Asylum* of oppressed Innocence, most humbly to
beseech him, to grant to their Brethren in the Provin-
ces that happy Peace, they themselves enjoyed at *Pe-
kin*, in the very Sight, and under the Protection of
his Majesty.

The Emperor, to whom they reported this Dis-
course, had a mind to try the Fathers Constancy, and
so return'd them no favourable Answer; but they ne-
ver ceasing to represent the Unhappiness, this Indiffe-
rence of the Prince was shortly like to bring them
under. He sent new Eunuchs to acquaint them, that
he was amazed to see them so infatuated with the
Christian Religion; *is it possible*, he bid them tell them,
' that you are always busied about a World whither
' you are not yet come, and count *that* wherein you
' are at present, as nothing? believe me, Sirs, *there is*
' *a time for all things*; make better Improvement of
' what Heaven instructs you with, and defer all those
' Cares till you cease to live; Cares that are profita-
' ble to none but the Dead: For my part, *said he*, in a
' *drolling way*, I do not concern my self self; in the Bu-
' siness of the other World, and I do not take upon

'me to determin upon the Cause of these invisible
'Spirits.

Then the Fathers, oppress'd with grief, shedding a torrent of tears, prostrated themselves to the very ground; they conjured the Eunuchs to report to the Emperor the sad Condition whereunto they were reduc'd: *This would be the first time, said they, that this great Prince abandon'd innocent Persons, and appear'd insensible of our Lamentation: Is it because we are unprofitable Strangers that he deals thus with us? At least, Gentlemen, pray tell him, that the great God of Heaven and Earth, whose Cause we maintain, for whom we fight, nay, and to whom he himself is beholden for all his Grandeur, well deserves, that he should exert all his Power to make him known, and his Justice in punishing those who do him an injury in the person of his Ministers.*

In fine, after all these Tryals, this gracious Prince, mov'd with compassion, could no longer dissemble his real Sentiments; he therefore sent to the Fathers (that were still prostrate before his Palacé Gate) an Officer of his Bed Chamber, to acquaint them, 'That he did not allow of the Vice-Roy of *Ham cheou's* Proceedings, and that he was willing for their sake, 'to put an end to his unjust Persecution; and that 'in a word, there was two ways to accomplish it: 'The first, to send to the Vice Roy a secret Order 'immediately, to give satisfaction for Mischiefs past, 'that this way, tho' not so Exemplary, was the most 'easie and sure. The second, to present a Petition, 'and obtain from the Tribunals a favourable Decree 'for all the Missionaries, which would decide all Differences. That they should consult amongst themselves what would be most convenient in the present 'conjuncture; and when they had weigh'd the Reasons on both sides, that they should come back the 'next day to declare to him their positive Resolution.

The Fathers signified their most humble acknowledgments to the Emperor by customary prostrations, and returned full with great hopes of happy success, yet very uncertain what course to steer.

They consider'd on one hand the danger that there was to put their Cause into the hands of the *Lipou*, who always declared against the Christian Religion; that in all probability there needed no more to revive all the ancient Accusations, which Time seem'd to have conspiciated: That the Missionaries settled in the Provinces, whom they had concealed from the Court till that time, would be obliged to quit *China*, or else forsake all their Missions: That at least, the Proceeding of those who had built new Churches, and Converted a great number of Idolaters against the express prohibitions of Parliaments, was sufficient to warrant the Vice-Roy of *Han-cheou*: That in fine, things may be brought to that pass by the subtil Devices of our Enemies, and secret Undertakings of the *Bonzes*, that they might be so far from quenching the Flame of a particular Persecution, as we suppose, that we should kindle a general Conflagration in the Empire, that would not terminate but in the total desolation of Christianity.

These Reasons, altho' very substantial and solid in themselves, were nevertheless balanced by the following Reflections. What Protection soever the Emperors might have given till that time to the Missionaries, yet they experienced, that it was not sufficient to oblige all the *Mandarins* of Provinces to countenance the Christians, and that there was a great number of them who (prejudiced against us either by that universal Contempt which the Education of *China* did usually create in them for Foreigners, or by the Calumnies of the *Bonzes*, or else by a false Zeal of the publick good) thought it was a piece of good service to destroy us, and spoil in a few days that which had been the work of several Years. These

These particular Persecutions were so much the more feared, as they administred occasion to our secret Enemies, to declare themselves openly against us, and to compose a strong and great Party, which was commonly upheld by the Courts appointed for the ordering Rites and Ceremonies, who always waited for occasions to stop the course of new Foreigners into the State. So that if in these critical conjunctures the Emperors, by a particular Providence, should not have honoured us with their benovolence, Christianity would have long since been destroy'd in *China*, and it may be the memory of it would have been totally obliterated.

We should therefore consider, that the Court perhaps would not be always so favourable to us, that there needed no more but one moment alone to lose the Emperors gracious favour; or, what was still more dangerous, to intail his Indignation upon us, and those of our Religion, that in this fickle State wherein Religion was, the least opposition from the *Mandarins* would suffice to set the Peoples hearts against it, that the Great ones themselves durst never declare, or be Converted, for fear of being one day responsible to the Parliaments for their Conversion, which probably in time might be made an heinous Crime.

On the contrary, if so be the Christian Faith were once approved of by publick Edict, nothing afterward could disturb its Establishment, since it would be less odious to the Idolatrous People, because the Christians would make a publick profession of it, and at last the new Missionaries would enter without interruption into the vast Field of the Gospel, and would there sow, without any contradiction, that sacred Word, which would then produce an hundred fold.

The only hope of such a great Benefit, determined the Fathers to try this last means; and so much the rather,

rather, because they belieyed they could not in future time meet with any occasion more favourable to accomplish it. The remembrance of signal Services Father *Verbieft* had rendered to the State, was still very recent; the Emperor had declared how sensible he was of the resolution that Father *Grimaldi* an *Italian*, had taken to cross the Seas again for his sake, and to undertake a most tedious Journey. Father *Thomas a Flemming*, was wholly taken up in Mathematicks, wherein he acquired the reputation of a Learned Knowing Man, and most Pious Missionary. Father *Pereira* a *Portuguese*, for his part, took a great deal of pains a long time in certain Instruments, and several Engines, that the Prince took great delight in: But that which did our business in getting his heart, was the Peace which Father *Gerbillon* had but just then concluded three hundred Leagues from *Pekin*, between the *Chinese* and *Muscovite*. Prince *Sofan*, nearly related to the Emperor, and Plenipotentiary, stood amazed at his Zeal, and publickly declared, that but for him this Negotiation would never have terminated to the advantage of the Empire. He spoke of it to the Emperor to that purpose; and at that very time he inspired him with sentiments of Esteem and Affection for this Father, which have continued ever since beyond whatsoever we were able to expect or hope for. Besides, this same Father, together with Father *Bovet*, both *French*, and of the number of those whom the King sent into *China* in 1685, apply'd themselves for many Years to teach Geometry and Philosophy to the Emperor, with such success, that he could never be weary in discoursing with them upon these Matters.

But because these zealous Missionaries were fully perswaded, that when Religion is concerned, human Assistances are very insignificant, if God Almighty do not secretly direct and order the whole Work.

They

They began to implore the assistance of *him* whom nothing is able to resist: They spread open their Wants before him, and discovered their hearts in his presence, and told him with the same confidence that once animated *Judith*: *Make bare, make bare, O Lord, thy arm on our behalf, as thou didst heretofore, and bring to nought the obstacle our Enemies oppose against us: Let those who have boasted that they could destroy the Temple, who have already prophaned thy Altar, and trodden under foot the Tabernacle of thy holy Name; let them at present be sensible, that before thee all their force is nothing but vanity and weakness: Put into our mouths, Lord, that holy word, and replenish our hearts with those wise Counsels that make Truth always to triumph; to the end thy House that hath been so many years in a tottering condition, may at this day be immovably settled and confirmed; and that all Nations may in the end confess, that thou only art the true God, and that*

* *Judith* chap. 9. *besides thee, we ought to seek for none other* *.

After this fervent Prayer they secretly presented their Petition to the Emperor, that they were afterwards to offer to him in publick. He read it, but not finding therein what was the most capable to make impression upon the Spirit of the *Chineses*, (for they insisted upon what principally related to the Sanctity and Truth of Christian Religion) he drew up another himself in the *Tartarian* Language, which he sent back to the Fathers, yet leaving them to their liberty to retrench, or add thereto, as they shall judge most convenient.

Indeed, if one do but never so little reflect upon the particular Character of the Emperors of *China*, one cannot sufficiently admire, that this present Emperor should vouchsafe to descend from the loftiest degree of Grandeur, which he observes every where else, nay even in respect of the greatest Princes, to
make

make himself familiar with pitiful Missionaries : For a Man to consider after what manner he takes a particular Account of all their Affairs ; how he speaks to them , how he puts them in a way, would he not conclude that it is a private Man that manages the Concerns of his Friend ? Yet nevertheless it is one of the greatest Kings in the World, that is pleased thus to stickle to please a company of Strangers, even at the peril of the fundamental Laws of the Nation.

But after all, it is no wonder that a God, who to establish his Religion humbled himself so far, as to make himself like to Men, does oblige sometimes the greatest Princes of the World to divest themselves of their Majesty and innate Pride, to co-operate and concur in this grand Work. For certainly, what care soever we may have taken to make this Prince favourable to us ; yet must we needs herein principally acknowledge the Efficacy of Divine Grace. It is the Almighty voice of the Lord that alone can, to speak in the Scripture expression, *bruise the Cedars and shake the Mountains of the Wilderness* ; that is to say, abase the Great ones of the World, and give to their heart what motion he pleases.

Whilst all these things were transacted at *Pekin*, the Vice-Roy of *Ham-cheou*, that had now leisure to make some reflections upon his Behaviour, was not peaceable in his Province. The Credit of Prince *Sofan* did grievously perplex him ; and above all he dreaded his just resentment : For to pacifie him, he thought it the wisest course to send one of his Officers to him, under pretence to justify himself to him, but in effect, to exasperate the principal *Mandarins* of *Lipou* against the Missionaries, in case he should find any overture to do it.

At that time this Officer arrived at Court, but Prince *Sofan* would not so much as hear him ; and packing him away, briskly told him, that he much wondered

wondered that his Master made such little account of Persons whom the Emperor honoured with his affection, and employed and trusted in his service.

As to what relates to their business, I am no more concerned in it, than the Emperor would himself. These Fathers have implored his Protection, and he well understands how to do them Justice without my intermeddling. Besides, when I writ on their behalf, it was not so much to do them a kindness, as thereby to exhibit a token of Friendship to the Vice-Roy, in plucking him from the Precipice whither he had so indiscreetly thrown himself.

This Answer did so startle this Officer, that without ever dreaming of making any other progress, he returned to his Master at *Ham-cheou* to render an account of the ill success of his Commission. The Fathers who had notice of it, understood by that, that they were to lose no time, and that they were speedily to improve the good disposition of Prince *Sosan*. So that upon *Candlemas day* they went to the Palace, and offer'd to the Emperor with the usual Ceremonies, the Petition that he himself had composed, of which see here the Translation.

May it please your Majesty,

WE expose to you, with the most perfect submission, and most profound respect that we are capable of, the beginning, end, inducements and motives of our most humble Request, being confident that you will vouchsafe to hear it with the same prudence that attends all your Actions, and with that Benevolence wherewith you have been graciously pleas'd to honour us.

On the ninth Month of the Moon, Father Intorcetta, one of your Majesty's Subjects, whose abode is in the City of *Ham-cheou*, did acquaint us that the Vice-Roy had strictly charged the Mandarins of his Province to pull down all the Temples of the Christians, to burn the Printing Tables, upon which is engraven all the Books of our Religion.

Religion. Moreover, he hath publickly declared, that our Doctrine is false and dangerous, and consequently not to be tolerated in the Empire, and hath added several other things most disadvantageous to us.

Upon this News, Sir, seized with horror, and penetrated with grief, we thought our selves obliged to have recourse to your Majesty, as the common Father of the afflicted, to lay before you the deplorable Condition whereunto we are reduced; for except you grant us your Protection, it is altogether impossible to avoid the Stratagems of our Enemies, and to ward the Blow wherewith they threaten us.

That which administers comfort to us, Sir, when we appear at your Majesty's Feet, is to see with what Wisdom you influence and move all the parts of your Empire, as if it were the Body, of which you are the Soul; and with what unconcernment and impartiality you regulate the Interest of each private Man, without acceptation of Persons. Insomuch that you could not be at rest if you knew but one single Subject oppressed by Injustice, or but even deprived of that rank and recompence he deserves.

You surpass, Great Sir, the Mightiest Kings amongst your Predecessors, who have in their time permitted false Religions in China; for you do intirely love Truth, and do not approve of Falshood. For this reason it is, that in taking your Progress to view your Provinces, you have given a thousand testimonies of your Royal affection to the European Missionaries that were in your Road; as if you meant thereby to testify, that you value their Doctrine; and that you would be very glad that they would settle in your States. What we deliver here is publick, and generally known to the whole Empire.

Therefore when we behold the Vice-Roy of Hamcheou to stile the Christian Religion, the false and dangerous Religion, when we are informed that he uses all his endeavours to destroy it; how are we able to stifle our
just

just sorrow, and forbear to declare to your Majesty what we suffer?

This is not the first time, Sir, that they have persecuted us without any reason; therefore Father Adam Schaal your Subject, on whom your Predecessors beap'd many extraordinary favours, made it known to all the Court, that the Rules of the Celestial Motions established by the antient Astronomers of China, were all false, he propos'd others, that did perfectly agree with the Constellations, they were approved, and made use of with no small success; so that this Change brought Order again into the Empire. Your Majesty is not ignorant of what past at that time in Peking, we may, I hope, have leave to remember how Matters stood there, since they are so many singular favours we there received: Yet upon the account of exploding and abolishing of these Errors, how much did the Father afterwards suffer by Calumnies of his Enemies? Yam-quam sien and those of his Faction, falsely accused him of several Crimes, under pretence of Novelty, as if this new Astronomy had not agreed with Heaven, he died, not being able at that time to justify himself; but your Majesty put Father Verbiest in his place, and heaped on him so many favours, that the life of this Father was too short, and his words too faint to demonstrate to all the World the greatness of his acknowledgments. Yet did he deeply resent all these benefits, and it was on purpose not to be ingrateful; that he was busied for above twenty years in composing all sorts of Books for the publick benefit, both in Astronomy, Arithmetick, Musick, and Philosophy, that are still extant in the Palace, together with divers others which he has not time to compleat and finish.

But since your Majesty is perfectly instructed in all these particulars, we dare not presume to tire out your patience by a longer discourse. We do only humbly beseech your Majesty to consider, that all this is not sufficient to entitle us to the Peoples affection for us, and confidence in us.

If, as they accuse us, the Law that we preach be false and dangerous, how can we, Sir, justify the Conduct of Princes, who have honoured us with their esteem?

Nevertheless not to mention any thing of your Predecessors, your Majesty your self hath made so sure of our Loyalty, that you order'd Father Verbiest to found some Cannon of a new Model, to put an end to a dangerous War: You made Father Grimaldi cross the vast Ocean to go into Muscovy with the Letters and Seals of the High Court of the Militia; you sent the Fathers Gerbillon and Pereira, upon very important Affairs, to the very furthest parts of Tartary. Nevertheless your Majesty well knows, that those who are governed by the Principles of a false Religion, never use to serve their Prince faithfully; they almost ever abandon themselves to their own Passions, and never aim at any thing but their own particular interest.

If therefore we do exactly discharge our duty, and if to this very day we have always sought the publick good, it is most manifest this Zeal proceeds from an heart well affected, full of esteem, and veneration, and (if we may be bold to say so) of a singular affection for the Person of your Majesty: On the contrary, if this heart once cease to submit to you, it would be from that very time, contrary to right Reason, good Sense, and all sentiments of Humanity.

This being supposed, Sir, we humbly beseech you to consider, that after the fatigues of a tedious Voyage, we are at length arrived in your Empire, exempt from that Spirit of Ambition and Covetousness, that commonly brings other Men thuber, but with an ardent desire to preach to your People the only true Religion.

And truly when we appeared here the first time, we were entertain'd with abundance of marks of distinction; as we have often said already, and which we cannot repeat too often. In the tenth Year of Chun-tchi they prefer'd us to the sole direction of the Mathematicks. It

the fourteenth Year of the same Reign they gave us leave to build a Church at Pekin, and the Emperor himself was willing to grant us a particular place for the burial of our Dead. In the twenty seventh Year of your Majesty's glorious Reign, your Majesty honoured the Memory of Father Verbiest not only by new Titles, but also by the care you took to cause the last Offices to be perform'd to him, with an almost Royal Pomp and Magnificence. Some while after you appointed an Apartment and Masters to the new French Missionaries, to facilitate their learning of the Tartarian Tongue. In a word, you seem'd so well satisfied with their deportment, that you caused the Services they had rendered to the State by their Voyages into Tartary, and Negotiation with the Muscovites to be inserted in the Records of the Nation: What a happiness, Sir, and a glory is it for us to be judged capable of serving so great a Prince!

Since therefore your Majesty, who does so wisely govern this grand Monarchy, vouchsafeth to employ us, and put such confidence in us, how is it possible there should be one single Mandarin so irrational to refuse one of our Brethren permission to live in his Province? Verily, Sir, one cannot sufficiently deplore the hard Fate of that good old Man, who in a little corner of the Earth, humbly requires so much space as is necessary peaceably to spend the remainder of his daies, which yet he cannot obtain.

It is for this reason, Sir, that all of us, your Majesty's most humble Subjects, who are here like forsaken Orphans, that would injure no body, nay, who endeavour to avoid Law-Suits, Quarrels, Wranglings, and the least Contestations; It is for this reason (we say) that we beseech you to take our Cause in hand, with those sentiments of Equity that are so essential to you; have some Compassion, Sir, upon Persons who have committed no Fault; and if your Majesty, after being fully informed of our Carriage, does really find that we are Innocent, we beseech you to let all the Empire understand by a publick Edict,

the

the judgment you entertain of our *Morals and Doctrine*. It is for the obtaining this Favour, that we assume the liberty of presenting to you this Request. In the mean time all, and every your Subjects the *Missionaries*, will expect with fear, and intire submission, what you shall be pleased to appoint touching the Premises. In the thirtieth Year of the Reign of Chamhi, the 16th. day of the 12th. Month of the Moon.

The Emperor graciously received this Petition, and sent the 18th. of the same Month to the Court of Rites, with an Order to examine it, and with the first opportunity to make report of it to him; but because there is vacation in all the Courts of Judicature in *China* much about the same time, until the 15th. of the first Month of the Year following, the *Lipou* could not Answer till the 18th. of the said Month: Upon the whole, their Judgment was much contrary to the Emperors Intentions, and Interest of the *Missionaries*. For the *Mandarins* having reported at large the antient Edicts enacted against the Christian Religion, concluded that this business required no farther discussion, and that they were to stick close to the first Orders of Parliaments, and of the Court, which prohibited upon grievous Penalties, the natural born Subjects to entertain the new Doctrine of the *Europeans*; that, notwithstanding they deem'd it convenient to preserve the Church in the City of *Hancheou*, and to give order to the *Mandarins* of that Province, not to confound the Christian Religion with the seditious Sects of *China*.

The Emperor was in a manner as much concerned as the *Missionaries* at this new Decree: when they presented it to him, he discovered some trouble at it, and left it for several days in his Closet, without declaring himself, to the end that the *Mandarins* of *Lipou* having notice of it, might have time to come

back; but when he saw their Obstinacy, he was not willing to make turbulent Spirits to Rebel, and resolved at last, tho' sore against his Will, to Sign it.

This News threw the Fathers into a great Conster-nation; and one *Cbao* a Gentleman of the Bed-Chamber, whom the Emperor sent to comfort them, found them in a condition worthy of compassion. He was troubled at it himself (for he loves us dearly, and hath done us upon several occasions most signal Services.) This Officer endeavour'd, as he had order, to moderate their Affliction; but whether it was that these Fathers were not Masters of themselves, or that they had quite given over all thoughts of keeping any further correspondence with a Prince that had deserted them, they utter'd upon this occasion whatsoever the most sensible grief is able to inspire into afflicted Persons.

What signifie, my Lord, say they, all the Favours it hath hitherto pleased the Emperor to do us, since at this conjuncture himself makes them unprofitable? Was it to tumble us down in a more illustrious manner, that he apply'd himself so long time to exalt us? What delight will he take hereafter to see us, covered with shame and confusion, to serve for a laughing-stock to our Enemies, and be a Spectacle to the whole Empire? Will that Prince who loved us so dearly, will he be able hereafter, without being moved at it, to hear that the Rabble insult over us? That his petty Officers make us to be beaten in open Courts? That Vice-Roys banish us from their Provinces, that they exile us shamefully from his Empire?

We lay out our selves for him, our Cares, Studies, and all our Watchings are given to him. One part of our Brethren are already dead by their Labours, others have impair'd their Health by the same; and we, who are still alive, enforced by the same desire of pleasing him, willingly and freely sacrifice all the precious moments of our Life to him.

We hoped to merit by this Zeal, that he would at length approve of the Religion which we preach to his People, (for why should we dissemble the matter to you, to you who have so long known the real sentiments of our hearts) that was, you know, the only motive of all our Undertakings: How Powerful, how Magnificent soever this Prince may be, we should never have had the least thoughts of coming so far to serve him, if the Interest of our most Holy Faith had not engaged us therein. Nevertheless he proscribes it at this day, and Signs with his own Hand the shameful Decree of our Condemnation. There you see, my Lord, what all our hopes come to; there is the fruit of all our Labours: with how much greater calmness would we have received the sentence of Death, than an Edict of this nature? For, do not imagin that we are able to survive the loss of Christianity.

This Discourse, attended with a great deal of trouble, and a torrent of Tears, made great impression upon the Officers spirit; he went immediately to report it to the Emperor, and described to him the Fathers sorrow in such lively colours, that this good Prince gave way to some emotion. *I have always, said he, sought out all occasions to do them a kindness, but the Chinese have traversed all my good designs, I could at this time forbear following the stream; but in short, however the case stands, they may make account that I love them, and that I shall not forsake them.*

In effect, he began more than ever to employ them in his Service; but yet, he no longer found the same eagerness in the execution of his Orders, nor the same serenity and alacrity upon their countenances. They always appeared before him dejected, mournful, and as if their Heads had been out of order by the shrewd blow they lately received. However, he was so far from being disheartened, that he proposed to them to send for a Doctor of Physick to Court, who was

newly arrived at *Macao*, who that he might be the more serviceable to the Missions had turned Priest of our Company.

The Fathers made answer that this Doctor had wish'd, and that two with a great deal of Passion, to employ his Skill, and all the Arcana of his Art to preserve such a precious Health, as *that* of his Majesty, but being amazed at the Decree that had past against the Christians, he was quite off from any design to come into *China*, and that he was preparing to return into *Europe*: that, nevertheless, since his Majesty ordered it should be so they would write with all expedition to *Macao* to have him come. Whilst the Missionaries were over Head and Ears in their melancholly, the Vice-Roy of *Ham-cheou* triumphed at his first success, and cast about how to take new measures to finish his Work. He set all the Commissioners of the Offices at work for several days, to draw out Copies of the new Decree, to have them dispers'd throughout all the Provinces; at last he issued out more severe Orders against the Christians than the former. In fine, not longer doubting of the Victory, he sent to the Emperor an ample request against the Missionaries to accomplish their undoing; but this request came a little too late: and when it was presented the Face of Affairs was already altered.

For Prince *Sosan* not being able to withstand the Solicitations of the Fathers, and especially of Father *Gerbillon*, whose particular Friend he was, resolv'd to Solicite afresh on our behalf, wherefore he went and found the Emperor, and represented to him whatsoever the most Zealous Christian could possibly have spoken on the like occasion:

He set before him again, the Zeal and Devotion of the Fathers in whatsoever respected his Person, the Services they had rendered the State during the Wars, their being intent to perfect the Sciences, and
to

to rectifie the Kalendar. *In a word, Sir, said he, they are a sort of People that make no account of their lives, when serving or pleasing you is in question. 'Tis true, all this could not deserve that your Majesty should approve of their Faith, if it be otherwise dangerous; but was there ever a more wholesome Doctrine than theirs, or more beneficial to the Government of a People?*

The Emperor who joyfully heard this Discourse, yet for all that persisted in his former determination, *It is done now, said he to him, I should have done myself a Kindness to have favoured these honest Missionaries; but the outrageous carriage of the Mandarins against them, did not permit to follow mine own inclination.*

'How, Sir, replied the Prince, are not you the Master? And when the business was to do Justice to Subjects, so eminent as these are, could not you interpose your Authority? I will go myself, if your Majesty thinks fit, to these Gentlemen, and I am not without hopes of bringing them to terms. At last the Emperor, not being any longer able to hold it out against so pressing solicitations; causes a Letter immediately to be dispatched to the Calaos, their Assessors, and to all the Tartarian Mandarins of Lipou; and this is the purport of the Letter.

The thirty first year of the Reign of Cham-hi, the second day of the second month of the Moon. Yi-sam-ho, Minister of State, declares to you the Will and Pleasure of the Emperor in these terms.

The Europeans in my Court have for a long time been Directors of the Mathematicks. During the Civil-Wars they have rendered me most effectual service, by means of some Cannon that they got cast: their Prudence and singular Address, accompanied with much Zeal, and indefatigable Toil, obliges me once more to consider them. And besides that, their Law is not Seditious, and does not induce People to Revolt, so that it seems good to us to permit it, to the end that all those who are willing to em-

brace it may freely go into the Churches, and make publick Profession of the Worship there performed to the Supreme Lord of Heaven.

Our Will and Pleasure therefore is, that all and several the Edicts that hitherto have been published against it, by and with the Advice and Counsel of our Tribunals, be at present torn and burnt. You Ministers of State, and you Tartarian Mandarins of the Sovereign Court of Rites, assemble together, examine the matter, and give me your Advice upon the whole with all speed.

Prince *Sofan* himself was present at this Assembly according as he and the Emperor had agreed; and albeit he was no Christian, yet did he speak after such a pathetic and taking manner in favour of us, that he seemed rather to defend his own, or the States Cause, than the concerns of a Foreign Religion, these are his own words, without adding one Syllable, as they are found in the Original, which I faithfully translate.

‘ You know, Gentlemen, with what Application, what Zeal, and Loyalty these *Europeans* busie themselves in the Service of his Majesty. The greatest Men amongst us, tho’ concerned to preserve and maintain our Conquests, have rather devoted themselves to Glory, Riches, and making their own Fortunes, than to the settling the State upon a sound bottom; very few of them do purely aim at the Publick good. These Strangers, on the other hand, exempt from all Passion, love the Empire more than we do our selves, and do frankly Sacrifice their own repose to the tranquility of our Provinces.

‘ We have experienced the same during the whole course of our Civil-Wars, and in the late bickerings we had with the *Moscovite*, for to whom do you suppose us obliged for the happy success of that Negotiation? It would without all question be consistent with my Interest, to ascribe all the glory of it to my self. I who have been the Plenipotentiary for
the

the Peace; but if I were so unjust as to do my self that honour, to the prejudice of these Fathers, the Chieftains of the Enemies Troops, all mine own Officers, my own Army would say I told an untruth.

It is, Gentlemen, these Fathers who by their Prudence, and insight into Affairs, and the just temper and moderation that they brought, put an end to that important affair. Without their Counsel, we should have been forced to exact at the expense of our blood, the Rights which the injustice of our Enemies did so obstinately refuse to the Emperor; or perhaps you would have had the trouble to see us wholly divested of them, or at least I should have been no longer in a condition to defend them.

What have we done, Gentlemen, in return for such eminent Service? Nay, what can we do for a company of Men who demand neither Riches, nor Places of Trust, nor Honours? Who esteem and respect us, without so much as caring whether we do so by them? Certainly we ought to be concerned, if it were not in our power some way or other to oblige Strangers, who do so generously Sacrifice themselves for us; and I am inclin'd to believe, Gentlemen, that when you have made reflection thereon, you will give me thanks for having discovered to you the only way whereby they can become sensible of our acknowledgement.

They have a Law, which is to them instead of all the riches in the World. They Adore a Deity, who alone makes up all their Comfort and Happiness. Suffer them only freely to enjoy the benefit they possess, and permit them to Communicate it to our People; altho' in that very thing they rather do us a kindness, than we do them: yet they will be grateful to us, and accept it from our hands as the recompence of all their Services.

{ The

' The *Lamas* of *Tartary*, and the *Bonzes* of *China*
 ' are not troubled in the Exercise of their Religion.
 ' Nay the very *Mabumetans* have rear'd a Mosque at
 ' *Ham-cheou*, that Domineers over all our Publick Edi-
 ' fices. They oppose no Banks to these Torrents that
 ' threaten inundation to all *China*, Men Connive,
 ' they approve in some measure all these unprofitable
 ' and dangerous Sects; and now when the *Europeans*
 ' sue to us for liberty to Preach up a Doctrine, that
 ' contains no other than Maxims of the most refined
 ' Vertue, we do not only repulse them with disdain,
 ' but think we do good Service to Condemn them :
 ' just as if the Laws that obliges us to shut up the En-
 ' trance into our Empire against Superstition, and
 ' lying Vanities, had likewise proscribed naked Truth.

The Prince expatiating much upon this Point, was interrupted by the Heads of the Assembly, who remonstrated to him; that, say what he could, there was still some danger lest this new Sect might occasion some disorder in process of time. And that it was the part of good Policy to stifle these little Monsters of Rebellion and Discord, in their very Birth. That, in short, they were Foreigners, whose Spirit and secret Designs were capable of administering some suspicion.

' What Suspicion, reply'd the Prince? I have been
 ' *Colao* this ten years, and I never heard any Com-
 ' plaint against the Christians. Believe me, Gentle-
 ' men, it were to be wish'd that the whole Empire
 ' would embrace their Religion. For, is it not that
 ' Religion that Commands Children to honor and
 ' obey their Parents? Subjects to be faithful to their
 ' Superiors, Servants exactly to perform the Will of
 ' their Masters. That forbids to Kill, to Steal, and
 ' to Cozen; not to Covet any thing that is your
 ' Neighbours. That abhors Perjury and Calumny.
 ' That dislikes Lying and Falshood. That inspires
 ' Modesty

' Modesty, Simplicity, Uprightness and Temperance.
 ' Examin, Gentlemen, and sound, if possible, the
 ' Heart of Man; if there you find one single Vice
 ' which the Christian Law does not forbid, or one Ver-
 ' tue that it does not enjoyn, and counsel; I leave you
 ' to your liberty to declare against it. But now, if all
 ' things in it be Holy and Consonant to Reason, why
 ' do you still boggle to approve of it?

After that the Prince seeing their minds to be wa-
 vering, propos'd the Ten Commandments of our
 Religion, and explain'd them with so much Elo-
 quence, that the Mandarins looking one upon ano-
 ther, finding nothing to offer against it, did ingeni-
 ously confess that one might Conform to this New
 Doctrine without any danger. The Emperor in-
 formed of what was debated; was pleas'd (for to
 render the Action more famous) to have also all the
 Ministers of State to be convok'd together, with the
 Mandarins of *Lipou*, who were *Chinese*, to whom they
 made known beforehand the Resolution of the *Tar-*
zarian Mandarins.

In this general Assembly they repeated all that was
 spoken in the private Assembly, and after Prince *So-*
jan had left no stone unturned to recover the *Chinese*
 from their old prejudice, they came at length to this
 result, that a Law should be enacted favourable to the
 Christians, which was drawn up in form of a Petiti-
 on, to be presented to the Emperor to obtain his con-
 firmation of it, it was to this effect.

Heoupatai, Subject to your Majesty, President of the
Sovereign Tribunal of Rites, and chief of several other
Orders, presents to you this most humble Petition with all
the submission, and respect which he and all his Assessors
ought to have for all your Commands, especially when
you do us the honour to require our Advice about the im-
portant Affairs of State.

We have seriously examined what any way relates to the Europeans, who attracted from the extremities of the World by the fame of your singular Prudence, and other your eminent qualities, have past that vast extent of Seas which seperates us from Europe. Since they have lived amongst us they have merited our esteems and acknowledg-ment, by the signal Services they have rendered us in the Civil and Foreign Wars; by their continual application to Composing of Books very curious and profitable; for their uprightness and sincere affection for the Commonweal.

Besides which, these same Europeans are very peaceable they do not excite any Commotions, or foment Differences in these our Provinces, they do wrong to no Man, they commit no notorious Facts; moreover their Doctrine hath no Affinity with the false and dangerous Sects that infest the Empire, neither do their Maxims incline turbulent spirits to Sedition.

Since therefore we do neither hinder the Lamas of Tartary, nor Bonzes of China from having Temples, nor from offering Incense therein to their Pagodes; much less can we with any reason restrain the Europeans, (who neither act nor teach any thing contrary to the wholesome Laws) from having likewise their respective Churches, there to Preach their Religion in publick. Certainly these two things would be point blank contrary to one another, and we should manifestly seem to contradict our selves.

We therefore judge it meet and expedient that all the Temples Dedicated to the Lord of Heaven in what place soever they may be, ought to be preserved, and that we may safely permit all those who would honour this God, to enter into his Temples, to offer Incense to him, and to pay that Worship to him that hath hitherto been practised by the Christians according to their ancient Custom; so that none may for the time to come presume to oppose the same.

In the mean time we shall expect your Majesty's Orders thereupon, to the end we may Communicate them to the Governours and Vice-Roys, as well at Pekin as at other Cities of the Provinces. Done in the thirty first year of
the

the Reign of Cham-hi, the third day of the second month of the Moon. Signed, the President of the Sovereign Tribunal of Rites, with his Assessors; and underneath the four Ministers of State, called Colaos, with their general Officers and Mandarins of the first Order.

The Emperor received this Decree with unexpressible joy, he ratified it forthwith, and dispatch'd a Copy of it to the Fathers sealed with the Seal of the Empire, to be, says he, perpetually preserved in the Archives of their House: Some time after he caused it to be published throughout the whole Empire: and the Supreme Tribunal of Rites, sending it to the Principal Officers, added these insuing words. *Wherefore, you Vice-Roys of Provinces be sure you receive this Imperial Edict with a most profound respect; and as soon as it comes to your hands read it attentively, value it, and see you fail not to execute it punctually, conformable to the example that we have given you our selves. Moreover, cause Copies of it to be taken, to be dispersed into all the places of our Government, and acquaint us of what you shall do in this Point.*

So soon as Father *Intorcetta* had notice of what had pass'd at *Pekin*, he departed for Court, and went to throw himself at the Emperors Feet, to render him most humble thanks in his own, and in the name of all the Missionaries of *China*. This good Prince when he had bestowed on him many demonstrations of Affection, caused him to be conducted back again into his Province by Father *Thomas* Mandarin of the Mathematicks. He made his entrance into his City of *Ham-cheou* in Triumph, surrounded by Christians, and received by their Acclamation, who look'd upon him as an Angel of Peace.

Nevertheless, as God mixes always some Bitterness with our Comforts, the joy this good Father had conceived, was soon overcast, and allay'd by the utter ruin of his Church, involved sometime before in a
publick

publick Conflagration, wherewith the best part of the City was consumed.

This Accident gave occasion to Father *Thomas* to desire the Vice-Roy to build a new Church for the Father, and he himself gave him to understand that the Emperor expected it from him. This Mandarin was intolerably vex'd at the ill success of his Enterprize, which the late arrival of the Father increas'd; but he was quite besides himself, to think he must be forced to lodge a Stranger honourably in his Capital City, whom he would with all his Heart have banish'd some days before from his Province; yet he dissembled the matter like a wise Man, and to comply with the time, he afforded the Missionary one of the finest Houses in the City, till such time, as at his own charges, he should have rebuilt the antient College.

It was not at *Ham cheou* alone, that the Christian Religion seem'd to Triumph; all the Churches of the Empire, which the new Edict, in some respect, drew out of Captivity, by granting to the People liberty of Conscience, gave great demonstrations of joy; but the City of *Macao*, that served for a Cradle to the Infant Christianity, made its joy to appear by a solemn Holy-day, which was accompanied with all the tokens of publick mirth and chearfulness, which the Peoples Devotion rendred much more solemn.

Those who shall consider the Constitution of the Government of *China*, the almost insurmountable difficulties that Strangers have met with in screwing themselves into it; the aversion of Mens minds from novelty in Matters of Religion; and on the other hand the small company of Missionaries *Europe* hath supply'd us with. The Civil Wars, and Revolutions that have so often discomposed the State in this latter Age, will seriously confess, that this Occurrence, one of the most memorable that probably hath happened since the Infancy of the Church, cannot be the product

duct of human wisdom. * *Deus autem Rex noster ante secula operatus est salutem in medio terræ; Tu confirmasti in virtute tua mare — Tu confregisti capita draconis — tuus est dies & tua est nox.* It is our God, 'tis our everlasting King who hath wrought Salvation in this vast Kingdom, which they call the middle of the Earth. He it is who hath for ever brought a Calm upon this Sea, so much agitated, and infamous hitherto for so many Shipwrecks. Thou hast, O Lord, bruised the head of that proud † Dragon whose Name was so dreadful. It is now then that the Day and the Night, that is to say, the East and the West belong to thee; forasmuch as both Worlds have at last submitted to thy Empire.

* *Psal. 73.*† *The Dragon is the Emperors Arms, and is adored in China.*

At such time as I had the honour to present to the most holy Father, that Idolatry in the East, attacked on all sides by the Ministers of Gospel, was just upon the Point of falling; and that if once *China* could be drawn in to declare itself in favour of us, all the People adjacent, lead by their example, would quickly break their Idols in pieces, and would not be long before they submitted to the Yoak of the Christian Faith; this thought alone transported this holy Pontif with joy, and revived that sincere Piety, and fervent Zeal in his Heart, that he shews upon all occasions for the Salvation of Souls; but he told me that such a great change as that was no ordinary Miracle.

What Sentiments will he have, my Lord, when he understands that, what (as things then stood) he scarce durst hope for, are now at last accomplish'd for the glory of his Pontificate, and universal benefit of Christendom. We know moreover, that since this famous Edict, the *Chinese* run in crowds to be baptised: that the Mandarins, still Idolaters, build Churches to the only True God. That a Prince of the Blood hath ab-

jured

jured his Errors, and embraced the Faith and Cross of JESUS CHRIST. That the Emperor himself causeth a Church to be erected in his Palace, and lodges the Ministers of the Gospel near his own Person.

These happy preparations will, without all question, oblige the holy Father to employ all his cares to the entire compleating of so great a Work; to that effect we demand of him Pastors formed by his own Hand, and replenished with his Spirit: Missionaries altogether unbyassed, learned, self-denying, that joyn Prudence with Evangelical Simplicity; who may seek the glory of Christ, and that of the Nation, rather than their own.

Last of all, we heartily wish that all Christian Kingdoms, out of Emulation one of another, may strive (under the Popes Authority) who shall still send most Ministers into these vast Countries, to share with us in our Labours, and extend our Conquests. Nay, tho' the most populous Universities, and most famous Seminaries should be transplanted thither, it would yet be but few. Yea, and with all these assistances, we should notwithstanding, to speak in Scripture Language, groan under the burthen, and heat of the day. What would become of us if we leave this new born World to a small number of Labourers, whom the Piety of some do there maintain?

It is to beg this favour, that I assume the boldness, my Lord, to intrust you at this time with the concerns of the Missions. I am well assured that you never undertook any business of Consequence for the good of Christendom, but you accomplish'd it. Now, altho' this that I propose to you were ten times more difficult than it is indeed, I am, in a manner, sure of success, as soon as ever you shall please to take it upon you.

Yet notwithstanding, my Lord, to succeed happily in this business; it is not necessary to exert, and put in practice all those qualities of mind, that make you almost ever superior to great Enterprises. That consummate Wisdom, that conducts you through the most sure Roads. That continual intention of mind, which the hardest Labour cannot interrupt. That dextrous insinuating Conduct, so impenetrable to the quickest Eye. In a Word, that Art, so peculiar to you, of persuading, and obtaining what you please. All this is not requisite to the business in hand, you need do no more here but abandon your self to your own Zeal, and use that lively, and natural Eloquence that animates your Discourses, every time you are pleased, in the Sacred College, to stand up for the Interest of Religion, or when you represent to Christ's Vicar the Urgent necessities of the Church.

Your Care, your Piety, my Lord, will be seconded with as many Apostles as you shall procure Missionaries for us: then, will, the Idolaters newly Converted, and Believers establish'd and settled in Faith, be equally sensible of the great benefits that you shall procure them, and the People enlightned by these Divine Lights, which the Holy See shall disperse as far as the extremity of the Earth, will all their lives long bless the Paternal Charity of the Vicar of Christ, and ardent Zeal of his Ministers. I am in the most profound respect

My Lord,

Your Eminence's most humble

and most obedient Servant.

L. J.

A Letter to Monsieur, the Abbot Bignon.

*A General Idea of the Observations
we have made in the Indies, and
in China.*

S I R,

ALtho, you should not be at the Head of the most Ingenious Learned Men in *Europe*, by the Rank you hold in the *Academy Royal*, yet the Passion I have always had, to give you some Marks of my Esteem, and to improve by your Knowledge, would engage me to communicate to you, what we have performed in the *Indies*, as to the perfection of Sciences.

It is, Sir, for the Credit of this Illustrious Academy (with which, we have such a strict Friendship, and Correspondence) that a Person of your Merit, should seem to have any Esteem for the Persons it employs in it's Function; and I suppose, the Protection you are pleas'd to afford us in the World, will be taken kindly by them; but it is yet more our particular Interest, that you would severely, and strictly examin our Works, and that when you have implored the Esteem of the Publick on our behalf, you would by an impartial, and learned Criticizing, take some Pains to perfect us, and make us one Day worthy of its Approbation, and your own.

It is not, Sir, that I have a mind in this Place, to explain to you in particular, all that we have performed,

formed, to acquire a more exact Knowledge for the Future, of the Motion of the Stars, or to deliver Memoires to those who design to penetrate farther into the secret Mysteries of Nature. This Work, which is of too large an Extent, to be comprised within the Compass of a single Letter, will serve for the Subject of an intire Volume, which we hope shortly to have the honour to present to you.

My Design at present, is only to give you a general *Idea* of it, to the end, that understanding before hand the Road we have hitherto kept, you may the better judge what is needful to be added, to make us Exact, or to be altered, as to our Method.

When we departed from *Paris*, with the Instructions of the King, of his Ministers of State, and of the *Academy-Royal*, we proposed to our selves, nothing less than the perfection of natural Sciences; but this Project containing in it a great diversity of Matters, we supposed it convenient for every one to take his Part, not only because each of us had not leisure enough to plie so many different Studies all at once, but also, because the Spirit of a Man hath its Limits, and it is very rare, to find in one and the same Person, a Genius equally proper for all Things.

So that we agreed that some of us should addict themselves to Astronomical Observations, Geometry, and to the Examination of Mechanical Arts; whilst others should chiefly be taken up in the Study of what relates to Anatomy, Knowledge of Simples, History of Animals, and other parts of Natural Philosophy, which every one should choose, according as his Fancy led him; yet so, that even those who should keep themselves within the Compass of any subject Matter, should, nevertheless, not neglect the rest, when Time, Place, or Persons, should afford them Occasions to make any new Discovery therein: we agreed likewise that we should mutually communicate our

Notions one to another, to the end, that each one might benefit by the common Reflections, and withal, that nothing, if possible, should escape our attention.

But let us take what Care we could to succeed in this Undertaking, we easily perceived, that Six Persons busied besides in the Study of Languages, and in preaching the Gospel, could never be able to go through with such a vast Design; It therefore came into our Mind, first of all, to engage the *Europeans* that were at that Time in the *Indies*, but above all, the Missionaries; to the end that every one of us might concur in carrying on a Design, equally Beneficial and Glorious to all Nations. Secondly, to establish in divers Places, some particular Houses, where our Mathematicians, and Philosophers should labour after the Example, and under the Conduct of the Academicians of *Paris*; who from thence, as from the Center of Sciences, might communicate their Thoughts, their Method, and their Discoveries, and receive, (if I may be so bold as to say so) as by Reflexion, our weak Lights.

But these Two Expedients, so proper in themselves for the promoting of our Project, and withal capable to render *France* Famous to Posterity, have hitherto proved ineffectual; on the one hand, we have found very little Disposition in other Nations to second us: on the other hand, the Revolutions of *Siam*, have overthrown our first Observatory, which the King's Liberality, and the Zeal of his Minister of State, had in a manner quite finished.

These Accidents, tho' fatal ones, did not yet discourage us; we had Thoughts of laying the Foundation of a Second Observatory in *China*, still more Magnificent, than that of *Siam*. It would have been no such difficult Matter, to have built several others after ward at *Hispaan* in *Persia*, at *Agria* in the *Mogul's* Country, in the Isle of *Borneo* under the Line, in *Tar-*

vary, and in several other Places whose Situation might facilitate the Execution of our Design; when that universal War, that has set all *Europe* on Fire so many Years, made us sensible of it in the *Indies*, and in one Moment, broke all our Measures.

Perhaps, Sir, Peace may put us into the same Road again, that the Tempest hath forced us to forsake, and that all in good time, we shall enjoy a Calm equally advantageous to Religion, to the People's Happiness, and to the Perfection of Sciences. In the mean time, as contrary Winds do not hinder skilful Pilots to go forward a little, notwithstanding they do much retard their sailing, so have we endeavoured, maugre all these Tempests, to pursue our former Design, and continue a Work, the Essay of which, as you may shortly see, will not perhaps be altogether unprofitable.

The difficulty that Men have found from all Antiquity, to regulate the Motions of the Stars, was never to be overcome, either by the Lucubrations of ancient Astronomers, or even by all the Penetration of the Neoterics, what Endeavours soever our Imagination may have used to dive into these Mysteries of the Omnipotent Creator, yet have we made but a sorry Progress; and we must needs confess, that Heaven is at a much greater distance from our Thoughts, and Conception, than it is elevated above our Heads. Nothing can bring us nearer to it, than a continued Series of Observations, and an exact Enquiry into every thing that Occurs in the Stars, because that this continual Attention to their Motions, (making us perceive the gross, and as it were palpable Errors of ancient Systems) gives Occasion to Astronomers to reform them by little and little, and make them more conformable to Observation; to this purpose, in these latter days, men have so carefully applied themselves to the perfecting of Instruments,

Pendulums, Telescopes, and of whatsoever may any ways bring the Heavens nearer to our Eyes.

In *France, England, and Denmark*, and in divers other Places in the World, they have elevated huge Machines, built magnificent Towers, as it were to serve instead of Stairs to those who would proceed in this new Road; and the Progress that many Observators have already made, is so considerable, that one may hope for great Matters in future Ages; provided Princes do continue by their Liberality, to uphold such a toilsome Piece of Work. This is, Sir, in general, what we have contributed towards it for our Part.

First of all, we have been most conversant in Observing the Eclipses, and because *those* of the Sun, have more than all others, occasioned peoples Admiration; we have been very Diligent to improve all Occasions that might seem favourable to us. Amongst those that offered themselves, there chanced to be Two somewhat odd, and particular, and will afford some delight to the Curious.

The First, was the Eclipse that happened about the end of *April, 1688*. We knew that it was to be Total in some Parts of *China*, altho' at *Pekin* where we sojourned some time before, it was to be but indifferent Great; for you know, Sir, there is a great difference between the Eclipses of the Sun, and *those* of the Moon; The Moon that hath only a precarious Light, is covered with real Darkness, when ever the Earth robs her of the Sun beams, and doth not appear eclipsed to some certain People, but that she at the same time hides her face from the Eyes of others in like manner. The Sun on the contrary, that is a Body of its own Nature, always Splendid, always Luminous, or rather, is light it self, can never be Obscured or Darkened, and when the Moon by covering it, seems to deprive it of all its Lustre; it is not the Sun that is Eclipsed, it

is the Earth, it is we indeed that do find our selves at that time all in Darknes. So that Astronomers would speak more proper, if instead of naming it an Eclipse of the Sun, they would name it an Eclipse of the Earth.

Thence it comes to pass, that this Eclipse is at the same time very different, according to the different Regions where one is, insomuch, that if several Observators at a distance one from another, were placed upon the same Line drawn from East to West, it might so happen, that the first would see the whole Body of the Sun, as it is commonly seen, whilst the second would discover but one Part of it. There, it would appear half covered, here, it would be no more than an Ark of Light; and still farther off, it might perchance totally disappear. Arch.

It is likewise for the same Reason, that an Observer placed at the Center of the Earth, would not behold the Sun Eclipsed, as we do here; now this Difference, which they term the *Paralax*, would increase, or decrease, according as this Luminary should be more or less elevated above the Horizon; this is what the *Chinese* were hitherto ignorant of, and of which, to this day, they have but a very superficial Knowledge. As for the *Indians*, much less capable of being Polished, and Refined than the *Chinese*, they are always admiring such wonderful Effects; insomuch, that the King of *Siam* demanded one day, if the Sun in *Europe*, was the same with theirs in the *Indies*, being it appeared at the same time so different in these Two Places.

Wherefore we departed on purpose from *Pekin*, to get to *Kiam-cheou*, a considerable City in the Province of *Chanfi*; where, according to our Calculation, the Sun was to be totally Eclipsed: Yet, it was not so, because the Longitude of the Country was not yet perfectly known to us. The Heavens were that day

extreme Serene, the Place very Convenient, our Instrument firly Placed, and being Three Observators, nothing was wanting that might render the Observation Exact.

Amongst the different Methods, that may be made use of for these sorts of Operations, we made Choice of Two, that seemed to us the most Plain and Easie; The one was to look upon the Sun, with a Telescope of Three Foot long, in which they had placed at the *focus objectivi*, *Reticula* or little Net, composed of Twelve little Threads of raw Silk, very small, and equally distant one from another, yet so, that they might precisely take up all the Space of the Sun, whose Diameter appeared after this manner to the Eye, divided into Twelve equal Parts.

The Second consisted in receiving the representation of the Sun (by a Telescope of Twelve Foot) that was painted upon a piece of Pastboard opposite to the Optic-Glass, at a proportional Distance; we had drawn upon the said Pastboard Twelve little Concentric Circles, the biggest whereof, was equal to the apparent *Discus* of the Sun. So that it was easy for us to determin not only the Beginning, Duration, and End of the Eclipse, which require no more but a single Optic glass, and a well regulated Pendulum; but also its Bigness, or (as they commonly call it) its Quantity, and the Time that the Shadow, or rather the Moon spends in covering or uncovering each Part of the Sun: for notwithstanding all these Parts are equal amongst themselves; yet it doth not therefore follow, that there is requisite an equal Number of Minutes to go over them, because the continual Change of the *Parallax*, retards, or puts forward the apparent Motion of the Moon.

There wanted but the 24th Part to the total covering of the Sun, and we determined it to be an Eclipse of Eight Digits and an half, (for so Astronomers term it)

it) for to make their Calculation Just, they are wont to divide the apparent Diameter of the Planets into Twelve Digits, and every Digit into Sixty Minutes. In the mean time we observed first of all, that when Three Quarters of the Sun were eclipsed, the Day appeared in a manner not at all changed by it; nay, and we could hardly have perceived it, if we had not had otherwise Notice of it: so that an ordinary Cloud was almost capable of producing the very same Effect.

Secondly, tho' we did not at the height of the Eclipse, see more than a little Ark of Light, yet might a Man read very easily in the Court, the smallest Character. I have seen some Storms that obscured the Heavens as much as they were at that Time.

Thirdly, we could by no means discover any Star, tho' we endeavoured it all we could. We only perceived *Venus*, which doth not denote any great Obscurity, since this Planet appears often times, even at such time as the Sun is wholly risen above the *Horizon*.

The *Chinese* notwithstanding, were terribly allarm'd, imagining that the Earth was going suddenly to invellped in thick Darkness. They made an hideous Noise all abroad, to oblige the *Dragon* to be gone. It is to this Animal that they attribute all the disappearances of the Stars, which come to pass, say they, because the Celestial *Dragon* being hunger-bit, holds at that time the Sun or Moon fast between his Teeth, with a Design to devour them.

At length the Light returned by Degrees, and eased the *Chinese* of their Trouble; but we continued our Operation, comparing by different Calculations, the Greatness, Continuance, and Ending of this Eclipse, with the different Tables of ancient and modern Astronomers. There was also made at *Pekin*, *Hamcheou*, and in several other Cities of *China*, the very same Observations, which might have served to de-

termin the Longitude of all these different Places, if we had not had more sure, and easier Methods to know it by.

Upon the whole; this Observation afforded an Occasion to make some Reflections upon several other Eclipses, whereof Authors speak diversly. *Herodotus Lib. 1.* relates that upon the very Day that the King of the *Medes*, and the King of the *Lydians* fought a bloody Battel, the Sun appeared totally eclipsed. The Combat, saith he, lasted a long Time with equal Advantage on both sides; till all on a suddain, thick Darknes covered the Earth, and for a while suspended the Fury of the Soldiers. Father *Petau* hath placed this Eclipse in the Year 597, before the Birth of our Saviour, on the 9th of *July*, altho' according to his Calculation, it ought to be but of 9 Digits 22 Minutes; imagining, without doubt, that this Portion of the Sun eclipsed, was considerable enough to verifie such thick Darknes which the Historians mention: Nevertheless, that is so far from sufficing, that our last Observation ought to convince us, that such an indifferant Eclipse as that was, could not so much as be seen by the Combatants: So that it is much more probable, that this famous Battel was fought in the Year 585 on the 28th day of *May*, a Day whereon there chanced to be a total Eclipse of the Sun.

Father *Petau* cannot disagree with us about this last Eclipse, but if we reckon it according to his Tables, we shall find that it is but of 11 Digits 20 Minutes, that is to say, not quite so big as ours; and for that Reason, we may suppose his Tables to be defective, because the 24th Part of the Sun sufficeth (as we have observed) to make the Day pretty Clear; notwithstanding the History would make us believe that it was obscure, yea, and even resembling the darkest Night.

In the Year 310, before the Birth of our Saviour, *Agathocles* King of *Sicily*, sailing into *Africa* with his Fleet, bound for *Carthage*, the Sun totally disappeared, the Stars were seen every where, as if it had been Mid-night; whereupon divers Astronomers, and particularly *Ricciolus*, are of Opinion, that the Tables that allow to this Eclipse a Greatness, that comes pretty near *that* of the *Total*, do sufficiently make out the History: Nevertheless, it is manifest by what we have Observed, that the Stars would never have been perceived, especially in that brightness, and after that manner that *Diodorus* and *Justin* say they did, if so be there had been any sensible Part of the Sun discovered, except this same Part not being eclipsed, had not been near the *Horizon*, as it happened in the Year 237, in the beginning of the Reign of *Gordianus Junior*; for at that Time the Heavens were so darkened, that it was impossible to know one another without Wax tapers, at least if we give credit to *Julius Capitolinus*.

The Second Eclipse we observed, still more considerable than the former, was seen by Father *Tachard*; in his Voyage into the *Indies*, he was at Sea on board an *Holland* Vessel; and if the Place would have given him leave to make use of Instruments, we should never have seen any thing more ingenious on this Subject.

The Eclipse appeared *Central*, that is to say, the Center of the Moon, was quite opposite to the Center of the Sun; but because the apparent *Discus* of the Sun, was at that time bigger than *that* of the Moon, there was seen in the Heavens, a bright Ring, or a great Circle of Light, and what is most to be wondred at on this Occasion is, that Father *Tachard* assures us, that this Circle was at least a Fingers-breadth, which would not agree, neither with the Tables of ancient Astronomers, nor of the Moderns:
but

but it is no such easy Matter, to make a just Estimate of the bigness of Luminous Bodies, when one judges only upon View; because the Light that sparkles, and reflects, causeth them evermore to appear much bigger than they really are.

However, these sort of Eclipses which are called, *Annular Eclipses* are very rare; yea, and some Mathematicians are of Opinion, that there cannot be any at all, because they suppose as a thing granted by all hands, that the Diameter of the Moon, even in it's *Apogæum*, that is, at it's greatest Distance from the Earth, was always either equal to *that* of the Sun, or even sensibly greater.

So likewise *Kepler* writing to *Clavius*, upon the Account of an *Annular Eclipse* that they had observed at *Rome* on the 9th of *April*, in the Year 1567 pretends that this Luminary Border was nothing else, but a little Crown of condensed Air, enflamed, or enlightened by the Sun-beams, broken, or refracted in the *Atmosphere* of the Moon. This last Observation may be capable of undeceiving those who may have persisted obstinately to follow the like Opinion, as well as to disabuse *Gassendus* his Disciples, who imagine that the Sun cannot flow over the Moon above Four Minutes at most, that is to say, by it's 180th Part.

Besides these Two Eclipses, we have also seen some others of lesser Consequence, which I shall forbear to mention, because they contain nothing extraordinary. Those of the Moon have most employed our time, not only because they are in a greater Number, but because there is greater difficulty to observe them well,

The brighter the Sun is, the more sensible is its defect, and the body of the Moon, very obscure and opaque of it self, depriving us of the sight of it, doth not permit us to doubt so much as one moment of the
be.

beginning or ending of its Eclipse; but it is not so with the Moon, that does not lose its Light but by degrees, and by an almost insensible Diminution. As the Experience we have of it, makes us better perceive all these difficulties, than the most profound Speculations. Will you please, Sir, to let me acquaint you in few Words, what perplexes us the most, as to this Point.

The Earth in its different Aspects it bears to the Sun, hath always one half of its Globe enlightned; whilst its other Hemisphere must needs be in Darkness, like a Bowl that is enlightened by a Wax-candle by Night, so that on one side there is a projection, as it were a long Tail of Shadow, in fashion of a Cone, the point whereof is very far extended, and loseth itself at length in the vast extent of Air.

When therefore the Moon by its particular Motion, passes through this tenebrous Space, she loseth her Light, and becomes obscure herself; but now if we could mark the very Moment wherein she enters into it, and comes out again, we should know exactly, the beginning and ending of the Eclipse, but several Accidents that happen at that time, do not suffer us to observe it with so great niceness.

First of all, a long time before the Moon touches the Shadow, I but just now mentioned, its oriental Border is enlightened only by a small Portion of the Sun, which the Earth deprives her of by little and little, and by piece-meal: so that at that time, there is to be seen a kind of Smoak that spreads abroad insensibly upon the Body of the Moon, which often precedes the real Shadow a Quarter of an Hour; being this Smoak always increases, according as the Eclipse approaches, it is so confounded and mixed with the beginning of the Shadow, that it is almost impossible to distinguish it from it. So that neither Experience, nor Application, nor yet the best Telescopes, can
hin-

hinder an able Observator from mistaking sometimes One Minute, nay, and sometimes Two.

Secondly, when I say, that the Eclipse is caused by the interposition of the Terrestrial Globe, it is not that the Moon is then plunged into its Shadow, which never reaches farther than Fifty Thousand Leagues, supposing the Earth's Diameter to be 1146 Sea-Leagues, whereas the Moon, even in her *Perigæum*, is above 57000 Leagues from the Earth: But the Globe of the Earth being encompassed with a thick and gross Air, which we call its *Atmosphere*, which the Rays cannot quite penetrate; there is caused by the interposition of those Vapours a new Shadow, whose Diameter, and Length, do far surpass the true Shadow of the Earth. Now these Vapors are so much the more Transparent, as they are the more Remote from us; whence it comes to pass, that they also make a more faint Shadow at the beginning and end of the Eclipse, and consequently, they do not afford that Liberty to Observators, to determin them with any exactness.

You may understand by that, Sir, why we often discover the Moon, yea, at the very height of the Eclipse so far as to distinguish her Smallest Spots; why she paints herself at that time in so various Colors, for she appears Red, Ash colored, Iron-gray, Bluish or somewhat inclining to Yellow, insomuch, that she seems to be herself sensible of her failings, and shews certain signs of her different Passions. You see on the contrary, why in some certain Eclipses, she totally disappears, and steals quite out of our sight. All this doth no question happen from the Nature of this *Atmosphere*, which changes perpetually, and thereby produces these different effects.

In the Third Place, when the Moon begins to grow dark near the Horizon, it is yet more difficult to observe well the beginning of it; and a Man must take
spe,

special Notice, that the Time of this apparent beginning, compared with the Time of its ending, doth not give you the middle of the Eclipse exactly, because the Vapors are much more gross at the Horizon, than they are at Thirty or Forty Degrees of elevation.

Fourthly, altho the direct Rays of the Sun do not pass through the *Atmosphere* of the Earth, yet are there a great many of them, that turning aside, or as they speak by being *broken by refraction*, may enlighten the Border of the Moon, and consequently hinder the Shadow from being exactly Terminated.

Fifthly, it sometimes cometh to pass, that the Shadow begins to touch the Oriental Edge of the Moon, at the place where the Spots are more obscure than those of the Occidental Border, which makes, that a Man cannot judge equally of the End and the Beginning; we owe, Sir, all this Refining of Astronomy, to the modern Observators: The Ancients went more roundly to work in this matter, and *Tyco Brahe* himself, did not yet hit of it with all his Subtilty.

But the Moderns have been more ingenious to find out these Difficulties, than to find out an Expedient to surmount them; and we have more than once experienced in our Observations, that it is not without extreme Trouble, that one arrives at that exactness, which is required by the Learned of our Age; yet have we this Advantage, that we are a great many Observators together, and that we are able by communicating our Notions and Doubts one to another, to come nearer the Truth. Besides the Heavens have supplied us with a great many Eclipses of the Moon; and there hath but few Years past, but we might have observed One or Two.

But amongst this great Number, that which happened on the Eleventh of *December* 1685. was the most favourable to us; we were at that time at *Siam*: The King to whom we had predicted it, and who desired

fired to try the goodness of our *Tables*, was so surpris'd by conferring what he did behold, with our Prediction, that from that very time, he had some thoughts of detaining us near his Person; or at least to send some Body to find out some *French* Astronomer in *Europe* for him. He offer'd of his own accord to build a magnificent Observatory for us at *Louveau*, to render Astronomy, if possible, as famous in *India*, as it was becomè in *Europe*, since the Establishment of the Royal Observatory in *Paris*. And certainly, if ever the Stars were the Presage of future Events, all the Heavens seem'd then to promise us an happy Success in this new Undertaking; but it is not the sensible Course of the Planets, that rule our Destinies here below; they proceed from an higher overruling Power, and all their Consequences are written in that mysterious Book of Divine Providence, which before all ages hath determin'd the different events of this World.

This Project of the King of *Siam*, so favourable to *France*, to natural Sciences, and to Religion, was quickly put in execution; but the Death of that good Prince overthrew it almost in an Instant, and chang'd the Face of all Things. The Troubles that then arose, forc'd our Mathematician Missionaries to absent themselves, and thereby caus'd, if I may so say, a kind of an Eclipse, which hath so long deprived those People of the *European* Sciences, and Light of the Gospel: Yet these Clouds begin to be dispell'd. They are very earnest to have us come back again: but we have learnt by woful Experience, not to rely too much upon the good Will of Man, but to place all our Confidence in *him*, who alone can when it seems good to him, bring Light out of Darknells.

This last Essay, for all that, hath been of some Use to Astronomy, and we can assure you, that the Lunar Eclipses observ'd at *Siam*, *Louveau*, *Persebery*,

Pekin, Nankin, Kiam chau, and at *Canton*, with several other Places of the East, will not only contribute to the regulating the Celestial Motions, but likewise to the perfecting of Geography.

Altho the Science of Comets be not of so grand a Consequence, yet is it not less admirable; nay, methinks the Curiosity of the Learned, should be so much the more spur'd on to attempt something this way, as it is more difficult to satisfy it as to this Point, for it is more than probable, that the wit of Man will not be able in a long time, to dive into the bottom of these marvellous *Phænomena*.

Comets are so Rare, of so short Continuance, and so different amongst themselves, that if they be new Bodies, that are formed and destroyed in the Heavens; it is very hard, and in a manner impossible to lay down general Rules of their Motions, or to prognosticate their Appearance, and Continuance, if they be real Planets.

We have had the opportunity to observe Two of them, the first was seen in a Province in the Kingdom of *Siam*, on the confines of *Camboje* towards the Sea-Coast. It was in the Month of *August* 1686. It cut the Equator, passing from North to South, in the 11th Degree of right Ascension; and its own particular Motion that brought it still near the Sun, quite absorpt it, at last, into the Sun-beams.

The Second appeared at *Pontichery, Molucca,* and *Pekin*, in the Month of *December*, 1689. Its Motion was contrary to *that* of the former, it removed from the Sun, and came nearer the Southern Pole, running over the Constellations, *Lupus* and *Centaurus*, where it disappeared in the beginning of *January* to the ensuing Year.

If we have but a smattering in the Science of Comets, yet in recompence we are sufficiently instructed in what relates to Planets; and what our Astro-

nomers have discovered at *Paris*, since the Establishment of the Observatory, is already matter of Comfort to us, for the Negligence or Ignorance of the Ancients.

Amongst the different ways of going to work how to determin their place in the Heavens, the most plain, and withal the most exact, is, to take notice of their Conjunction with the fixt Stars. It is near a Thousand Years ago, that *Saturn* the highest of all the Planets appeared close by the Equator, and near a Star of the Third Magnitude, situate in the Southern Shoulder of *Virgo*. *Tycho* in his time observed it in the same Sign; and we also have seen it near *Spica Virginis*, but with this Advantage, that the Telescopes we made use of, makes our Observation incomparably more exact, than those of the Ancients; who, for that purpose, made only use of their naked Eye, always defective, at such a great Distance, especially in respect of the Stars, whose apparent Diameter is augmented by the Light, and by a kind of *Coma* of sparkling Rays, according to the Language of Astronomers, that reflect from their whole body; which makes it many times appear where indeed it is not.

Whereas a good Telescope makes them less glittering, rounds them, gives them their true Bigness, and so approaches them to the Eyes, that one does likewise distinguish them one from another, even when they touch one another at the Edges, or Borders, and when they are just upon uniting together.

Thus we determin'd the place of *Mars*, by the approaching of two Stars of the *Scorpion's-Head*; that of the *Moon*, by her Conjunction with the *Antares*, or Heart of the *Scorpion*, and that of *Venus*, that pass'd near a Star of the Third Magnitude belonging to the same Sign.

This Conjunction of *Jupiter* and *Mars* that happened about the end of *February*, 1687, did also take up several days. We were at that time at *Louveau*, where the King of *Siam*, who took a pride in *Astronomy*, did observe it in Person with an earnestness and uneasiness, that shewed more of *Superstition*, than *Natural Curiosity*.

He had a fancy that this Conjunction would be fatal to him, and that it was an assured prognostication of his Death. We endeavoured, but all in vain, to undeceive him, by *M. Constance* his principal Minister of State, whom we made apprehensive, that the Events of this lower World have no Communication with the particular Motion of the Planets; and, that altho' our Destiny should depend thereon, yet the King was no more concern'd in it, than the most abject of his Subjects, for whom the Sun and the Stars do as well turn round, as for the greatest Potentate upon Earth.

Nevertheless these Reasons, nor abundance of others, could set him to rights: He still maintain'd that his Reign was not to last long, and that he should be a dead Man within a few days. In effect he died the next Year; but it was in vain for him to seek for the cause of his death in the Heavens, which he carried about him for several Years: an habitual Distemper did extremely trouble him at that very time, and that, without doubt, was the true ground of his Fear and Prediction.

I do not know, Sir, whether or no these Observations will appear singular and odd to you; yet, methinks, this at least which I am going to have the honour of relating to you, does a little deserve your attention.

You know that *Mercury* hitherto hath been the least known, and (if I may so say) the least tractable of all the Planets: Always absorpt in the rays of the Sun,

or in the vapours of the Horizon, he continually flies it seems, all the courtings and careſſes of Aſtronomers, who are put to as much trouble to fix him in the Heavens, as Chymiſts are to fix their Mercury upon Earth.

We read in the Life of *Charlemagne*, that the Mathematicians of his times, deſpairing of ever being able to obſerve him well, when he was the fartheſt remote from the Sun, endeavoured to find him in the Sun it ſelf, under which they ſuſpected he might ſometimes paſs. They ſuppoſed they had there found him in the Month of *April* 807. or rather 808. except the Hiſtorian counted the beginning of the Year at that time from *Eaſter*: In effect, a black Spot appeared in the Sun eight days, tho' his going in and coming out were hindered by a Cloud.

I wonder this Obſervation could have been able to make them judge that this was *Mercury*, who is ſo far from ſpending eight days in running over ſuch a little ſpace, that he muſt, according to his natural courſe, finiſh it in a very few hours; beſides that, it is utterly impoſſible for a Man to perceive him in the Sun, without the help of a Telescope, and that too a very good one. What therefore they then ſaw, or ſuppoſed to ſee, was, without doubt, a Spot, not unlike thoſe that have ſo often appeared ſince, but bigger than ordinary, and conſpicuous enough to be diſcovered by the bare ſight.

Gaſſendus was more fortunate, *Anno* 1631. on the ſeventh of *November*. The Obſervation he made of it hath rendered him ſo famous, that ſome Authors to do him Honour, have dedicated their Books to him, as a Perſon to whom Aſtronomy was infinitely obliged: Some others alſo have ſignaliz'd themſelves by this curious diſquiſition; we are the laſt that have had occaſion to imitate them, but our Obſervation peradventure may not deſerve the meaneſt eſteem of all thoſe which have been made. We

We were at *Canton*, a Maritim Town of *China*, and pretty well known by the *Europeans* Traffick. We apply'd our selves to the particular studying of the Motion of this Planet, and that made us judge, that it would not be altogether impossible to discover it in the Sun, on the tenth day of *November*, 1690. to that end we prepared two excellent Telescopes, the one of 5 foot, that bore a *reticula* equal to the diameter, divided into twelve equal parts, and the other of twelve foot, with its *reticula*, composed of four Threads, one whereof represented a Parallel, and the other the Meridian, the two others cut them at the Angle of forty five degrees; we also rectified our *Pendulums*: Besides all this, the Heavens were exceeding clear and serene; and bating the Wind, which was a little violent, we could wish for nothing to the exactness of our Observation.

Mercury appeared to us like a black point or speck, which entring into the body of the Sun, run over it; in three hours and a half, or thereabouts, we exactly observed its time, entrance, departure, its distance from the Ecliptic, its apparent swiftness, longitude and diameter. We understood likewise by that, with the greatest certainty in the World, that this Planet hath no proper light of its own; that its Body is Opaque, and that it is at least, sometimes less distant from us than the Sun, the which could not formerly be determined but only by conjecture.

We owe, Sir, these fine Discoveries to the Invention of Optick Glasses and Telescopes, as we do a great many other things, which in these latter Ages are the Subject of the New Astronomy. So that as by means of Microscopes, we multiply the most simple Bodies, and magnifie the most minute, and almost insensible ones; so likewise by help of these Telescopes, we approach to our eyes the most distant Objects, and do abridge those infinite spaces that separate the Firma-

ment from the Earth; Art having in a manner forced Nature to suffer Men to have free commerce with Heaven for time to come, and let Mathematicians enter more easily into a kind of Society with the Stars.

We find at present Mountains and Precipices in the Moon, we discern its least Shadows, that increase or decrease, according to the different posture of the Sun; we measure the *maculae* of Planets, we have a shrewd guess of their Colours, Latitudes, of their circular Motion about their Center. It is by that, that Men have perceived that prodigious Ring that appeared in the Air, suspended about *Saturn* in form of a Vault, or like a Bridge, that would encompass the whole Earth without Arches, without Piles, without any other support, beside the uniform weight and perfect continuity of its parts.

Gallileo and many other Astronomers, have in vain put their Brains on the rack to explain this Mystery; they look'd upon this Planet as another *Proteus*, always changing, always differing from it self; to day round, then oval, by and by Armed with two *Ansas* or Handles, that opened or shut according to the time of the Revolution: Or else accompanied with two little Stars, that vaulted up and down without ever forsaking it: Lastly, cut in the middle with a broad *Fascia* or Swaiting-band, whose extremities were extended far beyond its Sphere.

We have a long time examined this wonderful Work of the Omnipotence of our Creator; and notwithstanding we cannot but admire *M. Hugen's* his Ingenuity, who hath reduced to such a plain and facile System, all these seeming irregularities, yet for all that, we must confess that we are ignorant of much more of it, than that Learned Astronomer was able to discover to us.

It is less difficult to explain the different Figures of *Mars*, *Mercury*, and *Venus*, which appeared to us sometimes round, sometimes gibbose, sometimes *dicotomised*, and ever and anon in fashion of a Bow, or Sickle; and the truth is, when *Venus* approaches the Sun, and when she is besides in her *Perigæon*, she appears in the Telescope so little different from the New Moon, that it is very easie for one to commit a mistake.

I do remember, that causing a *Chinese* to observe it in this posture, who had but little skill in Astronomical Secrets, he did no longer doubt, but presently gave his assent, and making him at the same take notice of the Moon at a place in the Heavens not far remote: He cried out for joy, and told me then, that he now comprehended that which had always perplexed him. *I did not know*, says he seriously, *how the Moon could change Faces so often, and appear sometimes in the wax, and sometimes in the wane, but now I perceive it is a Body composed of several parts, which sometimes is taken in pieces, and then join'd together again after some certain times; for to day at least, I see one half of it on one side, and one half on the other.*

The Knowledge also that we have acquired by Telescopes, concerning the number of the Stars, is likewise more curious. That large *Fascia* that embraces almost the whole Heaven, which they commonly call for whiteness the Milky-way, is a *congeries* of an infinite number of Minute Stars, each one of which in particular, hath not strength enough to affect our eyes; no more can the *Nebulosæ*, whose dim and confused Light is like to a little Cloud, or head of a Comet, yet it is a compound of several Stars; so they reckon thirty six of them in that of *Præsepe cancri*, twenty one in that of *Orion*, forty in the *Pleiades*, twelve in the single Star, that makes the middle of the Sword of *Orion*, five hundred in

the extent of two degrees of the same Constellation, and two thousand five hundred in the whole Sign; which hath given occasion to some to imagin, that the number of them is infinite.

At least it is true that the prodigious bigness of each Star, which according to some, differ but little from the Sun; that is to say, whose Globe is perhaps a thousand times bigger than that of the Earth, which nevertheless appears but as a Point in the Heavens, ought to convince us of the vast extent of this Universe, and of the infinite Power of its Author.

I cannot, Sir, finish this Discourse, before I have spoken of some Observations we have made of the *Satellites*. These are so many little Planets that belong to the train of bigger ones, which were detected in our Age, they continually turn about *Saturn*, *Jupiter*, and *Mars*, &c. some nearer, and some farther off from the center of their motion; they sculk sometimes behind their Body, sometimes again they are plunged into their Shadow, from whence they come out more splendid; nay, it even happens, that when they are between the Sun and their Planet, they Eclipse one part of it. I have sometimes beheld with a great deal of delight, a black Point, that run upon the *discus* of *Jupiter*, which one would have taken for a blemish, yet in effect was nothing else but the shadow of one of these *Satellites*, that caused an Eclipse upon its Globe, as the Moon does upon the Earth, when by her Interposition she deprives it of the Sun's light. We do not know for what particular use Nature hath designed these *Satellites* in the Heavens, but that which we Astronomers make use of them, is very useful for the perfection of Geography; and since *M. Cassini* hath communicated his Tables to the Observators, one may easily and in a very small time, determine the Longitude of the principal Cities of the World. Insemuch that if the irregular Motion of Shps
would

would permit us to make use of the Telescopes at Sea, the Science of Navigation would be perfect enough to make long Voyages with a great deal of safety.

We have observed the *immersions* and *emersions* of the *Satellites Jovis* at *Siam*, *Louveau*, *Pontichery*, at the *Cape of Good Hope* and in several *Cities of China*; but the observations made at *Nimpo* and *Chambay*, that are the most *Eastern Cities*, have reduc'd the great *Continent* to its true limits, by cutting off above five hundred *Leagues* from the *Country*, that never subsisted but in the *imagination* of the *antient Geographers*

Since, Sir, I speak of what respects the perfection of *Geography*, I shall tell you moreover that we have taken some pains to determine the *Latitude of Coasts*, *Ports*, and the most considerable *Cities of the East*, by two other methods. First, By a great number of *Observations* about *Meridian Altitudes* of the *Sun* and *Stars*. Secondly, By divers *Maps*, and *Sea Charts*, that our *Voyages* have given us occasion to invent or perfect. I have a *Ruttiér*, or *Directory*, for finding out the *Course* of a *Vessel* from *Nimpo* to *Pekin*, and from *Pekin* to *Ham-cheou*; where we have omitted nothing that may any way contribute to the perfect knowing of the *Country*, so that the particularities of it is in my *Opinion* too large: nay, and even too troublesome to those, who in these sorts of *Relations*, do rather seek after *delight* than *profit*.

I have also by me the *Course* of the *Rivers* that lead from *Nankin* to *Canton*, it is the *Work* of two or three months, and a tedious one too I'll assure you, when one would do things to purpose: the *Map* is eighteen *Foot* long, and each minute takes up above four *Lines* or the third part of *Inch*; so that all the *By-ways*, the *breadth* of the *River*, the *smallest Islands*, and *least Cities* are there exactly and accurately set down. We had always the *Sea-Compass* in
our

our hand, and we always took care to observe ever and anon upon the Road, the Meridian Altitude of every particular Star, to correct our estimate, and determine more exactly the Latitude of the principal Cities of the Country:

Whereupon, Sir, I cannot forbear making some reflections in this place, which may one day be useful perhaps for the resolving a material Problem in *Physicks*. Men are not yet sure whether all Seas in the World be upon the level one with another. The generous Principles of sound Philosophy, will have it that all Liquor of the same Kind, that Communicate own with another, do spread uniformly, whether by their own weight, or by the pression of the Air; and at last take the same Surface. Most of the Experiments are in this Point pretty congruous to Reason; yet some later Reflections have started a doubt whether or no the Sea had not really some *inclination*, and were not more elevated in some certain places than in others. What I have remarked touching this last Map I but now mentioned, seems to back this last Opinion:

For in the Provinces of *Canton*, and *Kiansi*, is to be seen a Mountain out of which issues two Rivers, the one flows towards the South; and after it has watered fifty Leagues of the Country, it disimbogues into the Sea near the City of *Quantcheou*, the other flows contrary, *viz.* to the North, crosses several Provinces for the space of two hundred Leagues, and turns aside insensibly, and enters into the East Sea, or Sea of *Japan*, insomuch that the *emboucheurs*, or mouths of the two Rivers are not distant one from another (if you do but even follow the Coasts that separate them) above three hundred Leagues or thereabouts.

Nevertheless, the Northern River seems more rapid in its whole Course, than *those* of the South, and being besides four times longer, it must needs be that
the

the Seas, where both of them meet, have a different elevation, or which is the same thing, are not upon the self same level.

I shall not speak, Sir, of several other Maps, wherein we have reform'd part of the Coasts of *Coromandel*, of *Pescherie*, *Molueca*, *Mergui*, and of *Camboje*, because they have not yet attained to that Perfection, that we hope we may be able to give them hereafter. But yet I have two of them that at present may venter to come abroad: the one represents the entrance into the Port of *Nimpo*, the most dangerous in all the World, by reason of the multitude of Isles, and Rocks that cover it on all sides; and put the skilfullest Pilots to a stand. We have subjoined thereto the Course from *Siam* to *China*, with a prospect of the chief Coasts, or Isles that are ~~not~~ met with by the way.

The other is still more curious, and indeed the only one in its Kind, the little occasion the *Europeans* have hitherto had to Sail into the great *Tartan*, obliged Geographers to make use, in their Descriptions of it, of I know not what memorandums, so little consistant with truth; that, as far as I see, they have purposely set themselves to deprive us of the knowledge of it. But the War breaking out, some years ago, between the Emperor of *China* and the Duke of *Moscovy*, they have on all sides diligently examined the limits of Realms, the bigness of Provinces, the fertility of Lands, Rivers, Mountains, Deserts, and whatsoever could any way be advantageous to these two Provinces, and might conduce in time to come, to conclude a solid lasting Peace between them.

Besides these Memoires, that fell into Father *Gerbillon's* hands, the Father hath also taken several Journeys of three or four hundred Leagues, into the very Heart of the Country; going sometimes toward the West, sometimes to the South, observing as much as possibly could be, the Longitude, and Latitude of the
most

most remarkable Places. So that the Map that he hath drawn out, begins at present to supply us with a right *Idea* of the disposition, and situation of this vast Country.

Amongst the things that are most singular in that Country, one may observe a ridge of Mountains, that are extended so far into the Sea between the East and North, that it hath been, to this day, almost impossible for Mariners to know or to double its Cape; which makes some suspect that this part of *Asia* may peradventure be at this place contiguous to the firm Land of *America*. We have besides all this, made several Observations concerning the variation of the Needle upon Tides, upon the length of a single Pendulum, which may however contribute something to the Perfection of Arts and Sciences.

Yet these general Observations have not so much taken up our time but that we have spared some to examine what there is in the East most curious, in the way of Natural Philosophy, Anatomy, and Botany.

Our Sojourning at *Siam* afforded us an opportunity, to view several particular Animals, which we seldom or never-see in *Europe*; as for example the Elephant, the Nature of which we have described, as also its Docibleness, Strength, Courage, Dexterity, the interior, and exterior Contexture of all its Parts; together with divers other Properties, that the very People of that Country, that are accustomed to them, cannot chuse but admire.

There have we seen Tygres, much different from those that are sometimes to be seen in *France*, and other Countries; whether you look upon the colour, which is redish fallow, interlaced with large black streaks, or whether you respect the bigness, which sometimes is equal to the bigness of Horses; they call them *Royal Tygres*: those they call *Water Tygres* do exactly resemble a Cat. They live upon Fish, but

do

do commonly live in Woods, or upon the Banks of Rivers.

There is likewise to be seen your *Rhinoceros's*, one of the oddest Animals in the World, in my Opinion, it hath some resemblance with a wild Boar, only it is a little bigger, the Feet of it somewhat thicker, and the Body more clouterly shaped; its Hide is covered all over with thick large Scales, of a blackish colour, of an extraordinary hardness; they are divided into little squares, or buttons, rising about a quarter of an inch above the Skin, in a manner like *those* of the Crocodile; its Legs seem to be engaged in a kind of Boot, and its Head wrap'd about behind with a flat Capuche, or Monks Hood; which made the *Portuguese* to call him the *Indian Monk*: its Head is thick and gross; its Mouth not wide; its Muzzle thrust out, and armed with a long thick Horn, that makes him terrible to the very Tygres, Buffalo's and Elephants.

But that which seems the most admirable in this Animal, is its Tongue, which Nature hath covered with such a rough Membrane, that it differs but little from a File, so that it flees off the Skin of all that it licks. In a word, as we see some Animals here that make a good Ragoust of Thistles, whose little pricks tickle the Fibres, or the extremities of the Nerves of the Tongue: so likewise your *Rhinoceros*, takes delight in eating Branches of Trees, armed on all sides with stiff Thorns, I have often given it some of them, whose prickles were very hard and long, and I admired how cunningly and greedily it bended them immediatly, and champ'd them in its Mouth without doing itself any harm. 'Tis true indeed, they sometimes drew blood of him; but that very thing made them more pleasant to the Taste; and these little slight Wounds, made probably no other impression upon its Tongue, than Salt and Pepper does upon ours.

What is to be seen in the Isle of *Borneo*, is yet more remarkable, and surpasseth all that ever the History of Animals hath hitherto related to be most admirable, the People of the Country assure us, as a thing notoriously known to be true: that they find in the Woods a sort of Beast, called the *Savageman*; whose Shape, Stature, Countenance, Arms, Legs, and other Members of the Body, are so like ours, that excepting the Voice only, one should have much ado not to reckon them equally Men with certain Barbarians in *Africa*, who do not much differ from Beasts.

This wild or Savage Man, of whom I speak, is indued with extraordinary strength, and notwithstanding he walks but upon two Legs; yet is he so swift of Foot, that they have much ado to out run him. People of Quality Course him, as we do Stags here, and this sort of Hunting is the Kings usual Divertisement. His Skin is all hairy, his Eyes sunk in his Head, a stern Countenance, tanned Face; but all his Lineaments are pretty proportionable, altho' harsh, and thickned by the Sun. I learn'd all these particulars from one of our chief *French* Merchants, who hath remained sometime upon the Island. Nevertheless, I do not believe a Man ought to give much Credit to such sort of Relations, neither must we altogether reject them as fabulous; but wait till the unanimous Testimonies of several Travellers may more particularly acquaint us with the truth of it.

Passing upon a time from *China* to the Coast *Cora-mandel*, I did my self see in the Straits of *Molucca* a kind of Ape, that might make pretty credible that which I just now related concerning the *Savageman*.

It marches naturally upon its two hind Feet, which it bends a little, like a Dogs that hath been taught to dance, it makes use of its two Arms as we do; its Visage is in a manner as well favoured as their's of the Cape of *Good Hope*; but the Body is all over covered

vered with a white, black, or grey Wooll; as to the rest, it cries exactly like a Child; the whole outward Action is so human, and the Passions so lively and significant, that dumb Men can scarce express better their Conceptions and Appetites. They do especially appear to be of very kind Nature; and to shew their Affections to Persons they know and love, they embrace them, and kiss them with transports that surprise a Man. They have also a certain motion, that we meet not with in any Beast, very proper to Children, that is to make a noise with their Feet, for joy or spight, when one gives, or refuses them what they passionately long for.

Altho' they be very big, (for that I saw was at least four Foot high) their nimbleness and slight is incredible; it is pleasure beyond expression to see them run up the tackling of a Ship, where they sometimes play as if they had a particular knack of vaulting to themselves, or as if they had been paid, like our Rope Dancers, to divert the Company.

Sometimes suspended by one Arm, they poise themselves for sometime negligently to try themselves, and then turn, all on the sudden, round about a Rope with as much quickness as a Wheel, or a sling that is once put in motion; sometimes holding the Rope successively with their long Fingers, and letting their whole Body fall into the Air, they run full speed from one to the other, and come back again with the same swiftness. There is no Posture but they imitate, nor motion but they perform; bending themselves like a Bow, rowling like a Bowl, hanging by the Hands, Feet, and Teeth, according to the different fancies which their whimsical imagination supplies them with, which they act in the most diverting manner imaginable; but their Agility to sling themselves from one Rope to another, at thirty and fifty Foot distance, is yet more surprising.

So likewise, that we might the oftner have this pastime, we caused five or six of our Powder-Monkeys, or Cabin-Boys trained up to this way of climbing up the Cords to follow them; then our Apes, cut such prodigious Capers, and slide with so much cunningness along the Masts, Sail yards, and Tackling of the Ship, that they seemed rather to fly than run, so much did their Agility surpass all that ever we have observed in other Animals.

Crocodiles being little known in *Europe*, and so common in the *Indies*, it has been our care to examine their Property, and whole Structure. Peradventure, Sir, our former dissections will be of some use hereafter, for the Project they laid, and carried on pretty far in the Academy, for the perfecting of Anatomy. We have added thereto some Anatomical remarks accompanied with Figures about the *Tockaies*, so named because they pronounce very frequently, and distinctly this Word. They are huge Lizards or small Crocodiles, found all over the Woods in *Siam*, as also in the Fields, and in Houses.

The Cameleon is likewise another sort of Lizard of between eight and ten inches in length, which served for a subject to our Observations, there are of them to be seen upon the Coast of *Coromandel*, and we breed of them at our House in *Pontichery*, for they do not live upon Air alone, as some Naturalists have written, for they eat, and that very greedily. 'Tis true indeed, that being of a very cold and moist temper, they can pass several daies without Aliment, but at the long run, if you give them none at all, you shall see them dwindle away by degrees, and at last die for Hunger.

Upon the whole, every thing is very odd in the *Cameleon*, its Eyes, Head, Belly, are exceeding big; and although it hath four parts, as a Lizard, yet is it so very slow in all its motions, that it crawls rather than

than goes; and if so be Nature had not bestowed upon it a Tongue of a particular Contexture, it could never catch the Animals, in which does consist its Nourishment. This Tongue is round, thick, and at least a Foot in length, it darts this Tongue seven or eight inches out of its Mouth with a marvellous slight. Now the substance of it is so Viscous, that it detains Flies, Grasshoppers, and other such like Insects, if it touch them but never so lightly with its Tip.

Its Body is cover'd all over with a very fine Skin, but is of a changeable Colour, according to the various Passions that agitate it: In Joy, it is of an Emerald green mixt with orange, etched with little grey and black Strokes; Choler makes it dusky and livid; Fear pale, and of a faded yellow: by times, all these Colours and many more are confounded together, and at times there is compos'd such a pretty medly of Shade and Light, that Nature does not afford a finer variety of shadowing, nor our finest Pictures more lively, sweet, and proportional Drawing.

They let me see likewise at *Pontichery* two other Kinds of Animals little known in *Europe*; the one is called *Chien-marron*, that takes after the Dog, Wolf, and Fox almost equally: It is of an indifferent Bigness, the Hair is grey and reddish, it hath short taper'd Ears, the Snout sharp, the Leg high, a long Tail, a Body slender and well shaped; it does not bark like Dogs, but cries just as Infants do: in a word, it is naturally voracious, and when Hunger pinches it, it enters into Houses in the night, and falls upon People.

The second sort is the *Mangoure*, which, as to its exterior Shape, comes very near the Weezel, except only that its Body is longer and bigger, the Legs shorter, the Snout slenderer, the Eye quicker, and somewhat less wild.

This Animal really is very familiar, and there is no Dog that plays and fawns more prettily with a Man than this Creature; nevertheless it is angry, and not to be trusted when it eats, always snarling at that time, and falls furiously upon those who will be troubling it.

It loves Hens Eggs more than any thing; but because its Chaps are not wide enough to seize on them, it strives to break them by throwing them aloft, or by rowling them an hundred ways upon the ground: but if there chance to be a Stone in its way, it presently lies upon it with its face downward, and striding with its hinder Legs, it takes the Egg in its fore Legs, and thrusts it with all its Might under its Belly till it be broken against the Stone.

It does not only hunt Rats and Mice, but Serpents, of whom it is a mortal Enemy, which it takes by the Head so cunningly, that it receives no hurt by it. It is at no less enmity with Cameleons, which at the very sight of it are seized with so mortal a fear, that they become immediately as flat as a Flounder, and fall down half dead; whereas at the Approach of a Cat, or Dog, or some other more terrible Animal, they swell, are enraged, and betake themselves either to their own Defence, or to assault them.

India being a very hot Country, and withal moist, produces a great number of other Animals; there is there especially abundance of Serpents of all sizes, and so pretty in respect of the Variety of Colours, that if it were not for the natural Antipathy that we have for this kind of Beast, I scarce know any thing that the Eye could take greater Delight in. The People of *Siam* are not so nice as we in this respect; they catch a prodigious number of them in the Woods, and expose them to sale in the Markets like Eles.

Yet there is a particular kind of them that they do not eat, they are present Poison, and that without Relief; they call them *Cobra capela*: some others are short, and of a triangular form, so that they always creep upon one of their three Faces; others also are still more odd, have no Tail, their Extremities are terminated by two Heads exactly alike in appearance, but very different in effect, in as much as the one hath not, as the other, the common Use of its Organs; for in these latter the Lips are join'd, the Ears stopt, the Eye-lids quite cover the Eyes, whilst the other eats, sees, hears, and guides all the rest of the Body.

Yet an *English-man* at *Madras*, who kept one in his House for Curiosity sake, assured me that every six Months the Organs of this second Head disclosed by little and little, and that on the contrary, those of the opposite Head, by closing themselves, ceased to perform their ordinary Functions; that, at the end of the like number of Months, they were both restored to their pristine state, and divided in that manner between them, each in its turn, the Care and Government of the Machine.

But God being no less wonderful in the least things than he is in the greatest, there are a prodigious number of Insects that might deserve the most serious Reflections. There you may see certain Flies that Nature hath painted of such a lively yellow, so polish'd and shining, that the most curious gilding does not come near it. Some others are but points of Light, that always glow and emit Rays all night long; all the Air appears as if set on fire with it when they fly; and when they light upon Leaves or Branches, the Trees resemble, at a distance, those Fire-works they make in the *Indies* for solemn Illuminations.

Their white Pismires, every where to be found what Care soever Men take to destroy them, are very famous by reason of the great Inconveniencies they produce, and for their natural Properties. They are exceeding small, of a soft Substance, white, and sometimes a little ruffetty; they are multiplied *ad infinitum*; and whensoever they have once got into an House or Apartment, nothing but the black Pismires can drive them out; they have such sharp Teeth, and so penetrating, that they not only pierce through in one night the greatest Bails, Cloth, Wool, Silk, and all other Stuffs, but even Cabinets and Cupboards the Wood of which becomes in a few days all worm-eaten; they even spoil Wood, Copper, and Silver, upon which you may sometimes discern the signs and marks of their little Teeth: Notwithstanding all this, there is great Probability that this Effect proceeds more from the particular Quality of their *Saliva*, which is a kind of dissolving *Menstruum* and acts at that time much after the same manner as *Aqua fortis* does here upon our Metals.

Even the very Grasshoppers are extraordinary; there are some of them in *Siam* that breed upon the Boughs of Trees, and are, if I may venture to say so, their Fruit in a manner, for the Leaves, preserving their natural Figure and Colour, grow somewhat thicker, their sides throw out on each hand a kind of green Filaments, in fashion of long Legs, one of the Extremities of the Leaf extends like a Tail, and the other waxes round like a Head, all which, in process, is animated, and metamorphosed into a Grasshopper. This is what the People of the Country report, who pluck them from the Branches themselves; we have seen great store of them, and it is true that the Leaf appears entire with its Fibres, or at least nothing does more resemble a Leaf than the Body of this Animal. If this be true, this Tree is no less to be wondered

at than *that* whole Leaves dropping into the Sea; in a short time turns to *Soland Geese*, as some Naturalists would make us believe.

It would here be a fit place to speak to you concerning the strange Trees we have met with in the East, but, if I am not mistaken, I have had formerly the Honour to discourse with you about them at large, especially of those that produce Vernish, Tea, Cotton, Tallow, Pepper, and many others, all of them singular in their kind, and very profitable for Commerce.

I have had also the Honour, Sir, to present you with about four hundred *China* Plants, drawn out in their natural Colours, and copied after those that are kept in the Closet of the Emperor of *China*: this is it that does chiefly compose the Herbal of *China*, and which, doubtless, will enrich ours, especially when we shall have the Translation of the Book where the Vertues and Use of all these Simples are incomparably well explained.

Neither shall I enlarge more upon our Observations that relate to the Beauty, Bigness, and Diversity of *Indian* Birds; for altho' that may be the finest part of the History of Animals, yet there has been so much said of it already in the foregoing Relations, that it would be to no purpose to speak to you of it more at large

But I cannot forbear now in the Conclusion to relate to you the greatest Curiosities which the Sea hath furnished us with. There are Fish whose Blood is as hot as *that* of a Man, others respire in the Air like other terrestrial Animals: We see some of them fly like Birds, that croak at the bottom of Waters like Toads, and bark like Dogs: some have Heads pretty like ours; they call them in *Siam*, *Mermaids*: in some certain ones the Flesh is so firm, that it nourisheth as much as Meat; in others it is so soft,

that it may not be so properly called Fish, as an indigestedness of slimy, gross, and transparent Matter, wherein no Organ is to be discerned, yet is it quick, it moves, and even swims methodically: In a word, Altho' the most part of them be good to eat, yet I have seen some that are poysonous, which infallibly lame the Fishermen when they can strike their Fins into them.

I forbear all the other Wonders of the Sea, that no ways come short of those in the Heavens and in the Earth, that I may speak more particularly of what we have learn'd of the Birth, Nature, and Fishing of Pearl. You may assure your self, that these are of that kind of Description upon which the Publick may rely; for we derive them from the Fountain head. This is what Father *Bouchet*, the Missionary of *Madure*, sent by the King into the *Indies*, left me his own self in Writing.

Men know well enough, that Pearls are engendered in a sort of Oyster found in the *Indies*, between *Cape Comarin* and the Chanel *de la Croux*, which occasioned the giving the Name *de la Pescherie*, or the Fishery, to the whole Coast: This fishing is exceeding chargeable, whether it be that it continues three whole months without any Intermission, or whether it be that they are sometimes fain to employ above an hundred and fifty Men therein all at once. So that before they engage in it for good and all, they begin upon tryal, from whence they can tell, more or less, what Profit they may possibly hope for. Now if the Pearls of the first Oyster be fair, big, and in great number, then the whole body of Fishers are in a readines against the 15th of *March*, the time when the *Paravas* (People of that Coast) do always begin that precious fishing. In the last there were but eight hundred Barks, yet sometimes there are to be seen to the number of three thousand. At that time
the

the *Hollanders* arm two *Pataches*, to convoy the Fleet and defend them from Pirates.

The Crew of each Bark consists of fifty or sixty Mariners, amongst whom there are twenty Divers, each of which hath his two Assistants, which for that Reason they call the *Fisher Assistants*: in fine, the Gain is distributed after the following manner; each Diver is bound to pay six Crowns to the *Hollanders*, which hath sometimes amounted to a Million. every eight days they fish one whole day for the profit of the Skipper of the Bark; the first Throw of the Nets is for him; they give the third part of what remains to the Assistants, the *Surplus* belongs to the Divers. But yet the *Hollanders* do not always give them leave to dispose of it as they please. So that these poor Wretches do often complain of their hard Fate, and bewail their Loss, when they think of the time they lived under the Dominion of the *Portuguese*.

When fishing time is come, this is the manner of the *Paravas*'s preparing themselves for it: The whole Fleet puts out to Sea as far as seven, eight, ten fathom Water, off of certain huge Mountains, which they discover far up in the Country; they have learn'd by experience, that this is the most commodious Latitude of the Coast, and the place where there is the most copious fishing.

Soon after casting Anchor, every Diver fastens under his Belly a good big Stone six inches diameter, a foot long, cut archwise on that side that is applied to his skin; they make use of it as Ballast, that they may not be carried away by the motion of the Water, and to go more firmly through the Waves: besides that, they tie a second heavy one to one of their feet, that presently sinks them to the bottom of the Sea, from whence they quickly draw it into the Bark by help of a small Cord: but because the Oysters are often fixed to the Rocks, they surround their fingers

with Copper Plates for fear of hurting them in pulling the Oysters with Violence: some others also use Iron Forks for the same purpose.

Lastly, every Diver carries a great Net, in fashion of a Sack, hung about his Neck by a long Rope, the End of which is fastned to the side of the Barks; the Sack is designed to receive the Oysters they pick up during the fishing, and the Rope to draw up the Fishers when they have fill'd their Sack.

In this Equipage they precipitate themselves, and go down into the Sea above sixty foot deep. Since they must lose no time, so soon as they touch the bottom they run to and fro upon the Sand, upon a slimy Earth, and amongst the craggy Rocks, snatching hastily the Oysters they meet with in their way.

At what depth so ever they be, the light is so great that they discern what happens in the Sea, as easily as tho' they were upon Land. They sometimes see monstrous Fish, from which the Christians defend themselves by crossing themselves; which hitherto hath preserved them from all Accidents. For as for those who are *Mabumitans*, or Pagans, what shift soever they make by troubling the Water, or flying away, to avoid them, many have been devoured by them: and of all the dangers in Fishing, this is without all doubt the most ordinary and greatest.

In fine, the expert Divers remain commonly under Water half an hour, others are no less than a good quarter of an hour. They do no more but hold their breath, without using for that purpose, either Oil; or any other Liquor. Custom and Nature having indued them with that power, which all the Art of Philosophers hath not been able to this day to communicate to us.

When they perceive they can hold no longer, they pull the Rope to which their Sack is fastened, and tie themselves very fast to it by their hands. Then
the

the two Assistants that are in the Bark hoist them aloft into the Air, and unload them of what they have got, which is sometimes five hundred Oysters, sometimes fifty, or an hundred only, according to their good, or bad luck. Amongst the Divers, some rest a little to refresh themselves in the Air; others do not require it, and incontinently plunge again into the Water, continuing in that manner this violent Exercise without respite, for they feed but twice aday, once in the Morning, before they put to Sea, and in the Evening when Night forces them to make to Shoar.

It is upon this Shoar where they unload all the Barks, and the Oysters are carried into a great many little pits digged in the Sand, about five or six Foot Square. The heaps they throw in rises sometimes to the height of a Man, and look like a company of little Huts, that one would take at a distance for an Army ranged in Batalia.

They leave the Oysters in this manner till such time as the Rain, Wind, or Sun forces them to open of themselves; which soon kills them, the meat corrupts and grows dry, and they pull out the Pearls very easily, so that they all fall into the Pit. According as they pull out the Mother of Pearl, so they call the Shells; on the outside like *those* of your common Oysters; but within more like Silver, and more glittering: the largest are near as big as your Hand; the meat is very delicate, and if the Perls there found be according to the Opinion of some Physicians, certain Stones that are bred by the ill Constitution of the Oysters Body, as it happens in Men, and in the *Bezoar*. This Distemper does not sensibly alter the humours thereof, at least the *Paravas* that eat of them find not any difference between those that have Pearls, and *those* that have none.

When

When they have cleansed the Ditch of its most gross filth, they sift the same over and over again, to separate the Pearls from it. Nevertheless, what care soever they take, abundance of them are lost, and altho' they return often thither, yet they still find them in a pretty considerable number, some years after the fishing.

And this is all, Sir, that respects the Place, and ordering of this rich Fishing. I shall add some other particulars, that will serve more fully to inform you of the Nature and Quality of Pearls.

They are found scattered here and there in the whole substance of the Oyster, in the Vail that covers it, in the circular Muscles that terminate there in the Ventricle, and in general in all the Carnous and Musculous parts. So that it is not probable that they be in the Oyster, what the Eggs are in the Hen, and spawn in Fish. For besides, that Nature hath not determined them any particular place for to be formed in. Anatomists who have carefully examined this matter, can discover nothing that hath any analogy with that which happens in respect of other Animals.

One may nevertheless, say that whereas there are in a Pullet, an infinite number of Eggs in form of Seed, one of which grow and augment, whilst the others remain in a manner in the same State. So likewise in each Oyster, may be commonly observed one Pearl bigger, better formed, which sooner comes to perfection than all the rest. But this Pearl hath no fixed place, and it is sometimes in one place, and sometimes in another. Yea, and it sometimes so falls out that this Pearl becomes so big, that it hinders the Mother of Pearl to close, and then the Oyster dies and corrupts.

The Number of the Pearls is no less indefinite, oftentimes all the meat of the Oyster is set thick with them, but it is a rare thing to find more than Two of them of any tolerable bigness.

They are all naturally White, more or less according to the Quality of the Mother. The Yellow and the Black are extraordinary Rare and of small Value; yet *Tavernier* reports, that he had Six of them given him in the Indies that were perfectly Black, resembling Jet, and much esteemed in the Country. If this Author doth not intend to impose upon us in this Point, as he doth in many others, perhaps he was deceived himself: however it is most certain, that all along the Coast of *La Pescherie*, they make no account of them, and the Fishermen themselves throw them away as good for nothing.

This variety of Colours is without doubt caused in the Pearls, by the different parts of the Oyster where they are formed; so that when Chance or Nature hath directed the Seed into the Misentery and Liver, or rather into the parts that are instead of them. (For there hath been observed in an Oyster a Cavity large enough, where are discovered two Overtures, that terminate at two small Membranes, where the Chyle is chiefly purified, and discharges it self of all its gross Particles; the Intestines of this Animal not being accompanied with Lacteal and Mesariac Veins.) When, I say, the part is inclosed in these Cavities, the Bile and impurities of the Blood may very well alter the natural whiteness, and make them either yellow or black, so likewise one may observe that these Pearls are not transparent, but sullied, and loaden with a gross substance.

As to what relates to their exterior Form, it is sufficiently known, seeing they are as common in *Europe* as in the *Indies*. Their different Figure gives them different names; so we say, a Pearl in *Point*, or
in

in Pear; *Oval Pearl*, *Round Pearl*, *Barroque Pearl*, that is, flat on one side and round on the other; one may add *Irregular Pearl*, for some of them are found with a many little Angles, gibbous, flat, and generally in all sorts of Figures.

Upon the whole, if it be a difficult thing to give an account how Pearls grow in Oysters, it is no less difficult to understand the manner how Oysters are generated in the Sea. Some say it fares with this sort of Fish as with all others, that produce Eggs, the exterior substance whereof, soft at first, and viscus, grows hard at last by degrees, and turns to a Shell. What the *Paravas* have observed, and which I will inform you deserves to be carefully minded.

At the times when Rain falls, the Brooks of the adjacent Lands, that empty themselves all along the West, flow near two Leagues upon the surface of the Sea without mixing with it: This Water does thus swim above some time, keeping its natural colour, but it clots afterwards by the heat of the Sun, which reduceth it into a kind of light transparent Cream. Soon after it is divided into an infinite number of parts, every one of which seems animated, and moves up and down like so many little Insects. The Fish sometimes catch some of them as they float, but as soon as they taste of them they quickly leave them.

Of what Nature soever these Minute Animals may be, certain it is, that they Engender upon the surface of the Water; their Skin grows thick, hard, and becomes last of all so ponderous, that they descend by their own proper weight to the bottom of the Sea. The *Paravas* do moreover assure us, that they assume at last the form of an Oyster.

This is a System whereof the Vertuoso's did probably never dream, which Experience hath discovered to the Barbarians; and in effect, it is in these places

places only that Pearl is found, and the rainiest Years proveth likewise the best for Fishing.

I shall add moreover, to undeceive those who are wedded to that Opinion of the Ancients, that Oysters remain always at the bottom of the Sea. Formerly it was believed they rose every morning up to the surface of the Water, and that they open'd their *Nacre* or Shell to receive in the Dew of Heaven, which like a melted Pearl insinuated it self into the Meat of the Oyster; was fix'd by means of its Salts, and there at last assumed the colour, figure, and hardness of Pearls; not much unlike some certain Liquors that are transmuted into Crystals in the Earth, or as some Flowers are transformed into Honey and Wax in the Bee-Hives. All this is Ingenious and pretty: but the worst of it is, 'tis all false; for these Oysters are strongly fastened to the rock, and never did any Fisher see one to float upon the Superficies of the Water.

Notwithstanding, Pearls are found in several Places, yet *those* of *La Pefcherie* are the most valued. for they never lose their Lustre; others turn Yellow, or of a Pale decayed White. As to the true Value, it is very hard to determin any thing for certain; the biggest of all that was found in the last Fishing, was sold but at Six Hundred Crowns.

I have sometimes asked the Divers, if they did not now and then find Coral at the bottom of the Sea; they answered, that they being for the most part busied in what concerns seeking for Pearl, took no great notice of any thing besides, that nevertheless, they found from time to time, Branches of Black Coral; there is some of it, added they, which altho' it be pretty hard at the bottom of the Water, yet becomes much more so, when it hath been some time exposed to the Air. But the greatest part of it hath acquired, even in the Sea, all its natural Hardness.

ness. It sticks fast to the Rocks, and when we cast Anchor in Foggy-weather, it often happens that our Anchor catches hold on some Branches of Black Coral, and brings along with it whole Trees; but it is very rare to find any Red Coral all along the Coast of *La Pescherie*.

I shall here make a Reflection that not many have made; *viz.* that the Coral-Tree hath no Root: Some of it was shown in *Rome*, in Father *Kercher's* *Musæum* that sprung out of several Stones; some of them have been after that pull'd away, and the Coral had not only no Root, but was not so much as tied by any Fibre, or any the least Filament whatsoever. There also was seen several Branches of Coral issuing from a *Nacre* of Pearl; and in Cardinal *Barbarin's* Closet, there is still to be seen a Shrub of Coral, whose Foot is Black, the Trunk White, and the very Top of all Red.

Thus doth Nature, in disport her self in the great Abyss, as well as in the other parts of the Universe, by the Production of prodigious Numbers of Things equally Profitable, and Precious, which she bestows not to excite and irritate Mens Concupiscence, or to foment their sottish Pride; but to serve them for Ornaments, as Reason, and the Decency of every State requires, or permits.

Nay, perhaps, Sir, these Beauties of the Universe were created, not so much to adorn the Body, as to exercise the Mind: *Reliquit Mundum disputationi eorum.* For of all natural Pleasures, the most innocent, and substantial, without all doubt is the study of Nature, and the Consideration of the Marvels it contains in its Womb. When one hath once run over the Ground-work of Divine Wisdom, and penetrated into the Mysteries of it; this general View of so many Beauties, hath more powerful Charms, and begets in our Spirit, a more taking and affecting Image
and

and Representation, than all that the Senses and Passions are ever able to present to us.

You know it, Sir, better than any Body; you I say, who by your particular Study, and your continual Correspondence with the Learned, have acquired in so short Time, so many Notions in all the different kinds of Erudition; and certainly, that constant Application that you every Day afford, in reference to the perfection of Arts and Sciences, sufficiently declares that nothing can more profitably and pleasantly take up the Time of a Gentleman and honest Man.

But what is still more singular, you sanctifie all this Knowledge, by the good Improvement you make of it. You bring it, I may so say, to the Sanctuary; you make use of it in the Pulpit of Truth, to make our Mysteries more intelligible, and not satisfied with the ordinary Philosophy and Eloquence, you do thereby become a Christian Philosopher, and an Evangelical Orator. I am with all respect,

S. I R,

Your most humble

and most obedient Servant.

L J.

F I N I S.

Books Printed for *Benj. Tooke*, at the *Middle-Temple-Gate* in *Fleetstreet*.

Fables of *Æsop* and other eminent Mythologists; with Morals and Reflections. By *Sir Roger L' EStrange*. Folio.

Sir Richard Baker's Chronicle of the Kings of *England*, from the time of the *Roman* Government unto the Death of *K. James I.* whereunto is added, the Reigns of *K. Charles I.* and *K. Charles II.* The Ninth Impression, Corrected. Folio.

A New Theory of the Earth, from its Original to the Consummation of all Things: wherein the Creation of the World in six Days, the Universal Deluge, and the General Conflagration, as laid down in the Holy Scriptures, are shewn to be perfectly agreeable to Reason and Philosophy: With a large Introductory Discourse concerning the Genuine Stile and Extent of the *Mosaick* History of the Creation. By *W. Whiston*, M. A. Chaplain to the Right Reverend the Bishop of *Norwich*, and Fellow of *Clare-Hall* in *Cambridge*.

Books newly Printed for *Sam. Buckley*, at the *Dolphin* in *Fleetstreet*.

Christianity not Mysterious: or, A Treatise shewing, That there is nothing in the Gospel contrary to Reason, nor above it; and that no Christian Doctrine can be properly called a Mystery. By *Mr. Foland*. The Second Edition enlarged, in *Octavo*. Price 2 s.

The French Perfumer, teaching the several ways of Extracting the Odours of Drugs and Flowers, and making all the Compositions of Perfumes for Powder, Wash-balls, Essences, Oils, Wax, Pomatum, Paste, Queen of *Hungary's* Water, *Rosa Solis*, and other Sweet Waters: The manner of Preparing sweet Toilets, Boxes, &c. with the Preparations and Use of Perfumes of all kinds whatsoever. Also how to Colour and Scent Gloves and Fans; together with the secret of Cleansing Tobacco, and Perfuming it for all sorts of Snuff, *Spanish*, *Roman*, &c. Done into English from the Original printed at *Paris*. The Second Edition, corrected from all the Faults that happened in the first. 12°. Price 1 s.

Latitudinarius Orthodoxus. 1. In Genere, de fide in Religione Naturali, Mosaica & Christiana. 2. In particulari de Christianæ Religionis Mysteriis accefferunt Vindiciæ Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ & *D. Arthuri Bury*. Twelves. Price 2 s.

