



AN
ACCOUNT
OF THE

Empire of CHINA,
Historical, Political, Moral and Religious.

A short DESCRIPTION of that Empire, and Notable Examples of its Emperors and Ministers.

Also an Ample Relation of many remarkable Passages, and things worth observing in other Kingdoms, and several Voyages.

There are added the Decrees of Popes, and Propositions defin'd at Rome for the Mission of China; and a Bull of our most Holy Father Clement X. in favour of the Missioners.

Written in Spanish by the R. F. F. Dominick Fernandez Navarette, Divinity Professor in the College and University of St. Thomas at Manila, Apostolick Missioner in China, Superior of those of his Mission, and Procurator General at the Court of Madrid for the Province of the Rosary in the Philippine Islands, of the Order of Preachers.

Vol. I.

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THE
AUTHOR
 TO THE
READER.

THERE is no doubt but he who writes and aspires to the Name of an Historian, is oblig'd in the first place, to shield and guard himself with Truth, and the Sincerity of what he designs to expose to the Eyes of all Men, otherwise he will gain the Title of a fabulous Author. S. Isidorus lib. 1. orig. cap. 40. says thus, History is a Relation of a thing transacted, by which those things that were done in Times past are known: It is call'd History either from seeing or knowing; for among the Antients no Man writ History but he who had been present, and seen those things that were to be writ.

If he who takes Pen in hand is not an Eye-witness, or is not fully inform'd of what he commits to writing, but only relies on and trusts to other Mens Accounts, which he credits without examining into them, his Reputation will certainly be in danger, and the Sincerity of his Work be call'd in question. Thales being ask'd, How far distant is Truth from Falshood? answer'd, A wise Man was of opinion, that as far as the Eyes are from the Ears. Cornelius à Lapide in cap. 1. Isai. ingeniously says, That those things are undoubtedly true, which a Man sees with his Eyes, not those he hears with his Ears. What the Eyes see may be affirm'd with safety, what is heard is told with mistrust and apprehension. S. Jerom Epist. ad Delid. says, There is a difference in relating those things which are seen, and those which are heard, and therefore he that has seen may write more certainly. Being wholly govern'd by these Principles, I resolv'd not to make account in this Work of any thing but what I have seen, read, and has gone through my hands. The Penalty he incurs who does not stick to Truth in all Particulars, is, not to be believ'd when he speaks true. Aristotle being ask'd, What benefit Liers reap'd? answer'd, Not to

be believ'd when they speak Truth. S. Jerom Epist. ad Jul. says, That Credit is not given to Liers when they speak Truth. Ecclus. 34. 4. speaks to the same purpose, What Truth will be spoke by a Lier? A Punishment justly due to such as are govern'd by their own Fancies or Imaginations, or aspire to gain Applause by Fictions and Dreams. Laertius lib. 1. cap. 5. says thus, That this was the Punishment of Cassandra, Priam's Daughter, who practis'd the Art of Divination, not to be believ'd when she foretold the Ruin of her Country. This Woman by her false Stories got such an ill Reputation, that she was not believ'd when she truly foretold the Destruction of her Country.

It cannot be deny'd, but that many false Accounts have been sent into Europe, as well of China as other parts of Asia; for the Missioners themselves who are well acquainted with those Parts, and are Eye-witnesses, unanimously confess and affirm it. My own Knowledge and Experience, what I have seen and discours'd with others upon several occasions, are sufficient to make me agree with them, and assert the same; so that I shall with safety keep at a great distance from what some Persons have publish'd in these Parts.

My design was to have first publish'd the Ancient and Modern Controversies that have been in the Chinese Mission from its first beginning, till the Year 1669. as being a more necessary and advantageous Subject. But some Persons thought this Work ought to be immediately committed to the Press, because some Points in it help to make many Difficulties more intelligible that are to be handled hereafter, as also because it treats of common Affairs.

I do not question but the Language is plain, and like a Man that has spent 24 years in studying strange Languages, and those very different from any in Europe. The Subject is uncommon, and therefore diverting, yet
 withal

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withal beneficial and profitable, which ought always to be aim'd at. S. Isidorus cap. 40. of the Book abovementioned, says thus, The Histories of Nations do not hinder the Readers from making their Advantage of what is profitable in them: For many wise Men committed to Histories the past Actions of Men for the Instruction of the present.

The delight many take in reading History as well as other things, cannot but be commended. Fasciculus Temporum, fol. 3. has these words: It is therefore very advantageous to know many Histories, and be well acquainted with them, that we may be able to follow the good Examples of others, and shun the bad. The Chinese teach the same Doctrine. What I write may be apply'd to all those Uses, this is all I aspire to; and tho I attain not my End, yet my Labour deserves to be stil'd profitable. Salvianus in Pœfat. says, At least it is not unprofitable to attempt to do good. And Plinius Jun. lib. 2. Epist. 5. has these words; And I would have these things taken, not as if I had compass'd my Design, but as if I had Labour'd to compass it. And Lib. 6. Epist. 17. he says further, And truly I am wont to honour and imitate all Men that perform any thing in Study. Do you therefore Reader, accept of my Labour and good Wishes, and wink at my Faults.

Some Particulars to be observ'd in these Books.

1. **I**T is well known there is no such Method to be found in what the Philosopher Confucius taught, and his Disciples writ after him, as other antient Philosophers observe: They are all loose Sentences, not confin'd to any particular Subject: However being but a mere Translator in this Particular, I follow his Steps without deviating in the least.

2. So in translating the Chinese Book call'd, The Mirror of the Soul, I observe the Author's Method, which is the cause that one and the same Sentence is several times repeated: But in regard we sometimes see the same in European Authors, I do not look upon it as an Objection of consequence, or so considerable as to oblige me to alter its Order, especially because my design is no other but to make known what Light of Nature a Nation so remote from Conversation and Commerce with all others as China is, has had for so many Ages. This we have taken notice is the cause why some Points relating to one and the same Virtue are divided into several

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parts; but in my opinion it is better not to deviate from the Method those Authors follow, whose Doctrine we write, than to reduce it to a certain number of Chapters.

3. It is to be observ'd, that other Nations must not look upon those things as incredible, which are peculiar to any one in particular; otherwise only what we see in our own Countries would be true, and all the rest fabulous, which is unreasonable. We must not be govern'd by Passion, or private Affection, but by Reason and the Understanding, which we know does not comprehend all that is in the World. How many years did a certain Philosopher break his Rest to learn the Nature of the Ant, and at last made nothing of it: At Macasar, as I write in the sixth Book, I saw a Child that had 24 Fingers and Toes, and was also an Hermaphrodite, two distinct monstrous Parts, perhaps seldom seen in the World in the same Creature. The first Part has infallible Examples of its Truth, one in 2 Sam. 21. 20. where was a Man of great Stature, that had on every Hand six Fingers, and on every Foot six Toes, four and twenty in number. Another is in 1 Chron. 20. 6. where was a Man of great Stature, whose Fingers and Toes were four and twenty, &c. And tho these seem to be but one and the same, yet they may pass for an Example: but I know not that there is any in antient Books of both these things together, and yet it does not follow that there is no such Monster in the World. The same I say in other respects, for not to believe them argues no want of Truth on their side, but it shows little knowledge and small acquaintance with the World. Those who are well read and curious, are siser, because they take better Measures to go by; especially those who leaving their own Country have travell'd through strange Countries, these have more lofty and universal Idea's of things; they are less surpriz'd, and make a different Judgment of what they hear or read, without rashly judging that doubtful and uncertain, which is new to them. True it is, he that writes submits his Labour to the Judgment of the Multitude, who are wont to be more ready to condemn, because they are less capable of understanding. S. Thom. opusc. 27. writes thus, Thence it comes that many unexperienced Persons upon slight Consideration easily speak their Mind. The only Remedy in this case is, not to mind what they say.

I sometimes give my Opinion in cases to appearance not belonging to my Profession, wherein I follow the Doctrine of our Silvester verb. Concil. Tract. 2. and of Cajetan 2. 2. q. 45. art. 3. ad 3. Upon which you may also read the Learned F. Sylveira tom. 5.

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To the Reader.

in Evangel. lib. 4. cap. 4. quæst. 2. & 3. Besides, to speak to any business, it is enough that a Man has Knowledge and Experience of it, which is absolutely necessary, according to Tully 11. de Orat. That the main thing in Counsel was to know the Commonwealth. And Tacitus in Agric. expresses it yet better, Men acquainted with the Manners and Designs of the Province. He who has gain'd especial and particular knowledge of some Points by Experience, may freely and without apprehension speak to them, especially where there are those who pretend to be heard like Oracles, without any other reason for it, but that Fortune has made them to be fear'd, so that no body dares oppose their Opinions or Fancies.

5. I now and then, as occasion offers, undertake to plead the Cause of the Indians in the Philippine Islands, as many more have done for those of America: This is tolerable because grounded on Compassion, Mercy, and the Inclination of our Kings and their Supreme Council of the Indies, who love them as their Children, and give repeated Orders every day for their Good, Innocence, Quiet, Satisfaction and Ease. There is no other fault to be found with these poor Creatures, but that which S. Peter Chrysologus found in the holy Innocents, whose only Crime was that they were born. There is no reason for all their Sufferings but their being in the World; and it is worth observing, that tho' so many pious, gracious, and merciful Orders have pass'd in favour of them, yet they have taken so little benefit. Hab. c. 1. says thus, Therefore the Law is rent, and Judgment came not unto the end, &c. So that tho' these Wretches have been several times redeem'd, yet they remain in perpetual Servitude. Salvianus lib. 6. de Provid. says thus, All Captives when once redeem'd enjoy their Liberty, we are al-

ways redeem'd and are never free. This suits well with what we speak of. To which we may add that of St. Paul, 2 Cor. 8. 13. It is a Subject deserves to be consider'd, and much Authority and a high Hand must make the Remedy work a due Effect.

6. F. Victorio Riccio a Florentine, my Companion in China, and a Man of excellent Parts, and rarely qualified for all Business, especially for the Chinese Language, in which, tho' doubtless the most difficult in the World, he made a mighty progress with much ease, in a short time writ one Tome containing an account of what relates to our Mission from its first beginning till the Year 1665. we daily expect the means to print it.

7. I sometimes in this History name some Persons, which is not by chance but design'dly; for tho' it be in speculative Affairs, it is proper to attribute them to their own Authors, and not lay them to others. Olearius in Numb. 25. on those words, Now the Name of the Israelite, &c. writes thus: It often happens the good Name of a whole Community is in danger on account of the Vices of one Member, as long as he that is guilty of those Vices is not known; therefore for the most part it is convenient to know his Name, lest the Reputation of all Men suffer for him. 'Tis true, there is no such danger upon this occasion.

8. I most readily submit all whatsoever is contain'd in this Book to the Censure and Correction of our Holy Mother the Catholick Church, and of its Universal Head the Pope, Successor to St. Peter, and Christ's Vicar, whose Faith I preach'd, and taught pure and untainted for above twelve years to the Gentiles of China, and other Nations in those parts, where I have liv'd, and through the Goodness of God hope to die.

F. Dominick Fernandez
Navarette.

BOOK

BOOK I.

Of the Original, Name, Grandeur, Riches, and other Particulars of the Great Empire of CHINA.

CH A P. I.

Of the Name of CHINA.

China.

1. **T**HE utmost Bounds of *Asia*, the noblest Part of the Universe, are the Seat of the most Glorious Empire in all natural respects, the Sun ever shines upon. We *Europeans* vulgarly give it the Name of the *Great China*; and with good reason, for it is Great in all respects, Rich, Fruitful, abounding in plenty of all things, and Powerful, as will plainly appear by the short Account I shall here give of it. But before I enter upon the Matter, it will be proper to make known its Name, and whence it is deriv'd, for the more methodical proceeding, and to follow the Example set me by many grave Authors, who before they lanch into the Account of the great Affairs of those Empires and Kingdoms they treat of, have first clear'd the Original and Etymology of their Names.

2. It is well known that the Name *China* (which the *French* and *Italians* pronounce *Cina*) is not the proper Appellative of that Empire, but a Name given it by Strangers trading thither. The *Portugueses* first took it from them, and afterwards the *Spaniards* in the *Philippine* Islands. Father *Julius Aleni* a Jesuit, in his Book written in the *Chinese* Tongue, speaking of this Subject, says, That *China* in the Language of those Strangers, signifies a Country, or Kingdom of Silk; which being there in such great plenty, those who sail'd thither to purchase this Commodity, us'd to say, Let us go to the Land of Silk, or to *China*, which signifies the same thing. Don *F. Gregory Lopez* Bishop of *Basilea*, who now governs the Church of *China*, a religious Man of our Order, and born in that Empire, affirm'd

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the same to me. *Trigaucius*, lib. 1. cap. 2. *Nava* and *Kircher*, fol. 3. seem to incline to this Opinion: The first says, *China* is the ancient *Sericana*; and the latter, that it was formerly call'd *Sina* and *Serica*.

3. *Trigaucius* adds, That he does not question but *China* is the Country of the *Hippophagi*, or *Horse-eaters*, because *Horse-flesh* is eaten throughout all that Kingdom as frequently as we eat *Beef*: But I am of Opinion it might more properly be call'd the Country of *Dog-eaters*; for tho they eat much *Horse-flesh*, they eat no less of *Asses*, and very much more of *Dogs*, as shall be said in another place. Others will have it, that the Strangers trading in *China*, compounded this Name of the two *Chinese* words, *Chi*, and *Nan*, which signify to point towards the South; and the Merchants resorting thither, coming always upon the South Coast, which the *Chineses* express'd by those two words above-mention'd, these Strangers made one of them, and call'd the Country by that Name. *F. Antony de Gouvea* a *Portuguese* Jesuit, was of this Opinion; we several times discours'd upon this Subject, and methinks it is well grounded.

4. *F. Lucena* in his History, lib. 10. cap. 3. says, The usual Salutation of the *Chineses* is *Chin*, *Chin*; which the Strangers hearing, they understood *China*, and so took that word for the Name of the Country. This carrys some resemblance of Truth to credit it, especially because the manner of the Natives accenting *Chin*, is almost as if there were an *a* with it, which made it easy to apprehend *China*, when they heard *Chin*. And tho it is true the right word those People use in saluting is not *Chin*, but *Zing*, however in

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some Parts the Country People pronounce it *Chin*. Certain it is the Name was given by Strangers; and tho they might take it from some words of the Country, yet they corrupted, and made it to signify that Empire; and this Impolition continues to this day, not only in *Europe*, but in the *East* and *West-Indies*, and many Parts of *Africk*. This may be further confirm'd by many Examples still practis'd in our own and other Countries.

5. The *Chinefe* Merchants that sail'd to *Manila*, being ask'd, who they were, and what they came for? answer'd, *Xang Lai*, that is, we come to trade. The *Spaniards*, who understood not their Language, conceiv'd it was the Name of a Country, and putting the two words together made one of them, by which they still distinguish the *Chineses*, calling them *Sangleys*. Thus have we *Europeans* corrupted many other words in those Parts: The Name of the *Philippine* Island is *Liu Zung*; the *Spaniards* corrupted the words, and call'd them *Luzon*. The City *Manila* is properly call'd *Mainila*, which signifies a Marsh or boggy Ground; our People left out the *i*, and there remain'd *Manila*. The Island the Natives term *Mino*, the *Spaniard* calls *Mindoro*. That of *Malindic*, we name *Marinduque*, *Cavit*, *Cavite*, and so of many others. The Name by which all *Asia* calls *Japan*, is *Je Pün*, which signifies the Rise of the Sun, because this Empire lies East of all that part of the World: the *Europeans* have corrupted the Name, and call it *Japan*. The Name of the Kingdom of *Coria*, is *Kao Li*; and with us it is chang'd into *Coria*. *Kiao Chi* was converted into *Cochinchina*, and *Sien Lo* into *Siam*.

6. The *Portugueses* corrupted many Names in the *East-Indies*. The Natives call an Idol *Pagabadi*, the *Portuguese* speak it *Pagode*. That which we now name the Coast of *Charamandel*, or *Caramandel*, as the *French* and *Italians* pronounce it, and runs from the City of *St. Thomas* to *Bengala*, is by the Natives called *Toromandalun*, and *Toromandora*; which denomination does not belong to any Kingdom or Country, but was the Stile of the King who was Sovereign of that Tract when the first *Portugueses* came thither: They hearing the Natives use that word to express their Prince, after changing and corrupting it, took it for the Name of the Country. They also corrupted the Names of *Tragambar*, *Nagapatan*, *Jasanapatan*, *Madrapapatan*, *Paliacate*, *Musalapatan*, and others, as I made out when I was in those Countries.

By all that has been said it appears, that in probability the same may have hapned to the Name of *China*, especially in regard that Nation does not use or own it.

7. The usual and most common Name by which those People call their Empire, both in their Books and Discourse, is *Chung Kue*, i.e. the Middle Kingdom. Formerly this Denomination was peculiar to the Province of *Ho Nan*, which is almost the Center of that Empire. From hence in process of time it communicated it self to all that Country. Others will have it, that the *Chineses* meant, their Kingdom was in the middle of all the World, being ignorant of the rest. For this reason they also term it *Tien Hia*, that is, A World, or the greatest and best part of it. They also give it another Appellation, and that common enough, calling it *Hoa Kue*, or *Chung Hoa*, signifying, A flourishing Kingdom, a Garden, a Grove, or delightful Place in the middle of the World. During the Reign of the Emperor *Xun* this Name was much in use, and is still in writing. It is very proper for that Empire, because in truth it is all a beautiful Garden, and a most delightful Grove.

8. *F. Kircher* says, *China* has no proper Name of its own, but takes it from the Emperor then reigning; yet afterwards, fol. 165. he mentions the Names *Chung Kue*, and *Chung Hoa*, which are written as proper Denominations, and not as deriv'd from Emperors. I was more surpriz'd afterwards to read the same in *Father Trigancius* his History, lib. 1. cap. 2. I cannot conceive how it comes to pass, that this Father having spent some Years in the Mission of *China*, and travell'd that Country, as he writes himself, should not distinguish between the Name of the Empire, or Kingdom, and that of a particular Reign. The Names of the Empire are ever the same, and immutable; but the Denominations of Reigns vary according to the several Families that govern: So those this Author quotes, are the Names or Surnames of Families that reign'd; as for instance, *Tang* signifies the time the Family reign'd, which was call'd *Tang Hia*, when the Family whose Name or Surname was *Hia* reign'd, and so of the rest: So that those are the Names of reigning Families, not of the Kingdom; as when we say the *Austrian* or the *Ottoman* Empire, &c. which only implies the Reign of the Family of *Austria*, or of the *Ottoman* Race. And tho we say the *Austrian* Empire, it does not imply, that therefore the Empire it self is call'd *Austria*,

stria, but *Germany*, where the House of *Austria* reigns: and thus I think this Point is sufficiently clear'd.

Cathay.

9. As for *China* being the same as *Grand Cathay*, I perceive *Trigaucius* is of that Opinion, taking it from *Paulus Venetus*. *Kircher*, fol. 47. supposes the same thing, adding, That all his Order agree in this Point; but if he has no other ground for it but that, it being false, concludes nothing. Among those of his Order in *China*, some affirm, others deny, and others are dubious concerning it; and therefore it is no easy matter to resolve which of them to follow. It is possible that the Name of *Cathay* is corrupted by the *Europeans*, which will make it a difficult matter to decide this Point. The *Muscovite* calls *China*, *Kin*, *Tai*; which Name seems to have some resemblance with *Cathay*. I think it the wisest way not to decide a matter so doubtful, and which tho it has been handled in *China*,

cannot find any grounds to incline a Man more to the one side than to the other; but to leave it dubious till some further Light can be found to lead us into it. *Nava-rette.*

10. In the History of *Tamerlan the Great*, translated into *French*, it is written that he conquered *China*, and that when he was out of this Empire, the King of *Cathay* met him with two Millions of Men. Now according to this *China* cannot be the same as *Cathay*. True it is, I do not look upon this Account to be infallibly certain, for as much as the *Chinese Annals*, which are very exact, make no mention of any such Conquest; nor can this be the same as was made by the *Western Tartar*, because it is much later than that. The Subject of this Chapter requires no further information, nor do I think there is any to be had; but this is sufficient to know somewhat of the Name *China*. At the end of this Book we shall again speak of what relates to *Tamerlan*.

C H A P. II.

Of the Antiquity of the Empire of China.

1. **T**H O all Men grant that the Empire of *China* is of very great Antiquity, yet I find some disagreement among Authors; and no small difference betwixt the Missioners, who are doubtless the best Judges in this case, as having receiv'd better Lights from the *Chinese Books*, and convers'd with the Natives. I am not ignorant that some have written that the Empire of *China* was founded before the Flood, which I do not relate as a probable Opinion, but as a Dream or Fiction, it being a Contradiction of the Holy Scripture, *Gen.* chap. 7, and 8.

Nieremberg.

2. Nor will I here insert what *F. Nieremberg* publish'd concerning the Original of *China*, because he foists in so many, and such extravagant Inventions, as cannot be outdone upon the Subject. A sufficient proof hereof is, That all those of his Society who live in *China* do make a great Jest of all he writ concerning this Matter. *F. Antony Gouvea* has a particular aversion to this Author; he censures his Writings severely, and looks upon him as unfaithful, and fabulous. If he was misled by Informations, he is the less to blame; but what I chiefly observ'd was, that on the 29th of *November*, 1661. the aforementioned *F. Gouvea* told me, That *Nieremberg* was in the wrong in writing, that the *Chinese* had made *F.*

Mathew Riccius a Classick Doctor. For tho I and all the rest of us were satisfy'd of the Mistake, yet I did not think they would have told it me so plainly. I further remark'd, that the good *F. Gouvea* looks upon the two Apparitions (the same Father says *F. Mathew Riccius* had of our Saviour, telling him, he would be assisting to him at the two Courts of *China*) as mere Dreams; and he blames *F. Julius Aleri* as the Author and Inventer of these things. And this Father being so well vers'd, and of so long a standing in that Mission, he cannot but have perfect knowledge of all these Affairs. But in my Opinion the first of these Storys is the most unlikely, for the *Chinese* would not admit of *S. Augustin* himself as a Classick Doctor, much less of *F. Riccius*, who, it cannot be deny'd, was a famous Man, and therefore does not stand in need of any forg'd Honour.

3. *F. Mendo*, lib. 1. chap. 3. writes thus: It is look'd upon as an undoubted Truth among the Natives of this Kingdom, that the Grandsons of *Noah* were the first that peopled it, after travelling out of *Armenia* to seek some Land that might please them, &c. In the 5th Chapter he repeats the same, adding, That what appears plain in the *Chinese History*, is, that ever since the Time of *Vitey*,

Nava-rette. who was the first King, that Nation has been reduced into one entire Monarchy, &c.

4. As to the Antiquity, this Author is much in the right; but we must assuredly suppose, that the *Chineses* never had any knowledg of *Noah*, nor of his Sons or Grandsons. It is generally agreed in their Books and Historys, that the first Man they can give any account of, was *Fò Hì*; they have no manner of knowledg of any time before him, which they themselves daily own to us, when we discourse of this subject, and so it appears in their Writings. I fancy too that there is no such word as *Vitey* in *China*, nor is it known to that Nation; it may perhaps be a corrupt word compounded of these two, *Vi*, *Tai*: but the Name of the first Emperor of *China*, as I have already observ'd, was not *Vi Tai*, but *Fò Hì*, as is expressly mention'd in their Books, and they all unanimously agree. And I am of Opinion there are few among them, tho they be Peasants, but know this; for as we have knowledg of our first Father *Adam*, so have they of *Fò Hì*. Nay there have been Millions who would make *Fò Hì* to be *Adam*, but that cannot agree with the *Chineses*, because their Empire has continued from the time of *Fò Hì* till now.

5. The most receiv'd Opinion is, that from this *Fò Hì* the first Emperor of *China*, till this present Year 1675, are 4559 Years; and there being since the Flood to this same Year, according to the Computation of the *Roman Martyrology*, 4632 Years, it appears, that the *Chinese* Empire had its beginning seventy two Years after the Flood, others say 113. This makes out the probability of what *F. John Ruiz* the Jesuit wrote, who is follow'd by the Fathers *Longobardo* and *Balat* of the same Society, and is, that the Great *Zoroastres* Prince of the *Baltrians*, who was the first Inventer of Magick in the East, was also the Founder of the Empire of *China*, and there left behind him his Doctrines. There is some difficulty in this, for it seems most certain that *Egypt* was peopled first, which yet was 170 Years after the Flood, as says *A Lapide* in 12 *Genesis*; see there, and *Oleaster*, *Niin*.

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6. *F. Emanuel Diaz* a Jesuit writ in the *Chinese* Language, that *Ham* the Son of *Noah* went into *China*, where he diffus'd his superstitious and wicked Doctrines, which continues to this day. This makes not against what has been said above, but rather verifies it; for it is very usual to say, *Ham* and *Zoroastres* were the same Man, as *Berosus*, lib. 3. *Burgensis*, Master *Matthias*, *Garcia de Louisa* out of *Isidorus*, the *Fasciculus Temporum*, the Lord of *rauso*, *Kircher*, and many others affirm, as shall be shewn in the second Tome: see *A Lapide*, *Exod.* 7. 6, 11. *Lactantius Firmianus de orig. err. cap. 4.* writes thus of *Ham*; *Ham flying, settled in that part of the Earth now call'd Arabia. This was the first Nation that knew not God; because its Prince and Founder receiv'd not the Worship of God, being curs'd by his Father, therefore he left the want of knowledg of a Deity to his Posterity.* This agrees very well with what has been said above. *Zoroastres* was 600 Years before *Moses*, according to the same *A Lapide*. Others would have this Empire to be more antient, but do not prove it.

7. What has been said makes out the Truth of what is written by the Fathers *Ruiz*, *Sabathino*, *Longobardo*, *Diaz*, *Gouvea*, and others of the Society, viz. That the *Chineses* from the beginning wanted the knowledg of the True God. Those who have writ and publish'd the contrary, have suffer'd themselves to be led away, rather by their Inclination, than been govern'd by their Understanding; as will plainly appear in the Book of *Chinese* Controversies, where I handle this and other Points very particularly.

8. It is therefore morally impossible absolutely to determine on what Day, Month, or Year the Empire of *China* was founded; but it is most certain that it is very antient, and that the Antiquity above mention'd is made out by their Books: tho I find some disagreement among the Missioners in the Computation, yet not so material as quite to take away, or much to lessen the Antiquity we have spoke of. Read *A Lapide* in 9 *Gen.* 6, 18. The same the *Egyptians* affirm of their Nation, the *Chineses* say of theirs.

CHAP. III.

Of the Greatness of CHINA.

Nava-
rette.

1. **I**N the first place, I give for granted that all the *Chinese* Names mention'd in his History by *Facher Mendoza*, nay and by some other Authors, are altogether deprav'd and corrupted, and therefore not intelligible, even to us who have liv'd several years in that Country, studied their Language, and read their Books: None of the Names he writes is of the *Mandarine* Language, nor can they be of any of the Languages us'd in particular Provinces, and therefore I shall never make use of any of them, but of those proper and genuine Names us'd by the learned Sect, and all the People of Judgment and Note in that Country; and this does not infer but that many others of the Commonalty do make use of them.

2. There has been much variety of Opinions touching the North Latitude of the Empire of *China*. *F. de Angelis* of *Lisbon* extends it to 48 degrees; the *Dutch* stretch farther to 52. *F. Nieremberg* goes on to 63. *Orlandinus* and *Luzena* stop not there; *F. Trigancius* lib. 1. c. 2. places it in 42. This is the Opinion I follow and approve of, because all the Missioners being assembled together in the Court of *Pekin*, we discours'd upon this Subject, and they who had liv'd there several years said, they had examin'd and found it to be so, adding some Minutes; so that the Wall which is the Bound of *China* stands in near 42 deg. 30 min. The most Southern part is the Island of *Hai Nan* (which signifies South Sea) *Trigancius* places it in 19 deg. of North Latitude; but I following some others fix it in 18, and so that Empire contains above 24 degrees of Latitude. Thus its Extent from North to South is above 420 *Spanish* Leagues, allowing 17½ to a Degree, and according to the *French* who allow 20 it is 480; but according to the *Dutch*, who assign but 15 Leagues to a Degree, the space from North to South is 360 Leagues. As to the Longitude, it is easier to differ about it, some allow it 20 degrees, others extend it to 27; however it is, that Country is near square, and the *Chinese* lay it down so in their Maps.

3. By this it appears that *China* is not so long as *F. Mendoza* represents it, lib. 1. cap. 6. nor are the Grounds he goes upon

to prove his Assertion solid, nor is it strange there should be Mistakes at first, when the Accounts from thence were imperfect; nor is it yet agreed upon to this day whether 10 Miles of *China* make a League of ours; but on the contrary, the general Opinion is, there goes 13 or 14 to a League.

4. *China* is divided into 15 Provinces, each of which in former Ages was a large, rich and populous Kingdom. I do not include in this number the Kingdom of *Tung King*, which, tho about 360 years ago was a part of *China*, yet is not so now, tho it owns a sort of Subjection to the Emperor, and the King receives his Investiture from him, as we saw it practis'd of late years. Some say the Kingdom of *Cochinchina* was part of that of *Tung King*, and that when this latter revolted from *China*, the Governour making himself King, *Cochinchina* was then actually in Rebellion, and had taken a King of its own. But I am confident in the Opinion, that it was ever a separate Kingdom: For in the Reign of *Cheu Kung*, which is above 2000 years ago, *Cochinchina* was a distinct Kingdom of it self, and its King sent Presents to the *Chinese* Emperor; and I remember he calls the Present by these Names *Chao Hien*, which signifies a Royal Present, Gift or Offering.

5. Some reckon *Leao Tung* as a Province, but it never was one; it belong'd to that of *Yan Tung*; and the *Tatars* possess'd themselves of it some years ago: Nor do I here make any mention of the Kingdom of *Coria*, nor of other Islands which pay yearly Tribute or Acknowledgment; neither do I approve of what *P. Luzena* writes, that the *Chinese* was Master of *Bata China*, for which he has no ground but the Name, whereof we have spoken before; and this is visible enough in that the Histories of *China* make no mention of that Country. In the next place, since the *Philippine* Islands, *Borneo*, *Macassar* and others known to the *Chinese*, are larger, nearer, and much more worth than *Bata China*, and yet the *Chinese* were never possess'd of them; to what purpose should they go to conquer poor unprofitable Lands very far distant from their own? Besides, which way should the *Chinese* steer their

Course

Nava-
rette.

Course to it? *Bata China* lies far South of the Islands of *Tidore* and *Terranate*, as I shall show in my last Book, which is a troublesome and dangerous Voyage, by reason of the infinite number of Islands that lie in the way, and the many Channels, Currents and Straits not known at this day to the *Chineses*.

6. I am of opinion there is no ground at all for what the same Author writes, viz. that the *Chineses* sail'd to the Island of *Zeilan* (or *Ceylon*) where he says many of them sett'd, whose Posterity are now call'd *Chingalas*; this he supposes only on account of the likeness of the Names, and because the *Chingalas* are Men of Valour. I have already said that nothing can be concluded from the Names, because they are corrupted by the *Europeans*: And the *Chingalas* being valiant Men infers the contrary to what he would prove, for they could never inherit Valour from the *Chineses*, who want it. What may be said in this matter is, that as the *Indians* of *Manila* call'd *Pampangos* are courageous and resolute, and the *Tagalos* their next Neighbours have no Heart; so in *Zeilan* or any other Province, there may be a spot of Ground may produce braver Men than any other, tho they be contiguous, and this spot may be call'd *Chingala*. If this be not enough, give me leave to ask to what purpose should the *Chineses* go to *Zeilan*? What Silks, Garments or Drugs could they vent there? What could they buy? No Cinnamon I am sure, because they have a great deal, and that very good, in the Province of *Hay Nan*, especially when they must leave behind them so many large Kingdoms where they might dispose of their Merchandize to content.

Cinnamon.

Tutucwin.

7. Others say the *Chineses* were Masters of *Tutucwin*, which Country lies East North East of *Zeilan*, but I find no likelihood of Truth in this. The *Chineses* were never Conquerors nor ambitious of possessing foreign Kingdoms, and if they had been so they might have made themselves Masters of many. Several *Portugueses* affirm that the *Chineses* traded by Sea as far as the Kingdom of *Narsinga*, and the ground they have for it is, that near the City *Calamina*, or *S. Thomas*, there is an Idol Temple call'd the *Pagod* of *China*, which I saw, and it nothing resembles those in *China*, nor can they who have seen the *Chineses* Ships be per-

swaded this is at all likely. I ask'd an ancient Native of that Country who was a Christian, and a Man of Sense, whether they had any knowledg there of *China*? He answer'd, they had not. I ask'd him concerning that Temple: He told me the Name of it was, *Ta Se Lo Na Pe Lo Mal*, which are seven Idols that are in it: He also said it was call'd *China Patalon*, which are all Expressions us'd in that Kingdom.

8. It is perfectly imposing Impossibilities upon us to maintain, as some *Portugueses* do, that the *Chineses* sail'd as far as the Island of *S. Lawrence*, or *Madagascar*; they had much better affirm they sail'd to *Suratte* and *Cambaya*, and thence to *Ethiopia* and *Persia*; but to *Madagascar*, to me seems not only morally but physically impossible. Any Man would be of the same Opinion that had sail'd those Seas, and had Experience of the terrible Storms and boisterous Winds they are subject to. If to this we add, that the *Chineses* have no use of the *Astrolabe*, or *Cross-staff* to take the Meridian Altitudes, nor are acquainted with the Latitudes or Longitudes, nor have any knowledg of the narrow Channels, that their Vessels are weak and want rigging, any Man will rather credit what I now write. How would a *Chineses* Champan weather the furious Storms about the Islands *Mauricia* and *Mascarenbas*? Nay, tho it could sail thither, what Merchandize should it carry, or what should it do at *Madagascar*? I am of the mind a Champan is not capable of carrying Water and Provision enough for that Voyage, and much less to serve home again, the return being more tedious and difficult. It is my belief that the *Chineses* never went beyond the Straits of *Sincapura* and *Sonda*; nor do I think they have any knowledg of them at this time. They sail'd to *Manila* long before the *Spaniards* went thither, which is not to be doubted, because the *Indians* affirm'd it; they also went to *Siam*, *Camboja*, *Japan*, and other places that reach'd not to the narrow Seas: So that we must take the Extent great or small of the Empire of *China* within it self, without going beyond its own Borders, which, as I said before, contains 15 great Provinces, subdivided into 150 lesser, yet there is never a one of them but is much bigger than any of those of the *Low-Countries*.

Naviga-
tion.

Provinces.

CHAP. IV.

Of the fifteen Provinces in general, and the Cities of CHINA.

Nava-
rette.

1. THE true and genuine Names of the 15 Provinces of *China* are as follows, *Pe King*, or rather *Pe Chi Li*, *Xan Tung*, *Xan Si*, *Xen Si*, *Ho Nan*, *Hu Kuang*, *Kuei Cheu*, *Ju Nan*, *Zu Chuen*, *Nan King*, *Che Kiang*, *Kiang Si*, *Kuang Si*, *Fo Kien*, and *Kuang Tung*. This last is corruptly call'd by the *Europeans* *Canton*. Every one of them has several Cities, Towns and Villages, and its Bounds set out by a fair large Stone with an Inscription on both sides, bearing these words, *Here ends such a Province, and begins the Province N.* In their Books is the number of the Cities and Towns in each Province, with the Names of them, all which I had taken Notes of, and would have insert'd here but that I cannot find the Manuscript. *F. Mendoza* has writ the whole, and perhaps I would have follow'd him in some things, had I not observ'd that he is mistaken in several Particulars he mentions concerning the Province of *Fo Kien*; he says, *lib. 1. cap. 8.* there are 33 Cities, and 99 Towns in *Fo Kien*, which is an unpardonable mistake; for *Fo Kien* is one of the least Provinces of *China*, and all Men there know it contains but 8 Cities; four of them are near the Sea, I pass'd through them all, their Names are *Chang Cheu*, *Civen Cheu*, *Hing Hoa*, and *Fo Cheu* the Metropolis; the other four are in the Inland. Another of those in the second Rank is call'd *Fo Ning*, where we have had a Church, and there have been Christians many years since: The Towns I think are not above 27, the Villages and Hamlets are innumerable, as they are in all other parts of *China*. In all other Provinces he makes the number of Towns and Cities much greater, so that adding together all his Cities he makes 591, and of Towns 1593, which is no way to be allow'd of.

Mendoza.

Fo Kien.

Cities.

2. *F. Trigaucius* cap. 2. says there are 247 Cities of inferior rank in *China*, and 1152 Towns, all which may and ought to be call'd Cities, since there is no distinction in their Walls. See *Oleaster* in *Num. 32. ad lit.* towards the end. What I could make out is as follows, there are 148 Cities of the first rank which they call *Fu*, 239 of the second call'd *Cheu*, 1149 Towns which they term *Hien*, 11 Cities of Souldiers, in which those

Military Men live, to whom they have given Lands for their Maintenance paying a small Tribute, and with them live some Vassals, for which reason they are commonly call'd Cities of Souldiers, and Vassals, *Kiun Min Fu*; 493 Castles upon the Sea Coast, some of them so populous it is much to be admir'd. We pass'd by one as we came from Court, that resembled a great City for its vast Suburbs, Populoufness, number of Boats and Trade; we were all surpriz'd and astonish'd at the sight of it. There are besides 2910 Boroughs on the Coast equivalent to Towns, as the Castles are to Cities. In these Sea Towns there are 1974 Commanders, who have all their Commissions from the Emperor.

Castles.

3. Their Boroughs, Hamlets, and Villages are so numerous that the *Chineses* do not reckon them. Some of the Villages are wonderful populous; about four Leagues from *Canton* there is one very much noted, call'd *Foxan*, I have been several times in it, and all we Missioners were there together when we came away from Court to our Banishment: It is computed to contain as many People as the Metropolis, to which some assign two Millions of Souls, others a Million and a half. Every day in the year four great Passage-Boats sail from the Metropolis to *Foxan*, all full of Passengers, and every one carries 150, besides an infinite number of small Boats hir'd by private Persons.

Villages.

4. The difference betwixt the Cities of the first and second Rank is, that the first have one Body Politick within them, which has its particular Courts and Government. Those of the second Rank have none of this, but some of the second are larger than others of the first, as there are Towns bigger than Cities. In every Metropolis there are two distinct Corporations: And besides this there is another notable Mark of Distinction, which is, that in every Metropolis there are two beautiful Towers in several Places, each nine Stories high. Every other City has one but seven Stories high, and every Town one of five.

Cities

Towns

Metropo-
lis's

5. All the Capital and lesser Cities and Towns are encompass'd with high, thick, and beautiful Walls. All the Gates I have seen are plated with Iron; the Ditches

Nava-rette. Ditches are deep and handfom. There is scarce any City or Town but what is regularly built, and feated on some mighty River, or Lake. So they are to be founded, says *S. Thomas opusc. de Reg. Prin-*

cip. Now they being regularly built, the Streets are wide, streight and even, very beautiful and orderly, wherein I am perswaded they have exceeded the *Europeans.* Thus much may suffice in general.

C H A P. V.

Of the severall Families that have reign'd in CHINA.

1. **T** Here must needs be much difficulty in deciding some Points in relating to this Empire, which has been founded so many thousands of Years. As to the matter in hand there is no great danger of erring, since I follow the *Chinese* Histories. Since the first five Emperors, there have been 22 reigning Houses, or Families; as if we should say the Houses of *Austria* or *Bowbon*, &c. All these have made 238 Emperors, besides some few whose Reigns were very short. No mention is made of such as these, says *Hugo Cardinalis* in *1 Judit. V. 2.* I shall give some account of the greatest and most renowned of them in the following Book. There was no proportion in the time of those Families continuance, one lasted 400 Years in a continued Succession from Father to Son; another 500; a third to 600; and one extended to 800, which was the longest of any. The last before the coming in of this *Tartar* Family, reign'd somewhat above 260 Years. All that while this Empire enjoy'd a profound Peace, but all was utterly subverted in a few Years. We might say of *Cbina* as *Philo the Jew*, in his Book *Quod Deus est Immortalis*, said of the *Persian* Empire; *Before the Rise of the Macedonians, great was the Prosperity of the Persians, but one Day put an end to a mighty Kingdom.*

2. By what has been said, which is beyond all controversy, it appears, they did not rightly inform *F. Mendoza*, who gave him an Account of the Emperors of *China*. He handles this Matter, *Lib. 3. cap. 1.* where he sets down so many Names of Emperors as is amazing. Among other things he says, there were 106 Kings of the Race of *Vitey*, who reign'd 2256 Years. I have already said *Fo Hi* was the first Emperor and not *Vitey*, and that the longest continuance of the Crown in any Family was 800 Years, which all the School-boys in *China* know, because it is written in their Primmers; and therefore in these particulars I shall write not what others have written before me, but what I

have read and receiv'd from the Learned Men of *China*.

3. All the Reigns we have spoke of were Tyrannical, tho the Kings were Natives, excepting only this Family now in being, and another call'd *Sung Chao*, which were both Strangers, the latter coming from the *West*, and the other from the *East*. *F. Mendoza* writes that *Sung Chao* govern'd 90 Years, and us'd the *Sung* Natives tyrannically, making Slaves of them: But he is out in both, for he reign'd but 60 Years, and gave such content, that the *Chineses* even at this day applaud, and bestow high Commendations on him. In process of time a long Possession, and the Love of the Subjects, it is likely mended their Title, as has hapned in other Countries and Families. And *Suarez*, *lib. 3. cont. Reg. Angl. cap. 2. n. 20.* says, *It often happens that a Kingdom is possess'd by unjust War, but then it comes to pass, that in process of time, either the People freely give their Consent, or else the Heirs govern the Kingdom with Moderation, and then Tyranny ceases, and a lawful Government begins.* But certain it is, Infidels will not be nice in this Point. A Millioner was us'd to say, that all the Emperors that ever were in *China*, were rightful and lawful, because it was settled and agreed that the Strongest should carry it, and consequently every *Chinese* in the Empire had a Title to it. I never lik'd this Doctrine, which he only grounded upon his own Opinion and Fancy, contrary to the general Sentiments of that Empire, and its Laws.

4. The Family now reigning is call'd *Zing Chao*, that is, a pure and unspotted Reign. The Emperor's Name is *Kang Hi*, that is, Joy, Repose, Peace, and Tranquillity. It cannot be deny'd but that he governs with some severity: He is hated by the Natives, which is not to be wonder'd at, because he is a Stranger, and his Nation is look'd upon as barbarous by the *Chineses*. This alone was sufficient to have made him odious, tho there had not been besides such a mighty

Quan-

Quantity of Blood shed as was in the Conquest ; besides many Cruelties and Disasters that attended him. The *Chineses*, if they were unanimous, might with great ease destroy him : But it seems God made use of the *Tartar*, as an Instrument to crush the Pride of the *Chineses*, as his Divine Majesty has often done to other powerful Kingdoms. Let such as are curious read *S. Thomas, lib. 3. cap. 7. de Reg. Princ.* where he will find this plainly made out. In the 8th Chapter the Saint shows how God uses to punish those very Men he has made use of as his Instruments for the Purposes above-mention'd ; and so perhaps the *Tartar* may have his Deserts in a short time. To this effect see *A Lapide* in 14 *Gen. v. 5.* in 14 *Exod. v. 1, 25.* and *Oleaster* in 14 *Numb.*

Tartars
that con-
quered.

5. The Missioners do not agree about the *Tartars* Title, I shall discuss this Point among the Controversies ; but it will be convenient in this place to make it known in some measure who these *Tartars* are. I find many suppose them to be the same that make War on the *Poles*, the *Muscovites*, and others in that part of the World, which is a gross Mistake. The *Chineses* call them *Ta Zu*, and divide them into the *Eastern* and *Western*, and so distinguish them by the two words *Tung* and *Si*, signifying *East* and *West*, tho the *Eastern* lie North-East of *China*, which is little to our purpose, especially in regard the North-East is towards the Eastern quarter. The *Chineses* ever looked upon all these *Tartars* as a rude, wild, and barbarous People ; and so when they would say a Man is a *Barbarian*, they call him *Ta Zu*.

East Tar-
tars.

6. Here I take it for granted, that *Muscovy* is six months Journey distant from *China*, as we were given to understand by the Ambassadors the *Muscovite* sent some Years since to the *Chinese*. In this Interval there are Desarts, high Mountains, deep Valleys, and mighty Rivers, whence may be gather'd how far it is to those we call *Tartars* of *China*, who inhabit near the great Wall. It is agreed on all hands that their Kingdom is small, Mountainous, full of Woods, but abounds in Cattel and wild Beasts. It is call'd *Ning Kue Ta*, by which the *Chineses* express, a Kingdom of Mountains, rustick and wild People : They have no Houses or Buildings, the People live in Dens and Cottages ; of late they have begun to build after the *Chinese* manner. They were always Robbers, and continually infested *China*, plundering Towns and Villages. They have great multi-

tudes of Horses, are themselves good Horsemen, and skilful Archers. These *Tartars*, so we will call them, never were possess'd of *China*, as *F. de Angelis* has writ. He was also deceiv'd in placing them in 73 Degrees of North Latitude. As for their Religion, the same Author says, They acknowledg one God in Heaven, and another upon Earth ; as also the Immortality of the Soul, which I suppose he took from *F. Mendoza*. But whence they both had it I know not, for even at this time, tho that People is better known and discover'd, we can say nothing with certainty of them, saving that they incline of late to follow the Sects of *China*, and are much given to worshipping of Idols.

Nava-
rette.

7. This present *Tartar* who reigns in *China*, and his Father, have been the most fortunate Men in the World, especially if he that is now living knows how to keep what he inherited. But this is no easy matter, Fortune is very inconstant ; one day Man is rais'd to the height of Power, and the next he is cast down into an Abyss of Misery. Nothing that is violent is lasting ; see *Oleaster* in 21 *Num. in fin. exposit. moral.* This World is like the ebbing and flowing of the Sea, said *Philo, lib. quod Deus est immut.* I am very well satisfy'd no Potentate in the World is greater than this. He is peaceably possess'd of the fifteen Provinces we have spoken of, his own Kingdom *Leao Tung*, a great part of *Coria*, whence he draws a good quantity of Silver, besides many Kingdoms that are tributary to him. I know no Prince in the World that has such large Dominions together, so many Subjects, and such vast Riches. It cannot be deny'd but the *Mogul* is a mighty Prince, his Empire very large ; that he is powerful, and has Kings that pay him Tribute, as does he of *Golocondar* ; that he is at this time, not only Sovereign of his own Kingdom, but of the Empire of *Narsinga* ; yet I am fully perswaded he has not half so many Subjects as the *Chinese*, nor near the Revenue : But be it as it will, my business is not here to make Comparisons, but only to shew how great the *Chinese* is, and hereupon every one may make such judgment as he shall think fit.

Largeness
of its pre-
sent Empire.

8. Enough has been writ concerning the Irruption of the *Tartars* into *China*, and how in so short a time they made themselves Masters of it. *F. Martin Martinez* publish'd a small Book upon this Subject, I have it by me in *Latin*, and translated into *Spanish*. I have read nei-

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*Narr-
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ther, nor have I any inclination to it, for reasons I shall give hereafter: I suppose they agree in substance, tho' in some Circumstances not very material, I find there is difference and disagreement. I will write what I heard of the Court of *Pe King*, from the Millioners and others of the Natives. To pretend to make Monarchies Eternal, is like sailing against the Wind. Which of them was ever permanent? None. Read the Sacred and Profane Histories, and it will appear, that to mount to the greatest height, is but to begin to fall. Even now in our own Days we experience this Truth, without being necessitated to have recourse for Examples to the *Assyrians, Medes, Greeks, and Romans*. It was a good Saying of a Modern Author, much applauded by Preachers: When any thing is lifted up to a great height, you may know its downfall and ruin is at hand.

9. *China*, which was nothing inferior to those Monarchies we have mention'd, tho' less known to the *Europeans*, rose to the height of Majesty, Grandeur, and Wealth; it is plain then, it could not plead a singular Privilege beyond all the World. A little Worm destroy'd and consum'd the Verdure and spreading Creatness of the Prophet *Jonas* his Ivy-tree. So a Robber burnt, and pull'd up the delightful and flourishing Garden of *China*, he was like a flash of Lightning that fir'd and defaced all that Beauty.

10. Certain it is the *Chinese* Emperor hang'd himself upon a Tree; and very credible Persons told us at *Pe King*, as a thing out of dispute, that he himself first hang'd a Daughter he had, and his first Wife. Consider what a dismal Spectacle that was! What trouble must it raise in the Hearts of Men to see such Fruit upon three Trees! So great a Monarch and Emperor, an Empress and their eldest Daughter hung by the Boughs. O Inconstancy of worldly Prosperity! O wonderful changes of Fortune! O uncertainty of all that is Temporal! Seven thousand pieces of Cannon lay on the Walls of that renowned and beautiful City, as the Inhabitants affirm'd, and above four Millions of Souls inhabited that mighty Metropolis. The Emperor liv'd within nine Walls; numerous Guards did Duty at his Gates, Counsellors, Ministers and Servants attended him in vast Numbers, and nothing of all this could avail to save the Lives of those wretched Carcasses.

11. It is universally allow'd that the Robber spent eight Days, tho' some say

but five, in conveying the Gold, Silver, Jewels, and other Riches, from the Palace in Carts, upon Camels, Horses, and Mens Shoulders; and that nevertheless there remain'd considerable Riches in the Royal Treasury, which afterwards the *Tartar* seiz'd upon. It is also agreed on all hands that infinite Numbers dy'd, and there is no doubt but many were their own Executioners.

12. Some blame the Emperor for living too retir'd, they say he never went out of his Palace. They also tax him with Covetousness. His Predecessors heap'd vast Treasures, and he increas'd them considerably, and he knew not for whom he gathered. Others blame the Eunuchs for not acquainting him with what was in agitation: I am of opinion they were all faulty.

13. *Usan Kuei* General of the Fron- Usan Kuei. tiers, a most faithful and loyal Subject to his Sovereign Lord the Emperor, but ill advis'd, to revenge the Mischiefs that Robber had done, crav'd Aid and Assistance of him that ever was a declar'd and mortal Enemy of *China*; he invited the *Tartar*, and made use of a Tiger to be reveng'd of a Wolf. The *Tartar* joyfully embraced the Offer, he immediately rais'd an Army of 80000 Horse, and swelling with it, trampled down all *China*, which he already look'd upon as a Prey expos'd to his barbarous Fury. He join'd *Usan Kuei*, and with their united Force they pursued the Robber, slew an infinite number of People, recover'd the rich Booty he carri'd; and tho' the Rebel with some of his Followers escap'd, yet the *Tartar* remain'd victorious, and more proud and arrogant than before. In order to put in execution what he had before contriv'd, he resolv'd to go to *Pe King*, and entred the Court, the Gates being laid open to him; where making use of Force, he possess'd himself of all, without any better Title than mere Tyranny and Usurpation. *Usan Kuei* was quite astonish'd and confounded to see how he was impos'd upon by the ill Measures he had taken; for what could be worse than to call in thousands of Robbers to reduce one? and his Force being inferior to the Enemys, he durst not encounter him. What afterwards hapned in the Conquest of the whole Empire, the Slaughters, the Blood that run about the Fields, the Robberies, the Outrages, the miserable Cries and Complaints which pierced the Clouds, have not perhaps been paralleled throughout the World. Millions of *Chinese* were put to death, vast numbers slew them-

*Sub. to. 1.
1. 2. 3.
9. 2. 7.*

*1. of Revo-
lution.*

Riches.

themselves, to avoid falling into the hands of the savage *Tartars*. Many Cities and Towns were left desolate. The Men fled to the Mountains, and thought not themselves secure in the Caves. The Women, who are as reserv'd and modest as the strictest Nuns in *Europe*, ran about the Fields weeping and tearing their Hair, flying from the Scourge that pursued them. Many Virgins cast themselves into Rivers and Wells, thinking, through a mistaken Zeal, it was lawful, by that means to shun their shame and the loss of their Chastity.

Modesty of the Women.

14. That Thunderbolt overrun all *China* with Fire and Sword, and left not a foot of Land unconsum'd; so that in the year 58, when I entred upon that Mission, the *Tartar* was absolute Lord of the whole, except a few Holes which he soon subdued. There were such multitudes of Men slain at the taking of some Cities, and particularly the Capital of *Fo Kein*, that the dead Bodys heap'd together equal'd the height of the Wall, and serv'd the *Tartars* instead of Ladders to mount up and possess themselves of the City. This was affirm'd to me for a Truth, when I pass'd through that place, and they show'd me the Curtain of the Wall, which was of a considerable height, that the dead Bodys had been heap'd against.

Slaughter.

15. In *China* were verifi'd the words of the first Chapter of the first of *Macchab.* According to its Glory its Disgrace is multiplied, and its Lossiness is turn'd into Mourn-

ing. And that of the 5 *Chap. v. 11.* fits in this place, *She that was free, is become a Slave.* Let no Man confide in his own Power, or forget to stand upon his Guard, because he is Rich, Great, and Mighty. It is absolutely necessary to be diligent and watchful, especially when the Enemy is at hand; too much Precaution or Diffidence cannot be hurtful, too much Security may. The *Chineses* even in my time liv'd in hopes that *V. San Kuei* would still stand up for his Country, his Credit, and Reputation, and endeavour to make amends for those Losses and Destructions caus'd by his oversight, and ill conduct; but now considering his great Age, their Expectation is vanish'd. I could not but think he has been the cause of infinite Mischiefs. The *Tartar* was ever upon his Guard, and jealous of this Commander; thrice he endeavour'd by fair means to draw him to Court, which had secur'd all Danger that might be in him. He in not going, behav'd himself with more wisdom than he had done before. We shall speak of the *Tartar* in another place, thus much suffices at present. But because this did not satisfy a great Friend of mine, who thought it requisite I should enlarge upon this Point, I resolv'd to do so, and write a particular Chapter upon this Subject, which is the last but one of the last Book; there the Reader will find what was omitted in this place.

Navarrette.

CHAP. VI.

A further Account of the Grandeur of the Chinese Empire.

1. FOR the more regular proceeding, we will here treat of the two Courts now frequented and famous in *China*, without meddling with others in several Provinces where many antient Emperors resided.

2. The Southern Court, for this very Reason call'd *Nan King*, is most renowned in those parts, tho the Emperors have not these many Years resided there. I never was within it, but have often times hear'd some Missioners, who liv'd there several Years, and other judicious Christians talk of its greatness. As we went from Court to Banishment, we came to an Anchor very near to its first Wall, where we lay some days. The Wall is high, beautiful, and of a goodly Structure, and the first I ever saw of that sort. It has no Battle-

Nan King.

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ments as is usual, but runs in the nature of a Scollop-Lace, as is us'd in some Buildings in *Spain*. The whole is very graceful to behold, and the *Chineses* say its Circumference is 160 of their Miles, which, according to some of the Missioners computation, make 16 *Spanish* Leagues, and according to others 13 or 14. At the first entring upon the Mission they allow'd ten *Chinese* Miles to a League of ours, afterwards upon better consideration they assign'd thirteen, and some fourteen; and tho we should allow fifteen, the compass of the Wall would be very great.

3. I have mention'd, that every Metropolis has two Towers nine Stories high. One of those at this Court is so beautiful and slightly, it may cope with

Nava-rette. the fairest in *Europe*. There is some, but no great distance betwixt the first and second Wall, by what we could discover through the Gate; and the concourse of People is extraordinary. Those who were acquainted with it, and particularly *F. Emanuel George* who had liv'd there several Years, said, that the second Wall which is it that immediately compasses the City, was a common days journey a Horseback in circumference, which according to the custom of that Country is about eight Leagues betwixt Sun and Sun; and so this Father said, that a Man going out at one of the Gates at Sun-rising, and compassing the City, would come to the same Gate at Sun-setting.

4. The Number of People living within the two Walls, according to the reckoning of the *Chineses*, is above eight Millions, and herein the Missioners agree with the Natives; but allowing only seven Millions of Souls, or something less, it is certain that no two Cities in *Europe*, *Africk*, or *America*, can compare with this for number of Inhabitants, considering the *Chinese* and *Spanish* Million are the same. It must also be observ'd, in pursuance of what has been said before, that the Number here mention'd is not ascrib'd to the City alone, but to it and the two separate Towns corporate which are within it; but the whole is included within the two Walls.

Bell. 5. Among other remarkable things there are at this Court, one is a vast prodigious Bell. *F. Felician Pacheco* saw, and took particular notice of it, and assur'd us, that tho' one half of it was bury'd in the ground, yet that which rises above the Earth is so high, that if two tall men stand one of each side, they cannot see one another. Another Wonder is, that there are 999 Fishponds within the Walls, in which they breed Fish to supply the Natives. There is the same Number in the City *Kan Cheu* in the Province of *King Si*; but we could not discover the Mystery why they must not be a thousand, and yet I doubt not but the *Chineses* have something to say for it. And yet notwithstanding these Fishponds, the City lies upon the mighty and renowned River, which they call *The Son of the Sea*, against whose Stream we saw the *Porpoises* swim above forty Leagues up the River, so that none need admire there should be Fish enough for such a Multitude. Upon this River they yearly celebrate a Festival in their Boats, richly adorn'd and set out to the honour of an ancient *Mandarin*, who is highly respect-

ed throughout all that Empire, as I shall write in another place. It hapned but a few Years ago there started up such a furious Gust of Wind, that 500 Boats were cast away, a miserable Object of pity and compassion.

6. In all Courts of Judicature throughout *China* they have a Drum, either bigger or less, according to the preeminence of the Court, and they beat it when there is any hearing. That which is in the supreme Court of this Metropolis is so large, that the Head is made of an Elephants Hide, and the Drumstick is a great piece of Timber hanging to the Roof by strong Ropes. They say it is incredible what vast Quantities of Merchandize, Silks, Cottons, and other Curiosities are to be had here, in such abundance, that whole Fleets might be loaded at very reasonable rates. In this City they make Flowers of Wax, with the Colours so exact and lively, that we *Flowers in Wax.* could not choose but admire them; and till they told us they were made of Wax, we could never guess at it.

7. Six Missioners of us came together on *Saturday* the 27th of *June*, being the Eve of the Feast of *S. Peter*, to the Northern Court, signified by the Name *Pe King*, of which many ridiculous Fashions are written by *Romanus Mendoza*, *Nieverberg de Angelis*, and others. *de Angelis.* We saw a strange Confusion and wonderful multitude of People. From the first Gate we walk'd above two Leagues to come to the Eastern Church of the Fathers of the Society. It is call'd the *Eastern*, to distinguish it from that which Father *John Adamus* had in the *West*. This Metropolis has three Walls: The first which encompasses the other two, as the Fathers who liv'd there told us, and we our selves perceiv'd, is five Leagues in Circumference, little more or less, and not as *Pinto*, and the Authors above-mention'd write of it. *Mendoza*, *lib. 3. cap. 2.* says, It is a whole day's Journey upon a good Horse, and a Man must ride hard to cross from one Gate to another, without including the Suburbs which are as large again; and yet he declares he speaks of the least. The *Chineses* impos'd upon him: I am satisfy'd none of those that go over to *Manila* have been at *Pe King*. In short, what I write is the very Truth; and tho' I may as well as others err in some small matter, as for example, in half a League, yet I cannot deviate so grossly. Nor could the Fathers of the Society be mistaken, who had liv'd above 20 Years in that City.

8. The

8. The second Wall runs directly athwart from East to West ; it is higher than the other, and so broad that two Coaches may go abreast on it with ease. Within these two Walls, towards the South, the *Chineses* live at present, there are the Shops, Tradesmen, and Mechanics ; a Man may there find all he can wish or desire, at the same Rates as in any other part of the Empire. On the North side live the *Tartars*, the Soldiery and Counsellors, and there also are all the Courts of Justice. The third Wall is in the shape of a Half-moon, and incloses the Imperial Palace, the Temples of their Ancestors, Gardens, Groves, Fish-ponds, and other places for Pleasure. This also is on the North side, and is almost a League in Circumference. The *Chineses* reckon nine Walls from the first Gate to the Emperor's Apartment, and so tell it as a piece of Ostentation, that their Emperor lies within nine Walls. They stood him in little stead against the Robber. None lives within the Palace but the Emperor, his Wives, Concubines, and Eunuchs. The *Chinese* observes the Custom of other antient Monarchs, *A Lapid* in 27 *Gen.* v. 36, 37, & 35. Only the Viceroy, Counsellors, Great Mandarins, and Officers, can go into the Palace. Among 24 Missioners that met in the Metropolis the Year 1665, only Father *John Adamus*, who was Professor of Mathematicks, had ever been within the Palace. Afterwards about 68 and 69, the three that remain'd there went in, being sent for by the Emperor.

9. They report the Apartments and Rooms are very stately and noble, especially the Emperor's Bed-chamber ; but I never heard they were 79, as Bishop *Maïolus* writes, wherein he follows *Mendoza* in his second Chapter quoted above ; nor are there any Rooms of Gold, Silver, or precious Stones, as the same Author says, and *F. Lazena* affirms. How could these things be hid from us who liv'd so many Years in that Country, and some time at the Court, inquiring diligently, and examining into the most remarkable things there ? The *Chinese* History tells us, the arch'd Roof of an antient Emperor's State-room was of Gold, which I do not find any difficulty to give credit to ; and I am satisfy'd he that now reigns might have the like if he pleas'd. Nor are the Tiles of Gold, as others have reported, but they are glaz'd Yellow, which is the Emperor's Colour ; when the Sun shines on them, they look like Gold, or polish'd Brass. The petty Kings of the Blood

Royal use exactly the same ; and they are on the Temples of deceas'd Emperors. There are other Tiles blew glaz'd, which I have seen on some Temples, and look very graceful. I have sometimes seen the Tiles with which the Floors of the Palace are laid, they are square, and as large as the Stones on the Floor of *S. Peter's Church* at *Rome* ; some were glaz'd Yellow, and others Green, as smooth and glossy as a Looking-glass, and must doubtless be a great Ornament to a Room.

10. When *Xun Chi* Father to the present Emperor died, they turn'd out of the Palace 6000 Eunuchs, and I conceive they expell'd as many Women, for every Eunuch has a Woman to wait on him. The Emperor has as many Concubines as he pleases ; but the Empire is oblig'd to furnish him as many as there are Towns and Citys in it. There are 24 Kings at the Emperor's Court, but they are only Titular, and have no Subjects, as among us the Titular Bishops *in partibus Infidelium* : The Emperor maintains them all. The Missioners call them *Petty Kings*, and they are Generals of the Army. There are as many Major Generals, whom they call *Cusan*, these are introduced by the *Tartar*, the *Chinese* had none of them. When any Service is to be done, only two or three of these receive the Orders, and they convey them to their Men, who are always in readiness ; and they immediately march, and with great Secrecy execute the Commands they have receiv'd. Among many other things excellent in the *Chinese* Government, one is, their great care in scouring the Highways from Vagabonds and Robbers. As soon as ever there is the least rumour of Thieves being abroad in any part of the Country, immediate notice is given to the next Town, thence it is carry'd to the City, and if requisite to the Metropolis, whence they instantly send out Officers and Souldiers, who using their utmost diligence, never return home without their Prisoners. This is the Duty of those that have the Power of Government, says *S. Thomas*, l. 2. *de Reg. Prin. cap.* 2.

11. I find very extravagant and strange things in the Authors above-mention'd, concerning the Ceremonies us'd by the Emperor at the reception of Ambassadors ; I do not set them down, because I would not countenance Dreams and Chimera's. The *Portuguese* and *Dutch*, whose Ambassadors have of late Years been at *Pe King*, are Eye-witnesses of what is practis'd there ; and therefore why should we give credit to fabulous Relations ? *Mendoza* and

Palace.

Nava-
rette.Concubines
of the Em-
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Generals.

Robbers.

Yellow, the
Emperor's
Colour.

Nava-rette. and *Mayo* write, that the Emperor shows himself at certain times through Glass-windows. Another says, he us'd to show his Arm at a Window. All this is subject to a thousand Contradictions, for the Emperor has no Glass-Casements, nor his Rooms Windows, nor is there one place where the People might assemble, and tho' there were, the Subjects might not go into it. The same I say in respect of the Soldiers they tell us are upon his Guard. *Romanus* writes 70000 Men; *Mendoza* allots 10000 that Day and Night guard the Palace without, besides many more in the Courts, at the Gates, &c. What I can say to it is, that the Emperor might well have that, or a greater Number; but he has not, nor is he so jealous of his Subjects as that Author makes him.

Emp. of China's 12. The Emperor keeps 6000 Horses in his Stables, as I heard at Court, and is able to keep many more. He has also 24 Elephants; these are carried to the Palace with rich Trappings every New and Full Moon, which are the Times when the Magistrates go to pay their Respects to the Emperor. An indifferent River runs through the midst of the Court, being let in under the Wall, and runs through the Orchards, Gardens, and Groves, causing a continual Spring. At small distances there are curious Bridges over it: The best of them, which is almost joining to the Yellow Wall, was our Road to the Courts, and to *F. Adamus* his Church. Besides all this, there is a Bell at *Pe King*, which, as those Fathers said, weighs more than the four biggest in all *Europe*, which they say are in *England*. *F. Adamus* weigh'd it, and it came to 1200 Quintals (which is 60 Tuns). Within the Hollow, which is all full of Writing, he counted 10000 great Letters; *F. Kircher* has the Cut of it in his Book, pag. 222. The use of Bells in *China* is of great Antiquity: It was first brought into the *Latin* Church about the Year 600, and into the *Greek* in 865, according to *Suarez*, lib. 2. *contra Reg. Ang. cap. 16. num. 13*. There is also another great and famous Bell hanging in a lofty and beautiful Tower, which serves to strike the several Watches of the Night, and has an excellent Sound. In the Year 1668, the News came to *Canton*, that it had rung of it self; some believ'd, others gave no credit to it: If true, *China* has a Bell like that of *Belilla* in *Spain*.

Observations 13. There is in *Peking* a very noted Tower, call'd of the Mathematicks; in it are fundry very antient Instruments,

with admirable graving on Brass-plates; with them they observe the Eclipses, and other Observations belonging to this Science. Some Mathematicians always watch atop of it, who observe the Motions of the Stars, and remark any thing particular that appears in the Sky, whereof the next day they give the Emperor an Account. When any thing unusual occurs, the Astrologers meet, and make their Judgments whether it portends Good or Evil to the Imperial Family. I was told in that City, that the Number of its Inhabitants amounts to four or five Millions. Its situation is on a Plain, as is all the Country about. I ever heard it agreed, that the Emperor's Table was made up of Fifteen, each answering its particular Province, in the Dishes ^{Eating.} and different Meats it bears. In *China* they do not use Table-cloths, nor other Utensils common among us: The Tables are beautiful, many of them varnish'd as fine as Looking-glasses. They touch not the Meat with their Hands, but make use of little Sticks about a foot long, with which they carry it neatly to their Mouths: Some are made of sweet Wood, some of Ivory, others of Glass, which are in great esteem, and were invented by the *Dutch*; but now the *Chineses* make them curiously. Great Men have them of Silver, and only the Emperor of Gold, as are the Dishes and other Vessels serv'd up to his Table. The *Roytelets* have them of Silver tip'd with Gold. This way of eating has always been among the *Chineses*, the *Japoneses* learn'd it of them. *F. de Angelis* was mistaken in applying this to the latter. Table-cloths and Napkins, and a great deal of Sope might be sav'd in *Europe*, if this Fashion were introduced; we Missioners like it very well.

14. The *Tartars* use the same sort of Sticks, but their Tables are little and low like those of *Japan*, and they sit not on Chairs, but on Cushions and Carpets; which is also the Custom of *Japan*, and other neighbouring Kingdoms. Many of the Antients did the same, and others lay down to eat; so says *Valerius Maximus*, and *S. Thomas*, *lect. 1. in 2 Joan.* That it is an antienter Custom to eat sitting, may be gather'd out of *Gen. 43. v. 33*. So Authors affirm, see *Corn. à Lapide* and *Menoebius*. In the following Chapters we shall treat of other Matters.

15. Here we might discuss a Point common to other Nations, which is, Whether we must call the *Chineses*, the *Tartars* that govern them, the *Japoneses* and other Nations in those Parts, *Barbarians*,

Barbarian. The original use of the word *Barbarian* is various; according to *Erasmus* all Strangers and Foreigners were formerly call'd *Barbarians*: Cruel, fierce, ill-bred, and unlearn'd People went under the same Name. The *Greeks* it is certain look'd upon all other Nations as *Barbarians*, tho' *Strabo* says, the *Latins* were under the same Predicament with the *Greeks*.

16. *S. Thomas* starts the Question upon 1 *ad Rom. Lect. 5.* and upon 1 *Cor. 14. Lect. 2.* and upon 3 *ad Colof. Cajetan* in 1 *Cor. 14.* resolves the Question in few words, saying, *A Barbarian is something relative, and no Man is absolutely a Barbarian, because of all kinds there are Men communicating together in Language, &c.* Here he takes the *Barbarian* in the sense *St. Paul* speaks in, which he makes him be look'd upon as a *Barbarian*, who speaks a Language quite strange and unintelligible, so that the *English* are *Barbarians* to the *Spaniards*, and the *Spaniards* to the *English, Irish, &c.*

17. But *S. Thomas* resolves the Doubt more nicely, and says those are properly *Barbarians* who are *Strangers to human Conversation*, and who are *strong in Body, and deficient in Reason, and are neither govern'd by Reason, nor Laws.* Whence it follows that the *Blacks* who live in the Mountains of the *Philippine Islands*, the *Chuchumecos* of *Alexico*, those of the Islands *Nicobar, Madagascar, Pulicondor*, and the like, and others near the Strait of *Anian*, are *Barbarians* in the strictest sense; and that the *Chineses, Tartars, Japoneses*, and other People of *Asia* are not so, for all these live politickly and orderly, and are govern'd by Laws agreeable to Reason, which those Islanders above nam'd have not: Nor ought a Nation to be call'd barbarous because it has some Customs that are contrary to Reason, as

may be seen among the *Japoneses*, who look upon it as an Honour to cut themselves with their *Catana's*, or Swords; for if we allow of this, there will be no Nation exempt from some share of Barbarity. The other *European Nations* look upon the *Spanish Bull-Feasts* as barbarous, and think it a Barbarity for a Gentleman to encounter a mad Bull. How can the Law of Duel, so much in request among Persons of Quality, be exempted from Barbarity? The *Chineses* look upon those Men as barbarous that wear long Hair, tho' it be their own, wherein they agree well with *S. Paul*, it is a Reproach to him, he terms it a Disgrace, Shame and Scandal. The *Germans* were formerly guilty of the Barbarity of not looking upon Theft as a Sin, according to *S. Thomas* 1. 2. q. 94. art. 4. which the *Chineses, Tartars, Japoneses*, and others, nay even the *Indians* of the *Philippine Islands*, could never be charg'd with, but they always abhor'd that Vice. Some in *Europe* thought simple Fornication no Crime, and others believ'd the same of Sodomy; so says *S. Thomas* 1. 2. q. 103. art. 3. q. 94. art. 6. and *Cajetan* upon *Acts 15.* in which the *Chineses, Japoneses*, and others are included.

18. What I most admire is, that but a little before I came to *Rome* there was some body offer'd to maintain and prove that voluntary Pollution was no Sin: Who could imagine such a thing? Or who would not allow this to be Barbarity in the highest degree among Catholics, after God has communicated so much Light and Learning to his Church? In short, the case stands thus, that all Nations and People look upon themselves as wise, politick, and judicious, and yet they call one another as they please, without being guilty of any Sin reserv'd to the Pope to absolve.

C H A P. VII.

Begins to give some Account of the Chinese Government.

*Govern-
ment.*

1. **T**HERE is a Viceroy in every Metropolis; in the Province of *Nan King* which is large there are two, and three in that of *Xen Si*, because it is greater; every one of them has the Cities, Towns and Villages belonging to his Government assign'd him. In some Cities there are supreme Governours, whose Jurisdiction is not subordinate to the Viceroy's, but they are Absolute in Civil and Military Affairs,

and upon all occasions. There is also a King's Treasurer who receives all the Tribute of the Province, which is paid in the finest Silver. There is besides a Judge of Criminal Causes, and a Civil who has three Deputies subordinate to one another, and all depending on the Judge. Each of the two Corporations there are in every Metropolis has its Civil Judge, with his three Deputies, as above. In the Capital Cities

ties on the Coast there is a great *Mandarine*, who has charge of the Sea; besides these there are many in particular Employments. The Name *Mandarine* was given them by the *Portugueses*, who deriv'd it from their own word *Mandar*, to command. We the Missioners, tho speaking in the *Chinese* Tongue, give every one the proper Name and Title belonging to his Office and Quality, yet in our own Tongue call all Officers of Justice *Mandarines*, and so I shall generally use the word throughout this Work. Where there are Navigable Rivers, which is in very many parts, there are *Mandarines* who look to the Boats that belong to the Emperor, and to the Publick *Canton* and *Fo Kien* are govern'd by *Roytelets*, who in Quality are above all those we have mention'd, but not in Authority, tho they take upon them more than is proper: There is no body to curb them, and they bear heavy on the Subjects.

2. The multitude of Military Officers, as Colonels, Majors, Captains, &c. is endless, they also are included under the Title of *Mandarines*, and in the *Chinese* Language have that of *Kuon*, as well as the rest.

3. The Scholars, who are not subject to the common Magistrate, have *Mandarines* of their own over them: In every Metropolis there is one great One like a School-Master, and two under him, and so there is in every other City and Town; they live within the Universities: we shall say more in another place concerning them, and other things that relate to their Studies.

4. The Greatness of the Metropolitan Cities and some others is wonderful. I have already given some account of *Nan King*. The next to it is the Capital of *Che Kiang*, call'd *Hang Cheu*: Some modern Authors will have it to be the same the antient *Europeans* call'd *Kin Cai*: Having been in and view'd it with particular care, I will here write some part of what I saw. When I and my two Companions were carry'd Prisoners to the Court, we went through the principal Street of this City, which is near four Leagues of ours in length from East to West; some say it is longer, and allow two Leagues to the Suburbs on both sides; so that from the coming into one Suburb till the end of the other they make it a day's Journey for a Sedan: The Street is streight, wide, and all pav'd with Freestone, which is very beautiful: At every fifty paces distant or thereabouts is a Stone Arch, as curiously wrought as those I have seen at

Rome. On both sides were an infinite number of Merchants and Shopkeepers, dealing in all things that can be thought of. The throng of the People was so great, that the Chairmen were continually crying out to them to make way. About the middle of this Street they told us the News, that the Father of the Society residing there was made a Prisoner. The next day we three were convey'd to another Jail, but our Affairs being transacted at Court, we had no other trouble but the spending of that little we had been saving all the year, and the want of Liberty; and because all our suffering was on a good account, that is, the preaching of the Gospel, it was so far from afflicting that it was a great Comfort to us.

5. Before we leave this Metropolis, it will be convenient to go through with what we have begun concerning our Imprisonment. As for the good Government, Quietness, Ease, and Cleanliness of the Jail, I do not question but it exceeds ours in *Europe*. As soon as we were brought into the first Court we spy'd the head Jailor, who sat in great State on his Tribunal-seat; he presently ask'd for the Criminal Judg that sent us to him his *Mittimus*, but him we had not seen, for he was not come to himself yet after a great Feast he had been at the day before, and one of his Deputies sent us to Prison. Then the Goaler began to examine us concerning our coming to *China*, upon what intent it was, what we liv'd upon, &c. We answer'd him with a great deal of freedom and ease, the Consequence whereof was that they put us in through another little Door which was lock'd, and had a Porter at it; we went on through a Lane, and they brought us to an Idol Temple. I don't know that in the Prisons in these our Parts there is any Church of God so great, so spacious, so clean, so neat, and so much frequented by the Prisoners as that is. In all the Goals, Dungeons and Courts of Justice throughout the Empire, they have Temples richly adorn'd, and cleanly, where the Prisoners, and such as have Law-suits make their Vows, offer Candles, Oil, Silver, Perfumes and other things: Some beg to be deliver'd out of Jail, others good Success in their Suits; but those Wooden and Earthen Images neither hearing nor seeing, they give no Relief to their Suppliants. At Night they turn'd us through another lesser Door into a Court, and then convey'd us into a great Hall, quite dark and dismal, without any Window, and

and so full of People, that there was hardly room for them all to stand; this was call'd the little Prison to distinguish it from the Dungeon, which was far enough from thence. Here we continued 40 days, having always Light at night, and there was an Overseer who took care no Noise should be made. All Men were wonderful submissive to him, so that there was no roaring, or noise, or quarrelling, but all as hush as if it had been a regular Monastery, which we did not a little admire. In the day time we went to the Idol Temple, and to a great Court that was before it, there we sun'd our selves, which was no small Comfort. Sometimes we discours'd upon the Subject of our holy Religion, and answer'd the Questions that were put to us, and then proceeded to convince them of the Error of their Idolatry and Superstition; but they were so grounded in their Follies, that tho they own'd they lik'd our Doctrine, yet they would presently go offer up their Prayers to their Idols. There were Rooms enough in two Lanes to be let to People of some Note, who were in for small faults; there they live quietly and with Conveniency till their business is over. There are also some Houses in which marry'd People live, who keep the Watch in the Night; they walk about those Lanes and Courts continually beating Drums and blowing little Horns, so that it is impossible any Man should make his escape, tho the place it self were not so secure.

6. The Womens Prison is apart, and has a strong Door in which there was a little Gate, through which they gave them Necessaries. We took particular notice and observ'd that no Man ever went to hold Discourse there. The Modesty of the *Chinese*s in this particular is not to be parallel'd in all the World, and no less the reserv'dness and precaution of the Women. All things necessary for Clothing and Diet were carried thither to be sold: The Barber goes in to trim, the Cobbler to mend Shoes, the Taylor to alter Clothes, the Coleman, the Woodmonger, the Butcher, the Seller of Rice and Herbs, and all other sorts of Trades; so that there was every day a formal Market kept there. There are also Cooks, who for a small allowance dress the Meat very cleanly. There is a good Well, which all make use of to dress their Viſtuals, drink, and wash their Linnen. Thus the whole resembles a well govern'd Body Politick. Every Afternoon the head Goaler with his Clerk

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view'd the Prisoners, calling them over by their Names, and finding them all there, lock'd them up till next day.

7. To those that were poor they gave every day a portion of Rice, half of it they eat, and with the other half bought Wood, Salt, Herbs, &c. This we much approv'd of, because without it many would be expos'd to miserable want, there being no way to beg by reason they are not even with the Ground, and quite out of the way for People to come at them. All the while we were there, more came in than went out: Some had their Thighs all gaul'd with Lashes, others their Ancles disjointed by the Wrack, which is commonly us'd and with great Severity in that Country. One day we went into the Dungeon, which is dismal enough, without it was a large Court, and in the middle a Temple like that of the little Prison: All those that were there had Fetters on, and their Colour was unwholesome, because the place is very damp. In the day time they show'd them some favour, suffering them to come out into the Sun, where they air'd and lous'd themselves. They once brought a parcel of them from thence into our Prison, so that we had not room left to sit down: For eight Nights I lay under a Cane Bed, in which were two Comrades: I slept well, tho the Boards were my Quilt, but I dreaded lest the Canes should break, and I be beaten as flat as a Pancake. These Hardships oblig'd us to hire a Room, where we spent the rest of our time with more ease. What we admir'd was, to see how devoutly and incessantly those Wretches begg'd of their Idols to deliver them from their Sufferings. Every day they lighted Candles, burnt Perfumes, made a thousand Genuflexions, knockt their Heads on the Ground and wept before them; others gave themselves to mental Prayer, others sang, and particularly one who had been there four years, this Man took upon him to be Sexton, he swept the Temple, cleans'd the Altars, look'd after the Lamp, beg'd of the others for Oil and Candles, and earnestly exhorted them to ask the Assistance of those Devils, and mov'd them so to do by his Example, for he was almost continually at Prayers. He utterly debauch'd one we had just gain'd to embrace our holy Doctrine, perswading him, if he persisted to implore their Gods they would deliver him out of Goal; the Wretch it seems was not of the Elect. We also observ'd with how much Courtesy, Civility, and Respect those People

D

treated

Modesty.

Civility.

Nava-rette. treated one another, and the same they us'd towards us. This is a thing incredible in our parts. If two *Chineſes*, *Japoneſes*, or *Tunquins* were brought into our Prisons, how would the other Goal-birds use them? What Tricks would they play them? How would they force them to pay Garnish? Nothing of this sort is practis'd there, but they treated us with as much Respect, as if we had been some Persons of Note among them. In this and many other particulars, that Nation beyond all dispute surpasses the rest of the Universe. Another thing we made our Remark of, which is much practis'd by all that Nation, and was, that when any Prisoner dy'd, having perform'd their Ceremonies there upon the place, they put him into a Coffin, but would not carry him out at the door by any means: They have a Superstition in this particular, and therefore on the inward side towards the Dungeon they had a Gap fit for the purpose made through the Wall into a small Orchard, through which they thrust him out.

8. At length the Day of our departure came. The cause of detaining us so long was, because they expected all the Missioners that were in that Province, to carry us together to Court. The Officers carry'd us before the Judg of one of the two Corporations, before whom our business lay. The Father of the Society had been fetch'd out of Prison two days before, they had taken from him his House and Church, and he was upon Bail in a little Loft he had over the Gate. To make the way shorter they carry'd us on the outside of the Walls. As soon as we were without them, we discover'd the finest Lake in the World; two sides of it were hemm'd in by most delightful and verdant Hills and Mountains, on the sides whereof were many Temples, Palaces, and Country Houses wonderful pleasant to behold. The Vessels on the Lake were many, of sundry forms, and all graceful. The Lake as near as we could guess was about six Leagues in compass, and reach'd within ten paces of the Wall on the South-side: It was in a Plain full of vast Fields of Rice. We came tir'd to the Judges Court, having walk'd almost two Leagues, and waited for him two hours: During that time a multitude of Men came about us, with whom we discours'd concerning our holy Faith. The *Mandarine* did not come, and a Clerk who was employ'd in our business bid us go to Dinner, for he would answer for us: We travel'd almost two

Leagues more, all this while without breaking our Fast. At length we came to the good Jesuit, who was much indispoſ'd, yet we all rejoiced and eat together, and without resting I was carried in a Sedan to hear the Confessions of no small number of Christians, Men and Women, who waited for me in a House.

9. Some Persons too had confess'd in Prison, repairing thither with much fervor to that effect: Among them was a Taylor whose Name was *Julian*, a most exact Christian, tho too subject to Scruples, and therefore very often repeated his Confessions. Some of the Prisoners ask'd this Man one day, whether he was a follower of our holy Doctrine? He courageously answer'd he was. Then said they, How can you being a Taylor keep so holy a Law? He answer'd, Gentlemen, when I cut out Clothes, I do not keep the value of a Thred; and for the Fashion I demand no more than is reasonable, and what will keep me. This is it the Law of God enjoyns, so that neither this nor any other Trade need hinder the fulfilling of it. They were astonish'd at his Courage and Resolution, and we being by were much edified. This poor Man suffer'd much from ill Christians, and some Apostates: They would go to his House and threaten, that if he did not give them some Silver they would impeach him, and for quietness sake he satisfied them all. Next day they carried us to the River, and put us into a little Boat, yet big enough for us four, three Servants, and six Officers. The Souldiers travel'd a Horseback by Land, always in sight of the Boat, and were reliev'd every two or three days Journeys: They were satisfied we would not attempt an escape, so that they took no great care of us all the time we were upon the Water; and tho we travel'd with them 200 Leagues by Land, we had never cause to complain of the least Incivility or Affront offer'd us; and yet we never gave them a Farthing, which indeed is very remarkable among Infidels. The Civil Officers would have given us some Trouble, thinking to get Silver from us, but were disappointed.

10. When I write particularly of the Persecution, its Original and Causes, other things to the purpose shall be added. Now to return to the Metropolis *Hang Cbeu*, I must observe that having gone through a great part of it with my two Companions, the throng of People was so great, that we could scarce make way through the Streets. We saw not one
Woman,

Women. Woman, tho we look'd about very carefully, only to be satisfi'd of the great Retirement of those Women. Would to God the hundredth part of it were observ'd among us sober Christians; and Scholars of Repute told me, there were above six Millions and a half of People in this City; and the Millions of *China* are the same as those of *Spain*. The *Bonces*, or Idolatrous religious Men, according to some, are above 50000, and according to others far exceed 30000. They all live upon Charity, only some till a parcel of Ground to help to maintain them. A Temple was built within these few Years in this City, which cost 50000 Crowns in Silver; the *Chinese* Crown is worth ten Royals, as well as the *Italian*. The Pillars of this Temple are very high, streight, and thick; and for the more security, the Founder cas'd them with Bras-plates as bright as Gold.

Church. The House and Church of the Society was great and magnificent, and for that reason, as some of the Fathers at times told me, was a help to forward the Persecution. We saw it all that Afternoon we came thither, we offer'd up our Prayers in the Church, and took particular notice of it. It had three Isles, with each three Pillars, besides two that join'd to the Wall of the Frontispiece. Yet *F. Mathias de Amaga* in his *Annua* writ it had 300; a pretty difference. This should have been insert'd above, but it makes not much to the matter.

Nuns. 11. The *she Bonces*, or Nuns, are also very numerous, I forgot to ask the Number. This City is so well stored (and there is none but what is so) that

70000 Soldiers coming to it in my time, they all liv'd upon what was then actually in the Shops, and sold about the Streets, without raising the Price of any thing, or causing the least scarcity in the City, no more than if only twenty Men had come to it. There is another particular thing (tho these are all common in *China*, only varying according to the greatness of the Place) which is, that 6000 Country Men come in every day with their cover'd Tubs to carry out the humane Dung. A notable Forecast! I had forgot to mention that the *Mahometans* have a sumptuous Temple in this City, the Gate, Frontispiece, and Tower over it, as beautiful and sightly as the best in *Spain*.

12. There is another renowned City in *China* call'd *Su Cheu*, we came to it the 5th day after setting out from the last. Under its Walls is a great River along which we sail'd; an Arm of it runs through the heart of the City from one Gate to the other. This Place is not inferior to *Hang Cheu*, for Greatness, Trade, and Commerce, but is not so Populous. We cross'd through the middle of it, and lighted on the Church the Society had there, where five Fathers were confin'd by the Vice-Roy's Order, and that they might be sent to Court with the rest: We made a halt there of five days, being well entertain'd and caref'd by those pious Men, and indeed we stood in need of it. The Reader may rest him too before he enters upon the next Chapter, observing that this City pays two Millions a Year Taxes, by which it is easy to guess at its Riches and Trade.

CH A P. VIII.

Of the Councils and Courts of Justice in the Imperial City.

1. IT is the common receiv'd Opinion of *Aristotle*, *S. Thomas*, *Albertus Magnus*, and many more, that the Monarchical Form of Government is the most perfect: The *Chineses* are of the same Opinion, and therefore do very much value themselves upon theirs being such. They generally say, That as in Heaven there is but one Sun which overlooks the World, from whom the other Stars borrow their Light; even so in their Country there is but one Head and Emperor, who gives Light, governs and directs all its Actions and Motions. But in regard a Man cannot alone attend to all things, it is requi-

site he have Ministers and Officers to serve him. *Jethro* gave this Advice to *Moses*, *Exod. 18.* and it is the Method all the Monarchs of the World have hitherto follow'd, tho some have excel'd others in the Manner and Order of Governing. That which the *Chineses* did, and the *Tartars* at present observe, may vie with the best in *Europe*.

2. The first and Supreme Council the Emperor has in his Imperial City for governing that vast Monarchy, is answerable to that we call the Council of State, and is therefore call'd *Kuci Juen*. It is held within the Palace, and the *Ko Lao Ko Lao*.

Nava-rette. fit in it, that is, the antient Men of the Empire, Masters, and Supreme Counsellors who attend the Emperor. They sit at a round Table; to them the Emperor commits the Petitions that are presented to him. The Antientest divides them equally among them all; every one considers those that fall to his share, and writes his Opinion: Then they are return'd to the Emperor by the antientest of the Board. If he approves of the Answer, he signs them; if not, they are sent back, and order'd to be duly consider'd. Under the *Chinese* Government there were seven *Ko Laos*, the *Tartar* added seven more; so that at present they are fourteen, seven *Chineses* and seven *Tartars*. The number of Counsellors was doubled after the same manner in all other Councils. It is well worth considering in this place, the Emperor's and these Mens mighty Care and Trouble. There is no Business of Consequence in all the Empire but goes through their Hands: And therefore for dispatching of all Affairs, they must attend every day in the Year, without making any Holydays, times of Respit or Vacation, which is an insufferable Toil. True it is, this assiduity is very advantageous to those that sollicite them, for their Suits are decided in a very short time, they conclude their Business and go to their Homes, without being put to such excessive Charges as is usual in other Countries. Read *Oleaster* in 18 *Exod.* where you will find how indispensable a Duty it is to hear those that have Suits depending at all times.

Han Lin. 3. The second Council is call'd *Han Lin*, and is compos'd of the Doctors of the Imperial College. These are chosen by the Emperor himself; when they are examin'd they live at Court, but every one in his own House: They are assisting to the Government, canvassing and resolving such things as by the Emperor's Order are laid before them. From this Board they are chosen to be great *Mandarines*, but till then have no Command.

Tu Cha Juen. 4. The third is call'd *Tu Cha Juen*, and this consists of Visitors; when the Emperor sends to visit the Provinces, which is very usual, he chuses the fittest Persons out of this Number; he gives them his Seal, which they carry fastned to their right Arm; they are as terrible as so many Thunderbolts, and many of them do their Duty to admiration. The *Mandarines* quake when a Visitor comes.

Tai Li Zu. 5. The fourth is call'd *Tai Li Zu*; this is the Tribunal that assigns suitable Punishments to enormous Crimes.

ishments to enormous Crimes.

6. These two last, and the President of the Criminal Court make up another call'd *Zan Fa Zu*, whose business it is to weigh and consider, whether the Punishment assign'd by the Criminal Court be just and legal; and when once they have confirm'd it, there is no Appeal or Demur.

7. The sixth is call'd *Tung Zing Zu*, to them belongs to peruse the Petitions that are to be presented to the Emperor; if they approve of them they are prefer'd, if not they tear them.

8. There is another of great Authority call'd *Ko Tao*, who have it in charge to correct, and check the *Mandarines*, who behave themselves ill or negligently in their Employments. If the Emperor does not his Duty, or gives ill Example, or indulges himself too much in Plays or Sports, or does not regulate his Palace, or permits excess in Apparel, &c. the Members of this Tribunal reprove him over and over. They are properly Monitors, and execute their Office to the Letter of the Law.

9. Besides these there are the six famous Courts, among whom all the Business of the Empire is divided. The first is *Li Pu*, the Court of Offices; as soon as any Employment falls, the Members of this Court give the Emperor a Petition, presenting two or three Candidates, and he chuses one of them for the Place. As soon as appointed, they prepare his Orders, and deliver them to him if present, or else send them if he is absent, and he goes away to his Employment. Those that are prefer'd pay nothing for their Offices.

10. The second is *Hu Pu*, a Court of *Exchequer*, takes care of all the Revenues of the Empire, of the Receipts and Expence the Emperor is at. The Royal Treasurers of the Metropolitan Citys, are immediately subordinate to this Court.

11. The third is *Li Pu*, the Court of Rites and Ceremonies, whose care it is to examine the Doctrines that are preach'd, the Business of Embassadors, and to regulate Court-Funerals. The Court of the Mathematicks is subordinate to this; here our Cause was try'd.

12. The fourth is the Court-Marshal, *Ping Pu*, which regulates all Affairs relating to the Army. It has some further Jurisdiction, for we were turn'd over to it in order to our Banishment, and we appear'd before it. They assign'd Officers to attend us, Boats to carry, and a Guard to go with us.

13. The

13. The fifth is the Criminal Court, *Hing Pu*. The sixth *Kung Pu*, the Court of Works, which has the Charge and Care of raising and repairing Ports, Castles, Walls, Bridges, &c. Each of the Courts has two Presidents at this time, the one which is the chiefest a *Tartar*, the other a *Chinese*; the Assessors as many *Tartars* as *Chineses*, as was hinted above. Each of them has four great Rooms, in which several *Mandarines* of inferior Quality to those in the Court sit, and transact Affairs of less Moment.

Hing Pu.
Kung Pu.

14. The Ground each Court takes up is too much. The Shape and Structure of them all is the same, all the difference is, that some are bigger than others. They all look towards the South, with the Backs towards the North where the Emperor resides. Every Court has three Doors, on which are painted horrible Giants, ghastly to look at, all to terrify the Multitude. That in the middle is very large, and none but *Mandarines*, or Persons of great Note come in at it. The two little ones are on the sides of it, at which those that have Causes depending, and the Commonalty come in. Before it is a great Court big enough to bait Bulls in. In it are three Causeways, each answering to one of the Doors; but that in the middle is rais'd above a yard higher than the others, with a stone Arch, and another Gate in the middle of it. On the sides are a vast number of Rooms, under Piazza's, for Clerks, Solicitors, and other Officers. A Temple is never wanting. Opposite to the Doors are very orderly great Halls, and within them others as good; Courts are kept in both of them.

15. There are at Court 2400 *Mandarines*, the Emperor allows them all Rice and Pay in Silver. By what has been already said, it is easy to guess what a number there is throughout the Empire. Every Province has its *Mandarine* at Court, who is in the nature of its Protector and Solicitor-General. And if

Mandarin.
sines.

the Holy Ghost in the 14th Chap. of *Prov.* says, *In the Multitude of the People is the Honour of the King*: Then doubtless that of the Emperor of *China* is wonderfully great; and if we reckon the vast Multitude of his Subjects, we shall be convinced there is nothing wanting that can make him one of the greatest Potentates in the World, and that he is far from being liable to the disgrace the Scripture mentions in the same Chapter, *In the small Number of the People is the Dishonour of the Prince.*

16. I will conclude this Chapter with the Relation of the State with which the Emperor goes out of his Palace, as it was told me by *F. John Balat* a Jesuit, who himself saw the late Emperor, when he went to *F. Adamus* his Church. In the first place, the Doors of all the Houses in the Streets through which he is to pass, are all shut, and the People retire, so that not a Soul is to be seen; and if any were, they would be severely punish'd. Before him come out a Horseback all the petty Kings, *Ko Lads* and great *Mandarines*, who ride close to the Walls, that the whole Street may lie open. Next follow 24 Colours of yellow Silk, which is the Colour of the Emperor's Livery, with golden Dragons embroider'd on them for his Arms. Then come 24 Umbrelloes of the same Colour, with treble Coverings, which are very tightly; I have seen several of this sort and make. After them are 24 great rich Fans, of which I have seen some, and they would be much valued in *Europe*. Behind these marches the Imperial Guard, which is very numerous. These and the rest we shall speak of wear a yellow Livery richly wrought, and tightly Helmets of the same Colour. Four and twenty Men in the same Garb carry the Emperor's Chair, or *Palanquine*, which is of great Value; and at certain distances the like number stands as *Relays*. Then follow many Musicians, and after them Pages and Footmen. This in Writing seems little, but is prodigious to behold, as that Father said.

Emperor's State

CHAP. IX.

A further Account of the Grandure of the Emperor and his Court.

1. THE Name the *Chineses* have found since antient Times to honour their Emperor, is lofty and great; they call him *The Son of Heaven*, *Tien Zi*. It is most certain that Nation has not at-

Emperor's Titles.

tain'd to the knowledg of any other God, or nobler Object, than the material Heavens. What others have writ, tho some persist obstinately in it to this day, is not so much as probable; in the Controversie

Materialists.

verities this Point has its peculiar Place. *Narrative.* This then the *Chineses* suppose and say, Heaven punishes the Wicked, and rewards the Good; gives Crowns, and takes them away, not through any intellectual Virtue it has, but naturally and of necessity: for this reason they worship it as the Supreme Deity, and only the Emperor sacrifices to it, as to his Father. The Sun they say is his Brother, and the Moon his eldest Sister. They give the Earth the Title of Mother, and therefore the Emperor sacrifices to her. Next to Heaven the *Chineses* think there is nothing like their Emperor, to extol whom they give him the Title we have mention'd. They also call him Great Majesty, Great Father, Common Father of the Empire. This last Name is very proper. King *Theodorick*, of whom *Cassiodorus* makes mention, *Lib. 4. Epist. 42.* was wont to say, *The Prince is the Publick and Common Father.*

2. In a Book of great account and famous in their School of Letters, these People call their Emperor *Lord of Heaven, Earth, Spirits and Men*, and that with those very Letters the same thing is attributed to God in our Holy Faith. I charg'd them with Inconsistence thus, If the Emperor be the Son of Heaven, and sacrifices to it as to his Father and Superior; Why do they make him Superior to, and Lord of Heaven? We might say to them as *Theodorick* said of *Darius*, *Their judgments being infirm, they attribute those things to their King, which are only proper to God.* More might be said of the Titles the *Mogols* give their Sovereign, which are strange and singular, as are those the King of *Ceylon* has; it is no wonder that People who have no knowledge of any thing beyond this World should so do, when other Parts have shown such an Example. *S. Augustin* complains of this, when he says, *That either through too much submission, or a destructive Spirit of flattery, Men have been free to give to Princes that which was not just and proper.*

Veneration of the Emperor. 3. I have already observ'd, that the Petty Kings, Magistrates, and great *Mandarines*, come every New and Full Moon to pay their Respects to the Emperor. They kneel three times, and touch the Ground with their Heads. If the Emperor comes not out to them, they perform the same Ceremony to his Imperial Throne. They know this is due to that Place, which is not to be question'd, as we shall make out in another place. They go to perform this Ceremony in their Fe-

stival Apparel; they wear the distinctive Mark of their Employment and Quality on their Breast and Back, which are richly embroider'd with Gold. I saw several in the Metropolis, as they were going home after the Ceremony was ended.

4. The Imperial Crown the Emperor *Crown.* wears upon some Occasions, is Beautiful and Mysterious. Its Shape, as I saw it several times in some Temples, is round and somewhat long; there hang at it twelve strings of Pearls, four of them over the Eyes, which signify that the Emperor's Eyes must be shut that he may not see those who have Causes before him; and that he will neither favour the Rich, nor pity the Poor; nor be led by affection for his Friend, or hatred to his Enemy.

5. Four strings of Pearls fall over the Ears, which they expound thus, That the Judges Ears are to be stop'd to the Intreaties of great Ones, and to the Tears of the Suitors; and he must only give ear to Reason, Law, and Justice.

6. The last four Strings hang behind, to express with how much Judgment, Foresight, Premeditation, and Stayedness Princes ought to weigh their Resolutions, and how they are to be vers'd in the Affairs of the Government. The *Chineses* are singular in both respects, they take care that their Emperor give himself to study and practise Learning. It is a plain Case, that if the Prince be ignorant, tho he have learned Ministers, he will make many false Steps. This is the signification of the Strings of Pearls that hang behind. The Government of Man cannot be without Fault and Mistakes (it is a plain case, *our Foresight is uncertain.*); Counsellors and Learned Men make the Miscarriages the less, and the *Chineses* are well stock'd with them, as we have seen already. Many Men refuse to take Advice, and consult others even in Cases of Difficulty, but must of necessity come to ruin.

7. The Salutation us'd to the Emperor *Salutation to the Emperor.* is included in these two Letters *Vuan Sui*; that is, may your Majesty live thousands of Years. It is the Custom throughout the whole Empire, to have a little Board set up in the Temples before the Altars, on which those two Letters are written, and they make great Obeisance to it. In every Metropolis there is such a little Board laid upon a Table, to which the Magistrates pay their Respects at certain times; but they do not light Candles, or offer Flowers, Perfumes, or any thing else to it; so that this Worship

ship is altogether Political and Civil, which must be taken notice of, because of what may be said in another place.

8. *F. de Angelis* writ, that in every Metropolis there was the Image of the Emperor; perhaps he means this little Board. *Mendoza* is under the same Mistake, *lib. 3. cap. 1.* of his History. When they speak of him, it is very usual to say, The Royal or Imperial Palace, taking the thing containing for that contain'd, a Custom us'd in *Europe* upon many Occasions. From this way of talking of the *Chineses*, some speculative Persons would infer, that they use the same Figure in naming of Heaven, and that by that Name they mean our God. This Point belongs to another place, but I shall only offer one thing here, which *Bentancor* hints at in his Loquacious Apology, and is, That if the *Chineses* are of a contrary Opinion, as indeed they are, what credit will they give to half a score Strangers who endeavour to perswade them it is not so? In short, the *Chineses* grant the Premises, and not only deny the Consequence, but *ex professo*, and in particular Treatises to that purpose, they endeavour to prove, tho' poorly, that there is no God, nor any thing more noble or worthy than the Heaven we behold. So that the Ignorance and Folly of the *Chineses* in this particular, exceeds him *David* speaks of, saying, *Psal. 14. The Fool has said in his Heart, there is no God.* For

Atheism.

this Man was asham'd to speak it with his Mouth, as being so palpable a Truth; *Nava-* but the *Chineses* without any shame deny *rette.* it with their Lips, in their Hearts, and in their Books. The difficulty we find in converting them to God, sufficiently proves our Assertion; read *Cajetan* in 16 *Ag. Apost.*

9. When they speak to the Emperor, they generally make use of these two Letters, *Pi Hia*; that is, I speak to the Steps of the Imperial Throne, words full of submission, expressing that they dare not apply to him even by the name of Majesty. When the Emperor names himself, it is as if he said, A Person of little worth, who does not deserve that Honour. The *Chineses* are very full of Ceremonies, very humble in Words, and very proud in their Actions. *Ceremonies.*

10. None must ride in sight of his Palace, nor of those of the Petty Kings, all Men alight and bow their Knees to the Ground. Some Temples of ancient Emperors, and that of the *Chinese* Philosopher, enjoy the same Privilege. This was formerly us'd in *Europe* in passing by Churches, and meeting Priests in the Street. It shall be mention'd in another Place, let it suffice now to give a hint of it as a laudable Custom, tho' difficult, or rather impossible to be observ'd at present by reason of the frequency of both, and because Devotion is grown cold.

CHAP. X.

A further Account of the Grandeur of the Emperor, and his Court.

1. **T**HERE is so very much to be said upon this Subject, that something must of necessity be forgot, and good Order inverted. The Emperor has 9999 great Boats for his own and the Court's use: All the Missioners have observ'd, that the number was not compleat 10000, and wanted but one, which I doubt not the Reader will reflect upon, and therefore I will not delay giving him satisfaction as to this particular. We ask'd the meaning of this mysterious Number; and the answer was, That the Emperor who order'd those Boats to be made, gave command for 10000, and accordingly it was perform'd. When they were all made, to find out how much Iron had been us'd, he caus'd one to be burnt; which done, the Iron was gather'd and weigh'd, and thus he found out how much Iron went to the

Boats.

making of them all, and so the Number we have mention'd remain'd, His Successors would not alter the Number, out of respect to that Emperor, so that there are always 10000 wanting one. I cannot but commend the Emperor's Industry, doubtless imagining his Officers would make their Profit of that Work, as is usual in all Places. Good God! what a vast quantity of Iron, Tar, Hemp, and other Necessaries are Kings cheated of in the building of Ships, Gallies, and other Vessels. It is incredible, and I would not write it if I were not well inform'd in the Matter; it would be very convenient sometimes to burn a small Pink, I am satisfied they would save more in Iron than the Cost of the Vessel that was burnt.

2. The Boats we have spoke of serve to carry Rice from the Southern Provinces to Court: They make a Voyage once a year all upon Rivers; when the Waters are low, they are sometimes detain'd several Months. Every Boat carries 600 Bushels of Rice, the remaining part of the Vessel is for the use of the Master and Sailors, who stow other Merchandize, the Freight whereof pays them, besides their daily allowance of Rice, and other small things they receive upon the Emperor's account. Besides these he has 800 greater Vessels, all very lightly, and varnish'd red, with Dragons painted on them that have five Claws: These serve to convey to the Court the Stuffs, Silks and other Rarities that the several Provinces produce for the use of the Court. There are 300 more with Dragons of three Claws on them, which are far beyond all the others, and are for the Service of Embassadors, the great Men of the Empire, and such like Employment. I know no Prince equal to the *Chinese* in this particular, and yet the best and greatest part of this is, that all these things are look'd upon as Trifles. Besides all this he keeps his Fleets at Sea, which are very numerous. When the *Tartar* rought the *Chinese* of *Cabello*, which was about the year 1660. he put 800 Ships to Sea. True it is, they are neither so large, nor so strong built as ours, but they are like Pinks, and he might have put out many more if he had pleas'd. The Enemy set out 1200, and gain'd the Victory, as being the better Seamen.

3. Leaving aside the Shipping at present, because we must speak of them again, let us return to Court at little. During the time we continued at Court, which was three Months (tho some staid not so long, and others longer) we went abroad but seldom, being order'd so to do by the Judges, yet they did not absolutely forbid it. Those few times I went abroad (we went all together to the Court of Rites and Ceremonies, and it was above half a League from the Church) I observ'd some things which the others took notice of too. I pass'd sometimes by the Palaces of Petty Kings of the Blood Royal, who for this reason had glaz'd yellow Tiles; these and his other Kindred the Emperor stiles *Kim Chi Pao* 'se, that is, Golden Branches, and precious Leaves. The Buildings are low, but as they said who had seen them, and I my self afterwards saw at *Canton*, very beautiful and airy, with fine Courts, Gardens, and other pleasant Conveniences.

The Streets of the Imperial City are, as I have instanced before, wide, numerous and long; so that it would be a great trouble to do any business, had not the forecast of that People been so singular, that at every Corner of a Street, or little Square, of which there is a great number, they have Beasts of Carriage ready saddl'd and bridl'd to hire to those that go from place to place; so that any Man who has business, or goes a visiting, or to take his Pleasure, may upon very easy terms be furnished with an Ass, Mule, or a Calash that will carry three or four. The Owner goes along with him and looks to his Beast, whilst the other is about his business, or a visiting; and thus is he carried back, and for a very small Expence does his business, and saves being tired. This Convenience is to be had in such abundance, that if a Man would have fifty, or a hundred, or more Beasts, they shall be brought to his door in less than half an hour. That day we went out to Banishment, being 25 Millioners and 30 Christians that attended us, we were all furnish'd in a moment; and that Afternoon we travel'd five leagues with ease and in a short time, the Country about the Imperial City being all as smooth as ones hand; the Asses are excellent Cattel to travel upon. I can find nothing in *Europe* to compare the multitude of People to what is afoot and on horseback about the Streets. The *Tartar* Women wear Boots, and ride astride like Men, and make a notable Figure either afoot or a Horseback, but are very modest in their Garb; their Sleeves are somewhat wide and cover their Hands, their Garment black and hanging on the ground, their Hair breaded without any other Head-dress, tho many of them wear on their Heads those Caps we all use there.

4. We met with one very pleasant thing in the Imperial City, which is abundance of Ice; an infinite quantity is consum'd, and yet it is not worth above half a Farthing a Pound. The manner of using it is not the same as among us, but they take a piece as clean and transparent as the very Chrystal, which is put into a Bason, and over it they pour some fair Water, so by degrees it dissolves, and the Water is so very cold there is no drinking of it: This Drink is wholesom in that Country, and very convenient because of the vast Heat. Thus other Nations us'd to drink with Ice. Dr. *Monardes* writ a Treatise upon this Subject. They have not got the way

Carriage in
Pe King.

Tartar
Women.

Ice.

in *China* of making the Ice Cisterns as we do in *Europe*, but it is very pleasant to see Cart-loads of Ice at every Corner of a Street, and Men going about to offer it as you go by. Tho' this be a Truth well known to all the Missioners, yet *F. Martin Martinez* in his *Chinese Atlas* had the Face to write, that the *Chineses* of the Imperial City do not drink their Liquors cool: His own Brethren laugh at this and many other things he writ; it will be fit the Reader take notice of it, that he may read this Author cautiously, and that he be inform'd, that one Night after Supper this Question was put before the whole company: *F. Magallacens* a *Portuguese*, and *F. Bullo* a *Sicilian*, were the Persons that propos'd it, saying, The Question is, Who was most misinform'd concerning the Affairs of *China*, *Marcus Venetus*, or *F. Martinez*, allowing they were both much in the wrong? Several Opinions were given upon the Subject, but *F. Bullo* clear'd the Doubt, and said, both of them writ many mere Chimera's, *F. George* found three in only what relates to the Court, and many more daily come to light; and if he that is taken in one Story is suspected ever after, what must he be who is catch'd in so many? *F. Adams* his Saying, which I quoted in the Preface, is pat to this purpose; to back which I will here insert a Passage, which all the *East-Indies* and *Macao* can testify, and there are those that remember it at *Lisbon*, as was affirm'd to me in that City in the year 1672.

5. A Missioner returning out of *China* into *Europe*, brought with him a Christian *Chinese* Servant, whose Name was *Andrew*, in the *Chinese* Language it is pronounc'd *Gan Te Le*, for they have no Letters that will answer the Name nearer: This Man was all the Sport and Merriment of the Ship: The Father came with him to *Lisbon*, pretended he was the King of *China's* Son, and as such carried him to King *John* the Fourth, who ask'd him, What is your Name? (he might have said your Highness's Name) the *Chinese* answer'd, *Gan Te Le*: Rise up *Don Andrew*, said the King, (now the Emperor of *China's* Son bows his Knee to none but his Father) I make you a Nobleman of my Household, and Knight of the Order of Christ, and taking off his Royal Cloak, threw it over *Sir Andrew's* Shoulders. A very little Honour he did him, if he took him for the King of *China's* Son, for what Addition was it to him to be one of the King of *Portugal's* Noblemen? After this the Father carried him

Vol. I.

to *Venice*, and made him known to the Senate, who treated him honourably, and gave him a Senator's Gown. He return'd to *Macao* now a great Lord, who when he came abroad was a Servant and Cook. Such is the course of Fortune. When I came from *China* *Sir Andrew* was in *Cochinchina*, he sold the Cloak and Gown, and to get his Bread ply'd as a Porter. Thus he return'd to his natural Being, for nothing that is violent can be lasting. Others made great Princes of some Merchants that came from *Japan* a few years since, which made a mighty noise throughout *Europe*, I read it in a Paper of good repute. And but of late years a great Missioner brought a Servant whose Name was *Dominick*, and had been baptiz'd by the Religious of my Order, whom he served, and after them the *Franciscans*: The Missioner made him pass for a Man of Quality in *Italy* and *Germany*; he gave out he was an able Physician, whereupon he was much respected, and the Emperor himself did him such extraordinary Honour, that one who was then present at *Vienna*, and very well knew the *Chinese* and the Missioner, assur'd me that the Emperor spoke to him with his Hat in his hand: Doubtless they pretended he was a King, or Son to the Emperor of *China*. *F. Mathias de Amaya* wrote an Annual Letter full of such Romances, that those of his Order would not suffer it to be read before us. He speaks of the 300 Pillars I mention'd above, and says the Towns upon the Coast destroy'd in the Province of *Fo Kien* when the *Tartars* drove the *Chineses* up the Country, amounted to the number of 100000. All this is doubtless look'd upon in *Europe* as Gospel. This is imposing upon *Europe* according to *F. Adams*; let us leave it thus till another opportunity, and return to the Imperial City.

6. *Pe King* is furnish'd with very good Fruit, as Plums, Apples, Peaches, Pears, Grapes, and abundance of Fish and Flesh at reasonable rates. Another thing we admir'd at, which was, the multitude of Barbers very expert at their Trade, and extraordinary cheap; they go about the Streets taboring on a little sort of flat Instrument in the nature of a Drum, by which they are known, and those call that have occasion for them: This is practis'd throughout all *China*. What is particular in the Imperial City is, that every one of them carries on his Back a Stool, Basin, Water, Fire, and the rest of his Utensils; so that when any body comes to him, whether it be in the Street,

E or

~
Nava-
rette.
~

Martinius.

Marcus
Venetus.

Impostures.

Pe King.

Barbers.

or Market, in the open Air, or under shelter, in a moment he sets up his Shop, claps down his Stool, takes out Water, shaves the Head all to a Lock that hangs behind, orders the Eye-brows, cleanses the Ears with curious Instruments for that purpose, stretches the Arms, strokes the Back, and plays other Monkey Tricks; after all they give him about a Penny, or commonly less: then making many Obey-sances, he gathers his Tackle, and falls again to beating his Tabor. Before the coming of the *Tartars* there was little use for Barbers, because the *Chineses* never shav'd their Heads, yet not for that Chimerical Reason *F. de Angelis* assigns: He says the *Chineses* believe they shall be taken up to Heaven by the Hair, and therefore they preserve it; but that the *Boncos* hold the contrary Opinion, being perswaded that they shall mount without

If they are
Arbeits,
how can
they hold
this Opi-
nion?

Hair. Such a Folly has not been heard of in *China*. There are besides in the Imperial City, and throughout all *China*, very many who exercise no other Trade but cutting the Nails of the Fingers and Toes. The People of *Charamandel* have the same Custom, but it is a part of the Barbers Trade: These Men carry Tabors, but bigger than those the Barbers use, and a little Stool, but are very dexterous at their business: They use no Sizars, but little Chizels, and they leave neither Nail, loose Skin, nor Corn, without the least trouble. At one stroke they take off all the superfluous part of the Nail: the Purchase is small, and sutable to the Trade. There are many other Particulars which would take up much time. By what has been said, and shall be added hereafter, we may give a guess at the Ingenuity and Curiosity of that People.

Nail Cut-
ters.

CH A P. XI.

Of the Emperor's Revenue, Expences, and other particulars.

THE Empire of *China* being so large, and so prodigiously populous, as we shall declare in its place, the Emperor's Revenue must of course be very great, tho the Taxes are easy, and there is no Duty upon any thing that is for eating or drinking, which makes them so cheap. Notwithstanding all this, a Person of undoubted Credit reports, that after all Charges born, and the Salaries and Penions to Petty Kings, Counsellors, Magistrates, Officers (whereof there are above 11000 of Note) and the Army paid, there come yearly 60 Millions clear into the Treasury. This seems to me an excessive Revenue, especially knowing, as I do, that the Emperor always kept a Million of Foot in Garison only upon the great Wall, and there is no doubt but there was another Million dispers'd about in the Cities, Towns, and Castles before mention'd. *F. Martin* said the whole Revenue amounted to 150 Millions: He exceeds many of his Brethren in the Sum. *F. de Angelis* says it rises to 60 Millions. I mention'd above, that the City *Zu Cheu* yielded two Millions a year: Another in the same Province call'd *Sung Kian* pays one Million: The Town *Lan Ki*, where I resided sometime, raises 60000 Ducats; another whose Name is *Xang Hai*, half a Million. If all the rest were answerable to these, there's no doubt but the Revenue must swell to a vast pitch,

Taxes.

Revenue.

Officers.

Forces.

but they have not all so good a Trade. I made out by their Books, and have the Paper still by me in *Chinese* Characters, that the Tax upon plough'd Land alone amounts to 26 Millions: The Duty on Salt, Silk, Cloth, and other things is worth 16 Millions: The Income by Customs, Toll and Boats is very great, as I was inform'd by an understanding *Chinese*, but not certain, and rises or falls every year. The Poll Tax paid by all from twenty to sixty years of Age, tho inconsiderable in respect of every Person, yet rises to a great Sum. The Ground-Rent of Houses is very considerable: So that we need make no difficulty of aligning him yearly above 100 Millions of fine Silver. Then reckoning what the *Mandarines* steal, not from the Emperor, but from the Subjects, the Sum will be considerably advanced. The *Chineses* of *Manila* were the Authors of what *Mendoza* writes, lib. 3. cap. 4. *Trigancius* reckons in his time above 58 Millions and a half of Persons that paid Taxes, which is a vast number.

2. Of late the Revenue sunk above five Millions a year, the reason of it was, because the *Chineses* of *Cabello*, vulgarly call'd *Kue Sing*, and at *Manila* known by the Name of *Marotos* (who never would submit to the *Tartars*, and afterwards took the Fort in the Island *Hermosa* from the *Dutch*) had the Command of the Sea and

Kue Sing.
Marotos.

and Towns on the Coast, where they rais'd as much Money by Taxes as paid the Expence of their War, and the Fleets they kept against the *Tartars*. Besides they secur'd the Trade of Silk and other Merchandize in *China*, which enrich'd them, and was a great loss to the Emperor. He reflecting on his own Damage sustain'd, and meditating how to weaken the Enemy, sent absolute Command to destroy all the open Towns and Houses that were near the Sea, and for the People to retire three Leagues up the Country or more, according to the situation of each of those Towns. This was executed with the utmost rigour, for when the time assign'd was elaps'd, they barbarously butcher'd all that had not obey'd. Very many were kill'd, but many more utterly ruin'd, having neither Town, House, or Goods; and the Emperor lost his yearly Revenue.

3. The *Tartars* Contrivance, tho' costly, was soon successful, for the *Marotos* Hearts fail'd them immediately, and they were so cast down, that they have never been able to lift up their Heads since; so that the *Tartars* made no more account of them, and therefore in the Year 1669, ordered all Persons to return to their Towns, commanding the *Mandarines* to be assisting to them, and to furnish them with Oxen to till the Ground. This Year 1675, there came News to *Madrid* that the *Chineses* of *Cabello*, who live in the Island *Hermosa*, had possessed themselves of some Provinces of *China*, but it wants a Confirmation. It is a justifiable and politick Practice to lose a Finger, or cut off an Arm to save the Head and whole Body. To venture all to save a Part is certainly pernicious; therefore it was a prudent and wise Action of the *Tartar* to secure his Empire, and overthrow the Power of the Enemy, with the loss of some few Persons, and a small part of his Revenue.

4. For this Reason I shall ever commend the great Wisdom and Understanding of *Don Sabiniãno Manrique de Lara*, when he found himself threatned by the insolent *Maroto*, or *Kue Sing*. That proud haughty People aspir'd to have those Islands pay them an Acknowledgment and Tribute, which was of dangerous Consequence, considering how small a Force there was in them at that time; but the Governour's Courage and Conduct made amends for all. He to secure the Head and main Body of what was committed to his Charge, with the general Consent, Advice, and Approba-

tion of all People concern'd, dismantled the Forts of *Tidore* and *Terranate*, and convey'd the Artillery, Garisons, and Christian Inhabitants to *Manila*, so strengthening the Head to be in a condition to oppose those that should presume to invade it; and the Consequences had been more advantageous if this had been done some Years sooner. But the policy of maintaining those Places, at the Expence of much *Spanish* Blood, with great Charge to the King, and loss of many Ships, prevail'd then. And why, others better know, I can give no reason for it; but certain it is the Profit did not pay the Cost.

5. Let us return to our *Chineses*, or *Tartar-Chineses*. The Alms the Emperor gives every Year, is one of the most magnificent things can be said of him; it exceeds four Millions, an Action worthy the greatest Monarch in the Universe. What I most admired in it, is, that the present Emperor's Father having been petition'd to apply that Sum to his own use, on pretence that the Exchequer was low, being exhausted by the Wars, he answer'd, That since his Predecessors had given a Testimony of their Piety, by distributing such large Alms, he would neither cut off, nor retrench it. What could any Catholick Prince have done more glorious? In all Towns and Citys there is a number of Poor maintain'd at the King's Cost, 100 in some, 60 in others, according to the greatness of the Place. I pass over all that *Mendoza* writes in the 10th Chapter of his second Book: and tho' at the latter end he says, that those of his Order, and the barefoot Friars, are Eye-witnesses that there are no Beggars about the Streets; yet I avouch, that the rest of us who have liv'd longer in that Country, have seen the contrary, and given Alms to many that have come to beg it at our Doors. As to what he says concerning blind Men, that they work in the Mills, where they get their Bread, I own it, and have seen many of them.

6. The Judges receive the Taxes, as shall be said hereafter, and give every poor Body his Allowance; sometimes the manner of it is singular and pleasant. There are always some of those who pay the Taxes so very faulty, that they can very hardly be brought to it with good lashing; others it is likely there are, who do not pay because they have it not. Now to oblige them to pay, it is an excellent Method and Course to give part of these Taxes to the Poor, and deliver them the

It is not confirm'd by the last Letters from *Manila*.

Nava-rette.

Alms.

Blind.

Mandarines Note to recover it. As soon as they have their Order, away they go to the House of the Party, produce their Commission, and take possession of the House as if it were their own; there, like absolute Lords and Masters, they command Meat, Drink, Beds, and whatsoever they please till they are paid. It is utter ruin and destruction to abuse them, or touch a Hair of their Heads; so that to save much trouble and charge, those People sell or pawn what they have to pay: and thus the Judge, by the insolency of the Beggars, raises the Duty he could not get with all his Power and Authority.

Poor. 7. There are many Poor besides those the Emperor maintains; they are proud, troublesome, and saucy, and not satisfy'd with any thing. They have their Judge that is their Protector in every City and Town, and they all pay him Contribution out of their Gettings. Whenever any of them is brought before a Court, this Man appears, protects, defends, and pleads for them; and it is strange to see that Judgment is always given for the Poor, which makes People stand in awe of them; no body dares so much as give them an ill word, but rather will let them have any thing they ask for. Sometimes if they get not what they demand, they threaten they will starve themselves at the Door, that their Death may be laid to him who denies them what they ask. Both Millioners and *Chineses* tell of strange Encounters they have had with them. For my own part I must confess, that giving them good Words, and a little Rice, I always got rid of them without being put to any trouble. Some there are that go about the Streets praying, without begging of any body; but when the People hear them pray, they bring out their Alms and give them. Others go about with Dogs that dance and play Tricks, particularly the blind Men use this as they do in *Spain*. Others carry about Monkeys which exercise their Faculties. Others

have frightful Snakes which they show, and get Alms. All this agrees well with what *Mendoza* writes.

8. Those who have read the Books, or heard an Account of Christian Doctrine, ask us, Whether there are any Beggars in *Europe*? We answer cautiously, saying, There are some whom God has left, that the Rich may have wherewith to bestow their Charity. Notwithstanding this Evasion, they look askew and say, If all Men in your Countries follow this Doctrine, there is no doubt but they are all as strictly united in Love, as if they were one Man's Children; and consequently the rich Man will share his Wealth with him that wants, and so all Men must have enough. Whatsoever we can say to them, they hold fast to this Argument; and in truth it was so in the Primitive Church, when all things were in common, and none wanted Necessaries. The Allowance of the *Mandarines* is very scant. *Mendoza* and *de Angelis* write the contrary, without any ground for it. This makes many of them suffer their Palms to be greas'd, yet a great number preserve themselves untainted, who live with great Moderation, at which the *Chineses* are much edify'd. In other Parts there are large Salaries, and yet they grasp all they can; but this is the difference betwixt them and other Nations, that if in *China* they once find any thing of Bribery, the Head infallibly falls for it: in other Countrys, tho they be manifestly known to be guilty of taking Bribes, they are conniv'd and wink'd at, and they dare confess and receive the Holy Sacrament. The Soldiers Pay is rather too great for that Country, every private Centinel has three Crowns of Silver a Month; if he be a single Man, he may maintain himself and save half. The Army is not so great now as it was some Years since, so that the Expence is less. I was told the Emperor spent 60 Millions a Year; it is a prodigious Expence, but I insert it here, that every one may judge of it as he pleases.

Bribery Capital.

Soldiers Pay.

C H A P. XII.

Other Particulars concerning the Emperor and his Court.

1. **T**HE Emperor of *China* was ever provident in laying up a Treasure, a necessary Precaution to be able to relieve the Publick, and the Subjects in their Necessities; so says *S. Thomas*, O-

puf. 20. quoted above. But this must not be done, as the *Chinese* Emperor who preceded the *Tartar* did; he gathered much, and was very covetous, so that it only profited the Robber, who seiz'd the Royal

Royal

Royal City, and set fire to the Palace. I mention'd before what vast Riches he carry'd away, yet when the *Tartar* came he found a great quantity. After the Palace was burnt, *F. Adamus* went into it to behold where *Troy Town* stood, and walking through the Rooms, found a Manuscript Book in our antient Character on Vellum; and as *F. Francato* to whom it was sent told me, it contain'd Text and Comment; the Character of the Text was small and unintelligible, that of the Comment was larger, and some of it might be read: The Subject was Divinity; it often quoted *S. Augustine* and *S. Thomas*, and no other Author; but it is not known when or how that Book was carry'd to *China*, and presented to the Emperor.

2. When the Robber first, and after him the *Tartar* enter'd the Imperial City, there were 7000 Pieces of Cannon mounted on the Walls, so we were inform'd in that Metropolis, and I mention'd it above; but there being no body to play them, it was the same thing as if there had been none: I shall come to this Subject in another place. The Emperor wanted the Love of his Subjects, and Eunuchs, who betray'd him; what then signify'd the Cannon? What signifies a mighty Army of resolute Soldiers, and well provided, if they want Faith and Loyalty? I said before how broad the Walls of the Imperial City were; they are all of Brick, and much higher than the antient ones we see in *Europe*. The Gates are very large, and all plated with Iron, as are those of the other Cities I have seen; but nothing avails where there is no Loyalty.

Forces.

3. It is a great Honour to the *Chinese* Emperor, that he can bring into the Field a Million or two, or more Men, and maintain them for Years, without any Breach of the known Liberties of the Empire, or raising the Prices of Commodities, or laying new Taxes; and if they had apply'd themselves to War, as they have done to Learning, who is there in the World that could oppose them? God Almighty took off their Edg from military Exploits, and gave them no inclination to enlarge their Dominions, perhaps that they might not give Laws to the Univerfe.

They keep their Soldiers under as much Discipline as Moses did.

4. I ever lik'd the *Tartar* and *Chinese* Soldiers, tho Heathens, many degrees beyond those of our Countrys. Those that guarded us to the Imperial City, were not like them that had the great Martyr *S. Ignatius* in Custody. I met

10000 of them just as I came in upon that Mission, I pass'd through the middle of them; and to say the truth, by their Courtesy and Carriage they look'd to me more like Christians, and very religious Gentlemen, than Infidels. Being upon my Journey, I came to lie one Night at a little Fort, in which were about fifty Soldiers. It is incredible how courteously they treated me; their Commander quitted his Chamber, which was a very good one and warm, considering the cold Season, for me to lie in; and tho I us'd all my endeavours, I could never prevail with him to suffer me to stay among the other Passengers in whose company I travel'd. Would any have done so among us? Such a thing might be, but is hard to be believ'd.

5. The River that is cut for the Emperor's Boats, and an infinite multitude of others in that Country, reaches within a small distance of the Imperial City. This is another, and no small Wonder, it is above 200 Leagues in length; for one hundred the Water runs away to the North, the other hundred it flows to the South. We sail'd the whole length of it when we came away banish'd from Court. Being come to the middle of it, we found a great Idol Temple standing on the Bank, and near it a good Spring, which there divides it self into two small Brooks, one turning to the North, and the other to the South. This Water is not enough for large Vessels, so that at times they are forced to stay for the Rains; and there are sometimes 500, sometimes 800 Boats stopt there till the Rain falls. This hapned in the Year 1665, when we were going up to the Imperial City. To supply this Defect, and endeavour to make it navigable at all times, they have found a useful but costly Expedient, which is, that on the South side, where is the greatest want of Water, they have 80 strong Sluices. Two strong stone Walls come down from the Land at equal distances, which drawing on still closer and closer, reach to the middle of the River, where they form a narrow Passage only capable of one large Boat at a time; this Passage is clos'd with mighty Sluices. At every one of these there is a *Mandarine*, with a great many Men to help the Vessels through. When the Sluices are shut, that little Water which runs in betwixt them in half a day, rises above a fathom and a half; then they suddenly throw open the Flood-gates, and the Vessels rush out as swift as an Arrow out of a Bow, and make all the way they

they can, till the Water again failing them, they are forc'd to repeat the same thing again. As some Boats fall down, others are going up; and this being more difficult because against the force of the Stream, such a number of Men join to hale them with Ropes, that it is wonderful to see how swift they drag a Vessel of above eighty Tun against the Current of that impetuous Torrent.

6. They observe great Order, and have their precedency in passing. The King's Vessels no doubt have the first place, and among them the worthiest, and those that carry Ambassadors or Persons of Note. Many too that ought to come last, buy a good Place. It is ridiculous and worth observing, to hear what Shouts, and noise of little Drums and Horns there is when any great Vessel goes through, especially if it be at Midnight, as we did sometimes. These Delays make the Voyage tedious. We spent six months and twelve days between the Court and Canton, which was time enough to sail from Goa to Lisbon. When there are great Rains, the Water gushes out in several Places, and breaks down the Banks that should keep it in. To prevent this Mischief, there are always abundance of People employ'd in several Parts to repair them with Turf, Fascine, and Piles.

7. There is no doubt but the cutting of that River was a prodigious Expence, and they are at no small Charge in keeping it in Repair; but it is as certain, that the Land-carriage would be more intolerably dear than it is by this Convenience. Great Art was us'd in cutting of it, for it is all full of turnings and windings to stay the Current of the Water. It is an incredible Number of Boats of all Sizes that is continually going upon it; and the same may be seen in other Places upon other Rivers. The multitude we saw in this Voyage was so great, that the Missioners who valued themselves upon their Knowledge in the Mathematicks, computed it, and maintain'd, there were enough to build a Bridg from Macao to Goa, which are distant 900 Leagues from one another, or more, as some will have it. There are those who affirm, there are more Vessels in China than in all the rest of the known World. This will

seem incredible to many Europeans; but I who have not seen the eighth part of the Vessels in China, and have travel'd a great part of the World, do look upon it as most certain. There is another thing very wonderful all along the way we have spoke of, which is, that there is great plenty of all sorts of Provisions, not only at reasonable, but at very inconsiderable Rates; and the Passengers being without Number, the Prodigy is the greater. A good Pigeon is sold for a Half-penny, a large fat Pullet with Eggs for three Half-pence, and where there is more scarcity, for Two-pence; a pound of excellent large Fish for Three-farthings, and sometimes less; Beef, Hares, Pork, and other sorts of Flesh at the same Rate; and very often they came to the Boats to offer these and the like things to sale.

8. Before we got off this River it began to freeze, and some days they were forced to break the Ice to be able to make way; and if we had been stopp'd a fortnight longer, there had been no avoiding travelling by Land, which would have been mighty troublesome to us. When the cold Weather and Frost came on, we all took notice of a notable Contrivance, and peculiar to the Ingenuity of the Chinese, for earning their Bread; which is, that to secure their fishing in the Rivers and Lakes, and to be able to cast their Nets safe from the terrible Frosts that are frequent in those Parts, they make a Case of Buffalo, or Horses Hide well sew'd, with the Hair on the inside, Boots at bottom, and Gloves and Sleeves of the same all in one piece. Into this they go with their Clothes, Shoes, and Stockings on, then girding it close about their Waste, they fasten it upon one Shoulder. In this manner they run into the River up to their Arm-pits, then cast their Nets; and having drawn them, they slip off the Case, having all their Clothes on, and not a drop off Water come through. We were all Eye-witnesses of this, and did not a little admire it. We saw others in Boats with the same Cases over them, and holding the Oars with those Gantlets, they row'd as swift as Thought.

Nava-
rette.

Provisions.

Fishing
Habits.

Boats.

C H A P. XIII.

Of other remarkable Things in China.

Navarrette.

1. THE Wall of *China* so famous among all Authors, may deservedly be call'd the only Wonder of the World. It is little above 20 Leagues from the Imperial City of *Pe King*. We being Prisoners in that City, it was then no time to take our Pleasure, or go to see it. I will write what I have been told several times, especially whilst I was in the said City, and will set down what others have writ concerning it. It runs along four Provinces from East to West. *Kircher* assigns it 900 *Italian Miles* in length, which make 300 Leagues of ours. *F. de Angelis* allows it 500 *Spanish Leagues*. Another *Italian* gives it 1200 *Italian Miles*, which make 400 Leagues of ours. *Mendoza*, lib. 1. cap. 9. allots it 500 Leagues: But he is in the wrong when he says 400 of them are made by Nature; and in telling the World, as *F. de Angelis* does, that it begins in the Province of *Canton*. This Mistake was occasion'd by their ignorance in the *Chinese* Language. The Province we call *Canton* is spelt thus *Kuang Tung*, which signifies large, and stretched out East. The Country where the Wall begins is in writing call'd *Kuang Tung*, that is, Bright East, and is not the Name of a Province. The Sounds are different, the Accent of the one is single, the other is not (*I suppose he means one is a Monosyllable, the other a Dissyllable.*)

2. What I could make out is, that it is 360 *Spanish Leagues* in length, thirty *Cubits* high; and the *Cubits* of *China* are larger than ours, and its breadth is above twelve *Cubits*. It rises and falls according to the Ground it runs over. In the Province of *Pe King* it breaks off for some space because of the Mountains. There are many Towers upon it for the Sentinels, and some Gates to pass through, but secur'd with strong Castles. All this monstrous Pile was rais'd in five Years; and 205 before the Incarnation of our Redeemer. The whole Empire sent three Men out of every ten, who working in sundry Places at a distance, finish'd the Work in so short a time. The whole Wall is of hard Stone, without any Lime or Sand, but so closely knit and neatly join'd, that the smallest Nail cannot be drove in betwixt the Joints. The Emperor *Cing Xi Hoang* order'd it to be

built after that manner. The new *Rome*, built by *Constantine*, was finish'd in five or six Years. *Bizantium* extended almost a League in Circumference without the Walls, which was a stately and magnificent Work, but not to compare with the Structure of this Wall. On that side of *Leao Tung* where it begins, it runs a quarter of a League into the Sea; the Foundation was laid on a great Number of Ships full of Iron Bars sunk there.

3. Who can chuse but admire this Structure, especially if they consider all these Circumstances we have mention'd? The Wall the Emperor *Severus* built for the *Britains* surpriz'd the World, and yet it was but 132 *Italian Miles* in length, as *Spondanus* writes Anno 212. But what is this to that in *China*? The Army the Emperor of *China* kept to guard his Wall, consisted of a Million of Men, others say a Million and a half. As in *Spain* we send *Criminals* to *Oran* and the Gallies; so here they are sentenced to serve at the Wall. This Punishment was also allotted for *Sodomy*; but if all that are guilty of it were to suffer by that Law, I doubt *China* would be unpeopled, and the Wall overgarison'd.

4. The building of this great vast and monstrous Wall, the vast Expence they were at in erecting it, and the great Charge in keeping it up, are plain Demonstrations of the *Chineses* want of Courage: For if they were Men but of indifferent Resolution, they might with less than a Million of Men sent beyond the Wall, tho' only arm'd with Sticks and Stones, in a small time destroy all the neighbouring Kingdoms, and make them tremble that are at a great distance from it. The *Chineses* are only fit to study, to trade, to make Curiosities, and to cheat, but not to fight. Now they say the *Tartar* has broken down half a League of the Wall; perhaps he designs to have a clear Passage, for fear any thing should happen amis to him. False Men and Tyrants never think themselves safe.

5. The Yellow or Red River is another remarkable Thing, and is therefore call'd *Hoang Ho*. It springs in the West, runs many Leagues without the Wall, fetches a great Compass about it, and returning again crosses through *China* till it comes into the Province of *Nan King*, where

Leagues of Spain.

Canton.

Wall.

Cubit of China.

The Temple of Solomon was built in 7 years and 5 months. Vid. Sil. T. 2. p. 5. col. 2. num. 103.

Sodomy.

Temper.

River Hoang Ho.

~
Nava-
rette.
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Water tur-
bid how
cleared.

where it falls into the Sea. Its course is above Soo Leagues, it is very rapid, and from its Source keeps a bloody Hew, without changing, or altering its colour in any place. When we went to Court, we sail'd on it two days and a half, and were surpriz'd and astonish'd to see its Whirl-pools, Waves and Colour: Its Water is not to be drunk, and therefore we laid in our Provision before-hand. Afterwards we observ'd a Secret in Nature, till then unknown to us, which was, that the Watermen and Servants fill'd a Jar of this Water, and putting into it a little Allum, they shak'd about the Jar; then letting it settle two hours, it became as clear and fair as could be wish'd, and was so delicate, that it far exceeded the other we had provided, tho it was extraordinary good. In Canton I learn'd another easier and wholesomer Cure for it, and it is only putting some small Grains which make Fish drunk (and in *Spanish* are call'd *Coca*) into a Jar, and the Water will clear in a very short time. The City *Jang Cheu*, to secure it self against the Inundations of this River, which are very great, built a Wall above two Fathom in thickness, very high, and 24 *Spanish* Leagues in length. Sometimes the River swells so high that it reaches the top of this Wall. The People take care of themselves before-hand; for if once it gets over, it certainly drowns all the Country in an hour.

6. It is a Dispute among the *Chinese* Philosophers, why the Water of this River should always keep its Colour from its Source, without ever altering. The Reasons they give for it are ridiculous. All the Missioners of us there were dubious about it, and had many Arguments upon the Subject, some whercof were concerning the Whirl-pools. As to the first Difficulty, I think there is no Reason to be given for it, but that the Earth it runs over is soft, and of that Colour, and the Current being rapid, it mixes with it. The Cause of the second Effect is, that some Places are very deep, into which the Currents fall with much violence. But it is very strange that in so great a distance there appears not the least alteration, either in the Colour or the Whirl-pools, tho there are other clear and Crystalline Rivers very near to it. In the Year 1668 it overflow'd the Banks, the Mischief it did was no more than usual upon such occasions; Towns, Villages, and Country-houses were bury'd under its Sand and Mud.

7. There is one thing very remarkable

in the Province of *Kuci Chu*, that is a Bridg of one only Stone, and is twenty ^{Bridg of} Fathom in length, and three in breadth. ^{one Stone.} *F. Michael Trigaucius* a Jesuit, and my Companion in Persecution, had noted this down as a Rarity; he told me of it, and I thought it worth writing. The manner of carrying that Stone, and placing it on to pieces of Wall, very high and broad, built on both sides of the River, was no small Subject of discourse. Of all the Men in the World, the *Chinese* only are the fittest to conquer such difficultys. They have excellent Contrivances, and a ready Wit for all worldly Affairs.

8. For fear I should forget it, I will here insert another thing which is prodigious and great. When I was at *Maca-sar*, talking with Prince *Carrin Carroro*, Son to that great lover of the *Spaniards*, and unfortunate Prince *Carrin Patin Galoa*, he told me they had not long since kill'd an Alligator seven Fathom long, and ^{Alligator.} three Fathom thick, in whose Belly they found three Mens Heads, some Daggers, Bracelets, and other things the Moorish Men and Women use to wear in that Country. This Prince kept some of the Teeth, which were monstrous. I who have seen many, believe this was a terrible one to behold. He added, that he and several others knew an Herb, which if a Man carried about him, he might with safety come close to one of those Creatures, play with, and get atop of it without any danger. He invited a *Portuguese* Gentleman who was by, and me, to see the performance; we thank'd him for the Favour, but those People being *Moors*, we presently consider'd there might be some superstitious practice in it. Since I have read much in *F. Raphael de la Torre*, I am inclin'd to believe there may be an Herb may have such a rare Virtue, as there are others that have wonderful Effects. Therefore the said Learned Father in his second Book, advises not to be rash in judging things to be done by Witchcraft, or Spells, which seem strange to us.

9. But to return to the Bridges of *Chi-* ^{Bridges.} *na*, on account of that I have mention'd of one Stone. When I came into that Kingdom, I went through and saw others, which for greatness and structure may vie with the best in *Europe*. The first I saw had no Arches, and I fancy'd the *Chinese* knew not how to build them; but afterwards I met with so many, and those so Artificial, that none in *Europe* exceed them. Many of them are so high, that their

their Ships pass under with all their Sails abroad. They have also many stately Bridges of Boats, I took notice of some of them; but when I beheld the renowned Bridge call'd *Lo Fung*, because of the Port of that Name that is near it, I stood amaz'd, and quite forgot the others I had before observ'd with much Care and Curiosity. This Bridge is two Leagues from the famous City of *Ciuen Cheu*, in the Province of *Fò Kien*, whose Walls may compare with the best in the World for Strength, Beauty, and Greatness. The Bridge is laid over a navigable Arm of the Sea, where abundance of People were wont to be lost. This moving *Cai Fung*, Governour of that part of the Country, to compassion, he caus'd it to be built. It is in length 1345 of my Paces, and those large ones. The Cubes or Peers it stands upon are above 300. The Intervals betwixt them for the Water, are not arch'd, but flat, each cover'd with five Stones lock'd into one another, above eleven Paces in length. The Sides of it are adorn'd with graceful Bannisters, with Globes, Lions, and Pyramids on them at equal distances, which make it very graceful to behold. The whole Work and Ornament is of a blew Stone, so deep colour'd, that at first sight it looks black; and tho' founded in the deep Sea, there is neither Lime nor Iron about it, only the Stones are mortized one into another; and yet in many Ages it has not been in any danger of falling. There are on it five stately Towers at equal distances, with strong Gates and Guards of Soldiers. As I was going over it they told me this Story; That formerly when they cross'd this Arm of the Sea in Boats, a Woman with Child went aboard, and the Master of the Vessel foretold to her, that she should be deliver'd of a Son, who would come to be a great *Mandarine*, and so powerful, that he would build a Bridge there at his own Charge. They say it fell out so, and he prov'd to be the same *Cai Fung* we have spoke of. Let it pass for a Tale, tho' it is well known there have been Heathen Prophets.

10. When first I came into *China*, I met with a very diverting River. I sail'd

down it five days together; the Channel is deep, and on both sides of it are vast Fields of Rice, which requires to be always swimming in Water; and therefore when they want Rain, they draw it up from the River with an infinite number of Mills they have for that purpose, which are all kept a going by the Stream, so that they move continually, and throw up the Water, which is conveyed as the Countryman thinks fit, without any toil of his. By reason of this multitude of Water-works, the River is call'd the River of Water-works, *Che Ki*.

11. In our way to the Imperial City, and Province of *Nan King*, we saw another odd Invention for drawing of Water, which we could not but admire and laugh at. These sort of Mills stood in a Plain upon the flat Ground, and were full of Sails made of Mat, as is usual in that Country; and the Wind twirling them about, they flew like Lightning, and drew abundance of Water without being attended by any body. Here we concluded, that those who say there are Carts in *China* carry'd by the Wind, as does *F. de Angelis*, doubtless meant these Mills, especially considering they call a Cart and one of these Mills by the same Name in *China*; and it is only distinguishable by the Genitive Case joyn'd to it, saying a Cart of Water, of Mills, of Oxen, &c. And unless it be made out thus, there is nothing to be said for it, tho' *Mendoza* vouches it, *lib. 1. cap. 10*. In the Island of *Kai Nan*, which is the most Southern Part of *China*, there is another great Rarity, which is, that the Fishermen who go with their Nets a dragging of Shell-fish, draw out of the Mud a sort of Crabs, which as soon as they come out of the Water into the Air, immediately turn into Stones, together with the Mud that clings to them. They are sold all over *China*, and are Medicinal; but particularly they are good to clear the Sight, and take away Inflammations in the Eyes; to this purpose I gave a Piece of one I brought over to the most Reverend *F. F. Peter Alvarez de Montenegro*, Confessor to his Majesty.

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Nava-  
rette.  
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Crabs that
turn to
Stones.

C H A P. XIV.

Of other Particulars of China.

Navarrotte.

1. THE Empire of *China* has such plenty and even superfluity of all things, that it would take up many Volumes to treat of them in particular. My Design is only to give some hints of what is most remarkable, which will suffice to make known how bountifully God has dealt with those People who know him not, giving them all they can desire, without being necessitated to seek for any thing abroad; we that have been there, can testify this Truth.

2. I am very well satisfy'd there is more Silk made there every Year, than in several other Parts of the World that deal in the same Commodity; and I believe half *Europe* might be supply'd from thence, and yet enough remain for their own use, tho' the Consumption there is great, as well in Clothes as other things. One thing among the rest I observe in *China*, which I could wish were follow'd among us, which is very little or no Change in their Apparel, Men and Women always go in the same Fashion. The Women's for some thousands of Years never was alter'd in the least; that of the Men had also continued thousands of Years the same throughout all the fifteen Provinces. The *Tartars* chang'd, and doubtless mended it, and that will hold as long as they do. The Dress of the *Chinese* and *Tartar* Women, tho' different, is very modest, and they may both be Patterns to the best of Christians. They abhor our Fashion even in the Pictures that go from hence, so that both Men and Women when they see their Necks and Breasts bare, hide their Eyes, and sometimes we are asham'd to show them. God expresses his Displeasure against the Change of Apparel, in the first Chapter of *Zephaniah*, *I will punish the Princes, and the King's Children, and all such as are clothed with strange Apparel.* It looks like a Farce, or rather like Childrens play, to see every day a new Fashion, and the last still the worst. The *Japoneses*, *Chineses*, *Tunquines*, *Cochinchinians*, *Siamites*, *Bengalans*, *Golocondars*, *Moguls*, *Persians*, *Turks*, *Muscovites*, and others, always have the same garb and apparel, and only we change every Day. Who can decide which are in the right, and which in the wrong?

3. It is prodigious what a quantity of coarse, finer, and most delicate Cotton-

webs there are in *China*, and all very lasting: There is also abundance of ordinary, indifferent, and curious Hempen-cloth as fine as the Hair of the Head. This their Summer Apparel is made of, and is very light and graceful. There is some Flax in the Province of *Xen Si*, but they do not spin it, and only use the Seed to make Oil of. *F. Martin* was deceiv'd in what he writ concerning their Linen. *F. Trigaucius* in like manner writes, that *China* abounds in Wine and Flax. If he means the Wine made of Rice, he is in the right; but as for our sort there is no such thing. There is enough of a very good and fine sort of Flax, which they make of a sort of Trees like our Plane Trees. They us'd to carry much of it to *Manila*; but that which we properly call Flax, I am positive the *Chineses* do not work it. *Atendoza* is in the wrong. *Trigaucius* owns the Truth, lib. 1. cap. 3.

4. In the Province of *Xan Tung* there are wild Silk-worms, which work their Webs in the Trees where they breed, and good strong Stuffs are made of them. In the Northern Parts, all that can afford it, make use of Lamb-skins to line their Clothes, to defend them against the Cold. They also make Breeches, Stockings, and Blankets of the same. Breeches are very ancient in *China*; according to *Lyra*, in *9 Genes. Semiramis* invented them. Who was the first Invention in *China* I know not. The Women wear black Breeches, but over them Petticoats. In the Southern Parts where the Cold is not so intense, Skins are not so generally us'd, but they quilt the Clothes curiously with Cotton and coarse Silk, which is lighter and warmer. They have Boots of all sorts, of Cotton, of Silk, of Neats leather, Buck-skins, and Hoises-hides, which are the best and most valued. There are some as thin and soft as a sheet of thick Paper: They fold into any shape, and then being pull'd out, are beyond the finest Cordovan. Others are made with the rough side outwards, and very beautiful. They are excellent Tanners, their Soles last twice as long as ours. Their Stockings are generally White, but all of an equal wideness; in Winter they have them thick, or quilted, or as every one likes. Their Clothes being all stop'd, they must have something to keep their

Necks

Extr. unalterable.

W. G. G.

Clothing.
Cotton and
Hemp-cloth.

Linen.

Wine.

Silk-worms
wild.

Necks warm in Winter, for which they make use of Collars made of the Skins of Foxes, Hares, Rabbits, Cats, and other Beasts. *China* has many Mines of Gold and Silver, tho of late Years they do not work in them, for very good Reasons which I have read in their Books. Abundance of Silver has gone over from *Manila* to *China*, but much more from *Japan*; at present they carry a great deal out of *Coria*. It would be a great saving to *Manila* if they would plant Mulberry-Trees in those Islands, and make Silk, there is Land very proper for it. Colonel *Don Laurence Lasso* design'd it, and there are some of the Plants to this day at *Bimman*. Very much is made in *Tunquin* and *Cochinchina*, and in *Manila*; because the Publick is neglected, they neither mind this, nor other Advantages.

Metals.

5. Much Gold is got in the Northern River of *China*, which they make use of in some sorts of Works, and sell it to Strangers. It produces Iron, Brass, Copper, and all other Metals in great plenty. There is great abundance of Wheat, Rice, Barley, Beans, and several other sorts of Pulse very cheap. In the Year 1664, I bought Wheat for three Ryals (eighteen Pence) which was brought to me to the Door to chuse, very clean and good; and Rice, every Grain as big as a Kernel of a Pine-apple, at five Ryals (half a Crown) the Bushel. In *Xan Tung* the same Year they sold Wheat for one Ryal (six Pence) the Bushel. Tho there are no Olive Trees, they have Oil of several sorts for three half Pence a Pound. That made of a small Seed call'd *Afonjoli*, is much us'd by the *Chineses* for making of Puff-past Fritters, and some other such Dishes they dress. Very good Oil for Lamps is in great plenty. That Country abounds in all sorts of Garden-ware. Parsley and Burrage there is none. The *Europeans* have carry'd Endive and hard Cabbages. The Cucumbers and Melons are not like ours. Several sorts of Pompions and Calabasses, an infinite number of Water-Melons, and others not known among us, are in vast quantities there. In the Southern Provinces there is as much Sugar-cane as they can wish. Throughout the whole Empire they smoke much Tobacco, and so there is abundance sowed: I have bought it for a Penny a Pound dry to make Snuff. The *Japan* Tobacco is most valued in those Parts. Wine of Grapes they use none, nor do they know how to

Grain.

Plenty.

Oil.

Garden-ware.

Sugar.

Tobacco.

Wine.

make it, tho they might have it very good, because their Grapes are excellent. *Nava-rette.* What they generally use is made of Rice, it is very pleasant and palatable, Red, White, and Pale. The Quince Wine is very delicate. The *Chineses* drink all their Wine very hot; they like the taste, and will take a Cup too much. They do not look upon Drunkenness as any Shame, *Drunkness is a Shame.* but make a Jest of it. They are not without Antient and Modern Examples for what they do. *Alexander* the Great, and *Cambyfes*, are a Couple that may stand for a great many; for Modern Precedents, let them but go towards the North, and they cannot miss; and if they draw nearer to the South, they will find some, the more is our shame. The Emperor banish'd him that first invented Wine in *China*; and their Histories tell us, he shed many Tears condoling the Mischiefs that Invention would cause in his Empire. When I was at *Rome* in the Year 1673, there came thither two *Armenian* Fathers of my Order, with the Emperor of *Persia's* Secretary, and Letters from him for his Holiness, in answer to those the Archbishop of *Armenia*, who was also a *Dominican*, had carry'd four Years before. These Fathers said, that the Emperor was a great Drinker, and that he asking whether there were good Wines in *Rome*? and being told there was, he said, If so, then your Pope it is likely is always drunk and besides himself. The *Armenian* reply'd, Sir, in *Rome* and those Countrys Men drink Wine, but they do not allow the Wine to get the upper hand of the Men. The *Persian* was satisfy'd. But observe what an unreasonable Reflection he made, tho so natural to his Vice; because he would be drunk with Wine, he concluded the Monarchs in our Parts must do the same. This makes good the Saying, that he who is drunk thinks all others are so. His Father was more zealous for his Law, for he commanded abundance of Vineyards to be destroy'd. It is a difficult matter to establish the Precept of *Plato* in *China*, and other Places, *viz.* that Soldiers should drink no Wine. The *Turks* observe it, and follow the Example of the *Chineses* in carrying no Women to the War. We had the News in *China* of the Numbers there were in the Armys that went into *Portugal*. Nor would *Plato* allow Princes, Judges, or those that have Publick Employments, to drink Wine, nor even married Men when they are to have to do with their Wives, lest they should

get Children like themselves. Much has been writ against this beastly Vice, and to no purpose; I shall speak something to it in another place.

C H A P. XV.

Of some Trees peculiar to China.

1. GOD is wonderful in his Creatures, and stupendous in the Multitude, Diversity and Beauty of them; the Variety of only Plants he has created, were sufficient for ever to express his great Power and infinite Wisdom. The Trees, Flowers, Fruits, and Plants I my self have seen in my life-time, are so very numerous, they would more than fill a large Volume. There is a Tree, or rather a Shrub in the *Philippine Islands*, which is very strange, but withal mischievous; it commonly grows near other Trees, and twines about them: they that cut Wood fly as far as they can from it, and if they neglect so to do, they pay for't with terrible Pains. There comes from it a sort of thick Milk, which at the first stroke of the Ax flies up to the Eyes, and they drop out on the Ground, and the Man remains not only blind, but full of most vehement Pains for the space of eight Days. I saw this misfortune befall a Man, to my great trouble and affliction.

2. At *Guistin*, a Town in the Island *Mindoro*, I saw a Tree, of which the Curate of *Luban* had told us, that every Leaf of it which fell to the Ground, immediately turn'd into a Mouse. Being come to the said Town with other Companions that were upon the Mission with me, I enquir'd among the *Indians* concerning the truth of that Report. They avouch'd it to be so, and added, that if any of the wild Mice came within the shade of that Tree, they dy'd upon the spot. The Tree is beautiful to look to, and of a very fine Green. I hapning to relate this in *China*, *F. Balat* the Jesuit said, That in some parts of the Lower *Germany* there were certain Trees on the Sea-shore, the Leaves whereof falling into the Water, were converted into Ducks. I afterwards read the same in *F. de Angelis*, and at *Rome* credible Persons of that Country assured me it was true.

3. Let us go over to *China*, which is our principal Subject. There is a Tree there call'd *Kuei Xu*, pretty large spreading, and handsome to look to; it al-

ways grows on the Banks of Brooks, as do the Willows in *Castile*. It bears a Fruit about the bigness of a Hazle-Nut, of a dark green Colour; it blossoms about the middle of *December*, and looks as white as Snow; in the middle of it appears something of the blackness of the Kernel, which is very beautiful: the Green that is over it withers away by degrees, and then all that was within it appears. The White looks like try'd Tallow. They gather it about the latter end of *December*, or beginning of *January*, melt, and make excellent Candles of it, resembling white Wax, without any ill scent. They last very long in Winter, but not in Summer; tho they keep all the Year, and serve us very well. It is impossible to discover how great a quantity of these Candles is consum'd; but it is wonderful great the first 15 days of their New Year, and all the rest of the Year in the Temples of their Idols the Expence is incredible. The natural Colour of them, as has been said, is White; but they adorn them with several Colours, Flowers, Silver and Gold, as with us we set off the Paschal Candles. The common price of them is three half pence a Pound, but they that buy it off the Tree save the one half. After the making the Candles, from the Grounds that remain they extract Oil for the Lamps. It is a very profitable Tree, and no way costly to the Owner. If we had it among us, Oil, Tallow, and Wax would be very cheap. It has been disputed among the Missioners whether Mass may be said with those Candles? I guess there is no Precept for their being made in Wax, in which Casuists agree; and bating the mystical signification of it, I find no reason why we may not make use of them.

4. There is no want of Wax in *China*, but they use it in Medicines, not to burn; the price of it is not the same in all places, yet it is no where above two Ryals (a Shilling) a Pound. The Emperor, and Petty Kings, burn Wax, but not of the common sort; it is made by great wild Bees, and is naturally white with-

We all of us ever us'd to have a Wax Candle among the others.

cut

out using any art to it ; the Candles made of it are much better than ours. They last long, and when lighted, are so transparent that the Wick is seen through them. *F. Adamus* us'd these in his Church very freely, for the Empress Dowager supply'd him. In the Northern Provinces they also make use of Tallow Candles ; an infinite quantity of them is consum'd, and they are very cheap. In the *Philippine Islands* there is abundance of Wax ; the Mountains are full of Swarms of Bees, who make it in the Trees, where the Natives take it. The Trade of it to *New Spain* is very considerable, the Profit very great, for it costs less than two Ryals (twelve Pence) the Pound, and is sold at *Acapulco* for a piece of Eight. This was so in my time.

5. There is another Tree in *China* very much wanted in the Gardens of *Spain* and *Italy*. It is call'd *La Moli Xui*, is not very large, but fightly, and greatly valued by all People. It bears no other Fruit but only a little yellow Flower, so sweet and fragrant, that I know nothing in *Europe* to compare it to ; though very small, it may be perceiv'd a quarter of a League off. The learned Men and Scholars take great care of this Tree, which blossoms in *January*, and the Flower continues some months upon the Tree. They usually wear it in the lock of Hair that hangs behind.

6. The Women are also much addict-ed to wear Flowers on their Heads, some of Gold, some of Silver, and some natural, which are very plentiful ; and rather than lose the Custom, they use the Flowers of Mallows, which they sow in their Gardens for this purpose, and to eat. I have eaten them sometimes, and find they are good ; we have none but what grow wild. It is very comical to see some old Women of threescore and ten almost bald, and full of Flowers. We saw one at the beginning of the Year 1668, as she pass'd by in hast from her own House to a Neighbour's, that made us laugh heartily. And it is to be observ'd that it was never known in *China*, that they hooted Men or Women however they are clad. The same is observ'd in the Country whether you travel by Land or Water, and they never fail of their usual Civilities. These things very often made us stand amaz'd, and we could not but remember the rude Scoffing, and insolent Expressions commonly us'd in our Countrys, in Citys, upon the Road, and in other Places, to Gentlemen, elderly

Persons, modest Maids, and Churchmen ; and notwithstanding all this those must pass for *Barbarians*, and we be look'd upon as very much civiliz'd. In Winter some People go abroad in such strange odd Figures, that a Man must be very much mortify'd to forbear laughing. Nevertheless the good Carriage, Modesty and Civility of those People makes them pass by all, without any exterior demonstration.

7. There is also something singular in the Tree they call *Moei Xu*, it bears a little four Fruit, which Women and Children eat ; being dry'd and put into a Brine, they sell it for a Medicine, and to give to sick People, because it sharpens the Appetite. The Tree is very large, and what I particularly observ'd in it, is, that it blossoms about *Christmas*, when it freezes hard, and the Snow falls and lies upon the Ground : I admir'd at it very much the first time I saw it, which was in the Year 1663 on the 23d of *December*. All the Field was cover'd with Snow, the Tree hanging with Jewels, and that Flower show'd its Beauty in the midst of it all, vying in whiteness to outdo the Snow.

8. The Camphir Tree the *Chineses* call *Chang Xu*, is vastly big and beautiful to behold. The Camphir the *Chineses* gather from it is somewhat coarse, the finest and best of it God allotted to the Island of *Borneo*. The Wood of it smells very strong, of which they make Tables, Chairs, and other Household-goods. The Sawdust of it strow'd about the Beds, drives away the Punaices or Bugs, which swarm in some Parts ; and five Leagues round where these Trees grow, there is not one to be seen, which is very strange. All the *Chineses* take a particular delight in killing these nasty Insects with their Fingers, and then clapping them to their Nose, an unaccountable and loathsome pleasure. A Priest who had been some considerable time in *Borneo* and seen it, told me the manner how they gather the Camphir. In the dawn of the Morning those Islanders go out with Clothes and Sheets, which they spread under the Trees : before the Sun rises, a Liquor sweats out through the pores of the stock of the Tree, and the Branches ; it moves and shakes about just like Quicksilver, and then they shake the Boughs as much as they can, whence there falls down more or less of it according as it came out, and to the Motion of the Tree, there it consolidates ; and having gather'd it, they put it into Canes, where they keep it. As soon

as the Sun appears, all that is left sinks into the Tree again. That People have an extraordinary affection for their Dead, and therefore keep them several days in the House before they bury them, taking comfort in having them present. To prevent their putrifying with the great heat of the Country, they make use of Camphir after this manner. They seat the dead Person on a low Chair open below, and from time to time they blow into his Mouth a Cane of Camphir, which goes down into the Body, and in a short time works out at the other End. Thus they preserve the Carcasses many days without the least Corruption. In the Province of *Canton* there are many Cinnamon Trees; the Cinnamon is good, so that they do not stand in need of that of *Ceylon*. But *China* produces no Cloves, nor Nutmegs, as *Mendoza* writ. In the Northern parts there is *Ebony*; but they that would have abundance of it, very good and cheap, must go to the *Philippine Islands*, where they will find Mountains cover'd with it. The *Chineses* highly value the Sandal of *Solor* and *Timor*, and it costs them a great deal of Plate. Of the Red, which is less valued, there is some in the *Philippine Islands*. There are more than enough of all sorts of Oaks, and Pinetrees. The consumption of Pine in Ships, Boats, and Buildings, is immense, it seems wonderful that all the Woods are not destroy'd; no small quantity is spent in firing, and it looks like a miracle that it should hold out for all uses.

Cinnamon.

Ebony.

Sandal.

Oak.

Pines.

9. In the North where Wood is something scarce, God has provided Coal-pits, which are of great use. There are infinite quantities of Canes as thick as those of *Manila* and *Peru* in all parts of *China*, but more in the Southern Provinces. These Canes are a great help to the *Chineses* and *Indians*. The latter build their Houses, and make other uses of Canes. The *Chineses* make Tables, Chairs, Beds, Presses, Boxes, Chests, and whatsoever they please. When we came banish'd to *Canton*, in two days time we furnish'd our selves with all Necessaries, finding all those things I have mention'd ready made in the Shops. The Cane-chairs, Table, Bed, &c. lasted me four Years, and I left them never the worse for wearing. The Bed cost a Ryal and a half (nine pence) the Table a Ryal (six pence); three quarters of a Ryal (four pence half penny) every Chair, the rest bought at the same rates. It is a great pity we have not in these Parts that Plant for all those uses I have mention'd, and to make Scaffolds, Arbours in Gardens, Poles for Orchards, and many other things. Some are so big, there must be two Men to carry one. The Hearts or Pith of them in Vinegar, is an excellent thing for sick, or healthy Persons to eat. In *Manila* they call it *Achor*. The young ones that sprout up when very small, make an excellent boil'd Sallad, which is very pleasant, wholesome, and gently laxative.

Coal.

Canes.

Houhold-stuff.

C H A P. XVI.

Of some Fruits and Flowers of China, and other Parts.

1. I Have seen abundance of Flowers, and more sorts of Fruits; if I could remember all, this Chapter would be longer than those before. They have great store of *Jasmins* in *China*, which they plant in the nature of Vines; they look after them carefully, and sell them in Nosegays, which them good profit. The *Sampagu*, so deservedly famous at *Manila*, and other parts, is so in *China*. It certainly excels the *Jasmin*, they have it in Pots, and it is a great Commodity, being carri'd about to several Provinces. There are wonderful Properties in the Root of this Flower, and those very opposite to one another. They say that Part which grows to the East is a mortal Poison, and that which grows to the

Flowers.

Jasmin.

Sampagu.

It is observed hereafter that Flowers are a great motive for us to praise God.

West the Antidote against it; this I was told in *Manila*, where there is great plenty of it.

2. There is in *China* a sort of Rose-tree, not to be distinguish'd from ours by the Eye, which every month in the Year puts out new Roses, nothing differing from those we call a Province Rose. That which the *Chineses* call *Queen of Flowers*, in their Language *Meu Tan*, is certainly the beautifullest in the World, and ought only to be handled by Kings and Princes. Its smell is very delightful, and it is thick of reddish Leaves, which will divert even Melancholy it self. That Country abounds in Sun-Flowers, very fragrant Lillies, much celebrated by their Philosopher, Pinks but of little scent,

Rose.

Meu Tan.

scent, and other Flowers usual among us. There are vast quantities of that they call *Cocks-comb*, which is very beautiful, and a great Ornament to Gardens. Rosemary, Lawrel, Olive, Almond-trees, and others common in *Europe* are not known there.

Honey-suckles.

The Honey-suckles of *China*, which grow wild in the Northern Provinces, may vie with those that are nicely rear'd in Gardens in *Spain*, and are taller than they. In the Province of *Fo Kien* there is a great deal of good Origany, or wild Marjoram, and much Majoricon grows about the Fields.

Rose.

3. In the *Philippine Islands* I several times saw a particular sort of Rose, tho at *Rome* I was told some parts of *Italy* afforded it; to make it altogether wonderful, it wants the smell. They place a Nosegay of them on an Altar in the Morning, till Noon it preserves its whiteness, which is not inferior to Snow; from ten till two it changes by degrees to a glorious Red, and at five turns to a most perfect Colour. I and others affirm'd it was an Emblem of the Mysteries of the Rosary, and with good reason because of its three Colours.

Fruits.

4. To come to the Fruits, I dare avouch there is not a Man in *Spain* that has seen and eaten so many sorts as I have done. In *New Spain*, which affords all that our Country has, I eat of the Plantan, Pine-Apples, *Mameis*, *Anona*, *Cibicocapote*, *Aguazates*, and others. At *Manila*, *Mafaca*, *Caile*, and other places the *Plantans* are much better. Others call them *Planes*, but they are mistaken. There is none of the Plane-tree, or its Fruit in *Mexico*, or the *Philippine Islands*, but in *China* there is, it differs much from those vulgarly call'd *Plantans*. The Pine-apples are also incomparably better. Among the great variety there is of *Plantans*, those they call the *Bishops* are best, the next to them are the *Dominicans*. Those the *Indians* call *Cambing Saguin*, that is, Goats-Horn, because of their shape and make, exceed all others in sweetness and scent, but that they are too cold. The Great ones they call *Tumduque*, roasted, boil'd, or otherwise dress'd, are an excellent Dish. Some other sorts there are dangerous to eat much of them, but being dress'd they lose some of their hurtful qualities. The flavour, tast and sweetness of all we have mention'd, does without dispute exceed that of all the Fruits in *Europe*.

Ate.

5. The *Ate* which is very common at *Manila*, and throughout all that *Archipelago*, even as far as *India*, is doubtless

one of the prime Fruits of God's Creation in the Universe. It is like a little Pine-apple, when it grows ripe on the Tree, and there distils from it a most excellent kind of Rose-water. No fruit that ever I saw has such a relish, sweetness, and odour, it is highly valued in all parts.

Nava-rette.

6. There is none of the *Dorion* at *Manila*, it is possible there may be in the Neighbouring Islands, and on the Mountains. It grows in *Macassar*, *Borneo*, and other places; all Men value, and many say it excels all other Fruit; this I can say that it is admirably good. Many observe that at the first bite it exhales a little smell of Onion, and therefore they do not like it so well as others; I own I perceiv'd it, but it is gone in a moment, and there remains a sweet delicious taste. They look upon it to be of a hot nature. Its shape is like a little Mellon streak'd; as they are cutting it upon those streaks, there lies betwixt every two a several mass of a white meat, and within it a pretty large stone. Every one has six of these several parcels, and each of them makes three or four good mouthfuls. At *Macassar* they keep them dry'd in the smoke; we bought them sometimes in that Island, and always lik'd them very well, they are fit for a King's Table.

7. The *Macupas* of *Manila* may vie in colour and taste with our Pippins; they are excellent for sick people, because they are watry and cool, and they are extraordinary, either conserv'd or preserv'd. The *Milimbines*, or *Carambolas*, in my opinion are beyond the *Macupas*; there are of them sweet and sour, when ripe they smell exactly like Quinces; an excellent Conserve is made of both sorts of them. The most famous are those of *Terranate*, whence Plants were carry'd to *Manila*; there is nothing finer for a sick body that is very thirsty; its colour is very green, and when thorough ripe a Quince colour. These are to be found in the Southern parts of *China*. The *Pabos* of *Manila* are made great account of in that Country, the Tree is very sightly, the Conserve of *Pabo* very dainty; being kept in Brine it serves instead of Olives, and is very good with Rice, which is the Bread of those parts. They are much us'd, and with good success to get sick people a Stomach; when ripe they are pleasant, tho extreme sour, they are like the *Mangos* I shall speak of hereafter, and I take them to be a species of it. The *Santoles* is the fruit so much admir'd by the *Indians*, they are in the right, but it is eaten boil'd,

Milimbine.

Pabos.

Santoles.

boil'd, and otherwise dress'd, never raw. They are also preserv'd dry or wet, or made like Marmelade, and is good always. The Tree is very large, and the fruit bigger than an Apple, its colour Purple.

8. The Black *Capotes* and *Anonas* have thrive very well in *Manila*, where there are a great many sorts of Oranges in abundance, and so of Lemmons. The *Papagas* is a wholesom and pleasant fruit, they call it the Jesuits Fruit. I ever lik'd it boil'd or raw, they are good cut into a Sallad before they are ripe, or preserv'd. The Tree is all soft and fappy, and casts a Root with great ease tho it be upon a Rock. It bears a great deal of fruit, not on the Boughs but the Body, and in a very short time.

9. That which the *Portugueses* call *Xaca* and we *Nangeas*, is the largest fruit I think there is in the World. Some of them weigh half a hundred weight. *F. Kircher* assigns this fruit to *China*, but he was misinform'd. There is of it in *India*, the Islands and *Manila*. They cut it with an Ax; within it are many Nuts as yellow as Gold, and in each of them a Kernel. This roasted is very savory, and the Kernel delicious. The *Indians* dress it very well with the milk of the Coco-Nuts. This fruit grows on the Body of the Tree, and not on the Boughs, for they could never bear it. The *Xambos* of *Malaca* are in great vogue, they grow at *Manila*, but not so large. They are round, something bigger than a common Plum. The Stone is loose, and stands off from the fruit, its tast and smell is like a fragrant Rose.

10. The *Portuguese* highly commend the *Indian Mangos*; they grow at *Macassar*, *Camboxa* and *Siam*, where they say the best are to be had. I know not how to describe them. The Tree is very large and tall. They when ripe are yellow; the inside of some of them is all eaten, but of others only chew'd and suck'd, the rest remaining in the mouth like a rag. Both sorts are good, but rare in Pickle. They are hot, and bite, and therefore they drink water after them; and the Boys when they have fill'd their Bellies with them, pour a Pitcher of water over their heads, which running down about the body, prevents any harm they might take by eating so many. Let us leave other sorts not in such esteem, tho good, and go over to *China*, where there are some very rare, besides those known in *Europe*. I will only say something briefly of the *Lechias*, *Longanes*, and *Chiqueyes*, which are the most remarkable.

11. The *Lechia*, which the *Chineses* call *Lichi*, is in that Country accounted the Queen of Fruits, and they are in the right, for I know none better, unless the *Ate* exceeds it. And for the most part those things that are excellent are rare; there is such abundance of *Lechias*, only in two Provinces along the Coast, that it is wonderful, and yet they are not valued the less. They are small, being a little bigger than a large Walnut, the shell green and thin, within it is as white as Snow, with a Stone as black as Jet. The tast, flavour, and delicacy of it is to admiration; they usually put them into cold water before they eat them; they say they are of a hot nature: When they have eaten as many as they can, they drink a little water, and have a Stomach to eat more. The Tree is large and handsome to look at. I found them out in the Mountains of *Batan*, near *Manila*, that year *Don Sabinian Manrique de Lara* came Governour thither, but being wild they were not so large as those in *China*. *Mendoza* calls them Plums; they deserve a better name.

12. The *Longanes*, which the *Chineses* call *Lung jen*, that is, *Dragons eyes*, because the stones within them are just like the eyes of a Dragon, as the *Chineses* paint them, were doubtless better than the *Lechia*, if it had but so much meat, being sweeter and more fragrant. But tho the meat is little, it is of much substance, abundance of it is eaten, and it is sold dry throughout all the Empire. It is valued as a good Medicine, and being boil'd, makes a pleasant and nourishing Broth.

13. The *Chiqueyes* known in *Manila*, *Xi Cu*, because the *Chineses* carry some thither, and call them *Xi Cu*, tho the *Portugueses* give them the name of *Figocaque*, are of several sorts, or imperfect Species, but all delicate. Some there are small, in the shape of an Acorn, but much bigger; they have no Kernel, the shell alike in all of them, is like the rine of an Onion; the flesh yellow and very soft when they are ripe, so that making a little hole at the top, they suck out all that most sweet and pleasing tast to the palate. There are other large ones bigger than *Burgamy Pears*, of the colour of a fine Red Poppy, so delightful to the eye, that it deserves to be bought for its beauty; before they grow soft they shrink considerably; but when they have lain a day in water they come out as fair as a Pippin. These two sorts are ripe about *September*, there is such plenty that the Streets are full of them, so that they are very cheap. There

There are others very precious and larger, greenish and flat, ripe in *December*, it is charming to see and eat them. These two last kinds have Kernels enough, but they are small, they dry them in the Sun to keep. Every one is as broad as the Palm of a Mans hand, they last a great while, and are delicious; and being steep'd one night in Wine eat delicately. These breed a Poudre over them like Sugar, which is sold by it self, and being put into water in Summer makes a pleasant drink. Abundance of *Chiqueyes* were carry'd to *Manila* in my time, but none of this last Sort.

Oranges.

14. There are many kinds of *Oranges* in *China*, some better than others, two sorts of them are common in *Portugal*. One species of them the *Chineses* make into dry flat Cakes like the *Chiqueyes*, which are excellent good, cordial, nou-

rishing, and well tasted. They are valued at *Manila*, and carry'd to *Mexico* as a great Dainty. There are vast quantities of Chestnuts, Hazlenuts, Walnuts, and *Azufaifas* (a Fruit uncommon in *Spain* not known to us) they have a vast Trade for these dry Fruits. The *Guabagas* the *Chineses* carry'd from *Manila*, have throve there to satisfaction. I do not question but Olive and Almond Trees would take well, for I know no better Land in the Universe. Their Apricocks are not inferior to the best in *Spain*. Peaches, Pears, and Quinces are as plentiful as may be. There are but few Cherries, yet some I have eaten, but the *Chineses* value them not. I never saw any Hart-cherries, but there are many other sorts of Fruit, of which we have no knowledg in these parts. Let this suffice for Fruits and Flowers.

Navavette.

C H A P. XVII.

Of some of the Living Creatures China affords.

Elephants. 1. **I**N the Province of *Jun-nan* there are very good *Elephants* bred. The Emperor keeps 24 at *Peking*, as was said before. There are also many at *Tunquin*. It is reported of the King of that Country that he keeps 4000 tame ones, he makes use of them in his continual Wars with the King of *Cochinchina*. The King of *Camboxa* has many, and he of *Siam* more and larger. I shall speak of them among the Controversies of the White Elephant that dy'd at *Siam*, and of his Royal Funeral Pomp, being accompany'd by above 30000 Priests of the Idols, for this Account belongs to that place. A *Portuguese* Inhabitant of *Macao*, who was an honest Man, and a good Christian, told me he had seen an Elephant's Tooth that weigh'd above three hundred weight. What a Mountain of Flesh must that be which carry'd six hundred weight in only two Teeth! There are wonderful ones at *Mozambique*. I shall speak more at large in another place.

Elephants
Tooth.

Tigers.

2. The *Tigers* in *China* are very numerous, large, fierce and bloody; it is incredible what numbers of people they kill and devour every year. A Christian *Chinese* who had liv'd some years at *Macao* with the *Jesuits*, and with me when I came first to the *Mission*, told me that they were in Troops of a hundred, or two hundred together at one certain place on the Road from *Canton* to *Hai*

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Nan, that Travellers durst not set out unless they were 150 strong, and that some years they had destroy'd 60000 persons. I neither avouch nor deny this, but only relate what I heard from that Man. I made some objections, but he persisted in what he had said. If this continued long, *China* would soon be unpeopled. Some I have seen, one of them in truth was bigger than a great Calf. A Religious Man of my own Order who dy'd upon the *Mission*, told me he had seen one leap a Wall as high as a Man; and catching up a Hog that weigh'd about a hundred Pounds, and throwing it over his Neck, he leap'd the Wall again with his his prey, and ran swiftly away to the Wood. In Winter they come out to the Villages, where there is no safety for Man or Beast; and therefore in Country-Houses, or Villages that are not inclos'd with Walls, and are near the sides of Mountains, or in Valleys, all Men are at home betimes, and every one secures his Door. I was some days in a place where they did so, and they would come to the Door before it was dark, howling so dreadfully that we were not without fear in the Rooms. The *Chineses* do not take much pains to catch them, some Gins they lay for them, and value the Skin, of which they make a sort of Coats which the Captains wear, with the Hair outwards; they look handsomely, and keep out the Cold.

G

3. There

3. There are Leopards, and Ownces, but no Lions, and many believe there is no such Beast. Two Brafs Lions were part of the Present the *Dutch* made the Emperor in the year 1665. There being Leopards, it is hard to believe there should be no Lions, but they own the one and deny the other; and perhaps those they speak of are no Leopards. Bears there are in abundance. In the Province of *Xan Tung*, there is one Species of them, which the *Chineses* call Men-bears, *Hiung Sin*. *F. Antony de Santa Maria* saw them; they walk upon two Legs, their Face is like a Mans, their Beard like a Goats. They climb the Trees nimbly to eat the Fruit; unless provok'd they do no hurt, but when anger'd they come down furiously, fall upon the people, and strike two or three times with their Tongue, which is very odd, carrying away with it all the flesh it touches. The aforefaid Father often said it, as did Father *John Balai* a Jesuit, and both of them had liv'd years in that Province. Sure they are of the nature of the *Lamia*, *Jerem. Lament. 4.v.3.* of whom *St. Jerome* says, *They have a human face, but a beastly body.*

4. The Provinces of *Xen Si* and *Xan Si*, breed abundance of those Animals the Musk comes from; in that Country they are call'd *Xe*. Their Books describe it after this manner; the Body is like that of a small Deer, the Hair resembles that of a Tiger or Ownc; when hard drove by the Hunters, it climbs upon the Rocks, where it bites off the Musk-bag which hangs at its Navel, thinking thus to save its life by quitting the Treasure to the Hunters, but it soon dies. This account of the Book agrees with the common opinion. The Kingdoms of *Tunquin*, *Cochinchina*, *Camboxa*, *Laos*, and others have vast numbers of these precious Beasts; and if the *Europeans* through their covetousness had not enhanced the price of this Commodity, it would be of small value, for there is great store of it in those parts, but that of *China* is counted the best. In the year 1669 it went about a begging in the Province of *Canton* at fourteen Ducats in Silver, consisting of twenty Ounces, and no body would buy it. This was of the best sort, and they say so excellent, that the Merchants make two Ounces or more of one, and sell it in *Europe* as choice. *F. Mendoza* writ some things upon this Subject, which I find no ground for; 'tis likely he was impos'd upon by him that gave him the Information, especially if he was any of the *Chineses* that live at *Manila*, as plainly

appears by other things he mentions in the sequel of his History.

5. There is another Creature in the same Province very like that we have spoke of, it seems to be an imperfect Species of it, for it only differs in that it has no Bag, all the rest is exactly the same. This Beast is sold to eat. As we came away from Court, our Men bought one; it is wonderful what a scent the Flesh exhal'd when it was roasted, for it diffused it self all over the Vessel, and into all the Cabbins; when eaten, it tasted like the highest preparation of Musk, and the smell was such as did not offend the taste, but if stronger there had been no eating of it for the Perfume.

6. The *Chineses* talk and write much concerning the Unicorn, they commend and look upon it as an Omen of Prosperity. They paint him very beautiful, but after all it seems to be much like the story of the Phœnix. They write of him that his Body is like a Deer, his Tail like a Cow's, and his Feet like a Horse's; that he is of five several Colours, the Belly yellow; has only one Horn, with flesh about it, is two fathom high, a mercifull Beast, and the Emblem of all Felicity. Unicorn.

7. In *Siam* and *Camboxa* there are *Hibadas*, vulgarly call'd Unicorns; the *Chineses* are acquainted with their Qualities, and therefore value any thing that belongs to them. Those of *Mozambique* are very famous. The little Horns of the Females before the Males cover them are most valued; they make small account of the great Horns there. Concerning this Beast you may read *Oleaster* in 23. *Num. & A Lapide.*

8. There are two other strange and remarkable Creatures in *China*, the one is called *Lang*, its forefeet are very long, and the hinder ones short. The other is nam'd *Poei*, or *Poi*, whose hind-feet are long, and the fore-feet short, whence it follows that they cannot go singly apart from one another. Their Maker taught them how they should go from place to place to feed and seek their sustenance. Two of them joyn, and one helps the other, so that one sets down the long fore-feet, and the other the long hind-feet, so they make one body that can walk; thus they get their food and live. The *Chineses* call miserable poor wretches that cannot live by themselves *Lang Poi*, to signify that they want some assistance to get their living. This is not unlike a lame and a blind Man, one finds eyes, and the other feet, and thus they help one another, and walk.

Jan. 9. In the Mountains of the Province of *Nan King*, there is a Beast call'd *Jang*. It is like a Goat, has Ears and Nose, but no Mouth, and lives upon the Air. I am not ignorant that many Authors hold against *Pliny*, that no Creature can live only upon Air; yet others side with this grave Author, and maintain the same of the Cameleon, as do all the *Chineses* in general of the Beast here mention'd, of which none can say what some urge against the Cameleon, for it has no Mouth as that has; so that we must of necessity have recourse to *Pliny's* Opinion, or deny this Account which I my self read, and is generally receiv'd and allow'd in that Country. Read *A Lapide, Levit. 11. v. 29, 30.* where he speaks of the Cameleon, and other Creatures.

Horses. 10. *China* breeds many good and able Horses; vast Numbers are continually carry'd thither out of the Western Parts, but they geld all; their Saddles are somewhat different from ours, they have good Bridles and Stirrups. They have abundance of Pads, some very small and finely shap'd. The *Tartars* are excellent Horsemen and Archers; they let fly an Arrow, and running a full speed, take it up again with the end of their Bow, and come with their Hand. In the Southern Parts there are Camels enough, in the Kingdoms of *Golocondar* and *Narsing* infinite Numbers. There they make use of Camels for carriage, as we do of Mules. *China* abounds in Mules, Asses, Buffalos, Oxen, Sheep and Goats. The Swine are so numerous, that their Flesh is eaten fresh all the Year about throughout the whole Empire, and is very good, and as wholesom in Summer as in Winter; a great deal besides is salted up. One would think it impossible for these Creatures to breed so fast.

Swine. 11. Insects and Vermin there are enough in *China*, but not so much as in

Manila, India, and other places. I will in this place treat only of one which is very singular; in another place I will speak of those of *Manila* and *India*. This is call'd *Jeu Ting*, *Pie Lung*, or *Xeu Kung*. It is a sort of Lizard, to which they have given the name of the *Wall Dragon*, because it runs up them, and it is call'd the *Guard of the Palace* on the following Account. The Emperor us'd to make an Ointment of this Insect, and some other Ingredients, with which they anointed their Concubines Wrists; the Mark of it continues as long as they have not to do with Man; but as soon as they do, it utterly vanishes, by which their Honesty or Falshood is discover'd. Hence it came this Insect was call'd *The Guard of the Court*, or of the *Court Ladies*: A strange and singular Quality. Here it is fit to remember what I said above out of *Master Torre*, That a wise and learned Man must not when he hears such things rashly attribute them to Superstition, or Art Magick, but believe there may be some secret Virtue answerable to such an Effect, whatsoever it be. What I write was told me by a *Chinese* Christian who was a very able Scholar, his Name *Clement*, and in his own Language *Chu Fi Chi*; he was then expounding to me the *Chinese* words above-mention'd. It were a great happiness if all marry'd Men had that Ointment, it would make them safe, and they would have nothing to fear; and if the Women had such another for their Husbands, it would be some comfort to them, tho they would be at a considerable Charge in furnishing themselves with it. The *Chineses* paint Dragons and Serpents very frightful to look at, which they do to terrify the multitude. They are very Mysterious in these Particulars. The Commonalty believe any thing, and therefore they quake where there is nothing to fear.

Nava-
rette.
Jeu Ting


CHAP. XVIII.


Of some Birds and Fowls of China.

Eagles. 1. THE Bird the *Chineses* make most account of is our Eagle, which they call *The Bird of the Sun*; and perhaps from what is vulgarly said, that it looks full at the Sun. When it appears, they say it denotes good Luck. According to their learned Men, one appear'd at the Birth of their Philosopher. Their Books tell us, the Body of it is like a

Crane, the Neck like a Snake, the Tail like a Dragon's; that it rests not upon any Tree, nor eats Fruit: That there is a Male and Female (therefore it cannot be the Phenix, as some Missioners imagine) and they sing to a Charm; no Man living in *China* ever saw it, but they hold it for certain there is such a Creature. There are abundance of fine

Pheasants.

Nava-rette.  fants very cheap, the Feathers are worth more than is given for them, the usual price is a penny a Pound.

Peacocks.  2. There is a very beautiful Bird in the Province of *Xen Si*: *F. Michael Trigaucius* used to say, that the Tail Feathers which are extraordinary gaudy, are a Fathom in length. Turkeys are not yet brought into *China*, but they have encreased mightily in *India*, *Pegu*, *Bengala*, *Golocondar*, and other parts. They carry Peacocks from *Siam*, for they do not breed in *China*, but abundance of them do in some parts of *India*. They are also found in the Island of *Madagascar*.

Cranes. 3. In *China* there are very many Cranes; they are a Bird that sutes with any Country, hot or cold. At *Manila* which is extremely hot, there are abundance; they easily become tame, and are taught to dance. I never eat their Flesh, but have heard it much commended. I look upon that as a mere Chimera, which *A Lapide* in 11 *Levit. v. 13. pag. 658. col. 2.* mentions out of *Paulus Venetus*, concerning the Bird *Rue* that takes up an Elephant. I was six months in *Madagascar*, *Surat*, and other Parts, and never heard any thing like it.

Bird-fighting. 4. There are certain little Birds in *China* in great esteem, they are like Linnets, they breed them in curious Cages, not to sing, but to fight with one another; those that have been tried are of great value. The *Chineses* also fight Cocks; but that is more us'd in the *Philippine Islands*, and several Kingdoms and Islands of the *East-Indies*, where it is a great Recreation, and much Mony is won and lost at it. The same is practis'd in some Parts of *Europe*, as Doctor *Laguna* writes, where he treats of this Bird.

Fishing with Sea-crows. 5. Many of the *Chineses* bread up Sea-Crows to fish with, and sell them from one Province to another. It is the prettiest Pastime in the World, I think, to see the manner of fishing with them. I will write what I saw my self, and observ'd at leisure. Ten or twelve little Boats, at the first dawning of the Sun, appear'd on a spreading and soft flowing part of a mighty River; just as I was sailing that way, I stopt to see the sport. I very Boat had four or five Crows at the Head, they were stretching out their Wings, and picking themselves. Being come to the place they design'd, the Boats drew up in a large Ring, and they began with their Oars to make a regular noise; then one or two of the Crows leap'd off from the Boat and div'd, catch'd a Fish, and every one return'd to his own Boat

without ever mistaking, being led by the sound of their Masters Oars. Thus they plung'd into the Water, and return'd to the Boats, which was a great diversion to all that attentively observ'd them. Those that caught large Fishes, brought them in their beaks, and the Fishermen took them in their hands; they that took small Fishes, swallow'd them, and when they were come out of the Water into the Boat, the Men laid hold of them; and holding down their Beak, gave them a gentle stroke on the Neck, whereupon they immediately cast up all the Fishes they had in their Crow. Thus they went on till they fill'd their Baskets with Fish, which was not long a doing, and then they went away up the River to their Homes, carrying the Crows on the Brow as they had done before. What I admir'd was, that when a Crow had plung'd into the Water, and came up at a great distance from his own Boat, and near another, he immediately went away to his own without regarding the rest.

6. When they come home, they pick out the smallest Fish, and give them to eat; thus their Masters feed them, and maintain their Families with the large and middle Fish. There is a great deal of difference between seeing and relating of it. I must say again, it is one of the prettiest Diversions in the World.

7. There is no end of the Geese and Ducks they have in *China*, for the infinite Numbers are consum'd, there are never the fewer. The Capital of *Canton* *Geese and Ducks how* alone, according to *Ortelius*, spends 14000 *caught.* a Year, and in my opinion, and that of others, 20000, besides Beef, Pork, Goats-flesh, Hens, Capons, Fish, Eggs, and other things. As we came from the Imperial City, we sail'd by the side of a Lake of so great an extent, that as far as the Horizon terminated our sight, there appear'd nothing but Water, and a considerable part of it was cover'd with these Fowls. The *Chineses* catch them very artificially. They go into the Water with their Heads thrust into Calabashes, and walk so slowly, that it looks as if nothing moved but the Calabash upon the Water: Being come up in this manner to the Goose, or Duck, which they can see through the holes in the Calabash before their Eyes, they lay hold of it by the Feet and pull it under Water, where they wring the Neck, and put it into a Bag they carry for the purpose; then go out again as softly as they went in, without disturbing the rest. This way of catching them is more profitable

fitable than diverting, they that do not understand it, would think the Ducks dive for Food, as they do every moment. These Fowl are dress'd several ways; they are frequently boil'd, and their Broth is look'd upon as very nourishing: they are very good roasted, and in Souce; but they are incomparably better salted and dry'd, there's no Gammon can compare with them; and they are a dainty Provision for Sea, or Travellers at Land. Infinite numbers of them are sold after this manner. Besides these they breed abundance in their Houses, which are more valued because they are tame, tho it is hard to distinguish betwixt them by the favour and taste. Leaving other common Birds, let us proceed to others foreign to *China*.

6. There are some so strange, that they require particular mention should be made of them. The first is that which at *Terranese*, and in other places, the *Europeans* call *The Bird of Paradise*; its Body is small, something less than a Black-bird. It has neither Feet nor Wings, which seems incredible; but there being so many that have seen them, there is no doubt to be made of it. I have often view'd them carefully, but could never find any sign of Feet they had; that they have no Wings is more visible to every Body. I have been told for certain there are two at *Madrid*, those who have seen them can testify the same. The Beak of them is somewhat thick and large, fit to catch Gnats, which is their Food; their Feathers are thick and beautiful, their Tail very long, of several Colours, and as fine as can be imagin'd. They never light, nor can rest upon the Ground, as may easily be conceiv'd because they have no Feet. Their fixt abode is in the Region of the Air, for which reason they are call'd *Birds of Paradise*. They light upon Trees, and by the help of the Wind, and their natural Motion, they fly from one to another, making use to this purpose of their slightly Tails. If the Wind fails they presently fall, and their Bill being heavy, it is the first that lights upon the Sand, where it sticks, so that they cannot stir, but are taken with ease. The Guts being taken out, the People dry and keep them many Years, only to admire their Beauty. *A Campango* Captain of *Manila* presented me with a couple of them at *Macassar*; and I immediately gave them to a great Lady who had done me very considerable Courtesies. Some are kept at *Manila*, and serve to deck the Altars,

that of our Lady and of the Rosary has some extraordinary fine; they look very glorious, and are beyond all Nosegays. I enquir'd after their Nests, and how they hatch'd their Eggs? They answer'd me, that the Hen laid her Eggs upon the Cock's Back, and there hatch'd them. I made several Objections, but they could give me no more satisfaction; it is certainly so, it seems indeed impossible, but is easy to him that made all things. *Behold, God is great, and we know him not, Job 36.* And if we go about to search into the manner, how the Limbs, Fingers, Eyes, Nose, Ears, &c. of a Creature are form'd in its Mother's Womb and how it is nourish'd and grows daily, with many other particulars that happen there, we shall be quite at a loss, and more astonish'd than we are at the *Bird of Paradise*.

7. At *Macassar* there are a great many of a sort of Bird they call *Cacatua*, they are all white, some bigger than Hens, their Beak like a Parrot; they are easily made tame, and talk. When they stand upon their guard, they are very lightly, for they spread a tuft of Feathers that is on their Heads, and look most lovely. The *Portugueses* carry them to *China*, and those People give good Rates for them.

8. In the Islands there are innumerable Parrots, and Paroquites; but those of *Terranese* carry the day from the rest. I saw one at *Manila* that cost 200 pieces of Eight, and would certainly have been worth 2000 at *Madrid*. It sang so distinctly that it deceiv'd me twice, and others oftner.

9. Along the Sea-coasts of many of the Islands, there is a very singular Bird call'd *Tabon*, the place where it lays its Eggs is call'd *Tabonan*. What I and many more admire is, that it being no bigger in Body than an ordinary Chicken, tho long legg'd, yet it lays an Egg larger than a Goofes, so that the Egg is bigger than the Bird it self; and no Man living would judg that the Egg could be contain'd within it. In order to lay its Eggs, it digs in the Sand above a yard in depth; after laying, it fills up the hole and makes it even with the rest; there the Eggs hatch with the heat of the Sun and Sand. When the Chickens are hatch'd by natural instinct, they break through the Sand upwards, and so get out of that Dungeon their Dam put them into; then they walk directly to the Sea to seek for Weeds to feed on. This Creature might well say, *My Father and Mother have left me, but the Lord hath taken me to him.* That natural instinct

God gave them is their Lite and Food. *Nava-rette.* Another thing in it is wonderful, which is that they are not stifled when they come out of the Shell with the heat and weight of the Sand, how they breath till they get out, and how they have the strength to break through so great a weight. They are Prodigies of the Almighty's working.

10. The *Indians* to find out these Eggs go about flicking sharp Canes into the ground; when they find the Sand light, they stop, and throw it up something above the length of a Man's Arm, and there they find them. They are sweet and of a pleasant relish, one of them is enough to satisfy a good Stomach; the staler the Egg the better it is. One morning having lain upon the Shore, and near to the place whither these Birds resorted, we repair'd thither carefully, and making a noise, a grea company of them came out of their Holes, in which we found many Eggs, some hot, some cold, some white, some of the Colour of the Sand, which are the stale ones. I had before eaten of the latter, and now eat of those that were fresh and warm, but in truth the stale ones were better. There were among them some with Chickens, and I observ'd that the *Indians* lick'd their chops when they eat them, they courted me to eat, and prais'd them; but I could not endure to look at them, and it went against my stomach to think any body should eat them. Once they press'd me so much, that at last, not without much dread and aversion, I resolv'd to taste one; I did so and made an end of it, very much dissatisfy'd that I had not eaten a great many of them. I must own it, that since I was born I never eat any thing more delicate, more pleasant and palatable, and I am convinced there is nothing in the World to

compare to it. After this I seiz'd all that were found with Chicken. I saw no Locusts whilst I was in *China*, but they have them at times; I know not whether those People eat them, as the *Indians* of *Manila* do; so did the *Jews* and other Nations, says *A Lapide*, in 11 *Levit.* v. 22.

11. In the Island of *Calimianes*, belonging to *Manila*, and in others of that *Archipelago*, there is a sort of Swallows not much unlike ours, they swim upon the Sea, and build their Nests in the Rocks along the Shore. These Nests are mightily valued in *Manila* among the Natives, and much more in *China*, where they give great Rates for them. Those Birds make them of the foam of the Sea; when dry they look like a peice of ashcolour'd Clay, but being boil'd with flesh they are excellent meat, and very nourishing, as they all say. Marry'd Men, and those that have weak Stomachs use it; it is no good Food for those that are dedicated to God's Service; but it is wonderful so delicious a Morfel, as they who eat it think can never be sufficiently commended, should be made of such matter. *America* produces great variety of lightly Birds. These they call *Cardinals*, because they are all red, are charming to the Eye. Those of the *Conception*, so call'd because they are clad like the Nuns of that Order, are also extraordinary beautiful. But the gayest and finest Bird I have seen, is the King of the *Copilotes*, which I saw several times in the Port of *Acapulco*, and never had enough of looking at him, still more and more admiring his beauty, stateliness, and grace. There are also most delicate *Nightingals* in *China*, they are bigger than ours, sing to admiration, and are kept in curious Cages. They breed many Black-Birds, prize their Note, and indeed with good reason.

CHAP. XIX.

Of some Pools, Rivers, and Lakes in China.

1. THERE is no doubt but all we have and shall write, is a great Motive to excite us to praise our Lord, and discover his infinite Power and Wisdom: for the more Man knows of the Creatures, the more occasion he has to bless and magnify his Creator. It is not in vain that *Ecclesiasticus*, cap. 42. requires us to remember the Works of the Lord, *Be mindful of the Works of the Lord.* Re-

member then what God has created, it is a plain case, the end is to bless and praise his Divine Majesty. We have sufficient matter for it, in that which God has so bountifully bestow'd on the Heathen *Chineses*, and perhaps he has given them so much that they may have the less excuse for their Ignorance of his Godhead. But now to talk of the Subject of this Chapter, I must inform the Reader that the

the *Chineses*, especially those of the learned Sect, are great lovers of Fishponds for their recreation, which is a good and commendable Diversion. The Fish they keep in these Ponds are small, but the very perfection of Beauty; they call them *Kin Ju*, Gilt Fishes, because they are Gold-colour'd; tho' there is some difference among them, some have two Tails, others three, some have black Fins, others Red, and others Gold-colour'd. The colour of some of them is like a rich Brocard, of others like a fine Damask. One of them put into a Glass, as I have sometimes seen, is a most extraordinary beautiful sight.

Gilt-fish-
ss.

Fishponds.

2. There are abundance of great Ponds in *China*, to breed Fish to sell. I have already taken notice that there are 999 within the Walls of the Metropolis of *Nan King*, and the same number in the City *Kan Cheu*. We could not find out the Mystery, why they must not be 1000, but the *Chineses* have ridiculous Notions concerning even and odd Numbers. The Fish in them is large and good, but not to compare with that of the Sea, or Rivers. The whole Kingdom being cut across by Rivers, and full of Lakes and Ponds, there is vast plenty of Fish, a great deal is sold alive, being kept in Tubs or Troughs full of Water. What they don't sell, the Owners put again into the Ponds, to draw it out as they have occasion. The Spawn is carried about in little Jars from one Province to another to sell.

3. In the Metropolis of *Xan Tung* there is a great Idol Temple, and in it a Fishpond that has a thousand Springs bubbling up; these form a River, which at a small distance carries many Vessels.

4. In the Province of *Xen Si* there is a Lake of Salt-water, whence all the Northern Provinces are supply'd with Salt.

5. We pass'd by three very large Lakes in our way from the Imperial City; we have already spoke of the first, that has an infinite number of Ducks and Geese. The second has nothing remarkable. The third is in the Province of *Kiang Si*, in the midst of it is a vast Rock, upright, and very high, and on the top of it a Temple of *Bonzes*. A narrow steep and uncouth Path leads up to it. That Habitation to all appearance must be very painful. It is call'd the place of the Penitent *Bonzes*. At the bottom is a little pair of Stairs reaching to the Lake, where one of the *Bonzes* stands to beg of the Boats that pass by. This

Bonzes.

is all they have to live upon, but no Vessel passes without giving something, tho' it be but a little Rice. A league further is another less Rock, with another Temple on it, and *Bonzes*, who live after the same manner. Short of *Canton* there are certain Rocks of a vast height, and shagged, rising out of the same River we sail'd on. In the midst of them is a large Breach or Cleft, and within it a stately Temple. Stairs cut out of the Rock come down to the Water; about two Fathom above the surface appears a large handsome Balcony, well painted, that overlooks all the River and the Boats that pass by, of which they beg. We went not up to the Temple, but they told us, it was well worth seeing and admiring, as well as its situation. *F. Kircher* mentions a Lake in this Province of *Canton*, but I saw it not, nor can I tell where it is, perhaps it may be on the West side, whither neither I nor any of us went.

Navarrette.

6. At *Chao Hien*, a Town in *Fo Kien*, a wonder there is one thing very remarkable, of which it will not be amiss to speak in this Place, tho' it be neither Fishpond nor Lake, but a Mountain all hollow within. There is in that Country a printed Book which is only an Account and Description of that Mountain; I will here relate what is most material concerning it. Our *Chinese* Father, and *F. Copley* of the Society went into it. The Mountain is half a League in length, all a hard Rock, and quite hollow within. There is a Door at one end to go in, and another at the other to go out. Close by the first lives a Man, whose business it is to guide those that desire to see what there is within. If they go in in Summer, they clothe themselves very warm, because it is rather cold than fresh within. In Winter the heat is so great, that a few Clothes will make a Man sweat. At the entrance is a narrow Lane, and at the end of it a large Room built by Nature; in the midst of it is a large Pillar, which reaches not up to the Arch, and so like a great burning Wax-candle, that all Men take it to be one, therefore they call that Room *Cho Tang*, that is, the Room of the Candle. The two Fathers said, the very Drops that fall from a Candle were so natural upon it, that they could hardly persuade themselves but that they were true. The Flame and Snuff of it were so exactly to the Life, that they had much ado to believe all they saw was not real. A few paces further is another Room call'd *Pu*

Nava-rette. *Sa Tang*, that is the Hall of the Idols, because all the Idols they have in *China* are there carv'd by Nature, and so like and excellently done that none can chuse but admire them. Then follows another Room by the name of the Room of Heaven, *Tien Tang*; in the Roof of it are the Sun, Moon, and Stars, so beautiful and bright, that our Father told me, he stood long in doubt thinking what it might be, for he was satisfy'd the Sun could not pierce into that place, nor the Stars shine with him. At last he ask'd, whence that Light came, and yet to this day he cannot conceive the manner of it, or what it was he saw. He says, the Water that dropt from the Walls and run about the ground was as cold as Ice, tho it was in the Month of *July* that he went in. He protests that every Word they spoke there, resounded like the Echo of a Cannon; and when one of them call'd out aloud, they thought Heaven and Earth had been coming to gether. There is another greater Mountain near to this, of which Old Men tell wonderful Stories. The Town, to save the Expence they were at with *Mandarines*, and other great Men that went to see it, wall'd up the Gates strongly.

7. All *China* abounds in Rivers, Brooks, running Lakes, and Springs. The most famous River is that they call the *Son of the Sea*; they say it has no bottom: it is very large, and runs above 500 Leagues from East to West before it falls into the Sea. They travel almost all over the Southern Provinces by Water, which is a great Conveniency; sometimes a few Robbers appear, but it is seldom. Not many Years since they robb'd the Fathers *Fabri* and *Augeri*, both Jesuits, of things of considerable value, and wounded the first of them dangerously. The noise this made was great, the Booty was worth 4000 Ducats, and it was given out for 30000, and that it was a Present to the Emperor. Advice was sent to Court, no small search made; afterwards they took the Ringleader of the Robbers, and that very day twelve Month they cut off his head. A few Years after, as those very Fathers and others of the same Society affirm, the *Chineses* rais'd a Temple in honour of that Robber, so that he is now become an Idol, perhaps because he was a great Master of his Trade; to make that out in *China*, which *Laß. Firm. de instab. §. cap. 2.* says of others, *Therefore they adore their Enemies, and appease Murderers with Sacrifice.* The Roads are never without Wells or Springs of

excellent Water for Travellers, and generally by the Well is a fine earthen Dish to drink out of, and no body dares carry it away; if that were among us, all the earthen Ware in *China* would not be enough for one Fountain. Besides, along the Roads, about a League distance, and sometimes not above half a League, there are excellent resting-places, with good Seats, and well cover'd with Tiles. Here Travellers meet, rest them, chat, and are shelter'd from the Sun in Summer, and from the Rain and Cold in Winter. There are also at every Step on the Roads very decent, cleanly and convenient places where Passengers ease themselves; and even to make Water there are places no less decent. The ascents and descents of steep Mountains are so handsomely cut out in Steps, that nothing can be finer. There is scarce a Stream, or a little Brook without a handsome Stone Bridg; and if there happens to be none of Stone, they build it of excellent Timber. It cannot be deny'd but that the *Chineses* are curious, and provident in what relates to the publick Good. They make these things their peculiar care, and in truth they prosper in their hands, for the People being numerous, there are enough to mind every thing. I have seen a Road mended in so short a time that I stood amaz'd; such a Work would not be finish'd in *Spain* in a Year, nor perhaps in many.

8. I made a step from the Rivers and Fountains to the High-ways, the distance ^{Spring that ebbs and flows} between them sometimes is not great. But to return to the Springs, I must take notice, there is one at *Macassar*, that has given me and others enough to talk and think of. This Spring is on the Sea shore; when the Sea flows it dries up, and as soon as it ebbs it abounds with excellent Water, which all that sail by that place take in for their Store. I was ask'd my opinion concerning this Spring, and had some answers which did not well satisfy my own curiosity. What I thought might be likely was, that the Source of that Water did not lie deep towards the Sea, which when it flow'd, the weight of the Water which loads and oppresses the Sand stopp'd the passage of the sweet Water, and therefore at Flood the Spring was dry, but upon the Ebb the Sand grows loose, and much of the weight that lay upon it goes off, which makes way for the sweet Water to glide through and flow into the hollow of the Spring. If this be not satisfactory, let others give a better Reason for it.

9. Travelling in the Island of *Mindoro*, I met with another strange little Spring, which was on the Shore too, but so close to the Sea, that the Flood came over and beyond it. When the Tide ebb'd, the *Indians* made a little hole with their hands and took up fresh Water, when the Salt was quite about it. That Port is very dry, and it would go hard with those that travel that way, had not God furnish'd them with this little Spring.

10. I will conclude this Chapter with *China*, acquainting the Reader, that it is not destitute of hot Baths. There are some in several Parts, and the Natives make use of them as they have occasion. There are Baths in most Citys and Towns to wash themselves when they are in health; they say they are very curious, and that such as will are wash'd and cleans'd at a small Expence.

C H A P. XX.

Of other notable Things that are in this Empire.

1. THE Subject I treat of is so full of Variety, it is no wonder if I forget many things, some I am sure I must. As I was about to begin this Chapter, I remember'd I had said nothing of the *Chinese* Woollen-Manufactures, and it is requisite to give some account of them. The *Chinese*s having so much Silk and Cotton, have no great occasion for Wool. However they weave very pretty Stuffs, not so close as the *Spanish* Serges, but thinner; they make them white, and somewhat sad-colour'd, which is reckoned a grave sort of Garment, lin'd with Silk, with some other Trimming. They make abundance of Felts of several colours. It is a notable thing to see how they make a whole Sute of one Piece, Breeches, Caps, and other things. So they make Carpets a fathom and a half, and two fathom long. They neither use nor weave any other sorts of Cloth. When the *Dutch* some Years since presented the Emperor with Scarlet, and other fine Cloths made in *Europe*, he ask'd, How, and what they were made of. Being told the manner of it, he said, His Subjects could make it, and therefore there was no need to bring it from so far. And I doubt not but if the *Chinese*s give their mind to it, they will compass it. They have delicate Wool, and work it so fine, that it looks like pure Silk. Now let us proceed to something else.

2. In the Metropolis of *Xen Si* there is abundance of Salt Earth; which being boil'd, they extract from it very white Salt, and the poor People dress their Meat with it without boiling. Near that City is a Town, about which the Land produces three things: One is the Soap they use there, call'd *Kien*, they know nothing of ours. After it has rain'd, if the Sun shines, there rise out of the Earth

certain Bladders of thick Froth, which are gathered to wash and whiten Linen. The second is Salt-Peter; and Salt the third. Out of 20 pounds of Earth put into a Jar, and wrought after their manner, they get 12 pounds of Salt, and three of Salt-Peter. There is a wonderful Consumption of it in *China*, especially for Gunpowder. The quantity of it spent there is so great, that some Missioners are of opinion it is more than all *Europe* together expends. The greatest Consumption is the first and last Months of the Year, particularly in Squibs and Fireworks, which for show and ingenuity much exceed ours. The *Europeans* do not dislike the *Chinese*s way of rejoicing. The beginning of the Year 1668, some Masks pass'd by our Door, and we all thought the curiousness and gait of their Clothes a noble Sight, well deserving our Praise, and even Admiration. At the time of their Full Moon, and three days before, and three after, is the Festival of the Lanthorns, which seems to me and others the finest in *China*; and I am almost in the mind to say, there is not a more pleasant, a more sightly, and more universal Solemnity in the whole World. If such a thing were done at *Madrid*, I don't doubt but People would flock from all Parts of the Kingdom to partake of the Divertisement. Their Lanthorns are nothing like ours in *Europe*, they are very large, and of a thousand several Shapes and curious Figures. Some are made of the Glass they have there, with delicate fine Workmanship about them. There are some of two, three, and 400 Ducats a-piece. Many are made of thin Silk, painted with variety of Colours and Figures of Men, Women, Birds, Flowers, and other things; besides Men a Horseback continually riding round within them.

Woollen-
Manufac-
tures.

*Nava-
relle.
Bath.*

*Salt-Pe-
ter.*

Fireworks

*Festival of
Lanthorns.*

Salt Earth.

Soap.

*Nava-
rette.*

In others there are Cocks fighting, with all their Motions very natural; in others Fishermen and Gardiners; and in others Soldiers giving Battel; all so lively that it is surprizing. Many are made of Paper of several Colours, and curiously cut; some in the Shapes of Roses and other Flowers; some of Fishes continually gaping and beating their Fins and Tails; some with many Puppets: In short, there is a wonderful multiplicity and variety. In the Year 1663, I went abroad at eight at Night to see this Sight, and before I came to the great Street, I stood astonish'd, or as we call it, quite besides my self with admiration: When I got into the great Street, my Senses and Facultys fail'd me. The Street was a League in length, which I walk'd always under Lanthorns, and scarce one of them but had something singular. I said to the *Catechist* who went along with me, *Clement*, we have gone by above 12000 Lanthorns. He laugh'd heartily, and answer'd, Father, they are above 30000. With what we afterwards saw, they certainly exceeded 80000. In the Temples of their Idols there were still greater Curiosities. The *Chineses* themselves, tho us'd to that sight, were surpriz'd, and many stood gaping like utter Strangers.

3. Those in the Metropolis of *Hang Cheu* are the most famous of all *China*. In the Year 1665, when I was in that City, I lay in the Prison, and therefore could not see them, but those the Prisoners set up before the Temple that is in the Goal, rais'd mine and my Companions admiration, both for the Multitude, as also for the curiolity and orderly placing of them. That Night I went out to see the Lanthorns, I curiously made some Observations. The first was of an infinite multitude of People, but not one Woman, for it would be look'd upon as a grievous Sin if one were seen. The second, that tho there was a great deal of jostling and hunching one another as they pass'd in the Croud, yet I saw no Offence taken, or ill Language given, they made sport and laugh'd at all. The third, that there being a great many Shops full of variety of Fruit and cold Banquets, no Man presum'd to snatch away so much as a Chesnut; so that the Sellers were as easy as if it had been noon Day. The Modesty with which those Infidels are bred, and the niceness of their Carriage at all times is very remarkable.

Civility.

Festivals.

4. They have also their Festivals at other Seasons of the Year; sometimes they keep Holyday in honour of one Star,

sometimes of another; one day to one Idol, and another to another. There are several Brotherhoods or Societies to this effect. Every Quarter of a Town has its particular Patron. One general Solemnity is kept throughout the whole Empire on the 5th day of the 5th Moon. This day they go out upon the Rivers in Boats finely deck'd and adorn'd, to solemnize the Festival of a certain great Magistrate, who was very zealous for the Publick Good. They report of him, that an Emperor refusing to take his Advice, he cast himself into a Lake and was drown'd. Against this Festival they provide a sort of Cakes, and other Meat, which they throw into the Water in honour of that Magistrate. Others say they do it, that he may have something to eat. I have before made mention how one Year above 500 Vessels went out from *Nan King*, upon the River they call *The Son of the Sea*; but a sudden gust of Wind rising, they all sunk to the bottom, not one escaping. In regard of this Magistrate we may say, we have in *China* another *Lyeurgus*, of whom *Tertullian* in his *Apology* says, that he kill'd himself, because the Lacedemonians had mended his Laws. And we may still more properly compare him to *Abithophel*, who hang'd himself because *Absalom* slighted his Counsel and followed that of *Husbai*, 2 Sam. ch. 17.

5. *F. John Balat* the Jesuit told us, he one Year in the Imperial City saw the publick Procession of the Players, and affirm'd, it was one of the finest Sights in the World. On the 11th of *April* 1663, there pass'd before our Door a general Procession of many Idols, so rich, lightly, orderly, and well contriv'd, as we had never seen the like. We all concluded it would have been very surprizing in any part of *Europe*. The Figures were all alive, and consisted of about 24 Boys, every one born on Mens Shoulders upon Carriages richly adorn'd, and they most gorgeously clad, accompany'd by abundance of Flags, Streamers, and musical Instruments. Every Boy represented a several Idol, and acting the Parts of so many several Statues; their Garb and Colours were also different. One was in the middle of a perfect Rose, all of lively Colours; another upon a Serpent; some sitting, others standing upon both, and others upon one Foot. Some carry'd Spears, others Bows in their Hands; and one of them had a Viol, out of which issued a wonderful Flower. It is impossible to conceive the finery and gaity of their Clothes,

Clothes, Feathers and Garlands.

Diversions.

6. The private Diversions of China are for the most part Plays, Eating and Drinking. Cards are also common among them, the *Moors* carry'd them thither. There are great Gamesters among them; when they have lost what they have, they make Vows to their Idols to play no more. Some in a passion cut off the Tips of their Fingers, to disable themselves, and be incapable of shuffling the Cards. There are abundance of Dancers, active Tumblers, Puppet-players, and Musicians.

Mouldiness.
Stains.

7. One thing we observ'd which is remarkable, and never fails every Year, tho it is more general in the Southern than the Northern Provinces, which is a strange Influence of some Constellation, never known in our Parts; for all Garments grow damp and mouldy, and all Stains that ever were in them, tho never so old, appear again, tho they have been several times wash'd, whether they are Silk, Cotton, or Leather. This lasts for some days, and if they are not carefully air'd, hung in the Sun, and often clean'd, they are utterly spoil'd. It is pleasant to see what care all Men take during those days of their Apparel, Beds, Caps, Boots, and other things. Much has been written concerning the Customs of this Nation, something shall be said in the following Books. Methinks those words of the *Proverbs*, ch. 30. v. 12. may be well apply'd to it, *There is a Generation that are pure in their own Eyes, and yet is not wash'd from their filthiness.* Yet there are *Europeans* who think there wants but little towards the canonizing of all *China*.

Superstitions.

8. The common People are very su-

perstitious, which is most certain; and none of them can indure to undertake any thing, without drawing their Lots first to find out how it will succeed. *F. de Angelis* was very right in this particular. They are vain observers of the Heaven, of the Earth, the Notes of Birds, the Barking of Dogs; of Dreams, and many other things. There is no Temple without two like large Castanets, with some Characters on them, which they esteem very mysterious. After many genuflexions made before the Idol, they cast that Instrument on the ground several times, till the Characters they wish for turn up; then they look upon the Calendars which are fix'd on the Walls, and by them make out their Guesses at the success they are like to have.

Nava-rette.

9. That Nation is wonderful sharp at contriving of Law-Suits; and exquisite at concealing the mortal hatred they bear any Man for several Years; and when an Opportunity offers, they vent it to their Hearts content. It often happens in Law-Suits that the Defendant hangs himself, only to ruin and be reveng'd on the Plaintiff; for when he is hang'd, all his Kindred repair to the Judg, complaining that he had hang'd himself to avoid the trouble and vexation the Plaintiff put him to, having no other Remedy left him. Then all join against the Plaintiff, and the Judg among them; and they never give over till they ruin him and all his Family. I must add that the *Chinenses* sell their Sons and Daughters when they please; they use it frequently. The *Sclavonians* had the same Custom, and kill'd them too if they would. Read *A Lapide* in 4 *Genes*. v. 1. The *Persians* kept them as Slaves.

Law-suit.

Parents absolute Power.

The End of the First Book.

Nava-
rette.

B O O K II.

Of the Nature of the *Chinese* Govern- ment, of their Sects, and of the most remarkable Passages in their History.

C H A P. I.

Of the several Degrees of People into which this Monarchy is divided.

1. Do not at all make any doubt
but that the Nature, Method, and
Condition of the *Chinese* Govern-
ment is admirable, and may be
a Model to many in the
World. In regard all is so excellently
order'd, that the whole Empire looks
like one well govern'd Family; the *Chi-
nese* call it a Noble House, or Family,
Kuei Kia. Nevertheless they are defec-
tive in one very material point, as to the
several States or Degrees into which they
divide their people, which is, in making
no mention of the Souldiery, as all Mo-
narchies that ever were in the World
have done, and we shall mention in ano-
ther place. It is a plain case, says *S. Tho-
mas* in *11 ad Hebr. Lect. 7.* that the Soul-
diery is very necessary, and an Essential
part of the Kingdom. These are his
words, *Among all outwards acts of Moral
Virtues the acts of Fortitude and Justice
seem to be the chief, because they principally
relate to the publick good. For by Fortitude
the Commonwealth is defended from the Ene-
my, but by Justice it is preserv'd.* The *Chi-
nese* cannot say they do not stand in need
of defending themselves, for they never
wanted Enemies, and they have always
maintain'd mighty Armies, as appears by
those that guard the Wall. Yet for all
this in their accounts of their Govern-
ment they make no mention of the Mar-
tial Men. Not only Experience, but
S. Thomas also *Opusc. 20. Lect. 2. Cap. 1.*
teaches us that the Northern people, as
the more sanguine, are fittest for War.
God himself after creating all things
taught us this Policy, *Gen. 2. v. 1.* the
words are, *Thus the Heavens and the Earth
were finish'd, and all the Host of them.* Read
Whester upon these words.

2. They divide all their People into four *Ranks of
States or Degrees*, which are these, *Zu, Nung, Kung, Zang*, that is, Scholars,
People. Husband-men, Handicrafts, and Mer-
chants.

S E C T. I.

Of the Scholars.

1. The Scholars of *China* are the No-
blest and most respected people in that
Empire, they are the Knights of the *Belt*,
or rather the *Pharisees*, their Sciences
reach no further than Morals, History,
Rhetorick, and something of Astrology,
which they study for pastime, not *ex pro-
fessò*, for only those that aspire to be a-
mong the Court-Mathematicians make a
study of it. Their Philosophy is full of
Errors and Extravagancies.

2. They have the three Degrees in use
among us of Batchelor, Licentiate, and
Doctor. Our most learned *Passerinus*,
Tom. 3. de Statibus, q. 187. a. t. 1. n. 1137.
speaks of the first original of these De-
grees, which is very ancient, there the
Reader may see it. He that arrives to be
a Batchelor, is no longer subject to the
Civil Magistrate, but to the University,
as is us'd among us in such places. But
tho he has taken his Degree, yet is he ex-
amin'd every three years, besides the or-
dinary yearly Examinations; and if they
do not improve every year, they punish
them severely. Some they whip, others
they turn down to a lower School, and
others they Degrade, and make incapa-
ble of being Graduates for ever; which
makes them pore on their Books all their
life-time. The same Laws are in force
among

Souldiery.

Scholars
examined
yearly.

Navarrette.

among us, but they are not put in execution. See *Silb. v. Doctor*. §. 5. where, after laying down the Qualifications of a Doctor, he concludes thus, *If afterwards he becomes uselefs he must be Degraded by the Doctors, &c.* Our *Passerinus* says the same, *num.* 1143. But it must be understood, he says, when he becomes uselefs through his own fault, not if it happen through Sicknefs, or any other accident. This method of examining Scholars continually, is of excellent use to keep them out of idleness, and to prevent the vast increase of them. The Emperour *Justinian*, to obviate these inconveniencies, took away the Royal Revenues from several Cities that had Schools. *Francis* the First of *France* was much blam'd for having founded many Universities, because they vastly increas'd the number of Students, and so there was a want of Souldiers, Husband-men, and Handicrafts. *Narbona* handles this point very well.

3. The Lord *Quiapo de Llano*, being President of the University of *Valladolid*, was much concern'd that his Majesty did not save the expence he was at in that University to supply the publick wants; for if the Colledge of *S. Gregory* were incorporated into the University, there would be good Schools of Philosophy and Divinity at a very small expence. The same method might be us'd in other Universities. The method had been practis'd in *China* before now, were they under the same circumstances.

4. One that valued himself upon his Politicks, and good Humour, us'd another Argument, saying, That the number of Scholars was very prejudicial to the Souldiery, because since they encreas'd so much, we see many more Doctors and Licentiates for their number, made Knights of the Military Orders, than there are of Captains, Majors, and other Military Officers. To conclude, he added, either let the number of Scholars be restrain'd, or else let them give Souldiers Doctors Caps, for they will as well become Martial Men, as the Military Honours do Civilians and Canonists. He discours'd excellently upon this subject, and spoke very surprizingly and much to the purpose. There are notable Wits in the World.

5. *Philip* the Third of Happy Memory was about taking away some Colleges in *Portugal* from the Fathers of the Society, the Warrant was sign'd; one of them that had been present at the time it was agreed, discover'd the secret to those concern'd, who had recourse to the

Queen, she to the King, and thus the execution was stop'd. *F. Antony de Gouvea* a *Portuguese*, and Superior of their Missioners in *China*, told me this, nam'd the party that discover'd it, and acquainted me with other circumstances relating to the affair. Let us return to *China*. The Batchelors of the first rank, who hold their Degree twenty years, are privileged, and free from further Examinations, so are those that rise to be Licentiates, and of course the Doctors.

6. During the Reign of the Family *Sung*, which is 600 years ago, was the time when Learning flourish'd most, the Schools were increas'd, twenty Batchelors were allotted to every Town, forty to each City, and fifty to every Metropolis. These they call *Lin Seng*, that is, Batchelors that have allowance from the King. After that they added sixty to a Town, and 120 to a City. They are styl'd *Ceng Seng*, that is Additional Batchelors. Afterwards they gave leave for all that would to take their Degrees. These are distinguish'd by the name of *Fu Hio*, which signifies Batchelors clapt to the School, so that there are three Degrees of them. They either advance or put them back upon their Examinations, according as they perform. Those who are privileg'd are call'd *Kung Seng*, and there are three sorts of them, one known by the name of *Pa Kung Seng*, which implies, that they were such able Rhetoricians, and their Compositions so good and elegant, that they thereby merited their Degree, without being oblig'd to wait the time that others do, which is a mighty honour in that Nation. Others are styl'd *Cie Fuen Kung*, and are those we spoke of who hold the Degree of Batchelors twenty years. The last go by the appellation of *Ngen Kung Seng*, denoting they are Batchelors privileg'd by the Emperor's favour. The Sons of Carmen, Butchers, Hangmen and Players, are incapable of taking any Degree, and so are all Bastards.

7. One good thing there is among others in the Schools of *China*, which is that there are very few Play-days, there are not eight throughout the whole year, and no Vacations at all. They are continually at it, and consequently there are Men admirably vers'd in their Laws, History, and Morals, upon which they compose most ingenious and polite Discourses, prov'd and adorn'd with all imaginable Elegancy and Learning. It were well the Scholars of *Europe* were like theirs, for they are the gravest, the modestest

and

and the most orderly people in *China*. So that when they see a Man in the Street with his Eyes fix'd on the Ground, and very modest, all Men know he is a Student. The same gravity and stayedness is seen even in School-boys. I often saw and observ'd this with no little surprize. The *Tartar* has not shown much favour to Learned Men, but has humbled them in some measure. We *Europeans* lik'd it very well, because they are vastly numerous, and proud, yet no hindrance to the Army, for there are people enough for both uses, and to spare.

8. The Books daily Printed in *China* are numberless. The conveniency for it is very great; Paper is so extraordinary cheap that I have bought above 550 Sheets for two Ryals and a half, (fifteen Pence.) There are a thousand several sorts of Paper, some coarse, some indifferent, and some extraordinary fine, Yellow, Red, and of several gay Colours, whereof they make most curious Figures for their Houses and Temples. All the Paper the Emperor uses is Yellow, no Man besides him must use it. All the Orders, Bills and Books that come abroad in the Emperor's name are upon that Paper. They have had Printing among them, according to *Trigaucius* and others, above 1600 years. They do it with Boards, those of Pear-tree are best. They cut the Letters on them, and when the Book is printed the Author keeps the Tables, and then for a very small expence repeats as many Impressions as he pleases. Having no Alphabet, they cannot print as we do, but are forced to cut the Letters of what is to be printed every time.

9. Poetry is of great Antiquity in that Nation; I think what *Lactan. Firm. de Div. Opific. l. 7. cap. 22.* writes of other Countries, may well be apply'd to *China*, viz. That in them Poesy is of more Antiquity than their Historians, Orators, and other Writers. That which *A Lapidé* writes in *11 Genes. v. 7.* that, *The Elements of the first Tongue, &c. remain'd in all Nations*, cannot be verify'd in the *Chinese* Language, because it is destitute of Elements. Their History in like manner is most antient, and exact. There are Imperial Annals of the Empire, and several Abridgments of them, for the attaining an easie knowledg of all things without much trouble. They may serve as Patterns to all other people in this Faculty. Every Metropolis has its peculiar History, and so every Province, City and Town. Every Author very particularly

sets down all the product of his Country, what famous Temples there are in it, their Antiquity and Founders, the Tombs of Note, the Renowned Men, the Rivers, Mountains, Vallies, and every thing else worth remembring. Every Town and City has Curious Maps of its Territory and Extent, by these the Governours and Judges of Towns, Villages, open Countries and High-ways, easily know the Bounds of their Jurisdiction. All this relates to the Learned Men, who have one quality they do not deserve to be envy'd for, which is a Hellish Pride, fix'd in their very marrow and bones; and this is the reason they look upon those of the other Nations of the World as scarce Men. The *Greeks* accounted all other Nations Barbarous, and the *Chineses* look upon us and them as such. This is the effect worldly Learning produces. So are the words of *St. Paul* understood, *But Learning puffs up. Lira* writes thus upon the first of *Ecclesiastes*: *In much Wisdom (that is, human) is much anger, for such Wisdom puffs up, and Pride puff'd up is easily provok'd to anger.* This is verify'd in the *Chineses*, and God grant it be not in others who are under better circumstances.

10. I must lay it down as out of dispute, that the Body of the Learned is a Sect the antientest, and most particularly *Chinese*, professed by the Scholars, as shall be said in another place; and it has the property of other antient Sects, which is to despise all others, and oppose them as false and pernicious. *Lactan. Firm. de Divin. prem. lib. 7. cap. 7.* writes against this, and says, *For we do not so overthrow Philosophy as the Academicks do, &c. but we teach that there was no Sect so far out of the way, nor any of the Philosophers so vain, but they discern'd somewhat of truth. It is therefore an incredible error in those who when they approve of any Sect, damn the rest as false, and vain, and arm themselves to fight, &c.* There is no Doctrine but what has something of truth, says *S. Thomas 2. 2. q. 172. art. 6.* *As it is impossible to find any thing that is absolutely destitute of good, so it is impossible to find any Doctrine and Learning, which does not sometimes intermix truths among falsehoods.* If it were not so, Sects and Heresies would find no followers; but such is the vanity of the *Chineses*, that with them nothing is of any value, or has the least shadow of Truth or Reason, besides their Sects and Doctrine.

11. I will say something in this place concerning the Examinations of Scholars, leaving

Nava-
rette.

Books.

Paper.

Printing.

Poety.

History.

Maps.

Scholars
Proud.

Literati.

Scholars
Examina-
tion.

leaving other Points to be handled among the Controversies. In every Metropolis there is one like a First Professor, who has charge of all the Schools of the Province. This Man spends most of the Year going about to all Towns and Cities, where he yearly examines all the Bachelors; such as advance he rewards, the others he punishes, as was said above. The Students that have a mind to it are examin'd, and if they deserve, do take their Degree. They are very regular in this particular, as to precedence of First, Second, Third, &c. which they look upon as a great matter of Credit and Reputation. Not all the Bachelors, but only those who for their Learning have got sufficient Reputation to aspire to the degree of Licentiates, resort to the general Examinations, which are every three Years in the Capital City of Provinces; there usually meet four or five thousand or more. It is easy to imagine how great their Colleges must be. That of *Canton* has 5000 little Chambers, or Cells, with a Chair and Table in every one. These Rooms are so contriv'd, that the Viceroy who is in a Tower hard by has them all in his view. On the Eve they all meet the Viceroy, Magistrates, Examiners, and many *Mandarines* of the Province who come to assist the others. At every one of these Examinations 50 are advanced to the degree of Licentiates. As those that are to be examin'd come in, which is the day before examination, they search them even to their Shoes and the Seams of their Garments, to find out whether they carry any written Paper about them; if it is found upon any of them, they whip him severely, degrade him of his Bachelors Degree, and turn him out. When they are all, every Man in his little Cell, they place a Sentinel upon every two of them, who is to take care that none of them talk to one another, nor to any body else. Those that attend the Viceroy take care of the same. If any thing of this nature be discover'd, they make a noise on a great Drum they have by them; the Guards presently look out, and having found where the Fault lay, they immediately punish the Offender according to the Crime. The Magistrates who are Examiners give them by word of Mouth their Themes, which are generally upon the Moral Vertues of Patience, Humility, &c. When they have all heard them, they immediately begin to extol the Vertue, prove their Assertions, confirm them by History, Similies, &c. ac-

Colleges.

ording to the best of every Mans skill. Having finish'd their Composition, they close it up curiously, writing their Name and Country upon it; but they take care to put a Cover over it, that it may not be read. Then it is deliver'd to those appointed for the purpose, and carry'd to a Room of *Mandarines*, who read and examine it. Such Compositions as deserve to go up to the second Room, are laid aside, the rest are thrown out; of 5000, the one half are rejected in this first Hall. Those that are chosen, go up to the Second, where after being view'd, about half those go up again to the Third. Being come hither, where the Magistrates Examiners are, they pick out 50 of the best and most elegant among them, with precedency, as First, Second, Third, &c. Then they look upon the Names (this is the manner of all Examinations) call those that have merited to take their Degree, and write their Names upon large Tables, which they hang in some publick place to be seen by all People. By virtue of this very action they become Graduate without any further Ceremony; even as *Eleazer*, by only the Ceremony of Clothing, without any other Unction, or Consecration, became High Priest, *Num.* 20. 21, 26. If they find any more Compositions worthy of the Degree, they write the Names of them they were made by, commending them, and declaring, that if there were more allow'd to take their Degrees, they deserv'd it; which they account a great Honour. They are three Days lock'd up about this Business. The Emperor is at the whole Expence, which is very great; and to say the truth, I do not name it here, because no *European* will believe it. After this the Viceroy, Examiners, and other Great *Mandarines* receive those that have taken their Degree with much Honour, entertain them at a solemn Banquet, and give every one a Silver Porringer, a blew silk Umbrello, and a Sedan, which is there carry'd upon Mens Shoulders. After receiving all Congratulations, every Man returns home with more Honour than he came abroad. When the Tables are hung up, there are a great many stand by ready to carry the News. As soon as they have read the Names and Countrys of them, one goes away one way, and another the other, travelling day and night to get the Reward of their good Tidings. He comes into the Town making a great noise, and the Kindred of him that has taken the Degree, reward him bountifully for his Journey.

Navarette.

Scholars Degrees.

Nava-rette. All the whole City, or Town, makes publick rejoicing for the good Fortune of their Townsman. When he comes home, every body visits, joys, and offers him something according to their Ability. What they give at this time is Silver to bear his Charges to Court. Every Licentiate is oblig'd to repair presently to Court, where he makes his appearance, and his Name is registred in the Imperial Books, that he may be made use of in the Government when there is occasion. They that will rise to be Doctors, give notice they are examin'd before the Emperor, he himself assigns them their Themes, and chuses those he likes best. He that is first nam'd among them, obtains the greatest Honour imaginable. Some of them are appointed for the Imperial College, and of which I gave an account in the first Book; others return to their own Homes, where they must expect with patience till Employments are given them.

Scholars Degrees upon mere Merit. 12. Extraordinary care is taken that no Bribes be given to get a Degree. The *Chineses* have their Contrivances for every thing. In my time the Emperor, Father to him now reigning, caus'd a Licentiate and his Examiner to be beheaded, because it was prov'd there had been Bribery betwixt them. As we were going to the Imperial City, we overtook another Licentiate, who was carry'd in Irons for the same Crime; and if upon enquiry it were prov'd upon him, there's no doubt but he lost his head.

13. Their manner of Bribing is not always the same, but that most us'd is, to go out two or three days Journey to meet the Examiner: if they find their business like to take, they agree for 500 Ducats or more. Then they agree upon the Mark to know the Candidates Composition, by which is commonly a Dash, or Stroke, in one particular Place or other; or else the Examiner makes known to him the Subject, that he may have time to study upon it, and add some particular Letter, which when he sees upon examination, he passes it, and allows his Rhetorick; so he gets the Degree by his Money, and not by his Learning. Now this being not to be transacted only between them two, it is hard but something of the matter will be known; and if he that has thus taken his Degree, is not look'd upon as an able Scholar, they suppose the Bribery, and they accuse him who promis'd to raise him by his Merit.

Schools. 14. The Schools are very antient in *China*, they were far advanced long be-

fore *Plato's* time. Learning and the Empire it seems began together. In *Europe* it is of later date. *Spondanus*, tom. 2. an. 535. observes it of *Rome*, and says, there were no Christian Schools in that Metropolis of the World till that time. *As to which particular it is as well worthy observation, as to be admired, that there were not hitherto Doctors at Rome, to teach Divinity publickly in the Schools, by which you may the more plainly discern the purity of the Apostolical Fountain incessantly flowing there, &c. yet afterwards, lest she should seem to have rejected Learning, and avoided being examin'd, she also fairly propos'd the Doctrines she taught to be discuss'd in the Schools, especially upon account of the Hereticks, against whom the Catholick Managers were oblig'd to prove all Points of Christian Faith to be true and solid by all sorts of Arguments.* The Articles of our Holy Religion were preserv'd in those first Ages with holy Simplicity, without that multiplicity of Disputes that afterwards ensu'd, and continue to this day. Malice grew strong, and the number of Enemys increas'd, so that it was absolutely necessary to oppose them. *Seneca* has an admirable Sentence, which may well be apply'd to our times: *In antient days men were better; since Learned Men appear'd, good ones fall short, for we are taught how to dispute, not how to live.* If it were not so, one would think as the number of learned Men increases so considerably, Life ought to mend daily. We have already given a brief account of the Learned Men of *China*. Let us now go over to the next Rank of People in that Nation.

S E C T. II.

Of the Husbandmen, and Husbandry.

1. The *Chineses* say, the Emperor's principal Care ought to be for the Husbandmen, and to allow them as large Privileges as may be, because all the Empire subsists by their Labour and Industry. The same, and for the same reason ought to be done in all Parts; and if this were practis'd in *Manila*, the Land would be more plentiful, with no small increase to the King's Revenue. Many in those Islands will not work, because all they reap goes away in Duties; if they do not sow, they don't reap, and so are free from them. So says the *Indian*, and so have I heard it said. *F. de Angelis* says the *Turks* do the same. We need not admire them, nor is it reasonable

In Jacobs time there were Schools and Schools. A Lapid in Gen. 25. 27.

Husbandry.

Manila.

nable we should follow their Example, but rather that of the *Chineses*; for they act very orderly in this and several other cases.

Husbandmen.

2. The Husbandmen of *China* are mighty numerous, and as to Rank are prefer'd before Merchants and Mechanics. They work without ceasing, and if they had the Feeding and Wine those of *La Mancha* in *Castile* have, no Men in the World would outdo them at their Business. They are continually about their Lands; if they have any time to spare, away they go immediately to the Mountains to cut Wood, to the Garden to look to their Herbs, or to cut Canes, &c. so that they are never idle. The Land in *China* never lies Fallow; generally the same Ground produces three Crops in a Year; first, Rice; and before it is reap'd, they sow Fitches; and when they are in, Wheat, Beans, or some other Grain: Thus it continually goes round. They manure it as much as may

Manuring.

be, there is no Dung but what is put to this use. Human Dung is sold, and the Countrymen go about the Streets, crying, Who will exchange this Commodity for Wood, Oil, or Herbs? all which they carry with them. To carry it away decently, they have small Tubs very close cover'd. They carry them ingeniously on their Shoulders; and thus the Houses are cleans'd every day, and get something. They often cleans'd the Prison I and my two Companions were kept in, and the Goaler was well paid for it. A great many go about the Streets with Baskets, and little Iron Shovels, picking up all the Filth there is, whether it be Dogs, Swines, or any other Creatures Dung, so that all places are constantly kept clean. Besides this, as I hinted before, there are neat and decent places in Cities, Towns, and in the Country, for all Necessities; and so on the Roads. The owners of them make use of all they find there, in their Gardens and Fields.

Cleannefs.

Rice.

3. When they take up the Rice from the first Bed and transplant it, they use an extraordinary Art to give it strength, which I would not dare to insert here had I not seen and examin'd it. They that kill Swine, which most Men do, carefully keep the Hair. The Husbandmen buy it, and when they plant Rice, put a little of it made up like a Ball into the Ground with the Plant. This they say strengthens the Rice, and gives virtue to the Earth. When the Plant is grown up and begins to ear, they scatter unslack'd Lime about all the Rice-fields. This Lime

they say kills the Worms, burns up the Weeds, and at the same time fattens the Land. We could not but admire every time we saw this practis'd, but Experience shews it is as they say. By this means the Rice-fields are so clean, that I have sometimes walk'd through them looking for some small Herb, and could never find any; which seems incredible, so that the Rice draws all the Nourishment from the ground; and there is such tall lovely Rice to be seen, that it is very surprising.

Nava-
rette.

4. At certain times it is usual to sprinkle the Rice and Herbs, or water it with Man's Piss mix'd with some of the Excrement. We *Europeans* thought this a Riddle, because in *China* Corn, Rice, and all sorts of Greens are nourish'd, fed, and kept alive by Piss, which among us burns and destroys all Plants.

Urin

5. In regard the Rice requires to be always swimming in Water, in such places where there are not Rivers, Brooks, or Springs, whose Waters they contrive a thousand ways to convey into the Fields, they have Wells and great Ponds made by hand to keep the Rain, which generally falls in *May* in the Southern Provinces. When their Ponds are full, the Husbandmen are pleas'd, because that Water will serve them if it should rain no more. This they use to water their Ground with great ease, and have admirable Engines for that purpose. I have often seen, and diligently observ'd them, yet I cannot describe how they should be made. They have been carry'd to *Manila*, and the *Dutch* have them at *Jacatra*; I believe there is not a better Invention in the World for draining of Wells, Springs, or Ponds. If it does not rain about *May*, then begin the Prayers, Processions, and Fasts, which are strange and astonishing. The Magistrates and Judges meet to consider of Means how to appease Heaven, and like blind Guides run into Follies. The Conjurers act their devilish parts. The Idolaters have recourse to their Idols, the Schoolmen to the Mountains and Valleys; and all of them are restless, and more diligent in making their Application to Devils and Idols, than we are in praying to God upon the like Occasions. In all publick Necessities they make use of the same Remedies.

Rain

Publick
Devotions.

6. They gather Rice twice a Year, once in *June*, and the next time in *December*. The Southern Provinces have more plenty of Rice than the Northern; tho there is great abundance of Corn,

Nada-rette. yet more of this in the North. There is not a foot of waste Land in all *China*; and if it were not all till'd, the Product would not suffice to maintain such Multitudes. The Husbandmen are generally poor People, and have but a small parcel of Land they farm from others: The general Rule is, that the Landlord pays Taxes and has half the Crop, the Husbandman tills the Ground and has the other half for his pains. There is not a Horn, Bone, or Feather, but what they burn to make Ashes to manure their Ground. *Horace* and *Cicero* wrote much in praise of Husbandry. See *A Lapide, Genes.* 49. v. 15.

Rena. Manding. Iblato. 7. Husbandry is of great Antiquity in *China*; one of their first Emperors, by name *Xin Nung*, was the first that taught it. They sacrifice to him at this time, and he has magnificent Temples.

SECT. III.

Of the Handy-crafts.

Manufactures. Imitation. Painting. 1. A great deal might be said of this rank of People. There are in *China* Handicraft Workmen of all sorts that can be imagin'd, and such numbers of them that it is prodigious. The Curiosities they make and sell in the Shops amaze all *Europeans*. If four large Galeons were sent to the City *Nan King*, to that of *Cu Cheu*, to *Hang Cheu*, or any other like them, they might be loaden with a thousand varieties of Curiosities and Toys, such as all the World would admire, and a great Profit be made of them. tho' sold at reasonable Rates. All things necessary to furnish a Princely House, may be had ready made in several parts of any of the aforesaid Citys, without any further trouble than the buying, and all at poor Rates in comparison of what is sold among us. The *Chineses* are very ingenious at imitation, they have imitated to perfection whatsoever they have seen brought out of *Europe*. In the Province of *Canton* they have counterfeited several things so exactly, that they sell them in the Inland for Goods brought from *Europe*. *F. de Angelis* was much in the wrong in affirming they have rare Painters among them, for they are and ever were very mean ones. They paint Flowers, Birds and Trees indifferently, but fall short in the shadowing. They very much admire our Paintings, tho' they are but ordinary ones. It is true, that some of them who have learn'd at *Manila* and *Macao*, have prov'd great Artists. The

Filigran the *Chineses* make at *Manila*, which they learnt of the *Indians*, has astonish'd the *Europeans*. They now begining to imitate it in some measure in *Italy*. In *Canton* they make very good Spectacles, Prospective, Burning and Looking-glasses, so like ours that it is hard to know them asunder. Not long before I came from thence, we understood they made them of Pebbles ground small, for want of fine Sand which they have not. The Tools Mechanicks use are much like ours, except here or there one. The Tailors use no Thimble, but only a Rag ty'd about the ball of the Thumb, and that serves them: They for the most part few standing, only leaning against a Table on which their Work lies. There are abundance of Weavers. In *Canton*, where there was a free Trade with the *Portugueses*, there were 90000 Looms. The Women work hard, many of them maintain themselves by their Labour; they Embroider delicately. A great many Shoonakers go about the Streets with all their Tools about them; they go where they are call'd, mend Shoos, and sell them for half a Ryal (three pence) and they will last a Year or two with those that do not go much. I know not after what manner, or what it is they use to Tan so rarely. Smiths walk about after the same manner, and carry their little Bellows, which are much more convenient, and as useful as those in *Europe*. They call them, and they will make Nails, or any thing else. There are others whose Trade is to mend broken earthen Ware, which they do by nailing together the pieces with bits of Brass; the Dish is strong, and the Crack scarce perceivable. Many carry about Apparel to sell; others Flesh, Fish, Herbs, so that no body needs go abroad for Provision. There is Meat ready dress'd to be had at any time of the day, and at all Rates, in every City, or Town, or even in the Villages that lie in any frequented Road: Besides, there are many considerable Eating-houses, where if any Man will have a Dinner for half a Ducat, for one, two, three, or more, in an hour's time they will send it home in good order, cleanly, and on the finest earthen Ware. The Inns of *Italy*, or other Parts, do no way outdo them.

2. I will here briefly treat of the Earthen-ware of *China*, concerning which many groundless Stories are reported in these our Parts. It is neither made of Egg-shells, nor of Sea-Snails, as *Mendoza* writes: Nor is it buried under ground

Nava-rette. an hundred, nor yet twenty Years. All the earthen Ware that is us'd in *China*, and all that has been brought hither, is made in a Town of the Province of *Kiang Si*, call'd *Cbao Hien*. Only the Earth of that Place is proper for it. They cleanse it very well, paint it of several fine Colours; and after being bak'd, it comes out transparent, and no Dish, Plate, or Bafon, has any Knot. Of late Years some in the Province of *Fo Kien* attempted to counterfeit it, but what they made was not to compare with the other; and the Emperor, at the Request of those of *Chao Hien*, commanded the others to desist. That of *Japan* is good, but still inferior to the other; besides it has one great Fault, which is, that boiling Water cracks and breaks it, and it does not that of *China*. The gilding and varnishing of *Japan* is beyond that of *China*, tho' their Gilders and Varnishers are very skilful, and daily improve, particularly in painting of Trees, Birds, and Flowers on the several Works they make. The *Chineses* make abundance of fine Paper-flowers, but those made of Silk are better. At *Nan King* they make them of Wax to such perfection, that we were amaz'd at them, as I observ'd in another place.

Perfumes. 3. The *Chineses* are great lovers of Perfumes, spend much Mony in them, and therefore there are a great many who live by making Sweets to burn. They use them in the Temples of their Idols, and about their Dead. There are several sorts of them, some better than others. Of the ordinary ones which are wonderful cheap, they make things in the shape of a Fardingale, mark'd out at distances as far as can burn in an hour; and so they make them for eight or twelve hours, or more or less. They hang them up in the Temples, every Man according to his Devotion; others use them in their Houses to watch, or rise by in the Night, for looking upon the Scores that remain, they know how many are burnt, and by that how many hours they have slept, and how long it is to day.

Physicians. 4. We may reckon the multitude of Physicians they have among their Handicrafts, and if they please we will allow them to pass among the Men of Learning. I forgot to give them a place there, and it is but reasonable they should have a good one, and we should all allow it them, for we all stand in need of their Worships. Honour the Physician for the need you have of him. There are good

ones in *China*, and some very expert at discovering the Indisposition by the Pulse. Yet the greatest part are mere Farriers, for tho' the *Chineses* are so fond of their Life and Health, especially the Great ones, yet they have taken no care, nor made regulation for this Faculty, tho' so necessary; so that tho' there are Examinations, and Degrees to be taken by Scholars and Soldiers (for these are made Batchelors, Licentiates, and Doctors, and are severely examin'd, tho' their Degrees are much inferior to those of the Learned Men) yet there is nothing at all for Physick. Any Man that will take upon him to be a Physician, does it without controul. The Physicians themselves are Apothecaries, and therefore when they visit their Patients, they carry a Servant loaded with their Medicines. When he has felt the Pulse at leisure, he leaves what he thinks proper, and goes away with the Mony. They never Bleed, Cup, give Glisters, or Purges. They know nothing there of Potions, their greatest Cure is a regular Diet, which is very agreeable to *Galen*: *The greatest Medicine is abstinence.* *S. Thomas, opusc. 60. art. 10.* quoting *Galen's* words, says, *The Body of Man is oftner found to fall into mortal Diseases through Excess, than through Want.* So that it requires to be dieted. The first thing they do is to forbid Fish, Flesh, and Eggs; they allow Rice Broth, Rice boil'd thin, some Herbs salted, and upon the recovery Goose-Eggs salted; as also salt Fish dry'd and roasted. This same Method they observe in *Japan*, *Tunquin*, *Cochinchina*, and all other Kingdoms even as far as *India* and the *Moguls* Country. Very little Rhubarb is us'd in *China*, tho' there is so much of it that it is not sold for above half a Ryal (three pence) a pound. They use more of that they call *Fo Lin*, and we *China* Root.

5. The Practice of Physick is of great Antiquity in *China*. One of the first five Emperors introduced it. His Books are preserv'd to this day, with some others that treat of the Nature of Herbs. True it is, his Successors have advanc'd this Faculty but little or nothing. *F. Coplet*, of whom we have elsewhere made mention, is a violent asserter of the *Chinese* Physicians, here and there one is of his Opinion; he is about translating some of their Books for the Improvement of *Europe*. The *Chineses* neither study, nor know any thing of Philosophy; this being so very necessary an Assistant to Physick, how can there be any able Physi-

ans without it? In truth, there all depends on Chance; they hit right perhaps by Experience, not by their Learning. They never see, nor ask for, nor understand the Water. In some slight Indispositions they use Cupping; their manner and application of them I like better than ours. They are made of Braſs, have a little Hole at the top, which they ſtop with a little Wax; when they lay them on, they put a ſmall lighted Wick, made to ſtand upright, on the place appointed; then they clap the Cupping-veſſel upon it, it draws well; and then unſtopping the little Hole with a Needle, the Air goes out at it, and the Cupping-veſſel of it ſelf gently comes off the Fleſh. There are many good Surgeons, who do their buſineſs very well without all that variety of Inſtruments uſ'd among us. An infinite number goes about telling Fortunes, and ſo of Muſicians. Some blind Women, purpoſely blinded by their Parents, go about with Gittars to get their Bread. Others playing on Inſtruments, calculate Nativities, and pretend to underſtand Phyſiognomy. During the Rice-Harveſt, many go about the Fields playing to the Reapers; and they having the Rice and Corn at hand, pay them in that Coin. They are not a few who aſſign fortunate Places for Sepulchers; they obſerve the poſition of the Place, that it look towards the South, and other Circumſtances that may make it have a Communication with the Dragon they feign to be under the Earth. Hence comes all Honour and Riches to their Children and Poſterity, and this they call *Fung Xui*.

6. It remains here to ſpeak of the *China Root*, paſſing by many other ſorts of Drugs that Country produces. There are two ſorts of it, one perfect, which is fine and white, and ſold in *China* for four times the price of the other. I gueſs none of this comes to us, it grows in the Northern Provinces. The other is a very imperfect ſort, they call it *The Root of the Earth*; it grows in the Provinces of *Fo Kien*, *Canton*, and others in the South, it is of a ruddy Colour, there is abundance of it about the Fields, it coſts only the taking up and carrying home. Both ſorts grow under ground, and have nothing above but ſome little Sprigs with very ſmall Leaves, by which it is found out. This laſt ſort is it they bring into *Europe*. In *India* it is very dear. I have ſeen that ſold at *Malaca* for 18 pieces of Eight, which in *China* did not coſt two. The *Portugueſes* at *Macao* of late Years,

fell into the way of preſerving this Root. The *Dutch* and *English* bring ſome of this Preſerve into *Europe*, it is very delicious. In the Year 1674, diſcourſing on this Subject with Doctor *Requena*, he told me an *English* Man had given him a little of it.

7. It will be proper to ſay ſomething of the moſt famous Root call'd *Jin Sen*. Jin Sen. It is valued above all things in *China*; it grows not there, but in the neighbouring Countries on the North ſide. The *Chineſes* call it *A Medicine that raiſes the Dead*. The Name is well due to it, for its admirable Effects. It is much like ſmall Radishes without Leaves; they ſell it at an extravagant rate, generally for its weight in Gold; and when ſcarce, double. Its particular Quality is to comfort the Stomach, and ſtrengthen the whole Body, ſo that it ſeems to inſpire new Spirits and Life. When a Man is quite ſpent with Weakneſs, let him take a Decoction of this Root to the quantity of the weight of a Silver Ryal (a ſix pence) and he preſently recovers more ſtrength than if he had eaten a Puller. It is a wonderful thing how much virtue there is in ſo ſmall a thing. The great Men exceed in the uſe of it, in order to indulge themſelves more freely in Senſuality. Much more might be ſaid in this place, but thus much will answer my Deſign.

SECT. IV.

Of the Merchants.

1. The number of Traders and Merchants in *China* is exceſſive. Whatſoever Town or City a Man comes into, there ſeem to be more Sellers than Buyers. They are all very obliging and civil; if they can get any thing, tho never ſo little they don't ſlip the opportunity. They are the very Antipodes of the *Japoneſes*, for theſe are rough, diſobliging, and poſitive; when they once ſay a thing is worth 20 Ducats, they will not abate a croſs, tho you argue it with them a twelve month.

2. From all Antiquity the *Chineſes* Trade with Foreigners. have been forbid trading with Foreign Nations; but the People being covetous, have of late years by their Money purchas'd leave to go to *Japan*, *Manila*, *Jacatra*, *Siam*, and other places within the ſtrait of *Scicapura*. This has given many *Chineſes* the opportunity of ſetling in thoſe Countries. In my time it was moſt rigorouſly obſerv'd that none ſhould go to

to Sea, not so much as the *Portugueses* of *Macao*, nor no Ship of other Nations should be admitted. This was observ'd during the time we were in custody, and they twice turn'd away the *Dutch* without suffering them to Buy or Sell. The

Chineses say they want nothing that Foreign Countries afford, and they are in the right. This is a good piece of Policy. The same might be done in other Kingdoms, but they do it not, because they will not.

C H A P. II.

Of the Coin of China.

Money.

1. IT will not be amiss in this place to treat of the *Chinese* Coin, and others I have seen. The current Coin of *China* is plain Silver without any Stamp, but it goes by weight. It pass'd so in *Abraham's* time, *Oleaster* in 23 *Gen.* For which reason all Buyers or Sellers carry about them a little curious *Roman* Beam, we call it the *Stilyard*; with which they weigh what they receive and pay. They reckon by Crowns, every one worth ten Ryals Plate, like the *Italian* Crowns. They divide a Ryal into ten parts, as the *Romans* do into ten *Bayoques*; that tenth part they subdivide into an hundred, but most commonly into twenty, the others are so small they do not weigh them. There is some Silver very fine, in which they pay their Taxes to the Emperor, and no other is allow'd of for this use; there is another fine sort, another that is current, some coarse, and some coarser still, which is the cause of many cheats, to which most of the *Commonalty* are much addicted. The leisure the *Chineses* take to weigh half a Farthing in Silver; is intolerable to the *Europeans*. They make Pigs of Silver of what weight they think fit, to send up the Taxes to Court; usually they weigh fifty Crowns, and they are curious in this particular, as in all other things. There are abundance of Founders in every City and Town, who are all or most of them very expert at stealing the Silver, and making up the weight with other Metals. They have great Sheers of several sorts to cut the Silver with, which all Men are provided with, especially the Merchants and Traders; and because when it grows dusky it is hard to know Silver, and bits of it are apt to drop down when it is cut, therefore as soon as the Sun sets, all the Shops are shut up.

2. There is another Brass Coin round, and as big as a *Spanish Quarto* (something broader than a Farthing) in the middle of it is a square hole, which serves to hang it on a string by; it is more gene-

rally us'd in the Imperial City than in any other place. The Emperor's Name is engrav'd upon it, but the value of it is not certain; in some places it rises, and falls in others, but in all parts where I have been, the Brass sold by weight is worth more than when coin'd. It was sometimes propos'd at *Manila* to make use of it for small Expences. I have seen this Project in Print, its being good is cause enough why it should not be practis'd. It would be advantageous on several accounts, and it were no small benefit, that by this means his Majesty would be furnish'd at easie rates with Metal to cast Guns.

3. I am perswaded the *Chinese* Coin is the antientest in the World. The first we *Europeans* have any knowledg of, is that which they say *Terah*, *Abraham's* Father, coin'd at the request of King *Ninus*, and the first pieces of it were those thirty for which *Judas* sold Christ, so says *Albericus de Rosate* in *lib. de contr. Empt.* and quotes *Capola*, *Felicianus de Solis*, and others. The Coin of *China* was invented and made by one of the first five Emperors, who according to their Annals without doubt liv'd before *Terah*. *Spondanus* writes they began to coin Money in *France* about the year 549 after Christ, it was a Gold Coin with the Effigies of their Kings, not of the Emperors, as others was. *Aristotle* in the Fourth of his *Morals* distinguishes the several Species of Coin. *S. Thomas* quotes him, *Lib. 2. de Regim. Princip. cap. 13.* and says, *Moneta* implies, *Monens mentem ne fraus committatur*; & *Numisma*, *Quia nominibus Principum, Effigieque designatur*. Whence it follows that the Brass-money of *China* is *Numisma*, and the Silver which is weigh'd must be *Moneta*.

4. At *Macaassar* they use a Royal Coin, for it is Gold, they call it *Bulay* and *Copones*, it is us'd as low as the value of half a Ryal (three pence) and has their King's Arms on it. True it is, for small Expences,

ces, as buying of Herbs, Cocos, Fish, &c. they have another little Brass Coin, which they call *Abejarrucos*. In *Camboxa* the current Coin is of Silver curiously cast. The stamp on it is a Cock, and therefore the *Europeans* call it by the name of *Gallos*, or *Cocks*. At *Siam* they use very fine Silver, known by the name of *Ticals*, in the midst of it is a small stamp with the Arms. For small change they use some fine little shells, they call *Sigueyes*, brought to them from the Coast of *India* and *Manila*, of which there are vast Quantities in the Island *Luban*. I heard in *China*, they were given to the King, I am satisfy'd his Majesty will be little or nothing the better. This sort of Money pass'es at *Suratte*, whither the *Sigueyes* are carry'd from the *Maldivy* Islands. The same is us'd throughout all *Guinea*, according to *Monardes*, fol. 134. In *Japan*, *Tunquin* and *Cochinchina* they use Silver-money.

Sigueyes.
Money of
Shells.

5. At *Malaca* I saw five several sorts of Coin, Pieces of Eight; *Rixdollars* a finer Silver than the Pieces of Eight; Crowns of a lower alloy; *Caxa*, which is only one third Silver, is like the *Tarjas* of *Navarre*, current in all places where the *Dutch* are. The fifth is Copper: At *Columbo* they have the same five sorts of Coin, and the *Roupies* besides, the Silver whereof is perfectly fine. At *Charamanda* they use *Fanones*, which are of Gold, seventeen of them make a Piece of Eight, and one *Fanon* makes 110 little Pieces of Copper-money; there are also *Pagodés* of Gold, one of them is worth two Pieces of Eight. At *Goa* there are *Seraphims* of coarse Silver; *S. Thomas's* of Gold, each of them is a Crown of ours. They are call'd *S. Thomas's*, because they bear the Effigies of that Holy Apostle. There are also *Tangas* and *Abejarrucos*.

Fanones.

Pagodés.

Seraphims.

St. Thomas's.

6. *Spondanus* in his 2d Volume writes, that *Spain* is so exhausted, that for want of Gold and Silver it makes use of Copper-money. What I can say to it is, that wheresoever I have been, which is a considerable part of the World, I have seen our Pieces of Eight in great esteem, and I know they are so in *Turky*, *Babylon* and *Persia*. The *Chineses* value them at a great rate, for whereas they reckon but ten degrees or Carraets of fineness in Silver or Gold, which answers to our 24; they

allow the Pieces of Eight to be nine Carraets and a half fine. Yet for all this we see Brass Money in *Castile*, which amazes all the Nations in the World. The *French* Missioners in *China* said, they did not doubt but that there were more Pieces of Eight in *France* than in *Spain*; and affirm'd, there went out of the Port of *Marseilles* above six Millions of theirs in Pieces of Eight to *Turky*, and other Parts where they trade. How then can the *Turk* want Strength to make War upon us? What mis' has the *French* of the *West-Indies*? Even as much as *Genoa* and *Venice*. A Pamphlet that came from *Portugal* into *China*, rail'd much at the falling of the Money in *Castile*; adding, that Strangers brought in Brass Money, and carried away the Silver. This has been a Grievance these many Years, and it is very odd that no Remedy should be apply'd to so grievous a Disease, *S. Thomas*, speaking of the falling of Money, says in the same place we quoted above; *He must be very moderate* (that is, the Person at the Helm) *in altering or diminishing the Weight or Metal, because it turns to the Peoples loss*. Here he cites Pope *Innocent* reproving the King of *Aragon* upon this account.

7. *F. Faber*, a *French* Jesuit, discoursing with me concerning the Plate that is every year carry'd out from *Marseilles*, told me, what disputes and controversies there had been in *France* about justifying that action, and bringing them off with a safe conscience who had a hand in it. He said the Laws of the Kingdom were very severe against it, and the ill consequences of it considerable; however he own'd his Society maintain'd the action, and satisfy'd all Persons in that point, because the Laws made against it were not so binding in conscience. Those of the Society in *Manila* say the same thing in regard to the Factors in that City. In these cases I look upon it to be safer to have regard to the publick Good, than to the benefit of private Persons: Besides that the intention of the Legislators is sufficiently express'd without allowing any the least interpretation. The Coin of *China* has drawn on this Discourse, it may be allow'd of as a diversion, and change of Subject.

C H A P. III.

Treating of the Chinese Government.

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*Nava-*  
*rette.*  
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Government.

1. **S**omething has been said, tho' briefly, of the four Ranks of People, into which the *Chineses* divide all their multitude. These again they place under five States or Orders, *viz.* The Emperor and Subjects; Parents and Children; Husbands and Wives; Elder and Younger Brothers, and Friends. The whole *Chinese* Government tends to make these five States or Orders live regularly, and in decent manner; and to say the truth, if this can be perform'd, there is no more requir'd towards keeping a Kingdom in peace and unity, which is the end we ought most to aim at in this life. The *Chineses* design is, that every Person keep within the bounds of their Vocation and Calling, without exceeding the limits ascrib'd them. All their Doctrines and Books tend to prescribe Rules and Methods to practise what they aspire to. This is the ultimate end of all the Labours and Writings of the Great *Chinese* Doctor *Kung Fu Cu*. To Kings and Emperors they prescribe the love of their Subjects, Compassion, Mercy, and Fatherly Affection; for this reason they call him Father, and Common Father of the Empire. To the Subjects, Fidelity, Loyalty, and Obedience to their Emperors, Kings, Magistrates, and Governours: tho' they see the Sword hanging over them, they are not to be deter'd from speaking the truth, or performing their Duty. To Parents Meekness, and upon occasion to use severity towards their Children; to instruct, and chastise their failings, to do with them as *S. Paul* directs in his sixth Chap. to the *Ephesians*. To Children, that they be obedient to Parents; disobedience to them is the greatest sin the *Chineses* know, as shall be said in another place. Parents usually accuse their Children before the *Mandarines* for disobedience, when they have not the heart to punish them, because they are grown up. The punishment inflict'd on this account is very severe. In those places where there are no *Mandarines*, they have recourse to the Elders, who have authority to punish this crime. Generally the punishment is inflict'd in the presence of the Parents, and lasts till they say they are satisfy'd, and plead for their Child. The Practice in this case is Comical, for any one takes upon him to be

Obedience
to Parents.

Plaintiff, and complains that such a one is not obedient to his Parents, and sometimes it falls out that the Parents themselves maintain the contrary, and are at charges to clear their Sons.

2. They prescribe many Rules for Husbands and Wives, some of them shall be mention'd in their proper place. The Wives in *China* are half slaves, their subjection extraordinary; they do not know that God made Woman of Man's Rib, and took her not from his Feet. They are reclude in the highest degree, their modesty and reserv'dness is not to be parallel'd in all the World, they out-do all others upon Earth in continual labour and industry. They write very much concerning the respect and courtesie due from the younger Brother to the Elder, and the love of the Elder towards the younger. Little is said of Sisters, because they make small account of them. Only the Males inherit, the Females are cut off; and so if they do not marry, when their Father dies, they are left to the mercy of the Brothers, or other Relations. The Missioners discoursing one day about persuading Maids to preserve their Virginity, and become Devotees, as is practis'd among us (the Fathers of the Society have made many, we had but few) I propos'd something of what has been said, and concluded with these words: Let your Reverences secure them a Dish of Rice, or as we say a morsel of Bread to keep them alive, and let it be so; but if this can never be secur'd, to what purpose should we engage our selves in affairs of very dangerous consequence? What must a young Maid well born do alone in a Room or House, under a Vow of Chastity, without any thing to maintain her, but her labour; under a confinement never to go abroad, or being able to beg, tho' she be in want? And if she fall sick, who must look after her? That Vineyard is not yet at a growth to spread along the Walls.

Wives.

Women.

3. They give very pretty Documents to Friends, as shall be shown in its place. They include *Mandarines* and Masters in the first Rank or Order, and therefore they call the Viceroy's Fathers of the Provinces, the Governours of the Cities, and the Judges of the Towns. The reverence and respect they pay their Masters

sters is scarce to be imagin'd, it lasts not only whilst they are Scholars, but all their Life time; so that the Ceremonies they use towards them are continual, and this they do tho' the Scholar arrive to great Preferment, and the Master still continue a private Person. I every day approv'd more and more of this respect, they far outdo the *Europeans*. The *Chineses* call the Distinction and good Order of these five States mention'd, *Ta Tao*, which is, great Learning and Wisdom. They also assign five Virtues, Prudence, Justice, Mercy, Fortitude, and Fidelity. For the attaining and practising of them, they set down nine general Principles to those that are in Authority, which are to compose and regulate themselves, to respect virtuous Persons, to love their Family, to reverence their Superiors and great Counsellors, to be in Unity with Ministers of State, and be of the same Body with them; that is the meaning of the word *Ji*, to cherish, love, and support the Subjects, to treat Strangers who come from far Countrys with kindness, (this they perform but ill at this time) to give great Honour to the Petty Kings, and suffer Handicrafts to come from other Nations. They comment largely upon this, and bring their reasons from Conveniency for it. They have reason

enough not to admit of Strangers, as having no need of them for any worldly Affairs. *Narbona* advises Princes not to prefer Strangers to places of Trust, or to their Councils, because they are ignorant of the Constitution, and void of Affection, and because the Subjects always resent it. He is much in the right, yet he is not minded. The *Chineses* shew'd it sufficiently in the case of *F. Adamus* the Jesuit; for as much as he did rise, and the Emperor favour'd him, so much their envy and hatred to him increas'd, and they never gave over till they ruin'd him, and all us with him for his sake. This is the fate of those that build upon Sand. The *Chineses* found fault with him, for that he was very great with the *Tartar*, and had not given any better Tokens of his Fidelity and Affection to the *Chinese* Emperor, who had honour'd and rais'd him to that height. The Fathers are now returning thither with the Mathematicks, God grant it may be on a better ground and Success than *F. Adamus* had. *F. Gourvea* us'd to say, *F. Mathew Riccius* brought us into *Cbina* by the Mathematicks, and *F. Adamus* turns us out by his. More shall be said in another place touching this Point, so that at present we will begin a new Chapter upon the Subject of this.

C H A P. IV.

Upon the same Subject as the last.

1. **T**HE *Chineses* have taken an excellent course, for the executing of Affairs which of themselves are regularly difficult, as *S. Thomas* terms it. For Example, the Emperor commands search to be made for a Malefactor. Who is there but will say it is a difficult matter to find out such a one in so large a Kingdom, and so spacious a Region? Yet for all that it is as easy, as shall be made appear in this place. The High Court in the Imperial City, to whom the business is committed, sends away Orders by the Post (which is very regular and well order'd) to all the Capital Citys. The *Mandarine* who receives these Orders communicates them to all the other *Mandarines* there, and sends away an Express to all the Citys of the Province; the Citys do the same to the Towns within their Precinct. The *Mandarine* of the Town acquaints the Headboroughs, every one of whom has charge of an Hun-

dred Houses, and these make it known to their Inferiors, which are like Tithing men. Thus all the Houses in the Empire are search'd without any confusion or noise, tho' they stand upon Mountains, in Vallies or Woods, so that most exact means are us'd to find out any Man that is sought after. After the search, the Inferiors give an account to their Superior Officers of what they have done, these to the *Mandarines* of the Town, from them it is sent to the City, thence to the Metropolis, and so to the Court of Justice in the Imperial City; so that within two Months time an Account of all that has been done in the business throughout the whole Empire is return'd to Court. The *Chineses* in their Government follow the Advice that *Jethro* gave *Moses*, Exod. 18. Read *Oleaster* and *A Lapid*, vers. 25. and it will appear to be so.

2. This

2. This was the manner of proceeding against all us Missioners, to bring us together, so that it was morally impossible for any to lie conceal'd, without great danger to the Heads of Streets and Quarters. It was with the knowledg of the *Mandarines* that four of my Order were hid, or else they would not mind it, or thought the business would not have been carry'd on with so much rigor. When they saw the Affair threatned danger, to secure themselves and their Reputation, they omitted to use some means of discovery; and in truth things were in a very bad posture, but it pleas'd God to salve up all, that some small comfort might be left a few Christians. One *F. Macret* of the Society was newly come into *China*, and consequently not known; one that had known the Tongue might easily have been left in his place to attend the Faithful; it was not done, but they sent him away to *Macao*. Very many did not believe the Persecution would have run so high.

3. Those Heads we have spoke of are mighty watchful over the Houses they have under their Charge; none that comes from another place can live in them, without being examin'd, who he is, and what Trade he follows. When they know from whence he came they acquaint the Judg, who has a list of the Names of all within his Precinct. When I was sent away to the Imperial City (I was one of those that sail'd best) the Judg came to my House, and sent for the Head of the Quarter I liv'd in. He kneeling, was ask'd before my Face, How many *European* Preachers are there here? He answer'd, Only one. Is there no more? said the Judg again. No Sir, reply'd the Headborough. Then I deliver him into your custody, quoth the Judg, take care of him till I send him away to Court, whither the Emperor calls him. The Headborough was an honest Man, so he took my word, and left me at full liberty. The Judg was a Man of Honour, and gave good proof of it at this time. He was above 70 Years of Age, and as active as if he had been but 30. The Officer that carry'd me to the Metropolis, assur'd me (and I had heard it from others before) that he eat for his Breakfast every morning 30 Eggs, and a Dogs Leg, and drank two Quartillos (it is about a Pint and a half) of hot Wine. The good old Man look'd so fat and fair, it did a Man good to see him.

4. Infinite number of Dogs are eaten in *China*, they count their Flesh delicate and

nourishing, and have Butchers and Shambles where it is sold; but more in the Northern Provinces, than in the Southern. It is comical to see what a multitude of Dogs pursue these Butchers as they go along the Streets; I suppose the smell of Dogs flesh they carry about them provokes the other Dogs. When they go loaded with half a dozen or more Dogs to the Shambles, the sport is still better; for the noise those so carry'd make, brings out all the Dogs in the Town to take their parts, and attack their mortal Enemies. Asses Flesh is valued above any other. They also eat Horsecflesh, Buffalo, Cats, Mice; and other sorts. I myself eat of a Horse, Dogs, and Mice, and in truth I lik'd them very well. The *Chineses* value the Sinews of Deers Feet brought to them dry from *Camboga*, *Siam* and other places. The Elephants Trunk they affirm to be a mighty dainty, and a bit for a King, the same they say of a Bear's Paw.

5. Let us return to the matter in hand. All matters of moment that are transacted in the Empire are communicated to the Supreme Governours and Viceroyes, who make them known to all the Subjects, after the manner as was set down at the beginning of this Chapter. Thus there are daily to be seen Writings, set up in publick places, containing the business in hand at Court, which has been laid before the Emperor. Our case was managed after the same manner, and by this means it was known in the meanest Village and Farm-house that there were Preachers of the Word of God in *China*. True it is, this Information came late, and after they had reprov'd and condemn'd that Doctrine. In the Year 1663 the *Dutch* went up to Court by the way of *Fo Kien*, and immediately news was brought to *Canton* of their arrival; and a particular of the Presents they made the Emperor, which were valu'd at 60000 Ducats. They sent advice from *Canton* of the arrival of an Ambassador from *Portugal*, and soon after the whole Empire had notice of his coming. But the Emperor complain'd of the smallness of the Present, which was immediately made known to him, tho it was worth above 30000 Ducats.

6. The several Degrees, and the Rank of Superior and Inferior Courts, and Magistrates, is very well settled and establish'd, so that there never is, or can be any trouble, or dispute about precedence, as happens very often among us, especially in the *Indies* and *Philippine Islands*, which

A Breakfast.

Meats.

Nava.
rette

Rank.

Narrative. which gives much Scandal to new Converts, and Infidels. It often happens that a very mean Souldier, and sometimes one of them that is banish'd from *Mexico*, rising to be Governour, contends with a Bishop, and holds his own stify; and unless the poor Bishop gives way, or parts with his right (either through too much Humility, or a destructive Flattery, as Saint *Augustin* said) to prevent the mischief may ensue to his Flock, presently all is in an uproar, and that which began on a frivolous occasion, ends either in taking away his Temporal Revenue, or banishing the Bishop. The *Chineses* order things better, every Man positively knows what place and respect is due to him, and the certain extent of his Jurisdiction, so that there is no room for any Controversy on this or the like Subject.

Degradation of Mandarines.

7. Every three Months a Book of considerable bulk is publish'd in the Imperial City, which contains an Account of all the Emperor's Revenue, and the Names and Surnames of all the *Mandarines* in the Empire at that time, with their Rank and Precedence, according to their Employments. These Books are dispers'd abroad every where, and by them they know every one's Post, and how they are subordinate to one another. It is the Custom of *China*, when any thing is laid to the Charge of Mandarines, which is not an Offence that merits their being totally laid aside, to put them down to a meaner Employment; and so it sometimes falls out, that he who but the other day was Viceroy of a Province, is now reduced to be Governour of a single Town. The Supreme Governour of a Province, who has charge of the whole, is the chief Man in it, and as such all kneel to him, and touch the Ground with their Heads; only the Viceroy is exempted, who makes a show of bending his knees.

He, the Emperor's Treasurer, and the Judg Criminal, after paying their Ceremonies, may sit down and eat with him. If the Supreme Governour is impeach'd, when he is call'd to give account of the discharge of his Office, he kneels down before the Judg without Boots, or the habit of a *Mandarine*. We saw this done in the Province of *Canton An. 1668*, to one who afterwards hang'd himself for mere rage.

8. All the Affairs of Metropolitan and other Citys are under the like subordination, and generally pass through all their Courts. The Emperor order'd we should be maintain'd, whereupon we presented a Petition to the supreme Governour, who gave command, that what the Emperor had allow'd should be given us; the Order went down to the Viceroy, who pass'd it; from him it went to the Emperor's Treasurer, then to the Judg, and lastly to the Judges of the two Corporations which are within the Walls. These gave their Answer, which went up to the supreme Governour in the same manner as it came down. All this Mystery was made to pay us five *Maravedies* (about a half penny) in Silver, which the Emperor allow'd every one of us. They paid it in coarse Silver, and not above half the value, for the Officers of Courts of Justice are wicked all the World over; the difference is, that those in *China* are very courteous, give good words, and are satisfy'd with a small matter. In every Government there are Six Clerks Offices, which are answerable to the Six Courts in the Imperial City, whereof we spoke in the First Book, each takes cognizance of its own particular Affairs. There all Orders that come from Court are kept. Every two Months the Imperial Treasurers send up an Account to the Court of Exchequer of what has been laid out of the Revenue.

C H A P. V.

A Continuation of the same Matter.

Mandarines Diversions.

1. THE Method the *Mandarines* use to be able to justify themselves in the discharge of their Duties, is very regular. It is a clear case, they never go out of their Houses, unless it be to pay Visits, to Invitations from Persons of Note, and about the execution of their Office; they don't use, as we do, to go abroad a walking to take the Air, or

for Pleasure. All their Diversions consist in some Treats, and Plays acted whilst they eat and drink; upon which Occasions the Custom is thus. When the Guests are all come together, the principal Actor delivers a Book of several Plays to the Master of the House, who gives it to his chief Guest, to chuse the Play he likes best. He names it, and

Plays.

it

Entertain-
ments.

it is acted, which shows no small skill in the Actors. When the Play is ended, he that chose pays for it, and gives some Silver to the Waiters and Cooks. To say the truth, they pay dear for their Dinner. Men of great Note will lay out 50 Ducats, others less, and some only Ten, or Twelve. The *Chineses* are great lovers of Plays, but the mischiefs they cause fall heavy on them. *Scipio Nascia*, mention'd by the Author of *Fasciculus Temporum*, fol. 31. order'd, *That they should not by any means erect a Theater in the City, because, he said, it was a pernicious thing to a Warlike People, as breeding Sloth, and encouraging Lewdness.* In our Parts we mind nothing.

2. In the Year 1668, the Petty King of *Canton* invited us to drink a Glass of Wine (so they term it). This was a mighty Kindness, in regard we were confin'd by his Emperor. We thought it not decent to go all of us, it was agreed four should go, and I was one of the number. We presently consider'd whether he would not have some sort of Sport, because it was then Newyears-tide. We had a good Dinner, and some Musick, which oblig'd us to spend about six Ducats, and truly with much regret, for our Stock was then very low. These are unavoidable Accidents; we could no way refuse so great an Honour, which besides procur'd us no small Ease and Enlargement in our Confinement. Those who will behave themselves like Gentlemen, must take the Expence upon them, if they would have the Honour and Credit it brings along with it; but this requires a good Purse, which we Missioners want.

Courts of
Justice.

3. Every day, Morning and Evening, the *Mandarines* sit in Court in their own Houses, except those of the Imperial City, which are in a place apart; all the Courts are after the same manner, as I observ'd before. Yet there is no Imperial Law to oblige the *Mandarines* to sit every day. No certain Times are prefix'd them, nor at what Hours they shall go to the Bench, or come off; tho' a Missioner of a certain Religious Order asserted the contrary at *Rome*, to bring about not what was most convenient, but that which he desired and had a mind to.

4. The greater the *Mandarine*, the lodger he sits. The Supreme Governours and Viceroy's sit only twice or thrice every Moon, unless some Matter of great moment occur. All the Missioners that ever were, or now are in *Chi-*
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na, know what I write as to this particular to be true. What can we say or do if this be otherwise represented to the Head of the Church? When the chief *Mandarine* comes to sit in Court, they fire 3 great Chambers; before that the Musick and Waits play, and Trumpets found, upon certain little Towers near the Gate before the Court. They also ring a Bell every half hour. When the Court rises they do the same, save the ringing of the Bell. If the Supreme *Mandarine* is absent, the next to him has the same Ceremony perform'd. Whilst he is in Court, his Officers attend him, standing in two Ranks at some distance from him. The Executioners wait, some with cleft Canes, others with Shackles. The Martial *Mandarines*, instead of Canes use Cudgels, round at top and square at bottom, thicker than a Man's Leg. The Executioners stand below where the Criminals are, at a good distance from the *Mandarine*; as those were from King *Pharaoh* who saw and spoke to him: for this Reason *Moses* excus'd himself from going into *Egypt*, saying, *Exod. 4. I am of a slender Voice*, according to the *Septuagint. St. Augustin* upon this place, *Read Hugue*
Quest. 16. Perhaps the Royal State did not Cardinalis
allow them to talk near at hand. The Em- on this
perors of *China*, and their Ministers, place.
have always observ'd this Method, either to make themselves the more dreaded, or to appear the greater. *Abasuerus, Esther 4.* forbid any Person coming into his Presence upon pain of Death: *That being Monarch of a great Empire, he might be thought something more than Man, and look the greater, &c.* The *Persians* us'd the same Custom, says *Rupertus de Vist. verb. lib. 8. cap. 9. This Custom was chiefly establish'd among the Persians.* It is certain, we cannot say of them as *Pliny* the Younger says in his *Panegyrick* upon *Trajan*; *There is no difficulty in being heard, no delay in being answer'd; they are presently heard, and presently dismiss.* Nor what *Pacatus* said of the Great *Theodosius*; *Nor is it more difficult to see our Emperor than the Day-light, or the Sun.*

5. The *Mandarine* being seated, and his Officers placed, upon one Cry made the three outward Gates are open'd; and before the People that have Business come in, a Crier goes about the Inner Court with a written Tablet, crying (for example) Let those come in who have Petitions to prefer. When these are dismiss, the Crier again makes Proclamation, saying, Let those that are sent up from Towns come in. Then I went in

Nava-
rette.Hugue
Cardinalis
on this
place.Sylveir.
t. 5. p. 170.
n. 105.

with the Officer that had charge of me ; and being on my Knees, it was propos'd I should be sent to the Metropolis. I begg'd to be allow'd a Vessel, because I was poor. He granted it very courteously. This was the greatest *Mandarine* in the City ; I went out again and return'd home. He sat in much state, a great Table before him cover'd with Silk hanging down to the ground ; he had by him Pencils to write with, and black and red Ink. They sign and seal with red. There lay a great many little Sticks in a wooden varnish'd Case ; these serve to denote the number of Lashes they will have given to Criminals. Every little Stick stands for five Lashes ; if they design twenty, they throw down four of them, and six for thirty. The Executioners snatch them up, and lay the Wretch on his face upon the stones ; drag down his Breeches to his heels, where two stand to hold him down, and two more at his head. The Executioner facing the *Mandarine*, discharges the Cane with all his strength upon the Thighs. The standers-by count the Strokes aloud, and at every five comes on a fresh Executioner till the number is compleat. There is a difference in the Strokes, and in the Canes ; the greater the *Mandarine*, the thicker and heavier they are : to this purpose they put Lead into them, so that the Stroke is terrible. There lies no Appeal in case of Whipping, and very few escape it. When they have a mind to it, they kill a Man at four or five Strokes. The *Mandarines* can put no Man to death, without sending up to Court about it. But it is common to lash Men to death. The Executioners can order it much as they please, for the great stress lies in striking in one place or another, in turning or bending the Cane, wherein they always do the Will and Pleasure of their *Mandarine*. They hold up some Mens Testicles, and fix them on a small Cane ; on them they let fall the Stroke, and the second or third the Patient infallibly dies. If he who is to be whipp'd has Silver, he generally compounds with the Executioners, and then they let fall the Cane so, that it may make a great noise and do little hurt ; and the better to carry on the cheat, the Person suffering roars out hideously.

6. As terrible as this Punishment is, there are some who hire themselves to receive the Lashes for others ; so that in some places there are people who keep ten or twelve of these Men that hire themselves. Those whose Cause is de-

pending, and fear they shall be lash'd, have recourse to the chief of that Society ; give an account of the Danger they are in, and ask for one to go along with them, giving security to pay four or five Ryals (two Shillings or half a Crown) for every Lash. The Bargain made, he appoints one of his Men, who goes with the Criminal to the Court : The Executioners are spoke to, and when the *Mandarine* orders the Whipping, or rather Bastinadoing, the other takes the place, and receives the Strokes for Mony. This may be easily done without the *Mandarine's* perceiving it ; first, because of the many Executioners there present ; and in the next place, which is the best reason, because the *Mandarine* is at a great distance ; and as soon as he has thrown down the Sticks, during the Execution, talks of other Affairs, drinks Cha, and smokes Tobacco. When he has been lash'd, his Chief takes great care of him, has him dress'd, and makes much of him. Those that have been bastinado'd are generally sent to Goal ; there are those that dress them very well, but they pay for it.

7. The manner of wracking the Ankles is yet more cruel, many die of it ; two dy'd in Canton, An. 1668. F. Magalanes, a Jesuit, underwent it in the Imperial City, in such a barbarous manner, that he had no shape of feet left him ; his Offence was, that they found in his possession a quantity of Silver belonging to a *Mandarine*, who had been beheaded for some Crimes. For this purpose they make use of a large pair of Tongues with two dents below, into which they usually put Rubbish, and bits of Tiles. The Ankles being fix'd there, they close above, striking with an Iron Hammer ; and every stroke presses the Instrument together, so that after a few strokes the Bones are disjointed, and the Feet remain as flat as a Pancake, as I have seen sometimes whilst I was in Prison ; and truly it was enough to break one's Heart.

8. When the Trials are over, the *Mandarine* goes in and seals his Door with his own Name, so it remains safer than if it had been secur'd with twenty Padlocks. By the side of it is a Wheel (like those of Nunnerys) and Attendants to run of Errands without ; that way all the *Mandarine* has occasion for is deliver'd in, and no body from abroad goes in, nor any within goes out ; so the Door is only open'd when the *Mandarine* himself goes forward or backward. The Gates of the Courts are shut at Sun-set ; the greater the *Mandarine*, the more strictly

Navarrete.

Bastinadoing.

Punishment of breaking the Ankles.

Mandarine's retirement.

strictly this is taken care of. Till the next day there is no looking to have them open'd.

9. When they go abroad, it is with excessive State and Grandeur; the Attendance is futable to the Quality of the *Mandarine*. The Supreme Governour of *Canton*, without all doubt, goes abroad in more State than any King in *Europe*. Before him go two Men with two *Bras-basons*, on which they very leasurely strike nine Strokes, which are heard almost a quarter of a League off. The Governours of Towns have but three Strokes one after another, others have five, and others seven. Viceroy's and Supreme Governours have both of them nine. Besides those two we have mention'd, three other Couples go a good distance from one another. Then follow in two Ranks the Badges or Ensigns of their Post or Employment. This is like the Custom of the *Romans*, as *S. Thomas* says upon those words of *S. Paul*, in *Rom. 13. For they carry not the Sword in vain.* He says, *But he speaks according to the custom of Princes, who as it were to betoken their Power, carry'd the Instruments for punishing, that is, the bundles of Rods to lash, and the Axes or Swords to put to death.* Read *Corn. à Lapide* on that place. They carry broad Swords, Axes, Canes bloody with basting, and many Chains dragging, the noise of which alone is irksome. Six Men go by two and two, and a distance between them, crying out as loud as they can, but very leasurely, giving notice the Lord *Mandarine* is coming, and by this means the streets are clear'd. Those who bear the Ensigns are richly clad, and carry at distances three fine silk Umbrelloes, of three Folds each, of the Colour that belongs to the Employment. Then follows the Sedan, in which the *Mandarine* sits very gravely; it is carry'd by four, six, eight, or twelve, according to his Quality. I have already said the Emperor is carry'd by 24, and those of the Petty Kings by 16. Whilst the Supreme *Mandarine* is in Town, the rest, if they go abroad, do not carry the *Basons* out of respect to him. In *China* they observe the same Method the *Romans* did. *S. Thomas* in *John 10. v. 41. Lett. 6.* says

thus upon the words, *He did no Miracle. This Custom was observ'd among all the Antients, viz. that the Inferior Power did not make use of the Ensigns of its Authority before the Superior; for which Reason the Consuls laid down their Fasces when they came into the presence of the Dictator.* This the *Chineses* observe in beating the *Basons*, and firing the Chambers. In the Imperial City it is more strictly observ'd; for even the Counsellors of State go without much Attendance or Grandeur, out of respect to the Emperor. Their Sedans are round, open at top, slightly, handsomly adorn'd and set off. The *Mandarines* sit in them with the greatest modesty imaginable. If at any time an Inferior *Mandarine* perceives that another his Superior comes along the same Street, he immediately alights out of his Chair, and gets into a House, or strikes into another Street if there be any near. All those that have the Emperor's Seal, which are many, ever carry it before them, wheresoever they go, tho it be eight days Journey, or further. The Seal is in a gilt Urn, cover'd and carry'd upon Mens Shoulders next to the *Mandarine's* Chair. When they visit, there is a Table with a Carpet placed by the *Mandarine's* Chair, on which the Seal is set.

10. That which *Herodian, lib. 3.* writes of *Lucius Septimus Plautonianus*, may very well be said of the State of the *Mandarines* of *China*: His words are these; *Wheresoever he went he was so stern and terrible, that he was not only not sought for by any, but even those that met him accidentally turn'd away from him; for some Persons walking before gave notice that none should stand near, or presume to look upon him, but should all turn away and look upon the ground.* The same is done to a tittle by the *Chinese Mandarines*. They proceed with great deliberation before they take away any Man's Employment. There is no doubt it ought not to be taken away for every failing. *Oleaster* observes it, *Numb. 12.* God the Supreme Legislator did not depose *Moses* or *Aaron* from the Dignities he had rais'd them to, tho they offended him and *Aaron* in most grievous manner.

Navarrette.

C H A P. VI.

Of the Chinese Ceremonies and Civilities.

Civility.

1. ONE of the great troubles we Missioners of *China* undergo, is to learn the Ceremonies of that Country. Some look upon it as a needless, tiresome, and impertinent business, but in truth it is not only convenient but absolutely necessary towards conversing with that courteous and polite People. According to the saying, *When you are at Rome, do as they do at Rome.* Which Proverb the *Chinese* Nation has, but more at large. The Doctrine they call *Li Ki* speaks thus: "When a Man comes into any Precinct, he ought to ask what is forbidden there, that he may not offend the Lord of it; when he comes into a House, he must ask for the Master of it, to thank him for the Courtesie and Civility he receives there; the contrary is opposite to good breeding. When he comes into a Kingdom, he must inquire into the Customs and Manners, for otherwise he will offend the People, who will imagin he blames and condemns them, so that all Men will shun and avoid him. Now since, to attain the end the Missioners aspire to, it is necessary that instead of avoiding, the Infidels should seek for and converse with them, it follows that to imitate their Customs, and use their Ceremonies, is very necessary and advantageous. Christ our Lord left us a good example in this case, of whom *S. Thomas* upon *S. Matth.* says, that of his three Callings to the Disciples one was, *To Familiarity.* This being procur'd by following the Customs and Ceremonies of the Country, way is thereby made to discourse of the grand affair of the Soul, which is it that carries us to Regions so far distant from our Native Soil.

2. The *Chinese* Ceremonies in point of Civility are very numerous and diverse; they have several printed Books that treat of this matter. I give it for granted that polite carriage and courtesie are Virtues, and a part of Prudence, on which Subject you may read *S. Thomas*, 2. 2. 7. 5. and in other places. The *Chinese* Books teach what we are to talk about with a Husbandman, and how to converse with him, how with a Student, a Licentiate, a Doctor, a Little or Great *Mandarine*, what words are to be us'd in naming of them; what must be said and

discours'd at the first Visit, what at the second, what Questions are to be ask'd, how the upper hand is to be given or taken, where the Visit is to be receiv'd, and where leave to be taken. They observe so many Niceties in this point, that to say the truth, it requires a great deal of patience to be thoroughly inform'd in it, and much resignation to spend the time that is requisite in studying it. The Fathers of the Society have a Book that handles this matter, and sets down the Questions usually ask'd at Visits; it came to my hand, and I and others made our advantage of it. One of the usual Questions is, How many Children have you, Sir? I was inform'd that a Father meeting with an Eunuch, ask'd him, How many Children have you, Sir? At which he was much out of countenance. It is a plain case that all Questions don't sute with all sorts of Persons. A *Mandarine* ask'd one of my Order, How many Wives have you, Sir? Now the civil name for a Wife and a Church being the same, tho the words going before vary, he understood the *Chinese* inquir'd concerning Churches, and he answer'd, Three. Yet afterwards he found his mistake, and they came to a better understanding. There are very few but what have made false steps in this particular; nor is it to be admir'd, for it is well known, the *Chinese* Language has the most double

Language.

3. That Empire being of so great an extent, there is some tho but little diversity in their Ceremonies. In the Northern Provinces the right-hand is most honourable; in the Southern the Left. Among the *Romans* the Left-side carry'd the preference, this same custom lasted some years in the Eastern and Western Church. Hence it came that in the Pontifical Bulls *S. Paul* is on the right, and *S. Peter* on the left, as the more honourable place. The same was observ'd in the Councils of *Nice* and *Calcedon*, as *Spondanus* writes *Ann.* 525. *Num.* 17.

Ceremonys.

4. *S. Thomas* upon *Galat. Left.* 1. speaking of the place *S. Paul* has in the Bulls, gives another reason for it, these are his words: *In regard this present life is signify'd by the left, and the next by the right hand, for as much as this latter is spiritual and heavenly, and the other temporal, there-*

Read *Ximenez his* *Lection.* 1. *dextera.*

fore

fore Peter, who was call'd by Christ whilst he was yet in mortal flesh, is placed on the left-hand in the Pope's Bull, but Paul, who was call'd by Christ then glorify'd, is placed on the right. Modern Authors give other Reasons for it. In short, there is no matter, tho' never so minute, but what the *Chineses* have writ upon, and practise punctually. What the Missioners most admire is, that the very same Complements which are us'd at Court, are practis'd in the very words, not only in the Cities and Towns, but even in all the Villages, Hamlets and Country-Houses there are throughout all the Empire, so that it is all a mere Court, and its Inhabitants all Courtiers. The reason of it is, because all Men study this point; and therefore it appears, and I have often seen it, that a Child of eight years of age performs all points of Civility as nicely as a Man of fifty, which is very strange. Lads at nine or ten years of age observe the same method among themselves, as gravely as if they were well in years. Our *Hugo Cardinalis* asks, why *Isaiab* was so Eloquent, and *Amos* on the contrary so blunt? He answers, that *Isaiab* had been a Courtier, and Man of fashion, as we call it, but *Amos* was a Shepherd, bred in the Fields, and a mere Countryman. This distinction is to be found in those Countries and in *Europe*, but not in *China*. The Mechanics, Plowmen, and Porters, are all Men of fashion, for they are all very full of Civility, and express themselves in the same words, as they do in the Capital Cities.

5. In Visiting, too many Ceremonies are us'd. In the first place they take red Paper, of which there are several sorts, and abundance of every one of them; on it they write the Name of him that is to make the Visit in very mysterious Characters. This Paper is sent in to the Person intended to be visited, by it he knows the quality of the Person, and what respect is due to him, and either receives, or excuses himself for not admitting the Visit. The refusing a Visit is sometimes look'd upon as Civility, and is answer'd by such another Paper. The receiv'd custom of all *China*, is to carry a Present, at least the first Visit, at the new Year, and every Man's Birth-day, there is no avoiding of it. The *Persians* observ'd the same towards their Kings, according to *Hamon* on 2 *Mat. Epist.* 17. and others: It was very usual among the Antients for the Subjects to offer Gifts to their Kings; so *Seneca*, No Man can salute the King of the Parthians without a Present. He goes on talking

of the inviolable Law the *Persians* had to this effect.

6. In *China* this Custom is very antient in regard to all the *Mandarines*, the Present is writ down on another red Paper in very great order, and in choice Characters. There must be at least four several things presented, and six, eight, twelve, or more to Persons of greater quality. Having seen the Paper, he receives the whole or part, and sends an answer suitable to what he takes. Afterwards he pays the Visit, and returns a Present of equal value. Sometimes they send it in Silver, they are very careful that their Present be curiously order'd and set out.

7. We, as being Strangers, must of necessity present foreign things, and not such as the Country affords, which requires some care and charge. This is in some measure unavoidable, both in regard it has been so establish'd, and to the business we have there in hand, which must of necessity be carry'd on after this manner, till it be resolv'd to do it as was us'd in the Primitive Church, or as *S. Francis Xaverius* did in *Japan*. And if that Vineyard were advanced and improv'd by this method, by Silk Clothes, Sedans, and Servants, the labour were not ill bestow'd; but our grief is the greater because we find no good comes of it. *F. John Balat* of the Society, a very observant Religious Man, and laborious Missioner, lamented the expence of many thousands of Ducats his Order had been at in *Japan*, *Ethiopia*, *China*, *Tunquin*, and *Cochinchina*, without any addition to the Conversions of those parts. God grant a way may be made for all to go freely to labour in that Vineyard; for if the Presents are continued, and of such great value, as I have seen them, few Orders will be able to maintain Missioners in those parts.

8. In the Province of *Canton* there was a Christian, whose name was *John Li Re Ming*, in no greater circumstances than a mere Batchelor, who told us, He had need of a thousand Ducats a year to lay out only in Presents.

9. There is no return for the Birth-day Present. There is not a *Chinese* tho' never so poor but keeps his Birth-day, with all the greatness he is able. All the Children, Kindred, Neighbours and Friends, know every Man's Birth-day; a *Mandarine's* is known by all under his Jurisdiction; that of a Viceroy, or Supreme Governour, by all the Province. It is an antient custom to celebrate Birth-days, but not for private Persons, nor is

Complements.

Civility.

Children.

Visits.

Presents.

Nava-rette.

Birth-days.

it so univerſal as in *China*. Pharaoh celebrated his, and ſo did Herod. Conſtantine did the ſame, as Spondanus writes *Ann.* 353. num. 11. By reaſon the *Chineſes* are exceſſive in this practice, we might apply to them the words of S. *Auguſtine*, *Serm.* 12. in *Verb. Dom.* in *Matth.* Silly men rejoyce at many Birth-days of their own, and their Children; O wiſe man, if your Wine ſhrink in your Veſſel, you are troubled, you loſe days and rejoyce.

10. The *Chineſes* out-do us in many Particulars, one is, that there is ne'er a one of them, great or ſmall, rich or poor, but exactly remembers his Age, the day and hour of his Birth, and thoſe of his Parents, Brothers and Relations. The reaſon they give for it is very ſufficient. One thing they ſay is, that they may rejoyce for having liv'd to that age; the other, to be troubled becauſe the day of their Death draws every day nearer. Among us we ſhall find abundance of People, who never remember their Age, either to give God thanks for having preſerv'd them ſo long, nor to look forward what is to follow.

11. Upon the day of the New Moon, which is their moſt ſolemn Feſtival, the Petty Kings and Court-Magiſtrates, with the Emperor a happy Year; the Great *Mandarines* ſend their Deputies from the Capital Cities to do the ſame, and

they repeat the Ceremony on his Birth, and Wedding-day. Every Province once in three years deſutes ſome Perſon to ſalute the Emperor in its Name.

12. The Women keep their Birth-days, but the Men are never with the Women in any rejoycing whatſoever.

13. They have alſo particular Ceremonies to make Friends and be reconciled. One very much in uſe, is to take a Cock, to draw blood from his Comb, and the Parties to drink it. This they perform in a Temple with great Solemnity. Another is to draw blood from their Breasts, and each of them to drink the others. The practice of the *Egyptians* was to tie the Thumbs of thoſe that were to be joyn'd in Friendſhip; then they prick'd them with a Lance, ſo both their bloods mix'd. That action was to ſignify that both their Lives became as one. They gave it for granted that the life was in the blood.

14. In the time of the old Law, according to S. *Thomas* in 11. 1 *Cor. Lett.* 6. there was a cuſtom not unlike that of *China*, as ſhall be explain'd more at large in another place: Among the *Antients*, ſays he, it was a cuſtom to ſpill the Blood of ſome Creature offer'd in Sacrifice, to confirm the contract. *Gen.* 31. *Exod.* 14. A *Lapide* upon thoſe places here quoted, treats of this matter, as does our *Oleaſter*.

C H A P. VII.

Of the Marriage-Ceremonies.

1. **T**HERE are whole Books in *China*, and thoſe no ſmall ones, that treat of this Subject, and an infinite number has been writ upon it. Before I enter upon the matter I will here ſet down the Obſtacles that make Matrimony void, mention'd in their Books. One is, if the Woman be talkative, and given to prating; for this alone is ſufficient to turn her out of doors, and diſſolve the Matrimony, tho they have been long marry'd and have Children. If this were allow'd in *Europe*, there's no doubt but many Marriages would prove null, and it would be a great curb to reſtrain Women from being ſo free of their tongue. The ſecond is diſobedience to the Father and Mother-in-law. In *China* the Sons that are marry'd always live with their Parents, ſo that their Wives are obedient, and live in great ſubjection to their Father and Mother-in-law. They endure much miſery

by this manner of life. The third is if they ſteal any thing in the Houſe. The fourth, if a Woman has the Leproſy after ſhe is marry'd. The fifth, if ſhe proves barren. The ſixth, if ſhe is jealous; a great mortification to a Woman that is naturally ſubject to this Paſſion. The Men in *China* are more ſubject to it than the Women, for they always bear with the Concubines living all together, but theſe acknowledg the chief Lady as their Sovereign; and it being uſual for one to be better beloved than the others, they never are without diſcontents amongſt them, and ſome hang, others throw themſelves into Wells. When the firſt Wife has no Children, ſhe her ſelf courts the Husband to take a Concubine, and thus ſhe ſecures her ſelf from being turn'd off. *Sarah* gave the ſame advice to *Abraham*, *Gen.* 6. v. 2. but upon a more Noble motive. *Rachel* did the ſame,

same *Gen.* 30. Others deliver'd their Women slaves to their Husbands, and took the Children to themselves, as the *Chinese* Women do.

Wives
pawn'd
and lent.

2. By reason of these Impediments, and the great ease in parting with their Wives, especially among the common sort of people, many of whom pawn them in time of need, and some lend them for a Month, or more or less according as they agree, it has been a great dispute, whether it is really a Matrimony or not, as us'd in *China*. So that the Missioners of the Society with good reason doubted, whether they might be allow'd as natural, or only as conditional Contracts. They consulted their College at *Rome* upon it, and their Divines resolv'd that the Marriages of the Men of Learning were valid, but not those of the common sort. Another time they answer'd, that neither of them were good. I saw and read both their Resolves in *China*. We again argued the case among us all, were divided, and could not agree.

Missioners.

Divorce.

3. After our Disputes were over, I found the Case argued in the *Chinese* Philosophy, *Traçt.* 52. fol. 2. The Question is put, Whether the Wife may be turn'd out of doors? The answer is, "That *Zu Zu* the Son of their Philosopher *Confucius*, turn'd his Wife out several times, and that others whose Names are there mention'd did the same. The People of this time, says the Book, look upon it as an unseemly thing; the Antients did not so, and they were Men of more Sincerity and Virtue. When a Woman has any Quality that is not good, it is but just and reasonable to turn her out of doors. It puts the Question again: "The Antients turn'd away their Wives because the House was full of Smoke, or because they frighted the Dog with their disagreeable Noise: Was this reasonable? It answers, the Antients were hearty, sincere Men, void of Malice (in all Countries the Antients were best, for Vice daily increases) they dissolv'd the Knot of Matrimony without a word speaking. This was rather Barbarity than Sincerity. Men of Honour and Gravity turn'd away their Wives for small Faults, without expecting till they committed great ones. By this we may know how good those People were. Frighting the Dog in the Husband's presence was a sufficient Cause it seems to discard the Wife; nor was it requisite to this effect that any

any Person should be acquainted with her failing. The Question is put further in the Book. "When the Wife is turn'd off, can the Husband marry another? "The Answer is in the affirmative. "And it further says, Persons of Note, such as the Emperor, Petty Kings, and "Mandarines, who have Concubines to attend, and offer Sacrifice to them when dead, ought not to marry again, "in them the Knot is indissoluble, others "may.

Navarrette.

4. By what is here writ by the *Chinese* themselves, it is easy to infer what Opinion they have of their Marriages. The Missioners of the Society, tho there have been some differences among them, agree, that the Marriages of *Japan*, *Cochinchina*, and other places, are not to be accounted as a natural Contract. In the Empire of *Cochinchina*, as I was told by the *Capuchine* Fathers at *Madraçtá Patan*, all Men marry till they are weary of their Wives, and for no longer. The same is done in the Island of *Madagascar*; nay they go farther, for the Women leave their Husbands, whensoever the Fancy takes them. In another place I mention the *Jews* Divorce, upon which the Reader may see *Sylveira*, tom. 6. pag. 161. n. 51. and pag. 162. n. 58. quest. 5. he discourses very well on this Subject.

5. *Peter de Morales Pimienta*, an Inhabitant of *Macao*, and Solicitor for that City in their Affairs of *Goa*, told me before a great deal of Company, on the 16th of *February*, An. 1660, that a Missioner of *Cochinchina*, whom he nam'd, gave a Christian *Japoneſe* a Dispensation to marry his own Sister. She dy'd after the Marriage was consummated, and he again granted the Man a Dispensation to marry another Sister. This case shall be handled in the second Tome. The greatest difficulty is, allowing there may be a Dispensation in this case, as some will have it there may, whether there was sufficient cause to use that Power with a new Convert, Shopkeeper, especially among the Christians and Infidels of *Macao* who were all scandaliz'd at it. These sort of Marriages are us'd in *Siam*, that King is marry'd to his Sister. Other Nations have practis'd the same.

A Lapidè in 4. Gen. says, It is against the Law of Nature, and that the Pope cannot dispense in the case.

Marrying Sisters.

6. The Marriages of the *Tartars* now possessing *China* are as disputable as the others. I desir'd this case might be argu'd in our Disputes; they would not consent to it, the Reason I know not. What we know is, that the Emperor, Father to him now reigning, put away

L

his

Nava-rette. his first Wife, and sent her into her Country when she was big with Child. In the Year 1668, the two Fathers who remain'd in the Imperial City, sent us an account by Letter, that a *Tartar* Man and Woman, who were Husband and Wife, parted, and both of them marry'd again. After this they told me *F. John Adamus* was of opinion the Marriages of that Nation were not valid; and that writing to those of his Society, he said, that the *Tartars* marry'd till they had a mind to take another Wife; and that great Men us'd to change Wives, and marry one anothers. It appears these are conditional Marriages, contracted after the manner of the Country, under a Condition which is directly oppolite to the very being of Matrimony.

Missioners. 7. *F. Torrente* a Jesuit, talking of *Tunquin*, told me, that he going to hear the Confession of a new made Christian, was inform'd by others, that his Wife who was a Christian having left him, he had marry'd another Christian Woman. The Father told him he could not absolve him. The Man reply'd, Father *N.* absolves me, your Reverence may do so too. Then do you confess to him, said the Father, for I will not absolve you. This Christian went with the Father to the Imperial City, where the other Father was, whom *F. Torrente* acquainted with what had pass'd between him and that Christian, and why he did not absolve him. The other Father answer'd, Your Reverence may hear his Confession, and leave him in his Simplicity. That is no simplicity, but an Error, reply'd *F. Torrente*, and I will not hear his Confession. I commend'd *F. Torrente* for this Action, and his behaviour in this case.

8. He told me further, that the *French* Missioner who was at *Tunquin*, had sent an Account to one of his Order how all the Christians told him, that when the Fathers of the Society were in that Kingdom, they allow'd the Christians who were there marry'd to Infidel Women to part from them, and marry Christians. Father *Torrente* told me, all have not permitted it, some have. If the Marriages of that Nation were void, there is no difficulty in the case.

9. *F. Adrian Grelon* also told us, that those of his Order in *France* were once of the opinion, that the *French* Souldiers, who were marry'd in their own Country, going over to *New France*, might marry there again, *Causa conservandæ Continentiæ*, in order to live continent. It is necessary to mention all these Particulars,

that the Learned may give their sense upon it, the most material Points shall be handled in the 2d Tome. Let us proceed: The *Chineses* ascribe the having of Children to the Obedience they owe to their Parents; as if this were a thing in their Power, or that depended on them. They ground this Opinion upon a Sentence of their second Philosopher *Meng Zu*, who left it written, That the greatest Sin of Disobedience, is to want Children. (*I suppose he means the Punishment of the Sin.*) The *Chineses* are so strongly grounded in this Doctrine, that because of it they receive Concubines, some that they may have Children, others that they may have more. But in truth the main drift is to satisfy their loose Appetites. The Petty King that liv'd in *Canton*, as the People there said, had above 60 Sons. How many his Concubines were I know not, there is no number assign'd, every one takes as many as he can keep. Sure this Petty King was very obedient to his Parents. This Error is sufficiently impugned in our Books, and they like the Reasons, but improve little upon them.

10. Discourling one day with a considerable *Mandarine* upon this Subject, he told me, He had ever thought it most consonant to Reason, to have but one Wife, which he had ever observ'd. One of the greatest Obstacles to the Conversion of those People, is the liberty they allow themselves of keeping Concubines. The Fathers of the Society told me, that one of their Order, for the removing of this Impediment, had propos'd, his Holiness should be mov'd to grant a Dispensation to the *Chinesse* Christians to have several Wives. Divines and Casuists must resolve whether this be practicable. More shall be said of this matter in the second Tome. See *A Lapide* in 16 *Gen. v. 1.* where he follows the common receiv'd Opinion with *S. Thomas*. Every turn they tell us, by these and other means the way to their Conversion is made easier; God grant it be not rather obstructed.

11. Sodomy is frequent in *China*, yet not so much as in *Japan*, as I have been inform'd. There have been other Nations in the World that did not look upon this Hellish Vice as any Sin. So says *S. Thomas, lib. 2. q. 94. art. 6.* The People of *Crete* were of this Opinion. The *Romans* so far countenanced it, that they had publick Stews of this sort, which the Emperor *Alexander*, Son to *Manea*, who had been *Origen's* Disciple, could

could not suppress. The *Israelites* were infected with this Vice, *Asa* 1 *King. c. 15.* banish'd it. According to *S. Thomas, in Prim. ad Rom. Lect. 8.* this Vice had its beginning with Idolatry in the time of *Abraham.* Those who look'd upon it as no Sin, were such as believ'd that nothing is naturally just, and of consequence can be unjust, but is only so by the obligation of a human Law; and by this rule no Sin was regarded, as being against God. *Arist. 5. Ethic.* So it was with other Vices, to which the *Chinese* are equally addicted. It is said of *Jason* in the 2d chap. of the 1st Book of *Maccab.* he presum'd to place the chief of the Youth in Stews under the very Castle.

12. The unhappy and unfortunate Prince *Carrin Patin Gaola* drove these wicked People, who went in Womens clothes, as they do at this time in the Kingdom of *Caile*, from *Macassar.* In the time of the *Chinese* Emperors, there were publick Stews of Boys in the Imperial City *Pequin.* The *Tartar* suppress'd it, yet it continues still at *Jang Cheu*; they go gay, but dress like other Men. They don't marry, as those do I saw at *Caile*, 60 Leagues from *Macassar*, in the same Island, where they told me, there were Men would rather chuse to marry those Monsters than Women. Good God, in what darkness they live who know thee not! And how unthankful are we, who only through thy mercy know thee, for this benefit!

13. We know there have been Men so brutal, as to place their ultimate felicity in Sensuality. *Aristippus* was one of them. The *Nicolaites* follow'd the same Maxim, according to *Spondanus, An. 68. n. 5.* and many at this time are of the same opinion, most visibly those of the Kingdom of *Champa*, situate betwixt *Cambodia* and *Cochinchina.* Those People wear the Figures of the secret parts about their Necks, as singular Relicks, which they worship and adore.

14. Leaving aside these things and such like, which may make known to us the miserable state of Man, and the wretched condition he falls into, when the supernatural Light fails him, let us proceed upon the Subject of this Chapter. I doubt not but I have deviated too much, but not upon vain and frivolous things, so that I am the more excusable.

15. The Marriage-ceremonies are too many and impertinent, if perform'd according to the Book which is a Ritual, call'd *Kia Li*, order'd by the Emperor to be kept throughout the whole Empire. I must in the first place lay it down as a

certainty, that from all Antiquity in *China* no Son ever did, or hereafter will marry without the consent of his Parents. We see the contrary daily among stanch Christians. In the next place, I give this for a general Rule, that the Bride and Bridegroom have never spoke to, or so much as seen one another till they meet in the House where they are to live together. These things never fail, unless it be among some poor Peasants. It is also very usual for the Parents to make Matches for their Children whilst they are yet very young; nay sometimes when the Wives are with Child they agree, if they prove Boy and Girl, they shall marry. This they call *Chi Fo*, which signifies, to mark out Bellies. The same custom is us'd in *Narsinga*, as I was told at *Patalon.*

16. In the Province of *Xan Si* they have a ridiculous custom, which is to marry dead folks. *F. Michael Trigaucius* a Jesuit, who liv'd several years in that Province, told it us whilst we were confin'd. It falls out that one Man's Son, and another's Daughter die. Whilst the Coffins are in the House (and they use to keep them two or three years or longer) the Parents agree to marry them; they send the usual Presents as if they were alive with much Ceremony and Musick. After this they put together the two Coffins, keep the Wedding-dinner before them, and lastly they lay them both into one Tomb. The Parents from this time are lookt upon not only as Friends, but Relations, as they would have been had their Children been marry'd living.

17. The first thing they do, they go to the Temple of their Ancestors, there they acquaint them particularly, how such a one their Grandson of such an age, designs to marry *N. &c.* therefore they beg their assistance for the performance of it. The Wife's Parents do the same. In *China*, the *Philippine* Islands, and other Kingdoms, the Husband brings a Portion to his Wife, which her Parents keep. But sometimes they give the Daughter part of it. *Lycurgus* King of *Macedon* ordain'd that Women should marry without any Portion: That Wives should not be chosen for Money. *S. Thomas* speaks of it, *Opusc. de Reg. Princ.* This was very convenient, more shall be said of it in another place. When the Bridegroom's Parents send the Portion, it is carry'd in the greatest state they possibly can. Before it goes the Musick, then follow the Tables each carry'd by four Men, in very decent manner. Upon one of them are

Nava-
rette.

Marriage
of Dead.

Marriage-
Ceremo-
nies.

This is buy-
ing of
them. See
A Lapide,
in 29 Gen.
v. 18. &
in 4 Exod.
v. 25.

pieces of Silk, pieces of Cotton on another, Fruit on a third; Meat, Dainties, and Plate on a fourth. The Show and Noise is much more than the Substance.

18. On the 28th of *August*, whilst we were still all of us in the Imperial City, the Emperor sent the Dowry and Present to the Daughter of one of the four Governours, whom he afterwards marry'd. He sent her an hundred Tables full of several things, and sorts of Meat, 2000 Ducats in Pigs of Silver, 1000 in Gold, 100 pieces of Silk of several Colours, with Silver and Gold Flowers, 100 of Cotton. This is their Custom, and I don't question but he was able to have sent her 20 or 30 Millions.

19. They make choice of a fortunate and lucky Day to send the Portion, and be marry'd on. The President of the College of Mathematicks has the care of appointing these Days, not only for Marriages, but for every thing they take in hand. *F. John Adamus* of the Society of Jesus, held his Employment a long while; several Stories went about among those of his Order concerning this matter. It shall be handled in another place, and we will show how the good Father clear'd himself from the Imputation.

20. Having notify'd the Day the Marriage is to be solemniz'd on, their Ancestors departed, the Bridegroom's Parents send a Kinsman, or some grave Person, to conduct the Bride. They carry a close Sedan, with Flags, Squibs, Musick, and Brass-Basons, more or less in number according to the Quality of them both. Being come to the Bride's House, where she is ready dress'd, expecting that time, she takes leave of her Kindred; her Parents give her good Advice (which I writ at *Rome*, where I translated much relating to this Subject, and left it with the Holy Congregation *de Propaganda Fide*) she gets into the Sedan, where she finds a little Rice, Wheat, and other Grain, to signify that the Bride carries along with her abundance of Goods; and that her Husband's Estate and Income shall increase by her going to him. As the Bride goes into the Chair, they usually break an Egg (this Ceremony is not set down in the Ritual) to signify that she shall be fruitful. In my time a Christian Father to one that was going to be marry'd, seeing this Ceremony perform'd, in a Passion threw the Egg against the Wall, saying, Why is my Daughter a Hen that she should lay Eggs?

21. The Bride being come to the Bridegroom's House, which is richly a-

dorn'd and set out, the Father and Mother-in-Law receive her with all possible State and Kindness. Then they perform the Obeysances, the Bride and Bridegroom in the Court make theirs to Heaven and Earth, and then to their Kindred and Acquaintance. Next follow the Entertainments. The Men eat in the forepart of the House, the Women in the inner. At night they convey the Bride into the Bridegroom's Chamber, as the *Spartans* and others us'd to do, according to *A Lapid* in 29 *Gen. v. 23*. On the Table she finds Sizars, Thred, Cotton, and other things, which is to denote to her that she goes to work, and not to be idle. An excellent Practice, and good Advice. The *Romans* when they carry'd the Bride with great Solemnity to the Bridegroom's House, took along with her a Spindle, a Distaff, Flax or Wool, to the same intent as the *Chineses* do. *A Lapid* in 34 *Gen. v. 1*. The Father-in-Law that day sees his Daughter-in-Law, and never sees her Face again till she is dead, if she happens to die before him. This seems incredible, it being well known they live in the same House; but it is very certain, and the greatest Persons are most exact in observing it. In small Villages perhaps they are not so nice. It is never to be suppos'd that the Father-in-Law sets his foot into the Daughter-in-Law's Chamber. If ever the Daughter-in-Law goes abroad, the Father-in-Law hides himself, or goes out that he may not see her.

22. All Relations are not allow'd to talk with a Woman alone; it is allow'd to Cousins that are younger than they, but not to those that are elder. Those that are younger, they say, will not presume to be bold with them; but those that are elder, may perhaps take the advantage of their Superiority, and pretend to that which is not just or lawful. Sometimes in the Year the Wives go out to visit their Parents, this is the extent of their Divertisements and Recreations. When they perceive themselves to be with Child, they repair to the Temple of their Ancestors, acquaint them with their Condition, and beg their Assistance in order to a good Delivery. After they are brought to Bed, they return to the same Temple to give thanks for their happy Delivery, and beg of them to keep and preserve the Child. Some time after that, they carry the Child, and present it in the same Temple, thanking the Dead for having preserv'd it till then, and desiring they will prolong its Life,

Life, and bring it to age of Maturity. More shall be said on this Subject in the Second Tome. Hence we may gather whether the *Chineses* ask any thing of the Dead, or not. *F. de Angelis* was much in the right in this Point; he says in his

History, that the *Chineses* adore their Dead; whoever sent him that Account to *Lisbon*, knew it very well. Much shall be said of this Matter hereafter, and I shall give some hints in the following Chapter, thus much may suffice for this.

C H A P. VIII.

Of some Ceremonies the *Chineses* use with their Dead.

1. THE Rites and Ceremonies the *Chineses* use towards their Dead, are most exactly set down in the Book quoted in the last Chapter, and in other Classick Authors. Neither do these Books, nor I neither, speak of the Ceremonies the other Sects have brought up, but of those peculiar to the Learned Sect, tho it be of no great consequence if they should be all mix'd here together. However I will endeavour to distinguish those belonging to the *Bonzes* for the more clearness.

Wives
hang them-
selves to
accompany
their dead
Husbands.

2. I must observe in the first place, that it is the Custom of the *Tartars*, when one of them dies, that one of his Wives must hang her self to bear him company in that Journey. In the Year 1668, a *Tartar* of Note dy'd in the Imperial City, a Concubine of seventeen Years of Age was to hang her self to bear him company. She was well born, and had good Relations, her Kindred were much troubled to lose her, and without doubt she was more concern'd her self. They presented a Petition to the Emperor, begging of him that he would dispense with that Custom receiv'd and establish'd among his Nation. The Emperor did it to the purpose, for he commanded that Custom should be no longer in force; so that it was quite abolish'd and abrogated.

3. The *Chineses* have the same Custom, but it is not common, nor approv'd and receiv'd by their Philosopher. In our time the Viceroy of *Canton* dy'd, some said he poison'd himself; being near his death, he call'd the Concubine he lov'd best, and putting her in mind of the Love he had bore her, desir'd she would bear him company. She gave him a promise, and as soon as he dy'd, hang'd her self. This is much us'd in *India*, as I will write in another place.

Dying men. 4. Among the *Chineses* it is very usual, when the sick Person is in danger, to call the *Bonzes* to pray for him, or her; they come with little Basons, small Bells, and other Instruments they use, and make so

great a noise as might hasten his death. Nevertheless they confess that diverts them, and eases their Distemper. If the Disease increase, they say his Soul is gone out; and therefore three or four of them go abroad in the close of the Evening with a large Bason, a Drum, and a Trumpet, and walk about hastily, seeking that wandring stray Soul. They make a little stop at the crossing of Streets, play on their Instruments, and then go on. I saw it several times, for they always stop'd by my Church, because it was the corner of a Street; but I could never hear they found what they look'd for. The *Bonzes* use to go out into the Fields upon the same Errand; they walk about singing, praying, and sounding their Instruments, among the Bushes and Brambles, turning on all sides; and when they find some Humble Bee, or great Wasps, they say it is the Soul of the dying Person. They carry it safe, and with a great deal of noise and joy, to the sick Man's House. I have been told they put it into his Mouth; I suppose they pretend so to do, I never saw it, but have heard it several times.

5. According to the *Chinese* Ritual, when a Man is ready to die, they take him out of his Bed and lay him on the ground, that he may there end his days; for their Philosophy teaches, that since he began to live on Earth, it is reasonable he should end his Life there. Formerly, as soon as ever the Child was born they laid it on the ground, according to that of *Solomon*, *Wisd. 7. I being born, fell on the Earth. Philo. Jud. lib. 6. de Opific.* says, it was done that the Child by that exterior Show might own it self the Product of the Earth, and acknowledg it as its Mother, from whom it had receiv'd its first being. *Laertius, lib. 6.* says, It was to express how it was to return to Earth, and that the same Earth should be its Tomb. *She is the universal Parent, and truly our Sepulcher.* Which same thing *S. Bernard* seems to imply, *Serm. de S. Mart.*

On the Earth we have our rise, on the Earth we die. This is the Custom of the Chinese at this day.

6. As soon as he is dead, they put a little Stick into his Mouth that it may not close; we shall presently show the reason of it. This done, one of the Family, with the dead Man's Garment in his hand, gets at the top of the ridge of the House, and stretching out the Garment, calls aloud on the dead Person's Soul, desiring and intreating it to return to the Body. If the Person departed be a Man, he calls the Soul by his Name; if a Woman, he uses the Surname, not the proper Name. Then he comes down, and stretching out the Garment, spreads it over the dead Body, expecting three days to see whether it rises again. If he does not come to life, and I never heard of any that did, tho' to make good their Ritual they might have feign'd it, then they go about putting him into the Coffin. This Ceremony is very antient, it is mention'd not only in their Philosophy, but in *Confucius* his Books, which they call *Kia Ju*. It wants not for some to give it a good word among the Missioners, as shall be said in its place. It is kept and observ'd to this day; but in some places they perform it at the Door of the House.

7. Next they put into his Mouth Gold and Silver Coin (to this intent they keep it open) Rice, Wheat, and some other small things. Rich and mighty Men put in Pearls. This Ceremony, as well as the others, is in their Books and Rituals we have spoke of. They dress him in his best Clothes, which they keep carefully whilst living against they are dead; the Devil takes them very richly and warmly clad. In washing them they use strange Ceremonies before they put them into the Coffin: There is no body but has one, and there are some of delicate Woods, of 12, 20, 50, 100 Ducats a-piece, or more. In every City or Town there are many Coffin-shops, where they are to be found of all sizes. The great *Mandarines* sometimes show their Charity in giving a dozen or twenty to poor people. There are very many who whilst they are yet living, endeavour to get their Coffin, and make a Treat the day it comes home. They keep it in sight for several Years, and some now and then use to go into it, yet they do not mend their Life. It is a Custom or Law for the Emperor to have his Coffin some time in the Palace. The *Tartars*, People of *Camboxa*, and *Eastern Indians*, burn the Bodys, and keep the Ashes. If

any poor *Chinese* happen to have no Coffin, they do the same by him. In the Coffin they lay a small Quilt, Boustler and Pillows, Coals, and Wicks for Lamps, which are there made of Rushes; all these things serve to suck up the moisture of the Carcase: They also put in Sizors to pair their Nails. Before the *Tartars* time they put in Combs to comb their Hair. Since they brought them to cut off their Hair they have no need of a Comb, and therefore leave it out at present. *F. Brancato* a Jesuit told me this; and from this change I deduced this Argument: If they have left off putting the Comb into the Coffin, because they have lost their Hair, it follows they thought there was some Mystery in it. They place the pairings of the Nails they cut off from the Deceas'd as soon as expir'd, in little Purfes in the four Corners; then they cast their Lots, and lay in the Body with great Shouts and Crys.

8. Before they bewail the Dead, they place a Porringer in the middle of the Room where the Coffin is; having perform'd some Ceremonies, they break it, saying, They open the Gates of Heaven, and then begin the Lamentations; and if what the *Bonzes* say were true, then their Pleasure and Joy ought to commence. Having nail'd up the Coffin, which is done with abundance of Ceremonies, they make a sort of an Altar on it, and in the midst of it in a small Tabernacle they place the Name of the Party deceas'd, adorn'd with Candles, burning Perfumes and Flowers; this shall be further explain'd in another place. There is a great deal goes to the Condoling; but after it they go where the dead Body is, kneel down before the Coffin, and strike their Heads against the ground with much devotion and tokens of Sorrow. The *Franciscan* Fathers and we could never condescend to do this Ceremony. *F. Antony de Gouvea*, Superior of the Missioners of the Society, told me in the Province of *Canton*, once I did it; that was the only time, I never would repeat it. Another of the Society writ to ours thus; My Hair stands an end, to think that a Priest of the true God should prostrate himself at the feet of a Heathen Carcase, whose Soul I am positively assur'd is burning in Hell; and this just after saying Mass, when I believe the sacramental Species were still in his Breast. I heard of *F. Julius Alein*, that being reprovd by a Christian of ours for performing the said Ceremony, he again turn'd over the *Chinese* Books, and not liking

Funeral Rites.

Funeral Rites.

Coffins.

Missioners.

liking it, he sold the Clothes he had for that purpose, never after daring to practise it.

9. And tho it be true that most of the Society have condescended to practise this Ceremony, yet the Reasons we have alledg'd are sufficient to prevail with us not to follow them, being grounded on the Doctrine of the most Learned *Suarez*, lib. 2. cont. Reg. Ang. cap. 5. num. 4. *We may give civil Worship, says he, to our departed Benefactors, or renowned Men, tho we are not assur'd of their Salvation, at least whilst it is not demonstrable that they are damn'd.* I know *Sanchez* has the contrary, as I shall say in another place, which concerns me but little, because he speaks not to a Case under those Circumstances we write of. Nor is it to me that there are Christians, who give a more than civil Honour to a dead Elephant, and who think it may be done to a Dog, Cat, or other things, as shall be said in its place, for all this includes no small difficulties.

Funer. et Rites.

10. As soon as any Person is dead, the next thing is to make a Stick, which they call *Chung*; the design of it is, that the Soul may have something to rest and lean upon. The Rituals, and Books of *Confucius* above-quoted mention it. This Staff is hung in the Temples of the Dead. They also make those Tablets, which we call of the Dead. These are more mysterious; the *Chineses* call them the Thrones and Seats of the Soul. This Point has been three times sent up to *Rome*, and every time been condemn'd there, except only when one represented it much otherwise than indeed it was. I shall speak of them more at large in the Second Tome. It cannot be deny'd neither, but that the *Chineses* suppose the Souls of their deceased Friends to be there, and that they are fed and maintain'd by the Steam of those things they leave there, since the Adversaries own it, as shall be made out.

11. Funerals are attended with Musick, and much Magnificence. The *Jews* us'd Musick at theirs, as *Josephus*, cap. 15. writes: so *S. Mat.* cap. 9. *S. Mar.* cap. 5. and *S. Luc.* cap. 8. speaking of the Daughter of the Ruler of the Synagogue; but they took it from the *Gentiles* according to *Spondanus*, An. 32. num. 18. And it seems very needless, according to *Ecclus.* cap. 22. v. 6. *Musick among Mourning is like a troublesome Relation.* True it is, *Manobius* and *A Lapide* write, it was doleful Musick.

12. The *Bonzes* go along with several

Instruments. Being come to the Tomb, they offer Sacrifice to the Spirit of that Place, begging of it to be kind to the new Comer. I should be glad *F. Antony de Gouvea's* History were publish'd, that what I write might be seen there. After the Funeral, they offer before the Image of the dead Person, and his Tablet, for several months, a certain number of times every month, and every day Flesh, Rice, Herbs, Fruit, Broth, and such-like things. And *F. Gouvea* says, the *Chineses* believe the Souls of the Departed come thither to eat. We ever were of this Opinion, for we have read it in the *Chinese* Books, and had it from their Mouths. I afterwards read the same in the Manuscripts of others of the Society, as I shall mention in its place.

Navarrette.

13. Mourning is mightily observ'd in *China*, for Parents it certainly lasts three Years; for Children, Cousins, &c. longer or shorter, according to the nearness of the Relation, which is all ordain'd and settled in their Rituals, and there is no Man but what observes it with the greatest nicety. When a Father or Mother dies, if one or more of the Sons are *Mandarines*, tho he be a Counsellor of State, or General of any Province, and live very far from home (for no Man can be a *Mandarine* in his own Province, lest the Love of his Country, Kindred or Friends, should weigh more with him than Justice) they presently acquaint him with it, and prefer a Petition at Court, begging leave for him to go home and lament his Father's Death. So he quits his Charge, and for those three Years does nothing but stay at home to perform the Duty of the Mourning. The three Years expir'd, they give him another Employment, but sometimes he stays for it. *Corn. A Lapide* speaks of this Point on the 1 of *Ezek.* v. 1. but it must be understood as has been said already, and as *Trigancius* writes in his History. The *Lartur* dispenses with some. In my time he dispens'd with the Supreme Governour of *Canton*; 'tis true, the Dispensation cost him 30000 Ducats. The three years Mourning was exchange'd for one month's, and he did it to keep his Post, which is worth to him above 300000 Ducats a Year besides his Salary, and this without the Oppression I have seen in other Places.

Mourning.

14. All Men were oblig'd to wear three years Mourning when the Emperor dies; but of late this has been chang'd into a few days. I was there at the time of the Mourning for the Father of him

now

Narrative. now reigning, but cannot well remember whether it lasted four or five days. During these days the *Mandarines* of every Town, City, and Metropolis meet in some publick place, where they fast, weep, and perform the Ceremonies usual when a dead Body is present. I am doubtful whether it be allowable for the Christian *Mandarines* to keep those Fasts. In its proper place we shall speak of what has been decreed in this case.

General Rules. 15. If the dead Man was a Person of Note, the *Bonzes* make great Processions, the Mourners follow them with Candles, and burning Sweets in their hands; they offer Sacrifices at certain distances, and perform the Obsequies, in which they burn Statues of Men, Women, Horses, Saddles, other things, and abundance of Paper-money. All which things they believe in the next life are converted into real ones, for the use of the Party deceas'd. But the *Chineses* kill no human Creature to bear the Dead company, as I have already observ'd, whoever writ the contrary in *Europe*, was, or would be deceiv'd.

16. In case the Soul should go to Hell, the *Bonzes* have found out ways and means to fetch it out from thence. They have also found the way of Bulls of Plenary Indulgences, and Bulls for the Dead, some of them cost fifty Ducats. How well *S. Thomas* expresses himself upon the 5 chap. of *S. Matth.* telling us the Devil still continues in his first design of aspiring to appear like to God. This is palpably evident in *China*. In *Muscovy* it is the custom to put a Note into the dead Man's hand, containing, that the Bearer was a *Muscovite*, kept his Faith, and dy'd in it. This they send to *S. Peter*, upon sight whereof, say they, he presently gives them free admittance into Heaven, and assigns them a better place than he does to *Roman Catholics*.

17. The Moors of *Macassar* usually have four Boys very well clad at the four corners of the Bier, which is very large. Every one of them carries a Fan, and fans the dead Body, which is to cool the Soul, because of the great heat it endures in the other world. This I my self have seen.

Burying Places. 18. I have before taken notice that all the *Chineses* are bury'd without the Towns, a Custom other Heathens have observ'd, and so did the *Jews*, as says *Corn. A Lapide* in 29. *Num. v. 16.* and on 7 chap. 12. v. of *S. Luke*. I find some,

and particularly *Spondanus*, abhor the Custom of Christians of Burying in the Churches, because of the ill Vapours may rise through the Earth and be infectious, but it would be in vain now to persuade the contrary.

19. The *Chineses* are extraordinary careful of keeping their Sepulchers clean, and pulling up any weeds that grow about them. They often visit them, weep, offer Meat, and burn seal'd Paper. *F. Gouvea* in his History positively affirms, that the *Chineses* believe the Souls are near about their Sepulchers. The antient *Europeans* were of the same opinion. *Lactan. lib. 2. de Orig. error.* says it. *As the multitude believes the Souls of the Dead walk about the Sepulchers, and Relicks of their Bodies, &c.* There were three several Opinions in those times concerning the Soul, says the same Author, *Cap. 16. de Opific. Dei.* Some thought the Blood was the Soul, because when that fail'd, Man dy'd. Others said the Soul was Fire, *Because whilst the Soul is present, the Body is warm, when departed, it grows cold.* Others, and among them *Varro*, said it was Air. This is the Opinion of the *Chineses*, who with their Philosopher allot a very refin'd slender Air, of which they say the Soul is form'd. They also affirm it is a Celestial part belonging to Heat, in which particular the *Chineses* close with both the Opinions we have mention'd. This shall be further explain'd in another place. *Faustus* made our Soul Corporeal, this suits with what has been said; but he maintain'd another folly, which in substance is much the same the *Chineses* hold, and said, *There was nothing Incorporal among Creatures.* So writes *Spondanus, An. 520. tom. 2.* On the day of the New Moon is their Commemoration of the Dead, and so is the Winter Solstice. The Kindred meet in the Temple of their Forefathers in their best Apparel, there making many genuflexions, they offer sundry sorts of Meats and Drinks, and Prayers and Petitions are made *directly and immediately* to those dead Persons. What has been said may suffice for a general information as to these Affairs. What remains shall be made out in its place, and the principal Points wherein the Missioners disagree, shall be declar'd. I must in this place acquaint the Reader, that in *China* the Mourning is White, and not Black. So it was in *Spain* before the death of Prince *John*, as says *F. Mariana.* *Mourning.*

C H A P. IX.

*Of the Sects, Temples, Fasts, and other Particulars of China.*Sects
3000.

1. **T**H O there be 3000 Sects in *China*, yet all of them being deriv'd from three, and reducible to them; so all the Temples and other things pertaining to them, are reduced to the same Originals.

2. The principal, antientest, and most honourable Sect is that of the Men of Learning. Some Missioners have said, the *Chineses* have much of the *Jews*; and one more curious than the rest took notice, that this Nation has above forty *Jewish* Ceremonies. Certain it is, the *Jews* came into that Nation many Ages since, tho there are some that deny it; it is no less certain that *China* is much antienter than the dispersion of the Ten Tribes, that no body may say *China* was peopled by the Two Tribes that were left. This Learned Sect professes down-right Atheism, as shall be prov'd at large in its proper place. This is made out by the gravest and most learned Missioners of the Society, whom their Historian Father *Lucena* follows, and by the *Chinese* Doctors themselves, who, as Men learned in their own Doctrine, are better Judges of the sense of their Books than the *Europeans*, more skilful and unbiass'd, and ought to be of more reputation in their own Affairs than strangers; unless perhaps any one without regard to demonstration, will give more credit to his own imaginations than to the known truth. There were some in the Province of *Canton* translating a *Chinese* Book, and Father *Gouvea* Superior of their Society, said to me, They translate and write what they fancy and dream. It is therefore certain, that in what relates to *China*, we are to follow the opinion and judgment of the *Chinese* Doctors. Therefore *S. Thomas* said on *John 7. Lect. 2. It is to be allow'd that his Judgment is to be stood by who is expert in any Art, to prove whether a Man be good at that Art; as for example, his Judgment is to be taken who is skilful in the French Tongue, to know whether another speaks French well.* And that to be Judge in this affair, he must lay aside passion, envy, hatred, and affection. The learned *Chineses* outdo us in all things.

3. This is also grounded on the words of *Lactantius de fals. Relig. lib. 1. cap. 2. Whom then shall we believe if we do not give*

credit to those that praise? He that believes these lyes, let him produce other Authors for us to credit, who may instruct us who these Gods are, &c. If we do not believe the learned *Chinese*, who makes such account of his Sect, that he extols it above the Skies, will it be fit to give credit to one that came but the other day into *China*, and expounds things contrary to the sense of the *Classick* Doctors of the Nation, and contrary to all the Antients of his own Order and Religion? There is no doubt but this would be a great oversight. In reference to this, it was daily said during our Confinement, that in the matter of explicating *Chinese* Characters, more regard is to be had to one *Chinese*, than to thirty Missioners. Allowing this for granted, which is very useful, I proceed.

3. Doctor *Michael*, as *F. Nicholas Longobardo* a Jesuit writes, very much lamented, that the *Chinese* Learned Men had been defective in their Sect, in not inventing some Reward, and Punishment after death, for keeping of the People more in awe.

4. *Euripides* in *Plut. de Placit. lib. 1. cap. 7.* says, *It is a fiction of Legislators to pretend some Deity governs the Globe of the Earth, to endeavour thereby to keep the People in awe.* *Seneca 2. Nat. quæst. lib. 42.* expresses it better and more fully, where the Reader may see it. The Antients, and other Sectaries of *China* observ'd this method, only the learned Men of that Empire were deficient in this point.

5. The Learned Sect talks too much of the Temporal Reward and Punishment. The Temples properly belonging to it, are those they dedicate to their Dead, which was begun by the Emperor *Xun*, who is of great Antiquity, and very renowned in that Nation. The Philosopher *Confucius*, of whom the *Chineses* say (as the Holy Ghost said of *Solomon*) that there never was before, nor will be after him so wise a Man, has Temples dedicated to him in all Towns and Cities. *Ching Hoang*, that is, as vulgarly expounded, the Tutelar Genius, has Temples throughout the Empire. The Batchelors adore a Star, which they call *Kuen Chang Sing*. The Licentiates worship the North, and call it *Kuei Sing*. The Magistrates

Literati,
Atheists.Sect of the
Literati.

Xun.

Nava-rette. give the same honour to *Confucius*. There are many other Temples belonging to the Learned Sect; some of them shall be taken notice of as occasion serves. The Temples dedicated to the Spirit of Fire, to the God of the Waters, whose Name is *Lung Vuang*, are common to all. The Souldiers have their God *Mars*.

Tao, or Sect of Magick. 6. The second Sect is call'd *Tao*, professes much of Art-Magick, is properly *Chinese*, and as antient as the former. They report of its Founder, that he was born Grey, and 63 years of age. His Mother was deliver'd of him at her side, and dy'd in Child-bed. This somewhat resembles what *Henricus Summalix* in his *Paradisus Anima*, quotes out of *Albertus Magnus*, cap. 5. For these reasons the *Chineses* call that Man *Lao Zu*, that is, Old Son. He liv'd in the time of *Confucius*, and is commended by him in the Books call'd *Kia Ju*. This alone might suffice to make some Men less admire *Confucius*. This Sect has very many Temples throughout all *China*, they do not profess such Poverty as others do; some of them marry, others have Coadjutors, who succeed them in their Religious Preferences. They let their Beards grow, and in Processions wear Copes of the same Make as are us'd in the Catholick Church. What Father *de Angelis* writes, viz. that the Provincials of this Sect are carry'd in Chairs of Ivory and Gold, is a mere invention. They have a great Superior, in the nature of a General, formerly he went in the Apparel of a *Mandarine*, at present he has the privilege of such a one, and no more.

Foe, or Sect of Idols of India. 7. The third Sect is call'd of *Foe*; we name it the Sect of the Idols of *India*. It was brought into *China* about sixty years after the Birth of our Saviour. The Founder of it his name was *Xe Kia*, he was born very many years before. This curs'd Sect has so spread, that it certainly far exceeds the *Mahometan*. From *India* it pierced as far as *Japan*, without leaving any Island or part of the Continent all that way exempt from it. This Hellish Infection has seized the *Laos*, *Lequios*, *Tibet*, both *Tartaries*, *Siam*, *Camboxa*, *Cochinchina*, *Tunquin*, and all the Archipelago of *St. Lazarus*. The first Principle they assign and know does not go beyond the *Materia Prima*, wherein it agrees with the two former, tho it differ in the names and terms. This is the opinion of most solid Missioners, of the *Chinese* Doctors, and of their Classick Authors, of which more in its proper place. For this reason 126 years ago, there started up a

Sect of the Legislators we have spoken of, *Sect of the Legislators.* uniting them all, and making one of the three. This last Sect has its Temples, on whose Altars they place the three accursed Sectaries afore mention'd. The worst of it is, that nine years since a Christian at Court publish'd a Book in which he parallels and calls our Holy Religion by the same name with all those three we speak of.

8. There are innumerable Temples of the third Sect, all very stately, clean, and neat; some have 500, some 800, and some 1000 *Bonzes*. These are very much given to praying, in some places they pray continually day and night. They have also their places of Devotion on Mountains, in Woods and Valleys, whither infinite numbers of People resort at certain times, and to say the truth with more devotion, modesty and decency, than is seen in our parts. There are every where Hermitages with Hermits, as well on Mountains, as in Valleys, and most uncouth places. There are also in lonesome places Houses to breed up Novices, where they live mighty retired. For food as long as they live they are forbid Flesh, Whitemeats, and Fish, as also Wine; they live upon nothing but Rice, Bread, Herbs, and Fruit. An infinite number of their Laity as well Men as Women keep this Fast, many of them Handicrafts, Labourers and Sailors, who never break it either on account of hard labour, sickness, or age. *Abstinence.*

9. It is truly amazing to hear what accounts they give of the Lives of some of them, and of those of *Camboxa* and *Siam*, the very Fathers of the Desarts seem to fall short of them; and for Abstinence it may be said they outdo that of other Antients mention'd by *Henricus Summalix* in the 5th and 7th Chapters of *Paradisus Anima* of *B Albertus*, and of others *Corn. a Lapide* on *Gen. 9. 21.* speaks of.

10. Among the rest of the famous Idols of *Foe's* Sect, there is a Woman they call *Kuon In Pu Sa*. Some say she was Daughter to a King of *India*: Others that she was a *Chinese* Maid, who liv'd on the Mountains near the City *Macao*. Doctor *Paul a Chinese*, put it out in Print that she is our Blessed Lady; the ground for his opinion he says is, that the Image has remain'd there ever since the Preachers out of *Syria* preach'd the Gospel in that Empire. When they were all dead, the *Chineses* made an Idol of it. It is possible it might be so, but very able Missioners of the Society make a doubt of it, and they like that Book as ill as I do. The most

most likely, as the Christian Men of Learning make out, is that there never was any such Woman, but it is a Fiction. The meaning of her Name is, that she sees the wants of those that bear Devotion to her a thousand Leagues off; that she hears their Prayers at the same distance, and most readily supplies them. They represent her with a great many Hands, one Image of her in *Canton* has 24 to signify the great Favours she does, and her extraordinary Liberality. The Multitude have a great deal of Devotion to this Monster.

San Pao.

11. This same Sect has another Idol they call *San Pao*, it consists of three equal in all Respects. Doctor *Paul* above mention'd, sets it down as an Emblem of the Blessed Trinity, which he might have as well let alone. *F. de Angelis* a Portuguese mentions these two things, and enlarges upon them too much without any reason.

Ours was instituted by S. Matthew according to S. Clement, lib. 8. conf.

Apos. ver. 11. cap. 35.

Holy Water.

12. The same Sect uses Holy, or rather cursed Water, and other things, which Doctor *Paul* says the *Bonzes* took from the Law of God, which formerly flourished in that Kingdom. Other Heathens used it, as says *A Lapide on Num.*

19. 11. There are also Temples to which Men and Women resort to beg Children. In these Temples there are usually many wooden and earthen little Boys, without their Privy Parts; the reason is, because the Women when they resort thither to perform their Devotions in order to obtain Children, take these Boys in their Hands and bite off those Parts and eat them. Some keep them as Relicks.

Ramafel.

God in Deut. 12. commanded his People

13. In the Kingdom of *Tibet*, where the Pope of that part of the World resides, whom they call *The Great Ramafel*, there are the nastiest Relicks that can be expressed. That Man is held in such mighty Veneration, that all his Excre-

ments great or small are honoured as Relicks. In *China* they are valued at a high rate; the Devil treats his People like filthy Swine. *F. Kircher* pag. 51. writes some things which require more Proof: 'Tis a mere Story that *F. Adamus* hindered the Emperor of *China* from going forth to meet the Great *Ramafel*, or *Lamasse*; nor was the *Tartar* Emperor of *China* in the Year 29. *F. Adamus* was not sufficiently esteemed or accounted of by the Father of the Emperor now reigning, to save bowing and submitting to an ordinary *Bonzo*; and is it likely he should have Interest to do what was said above? Besides that in such Cases, they consult the Court of Rites and Ceremonies, which answers according to the Presidents they can find, and that is infallibly done; now how could *F. Adamus* have any thing to do there?

Nava-rette. to destroy the Temples and Idols; the Christians are not permitted to do in China. Lamias

14. It is above 400 Years since the *Mahometan* Sect came first into *China*, but has for the most part continued among them that brought it; but they marrying are vastly multiplied, they are above five hundred Thousand, and have stately Temples. We saw one at *Hang Cheu* so sightly, and with such a noble Front, as might show well in *Rome*. The *Mahometans* study the *Chinese* Sciences, take their Degrees, and rise to be Civil and Military Mandarines; but as soon as any of them has taken his Degree, or becomes a Mandarine, they look upon him as an Apostate from his Faith: so that the *Mahometans* esteem the Learned Sect incompatible with theirs, which acknowledges one true God, to whom they assign the same Attributes as we do, tho they admit of intolerable Errors. Every Temple of *Bonzes* has a Cock belonging to it, which they keep to be ruled by him, and rise at Midnight to Matins. *A Lapide on 6 Deut. v. 7.* writes of the crowing of this Foul.

Mahometans. Bonzes.

CHAP. X.

A Continuation of the same Subject.

1. A Considerable part of what properly appertains to these Chapters, is spoke of in several parts of my Works; therefore I shall here set down, and give Hints of such things as are most common. There is one very usual Fast among the young People of *China*, which lasts only three Years; this is perform'd to requite their Mothers for the Milk

Abstinence.

they gave them, and to repay the Blood they spilt at their Birth. This Fast they observe most rigidly, insomuch that no Accident or Excuse whatsoever can countenance the breaking of it; the manner of it is the same before mentioned in the last Chapter, viz. to abstain from Flesh, Whitmeats, Fish and Wine. The Women, who in all parts are more

devoutly given, signalize themselves for Fasting in *China*, and bring up their Children to it; so that there are Abundance who live to old Age, without having ever eaten any thing that comes from a sensitive Living Creature, except the Milk they sucked of their Mothers. When any of these have a mind to become a Christian, it is a very difficult matter to dissuade him from the Superstition of that Fast. There has been very great variance between the Missioners of the Society touching this Point, which shall be observ'd in its place.

2. But notwithstanding the general Tendernefs of Women, especially of Mothers, for those they have bore in their Womb, yet there is the greatest Cruelty imaginable among the *Chinese* Women towards their Daughters. Very many of them as well rich as poor, when they are deliver'd of Daughters, stife and kill them; those who are something more tender hearted, leave them under a large Vessel, where they let them die in great Misery and Pain. I saw one that had been three Days in that condition, it cried and groan'd so as might move a Stone to Compassion, and only a few Boards parted her from her cruel Mother's Bed. I saw her Father, her Grandfather and Grandmother, who often pass'd by the Vessel; and she that had pierced my Heart with her Cries, could make no Impression upon those Monsters. I begged the Child, they granted my Request, sometimes they refuse so charitable a Request; we lifted up the Vessel, the Child lay on her Back crying to Heaven for Relief, her Feet and Arms drawn up, her Back lay upon hard Stones in wet and mud. I was amazed to see it had lived three Days and three Nights in that condition: her Colour was so high it looked like the very Blood. I carried her away, baptized her, called her *Mary*, and gave her to a Christian Woman to nurse. Within a few Days it appeared how much harm that miserable way of Living had done. All her Sinews contracted, and God who preserv'd *Moses* in the Osier Basket, kept this innocent Babe three Days under the Vessel, to take her to Heaven within a Month after she was baptized. She might very well say, *My Father and my Mother hath forsaken me, but the Lord hath taken me to him.* Many have been saved after this manner in *China*: a Book there is in that Nation exclaims very much against this Barbarity; there is also an Imperial Law, which forbids it, but all to no purpose. The Christi-

ans agreed there were about 10000 Female Children murdered every Year, within the Precinct of the City *Lan Ki*, where I lived some time: How many then must we imagine perished throughout the whole Empire? But who will wonder at this, since we know the same was practis'd in *Spain* upon both Males and Females, only upon the beastly Motive of satisfying their Lust? The 3d Council of *Toledo, Can. 17.* has these Words, *That Parents in some parts of Spain murder their Children thro the Desire of Fornication, and for want of Tendernefs, &c.*

3. The *Chinese* Nuns called *Ni Ku, Nurs.* are great Fasters; they live retired in their Monasteries, but sometimes go abroad to beg. Every one goes with her Companion, they wear the same Apparel as the *Bonzes* do, and make their Obeisance like Men, not like Women. The *Chinese* have no good opinion of either the he or the *Bonzes*, and therefore make no account of them. In the Neighbouring Kingdoms it is quite otherwise, all Men respect and honour them.

4. All the Sects we have spoken of, except the first and the *Mahometans*, look upon it as a Sin to kill Living Creatures. Many of the Antients were of the same Opinion. See *S. Thomas opusc. 5. 5. in opusc. 8. §. 3.* he writes that, *The Facians do not eat Flesh, but altogether abhor it.* On the contrary, *Paul 1 Tim. 4. S. Augus. Lib. 1. de Civit. Dei, Cap. 20.* says, *That the killing of Beasts to maintain Human Life is not unlawful.* This I verily believe, but it is a Doctrine that won't pass in *China*. *S. Thomas 2. 2. q. 64. art. 4.* particularly impugns this Error, as do his Disciples. The *Chinese* Sectaries plead Humanity and Compassion, thinking it a cruel thing to take that Life they cannot give. According to that of the Prov. *The same cap. 12. v. 10. A Righteous Man regardeth the Life of his Beast, but the Bowels of the Wicked are cruel.* *Lira* on this Place says, *The Jews were cruel, and therefore the Law fed them to have Compassion, not only towards Men but towards brute Beasts.* But it is very well worth remarking, that they should endeavour to show themselves so merciful to Beasts, and be so cruel to their own Daughters, murdering them inhumanely, as has been said.

5. In *India* they have Hospitals, to cure all sorts of irrational Creatures, and they let Men die without assisting them in their Sicknefs; such is the Compassion of Sectaries. One thing well worth observing, has been taken notice of in the Fasting

Narrative.

Daughters murdered.

Daughters murdered.

See A Lapide, on 2 Gen. v. 28.

The same cap. 12. v. 10. A Righteous Man regardeth the Life of his Beast, but the Bowels of the Wicked are cruel. Lira on this Place says, The Jews were cruel, and therefore the Law fed them to have Compassion, not only towards Men but towards brute Beasts.

Navarrette.
Convert.

Fasting Sectaries, which is, that at Entertainments they presently make known their Devotion, and so they serve them only such Meat as they can eat; but if a Christian is invited upon a Fasting-Day, instituted by the Church, he holds his Peace, and eats all that is laid before him, without daring to make known the Obligation he lies under. Before they are Christians, they are very zealous for the Devils Fasts; after their Conversion, it is very hard to bring them to keep only nine Days the Church obliges them to. The *Indians* do much better, tho' their Sustenance is but mean and small.

Esling.

6. Fasting is much accounted of in *China*. When they enquire into our Holy Doctrine, the first thing they do is to inform themselves of our Fasts; we to make things the easier, tell them there are but a few, and those easy, and it is certain they don't like it. There are sundry Opinions touching this Point, and it is no easy matter to reconcile them. I always liked the Sentiment of *Layman*, lib. 4. trac. 8. cap. 1. where speaking of Fasting he says, *Therefore it is to be introduced among Nations newly converted to the Faith of Christ, as Navarrus observes, and Toletus, lib. 6. cap. 9. num. 1.* All have not taken this Course: the Branches that have spread from these Sects are many, as I observed before. Some are more reserv'd than others, some have stricter Fasts, and observe rigid Silence. When our Holy Faith was condemn'd, the supreme Governour of *Canton* presented a Petition against the *Bonzes*; upon which it was ordered, that only 20 should be allowed in every Town, 40 in Cities of the first Rank, 30 in those of the second. But when we came to *Canton*, they were all undisturbed in their Houses and Monasteries.

Bonzes.

7. All the *Bonzes* profess Chastity, there have been some special Cases. On the 2d of *April*, 67. we were told the Petty King of *Canton* had condemn'd 11 to be burnt alive, for having taken them in Sin, in which there was a Complication of Murder. It is reported of an Em-

press of the last reigning Family, who had a Kindness for the *Bonzes*, that she granted them a Dispensation to have to do with Women during three Days, without committing any Offence, or being liable to Punishment; they also profess Poverty, but not that of the Gospel. If a *Bonzo* has a good opportunity offered him to eat, drink, rob, or murder, he lets it not slip, for they are great Hypocrites. We may well apply to the *Bonzes* of *China*, what *S. Augustin* says, in *Serm. 21. ad Frat. Blessed are the Poor in Spirit, but not those that counterfeit Poverty; such as they are Hypocrites, outwardly professing Poverty, but refusing to endure any Want. Such Men in all their Actions seek for the Respect of Honour, the Glory of Praise to be feared by their Betters, and be worshipped like God; they covet to be called Saints by all Men; they extol Poverty and Abstinence only in Words, but they design not to touch them with their Finger. They outwardly clothe their Bodies with despicable Garments, but next their Skin are clad in Purple; they give out they lie upon Ashes, but refuse not lofty Palaces; they show a Heavenly Face abroad, but we doubt not they have Hearts like Wolves. Such were those Sarafates, concerning whom F. Hierome writ to us three Times, whose Race is most carefully to be avoided. They in fine were in Egypt, living in the Clefts of Rocks, clad in Swines Skin and Oxes Hides, only girt about with Ropes made of Palm-Tree Leaves, wearing Thorns about their Heels fastened to their Girdles; and coming out of their Caves bare-footed, and goaded with Blood, they went to Jerusalem to the Feast of Pentecost; and entering the Holy of Holys, zealously preached up the Observance of Poverty and Abstinence; then they hastily pulled their Beards, in the Presence of Men, without any Mercy; and having thus gained Renown, and made their Profit, they returned to their own Abode, rejoicing and feasting in Solitude more than we can express. The *Bonzes* of *China* are here well described, all they do tends to gain Renown and Profit, without having any other End or Prospect.*

Navarrette.

C H A P. XI.

In which the Sect of Foe is fully explicated.

Foe.

1. **H**aving said something in general of this Sect, it remains to declare what is peculiar and abstracting from others in it. Concerning that of the Men of Learning we shall speak in another place. This will be useful for the Information of those that go over to those Missions in these Points; that they may be furnished with Arguments against them, which will make them able upon occasion to handle with ease these confused matters so strange to *Europeans*, giving it for granted, that this Sect is the greatest Enemy we have to deal with in *Japan*, *China*, and many other Kingdoms.

60.

Xe Kia.

2. This Hellish Sect, as I observ'd above, came into *China* about the Year 2899 of the *Chinese* Empire, 3109 after the Flood, and 60 after the Birth of our Saviour. Its Founder in *Japan* is called *Jaca*, in *China* *Xe Kia*; when they made an Idol of him, they named him *Foe*. He was born in the *Mid India*, which Kingdom the *Chinese* call *Tien Cho Kue*. His Father's Name was *Cing Fan Vuang*, his Mother's *Mo Je*: They say she conceived in a Dream, imagining a white Elephant enter'd her by the Mouth; he was brought forth at the left side, his Mother died in Labour. As soon as he was born, they write, he walked seven Steps, and with one Finger pointed up to Heaven, and with another to the Earth, and said, I alone am Holy and Noble in Heaven and on Earth. Some say he was Son to the Devil, who bringing Seed from some place, infused it into the Mother in the shape of a white Elephant. This is the reason that Beast is so highly valued in *India*, that those Kings make bloody Wars for him.

White Elephant.

3. *F. John Adamus* arguing against this Sect, and repeating the Words its first Author spoke as soon as born, gives it for granted to be as we said in the last place, and adds, that the Devil enter'd his Body, which made him break out into that Hellish Blasphemy. Some *Europeans* tell us, his Birth was in the 29th Year of *Solomon's* Reign. At 17 Years of Age he married three Wives, by one of them he had a Son, whose Name was *Lo Heu Lo*; at the Age of 19, he forsook the World, and became an Anchorist; 12 Years he led that Life, learning from

four immortal Men, so they call the Hermits who lead a very exemplary Life; at 30 Years of Age, looking on the Morning Star, he obtain'd a comprehensive knowledg of the Being of the first Principle, which rais'd him to the Degree of the Idol *Foe*; he preach'd his Doctrine 49 Years, and died in the 79th Year of his Age. Before his Death he said, during more than 40 Years I have not made known the Truth of what I know; for I have only preach'd the exterior, and most demonstrable part of my Doctrine, by means of several Comparisons, all which I look'd upon as false, not the interior which I judg'd to be true. There-fore he then declar'd, that the first Principle, or Beginning and ultimate End, was no other than the *Materia Prima*, or *Chaos*, which they express by these two Letters *Kung* and *Hiu*, signifying a *Vacuum* or Emptiness, and that there was nothing further to be sought after or hoped for. He had 8000 Disciples, out of which he chose 500, and then 100 out of them; lastly he took the tenth Man of those, whom they now call the ten Great Ones. These after the Death of their Master writ his Doctrine in above 50000 several Gatherings; I suppose they were of Palm-Leaves, or that they call *Nipa*, as they write to this day in *India*, which I have often seen and observed. *Ta Mo* a famous Idol in *China*, whose principal Seat is on the Mountain *Vu Tang Xan*, in the Province of *Hu Kuang*, is lineally descended from those 10, and is the 128th from them. They report of him, that he was nine years in contemplation with his Face to a Wall. These Contemplations on the *Vacuum* or *Chaos*, which are directed to imitate that first Principle, they call taking the Degree of an Idol, and then returning to the *Vacuum*, or Nothing whence they came.

Mater the first Principle.

The Antients called the Air Vacuum, whither they returned after Death.

Cajet. in 7 Job. v. 18. observes it.

Ta Mo.

4. Either by reason of the Likeness of the Name, or I know not for what reason, I have heard it said of this *Ta Mo*, and it is printed in the *Chinese* Language, that he was the Apostle *S. Thomas*, who they affirm was in *China*. The Fathers *Luzena*, *de Angelis*, and *Mendoza* follow this opinion, I look upon it to be more than improbable. I have a word to this same Point in another place, what has been said

Nava-rette. ^{300.} said may suffice for the present; and it is the Opinion of *F. Gouvea*, and convincing, that *Ta Mo* came into *China* above 300 Years after the Incarnation of the Son of God, as appears by the Opinions of very learned Men given me under their Hands. Nor is it to be believ'd, that when the holy Apostle had come to *China*, he would so soon depart that Country, leaving so plentiful a Harvest without gathering it, or sowing the Seed of the Word of God, as even they of the contrary Opinion affirm. And if the Apostle was in *China*, he was none of *Ta Mo*. I have read much on this Subject, but I find no ground they of the contrary Opinion have.

Foe. 5. *Xe Kia* in his Will left his Doctrine to his much lov'd Disciple *Mo*, or *Kia Fe*, charging him to begin it with these words, *We almost saw it*, without showing any other reason. His Body being burnt with Eagle-wood and Sandal, his Disciples divided his Relicks, and shar'd them among Mens Spirits, and Dragons of the Sea. They sent the King of *Ceylon* a Tooth, which *F. Gouvea* says at last fell into the hands of *D. Constantine* of *Braganza*. *F. Luzena* affirms the same, but without making any mention of *Foe*, or *Xe Kia*. They tell abundance of false Miracles wrought by this cursed Man; and among the rest, that he has been brought forth into the World 8000 times, the last in the shape of a white Elephant. This alludes to what I said above.

O Mi To. 6. In their Books they take notice of another antienter Idol call'd *O Mi To*. He places Paradise in *India*, which they call a quiet and calm Country. Those who call upon this Idol, they say, obtain full remission of their Sins. It is wonderful to see how incessantly many call upon him, they name him oftner than we do God, Christ Jesus, or the Blessed Virgin. Some for a long time after they are baptiz'd, have much ado to break themselves of that bad Custom.

Pu Sa. 7. The Books they call *Fang Pien*, give only this and *Xe Kia* the title of Idols, because they represent the first Principle. The rest, tho they are the same thing as the first Principle, are only stil'd *Pu Sa*, that is a step less. They represent only some Attribute of that first Principle; as for Example, the Goddess *Kuon In*, above mention'd. Those they call *Lo Hoan* are in the third Rank.

Lo Hoan. 8. The substance of the exterior Doctrine, which *Xe Kia* looks upon as false, is, That there are Idols, which make sa-

tisfaction for Men and save them; and being mov'd by compassion and pity, were born to show the way to Heaven to those Souls that are born in the other World, where *Foe* is still upon a Flower. Their Glory consists in 32 Figures and eight Qualities, which glorify a Man. This Sect has five Commandments: The first, Not to kill any living Creature; the second, Not to Steal; the third, Not to commit Fornication; the fourth, Not to Lie; the fifth, Not to drink Wine. It has six Works of Mercy: The First and chiefest, To do good to the *Bonzes*; to erect Temples for them in honour of their Idols, and always to call upon them, which is sufficient to obtain pardon of their Sins. To burn for the Dead Paper-Mony, pieces of Silk and Cotton, to serve their Souls in the other World, and that they may have wherewith to bribe the Goalers and Porters of Hell. The burning of Paper came not from the *Bonzes*, they have appropriated it to themselves, the Original of it shall be set down in another place. If they do not, as has been said, they assign six Ways they shall go to Hell, where they shall continually be coming again into the World, as Men, Beasts, Devils, Rich, Poor, &c. All this the Interior Doctrine rejects, and so do the *Bonzes*. The purpose of the Interior Doctrine is, That as *Foe's Interior Doctrine.* before my Parents were born, there was nothing but the *Vacuum*, which is the Being of all things, and gave us that which we have; so after Death all things return to, and are reduced to that *Vacuum*, or Nothing, without leaving any other distinction betwixt Creatures, but the bare Figure and Qualities they have. As for instance, the Water that is in several Vessels of sundry shapes, round or square, &c. The Learned Men in their Philosophy, make use of this same Simily to make out their Doctrine, which in effect is the same as the Interior Doctrine of the *Bonzes*. They also make use of the Simily of the Moon, which shows its Figure in the Water, or a Glass, and it looks like a Moon, but is only an Image or Resemblance, and mere Nothing. So they say of Creatures, that they are nothing but the first Principle, which is the Being of them all, whose Substance they set down as a Rule, has no Understanding, Will, Virtue, Power, &c. Yet they describe it pure, subtile, ingenerable, infinite, incorruptible, and most perfect. They place Beatitude in this Life, through Meditation and Mortification; so that their Bliss is obtain'd by meditating

~ tating on that first Principle, and reach-
*Nava-*ing to the height of Contemplation,
rette. wherein a Man is as it were beside him-
 ~ self void of Reflection, and without any
 operation of the Understanding, and
 further than this he has nothing to seek
 or hope for.

9. To speak of the transmigration of
 Souls, which Error has infected all *Asia* ;
 those of this Sect say it happens four se-
 veral ways ; two of them true, and two
 false. The first false way, which belongs
 to the Exterior Doctrine, feigns six pla-
 ces in several parts of the World, where
 those Men that die according to what
 they have acted in this Life, are born o-
 ver and over again in the shape of those
 who inhabit those Places, till they are a-
 gain born into this World, and after-
 wards come to obtain the Perfection of
 the first Principle. After this dying a
 second time, they go to Paradise con-
 verted into Ido's *Foe*, without returning
 any more to those six places. This Error
 supposes a set number of Souls. Other
 Antients held it, whom *S. Thomas* op-
 poses ; see *Part. 1. quest. 90.* The se-
 cond manner feigns, that when a Man
 dies, according to his Actions, he is con-
 verted into one of six things, a Beast, a
 Fish, a Bird ; an angry, a hungry, or a
 heavenly Devil.

10. The first true way is, say they, that
 the first Principle so often spoken of, is
 in continual Transmigration from one
 thing to another, taking several Shapes
 thro' four several ways of coming into the
 World ; that is, the Womb, Eggs, Seed,
 and conversion of one thing into another.
F. Antony Gouvea, the antientest Missioner
 of his Society, and their Superior, says
 the Learned and Sect of *Tao*, hold the
 same in their *In Jang*, Matter and Form,

Li and *Ki*. Which I look upon as an
 undoubted Truth ; and that it may ap-
 pear how much *F. Longobardus*, a grave
 Missioner of the Society, is in the right,
 in saying, The *Chinese* hold the same Er-
 rors as other Antients did ; I observe,
 that as the *Chinese* Men of Learning call
 Cold *Im*, which is a word of the Femini-
 ne Gender ; and Heat *Jang*, which is
 Masculine : So did the antient *Europeans*,
 as *S. Thomas* takes notice on the 38th of
Job, call Cold a female Quality, and so the
 Text names it, *By the name of the Womb*,
 which belongs to the Woman ; but Heat a
 male Quality ; and so he makes use of the
 name of the Father about the Generation of
Dew and Rain. *Lactan. Firm.* said the
 same long before, *lib. 2. de Orig. Error.*
cap. 10. The second way, and that which
 is peculiar to this Sect, is the continual
 rowling of the Understanding, Will,
 Passions, and inward Affections of Man
 about his Objects ; and so when the Un-
 derstanding, or inward Appetite is in
 Action towards some Object, then they
 say the Heart is produced or brought
 forth ; and when it desists from that O-
 peration, they say it dies. In this sense
 they affirm the Understanding does all
 things, that is, that when it looks after
 them they are done ; if it does not take
 care of, or think on them, they have no
 Being. After the same manner as Logi-
 cians speak of the *Ens Rationis*, whose
 Being consists in the Understanding's be-
 ing fix'd in Consideration ; and it ceases
 to be, when they no longer think on it.
 They reduce all Objects relating to the
 State of Man to ten Heads ; six are as it
 were Hells, which belong to the Secular
 State ; the other four are like Heaven,
 and appertain to the Monastick State.

C H A P. XII.

The End of this Chimerical Confusion.

1. **T**HIS Chapter is added to con-
 clude with what this Sect teaches,
 which will make it the more intelligible,
 and the Chapters of this Book not so
 long. It teaches, that our Understand-
 ing, Will, or Appetite, which they call
Sin, are continually employ'd, and rowl
 upon six Objects or Ways, and this Im-
 ployment or Restlessness they call *Hell*.
 Those Hermits *Spondanus* treats of, *Ann.*
170. num. 5. said almost the same thing ;
 and according to the Object the Under-

standing is employ'd upon, the Person is
 said to be in such or such a Hell, and to
 become like the Inhabitants of it. All
 insensibility and mortification in regard
 to these Objects it calls *Heaven* ; he that
 goes to this place is born a *Foe*, resem-
 bling the first Principle in imitating it.
 Of the six Ways they call *Lo Tao*, the
 first is that Hell in which they assign three
 places of Pain, which are the three Pas-
 sions, Anger, Covetousness, and Igno-
 rance ; they are properly the Furies of
 this

this Hell, which they name *San To*, that is, three Venoms or Poisons. When a Man is born into this World, they say, he is born into Hell with his Head downwards; that is, he is born from his Mother's Womb; and so all Noble Persons are born in Hell, *viz.* in this Life, in which there are eight sorts of Torments, Life, old Age, Sicknefs, Miseries, Calamities, Poverty, Sorrow, and Death. Another Hell is term'd *Ngo Kuci*, signifying hungry Devil; Man is born into this, when he is inwardly troubled for the Miseries indures in this Life. The third is term'd *Cho Seng*, a brute Beast; it signifies rude Men who act like Beasts, and are ignorant of what they ought to know. The fourth is *Sicu Lo*, an angry Devil; which is when Men are passionate and quarrel, these are in the Hell we have mention'd. The fifth is *Fin Tao*; that is, to be born a Man, signifying the uneasiness of Compliments, and the Customs of the World. The sixth is *Tien Tao*; that is, heavenly Way, which belongs to Kings and Princes, who are born in Heaven, when they are in Pleasures among Mulick and Pastimes.

2. To escape these six Hells, four Steps are to be ascended, which are the four Philosophers of this Sect. The first *Xing Vuen*; that is, a beginner that travels through Faith, and is one that stands upright before the Image of *Xe Kia*, whose business is to conceive that all things are Nothing. The second *Vuen Kio*, one advanc'd; he also is commonly represented standing, as the former, and his business is Reflection and Meditation; those of this Rank are call'd *Lo Haon*, that is, Men that meditate. The Subject of their Meditation is Twelve; twelve steps Man makes from his Birth till he dies. The third *Pu Sa*, that is, Perfect, or Consummate, who can advance no further, but with Bowels of Compassion employs himself in instructing Men. These sit on the left side of *Xe Kia*, almost even with him, and have a sort of Beads.

Beatitude.

The fourth is *Foe*, that is, the most consummate Idol, who employs not himself in outward things, in all respects like the first Principle, absolutely perfect, which state is being in Paradise, united with the *Vacuum*, or Nothing, or with the refin'd, thin, and imperceptible Air, and become one and the same thing with it.

3. It only remains in this place to set down some Sayings of the Doctors of this Sect; and because they all in effect express the same thing, I will only write

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the Sayings of two or three. *Pi Xi* says, I receiv'd my Being from the Incorporeal *Nava-Medium*, or from Nothing (he means the *Materia Prima*) and as all things came from it, so did Man. The Soul and Understanding of themselves are nothing. Good and Evil are also Nothing, they have no place to exist in. *Xi Ki* says, To do good Works of it self is Nothing, and so to do evil; my Body is like the Lather of a Wash-tub compacted together, my Soul is like the Wind. The *Chaos* produced a white Nature, without Substance or Solidity; therefore all things are but mere Appearances, they are nothing but outward Shape.

4. By what has been here said, we may frame to our selves some Idea of the extravagancy of this Sect, if such wild Chimeras can furnish us with any settled Notion; but to this end I have made it as plain as possible I could. Perhaps our Lord may stir up some body to write against it, I doubt not but it would be very advantageous. The Millioners have writ much, but still more is wanting. I never could approve of the Opinion of some Men, who say, it is not proper to spend time in arguing against Follies. I say I could never approve of it, because the Holy Doctors of the Church spent much time in refuting other Absurdities, very like, and not inferior to these. Among them particularly *S. Thomas* did so, and it was not mispent, but well employ'd. Besides, what reason can there be not to spend time in discovering and exposing these Follies we have mention'd, since they are the means the Devil uses to gain innumerable Souls?

5. If we observe the first Principle assign'd by all the *Chinese* Sects, we shall find they do not much vary from other Antients, against whom the Saints writ much. *Hesiod* treated of the *Chaos*, and not of the Cause which produced it, as *Lactantius* observes, *de fals. Rel. lib. 1. cap. 5.* The same do these Sects we have mention'd. The Antient Poets placed the *Chaos* in the beginning of the World, and said it afterwards separated and divided into many things, as the same *Lactantius* tells us, *cap. 9. lib. 2. de Orig. Error.* The Learned Men of *China* maintain the same. *S. Thomas, opusc. 8.* says, that *Thales Milesius* assign'd Water for the first Principle; *Diogenes* the Air. Something of both may be found in the *Chinese* Sects. *Heraclius* would have a refin'd or subtile Air to be the first Principle, so will the *Chinese* Men of Learning. *Empedocles* assign'd the four Elements;

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the *Chineses* allow five, and make them the immediate Causes of, all things, tho at long run they reduce all to Air, or a rarify'd Vapour.

6. *S. Thomas, opusc. 15. cap. 9.* says, For the first, Philosophers set it down as a Maxim, concerning the nature of things, that it was only a change from one Being to another. And therefore they assign'd as the first Principle, A Matter without any Cause, for their Understanding did not extend beyond the distinction betwixt the Substance and the Accidents. All this is plainly the Doctrine of the Sects we have spoken of. But others proceeding somewhat further, search'd into the Origin of Substances themselves, assigning some Substance as the Cause of their Being; but because they could not frame a Conception of any thing but Bodys, therefore they resolv'd Substance into some Principles; yet such as were corporeal, laying down as a Rule that Bodys were fram'd by the gathering of others, as if the Origin of things consisted in only gathering and dispersing. Which Doctrine the *Chinese Men of Letters* directly hold, as shall appear when we treat immediately of this Sect. Later Philosophers advancing further, reduced sensible Substances into essential Parts, which are Matter and Form; and thus placed the Being of natural things in a sort of Transmutation, according as the matter is alternatively under several Forms. The *Chineses* draw somewhat to this Notion, but after a manner very confus'd, for they have no thorow knowledg of Matter and Form, actual and possible Existence. Then since the Errors are common, it is not unreasonable, that as the Antients were oppos'd, so also the Moderns be.

6. I us'd to say to the *Chineses*, as *Lactantius* does, *de Div. Præm. lib. 7. cap. 2.* The cause of all Errors in Philosophy was, because they did not comprehend the reason of the World, which contains all Wisdom; but that is not to be comprehended by our own Reason, which they attempted to do of themselves without a Master. And he concludes thus; Wherefore of necessity all Sects of Philosophy must deviate from truth, because they were Men that set them up; nor can they have any solid ground or stability, as not being supported by any Oracle of the Word of God. What has been said may convince any unbiafs'd Person.

8. Here we might discuss a Point of great moment, which is, Whether those Sectaries we have mention'd were fav'd, or whether we may doubt of their Salvation? In the second Tome, which is the proper place, what was said to this

Point in *China* shall be declar'd. I never made any difficulty to maintain they were damn'd, as I affirm of *Mahomet, Calvin, Luther,* and others of the same Leven. I know those of the contrary Opinion all hang by one another, and say the same of those we have mention'd, as they do of *Foe* and others. But I follow the Opinion of *S. Peter Marimennus* Martyr, mention'd in the *Martyrology* on the 21st of February. He lying sick at *Damascus*, some *Mahomerans* came in to visit him. The Saint told them that those who did not profess the Law of God went to Hell, as *Mahomet* had done. The Infidels kill'd him for these words, and he was a glorious Martyr. Why might not he be so, who should say the same of *Foe* and others?

9. *Lactantius, lib. 6. cap. 9. de vero Cultu,* speaking even of those who live a good moral Life according to Nature, whom some in *Canton* deny'd to be damn'd, has these words; But let us grant it may be, that any one Person of a good Wit and natural Inclination, can be possess'd of real Virtues, as we have been told *Cymon the Athenian* was, who gave Alms to the Needy, treated the Poor, and cloth'd the Naked: Yet when that only thing which is the greatest, viz. the Knowledg of God is, wanting, all those good Qualities are superfluous and vain, so that he labour'd to no purpose in obtaining them: For all his Righteousness is like a human Body without a Head. In confirmation of what has been said we may add what *St. Augustin* writes to the same purpose, *Tract. 43. in Joan.* which is the Homily read *Feria 3. infra oct. Pent.* That neither these nor those enter'd through the Gate into the Sheepfold. Tho they were Sectaries, they had Followers, and disputed much concerning Vices and Virtues. I will here insert what *S. Chrysof.* tom. 5. *Oration. de sigil.* says, It is better to despise false Tenets, than by answering to lay them open.

10. Tho there have been many *Chineses* who have liv'd good Lives according to the Laws of Nature; yet there is little likelihood they should be sav'd, since they came not through the Door into the Sheepfold: Much less *Xe Kia* and others like him. It is well known how that Nation has oppos'd the Law of God; and we have found by a long Experience what an aversion they have against it. *Corn. à Lapide* discoursing on the 42 *Jerem. v. 18.* quotes *Moseius* upon this Subject, and says, That nothing so much obstructed the Conversion of the *Chineses* to Christianity, as the Vices and scandalous Lives of some Christians.

Christians. This being writ before our Order, or that of *S. Francis* enter'd upon that Mission, I can neither contradict, nor seem to countenance it. In my time there was no talk of any such thing; tho I was not ignorant what a wicked Action a Convert of *F. Brancato* had done in perverting a good Christian Woman, and others of his Family. It is impossible but there should be miscarriages among new Converts, especially considering we see so many where the Faith is well establish'd.

11. I take it that the Difficulties occurring in that and other Missions, proceed from another Cause. *S. Thomas* on 15 *Rom.* says, *It is a difficult thing to convert those who are altogether ignorant, to the Faith.* And tho the *Chineses*, as to what relates to this Life, know too much, yet in what belongs to the Soul and next Life they are most ignorant, as *F. Arias* writ; and of the same Opinion was *F. Pantofa* cited by *Morales*, which we Missioners can well testify. Read *Sylveira*, Tom. 6. on 12 *John*, pag. 614, 615, and 616.

12. The same Author on 8 *Apoc.* upon these words, *And all green Grass, &c.* says, *By this they are signify'd who adhere much to worldly Vanity, whom the verdure of the World has too much deluded and attract-ed. By reason of this adherence they are unfit for Conversion, tho not altogether under an absolute inability; for tho now and then some Men, who were before plung'd in Vanity, be converted, yet it is seldom and with much difficulty.* See *Oleaster* on 32 *Exod.* ad *mores.*

Pride.

13. There is no Nation under the Sun more proud, vain, and given to the World than the *Chineses*. Christ said to *Jews*, *John* 5. v. 44. *How can ye believe which receive Honour one of another?* *S. Thomas*, Lect. 6. *Therefore they could not believe in Christ, because they proudly seeking their own praise and glory, that is, to be extoll'd above other Men, &c.* Whence *Tully*, *Man is to have a care of Glory, which takes away all Liberty.* Read *Cajetan* upon this Point, where he concludes, that these Men can never or scarce believe. The Pride of the *Chineses* Men of Learning, and the Contempt wherewith they look upon the rest of the World, is well

known to us who have had to do with them; therefore it is no wonder we should speak of it. *How can ye believe? &c.* See *Sylveir.* tom. 2. cap. 3. q. 5. num. 24. where he has other Expositions, which all make to this purpose.

14. Other Reasons may be alledged, but they make rather against us than those Infidels. The Fathers, *Canavari*, *Balat*, and others agree, that the preaching of the Gospel in that Mission was deficient: In the Second Tome the Grounds they go upon shall be set down. *F. Claudius Maret*, with some others, declare, That the Law of God is not sufficiently made known in any one City of *China*. It is no wonder then that they are not converted; and if to what has been already writ, we add what *F. Berviest* us'd to say, which I shall mention in another place, those Idolaters will be still more excusable.

15. Some say the *Chineses* would certainly be converted if they saw any Miracles wrought. I answer, we can asserf nothing upon future Contingences. The *Jews* saw many Miracles, and yet they continued obstinate; so did *Pharaoh* and many more. Besides, some mention several Miracles God has wrought in this Nation, and yet they have not produc'd the Effect those Persons imagine will follow. In another place we shall insert *F. Lubeli's* Answer to this Point.

16. When the *Chineses* talk'd of Miracles, I answer'd them out of *S. John Chryssostome*, and *S. Thomas*. Afterwards I observ'd *Sylveira* takes notice of it, Tom. 2. cap. 2. num. 113. *People believe for two Reasons; some because they have seen Miracles, others only by preaching: but they who only believe for the sake of the Doctrine, are more commendable, as the Apostles.* These last are the more intelligent and piercing, the others more rude and ignorant; and therefore I told them, There was no need of Miracles for them, who have Sense and Judgment to understand the Doctrine, the Reasons and Grounds of it. I hold, as did *S. Gregory*, in 30 *Moral.* cap. 8. that the working of Miracles is no infallible sign of the Sanctity of the Minister.

Navarrette.

C H A P. XIII.

Some Particulars of the History of China.

1. **T**HE *Chineses* say, that past actions, or accidents, give Man light how to behave himself in those present, and to provide himself against the future; they add, they are a mirror in which Man ought to see himself. Our Renowned *Spaniard S. Isidorus* speaking of History, says the same thing. This it is that mov'd me to publish in the following Chapters of this Book, the most remarkable passages I cull'd out of the *Chinese* History, when I read it to be inform'd in the affairs of that Empire, and to improve myself in the Language and Character.

Hysterians. 2. I must allow the *Chinese* Authors to be sincere, and to have set down passages as really they were; they write one for their own People, not for other Nations, so that neither affection, nor hatred moves them to add, or extol what was not truly so. The *Chineses* value themselves much upon keeping their words, even those that are spoken in sport and pastime they would have to be of some weight. To corroborate this Rule they bring a singular Example, mention'd in their Annals. The Prince went out one day to walk in the Palace-garden, his Preceptor and some little Pages much about his age attended him; he began to play, and said to one of them, I make you King of such a place. The Master started up immediately, saying, What does your Highness? The Prince answer'd, I speak in Jest. There is no jesting among Princes, nor no idle words, reply'd the Preceptor; your Highness has made this Boy a King, it must be so, that it may not be said your Highness talks in Jest, and not in Earnest. The business was debated, and it was resolv'd, the Page should be a King, lest it might be said, that the Prince's words were vain and of no effect.

Faithfulness.

3. The Actions, Examples, and Doctrine of that Nation will make out the truth of the Divinity of *S. Thomas* 2. 2. q. 10. art. 4. as also *Chryssost. Hom. de fide & lege Nature.*, *S. Hierome* 2. ad *Gal.* and *S. Augustin* in many places, viz. That Infidels may do some actions morally good. The Saint also says, that God rewarded the *Romans*, by giving them so large an Empire, for being strict observers of Ju-

stice. In his *Epist.* 130. he affirms the same of *Polemon*, and I believe he would have maintain'd the same of the *Chineses*, had he known any thing of them. And tho in some places the holy Doctor seems to suggest the contrary, his meaning is, that Infidels seldom do actions really good, for want of the true and right intention, which in them is commonly corrupt. We Missioners may be allow'd our judgment in this case, and tho we cannot be positive as to the good or evil Intention, yet we may guess at it by the concurring Circumstances we see. According to them, it would be a rashness upon several occasions, to judg their Actions did not proceed from a right Intention.

4. If any more modern proofs be requir'd, we have some very convincing at this time in the Kingdom of *Siam*. I question not but there are many more in these parts, would to God I were in the wrong. It is a saying of the Holy Ghost, That he shall undergo troubles and Persecutions, who sincerely gives himself up to the Service of God. There are in that Kingdom certain Bishops Missioners, with some Secular Priests their Companions, all Men of known Virtue, very exemplary for Poverty, Humility, and other Circumstances of Edification, unblamable in their duty of Preaching the Gospel, which all that part of the World highly extols. Nevertheless, for their Good, and that of others, God has rais'd them certain opposites, members of Satan, who leave nothing that belongs to them which they do not bespatter. They give out their Virtue is counterfeit, that they may lead the People after them, and gain applause; that they are *Jansenists*, and more to this effect. When I was discoursing concerning this matter with Cardinal *Bona*, whose Soul I hope is in Heaven, he was out of patience, and lifting up his eyes to Heaven, said, Is it *Jansenism* to be poor, to pray, to exhort the Faithful so to do, to lead an exemplary Life, and preach like the Apostles? O that we were all such *Jansenists*, the World would without doubt be in another condition than we see it is!

5. What has been said may be an instruction to us, to look upon the actions of our Neighbours, tho they be Infidels, without

without taking upon us to judg of their thoughts and intention in acting. This part belongs peculiarly to God, Man must not presume to inroach upon his Province. This Doctrine also conduces to give us to understand, that as God will have what is good in virtuous Men made known for the edification of others, so he is pleas'd the Virtue of the Infidel should be discover'd to the same end.

6. The first Man and first Emperor of that Monarchy, the *Chineses* take notice of, was *Fo Hi*. Before him the *Chineses* confess they knew nothing of the World, or what was done in it; and tho others name another who preceded him, whom they call *Puon Ku*, who they say separated Heaven from Earth, yet the Sect of the *Literati*, or the Learned, who are the wise Men of that Nation, all agree in what I have said.

7. *Fo Hi* was also the first that sacrific'd to Heaven, offering to it the Blood of Beasts. I look upon it as most certain that the *Chineses* have ever worship'd and ador'd the Sun, Moon, Stars, &c. and the Fathers *Longobardo*, *Ruir*, *Gouvea*, and others of the Society, whom *F. de Angelis* follows, are of the same opinion. Some of our Modern Interpreters will have it, that *Fo Hi* in offering Sacrifice to Heaven, did it to God, who resides in it as in his Palace, so that they take the thing containing for that contain'd. To confirm this their conceit, they mention the King of the upper part, very much celebrated by the Sect of the Learned. In the first place I might well say with *S. Cyril*, lib. 2. in *Joan. cap. 34.* that *Contentious Men are not so stiff in holding true Doctrine*. But the words of *Lactantius de Fals. Relig. cap. 11.* where he speaks of the Poets, fute better in this place: *But they spoke of Men, but to set off those whose memories they extol'd, they call'd them Gods.* And then lower: *Hence Men come to be deceiv'd, especially, because thinking all these things to be feign'd by Poets, they worship what they know not, for they are ignorant of the extent of Poetical Licence, and how far they may go on in their Fictions; whereas the business of a Poet consists in this, that he changes those things which have really been, into other shapes by odd representations, yet with some grace.* We shall write concerning the *Chinese King of Above* in another special Book. What has been said is very much to the purpose, of the Praises and Encomiums the *Chineses* bestow on their Emperor *Vuen Vuang*, who they affirm attends on the right and left side of the King of Above, from whence he takes

care of the advancement of his Monarchy.

8. What I say is, that the *Chineses* from all Antiquity never knew any thing more noble than the Material Heavens we behold. So say their Books, and their Learned Men own it, and they it is certain know more of this matter than the *Europeans* that go thither; for they are the Masters and Teachers of their Sciences, and understand their own Books incomparably better than we do. It being so natural to Man to acknowledge some first Cause, *Fo Hi's* judgment tended towards it, but he mis'd the mark, as many others did. Whether *Fo Hi* descended from *Ham*, according to the opinion of *F. Emanuel Diar*, or from the Great *Zoroastres*, as the Fathers *Longobardo*, *Ruir*, and others of that Society will have it (I have already observ'd that it is a common opinion that *Ham* and *Zoroastres* were one and the same Man) he came to *China* without any knowledge of the true God, as *F. Gouvea* also testifies. *Lyra* on the 10th of *Gen.* says, *The Gentiles were the off-spring of Japhet, the Idolaters of Ham; and the Worship of the true God came from Shem, tho all his Children were not good.* *Corn. a Lapide* in 10th of *Gen. ver. 25.* says, that *Noah* liv'd till *Abraham* was 58 years of age. Therefore *Noah* saw the Tower of Babel, he also saw almost all his Posterity deprave their ways, and turn away to Idolatry; therefore *Noah* saw the World full of Men, and those wicked, he saw and sigh'd at it. On *Gen. 35. ver. 2.* he writes thus: *By this it appears there were Idols and Idolaters in Jacob's Family, &c.* I let the Origin of *Fo Hi* be consider'd, and it may be judg'd whether he knew God, or not. We certainly know *Zoroastres* was the Inventer of Art-Magick. *Pliny*, *Juslin*, *S. Isidorus*, *S. Augustin*, and many others affirm it, he was 600 years before *Moses*. *A Lapide* in 7. *Exod. v. 11.*

9. Not long after *Fo Hi*, *Xin Nung* came into the Empire, he show'd the People how to till their Land, brought the Plow and other Instruments of Husbandry. This Man to the *Chineses* is instead of the Goddess *Ceres*, or of the God *Sterculius*, of whom *Lactantius de fals. Rel. c. 20.* writes thus: *Sterculius* who first brought up the way of dunging the Ground.

10. There follow'd other Emperors of whom they say little. *Xun* was the eighth of them, but the first that created Temples to offer Sacrifice to the Dead. This shall be largely handled in the second Tome. *Xun* is much applauded by the

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the *Chineses*, and by their Philosopher *Confucius*. Mention will be made of him upon some occasions.

11. The Petty King *Li Xao* offer'd Sacrifice to the Hearth, that is to the Spirit which they feign presides over the Kitchen-Chimney, and begg'd Prosperity and long Life of it. He perswaded the Emperor to embrace this Idolatry, telling him, if he worship'd the said Spirit, he would soon get the Medicine to prolong Life, and the art of converting yellow Sand into Gold. From this time forward Superstitions daily increas'd in *China*. This was many years before the Sect of *India* was brought into the Country. A Famous Missioner of that Country in a Book he printed *Ann. 1663*, endeavours to justify the Sacrifice we have spoke of, and reduces it to a mere Civil action; I know many mislik'd the Book, and *F. Anthony de Gouvea* often told me he abhor'd it. That Sacrifice was instituted 2800 years after the foundation of the Empire. The antient *Europeans* had some tincture of this Error. See *Lactant. cap. 20*. Hence it is the *Chineses* to this day give a great deal of respect and veneration to the Hearths, or places where their Meat is dress'd. They take a great deal of care they should be clean and neat, and they will upon no account do any undecent action on, or near them. To make water there is look'd upon as a great disrespect, and a profaning of the place where the Cook-spirit presides and has his abode.

12. I think it convenient all should be known; said *Lactantius, cap. 23. de fals. Relig. But the first step to Wisdom is to know what is false, the second to know what is true.*

13. At the same time an Ambassador of the Emperor *Vu Ti*, call'd *V Vu*, was prefer'd with great Solemnity to be an Idol, by the name of *Ching Hoang*, that is, Keeper of the Walls and Ditches, or Guardian Angel of the City: from such antient times were those they call in *China* Tutelar Angels of Cities and Towns chosen from among Men.

14. To these the Governours recommend themselves, that they may execute their Charges uprightly, and resort to their Temples twice in every Moon. *F. Trigaucius* writ upon this Subject, *Lib. 1. cap. 10*. *Luena* in his History says, there were Spirits of this sort in *India*. The antient *Europeans* had them: *Theodorus, lib. 8. contra Græcos*, says, *In like manner they worship the Guardians of Towns, and Tutelars of Places*. This plainly makes out that the Errors in *China* are the same that

were in *Europe*, as I have already observ'd. This Subject shall be handled in the Second Tome, and at the end of this. Concerning these Spirits there have been several disputes in *China*, even before the *Franciscans* and our Order enter'd upon that Million, of which we shall speak at large in another place. For the present it suffices to know that all the Guardian Angels of Cities and Towns they have to this day in *China*, were Men, whose Employments, Names and Families are known to all Men there. They every year celebrate their Birth-days, then how can they be Angels?

15. In the second year of the Reign of the Emperor *Chang Hoang Ti*, a Proclamation was issued forbidding the *Mandarines* to wear rich Clothes. The Emperor gave for his reason, that the exterior Ornament, tho' it seems good, is evil; to covet outward ornament and gaiety, and be inwardly vicious, is a thing abominable. The *Mandarin* who is upright and just, seeks after Virtue, not fine Clothes. The People is not govern'd by the outward appearance in Garments, but by the Virtue which exerts it self in good Actions. This I will have observ'd, says the Emperor, and the excess there has been in this particular rectify'd, that my Subjects may live at ease. This were a good Proclamation among Christians. The *Europeans* out-do the rest of the World in fine Apparel, they will not be convinced that Clothing had its Origin from the Shame caus'd by Sin; it was rather instituted to make us weep, than appear gay.

16. The method of making Gold, mention'd above, has distracted and beggar'd many *Chineses*; they have made several trials, and have produced nothing but losses and troubles. They suspected some of the Missioners, especially the antient ones, knew and practis'd this art, so they continued to have the same conceit of those that had scarce a moderate maintenance. *Corn. a Lapide* on the *Acts* has writ concerning this Subject, and some ages before *Albertus Magnus*; and to this day there are those who maintain it is practicable, *Torre Blanca* is one of these. In the year 1673, I lighted on a *Portuguese* at *Rome*, who was so thoroughly fastidius'd he should in a short time make Millions of Pistols, that I could never dissuade him from his design. A few years since, several met for the same purpose at *Naples*, they spent much Money, and at last the Workmen ran away, one of them was still living in *India* in the year 1670, when I was there.

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Clothes.

A Lapide
on Gen. 3.
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this point
very well.

Philosophers-
Stone.

Tutelar
Angels.

17. *Jang*

Bribes re-
fused.

17. *Jang Chin* a *Mandarine* of Note, and in great favour with the Emperor, was very upright in his Employment, and an utter Enemy of Bribes. This Man got a *Mandarine's* Employment for his Friend *Vuang Nie*. He in return went one Night to visit him, and as an Acknowledgment for the Kindness receiv'd, offer'd him eleven Ounces of Gold. *Jang Chin* was offended at it, and said to him; Don't you who are my Friend know me? How come you to do this? *Nie* answer'd, That makes me come by Night, no body sees or knows it; to receive so small a Trifle is not any thing of consequence. *Chin* reply'd, Heaven and Earth see it, you and I know it, here are four Witnesses, and can you say no body sees or knows it? *Nie* was convinc'd and took back his Gold, without daring to say any more to that Point. *No body saw us*, said those youthful Elders to *Susanna*; they made not so much reflection as the *Mandarine Chin*. There is much to observe in this Action, that a Heathen was not govern'd by worldly Respect, nor did he regard whether he was seen or look'd upon, he only minded Justice, and his Duty, as a good Minister. He took the Advice of *Fréderrick the 3d*, who was wont to say, Do not that in private, which you would be ashamed to do in publick. It is the same *S. Bernard* teaches us, speaking of our Angel Guardian. *Jang Chin* has few Disciples in the World at this time. Not only Heaven and Earth see and know the Bribes many Men receive; but all the World is a witness to them, and yet they are not ashamed, nor draw back their hands. *Oleaster* on 11 *Gen. v. 7.* speaks excellently to this purpose. This latter sort of Men seem to be of *Cicero's* Opinion, who said, *The sweetest thing in the World is to receive.* But it is better to follow our Saviour's Rule, *It is happier to give than to take.* It might also be a subject of Reflection, that if this *Gentile* thought Heaven and Earth were Witnesses sufficient to deter and make him abstain from receiving that small Sum of eleven Ounces of Gold; What ought a Christian to do upon the like occasion, since through Faith he knows, that God himself is looking, not only into his Actions, but his very Thoughts? It would be some advantage to us, if it were consider'd and observ'd that Heaven, Earth, and other Creatures shall be Witnesses and severe Accusers against us on the Day of Judgment. See *Corn. à Lapide* in 7 *Gen. v. 9. in fine.*

18. We might also here take notice,

that the good Counsellor Conscience did not in this place forget *Chin*; the suggested to him, that he ought not to take any thing for having done the Duty of his Office; *Their Conscience bearing witness for them, &c.* God gives all Men this Judgment and Witness, says *S. Basil, in princip. Prov. That a certain Tribunal is erected in the secret part of the Heart, where all things that are to be done are weigh'd as it were in a Balance.* See *S. Thomas, Opusc. 60. Art. 14.* where he brings the Words of *S. Bernard* very proper to the same purpose.

19. *Chin* had another very particular Accident befall him. His Friends observ'd he purchas'd no Lands as others did; that his Children were clad and fed like very ordinary People, and that he had neither Horses nor Sedans in his House. They told him it was convenient he should raise his House, make his Family great, and get Employments for his Sons and Grandsons. He who was of another mind answer'd them, There is no Riches or Estate like the Uprightness, Integrity, and disinterested Carriage of a Magistrate. It is much better for my Posterity, that those who are unborn should say, I was thus qualify'd, that I preserv'd my self from being corrupted, that I administred impartial Justice, and faithfully serv'd my Emperor, than that I should leave them great Estates, and mighty Treasure. By these means I shall leave them Rich, Noble, and with Honour, and they want no more. Here the Saying sutes well, *A good Name is better than many Riches.* But where is this Doctrine put in practice at present? Who is there that does not raise an Estate if he can? Who is it that does not seek Preferments, not only for his Children, but for his Kindred if he can? Who does not aspire to a Title of Honour, if it be to be purchas'd for Gold or Silver, tho' got the Lord knows after what manner? If all Ministers were like the Heathen *Chin*, *China* would be in another condition. And had *Chin* been guided by that Light which God has so freely bestow'd on others, what would he do, what would he say, how would he act?

20. The Emperor *Chao Lie* was very careful in offering Sacrifice to Heaven, Earth, his Predecessors departed, and his Subjects that dy'd in War; he show'd himself very religious in all his Actions, but it was in a false and idolatrous Religion. He was merciful in his Government. It is just and reasonable Kings should do good for the Souls of those that

Navarrette.

Example of Moderation.

Idolatry of Chao Lie.

Nava-rette. that die in War. It is unreasonable the Souldier should labour and fight till he loses his Life, and when he has lost it there should be no care taken for his Soul. Some Accounts went over to *China*, in which they blame the negligence and remissness of our Nation as to this particular. I am satisfy'd of the neglect of the *French* in *Madagascar*, above 400 of them were left dead in the Field fighting with the *Blacks*, and as yet the first Mass is not said for them. The Missioners that liv'd there, and I among them, did what Charity requir'd at our hands. A resolute and brave Commander belonging to the aforesaid Emperor, whose Name was *Kuang Ju*, came to be an Idol, and the God *Mus* of *China*; he is not the same I mention'd in another place by the name of *Tai Kung*.

Kuang Ju made Mar.

Chao Lie. 21. *Chao Lie* being at the point of Death, gave the charge of the Prince his Son, who was then very young, to a most faithful Counsellor of State, call'd *Ko Leang*; he recommended the Youth to him, and said, If my Son does not approve himself capable of Governing, do thou take his place, for such is my Will and Pleasure. The Counsellor wept, admiring the mighty confidence the Emperor repos'd in him, and promis'd to use all his endeavours to serve the young Emperor, and continue the Crown in his Line. Then the Emperor call'd the Prince, and said to him; When a Man has liv'd to fifty years of Age, he cannot complain that Heaven has given him a short Life, much less I who have liv'd to sixty. I might only be concern'd for my Subjects, and Brothers; but I trust you will protect them. Be of good heart, Prince, and take this Advice from a Father who tenderly loves you. Commit no Sin tho ever so small and inconsiderable, and do not omit to perform any virtuous Action tho never so slight. Do not follow the Example of your Father, but imitate the Virtue of the Great *Ko Leang*, whom I leave as your Counsellor, Friend, and Father; together with the Crown, I leave you Virtue, which makes the Subjects submissive and pliable. Read *Oleaster*, Num. 27. *ad Mores in sin. cap.* The least good Thought is pleasing to God. Read *Sylv. Tom. 6. cap. 10. in Mat. q. 7. num. 36.*

22. What could *S. Lewis* King of *France* have said more to the purpose to his Son and Heir? If to be a King and Monarch, is to be Father of the Subjects, *Chao Lie* sufficiently shew'd he was so to his, since it was such a trouble to him at his Death to leave them. If to be zealous for the

Publick and Kingdom be ever commendable in a Prince, *Lie* gave abundant proof of his Zeal, by preferring it to the natural Love he bore his Son; and therefore he said to *Leang*, If my Son prove not fit to govern, do thou take his Place. He had no respect to *Flesh and Blood*, but to the good of his People and Subjects. And if Goodness and Justice raises a Prince above Mankind, as *Plato* said, lib. 2. *A King is a certain humane God*; And *Seneca*, *Through Piety and Justice Princes become Gods*: What was there wanting in *Chao Lie* towards deserving of such glorious Titles? And if the King be the Soul of the Kingdom, *The King is in his Kingdom, as the Soul in the Body, and God in the World*; as the Doctors say, and *S. Thomas* writes, *Opusc. de Reg. Princ. lib. 1. cap. 12.* Who does this better answer to than to *Lie*, who at the last period of his Life was more sensible of his Peoples being left expos'd without a Head, than of the Distemper he languish'd under. And if we look upon him as a Father, who ever gave a Son better Advice? He bids not commit a Fault, tho ever so small. More of this in another place.

23. He also charges him not to omit any virtuous Action, tho never so small. He was not satisfy'd that his Son should be good, he would have him attain to Perfection. What pity it is this Emperor had not the Knowledge of God! As every Fault is hurtful, so every good Action, tho light and inconsiderable, is profitable and advantageous; and if done in a state of Grace, is meritorious of Life Everlasting. If you doubt it, consider what God himself has promis'd to him that gives a draught of cold Water to the Needy for his sake.

24. If we regard the confidence a *The Chinese never deny'd Free-will in Man, nor thought good Actions fruitless, as the Hereticks of these times have done.* good King ought to have in his Ministers, who is there in the World that can equal *Chao Lie*? He entrusted *Leang* with the whole Empire, and left it to his own Judgment whether he would not appropriate it to himself. The Saints admire *S. John Baptist's* sincerity, when the *Jews* putting it into his power to declare himself the *Messiah*, he refus'd it when he might have assum'd that Honour. *Lie* puts the Empire into the Power of *Leang*, he constitutes him Judge of the Prince's Sufficiency, and leaves the whole decision of the Business to him. A singular Confidence of the Emperor's, and wonderful Loyalty in *Leang*. A good Example to confound those ungrateful, disloyal and false Men, who usurp what they only had committed to them in trust.

What

What matter is it tho they live great and high, when their Treachery and Baseness is eterniz'd in the memory of Man? What would this Infidel say had he heard of your Actions?

Example of Mod. rati-
on.

25. The History of *Leang* says further, that he having always been a Counsellor, Father, Master, and Friend to the new Emperor, ever seeking and studying the Advantage of the Crown, he fell sick and died in the Army. Before his Death he writ a Letter to the Emperor, in which he said; I leave 800 Mulberry Trees, and 15 Acres of Land in the City *Ching Tu*, which is enough to afford my Children a moderate Maintenance, and they need seek for no more; therefore I beg it as a Favour that your Majesty will be pleas'd to give them nothing. Rich and mighty Subjects, Sir, are full of turbulent Thoughts. *Oleaster* handles this Point very well in 16 *Num. ad mores in Princip. cap.*

26. Enough might be said of *Leang's* Letter, and his Poverty, after having had such a hand in the Government. The Reader may without much trouble make his Reflections on it, and consider whether he does, or ever did know any Person that can equal this Heathen. To excuse in some measure such as are directly opposite to *Leang*, we may alledg what *S. Thomas* says, *Opusc. 28. cap. 7. Wonderful Actions are not to be brought as Precedents, because weak Men can better admire and commend, than imitate them.* But the truth is, they might imitate this Heathen if they pleas'd; they neither want the Power, nor Divine Assistance, but they over-abound in Covetousness and Ambition. What has been said, is like to what

Scipio af-
ter so many
Victories,
left only 33
pieces of
Silver, and
2 of Gold,
as Plutarch
says.

is written of *Daniel*, *cap. 5. v. 17. Letter so many* *ang* was not so singular, but he has had his Equals in the World. *Marcus Attilius Regulus*, after he had been in mighty Employments, and had great Opportunities to grow Rich, yet was extremely Poor, tho he had a Wife and Children. *Corn à Lapide* writes the same of others, in 47 *Gen. v. 16.* I think we should find but few Modern Examples in our Age that can bear company with those we have mention'd. Not that they are under less obliging Ties, or want better Light to walk by, but because being blinded with worldly Affairs, they suffer themselves to be led away, without considering they by those means draw on their own Perdition. I do not say there are no upright and unbiass'd People, and I could name some I have known in this place who have given a good Example, as to this

and other Particulars, but they are few and rare. Precious things are always scarce in comparison of those that are mean and base. So good and virtuous Men are scarce in comparison of the Wicked. *There is an infinite number of Fools*, says the Holy Ghost. *Nava-rette.*

27. Prince *Sui* had a mind to build a Tower to divert the Sight, by the curious prospect of some Groves. *Vuang Ki* a Counsellor of State, presented a Memorial to this effect: The Antients taking the Simile from the Water, taught the People this Doctrine; The Water serves the Ship to sail on, and to sink it. The Emperor is the Ship, the People the Water; whilst there are People the Ship may fail, and the same Water may sink it. Your Highness may consider you are the Ship, and your People the Water; if you oppress them too much with Taxes, and unnecessary Charges, as it now maintains, it may sink you. The People is like a Horse, it is rul'd by the Bridle, without it the Rider is in danger, If you rein him too hard only for sport, it is to be fear'd he will get the Bit betwixt his Teeth and become unruly. Your Highness will do well to remember these two Comparisons. The Prince was convinc'd, and laid aside his Design.

28. These are good Similes, if we made our advantage of them. How much has been spent in the World on extravagant Pastimes? How grievously has the People been oppress'd on the same account? Consider, Great Men, that ye are Ships and want Water to sail; too much and too little Water are equally fatal to Vessels. If you hoist your Sails (besides that you may fall short of Sailers) at half run, you'll be aground for want of Water; a Ship without Water makes no Voyage. We will set sail! let us have Gardens, Houses of Pleasure, Water-works, high Towers, rich Liveries, Bull-Feasts, Plays, Riding, and other Pastime. I allow all this; but first take a view of your Estates, Territories, and Kingdoms; take the depth of the Water, sound, see how many Fathom there are. Look upon the Villages are destroy'd, and Towns unpeopled; see the miserable Condition of your Subjects, and you will be satisfy'd there is not Water enough for you to sail. See *Oleaster* in 10 *Exod. ad mores.*

29. The *Chineses* commonly ask, Whether there are any Poor in our Countries? We answer, There are some whom God keeps among us to exercise the Charity of the Rich. This was hinted at in the first

Book; See *Oleaster* in 15: *Deut.* However they answer, that all being Christians, the rich of necessity must distribute what they have among the poor, and so all must live well. This is what those Heathens say, grounding it upon what they hear and read concerning our Holy Faith; but they don't know how it is in these parts, and what extravagancy there is in expences. If they knew it, there is no doubt but they would bid us return to our own Country to preach, as one who had been at *Manila* told me: What do you come hither for? (cry'd he as loud as he could) go preach at *Manila*, for I know very well how things are there, we have no need of you here, we know our duty. I must confess he put me out of countenance.

Oleaster quoted a-
bout 15: *Deut.*
That Men
pretend
much Po-
verty when
they are to
pay Debts,
or give
Alms, but
not to
game, or
indulge
Luxury,
&c.

Christians.

30. Not long before, as one of my Order was preaching to some honest Infidels, a Merchant just return'd from *Manila* came in; he began a Discourse concerning his Voyage and Trade, and said, I'll go no more to *Manila*, but to *Japan* I will. One reason is, because at *Japan* there are more Commodities to lay out my Money upon. Another, because the People of *Japan* are better than those of *Manila*. Those who were in company before fix'd their eyes upon the Father, who they knew came from *Manila*, for the Merchant knew him not. I was quite out of countenance (said that Religious Man to me) and as cold as Ice; I return'd home without the least courage or heart to prosecute what I had begun. I could make many Reflections upon

this Passage, let it suffice at present that in the judgment of a Heathen, the Christians of *Manila* are worse than the Infidels of *Japan*. They are likely by their example to forward the Conversion of that vast number of Gentiles that resorts thither. All we Millioners say, it is God's special Providence that the *Chineses* don't know what is done in Christendom, for if they did there would be never a Man among them but would spit in our faces. It has been sufficiently observ'd and declar'd that none are converted in those parts where they converse with our People, that is at *Macao*, and *Manila*; and if it happens any one does, he proves so bad, it were better he had never been Baptized. In the year 1669, a *Chinese* Merchant well known at *Macao*, as well to the Citizens as to the Fathers of the Society, after he had dealt with them above sixteen years, being too well vers'd in the *Portuguese* Language, and having been often exhorted to receive Baptism, for he was an honest Man, and we all had a kindness for him, fell sick to death at *Canton*, when we were all there. A Father who was his acquaintance went four times to his House, he spoke to the point he went about, but being sent away he return'd home sad and disconsolate. *The rich man dy'd and was bury'd in Hell.* What has been written may suffice to humble the vanity of those who boast they go to people those Countries, that they may contribute to the conversion of Souls. Let us go on to another Chapter.

What Ole-
after says
of Eugu-
binus in
15: *Deut.*
is much to
this pur-
pose, excep-
ting only
the case of
Idolatry,
we are
worse than
the Gen-
tiles. See
S. Thom.
in 2 Pet. 2.
in fine.

C H A P. XIV.

A Continuation of the same Subject.

1. **T**HE Prince who forbore raising the Tower for the reason mention'd in the last Chapter, order'd an Edict to be set forth, in which he commanded none but Persons well qualify'd should be chosen into places of Honour and Trust. *Kuang Chang* one of the Council of State presented a Memorial of this purport. There must be no precipitation in electing of Ministers of State, if there be such Election will not prove good. The Plant that springs up fast is not lasting, in the morning it is gay, and at night withers. The Cypress and Pine which grow but slowly preserve their Greenness, tho the Snow and cold Dew falls upon them. Therefore I beseech your High-

ness that you will be cautious in chusing of Ministers, and take time to consider on it. Your Highness will do well to raise those that humble themselves, and withdraw out of the way, and to make account of those that are not covetous, to esteem those brave, who are of an easie and good temper. Railing and Commending proceed from Love and Hatred, and cause good and ill Fortune. If I be censur'd, it is proper to examine my life and actions. If I am guilty of what is given out, they that take notice of it are in the right; if I am not guilty of it, no account is to be made of their censures, for being false it will vanish, as Clouds do before the Wind. The Proverb advises,

vifes, To wear Lambskins to keep out the cold; and to be cloth'd in innocence, and lead a good life to avoid being censur'd. This, Sir, is the way to curb ill tongues. See *Oleasf.* in 18 *Exod.* *A Lapide* in 23 *Exod.* v. 8. and *Cajetan* in 18 *Exod.* v. 21. *Oleasf.* in 1 *Num. Sylv. Tom. 6. pag. 495. quest. 4. & pag. 500. num. 46.* *Caius Tiberius* made no account of ill Tongues, and us'd to say, *In a free City Tongues ought to be free.*

2. This Heathen left us excellent Instructions to the two Points he handles, and seems rather a Christian long vers'd in the Schools of Virtue. The first Point shall be handled in another place. As to the second, the Great *Sixtus* the 3d, Pope, could speak no better to it in his Famous Epistle, when a heinous Crime was most falsely laid to his charge, it is set down in 11. q. 4. *inter verba*, his words are these, *Bretbren, we are not to decline to the left, on account of the Accusations, or Reflections of malicious persons, or the Opinions of those that commend us; but amidst commendations or affronts, we must look into our selves, (the Heathen we speak of says the same thing) and if we do not there find the Good that is said of us, it ought to cause us much trouble; And again, if we find not there the Ill men say of us, we ought greatly to rejoyce. For what signifies it, tho all men commend, if our Conscience accuse us; or tho all men accuse, if our Conscience clears us? For what is it slanderers do, but blow upon dust, or throw dirt in their own eyes?* Thus groundless Reflections vanish like the Clouds. Let him that has not seen this Epistle read it, for it is very elegant, and affords much comfort upon such occasions.

3. In the Reign of the Emperor *Hoai Hoang Ti*, all Offices and Places of Trust were sold openly; then one *Lu Pao* writ a Treatise call'd *Cien Xe Lun*, that is, a Discourse and Argument concerning the virtue of Money, reflecting on the Emperor and his Ministers; and he said thus, speaking in the Person of Money: I am like Heaven and Earth, my name is Square-Hole, (the Brass Coin has a Square Hole in the middle, and tho this was writ above 2000 years since, the same continues to this day without altering the shape, or rising or falling) I am honour'd, tho void of Virtue; I am obey'd, tho I have no power or authority; I wait at the Imperial Bed-chamber Door, like a Peer; I go without any opposition into the privatest parts of the Palace; I ease the afflicted, I raise the dead, (that is, those that are condemn'd to death) I humble

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and debase the Nobility; I raise mean Persons; I kill the living in War, Law-suits, and strifes; without me there is no Victory; I lay open the Goals in spight of the Keepers; I abate Hatred, and suppress Anger and Revenge; Fame and Renown is increas'd by me: I live lovingly with the Great Men at Court, the Nobility and Commons; no Man is weary, or has enough of me, all Men carry me in their hands; from first to last I am well clad and close kept (this he says, because in *China* they carry their Money in curious square Cloths fast knotted) at present there is no Body in greater power or favour, I am the only Concern of all People. A sharp thought; he expounds all he has said, but I need not explain it any further, for any Man may with ease see into the meaning of it. The Poet express'd it in few words: *In mundo summus Rex est hoc tempore Nummus.* *Albertus Magnus* mentions it 1 *Polit. cap. 7.* And all things are obedient to Money, says the Holy Ghost. *S. Augustin 7. de Civit. cap. 12.* says, the Antients call'd *Jupiter, Pecunia*, or Money, because all things are his.

4. Here it is to be observ'd, that in so many thousands of years as have pass'd since the foundation of that Empire, and always under Paganism, Employments were never sold but at this time. The *Chineses* abhor this abuse. *S. John Chrysostom* laments the mischiefs that ensue of selling Places of Trust. *Honours are become venal, a thousand mischiefs arise from it; and yet no body takes care to correct, none to reprove it, but this way of Traffick has found admittance, and is follow'd.* *S. Thomas* in his *Opusculum* to the Dutcheff of *Brabant*, handles this Subject, so does *Tapia* in his *Catena Moralis*, and others. The *French* complain of their King, for introducing so much of this practice, tho it be upon such conditions, as may in some measure justify it; yet they say, not deserving, but rich Persons carry all Preferences, which ruins the Publick. Be it as it will, what is good every where ought to be imitated; what is bad ought never to be propos'd as an example to follow. If this thing be bad in it self, will this Man or the others practising make it allowable?

5. I will not omit to insert in this place a false imputation laid upon our late King of Happy Memory, by his Enemies. *F. Anthony Gouvea* a Jesuit, often us'd to tell me of it, he said and positively affirm'd, that even the Bishopricks of *Spain* were dispos'd of for Money; and

brought Examples of his time to make good his Assertion. But this Falshood is disprov'd by the great multitude of Learned, Pious, and most Religious Prelates there have been in this Age, and are still living, who may vie with those of the Primitive Church. This Truth is further made out, by some of them generously refusing to accept of great Dignities, and others, who did not admit of their Promotion to the greatest Churches till oblig'd to it by the Supreme Head. If any thing of this nature was done, I am perswaded it was by those of his Nation (*Gouvea* was a *Portuguese*) and no others, or some Person perhaps aspir'd to it by that means, as was done at *Manila* by *Dr. Cabrall*, from whom 4000 Pieces of Eight were taken with this intent, as *Master Girony Cueva* told me in the presence of the same Doctor, which he own'd. But it will be convenient we make our benefit of the Doctrine of *Sixtus* the Third, and the Counsellor *Chang*, against Slanderers. I only desire *F. Gouvea* to read the Paper, four and twenty of the Commons presented to his *Portuguese* King *Alonso*, where he will find things that ought to concern him nearer. We are all oblig'd, not only to eschew Evil, but even those occasions that may be a motive or ground of Evil.

Providence. 6. The Emperor *Vu Ti* was a great admirer of Idols, his Counsellor *Tan Chin* made it out to him that the Idols were nothing (this is a Proposition of *St. Paul's*, *An Idol is nothing in the World*, but the *Chinese* speaks not in the same sense as the *Apostle*) and that all things in the World happen by chance (this is as bad as Idolatry): To be great, or mean, rich or poor, is all accident, even as the Blossoms of a Tree when shook by the Wind, some fall in the Dirt, and some in clean places; those that light upon clean spots are Kings and Noblemen, those that tumble in the Dirt are the Multitude. Hence comes the distinction betwixt Nobles and Commons, Rich and Poor, Kings and Subjects, and not from the Idols. There is no pure Spirit without a Body, the Spirit is the Matter and Basis of the Body: Spirits are nothing but the Motions and Actions of the Body. The Spirit is in the Body in the same nature as the Edg is in the Sword; there is no destroying the Sword, and leaving the Edg without it. How then can the Soul remain without the Body, or the Body without the Soul? The Body dies, and the Soul dies with it, for it was nothing but the Actions and Motions of the Body; so there is no Re-

ward nor Punishment, nor Idols, nor Spirits, nor any other Life; all the *Bonzes* teach is a mere Fiction.

7. *F. Antony Gouvea* in his Manuscript History, which was read in the presence of us all when we were confin'd in *Canton*, says, *Tan* spoke like a Follower of the Sect of the *Literati*, or Learned Men, which knows nothing of an Immortal Soul, or another Life; there is nothing but living and dying, with good Fortune, or without it, which is all mere Accident; when Body and Soul are dead, there is an end of all. What they call Spirits are the Corporeal Souls of those that die, which eat and drink, and walk about the Mountains and Graves. Many believe not so much as this, because since by the Doctrine of their Sect, the Soul is nothing but Air; *Ki*, or *Li*, that is, the Motion of the living Body: as soon as this died, the Soul vanish'd and dissolv'd into Shadows, as the Latin Poet said of a Soul, *Fugit indignata per umbras*. This is the Wisdom of Atheists and wise Ideots. Thus far *F. Gouvea*. This is to satisfy all Men, that it was not only the two Religious Orders (*S. Dominick's* and *S. Francis's*) who conceited the Sect of the Learned held these Opinions we have here mention'd, and that it was not without good grounds they asserted it, as has been given out in some parts. More shall be said to this Point in the second Tome, it was sufficient to give a hint of it in this place.

8. *Tan Chin* in his way follow'd the Example of those Hereticks, of whom *S. Thomas* often says, that to avoid one Inconveniency they fell into others greater. *Tan* undertook to argue grainst the Idols, and to this purpose ran into all those Errors we have mention'd. He that walks in the dark without the Light of Faith, must needs stumble and fall. Many antient *Europeans* profess the same Errors as this Heathen. *Pythagoras* and *Epicurus* deny'd the Providence of God. Read *Lactan. de fals. Relig. lib. 1. cap. 2*. Like those who the Book of Wisdom tells us, said, *He walks about Heaven, and regards not our Affairs*. *Thales*, *Milesius*, *Democritus* and *Pythagoras* maintain'd that all things came to pass of Necessity, and by an unavoidable Fate. *Democritus* and *Lucretius* taught, that all ended with the Body. *Decianus*, and others, that the Soul was not distinct from the Body. The *Sadduces* deny'd any other Life, own'd no Immortality of the Soul, Angels, or any Spirits; nor any other thing which they did not comprehend by Sense and Reason. Says *Beccanus de Seltariis Syna*.

The Holy Ghost teaches us the contrary, *Eccles. i. v. 14. and cap. i. v. 5.*

Soul.

Synagoge cap. 12. q. 8. Tertullian lib. 1. de anima cap. de morte says of *Seneca*, that he was of opinion, Death was an end of all things. *Zeno* said all things were accidental, as says *S. Thomas opuse. de Fato*. I look upon it as most certain, that there is no Error maintain'd in *China*, but what has been in other Countries, as appears by what has been said here, and is well prov'd by *F. Longobardus* a Jesuit in the Treatise I shall insert in my second Tome.

Bonzes.

9. The above-nam'd Emperor was so taken with the Idols and their Doctrines, that he kept many *Bonzes* within his Palace, put on their Habit in private, and pray'd, and perform'd the other Ceremonies with them. The Learned Men opposing this Religion both by Word and Writing, the Commonalty became so averse to it, and conceiv'd so mean an Idea of the *Bonzo* Priests, that tho' the Emperor promis'd Honours and Preferences to those that would wear the Habit of *Bonzes*, yet no Man embrac'd it, looking upon that as the meanest and most abject Condition in the World. The Emperor to compass his Design, set forth an Edict, pardoning all Persons whatsoever that were under Sentence of Death, upon condition they should become *Bonzo's*, and as such serve the Idols. The Criminals accepted of the Offer, but it being rather through Constraint than out of any Inclination, they presently fell off, and absconded. The Emperor hearing of it, order'd search to be made for them; and that they should be secur'd, and to prevent their flying for the future, he commanded their Heads to be shav'd, laying an Injunction under severe Penalties that the *Bonzes*, to be known from other Men, should ever be shav'd. It was always thought convenient that we Missioners should not be habited or appear like the *Bonzes*. Read *Oleaster in 6 num. ad Atores*.

10. This is the Origin of the *Chinese Bonzes* wearing no Hair, and the end or design was that we have mention'd, not that Fiction *F. de Angelis* writes. Hence it is that when any *Bonze* presents a Petition to a *Mandarine*, he signs with these words, *Cien Seng*, that is, *Bonzo* imprison'd, alluding to the Emperor's imprisoning those that fled. From that time they increas'd very much, and daily multiply.

11. The Empress was also displeas'd at her Husband's Familiarity with the *Bonzes*: To ridicule and laugh at them, she invited them to an Entertainment of Flesh, but so disguis'd that they might not know it. The Secret was discover'd,

they all started and would not eat, they caus'd those dress'd Meats to be buried near a dead Body: Sometime after they gave out that Garlick, Onions and Leeks sprung up in that place, and the *Bonzes* in hatred to the Flesh from which these sprung, eat none of them. So said *F. Brancato* an antient Missioner of the Society.

Navarette.

12. About this same time the History of *China* gives a very singular account of *Kao Juen*, one of the Council of State, which is thus: He having serv'd five Emperors for the space of 50 years, was not found to have committed the least fault or slip in the Execution of his Office. This Heathen was very much addicted to Virtue, sparing, humble, upright, and uncorrupted; and tho' he enjoy'd Revenues on account of his Employments, yet he ever had the Poverty in which he was born before his Eyes, and died at 98 years of Age. Great pity that such a Man should not have the knowledge of God! But if he observ'd the Law of Nature, he could not fail of the Assistance of his Maker. *S. Augustin. l. 1. de lib. arb. cap. 6.* expounding those words of *Psal. 4. The light of thy Countenance*, &c. says thus, *That a Notion of the eternal Law is imprinted in all Men whatsoever.* And *lib. 2. cap. 10. Certain lights of Virtues, to wit, that we ought to live uprightly.* *S. Basil*, whom we quoted in another place, *That there is in us a sort of natural Judgment, by which we easily discern Good from Evil.* These were the Causes *Kao Juen* liv'd and acted with so much Integrity. We shall not find many such Counsellors as this throughout the World. It cannot be denied but that it is very extraordinary; that such Men should be found in Countries where the wicked do so abound. *S. Thomas opuse. 18. cap. 7.* says of *Abraham*, *Abraham's Virtue was very great, for that he possessing Riches, had his Mind estrang'd from them; and great was the Strength of Sampson, who without any Arms, but only the Jaw-bone of an Ass, slew many of his Enemies. For in truth he does wonders who living among Riches, does not give up his Heart to them: Therefore it is Ecclesiast. so highly commends those that are rich after this manner, Blessed is the Man that is found without Blemish. The rich Man (says the Saint) appears to be very virtuous, and perfectly fix'd to God through Charity, who contracts not the blemish of Sin through the love of Riches, who is not carried away after the desire of Gold, &c.* *Kao Juen* preserv'd himself so many years poor, humble, and uncorrupted, among so many covetous

Integrity an Exam. Ple.

To rectify these as the Gods who hate them. August. Ser. 160. and de Temp

and so many proud Men as are in *China*.
Narrative. It is very rare. *S. Thomas* in 1 *Job*
lect. 2. has these words concerning Pride,
It usually springs from the abundance of
Temporal Things. *Kao* had an Estate, Re-
 venues, and great Places, and yet liv'd
 poor, and humble. Few are to be found
 among Christians that will imitate him.

Courage an
Example.

13. In the Reign of the Emperor *Tang*
Hoang Ti, a Rebel took a Captain whose
 Name was *Xing Jiu Su*; he commanded
 him to write to a Brother he had who
 was Governour of a City, to deliver it
 up to him: And if you do it not, said
 he, I will this moment put you to death.
Jiu Su writ to this effect, I poor-spirited
 and base Man fell into the hands of
 these Robbers, and perform'd not the
 Duty of a Subject, since I lost not my
 Life in defence of the Place the Emperor
 intrusted me withal; be you true and
 faithful to the Emperor tho it cost you
 your Life. The Rebel took the Letter,
 read it, and having a while consider'd on
 it, said to him, Thou art an Honourable,
 Noble, and Loyal Gentleman, thou de-
 servest not Death, but a thousand Lives;
 thou hast won my Heart by thy Worth,
 Valour, and Loyalty; I will treat thee like
 an intimate Friend, not as a Prisoner;
 thou shalt eat at my Table, drink out of
 my Cup, and all I have shall be thine.
 This is the effect of Goodness and Vir-
 tue, that even the greatest Enemies dis-
 cern, value and honour it. Would to
 God others who are under much greater
 Ties, would prove so Loyal upon such
 occasions. Some News were carried out

of *Europe* into *China*, but such, as it were
 better no memory of them were left to
 Posterity. *Bresidas* requires in a Com-
 mander, Valour, Courage and Fortitude;
 I know not why *Jeu Su* may not be well
 entituled to them.

14. In the Reign of the Emperor *Tai*
Zung, there was a King in *Canton* so
 powerful and haughty, that he disown'd
 his Sovereign. The Emperor order'd
 Levies to be made to subdue him. *Ngoei*
Chin, one of the Council of State, pre-
 sented a Memorial to the Emperor, ad-
 vising to send an Embassador to treat with
 him in a peaceable manner, by which they
 might save Charges and Bloodshed: It
 was done accordingly, and the King or
Roytelet was so pleas'd at the Honour the
 Emperor did him, that he immediately
 sent his Son to Court with a rich Pre-
 sent, paying Homage anew to the Empe-
 ror, and so all was pacified and made
 easy. This is good Policy.

15. In short, the Emperor was thank-
 ful for the good Advice, and rewarded
 the Councillor that gave it with 500
 pieces of Silk. I heard at times some ri-
 gorous Proceedings against Domesticks
 and Strangers censur'd. What I most
 wonder'd at was, that in *China* a Missi-
 oner, complaining of I know not what
 Affront that had been given certain Em-
 bassadors of *Naples*, his Native Country,
 he said, If *Naples* had any of the Royal
 Family, as *Portugal* had, it would not
 have been so. I own I thought it strange
 to come from a Missioner.

C H A P. XV.

Actions and Sayings of other Emperors.

1. **T**HE Emperor *Tai Zung* caus'd all
 the Materials for building a state-
 ly Palace to be brought together: After-
 wards he consider'd further upon his De-
 sign, and having maturely consulted with
 his Pillow, he broke out into these fol-
 lowing words, The Emperor *Ju* employ'd
 many thousands of Men in draining the
 Waters, which in his time had over-
 grow'd the Country, yet no Man com-
 plain'd, because the Profit and Advan-
 tage was common to all. The Emperor
Chin built a Palace with the Sweat of
 his Subjects, who complain'd and groan'd
 grievously, because the Benefit accru'd on-
 ly to the Emperor, and not to the People.
 I considering this late and fresh Example

of my Predecessor *Chin*, tho I have all
 things in a readines for building of a
 Palace, do desist from my Design, and
 lay aside my Inclination to this new
 Structure. The Subjects understanding
 how their Lord and Emperor had argued
 with himself, and the Resolution he had
 taken, they so wholly addicted them-
 selves to his Service, and with so good a
 Will, that by their Industry the Royal
 Treasure, and the Publick Good was much
 advanced. The Emperor argu'd very
 discreetly and wisely, but had been more
 commendable for doing it before he
 brought together the Materials, which
 would have sav'd his Subjects no small
 trouble.

2. The

Covetous
Princes.

2. The aforesaid Emperor went on and said, I have heard that the *Barbarian* of the West, call'd *Hia Hu*, accidentally got a Stone of very great value; to secure it, he convey'd it into his Bowels, and rent them to this effect. Those who heard of it laugh'd at, and made a jest of him, because he lost his Life to secure a Stone, valuing that Jewel above his own Being. Covetous Kings and Emperors are like him, they lose their Dominions by gathering Treasures by tyrannical Extortion. Now what is this but tearing their Bowels to secure the Jewel, and so losing their Life and Crown? The same is done by the *Mandarines* that are corrupted, they receive the Bribe and lose their Lives.

3. Covetousness is a mighty Evil, it ought to be kept at a great distance from Kings and Princes. *Samnitius* said, *I had rather rule over those that have Gold, than to have Gold my self.* *S. Thomas*, 3 de regim. Princ. relates these words of *Marcus Curius*; *Tell the Samnites that Marcus Curius had rather have the command of rich Men, than become rich: And remember, I can neither be overthrown in Battel, nor corrupted with Money.* *Fabricius* said the same. There are few *Curii* and *Fabricii* at present. *Caius Tiberius Nero* was advis'd to lay heavy Taxes on the Provinces; such are the Projects of this World, such was the Advice they gave to *Jeroboam*: he answer'd very discreetly and honourably, *It is the part of a good Shepherd to shear his Sheep, not to devour them.* Another said, The King was made for the Kingdom, not the Kingdom for the King. There is a medium betwixt both Extremes, by keeping the Law of God. Let it be well consider'd what Burden the People is able to bear, and what the present Necessity is; the Necessity must be understood to be absolutely pressing, not such as is contriv'd; that is, it must not be caus'd by superfluous, extravagant, and unnecessary Expences.

Taxables.

4. It is but reasonable to lay a Burden upon him that has strength to bear it; but it is a madness to place the Weight upon him that is not able to carry himself. The *Chineses* oblige all Persons, from two and twenty to sixty Years of Age, to pay Taxes, supposing they are not able to bear that Burden either before or after. This is something like the Duty of Fasting impos'd by the Church. To take a morsel of bread from him that has but two to feed four Mouths, is not *sheering but devouring the Sheep.* And what good can it do the Sovereign, but breed ill

Blood, and oblige him to disgorge? Holy *Job*, cap. 20. seems to say as much; *His Meat in his Bowels is turn'd, it is the Gall of Asps within him. He hath swallow'd down Riches, and he shall vomit them up again, God shall cast them out of his Belly.* Which verifys what *Eccles.* says of the covetous Man, *Chap. 5. Riches kept for the Owners thereof to their hurt.* Read *O-leaster* in 21 Num. he speaks admirably to the purpose.

5. In the Reign of this Emperor, which was 636 Years after the Incarnation of Christ, the Light of the Gospel came into *China*. It continued 200 years in great vogue, followed by many, and favour'd by this and other Emperors, as appears by the Stone found in the Province of *Xen Si*. What seems to make against a thing so plain in our opinion, is, that tho the *Chineses* are so very exact in their Annals and Histories, yet not the least memory of it is found there. This makes not only the Heathens but even the Christians doubtful in this case. For this reason, when the Persecution was begun, the Governours and our Enemy, supposing it to be an Invention of the Missioners, they sent trusty Persons to that Province to enquire into it; what the Event of it was we did not hear. What we are assured of, allowing the said story to be authentick, is, that those Servants of God did not escape without some trouble and persecution, tho eight Emperors favour'd them. *F. Kircher* speaks much to this purpose, pag. 1 & 2. and again pag. 34.

6. *Tai Zung*, who was one of the famousst Emperors of *China*, ask'd the Counsellor *Chin* before mention'd; What it was that made a Prince famous and renowned among his Subjects, and the contrary? He answer'd, That Emperor who hears all Men, is famous and renowned; he that gives ear only to one Man, is wicked, and cannot govern well. The reason of it is, because a Favourite to secure his Post, speaks what is pleasing to the Prince, concealing the Grievances of the Monarchy and Subjects, perswading him they are rich and in plenty, tho they be starving; so that many Kings have been ruin'd by being thus impos'd on. But when the Prince hears all Men, he cannot be deceiv'd nor flatter'd, for there are always some open-hearted and unbiass'd Persons, who make the Truth known, tho many endeavour to conceal it; for there are always some zealous for the Publick Good, and careful of your Majesty's Honour. You are in the right, answer'd

Nava-
rette.636.
Chyijiani-
ty in Chi-
na.Informator
necessary to
a Prince.Eccles. 6. 34.
If thou
love to
hear, thou
wilt be
wise.

~ answer'd the Emperor, and added; All Men say, the Emperor is in so high a Station, and has so much Power, that he needs fear nothing. I am of another opinion: The Emperor ought to fear Heaven, as a Son does his Father, who can punish, take away his Crown, and bestow it on another. (This is the common Opinion of the *Chineses*, and the usual way of talking in that Country. The Antients call'd Saturn the Son of Heaven. *Lactan. de fals. relig. cap. 20.*) On Earth he fears his Subjects, whose Eyes are always on the Emperor, censuring and railing at his Actions, whence ensue the Turmoils and Revolutions of States. Therefore it is requisite he live cautiously and with much moderation, always apprehending lest he does not perform what Heaven requires at his hands, and his Subjects expect. The Counsellor commendeth his Discourse, and exhorted him to act according to it. I think both of them spoke very discreetly. The Saying of *Rodulphus* the Founder of the *Austrian* Family, agrees well with *Chin's* Opinion: *Come to me all Men, for I was not call'd to Empire to be shut up in a Chest.* He was for seeing and hearing all Men. *Ferdinand* the first gave admittance to all Men; and seeing once that they stop'd a Woman who desir'd to come to speak to him, He said, *If we exclude the Poor from our Presence, what will become of us before the Tribunal of God?* A mighty Expression, and admirable Words! *Bernulans* writes it. *Moses* spent the whole day in hearing the People. The Emperor fear'd Heaven, because he knew no other Deity or God. Those who through the Divine Mercy have obtain'd a great share of Light, have greater cause to fear and consider that God is their Father, their King, their Lord and Master, who as he gave them Crowns and Scepters gratis, so he can take them away and inflict them on others, and besides, bestow Everlasting Punishments on the Soul. Therefore it is said, that the first thing a King ought to conceive, is, that God is absolute Lord of all things; and it is most certain that all things prosper with him that truly serves and honours him. My holy Father *S. Thomas* has excellent Lines to this purpose, *Lib. 1. de Reg. Princ.* he makes out his Assertion by what hapned to *Solomon*, for whilst he continued to worship the true God, his Kingdom and Glory still advanced. He fail'd in that particular, and soon found a general decay in all respects. The same hapned to his Son. In order to go-

vern well, it is absolutely necessary to give ear to all Men. There are some that have but one Ear, which proves of very dangerous Consequence; God gave two, and both ought to be made use of. *We have heard with our Ears*, said *David*. I hear with both Ears, let both play their part, and let neither be stop'd when the other hears. Others have never a one, for they hear with neither. And what is worst of all, others will not have them, for through a conceit they have of themselves, they fancy they know and understand all things: These are most likely to commit Mistakes.

7. At this time there were great swarms of Locusts in *China*. The Emperor went out into his Gardens, and taking up some of them spoke these words; The People maintain themselves on Wheat, Rice, &c. you come to devour and destroy it, without leaving any thing behind; it were better you should devour my Bowels, than the Food of my Subjects. He went to swallow them; and some that stood by telling him they were venomous, he answer'd, I value not my Life when 'tis for the good of my Subjects and People; and immediately he swallow'd them. The History tells us, the Locusts that very moment took Wing, and went off without doing any harm that Year.

8. Strange was the Love this Heathen bore his Subjects, the Consequence was wonderful. Why may we not say, God rewarded the Compassion of this Emperor, and his Zeal for the good of his People? If it was not so, what can we attribute that Prodigy to? We know for certain, there is no good Action but what God rewards, as shall be said in another place; why then should that pass unrecompens'd? The Emperor expos'd his Life for his People. This is no more than a Wise Man said, *viz. A good King is the Publick Servant.* The King is for the Kingdom, and not the contrary. To show his tenderness yet further, he afterwards made a Law, that the Magistrates should fast the day that any Criminals were executed, that neither Flesh nor Wine should be put upon his Imperial Table that day, that no Plays should be acted at Court, nor there should be no Musick, or other demonstration of Joy. He said, it was a matter of high Consequence, and a subject of much Compassion, to take away any Man's Life tho his Crimes deserv'd it. The Law was observ'd as long as he liv'd.

Vigilance.

9. Governing an Empire, said the good Emperor, is like curing a Distemper; if he that is upon the recovery is careless, or exceeds, he relapses with great danger of his Life. The Monarchy now enjoys Peace, the *Barbarians* on the Frontiers are quell'd, a Happiness rarely known in past Ages; if relying on this Calm I grow negligent or unruly, a Relapse will ensue, and the late Rebellions will be renew'd with greater danger of utter ruin. Therefore no day passes but I am upon my guard, for fear this present Prosperity should have an end. For this reason I desire you my Counsellors, that at all times, and upon all occasions, you give me your Advice, and reprove me for all the Errors you judg I commit. Could *Philip* the Second have spoken better?

Hair and Beards.

10. He prefer'd *Li Xi Zu* his Counsellor to a great Employment, and he presently fell sick to death. The Physicians said, that the Hair of the Beard reduc'd to Poudre (a strange Medicine) and drank in Wine, were the only Remedy to cure that Distemper. The sick Man was much troubled to hear that Prescription (for the *Chineses* put a high value on their Hair and Beard, a great madness when his Life lay at stake) the Emperor heard of it, he presently cut off his Beard; which being administer'd to the sick Man, he recover'd. When recover'd, he went to return Thanks; and the Emperor said, I did it not for your sake, but for my own and the Empire's, who stand in need of such Ministers as you are, therefore thank me not for it. The *Chineses* make great account of the Emperor's cutting off his Beard to recover his Counsellor in that Extremity; and if it was such a Man as he represented him, he acted as might be expected from his Zeal for his People. It cannot be deny'd but a good Minister is highly to be valued, a Prince cannot do too much for him.

Tai Zung's Advice to his Son.

11. He left excellent Instructions to his Son in his Will. In the first place he

said to him; Raise and make Petty Kings of your own Family. This in *China* is excellent Policy, perhaps it may not be so in other Places; the more the Emperor is supported by Kindred, the safer he is. 2dly. Seek wise and virtuous Men to employ in your Councils and places of Trust. A hard and difficult Point; Men change in high Posts, and Princes cannot divine; *No Man is bound to divine*, says the Civil Law. There are many, says *Tacitus*, *Ann. 3.* who seem unfit for Preferments, and yet being once rais'd to them, they discharge them with much Zeal and Uprightness. There are others who seem to be Men of great Parts and Ability, and afterwards prove vicious and unfit for Government. They conceal their Vices at first, but having attain'd to the Preferment, they return to their old Customs. Others are contrary to these. *Otho* having been a loose Liver in *Rome*, when Prefect of *Lusitania*, alter'd, and govern'd very well. All Men thought *Galba* worthy of the Empire, and yet he was a wicked Emperor; *Tit. Liv. lib. 1. Hist. Quintus Fabius Maximus* was extraordinary leud, and when rais'd to Dignities extremely modest; *Budeus*, in *l. fin. Chart. 147.* 3dly. Examine those that are to be *Mandarines*. 4thly. Receive all Memorials that are to give Advice. 5thly. Remove from about you all Slanderers and Flatterers. 6thly. Have a care of haughty and proud Men. 7thly. Honour those that are moderate and sparing. 8thly. Reward the good, and punish the bad. 9thly. Have special regard to the Husbandman's Labour. Read *Oleaster*, in *1 Num. ad mores & cap. 2.* 10thly. Keep your Soldiers always well disciplin'd, that you may not be surpriz'd by unexpected Accidents. Thus you will establish your Crown. After this the Emperor dy'd, leaving behind him Instructions and Doctrine that all Men may benefit by. What *European* could leave better Precepts with all the Learning that is among us?

Nava-rette.

C H A P. XVI.

Other Instances still upon the same Subject.

Hien Zung's bearing of Reproof.

1. THE Emperor *Hien Zung* had a Counsellor who was so upright, that he reprov'd him for every Fault. The Emperor dreaded him on this account, and was very melancholy and drooping. The other Counsellors said

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to him; Ever since *Han Hieu* (this was the Counsellor's name) has taken upon him to give your Majesty Memorials of Advice, you are melancholy and lean. Will it not be convenient, Sir, that you give him some Employment, and under

P

that

that pretence send him from Court, and so your Majesty will be eas'd of him? *Nava-* The Emperor answer'd, It is true, I am *rette.* melancholy, and fallen away, I don't disown it, but my Empire is fat and flourishing. *Hieu's* Counsels, which by reason they are continual, sharp and quick, waste and perplex me, make the Empire thrive. By my putting them in execution, the Government is kept up, tho' I be somewhat impair'd. Other Counsels that are given me, sute with my taste and relish, I shall grow fat if I follow them, but the People will grow lean; but *Hieu's* resolute and open-hearted Remonstrances make me live in security, and advance my Interest, tho' they somewhat weaken me; therefore I will always have him by me, not for my private satisfaction, but for the general good of my Subjects.

2. Many Arguments are generally alledg'd to prove that a Minister of State ought not to be too rigid, and that he must not press too hard upon the Prince (few are troubled with such Ministers) that publick Affairs must take their course, &c. but they may take such a course as may ruin all. I am for the practice of *Hiven Zung*. *Oleaster* in 24 *ad mores*, writes with admiration, how usual it is to flatter the Prince's Inclination.

3. This Emperor instituted a Ceremony which continues to this day. He would go out to his Orchard, there he plow'd the Ground himself, sow'd Corn; and when ripe, reap'd and carry'd it in. He commanded his Sons and Nobility to do the same, and gave two reasons for it. The first was, that the Flower and Bread being us'd in the Sacrifices they offer to the Emperors departed, it was not proper any other but the Emperor should sow and reap that Corn, which show'd his respect and submission to his Progenitors. Observe here how great account the *Chineses* make of the Sacrifices to their Ancestors, neither the Emperor, nor any other Man of any worth does the like for any Person living. The second Reason was, to make his Sons and Nobility sensible of the Pains and Labour the Husbandman takes in tilling the Earth, and gathering in its Fruits, on which all Men subsist. Hence, said he, will ensue a moderation in Expences, and Privileges will be granted to them that live expos'd to the Weather in the Fields. It were good to bring up this Ceremony, that some Persons might not keep so many Beasts, and that Lords might have compassion of their Vassals.

Emperor
ploughs and
reaps.

4. The Emperor *Ta Zung* order'd, that nothing which was rare and singular should be offer'd to the Emperors, such as Beasts, Jewels, Stuffs, &c. brought from far Countrys; and he turn'd out of his Palace, all he found there of this sort. He said, the Revenues of the Empire were not to maintain Beasts, or clothe the Emperor, but to maintain the Subjects, and clothe the Soldiers and the Poor. This Expression in my opinion, would have become a *S. Lewis*, or a *S. Ferdinand*. *Ta Zung's* *cave of his* *People.*

5. A curious Map delicately drawn was presented him, which he refus'd to receive, saying, The fruitful and abundant Year, when my Subjects have plenty of Sustenance, is the Map I love to divert my Eyes on. The best Map in my opinion, is to find wise, discreet, and virtuous Men to put into Employments. This Heathen was very nice. Many will commend him, but I should be glad if it were but a few would follow his example. *A Lapide*, in 49 *Gen. v. 15*. has something to this purpose, see it there.

6. He said to one of his Counsellors, I would fain retrench unnecessary Expences, and save Charges, that my People might live in quiet and ease; but to the end my Design may succeed, I must begin at my self. He did so.

7. This agrees with what *Tacitus* writes in the Life of *Agricola*: *Beginning by himself and his Family, he retrench'd his own Family first, &c. Cassiodorus Lib. 10. Var. Epist. 5.* says, *We will begin good order in our own Family, that others may be asham'd to do amiss, when it is known we do not allow our People the liberty of transgressing. Lycurgus King of Macedon reform'd the Commonwealth: Yet so that he made no Law to bind others, till he had first practis'd it himself. Bias* said he was a good King, *Who himself first gave obedience to his Country's Laws.* Read *Ecc. c. 10. v. 21.* All depends on the Head, said the Philosopher. *S. Thomas* speaks of it in 21. *Joan. Lect. 3.* See *S. Greg. 1.4.* where he has good Doctrine to this purpose. To save Forces is a great means to save Charges. *S. Greg. Nazian. Orat. 9.* says, *Wars proceed from Ambition, from Wars Taxes, than which nothing is more severely condemn'd and blam'd in the Divins Judgment.* Arms must be taken up when there is no other remedy. The Emperor *Marcion* said, *Whilst we can be in Peace, let us not bring on War.* War is a Cantery, a bitter Purge, which does harm, and no good, unless apply'd in the utmost extremity.

Xi Zung
provides
for his Peo-
ple in a
Famine.

8. In the Reign of the Emperor *Xi Zung*, there was a Famine in the Southern Provinces, he order'd a course should be taken to relieve that want. His Council answer'd, it was impossible to relieve all that wanted, because they were an innumerable Multitude. The Emperor said, My Subjects the People are my Children, I am their Father; what Father is so inhuman, that he will not relieve his Children, when he sees them starving? What do I value my Revenues and Treasures, but to supply such wants as these? The Counsellors hearing this Noble Resolution, took such effectual care that all might be reliev'd, without leaving any one Person in distress. A Glorious Action, which would be highly applauded in the Holiest King or Pope the World ever had.

Infant-
Princes.

9. The Emperor *Tai Zu's* Mother being near her end, call'd her Son and ask'd him, Whence had you the Empire? He answer'd, From my Forefathers Merits. It is not so, said the Empress, (and she was in the right, for her Husband had usurp'd it Tyrannically from his Predecessor, which violence her Son call'd Merit.) Hear me now, Son, when you die leave your Brother your Heir; and so when he dies let him leave his younger Brother for that Empire, which has an Emperor who is at age, and can enter upon the Government, is safe; but if it falls into Childrens hands, they neither can, nor know how to govern it, so that it is expos'd to danger. Her Son did so. The Empress was a discreet Woman, and seeing that her Predecessor having left a Child but seven years old his Heir, he was dethron'd, she feared lest the same might happen to her Son, if he should leave an Infant-Prince his Heir.

10. This is not a precaution to be practis'd in all places. We have in our days seen great Monarchies left to Infants. That of *Spain* to *Charles* the Second now reigning, whom God preserve. That of *China* to the present Emperor, who was but five years of age, took upon him the Government at thirteen, and in my time discharg'd himself of it to the general satisfaction of all People. They substituted one year, as the custom there is, that he might begin to govern at fourteen. The Emperor of *Japan* was left but young.

Constancy
of a Coun-
sellor.

11. The Counsellor *Zao Pu* presented a Memorial containing, That it was requisite to change the *Mandarines*, to raise some, and put down others. The Emperor was offended at it, and answer'd, I will not do at present as you advise. *Pu*

reply'd, The reward or punishment of it depends not on your Majesty's consenting to, or opposing it, but on the right and reason of the thing. A resolute expression, yet justifiable. No Man ought to govern himself by his will and pleasure. Reason and Judgment ought to give Laws; the Will is blind and incapable of Direction and Government. When the *Pharisees* said to our Lord, *Matth. 12. We will see a sign from thee;* *Cajetan* takes notice of the word, *We will*, and says, *Observe the rashness.* It is a rashness for Man to suffer himself to be led away by his Will, to act according to it, without regard to the Rules and Law of Reason.

Navarrete.

12. The Emperor was in disorder (for Great Men do not love to hear such naked Truths) and in a Pet retir'd to his Apartment, (another would have vented Passion after another manner.) *Pu* follow'd him to the Door, where he waited a great while with much resolution and constancy, and without fearing to displease his Lord; so he did the duty of his Office. The Emperor was pacify'd, and approving of his Minister's zeal, perform'd all he had advis'd; telling him there at the Door where he found him waiting, That he was well pleas'd at the zeal he had shown. I know not which of them deserves most commendation, whether the Emperor for his patience, or the Counsellor for his constancy. *Esoy* said to *Solon*, *Kings are to be spoken to as little as possible, or in as soft a manner as may be.* *Solon* answer'd, *Not so, but it must be either with much integrity, or not at all.* So did *Pu*. He that is so bold exposes himself to much danger. *Tacit. lib. 1. Hist.* *It is a thing of much trouble to persuade a Prince to what is convenient. You hazard your Life and Reputation,* said *Bravo*.

13. A few days after he presented another Memorial against a Counsellor, it took no effect; he repeated it another day, to no purpose; he try'd again the third time. The Emperor in a passion tore the Memorial. *Pu* very calmly gather'd all the pieces, and putting them in their places pasted them together, and so offer'd it again to the Emperor. He yielding to the Minister's resolution, did as he desired. Here it is worth discussing, which deserves most commendation, whether the Emperors patience, or the Counsellors resolution. Let the wise decide it.

14. *Cien Pu*, the Emperor's General, *Cien Vu's* was in the Kingdom of *Cho* with a mighty care of his Soldiers.

Nava-rette. ty Army. One day it snow'd, and the Emperor bethinking himself of the cold and misery his Soldiers endur'd, said, It is not reasonable that I should be in my Palace clad in Silks and Sables at my ease, faring well and sleeping heartily, and that my Soldiers should be in the Field standing under all this Snow that falls, and perhaps many of them have not wherewithal to cover their nakedness. This said, he took off his Sables, and causing a vast quantity of Skins and Garments to be got together, sent them to the Army. The Soldiers rejoicing that their Lord the Emperor was so mindful of them, gave great acclamations, swore either to conquer or die in his Service, and overthrew the Enemy.

15. The Action had been great in *Charles the Fifth*: what the Soldiers perform'd, well deserv'd the Emperors kindness, perhaps without it the Victory had not been obtain'd. He purchas'd it with the Garments and Skins he sent. There is no doubt but Soldiers are much encourag'd when they feel the effects of such a remembrance. Reward is a great heartener, says the Philosopher in the third of his *Morals*. *Those seem to be bravest in battle, among whom Cowards are unregarded, and valiant Men honour'd.* This is the same as *Lisander* said, when they ask'd him, *Which Commonwealth he best lik'd?* He answer'd, *That which gives brave Men and Cowards what each of them deserves.*

His Reformation.

16. This Emperor, in order to reform the People, began with himself and his Court, according to what has been said above. His Daughter the Princess was refractory; to bring her to his beck, her Father said, What is done and practis'd at Court is an example the whole Empire looks upon; if they see Virtue there, all Men imitate it; if they discover Vice and Extravagancy, they all follow the same course. I receive the Revenues and Taxes of the Empire, not to spend them in costly Clothes and Excess, but to maintain the Army, the Civil Officers, and to supply the Peoples Necessities. The Princess submitted immediately. This was excellent Doctrine. If the Crown-Revenues, Taxes, and Incomes, were only employ'd in this manner, much good would come of it. The ninth Synod of *Toledo* observ'd the same method the *Chinese* Emperor did, in order to the Reformation it design'd, and has these words: *In regard he does not rightly judg his Subjects, who curbs not himself first by the rules of Justice, it has seem'd a proper expedient so us, first to moderate our own Extrava-*

gancies, and then to mend the faults of the Subjects, &c. The Council of *Trent de Reformation*. takes the same course. *S. Ephrem Syrus* among other matters handles this same point, *Tom. 1. de vit. Spirit. num. 36.*

17. This Emperor overthrew the Family *Tang*; the King *Lo Vuang* submitted to him. The Emperor seeing him prostrate at his feet, said to him with tears in his eyes, Alas what miseries and calamities does a War cause! What Murders, Robberies and Insolencies have been committed in the Court of *Tang*! Alas what pity! Then he presently order'd a great quantity of Rice to be distributed among the conquer'd People. The *Chinese* Histories highly commend this Compassion, and with great reason. He was little puff'd up in his Victory and Triumph. Read to this purpose what *Oleafer* writes in 21. *Num. ad mures in fine.*

18. The Emperor *Tai Zung* brought 80000 Volumes into his Library, which was divided into three large Rooms richly adorn'd. Observe how much had been printed at that time in *China*, for all the Books were in that Language, and writ by *Chinese* Authors. How much must they be increas'd since then? *Ptolomy Philadelphus* got together 60000 Volumes, but they were of several Nations and Countries. Others say they were 70000, gather'd out of *Chaldea*, *Egypt*, and *Rome*. *Vincenius* his Library had 120000 Volumes: That of *Pergamus* 200000. The *Fasciculus Florum* tells us a Library of 400000 Books was burnt in *Egypt* in the time of *Hyrcanus*. A noble Library, and great Disaster! But what I affirm is, that there never was a Library like that of *China*, of one only Kingdom, and at present it might be made three or four times at large. The Emperor was so addicted to Reading, that he every day turn'd over one or two Volumes. They are not so large as ours in *Europe*. A Counsellor told him it was not convenient to take so much pains, or spend so much time in Reading. The Emperor answer'd, Reading is not troublefom, but profitable and diverting: This year I would read a thousand Volumes. Books teach how to govern, they give Instructions for Peace and War, without Books we are all in the dark; this makes me so fond of them, because I desire to know how to govern my Monarchy.

19. Histories by representing to us the punishment of Vice, deter us from it; and by showing the reward of Virtue, excite us to practise it. So said the Emperor.

Read Sylv. Tom. 6. in 12. Mar. 9. 5. per conum. Emperor *Basilius* to his Son, exhorting him to read them. But that is true which *Tacitus* teaches us *lib. 4. Hist. viz.* That a Prince's knowledg is not to serve to exert his Learning, but to make him know how to govern, and to show Resolution in Adversity: Let him know as much as is necessary and no more; and that must be such a knowledg as is necessary to govern well, not a notional Learning to distract him; or let him learn holy things, as *Robert King of Sicily* did.

20. *Tertullian Apolog. cap. 5.* calls *Trajan*, a searcher into all that was curious. *Athanas. lib. 8. c. 16.* calls him *A mighty lover of Learning.* The same may be said of *Tai Zung*, for the reason above. Let the Prince that finds his Inclination lie this way check himself, as *Julius Agricola* did. Let him not follow the Example of King *Alonso* the Wife altogether. *Spondanus Tom. 2.* says of him, that he read over the Bible fourteen times with its Comments: A wonderful thing in a Man that had so much Care and Business upon his hands! *A Lapidè* mentions the same *ex Panorm. Encom. S. Scripturæ Sæc. S. Jer. of 2. numb. 60.* *Periander* said, *Meditation is the Life of a wise Man, and to a learned Man to think is to live.*

He read Holy Writ in his Character, said S. Jer. of 2. numb. 60. Periander said, Meditation is the Life of a wise Man, and to a learned Man to think is to live.

21. In *China* they are very careful to bring up the Emperors to study, because it is very necessary for that Government, otherwise they cannot understand the Memorials: They use so much Rhetorick, such Tropes and Figures in them, that the Emperors must be very understanding to dive into the meaning of them. When all we Missioners were confin'd in the Province of *Canton*, a learned Christian form'd a Memorial for us, to be presented to the Supreme Governour; it was so full of Bombast and *Hyperboles*, that none of us understood it, till we had heard it explain'd: He call'd the Emperor, the Heavenly Palace, the Governour we spoke of, the Tribunal of Heaven, and said they lifted up their Eyes to him, as we did to Heaven. Strange extolling of them, and humbling of us, under unusual Similes and Figures! They take great Pains, and study these things very hard.

Education of their Emperors.

Stile.

Added to Letters.

22. The *Chinese* Nation is much addicted to Learning, and inclin'd to Reading. I have met Men on the Road in Sedans or *Palankins* on Mens Shoulders, with a Book in their Hands. In Cities I have often seen *Mandarines* in the same manner. The Tradesmen and Shopkeepers sit behind their Counters with Books before them. To encourage the

Children to learn, in their Primmers they have particular Examples, and the Cuts of Men that rise to great Preferment by their Learning. Among the rest there is one of a Man that kept Cows; he rode upon one of them, as is usual in that Country, with a Book laid on her Horns that serv'd instead of a Desk, and so he studied all the day. After some years he grew so learned, that he took his Degree, and came to be a great *Mandarine*. They tell of another, who was so poor that he could not buy Oil for his Lamp to study by at night; and because he would not lose time in Winter, he us'd to go out to study by the light of the Snow. Another gather'd abundance of Glowworms, and studied by their Light. There was another poor Man had a little Room which was parted but by a slender Lath-wall from a rich Student; and knowing the place where his Table and Light stood, he made a hole opposite to it, and studied by the Light that came through it. These Men and others they bring as Examples, they all rise to high Preferments. There have been abundance of Authors among them, but none of them has writ of so much as the Antients of other Nations. *Aristarchus* writ above 1000 Commentaries upon several Subjects. *Chrysippus* wrote above 700 Volumes. *Dydimus Alexandrinus*, as *Hesybius* affirms, wrote 3500 Books. *Dionysius Grammaticus* 3500. *Trismegistus* 36525. This Authors affirm. The *Chinese* are much addicted to reading of their own Histories, and to say the truth, they are much in the right. *Cicero* said, *History is the Witness of Time, the Light of Truth, the Life of Memory, the Mistress of Life, the Record of Antiquity.* See *Marquez lib. 1.* of his Christian Governor, *cap. 4.*

Nava-rette.

23. Prince *Juen Kie* rais'd an artificial Mount with great Expence and Labour of the People, he feasted the *Mandarines* upon it, and they were astonish'd at the Work; one of them, whose Name was *Chao Tan*, hung down his Head, and seem'd penfive and sad. The Prince ask'd him the reason, and he answer'd, Sir, my Eyes will not bear to look upon a Mount made of Blood and Sweat. Is this a Mount of Blood and Sweat, said the Prince? When I was in my Village, answer'd *Tan*, I saw and heard the Oppression of the People, who were forced to contribute Silver towards this Work, many wrought without being paid their Hire, multitudes were lash'd, their Complaints went up to Heaven, the Blood of those that were chastis'd bath'd their Bodies

Navarrette. dies and ran down to the ground. Then how can your Highness think much, I should call this we stand on a Mount of Blood and Sweat? Let it be immediately demolish'd, said the Prince full of Concern, let it all be laid level, let not one Stone be left upon another, nor any Memory of this Structure. I order'd a Mount of Paffime and Diversion to be rais'd, not a Mount of Extortion to my Subjects. A Mount of so much Blood is

no place of Diversion, but a Scandal to all the World, the very Foundations shall be taken up. It was perform'd accordingly.

24. A brave Action, but yet the Execution of it made no amends for past Harms. It is common to apply the Remedy when it can produce no Effect. Many Buildings might be raz'd for the same reason.

C H A P. XVII.

Other memorable Passages of Emperors and others.

Counsels to
Xin Zung.

1. **T**HE Emperor *Xin Zung* was an Enemy to Idols, and caus'd abundance to be destroy'd: *T Kien* a Counsellor presented him a Memorial of Advice, wherein he said, 1. Your Majesty may be pleas'd to shut out Sectaries and idle People, who introduce false Doctrines, and outward Prayers, in order to get Preferments and Revenues. (Who doubts but it is destructive to Monarchy to allow of several Sects? God preserv'd *Spain*. *F. James Faber* in *Canton* said and maintain'd, that it was better there should be Hereticks publickly allow'd in *France*, than an Inquisition in *Spain*; I find no reason he had for it, but the natural Affection to his Country.) 2. Your Majesty may be pleas'd to forbid and punish Bribery, which disturbs the Peace and Government. 3. Not to admit of Flatterers, in whose Words there is no Truth, and less in their Actions. Of these *Rodolphus* said, *That Flatterers were not unlike to Wolves; for as these devour Asses by tickling and scratching them, so Flatterers make use of fawning and endearing words to ruin Princes.* They are the Plague of Kings and Kingdoms; says *John Sarister*. *It is lawful to flatter him whom it is lawful to kill.* 4. Let your Majesty order leud Women to be banished. 5. Do not admit of Eunuchs, as Favourites. (From them generally have begun the Rebellions.) 6. Do not burden the People with much Labour, taking up the time they should employ in Husbandry. 7. Moderate Expences, for no Revenue can suffice for those that are needles. 8. Let no Offices be bought or sold, which will open a way to much Extortion, and Preferments will be bestow'd on rich, not on deserving Men. The Emperor made great account of these Counsels, and commanded them to be practis'd. All these Instructions are

agreeable to Reason, and have been hinted at in other places.

2. The casting down of Idols by Christians in Lands of Infidels is difficult, and meets with some Inconveniences, as has been found by Experience upon some occasions. *F. Gouvea* made his Complaint to me, that there was some disturbance about this business at *Xang Hai*, where *F. Brancato* resided several years. The 26 Canon of the Council of *Illiberis*, or *Granada*, has these words: *If any Man break down Idols, and be there slain, in regard it is not written in the Gospel, nor ever appears to have been done by the Apostles, it has been thought fit that he be not receiv'd into the number of Martyrs.* True it is, *S. Theodorus*, whose Feast is kept on the 9th of *November*, suffer'd Martyrdom for having burnt a Temple of Idols; and *S. Marcellus* Bishop suffer'd Martyrdom in *Apamea* of *Syria* for having overthrown a Temple of *Jupiter*. On the 16th of *June* the Fathers of the Society in *Canton* read of five Martyrs, who suffer'd in the Island of *Salsete*, and one of them died for having overthrown an Idol Temple. I doubt not but some would despise this Action in another, and call it imprudent. The Emperor *Xin Zung*, as soon as he was crown'd, ask'd a Counsellor, which was the first thing appertaining to the Government? He answer'd, To establish good Laws. He ask'd again, Are such an Emperor's Laws good? The other reply'd; Sir, do not imitate that Emperor, who had no Virtue, but rather the Emperors *Tao* and *Xun*, whose Laws and Lives were both good. The Counsel was good too, but had been better if he had said, that the Love, Fear, and Dread of God was the first thing. Had the Counsellor known God, I don't doubt but he would have said it. *S. Cyril Alexandrinus de recta fide,*
That

That a glorious Piety towards God is the ground-work of Regal Honours; and that Princes addicted to Piety, overcome and subdue their Adversaries without any Labour.

3. The seventh year of this Empire was a great Dearth, a terrible Famine and Mortality ensued. An Eunuch who govern'd some Provinces caus'd the Miseries and Calamities of the People to be painted, and sent the Piece to the Emperor, writing along with it to this effect: Sir, be pleas'd to look upon that Picture, and by it you will understand the Condition of your Subjects: If your Majesty applies some Remedy, Heaven will soon send Rain; if not, my Head shall pay for it. The Emperor lamented the Misfortune of his People, slept not that night, the next day took off all Taxes and Duties. At these News the People took heart, and to make their Joy the fuller, there fell so much Rain, that the Land was glutted, and the Scarcity ceas'd.

4. The Viceroy and Governours in China take special care to acquaint the Emperor with all that happens within their Governments, whether good or bad. If there happens a Famine, Dearth, Floods, &c. presently word is sent to the Emperor. Thus he hears of all the Misfortunes of his Subjects, and the News is sent from Court throughout all the Empire. In the year 68 there were mighty Earthquakes in the Province of *Xan Tung*; Advice was sent to Court, and soon after the News came from thence to *Canton*.

5. The Emperor *Xao Zung* was once ask'd, When the Empire would enjoy Peace and Quietness? He answer'd, When the *Mandarines* Pencils are clean, and when Military Officers don't fear Death. He spoke discreetly, and like a Man of Sense in both Particulars. There they write with Pencils as we do with Pens; the Peace and Tranquillity of the Publick depends much upon Magistrates carrying their Pens fair, and taking no Bribes. The second Point is of no less consequence. It is well known the Northern People fear Death less than the Southern; the reason of it is, because they are more sanguine, and therefore fitter for War. *Epaminondas* said, *Death in War is most glorious*. This Emperor ask'd *Chao Siuen* the General of his Forces, What Rules do you prescribe to your Soldiers to make them always victorious in Battel, as you ever are? My Rules, Sir, said he, are Piety, Fidelity, Prudence, Courage, and Severity, these Virtues make Soldiers invincible. He gave them good Weapons.

Brasidas requires three things in a Soldier, Will, Fear and Obedience: Three other things in a Commander, Wisdom, Valour and Watchfulness. *Aratus* was wont to say, It was the part of a Soldier not to value his Life. Read *Liv. Dec. 1. and Casar apud Valer. l. 2. c. 8.*

6. The Emperor *Tai Zung* refus'd to accept of some very curious Mats certain Peasants presented him. In the *Philippine Islands*, *Japan*, *China*, *Camboja*, and other places, especially in *Ceylon*, there are some so fine, so curious and delicate, that they may well be presented as a Rarity to the greatest Princes in *Europe*. The Treasurer told him that was a mere Trifle, that he need make no scruple of accepting them. But the Emperor who was wise, and nothing covetous, answer'd, How shall he have the Command of himself in great Temptations, who cannot overcome the small? An excellent Expression. The saying hits well in this place, *Trust not a Dog with Meat, that uses to lick Ashes*. There was a strange Example of this sort at *Manila*, the Man got the Name of the *Just Judg*, his Memory will be lasting in that Island, his Name was *Major Andrew Perez Navarro*, he was my great Friend, and would not accept of so much as a little Fruit for all the World. But *Tai Zung* certainly outdoes all Men living, or that ever will be; for he being Supreme Lord was above his own and his Predecessors Laws, and accountable to no Man, which are the Considerations that often restrain Inferiors from holding out their hands to receive.

7. This Emperor went out into the Fields, took the Prince with him, and seeing the Husbandmen busy at their Labour, said to him, Son, take notice how much pains these poor Men take all the year about to maintain you and me. This is the reason I always have been careful to favour these People, because without their Labour and Sweat, you nor I should have no Kingdom nor Empire. This Saying deserv'd to be extoll'd, had it come from the mouth of any *European* Prince. Another time seeing the Storks and other Birds building their Nests, and looking to their young ones, he said to the Prince, Don't you mind with how much Tenderness and Affection these Birds bring up and feed their young ones? Do you take Example by them, and be careful to assist those that gave you your Being.

8. The third year of his Empire there was an extraordinary Dearth. The Emperor cloth'd himself in Sackcloth, put on Straw Buskins, went to a Temple, where

Nava-rette. where Sacrifices were offer'd to the Mountains and Streams of Rivers; in the day-time he stood in the Sun without any shelter, at night he lay upon the bare Ground. After three days the History tells it rain'd plentifully. It is likely God look'd upon the compassion the Emperor show'd for his People.

Buskins. 9. Writing of Buskins, I bethought my self of what I have often seen in *China*, which is, that on the Roads, at a League or two, or sometimes less distance, there are Men who weave Buskins for the People that travel afoot; so that those who come to these places, if their Buskins are torn or out of order, change them, or buy new ones, and need not carry more than they have on. Hundreds of them may be bought by the way at four-pence half-penny the pair.

Steadiness of a Counsellor. 10. The Emperor *V Zung* design'd a Progress into the Northern Provinces: a Counsellor, whose name was *Mao Ki*, oppos'd it, saying, it was not convenient. The Emperor in a passion laid hold on his Sabre, and said, Pass the Order for my Journey immediately, or you

shall die. *Mao* without the least concern took off his *Mandarine's* Cap and Robe, and kneeling said, Your Majesty may strike, for I cannot do that which is not for the good of the Empire. The Emperor reflected on the Answer, check'd himself, and let alone the Journey. Where shall we find one *Mao* in our times? *Plato ad Diod. prop. Epist. 8. If the King or Kingdom be in danger, then let no peril withhold the Counsellor from crying out aloud.*

11. To take off the *Mandarines* Cap and Robe before the Emperor or his Ministers, is as much as to own himself worthy of death.

12. I forgot in the foregoing Paragraph to observe, that according to *Cornelius a Lapide* and *Menochius*, the custom of putting on Sackcloth upon publick Calamities, is of great antiquity. The first, say they, that us'd it, was *Jacob* upon the imagin'd death of his Son *Joseph*. It is an antient practice in *China*, and frequent in Holy Writ, where we find many Kings us'd it in the publick Necessities.

C H A P. XVIII.

Other Passages like to those we have already mention'd.

Xi Zung's Liberality in a Famine. 1. IN the Reign of the Emperor *Xi Zung*, there was so great a Famine in the Northern Provinces, that Men eat one another, the Emperor reliev'd his People with a great Sum of Money; the effect of his compassionate heart, said *St. Gregory*; *For never does he who is truly compassionate, deny his Neighbour that which is necessary.* There is the same difference, says *S. Thomas, lib. 1. de Reg. Princ.* betwixt a Legal King and a Tyrant, as is between the Shepherd and the Hireling; read more of it there. *Xi Zung* acted like a good King, a good Father, and a good Shepherd, laying open his Bowels to maintain his People.

Vuen Ti's Indulgence of the People. 2. The Emperor *Vuen Ti* was no less compassionate; he understanding that the Sacrifices offer'd to Heaven, Earth, and Spirits, were only to ask Blessings and Prosperity for him, put out an Edict, commanding they should first beg his Subjects Happiness, and his afterwards. The Governour of *Manila* was not so humble, for he us'd his utmost endeavours to have special mention made of him in the Collect, & *famulos tuos*, which is sung in the Mass. The case was bandy'd back-

wards and forwards, not without some distaste. This happen'd before I came to the Islands. This Emperor was a great lover of Husbandmen, and of those that broke up Ground to sow; he forgave all Taxes for the first years, and then made the Duties easy. A good provision and form of Government, to make Provisions plentiful. Read *S. Thomas* on the first to *Hebr. Lett. 4.* where there is much to this purpose. It would be an excellent method for converting of thousands of Heathens that live in the Island *Mindoro*, near to that of *Manila*, to forgive them some years Taxes, and ease them of their Personal Duties. These Burdens withhold them, and delay their Conversion. *S. Gregory* the Pope us'd the same method with Heathens, and Jews, as I shall observe in the Second *Tome*. It is pity, that tho it lies so conveniently, no care is taken of a thing that so much concerns the Service of God and the King. I have heard positive Orders have been given to this effect, I know not why they are not put in execution. Some reasons were brought for not practising this method with the *Chinese* Infidels of *Manila*, but they

they will not hold in respect of the Indians.

Modesty.

3. The Emperor *Vu Ti* being left very young, two Counsellors govern'd for him. The History tells us that one of them, whose name was *Ho Kuang*, going constantly into the inward part of the Palace, talking and discoursing with the Empress and Ladies, on account of his Employment, for the space of twenty years; yet the least objection could not be made against his Carriage, nor was there ever any ground for jealousy of him as to the Women. A thing to be admir'd, not only in a Heathen, but in any very good Christian. Concerning *Je Tan*, who was the other Counsellor, the History says, that during ten years he continued in the same Employment, he never lifted up his eyes from the ground, or look'd the Empress, or any Lady in the face. When he was upon business, he never stood near the Empress or Ladies, but at the greatest distance he could, hearing very sedately what they had to say. This it is the Chinese Heathens did, whom among us they look upon as Barbarians; perhaps some wicked perverse Wretch may call this Modesty and Reserv'dness, Barbarity. The Legend admires in *S. Lewis Gonzaga*, and with good reason, that he never look'd the Empress in the face, tho' he serv'd her two years. No doubt it was great modesty; yet comparing all Circumstances, and the Professions of both of them, it plainly appears it cannot compare with *Je Tan's* modesty, without reckoning upon the Principles from which they proceeded. No less reserv'dness is requisite to come off clear and untainted from such conversation. Read *Albert. Mag. 3. Ethic. Tract. 2. c. 11. in fine*, where he brings the Story of *Helen*. That of *Perseus* in *Ovid* is very good. See *Oleaster* in *6. Gen. The Sons of God saw*, &c. These are dangerous Encounters, the way to come off victorious is to fly and keep far from them, *A Lapid. in 39. Gen. v. 12*. These two Counsellors deserve great Commendations. What *S. Gregory* admires in *Job*, *There was a man in the land of Uz*, might be apply'd to the two Heathens we speak of. *S. Thomas* his observation on *Rev. 2.* is not amiss here: *I know where thou dwellest, where the seat of Satan is*. Nor that of *Job c. 30. I was the brother of Dragons*. And it might be said to them with *S. Paul, Phil. 2. v. 25. In the midst of a deprav'd Nation*, &c. Let the Reader turn to *S. Jer. in Flor. Verb. Malum*, and to *S. Bernard Ep. 24. ad Hugonem*.

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4. The Emperor *Kuang Vu* going out a Hunting, was so intent on his Sport, *Nava-* that when he return'd to Court the Gates *retic.* were shut. The Officer that commanded at one of them was call'd upon, and answer'd, According to the duty of my Office I cannot open the Gate at this time. The Emperor hearing the Answer, went away to another, which was open'd to him without any difficulty. The next day he that refus'd to open presented a Memorial to the Emperor, to this effect. The Great Emperor *Vuen Vuang* (they all look upon him as a great Man and a Saint) spent not his time in Hunting or Sports, being always employ'd in the affairs of the Government. Your Majesty employs not only the Day, but a great part of the Night in Hunting, that is not the way to preserve the Empire, and answer the business your Subjects come to Court about.

Reproof given to Kuang Vu

5. The Emperor received the Memorial, and perceiv'd he reprov'd him for coming so late, being the cause that out of respect to him the Gate was open'd, which according to the inviolable practice ought not to have been done at that time of night. He thank'd him for his Advice and Reproof, and order'd him a hundred Pieces of Cotton as a reward for not opening the Gate; then punish'd him that did open, turning him down to a meaner Employment. This Action was approv'd of by all the Court, as was the Memorial, and they all applauded his Courage and Resolution that presented it. The very Preachers will not dare to say so much in *Europe*.

6. This Emperor taking his Progress *Meekness* through the Southern Provinces, remitted *of Kuang Vu.* a year's Taxes to the Inhabitants of the Town of *Nan Meu*; the Inhabitants thank'd him for the Favour and Grace, and pray'd him to continue it for ten years longer. The People were no Fools. The Emperor answer'd: The life of Man is like an Earthen Vessel that is not durable, or firm, to day he is well and in good health, and to morrow is dissolv'd to nothing; how can I remit ten years Taxes when I don't know whether I have one to live? The truth of the matter is, said the Clowns speaking like themselves, that your Majesty does not care to lose the Taxes this Town is to pay for ten years, and therefore you put us off with the uncertainty of your life. The Emperor laugh'd, and remitted another year. A notable calmness and affability in a Heathen Emperor. *S. Thomas Opusc. 17. cap. 13.* says, That Meekness, Affability

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~ bility and Bounty win the hearts of Men. *Nava-rette.* There are four sorts of Men who easily gain friendship, the Bountiful, the Powerful, the Meek, and the Affable. Affability and Meekness, though but counterfeit, work the same effect. Holy Writ tells us, 2 Sam. cap. 15. v. 7. that *Abfalom* us'd those Endearments to the People, that he endeavour'd to win the hearts of the Children of Israel. Another Version has it, He stole the hearts, &c. To signify that by his counterfeit Endearments, and affected Kindness he stole and made himself Master of all their hearts. It cannot be deny'd but these Virtues are more visible in Superiors. What was it but Meekness and a mild Government that gain'd such Renown to *Moses* that great Leader of God's People, and the Pattern and Mirror of all Princes that ever were or shall be? And what is it Christ proposes to us in order to imitate him? Not his mighty Power, not the Wonders he wrought, not the Prodigies he show'd, not his long Fasting, and continual Prayer, not the Poverty and Want of all things he endur'd in this world; he only requires of us that we imitate his Temper and Meekness. *Learn of me, for I am meek and humble of heart.*

7. One of the Emperor *Ming Ti's* Brothers was a Petty King, who came to Court to kiss his hand. The Emperor lodg'd him in his Palace, and in discourse ask'd him; What is it you most delight in at Court? The Petty King answer'd, My greatest delight and pastime is, to

act rightly, Virtue is the thing I take the greatest pleasure and satisfaction in. The Emperor was well pleas'd at his answer, and favour'd him highly. One Heathen made this answer to another, 'tis fit it be known to the whole World, and that we Christians be confounded at it. The Petty King valu'd not himself upon spending his time in Play, Musick, Hunting, Sports, &c. his only care was to act uprightly, this was all his diversion.

8. In the Reign of the Emperor *Vuen Ti*, a *Mandarine* was condemn'd to death, and he was guilty enough to deserve it. A Daughter he had presented a Memorial to the Emperor, offering up her self for a Slave in the Palace to save his Life. The Emperor was mov'd to compassion, pardon'd the Father, and left his Daughter free. He also enact'd a Law, forbidding the punishment of Castrating, to which the *Mandarine* was also adjudg'd to be ever after inflicted.

9. Any body that had not known these Emperors were Heathens, would certainly by their actions have taken them for good Christians. We may learn Compassion from the Emperor *Vuen Ti*, tho a Heathen. *Laelius* said, *We our selves understand, that a sense of Affection is bred in us by Nature.* It is natural to Man to love others, and to pity their Misfortunes. That Daughter's love for her Father is very well worth observing, and more remarkable in *China*, where there is more indifferency betwixt Fathers and Daughters than in any other Country.

C H A P. XIX.

More remarkable Passages of the same nature.

1. **I**N the Reign of the Emperor *Ching Tang*, there was no Rain for seven Years together. According to computation this happen'd in *China*, at the same time that the seven years Famine was in *Egypt*, which the Scripture speaks of *Gen. 41. v. 54.* And the Famine prevail'd all over the Earth, 1131 years after the Flood, and above a thousand after the founding of the *Chinese* Monarchy. The Diviners advis'd to mix human Blood in the Sacrifices that were offer'd to Heaven and Earth. The Emperor answer'd, I ask Water of Heaven that my People may live, if I kill Men for the Sacrifices, it is contradicting my self, killing those for whose Lives I pray. A very good answer. The Emperor fasted, cut his Hair

and Nails (the *Chineses* put great value upon them both) he put his Chariot into mourning, and clothed himself in white Lambskins. Thus he went out into the Field with a devout, penitent, and serious Countenance. Then fixing his Eyes on Heaven, he ask'd six Questions of it. 1st. Whether there was any Miscarriage in his Government? 2^{dly}. Whether his People and Subjects did not perform their Duty? 3^{dly}. Whether due Decency and Modesty was not observ'd within the Palace? 4^{thly}. Whether there was any extravagancy in Apparel? 5^{thly}. Whether there were any Frauds in buying and selling? 6^{thly}. Whether the Dances and Sports were unseemly? If there be any thing in these Particulars, or any other, said

Per Jul.
3002.

Sacrificing
of Men.

Hair and
Nails.

Piety.

Castration.

said he, which is a Crime against Heaven, I take it upon my self, here I am, and here I offer my self up to Heaven to punish me, so my People may live. It looks as if he had acted King *David*, when he saw the Angel with the Sword in his hand. Having perform'd this famous and compassionate Action, not Heaven, but the Creator of all things sent him abundant Rain. The Action was strange, and the Event yet stranger.

2. *Chang Ngo* a Great *Mandarine*, as an Acknowledgment because the Emperor *Cheu* had given him a considerable Employment, offer'd him a very beautiful and modest Woman: She would not consent to Actions that were against the course of Nature, for which the wicked Emperor caus'd her to be kill'd. *Chang Ngo* did not approve of the Action, but it cost him his head, which was order'd to be struck off immediately. *Cheu* was one of the two cruel and wicked Emperors there have been in *China*; and it is strange that in so many thousands of years those Infidels should make mention but of these two. Nor is the bravery of that Woman to be little admir'd, since she durst withstand the Will of a cruel, wicked, and Heathen Emperor. It is a very common thing in *China* to make Presents of Women, especially to Persons of Note, and great *Mandarines*.

Resolution of a *Mandarine*.

3. A Subject of good Note, whose name was *Pi Kan*, mov'd by his Zeal for the Publick Good, argued thus with himself; It is want of Loyalty, when the Emperor is cruel and a Tyrant, that nobody should reprove him. It is want of courage to be silent for fear of Death when the Emperor is faulty; and it is the part of a brave Soul to tell him his Faults. If he is told, and will not give ear, it is he is to blame. It is the greatest Loyalty to tell the Truth, and to die for it. Upon this he resolv'd to go into the Palace, and having found his opportunity, said to the Emperor we speak of, Heaven will deprive your Majesty of the Crown it has given you, if you do not mend your Life. It is fit your Majesty cleanse your Heart of so much Filth, leave off your Cruelty, and change your Behaviour. Your Majesty wants to restore that Decency to your Family, which you have banish'd from it; If you do so, Heaven will be pleas'd. A noble, resolute, and courageous Speech of a Subject to a cruel and tyrannical Emperor: This may compare, *servatis servandis*, with what *S. John* said to *Herod*. The Emperor grew enrag'd like a Tiger, and

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said to those about him, This *Pi Kan* takes himself for a Saint; I have heard say, the Saints have seven holes in their Heart, I am resolv'd to see whether it be so or not. He commanded him to be immediately cut open, and his Heart taken out. The Emperor acted cruelly, but his Successor highly extoll'd *Pi Kan's* Zeal, and for his sake honour'd his Family. Had he been a Christian, that might well have fitted him, which *Eccles.* c. 48. says of *Elias*, *In his days he fear'd not the Prince*, and that in his Life he did wonderful things.

Nava-rette.

4. The Emperor *Vu Vuang* being sick, Prince *Cheu Kung* made a solemn Sacrifice to the Souls of his Forefathers, and to that of the Emperor *Vuen Vuang*, whom he inform'd and gave to understand, that he offer'd up his own Life that the Emperor might live. This Prince is much applauded among the *Chineses*, and highly commended by *Confucius*. He found out in those Parts the use of the Loadstone in Sailing, and liv'd about the Year 1919 after the Flood. It seems the use of the sailing Compass is very antient there. It is not so among us; *Monardes* in a Dialogue upon Iron, *Fol.* 133. says, That a Saylor born in the City *Melfi* in *Italy* was the Inventor of it.

Per Jul. 4339- Loadstone.

5. But observe how very antient a Custom it is for the *Chineses* to sacrifice to their Ancestors departed, and that in Temples, as *Cheu Kung* did. *F. Gouvea* in his History, and *F. Intorceta* in *Sapientia Sinica*, mention what I have here writ; I will set down their words in another place.

Sacrifice to their Ancestors.

6. *Cheu Kung* sending his Son *Pe Kin* as a Petty King into the Kingdom *Lu*, ask'd him what he design'd to do there? He answer'd, He chiefly intended three things; 1. To be very careful to observe himself. 2. To be diligent and vigilant in performing his Duty to the Subjects. 3. To be very resolute and bold. The Father approv'd of what he said, and added, A vigilant care and circumspection is an ease to him that governs, and his diligence secures the Subjects ease, and they being satisfy'd, think not of rebelling. To keep a watchful eye over himself, is, when a Ruler is fearful, and does not suffer himself to be puff'd up, apprehending that Fortune may change. Therefore he uses his Subjects well, and the greater his moderation and care of Government is, the more they love him. When wicked Men rail, it is best to make a Virtue of it, correcting what is amiss, and bearing with their Tongues

Rules to Men in Power.

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Nava-rette. till the people is convinced by Experience: This is to have a resolute and stout Heart. In short, Son, govern your self well, and you cannot govern your Subjects amiss, all depends on the first Part.

7. There are four sorts of Persons, says *S. Thomas*, Opusc. 71. cap. 3. that ought to be very cautious and careful: A Priest in Penance, a Judge in giving Sentence, a Physician in looking to his Patient, and a rich Man of his Treasure. The Saint speaks well. The *Chineses* are very careful in examining and calling to account those that have been Publick Ministers. The method many of their Visitors have taken, is well worth observing and imitating. They go to the Province they are sent to, and there travel *incognito* from one City to another, enquiring and prying into the manner of the Government. Being well inform'd, on a sudden they make themselves known at the Metropolis, where they perform the Duty of their Office uprightly, and without corruption. It is plain that those who proclaim their Business all the way they go, seek and covet what the *Chineses* are so fond of, which is Gold and Silver.

8. I knew an Officer that had no regard to his Duty, who was us'd to say, I fear no body, whosoever comes, I'll lay him over the Face with 200000 Pieces of Eight. But in truth he was deceiv'd, and mistook his reckoning, for he dy'd in a Dungeon, yet after receiving the Sacraments, for he was a Christian.

9. The Emperor *Ching Vuang* ask'd of one of his wife Men, What Virtue it was that oblig'd the Subjects to love their Emperor? He answer'd, It was Love and Confidence in them. The words of *Chrysost.* *Hom. 13. ad populum*, sute well in this place: *Would you be prais'd? praise another. Would you be lov'd? love. Would you have precedence given you? give it first to another.* The wise Counsellor said further, That the Imperial Edicts should be consider'd and look'd over before they were made publick, with as much care as he would do if he were to go over a frozen River. How cautiously and circumspectly does a Man set down his Feet? how regularly does he tread on such a place? The same care your Majesty is to use in enacting Laws. The Emperor lik'd the Advice, and so do I. The *Tartars* themselves, tho they have the *Chineses* under, do not practise the Saying, *Sic volo sic jubeo*; on the contrary, whatsoever they order, is first consider'd in several Courts,

and so they stop the Mouths of the Subjects.

10. The Emperor *Siven Vuang* grew lewd. The Empress throwing off her Jewels and rich Clothes, said, Your Majesty gives your self up to Vice, and forgets Virtue; forsakes the staidness and state which belongs to the Crown, and indulges your self in Feasts and Pastimes. Your Majesty must understand that these are the Grounds of Rebellions and Insurrections. Vice is a venomous Spring and Lake, whence the Poison of Treason flows. The Emperor gave ear to her, and the History says, he mended upon it, and made an absolute Reformation in his Life. She spok more than could be expected from a Heathen Woman, and deserves any commendation. Certain it is they can do much upon such occasions. Queens and great Ladys are more favourably heard than other Persons; and what they say is better taken, because it is manifest it proceeds from Love, and not from any private Interest. The Emperor *Theodorick's* Wife acted her part well with him; *You are to consider, Husband, said she, who you were, and who you now are; for taking this often into consideration, you will not prove ungrateful to your Benefactor, and you will both legally govern the Empire you have receiv'd, and worship him that gave it you.* Thus *Bernulaus*.

11. In the Reign of the Emperor *Singratang Vuang*, Prince *Tung U*, by reason of some Troubles, retir'd to a neighbouring Kingdom, and continu'd in banishment for some time. Afterwards returning towards the Court, he found himself so spent that he was ready to die with hunger. *Kao Zu Chui*, one of the five Servants he had, cut off a piece of Flesh from his own Arm, and gave it him to eat; by which means he recover'd strength and reach'd the Court. When he was settled and in prosperity, he rewarded the four Servants, but not *Kao Zu* whose Flesh had sav'd his Life. Strange forgetfulness and neglect in a Prince! *Diogenes* being ask'd, *What it was that soonest grew antiquated amongst Men?* Answer'd, *A good Turn.* See *Corn. à Lapid.* in 20 Num. v. 3. *Kao* with good reason resenting this Wrong, pasted up a Paper in the Palace, containing these words. *A stately Dragon quitted his Den, and went into far Country; five Snakes follow'd him. After some time he was at the point of dying for hunger, one of the Snakes reliev'd him, giving him a part of his Body to eat. The Dragon recover'd strength, which brought him back to his first Den. Being there at his ease and pleasure.*

pleasure, he gave the four Snakes places where they might live comfortably, only the Snake that had fed him with her Flesh was left without a Den hissing in the wide Desert.

The middle was read, the Prince presently understood it, and being much concern'd that he was so much to blame, order'd *Kao Zu* to be brought to his Presence, with a design to bestow something considerable on him. But *Kao* fearing the Prince would be inrag'd at what he had writ, absconded, and was never heard of. In this part he was unfortunate: He ingeniously made the Prince sensible of his Oversight; but because there is no Man loves to be told of his faults, especially the Great ones, he wisely fear'd, and so shun'd the Danger that might have threatned him. The Dragon is the Arms and Device of the *Chinese* Emperors, which is the reason *Kao Zu* made use of that Emblem. The Counsellor *Vuen Heu* told *Ngoei Su*, that he was a good King. How do you know it, said the *Roytlet*? He answer'd, When a King is good and virtuous, his Subjects are loyal and true. The words the Counsellor *Lin Cho* spoke to your Highness are honest and sincere, therefore your Highness is a good King. The Petty King was convinc'd by the Argument, but not puff'd up, or vain.

A good King.

Strength of Kingdoms.

12. The Petty King *Vu Heu* having taken a view of his Dominions, found them all well fortify'd, at which he was very well pleas'd. *Cai Te* his Counsellor told him, Let not your Highness rely upon that; for the Strength of Kingdoms consists in the Virtue of those that govern them, and not in the Walls or Ditches that surround them: He prov'd it to him by many Examples, whereof there are but too many in *Europe*.

13. *Agésilau*s being ask'd, why the City *Sparta* had no Walls? answer'd, Cities must not be secur'd with Timber and Stones, but by the Valour of the Inhabitants. The Walls, and 7000 Pieces of Cannon that lay on them, did not save the City *Peking* from being plunder'd by the *Tartar*. We may apply to the *Chinese* those words the same *Agésilau*s spoke, when they show'd him some mighty Walls; 'Tis very well, but fit for Women, not for Men to live within. *Ages* seeing the high and strong Walls of *Corinth* said, What Women live within this Inclosure?

An Heroick Woman.

14. King *Hang Ju* took the Mother of *Vuang Ling* a great Commander, but a Rebel to his Sovereign; he sent Messengers with her, thinking by her means to

draw the Son to his Party, she calling aside the Soldiers that conducted her with Tears in her Eyes said, Bid my Son not to swerve a jot from the Loyalty he owes his Prince; and that he may not be perplext about me, and become a double Dealer through the Love he bears me, to his own and my Discredit, I will be my own Executioner: Then she took a Sword from one of those that stood about her, and kill'd her self before it was possible to prevent her. They all admir'd so Heroick an Action, and the Cause that mov'd her to do it.

Navarrette.

15. The Emperor *Kao Zu* was very familiar, he went out once to meet his Officers who were discoursing together, and lovingly ask'd them, What is it you talk of? A Petty King among them answer'd; We were saying, that tho your Majesty was rais'd from an ordinary degree to be Emperor, by the Valour of your Souldiers, yet we now find that none but your Kindred and Friends are prefer'd, which if you continue to do, the Crown cannot sit fast. What Remedy do you prescribe then, said the Emperor? Who is your Majesty's greatest Enemy, said the Petty King? *Ung Chi*, reply'd the Emperor. Then, Sir, quoth the others, make him great, and raise him to the degree of a Petty King; for when once it is known throughout the Monarchy, that your Majesty not only lays aside all Animosity and Hatred, but that you honour your greatest Enemy, all Men will rejoice, and rest satisfied they shall not be punish'd for being disaffected to the Family *Han*, but on the contrary, they will hope that since your Majesty prefer'd and honour'd *Ung Chi*, you will not take Revenge on them for what is past, which will cause them all to love and submit to your Majesty. The Emperor did as he was advis'd, to the great Satisfaction of all Men, and with good success for securing the Crown to his Family: His Progeny held it above 500 years.

16. The Petty King's Contrivance and Advice was excellent, but it was most rare that an Emperor should practise it upon his greatest Enemy. We might say of this Infidel as *Rupertus* said of *Joseph*, lib. 8. in *Pentat. cap. 40. Modesty and an humble Mind continues in the Victor and Triumpber together with the height of Honour and Glory*. Besides, what *Joseph* did was to his own Brothers, the Heathen Emperor to his greatest Enemy. To love an Enemy is the utmost extent of Love, says *S. Thomas opusc. 61*. The Heathen seems to have endeavour'd to out-do this, since

since he added Honours and Preferments. *Narrative.* He did what is said in the 15th Chapter of *Proverbs*; *But in so doing, thou wilt heap burning Coals upon his Head.* A mighty method to purchase Friends. *Alonso King of Aragon* us'd to say, *Justice makes Friends of good Men, Mercy of the wicked.* Being ask'd another time, What it was that best brought an Enemy under, he answer'd, *The Reputation of Meekness, and being easily pleas'd*; see *Corn. à Lap. in Gen. 50. v. 21.*

Succesful. 17. This Emperor earnestly desir'd to leave the Crown to a Son by his second Wife, his Subjects oppos'd it as much as in them was. Four Counsellors of State, every one 82 years of Age, went in to speak to the Emperor, carrying the Son of the first Wife along with them, they all went in a very grave and solemn manner. The Emperor was surpriz'd at it, and ask'd them their meaning: They began to repeat their Services, and show their gray Hairs. The Emperor understood what they aim'd at, and was in a Passion. They said, Your Majesty refuses to give Ear to your Ministers, it is a sign the Empire is near expiring; to lay aside the Prince that is rightful Heir for the sake of a Son by the second Wife, is contrary to the Laws of the Empire, all that ever did it were ruin'd; we beseech your Majesty to take our Lives in token of our Loyalty. The Emperor perceiving how resolute and upright his Ministers were, alter'd his Resolution, and spoke no more of that matter. The Power of Reason is great, it overcomes even the most passionate.

Emperor acknowledges his fault. 18. The Counsellor *Siao Vu* presented a Memorial, showing Reasons for easing the People of some Imposts. The Emperor took it ill, and commanded him to be thrown into Prison. A Petty King repeating what Services *Siao* had done, told the Emperor, that what he did was design'd for the publick Good, and not for any private Ends, and therefore he rather deserv'd a Reward for that Action. The Emperor immediately commanded *Siao* to be brought before him; and being come, said, I acted like a Tyrant, who kills those Subjects that acquaint him with the Miscarriages there are in the Government; when I refus'd your prudent Advice, you show'd your Zeal, Loyalty and Wisdom; I will have the fault I committed in imprisoning you be made known to all the World, that my Guilt and your Innocence may appear. I know not whether this Emperor can be parallel'd in this particular. No Man loses his

Credit or Reputation by owning his Fault or Oversight; they are Accidents great and small, Nobles and Commoners are subject to. *Senec. ad Lucil. says, As I am a Man, I think my self exempt from nothing that is human.* The words of *Innocent the Third, in cap. Qualiter & quando de accusationibus*, are very proper to the Subject, confessing of Faults and correcting them, they are these; *Be not asham'd to rectify your Mistakes, ye that are appointed to correct the faults of others; for the same measure ye measure to others shall be measur'd to you by the upright Judg.*

19. When *Kuang Vu* had taken Possession of the Empire, he bethought himself of a School-fellow of his, whose Name was *Hien Kuang*, and caus'd diligent search to be made after him in order to give him some considerable Employment: They found him not, but discover'd a Man clad in Lambskins angling by a River side: The Emperor fancied it might be he, sent a Coach with much Attendance and Equipage to bring him to Court; and tho the Man did all he could to avoid it, there was no disobeying the Emperor's Order. He came to the Suburbs of the Imperial City, expecting till next day to make his Entry. The Emperor hearing of it, rose betimes and went to meet him at his Lodging. *Hien Kuang* was then asleep in his Bed: The Emperor came in smiling, and said, Rise Friend, for it is not fit that he who is to receive such Favours at my hands should sleep so much. He rose very leisurely and calmly, and spoke thus, The holy Emperor *Jao* could not persuade his Philosopher *Chao Fu* to succeed him in the Throne; to what purpose is it to put a Man so reserv'd, that he looks after nothing but Virtue, into Employments and Command?

20. Notwithstanding his Excuse, he offer'd him the greatest Employments about the Court, but he rejected them all, and begg'd leave to return to his Village, where he spent the rest of his Life angling with his Rod. This He then left us a great Example of the Contempt of Worldly Honours, which others so hotly pursue. His Memory is preserv'd till this day, for the People of his Village erected a Tower in Honour of him in that place, giving it the Name of *Tiao Tai*, that is, the Angler's Tower. I pass'd by the place, and saw it. The Officers who had me in Custody told me the Story, and afterwards I read it my self. There are Examples peculiar for all purposes in *China*. This we have spoken of
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is singular for that Nation, where Ambition and Avarice are more predominant than in others. *Hien Kuang* might say with *St. Peter* and his Companions, *We have left all things*; but he wanted the best and chiefest part, which is, *we have follow'd thee*. *Crates* and others were deficient in the same, as *S. Jerom* says, *lib. 3. in Mat. cap. 19.* But we may apply to him what the same Saint writ *ad Paulin. Præf. de Instit. Monach.* That *Socrates* the Theban, a mighty rich Man, when he went to play the Philosopher at Athens, threw away a great Mass of Gold, thinking he could not possess Virtue and Riches at the same time. That sutes yet better which pass'd betwixt *Diogenes* and *Alexander*, *Albertus Mag.* mentions it, *Politic. cap. 1.* *Alexander* offering *Diogenes* great things if he would return with him to Court, whereas he was in a Desert, and observ'd the course of the Stars, he answer'd, he could offer nothing like the delight of Philosophy. The words of *Elianus* are good; *Alcibiades* show'd his Liberality in giving, *Socrates* in not receiving.

21. It is well worth observing, that *Kuang Vu* when rais'd to the Imperial Throne, should remember his Friend, this is not usual with Men who are lifted up to high Places. *Cajetan* comments upon those words of our Saviour spoken to *S. Mary Magdalen*, *S. John 20. Go to my Brethren, &c.* He says thus, *That by his Example we may learn to be more loving to our Friends when we are prefer'd to some higher Station.* *Kuang* did so. And tho' Honours change Manners, yet it seems so great a Post and so noble a Crown made no alteration in him; he still preserv'd his former Affability and Plainness. *S. Bern. lib. de Confid.* says, *There is no Jewel brighter than Courteousness, to wit, in all the Popes Ornaments; for the higher he is above the rest, the more glorious he looks even above himself by Humility.* Some Men think

Humility, Affability, and sweet Temper are incompatible with high Dignities; but it were well they would consider that without it all Honour is fading, and only more or less of Vanity. When *Otbo* the Third rose on a sudden to be the first of the Electors, *Villegius*, that he might not give way to Vain-glory, us'd to say to him, *Mind what you are, remember what you were.* It is Humility that secures, establishes, and supports high Dignities. The same *Otbo* was wont to say, *I am a Man, I think my self exempt from nothing that is human.* *Gilimor* being a Prisoner, laugh'd and said, *I see the uncertainty of Fortune, in that I who but now was a King, am now a Slave.* King *Francis* of France being *Charles* the Fifth's Prisoner, us'd to say, 'Tis my turn to day, to morrow it will be thine. This Consideration is a great help towards bearing the Vicissitudes of this World with a manly Resolution.

22. Another notable Passage happen'd between *Hien* and the Emperor, which was, that being so very familiar, the Emperor would needs they should lie together as they had done in their Youth: When in Bed they would call to mind things past, which diverted them, tho' *Hien* ever paid all due respect to his Sovereign. It fell out that he accidentally set his Foot upon the Emperor's, just at the same time, says the History, that the Astrologer who watch'd on the Mathematical Tower observ'd, that the Star they call *Ke*, that is, the Guest, remov'd from its place, and stood over that they call *Ju Zo*, which signifies Imperial Throne. Next day the Astrologer gave an account of it: the Emperor reflected on what had happen'd, and smiling discover'd what had pass'd between his Friend and him; adding, There is nothing to fear, for between us all is Friendship. I write what is in the History, whether true or false.

Navarette.

Astrology.

CHAP. XX.

Other Chinese Examples, and the End of this Book.

Mutual Love betwixt Jao and his People.

1. THE History tells us, that the Emperor *Jao*, who is one of the antientest and most renowned of the *Chineses* (I thought it not necessary to be regular in speaking of them) when he saw any Subject in want would say, he was the cause of that Misfortune. If any Man was cold for want of Clothes, he blam'd himself. The History adds,

that the People supply'd and serv'd him in all things without any Pay, and did their Duty in all respects without any Punishment inflict'd, which proceeded from the tender Love they all bore him. He behav'd himself towards his People as a loving Father does towards his Children, and the People towards him as dutiful Children towards a Parent. A good

Nava-rette. good Emperor and good Subjects. O that we might see the same at this time throughout all Europe. We see in some places the Kings are Fathers, who love, honour, and raise to high Posts some Subjects their Children; and these ungrateful, base, and disloyal Men oppose, and draw their Swords against their lawful Lords and Sovereign Masters. Alas, if the Rebellions and Insurrections of Europe were known in China, what would those Infidels say?

2. We may say of *Tao's* Subjects, what *Pliny* did of *Trajan's*; They lov'd him as if they had not fear'd, and they fear'd as if they had not lov'd him. This Love oblig'd the Subjects to attend the Emperor's Service; where Love is wanting, all is wanting. Things cross and difficult seem easie to him that loves, says *S. Thomas, Opusc. 7.*

3. Certain Peasants saluted him, saying, Heaven grant your Majesty much Riches, many Children, and a long Life. He answer'd very unconcern'd, What is it you wish me? To wish me much Riches is to wish me much care; many Children, is much to fear; a long Life is much trouble, and many Diseases.

Compassion. 4. They write of the Emperor *Ju*, that he would weep, and be very much troubled, when he was to sign any dead Warrant. Those about him would say, If he is wicked and deserves the punishment, why is your Majesty concern'd? He answer'd, My Heart is my Subjects, theirs is mine; I am their Father, they my Children; how then can I chuse but be troubled at their misfortunes, tho they deserve them for their offences? A very tender and compassionate answer. *Ju* said further, To live in this World is being as it were lent out, or left in trust; when a Man dies, he returns to his first being. A good expression; had he not err'd as to the principle, beginning, or first being to which Man returns, which in his opinion was nothing.

Ministers. 5. *Cheu King* Favourite to *Ching Vuang* said to him, Your Majesty will do well to stick close to your Subjects, to shun Flatterers, follow Virtue and Justice, employ Virtuous Men in the Government, and then you'll be a good Emperor. He said all that was requisite in these few words: *Tai Kung* said to *Cheu Kung*, The Government will be as it should be, if Virtuous Men are honour'd, and those that deserve well rewarded. Another time he said, Tho all the People be good, yet if he that is next the Prince is bad, your Majesty may conclude all is lost. An excellent expression! This

Doctrine is not unlike to that of *Boetius*, cited by *S. Thomas, Opusc. 3. § sexta Petitio, No plague more likely to do harm than a familiar friend.* What else is an ill Minister and wicked Favourite, but a sort of Venom and Plague that infects the whole Kingdom, and the greatest Monarchy?

6. The Emperor *Kang Vuang* was wont to say, To fatigue the People and Subjects, to save the Emperor's taking the trouble upon him, is contrary to the practice of the great Emperor *Vuen Vuang*. This Proposition is not a little mystical. Dignities, Honours, Crowns, Scepters, &c. are a heavy burden; if the Sovereign lays the weight upon his Subjects, and takes to himself the Honour, Glory, and satisfaction of that Life, he does not discharge the Trust repos'd on him. It is natural, that he who receives the benefit, bear the burden, says the Rule 55 in *Sexto*. They are deceiv'd who imagine they enter upon a place of Trust to give themselves up to pleasure and passime. Let them read the 3d Chap. of *Exod.* and they will find it.

7. *Jueng Hiang* punish'd a Minister of State severely; a Friend of that Minister

reprov'd the Emperor, who answer'd, Do you forsake the Emperor, and side with your Friend? He reply'd, If my Friend does not obey the Emperor, I will quit my Friend, and follow the Emperor. If the Emperor acts contrary to Justice, Reason and Law, I will follow my Friend and oppose the Emperor. Boldly said, The Emperor was more provok'd at the Answer, and said to him, Unsay what you have said, and you shall live, else I will immediately order you to be put to death. *Fu*, that was his name, said, A just and upright Man is not to flinch for fear of death. A Counsellor may inform, reprove and direct his Emperor. *Tu Pe* (that was the name of him that had suffer'd) committed no fault, why then did your Majesty order him to be kill'd? The Emperor was struck dumb, seeing so much resolution.

8. *Kin Vuang* punish'd one for being disobedient to his Parents, and said, It was a principal point in a Kingdom that Children should be obedient to their Parents; and by inflicting that punishment, he taught all Children to be observant of that Virtue. The Chinese Master sigh'd, and said, It is not reasonable, that the Superior who is void of Virtue, should punish the Inferior for wanting of it. The greatest Justice is to teach Obedience, by giving a good example, not by punish-

Friend to Right.

Trajan did better when he deliver'd a Sword to his first Minister, saying, Make use of that for me, as long as I give just Commands, and against me when I order that which is wicked.

Obedience to Parents.

punishing. When the Superior does not instruct by his example, the fault committed is his, and not the Inferiors. This good method the Philosopher took to tell *Lin Kuang* he ought to be obedient to his Parents; he was guilty of disobedience, and *Confucius* and others had taken notice of it. The *Chineses* have very notable written Examples of Childrens duty to their Parents; we Millioners need not preach upon this Subject, or give them any instances of ours. Among the rest there is one that tells us, that because a Son was obedient, the wild Cattel in the Mountains would come and plow the Fields where his Parents set him to work, and the Birds of the Air would come down to rake them with their Bills. They write of another who going to fetch water for his Mother from a Pond, fell into it through mere weariness, and slept a long time on the water without sinking. That Nation looks upon these, and many more Stories of this nature, to be as certainly true, as we do those which God wrought for *S. Isidorus*, *S. Maurus*, &c.

Refusal of
the Crown.

9. *King Kiu Zo* appointed his Son *Xo Zi* his Heir. The Father dying, he would not admit of the Inheritance, but generously resign'd it to his Elder Brother *Pe Y*. This Brother refus'd it, saying, They ought to stand to what their Father had order'd. The younger alledg'd that tho his Father had appointed him Heir to the Crown, yet it was but reasonable his Elder Brother, whose Birthright it was, should enjoy it. *Pe Y* urg'd, It was unreasonable to contradict their Father's Orders. *Zi* answer'd, There was as little reason to oppose the Decrees of Heaven; and since Heaven had made *Pe Y* the Elder Brother, it was justice he should succeed his Father in the Throne. He reply'd again, That obedience to Parents was a natural duty, and as such ought to be observ'd. The younger rejoyn'd, That Heaven ought to be obey'd in the first place as being the Supreme Father. Thus the two good Brothers argued, not to possess, but to yield up the Kingdom one to the other; and at last to reconcile this difference between them, they both agreed to resign to another younger Brother, there being no other way to reconcile that difference.



10. The Heathens of *China* have furnish'd us with an answer to *S. Ambrose* his Question, *Lib. 5. cap. 15. Exod. What man can you find, who will voluntarily lay down his Command, quit the Ensigns of his*

Dignity, and of his own free will of the first become the last? Here are two Heathens, *Navi-rette*.
holy Saint, who of their own free will perform'd what you thought so difficult. Such an action would be much look'd upon among Christians, as it was in *S. Celestine* to resign the Papacy. The magnanimity of the Invincible *Charles the Fifth*, in voluntarily abdicating two of the greatest Monarchies of the World, will be in like manner ever applauded. But the circumstances we have mention'd make our Example singular. It was afterwards ask'd of the *Chinese* Master, What sort of Men these Brothers were before they resign'd the Kingdom to one another, and whether when they had both given up their right to the other Brother, they had not repented of what they had done? He answer'd, They were good and virtuous Men both before and after, and that the virtue of Piety mov'd them to do that action. The Elder would show himself obedient to his Father, and the younger to Heaven. This was the reason they never repented, because the Motive they had being good and virtuous, there could never be place for repentance, which can only proceed from something that is a fault.

11. It is also written of these two Brothers, that they earnestly desir'd all Men should be good and virtuous; and that if they saw any wicked vicious Man, they hated his Crimes, but not his Person; for they said, That Man might mend and be good another day. When a wicked Man amended his life, they thought no more of his past Crimes, nor threw them in his face, but only look'd upon what was present.

12. The names *Ceremony*, *Deacon*, *Feria*, *Fasti*, and many others, the Church took from the Gentiles. See *Micheli Marquez*. *Deacon* signifies Minister. *Mercury* was so call'd, as being the Minister of the Gods; and it is the same thing the *Chineses* call *Zi Fu*; that is, he who attends and administers to him that sacrifices to the dead. The *Martyrology* us'd in the Church was taken from the Heathen *Fasti*, as *Baronius* observ'd. It were endless to write all that may be said to this Point.

13 I will conclude this Book with a strange and odd passage the *Chinese* History makes mention of, which is thus: In the Province of *Xan Tung* there was a *Mandarine*, so upright, just and uncorrupted, and so loving and kind to the People, that he took care of them as if they had been his own Children; for this

 reason he was belov'd, serv'd, and o-
Nava- bey'd by them with singular affection and
rette. readines. This produced an extraordi-
 nary and reciprocal confidence betwixt
 them, and a mighty respect and submission
 of the People to their Head and Ruler.
 It fell out of course, that according to
 the duty of his Office he punish'd some,
 and imprison'd others. Those that were
 imprison'd could not follow their Huf-
 bandry, so that they neither sow'd nor
 reap'd. The *Mandarine* was concern'd
 at the misfortune of those poor Men, and

bearing them great affection, he resolv'd
 to give them the liberty of going out to
 sow, upon condition they should return to
 Goal as soon as they had done their work.
 They went out, plow'd and sow'd, and
 all of them to a Man return'd to Prison *Fidelity.*
 the same day. The same thing they did
 at Harvest-time. He continu'd to do the
 same thing every year, as long as he con-
 tinu'd in his Employment, and not a Man
 ever fail'd of returning to Prison. I am
 of opinion the like has not happen'd in
 the World.

B O O K

B O O K III.

Navarrette.

Containing some Political and Moral Sentences of the Philosopher *Kung Fu Zu*, or *Confucius*.

ST. Antonius, 4 p. tit. 11. cap. 4. sufficiently proves, that the Morals of the antient Philosophers and *Chineses* is very imperfect and defective, and that the Authors thereof were not sound and true. All the five Paragraphs he writes in the place above-cited, are very well worth reading, for the multiplicity of Learning he inserts, and for the Light he gives the Reader and Missioners to prevent their being led away by outward Appearances, and the Eloquence of the Heathen Books. In this place the Saint explains the three sorts of Philosophy, whereof mention shall be made in another place. And in *Self*. 5. he says with S. *Augustin*, with whom Cardinal *John Dominick* agrees, that the Prophets were before the Philosophers, from the first of whom the latter took what they writ, that has any relation to our Religion. And he explains how we ought to understand the words of *Trismegistus*, *Monas genuit Monadem*, &c. And those of *Virgil*, *Jam nova progenies caelo dimittitur alto*. And below that again he says, *So many things are to be found in Plato's Books spoken concerning the Word of God, but not in that sense the true Faith acknowledges*. All this is very material to what shall be written in the 6th Book. The 5th Chapter following, in

which he treats of the Origin of Idolatry, and the Multiplicity of Gods the *Gentiles* worshipp'd, is proper for the same purpose, and not a little useful to Missioners, when they read Heathen Books, in which there is usually danger, as the Saint says he found himself. *Origin* speaks to this Point, *Self*. 4. cap. 4. above-cited, where he quotes the Proverb, *A great Philosopher is seldom a good Catholick*. This Subject has been handled in the 19th Chapter of the Second Book.

It is to be observ'd concerning the Philosopher *Confucius*, that tho he was not the Founder or Inventer of the Learned Sect; yet because he explain'd, made it more intelligible by his Doctrine, and explicated it, they gave him the Title of their *Head and Lawgiver*. So writes *F. Antony de Sancta Maria*, a Franciscan Missioner, in a Manuscript of his. In the same manner, as the Angelical Doctor *S. Thomas* has gain'd renown above all Divines, and obtain'd the name of *Prince*, and *Angel of the Schools*, for having explain'd, digested, and divided Divinity into Parts, Matters, Questions, and Articles; for the same Reasons the Learned *Chineses* have given their Philosopher *Confucius* the Title of their *Prince and Master*.

C H A P. I.

Of the Birth and Life of this Philosopher.

Kung Fu Zu, whom in our Parts we vulgarly call *Confucius*, is the greatest Oracle in *China*, and more celebrated and applauded there, than *S. Paul* is in the Church. In order to give some account of him, I will here set down the principal Passages of a Book there is in that Nation, intituled, *A Description of the Wonders and Miracles of Confucius*. The Book is full of Cuts, with the Exposition.

and Account of every one of them. *F. Trigaucius*, lib. 1. cap. 5. assigns the Birth of this Man to be 551 Years before the Incarnation of the Son of God. Others of his Society, whose Opinion I follow, affirm, that he was 645 Years before the coming of our Redeemer. So that this present Year 1675 is 2320 Years since his time. And tho such distant Antiquity burys the greatest things in Oblivion.

vion, yet this Philosopher lives at this time as fresh in memory of the *Chineses*, as if he had been born but yesterday.

2. The first Cut in the Book is a large, beautiful, and stately Tree, whose Branches stretch out largely on all sides, hanging thick with Stars instead of Leaves: Under the shade, and at the foot of this Tree, stands the Philosopher *Confucius*; his hands are on his Breast, and on his Head a swelling or bunch somewhat large, the Inscription runs thus; Elogies of the most holy Master our Predecessor, whose Virtues were sufficient to bring to light the ancient Doctrines concerning Heaven and Earth, well purg'd, explain'd and purify'd. A Doctrine that honours and crowns the Antients and Moderns, who gave Laws to future Ages.

3. The second Cut represents an ancient Countrywoman, under another starry Tree of the same shape and form as the last was describ'd. Her Employment is to offer Perfumes in a Fire on an Altar. There is also the Figure of a Maid-servant, and two little Boys attending her. The Inscription is thus; A Description of the Prayer on the Mountain, call'd *Ni*. It is explain'd in this manner: The Holy Mother, whose Name was *Jen Xi*, offer'd her Vows, and pray'd on the Mount *Ni Kin*. When she went up to the Mount, the Leaves of the Trees lifted and curl'd themselves up; when she went down, they bow'd to the ground. The first they did in token of joy and satisfaction, the latter signify'd submission and respect. She conceiv'd, and went with Child eleven Months. (S. *Thomas*, *opusc.* 28. *art.* 4. about the end, says, he saw a Woman, who was deliver'd of a great Boy the eleventh Month of her going with Child. *Aristotle* says, he saw one who was brought to bed the fourteenth Month. Thus it appears, *Confucius* might well be eleven Months in his Mother's Womb.) *Confucius* was born of her; on his Head he brought into the World with him a bunch, or swelling, in the shape of that Mountain, and this is the reason why he had the name of that Mountain, which is *Ni Kui*, given him for his Sirname. They very often call him so in the *Chinese* Books.

4. The third Cut represents an Unicorn, casting a Book out of his mouth in the presence of a Woman. The Inscription explicates it thus: A little before the Philosopher *Confucius* was born, there appeared to his Mother a wonderful and extraordinary Unicorn, which cast before her a small Book, as it were of Alabaster, in which were these Cha-

acters; *Son of Purity and rare Perfection, who coming of a mean Race, will come to be a wonderful Man, and most religious Prince.* His Holy Mother *Jen Xi* (the *Chineses* write Holy Mother, with these two Characters, *Xing Mu*; so they call this Woman we speak of, a great Idol, that was an Emperor's Concubine, and the Empress Dowager. The ancient Missioners took those two Letters to express the Blessed Virgin *Mary*, which their Successors and all Christians have follow'd) was surpriz'd at the Vision; the Unicorn let fall from his Horn a piece of Stuff of most beautiful Colours, and dropping it upon her hands, vanish'd.

5. The fourth Cut contains two wonderful Serpents, and four venerable old Men. The Inscription is, *Confucius* was born after night fall, and at the time of his Birth two prodigious Snakes were seen in his Mother's Chamber; five venerable old Men descended from above, who were five bright shining Stars.

6. The fifth Cut is of heavenly Musicians. The Inscription contains: In the Room where *Confucius* was born, sweet Harmony was heard, and heavenly Singing in the Air, the Voices expressing, That Heaven it self congratulated and rejoiced at the Birth of a Holy Son, and therefore celebrated his Nativity with Musick come from above. It adds, that after the Child was born, strange things were seen in the Room; and on his Breast were five Characters signifying, This Child shall give Peace to the Earth, by the good Laws he shall prescribe and establish on it.

7. The sixth Cut is of his Infancy, and expresses, that he being but six Years of Age, carry'd himself among other Children with such modesty and gravity, as if he had been sixty; and that whilst they were employ'd in Sports suitable to their Age, he with a religious Countenance was busy in making little Altars. As to this Man's Stature and Shape, they say, he was tall and brawny, of a grave Countenance, and very humble of Heart, and in his Words and Actions: His Eyes sharp, and so bright, that they look'd like two Stars; and he so discreet in his Actions, that he seem'd to know all things. Being sixty years of Age, after he had govern'd some Provinces very prudently and uprightly, forsaking all Employments, because he found the Government was wicked, poor, and contemptible, he travel'd throughout the Empire, preaching Virtue and natural Justice to all Men. In some places they affronted, in others they

they beat him, all which he bore with meekness, and an even temper: And they say of him further, that he was merriest when most despis'd; and when they turn'd him out of any Town, he would place himself under a Tree with a smiling Countenance, and play on a little Guitar he carry'd about with him.

8. One of the last Cuts tells us, that when he was 71 years of Age, having by that time made out and explain'd the *Chinese* Doctrine, he retir'd home to his House, where he liv'd in the exercise of Prayer, Fasting, and Alms-giving. As he was kneeling once, with his Face lifted up to Heaven towards the North, he saw a Rainbow descend from above, which put a Writing into his hands, carv'd on a Substance, which look'd like the purest Gold, and very transparent, but does not declare what was written. He receiv'd it, and dy'd at the Age of 73. He is bury'd in a stately Sepulcher in the same Town where he was born. When we were carry'd Prisoners to Court, we pass'd within four Leagues of it: *F. Francis de Sancta Maria*, a Franciscan, had been there before and seen it. Among other Trees, he said, he saw one without any Bark or Branches, wall'd in with Brick and Lime half way: There is a Tradition that *Confucius* when he was a Youth us'd to study in the shade of that Tree.

Per Jul.
3694.

9. The Histories of *China* tell us, that the Emperor *Cin Xi Hoang* (he reign'd 300 Years after the Death of this Philosopher) who was a mortal Enemy to the Sect of the Learned, caus'd many Scholars to be burnt alive; and the same he did by all the Books of *Confucius*, and other Masters, which treated of Moral Virtues. He also attempted to destroy the Sepulcher we have spoken of, caus'd the one half of it to be ruin'd, and they say there was a Stone found with these words on it: The Emperor endeavours to destroy my Sepulcher, and annihilate my Ashes, but he shall not compass it, for he shall very soon end his Life. So they affirm it fell out. This Emperor was to the Sect of the Learned, as *Dioclesian* was to the Church. The Lineage of *Confucius*, by one only Son he left, has been propagated and continued to this very day in the direct Male Line, without any failure in so many Ages: And tho there have been Wars, Rebellions, and Tumults, which utterly overthrew vast numbers of Citys, Towns, and other Places, yet *Confucius* his Town, his House and Family have ever continued. He that

liv'd in the Year 1668, was the 303^d Grandson. They ever enjoy'd the Privilege of Nobility and Revenues, they have been ever honour'd and respected by all Men, they are Lords of their Country. When we came away banish'd from Court, we were told that the *Tartar* had either taken away, or retrench'd the Revenue of him that was then living. He is no great lover of Learning, or Learned Men. I know not whether there be many Families in the World antienter than this.

10. The *Chineses* make the same account of this Philosopher's Doctrine, as we do of the Gospel. Some attribute to him a Knowledge infus'd, but he himself confesses he had none but what is acquir'd. I have heard Learned Christians say, that no Beast, Bird, or Insect, ever came within the inclosure of this Tomb, which takes up a large space of ground, nor was there ever found any Excrement, or other filthy thing within that place. I discours'd concerning this Subject with some Missioners, who do not agree to it, nor did *F. Antony* take notice of this particularity; but by this it appears that the Scholars, tho they become Christians, have still their Master in their very Bones, which is not at all to be doubted. However all agree that no Man came near this Man for Elegancy, Sharpness, and brevity of Style.

11. Some Missioners there are who make a Prophet of this Man, and this is printed in Latin; but others more antient of the same Society, laugh at and condemn this Notion. Even as in our Parts there are *Thomists*, *Scotists*, &c. so in *China* among the Missioners of one and the same Order there are *Confucians*, and *Anticonfucians*. The Elogies, Encomiums, and Praises, with which the *Chineses* extol and magnify their Master, are beyond expression. The same Christ said of the *Baptist*, *Among the Children of Women there has not been a greater than John*, &c. the *Chineses* say of their Philosopher, which is as much as can be said. I shall treat at large of the Worship and Veneration they pay him in the second Tome, where it shall also be prov'd that he was an absolute Atheist.

12. Here I will only observe 2 things. *Confucius* The first, that in order to prove his Atheism, an unanswerable Argument is made of the Doctrine of *S. Thomas*, *Lect. 6. in Cap. 10. Joan.* upon the words, *Believe my Works*. The Saint forms this Argument; *For there can be no such convincing proof of the nature of any thing, as that* which

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which is taken from its *Actions*, therefore it may be plainly known and believ'd of *Christ*, that he is *God*, forasmuch as he performs the *Works of God*. Then I argue thus; Therefore it evidently appears that *Confucius* was an *Atheist*, forasmuch as he taught the *Works of Atheists*. Since as even those of the contrary Opinion allow, he knew nothing of an *Immortal Soul*, or a *Reward* or *Punishment* in another *Life*, and much less of *God* according to the Opinion of his own *Disciples*. The second is, That *Confucius* us'd the same Expression which *Lactantius* relates, *Lib. 3. de fals. relig. cap. 20.* *Socrates made use of this famous Proverb; What is above us is nothing to us. But this is not to be taken notice of in Religion.* *F. Longobardus* the *Jesuit* most learnedly makes his *Observations* on this particular, and more shall be said to it in the *Sixth Book*.

13. Who would imagine but that the *Chineses* seeing so many *Wonders* as concurr'd in the *Conception*, *Birth*, and *Life* of their most loving *Master*, and all those *Circumstances* we have mention'd, would not lift up their *Thoughts* or *Heart* to consider there was some great *Deity* that caus'd and directed them? They are so far from it, that they persist in asserting that all things came to pass naturally and accidentally, and nothing can persuade them to the contrary. It is hard to say in *China*, that all we have mention'd a-

bove is mere *fiction*, for then they answer, It is likely all we write is so too. In these our *Parts* it is very rational to think all those *Stories* false and mere *Invention*.

14. I cannot agree to what *F. John Ro-* *Rodri-*
driguez says in his *Art of the Japoneses* *guez.*
Language, lib. 3. pag. 234. viz. that
Confucius was descended from some of the *ten Tribes of Israel*, which *Shalmaneser* carry'd into *Captivity*, and placed among the *Medes* and *Syrians*. *F. James Fabre*, contrary to the opinion of others of his *Society*, denys to this day that ever any *Jews* reach'd *China*. I gave an account before in a foregoing *Book*, how *China* was antienter than the *Captivity* of the *Ten Tribes*.

15. It cannot be deny'd but *Confucius* had his *Failings* and *Sins*, which the *Chineses* are sensible of. Read *F. Morales, Morales.*
fol. 215. where it is plainly own'd both by his *People*, and very *Learned Men*.

16. What has been writ above, is only a repetition of what the *Chineses* have printed; and since they believe it as they do, I know not why they should not look upon their *Master Confucius* as a *Saint*, and the greatest of *Saints*: it were a madness rather, when they confess the first part, to deny the second. It cannot be deny'd but that he writ very good things, as will appear by the account shall be given of him.

C H A P. II.

Some Sayings of Confucius.

1. A Great deal of what this *Master* writ is already translated into *Latin* by *F. Prosper Intorceta*; but several of his *Society* like not the first *Volume*. *F. Antony Gouvea*, Superior of their *Mission*, told me, that their *Fathers* residing in the *Northern Provinces*, would not give it their *Approbation*; and tho I did, said he, it was with *reluctancy* and against my *Will*, for I am of another *Opinion* contrary to what is there written. These are the very words of that grave and antient *Father*.

2. As I was talking in *Canton* concerning some *Opinions* printed in that *Book*, which are opposite to the *Antient* and *Modern Missioners* of that *Society*, *F. Fabre* Superior of that *Mission*, said to the *Author*; *Father Intorceta*, I did not read that *Book* when I gave leave to print it; but had I known it contain'd what has

been said here, I would not on any account have suffer'd it to be publish'd.

3. This is the reason why they would give the *Franciscans* and us the second *Volume* to read, which *F. Intorceta*, and three others of his standing had translated, tho they had said before, we should all give our *Opinions* of it; but I had sufficient intimation, that their own *Body* did not at all approve of it, and *F. Gouvea* and *F. Emanuel George* utterly condemn'd it. As to the first *Volume*, the *Translator* is not so much to be blam'd, for he did it the first *Year* he entred upon the *Mission*; it was too much precipitancy, to take upon him so soon to translate a *Language* so difficult and strange to *Europeans*. True it is, another had done the most considerable part before.

4. In the first Book, whose Title is, *Great Science or Wisdom*, Confucius says, The Wisdom of great Men consists in cultivating the inward Faculties, in making as it were a new People by their Example and Exhortations, and in following the Rule of Reason in all things.

M. This is as much as to say, that the speculative part is not sufficient to render Man perfect, but it is requisite the Practice go along with it, and that Virtue be made known by Actions: It also imports, as may be gather'd by the meaning and connexion, that he who has the charge of Souls committed to him, must first take care of his own, and then of those of others.

5. *M.* In all Business and Affairs there is the first and principal part, and another which is secondary, and less considerable: As in a Tree, the Root and Stock are look'd upon as the prime part, the Branches and Leaves as of less moment. To be virtuous, and endeavour to advance, and attain to Perfection in Virtue, is the prime and principal part of Man; to labour that others may be good, is the secondary and less considerable part.

6. *M.* The Emperor, and all his Subjects, even to the meanest Commoner, are bound, says Confucius, to adorn themselves with Virtues, and to live holily and virtuously.

7. *M.* If the prime and principal part, says he, be amiss, how can that which is but secondary, viz. the Government of the Subjects, be right? If he takes no care of his own Person, which is the first thing he ought to look to, and bends his Thoughts upon that which is of an inferior quality, viz. the Government of others, it will be absolute inverting all good Order.

8. He goes on. *M.* The Emperor Tang had these words carv'd on the Vessel in which he bath'd himself: *Let thy perpetual and continual study be to renew thy self inwardly; each day thou art to renew thy self, and ever to endeavour this renewing by the practice of Virtue.*

The Comment expounds, that the said words include the time past and to come, and that it implies he must repent of Crimes committed, and have a full purpose and resolution not to fall into them again. That this Emperor continually did so, and that he might not omit it whilst he was bathing, he had the words above-mention'd carv'd upon the bathing Vessel, which put him in mind of this commendable Exercise. This Heathen was most

singularly virtuous; had he attain'd any knowledge of God, he might vie with *Nava-rette*, the best in Europe. Confucius and others write of one of his Disciples, that he never committed the same Sin twice. A bold saying of a Heathen: He so heartily detested it, that he utterly forgot it, and only was careful to avoid it for the future.

9. The Book entituled, *Kang Kao*, says, (*Confucius* proceeds) Take great care to renew the People, and break your rest that they may live well and uprightly. This is what follows after a Man has renew'd himself.

10. The Comment expounding this Renewing, says, it consists in wiping off the stains of Sin, and returning to the same state as before committing it; as when a Cloth is wash'd, the Spots are taken out, and it becomes white and clean as it was at first.

11. The Emperor *Vuen Vuang*, says he, attain'd to the highest pitch of Perfection. As Emperor, he reach'd the top of Piety; as a Magistrate, the supreme degree of observance; as a Son, the furthest extent of Obedience to his Parents; as a Father, the greatest Love and Affection to his Children, and the utmost point of Fidelity and Sincerity towards his Neighbour.

12. He proposes this Emperor as a Mirror and Pattern of Virtue: The whole Empire gives him great Praise and Commendation; and certainly, according to their Histories, he was singular, and liv'd up strictly to the Rules of right Reason: It cannot be denied, but by that Nation he is look'd upon as a very holy Man.

13. I can hear and decide Law-suits (*says Confucius*) as well as any other; but what most concerns us is, to order it so that there may be no Suits. If it was as practicable as it is convenient, the Courts would be shut up, and Pens would take up some other Employment.

14. *Zeng Zu*, Confucius his Disciple, says to this purpose: Wicked Men cannot determine, or put an end to their Law-suits, therefore it is convenient to subdue the Hearts of the People, as well by Punishment, as good Turns and Instructions, exhorting them to mutual Love and Concord, which they that govern are oblig'd to do.

15. *Zeng Zu* will have these two Methods observ'd towards the Subjects, that they may live lovingly together, and have no Suits nor Controversies. That of Punishing the *Chineses* sufficiently make use of towards their People, this is the cause

cause they stand in such awe of the *Mandarines*, and that they have no Quarrels or fallings out, not that they want Courage, or Inclination; this sufficiently proves the Assertion. The *Tartar* takes the best course, he pardons no Man that is faulty. See à *Lapide* in 4 *Exod.*

The same Author proceeds:

16. Wicked Men when they are at liberty act wickedly, and there is no Crime they will not attempt; when they see virtuous Men they conceal their evil Inclination, and feign themselves Saints: but Men know them, as if they saw into them. What then does their dissembling avail them? Therefore it is said, that such as a Man is inwardly, such he will appear outwardly; and this is the reason why a virtuous Man takes such care of his interior part.

17. *Zeng* says further on: If the interior Part be disturb'd by any Passion, when a Man looks he does not see, when he hears he does not understand, when he eats he does not relish his Meat: Therefore the Proverb says, Men blinded with Affection, are not sensible of the Vices of their Children; and blinded by Avarice, they know not the greatness of

their Riches. It cannot be denied but that Passion blinds Men: Therefore it was *Publius Amilius* said, *It is hardly allow'd the Powers above to love and be wise.* It takes away the use of Reason, and even distracts: there are Examples enough of it in all parts.

18. He goes on. As a Mother embraces and lovingly hugs a new-born Son in her Arms, and eagerly satisfies his Desires, made known only by Looks and Tears; even so is a King to behave himself towards his Subjects, relieving their Wants tho they make them not known by words.

19. Many have written that the King is to be the Father of his Kingdom, but it is certainly much more, that he must behave himself towards it like a Mother, and be a loving and compassionate Mother to his Subjects. If the King, says he, is covetous, it is certain the whole Kingdom will be disturb'd, which will be, because all Men will follow the Example of the Head. *Bias* call'd Avarice the Metropolis of Vice. He that would be acquainted with its Deformity, may read *Corn. à Lap. in 6. 1 prim. ad Tim. v. 9, 10.*

C H A P. III.

Containing other Sayings and Sentences of Confucius.

1. **T**HE Emperor *Jas* and *Xun* govern'd with Piety and Affection, says he, and the Subjects imitated them in those Virtues. The Emperors *Kie* and *Cheu* govern'd tyrannically, and the Subjects imitated their Wickedness; for Inferiors are not so strict in following the Laws as the Example given them: Therefore if the Emperor have Virtue in him, he may require it of the rest; but if there be none in him, how can he blame his Inferiors for being without it?

2. If the Emperor (says the Book of Verses) does the Duty of a Father in his Palace towards his Children, of a Son towards his Parents, and of a Brother towards his Brothers, he will give Example to all the Empire, and all the Subjects will imitate him.

3. Do not that to your Inferiors which you dislike in your Superiors; and what you blame in your Inferiors, do it not to your Superiors: What you abhor in your Predecessors, leave not as an Example to your Successors; and what you detest in them that are gone, set it not as a Pre-

cedent to them that are to come: What you judg ill in those that are on your Right-hand, offer not to those on your Left, nor *à contra*. And to say it in a word, do not that to another which you would not have done to your self. This is call'd a good Rule of Government.

4. He is in the right in all he says: What is good is to be imitated in any Man; what is evil is to be hated in all Men. Observe whether such a one, or such a one did well in such or such an Action; if he did well, let him be brought as an Instance to be imitated; if ill, let him be an Example to shun the like. The Verses say, a kind and affable King is a Father and Mother to his Subjects.

5. This is a good Proposition, but it is to be observ'd, to be angry upon a just occasion is no breach of Meekness. Some Men would have Superiors mere Stocks. *S. Thomas* on *Rev. 2. Many Evils spring from too much Meekness and Forbearance.* *S. Gregory,* *Let there be Love, but not to fondness; let there be Piety, but not more than is requisite; let him that is sparing of both be commended for one*

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of them, so that Severity may not be too rigid, nor Meekness vicious. Seneca quoted by Hugo in 1 Gen. Be kind to all Men, remiss to none, familiar with a few, just to all.

6. He goes on. If the Emperor has the love of his Subjects, he is an Emperor, and has an Empire; if he loses this Love, he loses his Crown: so that his first Duty is to be watchful to acquire Virtue; when he has that, he will possess the Affection of his Inferiors; when these are for him, he will enjoy Lands; when he enjoys Lands, he will be rich; and being rich, will have all that is necessary for his private use, and to secure his Crown. Virtue is the prime Foundation, Riches are but the Superstructure. If the Emperor makes Riches his chief aim, he will move the People to Rebellion, and make way for Theft and Rapine. Therefore to heap Riches unjustly, is to destroy and ruin the Subjects. On the contrary, to distribute Riches with discretion, is gaining of the People. It is certain ill-gotten Wealth never comes to any thing.

7. The aforesaid Book goes on thus. An Author says, that only Empire is not lasting or permanent, because it fails when there is no Virtue in the Head of it. Hence it follows that a virtuous Emperor perpetuates his Crown, and a wicked one loses it. This Doctrine is very agreeable to holy Writ. *Eclus.* cap. 8. v. 10. says, *The Kingdom shall be transferr'd from Nation to Nation, because of Injustice, Wrongs, Slanders and Deceits.* The Scripture is full of Instances of this Truth.

8. *Kuei Fan*, a petty King, was wont to say, I prize or value nothing in this World but my Duty to my Parents, and Love and Meekness towards my Subjects. *Mo Kung*, who was King of *Cin*, was wont to say (all this is Doctrine taken out of the Book *Ta Hio*) If I had an upright and sincere Counsellor, open hearted and peaceable, free from the destructive Vice of Flattery, who would love Men of Worth and Parts, and would heartily respect Men of Learning and Wisdom, I should think I had enough to defend my Kingdom, and perpetuate my Crown. O what mighty Advantages my Kingdom and Subjects would reap by such a Man! On the other side; if my Favourite, or prime Minister is envious, and does not bestow Preferments on wise and virtuous Men, nor make use of them, he may ruin all. O what mighty mischief such a Man would cause in my Kingdom! I would remove him as far as possibly I could from me, and not suffer him

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to live within my Dominions. Therefore it is *Confucius* says, that only a wise and pious King knows how to love Men, and how to hate them: To love the Good, and hate the Wicked. *Nava-rette.*

9. He wrongs a good and virtuous Man, who sees and does not prefer him, and when he has done it, is not sorry that he did it no sooner. He sins and does ill, who seeing a wicked Man in high place, does not pull him down, and when down remove him at a distance.

10. It is not agreeable to human Reason to love that which all Men hate, or to hate that which all Men love. It is always suppos'd that what all Men do is good and real, tho it is no infallible Rule. In the first Chapter v. 5. of *Tobias*, *When they all went to the Golden Calves, this Man alone shun'd their Company.* All Men paid Religious Worship to *Nebuchadnezzar's* Statue, but the three Youths would not consent to follow the Example. *There is an infinite number of Fools.* For the most part the fewest in number are in the right, therefore it is the Apostle advises us, not to sute our selves to the World, and particularly to the unruly Multitude.

11. He goes on. If a Man plac'd in a high Post endeavours to be an Example of Virtue to his Inferiors, he will secure his Dignity; but if he proudly despises others, he will lose it. A strange Example of what I now write was seen in my time at *Manila*.

12. The Minister that is compassionate, and a lover of his People, makes himself respected, and is belov'd of all Men for the Riches he dispenses among them: But the wicked ill Man who oppresses his People, lives and dies hated by them all. It is ever found experimentally true, that when the King is compassionate, and a lover of his People, they make a suitable return of Love, and are faithful to him, being truly loyal to their King; the business of the Crown is done to content, and takes its due course. The People that love their King, in time of Peace preserve his Treasure, and in time of War defend it, as if it were their own.

13. *Sardanapalus* left 40 Millions of Gold, *Tiberius* 67, *David* 120: and the Author of the Holy Court, *Tom.* 4. p. 79. speaking of him, says, he offer'd to the building of the Temple 2123 Millions, a Sum to all appearance incredible. *Solomon* gather'd very much, and very much is implied by the words in *Ecclesiastes*, cap. 2. v. 8. *I gather'd me also Silver and Gold, &c.* The *Hebrews*, *Greeks*, and *Romans*

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mans took the same care. So do the *Tartars* and *Chineses*. The present Emperor's Father, two years before he dy'd, sent an Alms of 30000 Ducats to some places, where the Harvest had prov'd bad. His Grand-mother was more Liberal, for she sent 150000. It is not bestowing Charity, or relieving of Subjects, that runs Kings into debt; for the Subjects once oblig'd, upon occasion will give their Hearts blood to support their Sovereign. This is it the *Chinesse* Master means, when he says, that in peace the Subjects keep the Royal Treasure, and in War defend it as their own. *S. Thomas, lib. 1. cap. 10. Opusc. ut supra,* says the same: *When the Government of Kings is pleasing to the People, all the Subjects are as Guards to support it, and he needs not be at any charge with them; but sometimes in cases of necessity they give Kings more of their own accord, than Tyrants could have forced from them.* This verifies that of *Solomon, Prov. 11. There are (viz. Kings, says S. Thom.) that scatter their own (doing good to their Subjects) and yet grow richer. And there are (to wit, Tyrants) who take what is not theirs, and are always in poverty.* An excellent expression.

14. A Great *Mandarine* of the Kingdom *Lu* us'd to say, Those who maintain Coach and War-Horses, do not deal in Poultry and Swine; and if they do so, they hinder the People of their Profit, to whom that Trade belongs.

15. There were some Great Men, who through covetousness would stoop to mean and scandalous Trades. This Doctrine is very fit for Governours, Magistrates, Commanders, Officers and others, who monopolize in their Provinces and Circuits, Wine, Oyl, Vinegar, *Indian* Wheat, and all other mean Commodities; and by so doing, besides the breach of the King's Orders, they taint and vilify their Blood, which they so much glory in, and boast of; taking upon them, without any scruple, all the Mischiefs they bring upon the poor People. It happen'd at *Mexico*, not long before I came to that City, that some Gentlemen and Merchants meeting on account of a Brotherhood, a Gentleman stept out, and very proudly said, It was not proper that the Gentlemen should walk indifferently among the Merchants in the Procession, but that each Rank should go by it self distinct from the rest. A Merchant stood up and said: I like what Mr. N. has propos'd, for it is not proper that the Merchants who deal in Velvet, rich Silks,

Cloth of Gold, &c. should mix with the Gentlemen, who trade in *Indian* Wheat, Roots, Long Pepper, and such like things. This was all true, and they were fain to take it for their pains. All the World grows more deprav'd every day. The Learned Men of *China* look'd upon Merchandizing as a shame and dishonour; yet of late years even the Great *Mandarines* are fallen to it. They are in some measure excusable, because having no other Estates or Revenues but the Emperor's allowance, which is small, and their Expences great, they must of necessity find some other support, which is by Trading, not in Oyl, Vinegar, and such like things, but in Silks and precious Wares. But why should they who have but too much Pay, Income, and Estate of their own, foul their hands with those things that do not belong to their Profession? The Merchants in *France* told me, Trade was much exalted in that Kingdom, for even the King himself was concern'd in it. I do not speak of Church-men in this place, for there are an hundred impediments that render them uncapable of this business. Besides the Bull of *Urban* the 8th, there are three others of *Alexander* the 7th, *Clement* the 9th, and *Clement* the 10th.

16. Sovereigns, says the *Chinesse*, do not harbour in their Houses, or protect wicked Tax-gatherers; if any one does, let him understand it is better to harbour and entertain a Thief, than such a one. A Thief wrongs a few, but a wicked Receiver wrongs all. A certain Person said, Kings did not advance their Kingdoms by their Personal Interest or Profit, but by their Goodness and Love to their People, and the Loyalty of their Subjects. If a King employs himself in gathering Riches, this doubtless proceeds from the iniquity of his Ministers. If it happen that such as these govern the Kingdom of Heaven, and of Men, great Troubles and Calamities will ensue. And granting there be some good Ministers, yet how can they hinder the ill Government of the bad?

17. The design of *Confucius*, and the scope of all his Doctrine, tends to make a good Ruler; and his Principle is, that he who knows how to govern himself, will govern his Family well; he that can govern his Family will know how to govern a Kingdom; he that governs a Kingdom well, will know how to maintain and keep an Empire in peace. On the other hand, he that cannot govern himself is good for nothing. So says *S. Greg.*

S. Greg. lib. 4. Moral. cap. 20. For it is hard that he who knows not how to order his own life, should judg of another Mans. And *Cato*, That he is a bad Prince, who knows not how to govern himself. And *St. Paul*, 1 Tim. 3. He that knows not how to rule his House, &c. Read *S. Thomas* and *Cajetan* to this purpose. It appears by this and other Books, that his aim is to have men live well, love virtue, and hate vice. *Pythagoras* his design was the same, and he according to Chronology was contemporary with *Confucius*. For *Pythagoras* according to *S. Thomas*, lib. 4. de Reg. Princ. liv'd two Ages before *Aristotle*. And *Confucius*, according to the Fathers of the Society, liv'd 160 years before *Aristotle*; so that the difference is but small. *S. Tho-*

mas, lib. 4. cap. 21. says of *Pythagoras* out of *Justin*, that, He daily prais'd Virtue and run down Vice, and reckoned up the disasters of Cities that had been ruin'd by this Plague; and he perswaded the multitude into so earnest a desire of frugal Learning, that it seem'd incredible that any of them had been given to Luxury. At one time he taught some of them (the Youth) Continency, then others Modesty, and application to Learning. Then after much more to the purpose, he concludes: By which it appears, that in his Polity all his design and endeavours tended to draw Men to live virtuously; which *Aristotle* also teaches in his Politicks. Nay and all true Policy is destroy'd if once we swerve from this end. *Confucius* practis'd and aim'd at the same thing.

*Nava-
rette.*

C H A P. IV.

Other Sentences of the same Author, set down in his Book call'd Lun Ju.

1. **I**N this Book, which is divided into Treatises, there are some sayings of *Confucius*, and of his Scholars, all tending to the same end we spoke of above. I will here insert those I think most to the purpose. The Masters I will distinguish by the Letter *M.* and these of his Disciples by the Letter *D.* which will prevent any mistake in the Reader.

2. *M.* It is incredible that a Man should be obedient to his Parents within doors, and not be so abroad to his Superiors and Magistrates. It is so too, that he who opposes his Superiors, should not be a lover of Broils and Tumults.

3. *D.* I examine my heart every day, says *Meug Zu*, to three Points. First, whether in transacting any business for the advantage of my Neighbour, I did it with all possible care, and a sincere mind. Secondly, whether when I converse with my Friends and Companions, I behave my self with fidelity and truth. Thirdly, whether I benefit or not by what my Master teaches me.

4. Most Excellent Doctrine! There have been other Antients who were careful of examining their Consciences. *Seneca* writes of *Xistus* the Stoick, that at Night he retir'd to his Closet. and acting the severe Judg over himself, took a strict account of all he had done that day. Answer for thy self Man, said he, what Vices hast thou corrected in thy self this day? What is it thou hast mended thy Life in? How hast thou fought against sin? How hast thou employ'd thy time? Cer-

tain it is, says *Seneca*, that the consideration of the Account Man is to call himself to, regulates and moderates his actions. What did *Seneca*? He tells us: At Sun-setting I retire to discourse with my self concerning my own affairs: I search over the whole day by my self, and weigh over my sayings; I hide nothing from my self, I pass over nothing: I let nothing escape me, I forgive my self nothing. *Cicero* says of himself, that he every Night call'd to mind three things: What I thought in the Day, what I said, what I did. He examin'd his Thoughts, Words and Deeds. *Virgil* in *Epigram*. owns he did the same.

5. *M.* It is requisite for the good Governing of a Kingdom, that the King underhand and by the by look into all business. It is his duty to be faithful and just in distributing Rewards and Punishments. He is to be modest and stay'd in his words. That he may abound in Riches, let him love his Subjects, as a Father loves his Children; and if he must employ his People, let it be at a time that may not obstruct their tilling.

6. Faithful in keeping his Word with his Subjects, this is contrary to the Doctrine *Cardinal Richlieu* would have establish'd in *France*; I was told it by *Grave Fathers* of the Society, and *French Men* of great Reputation, so that he would not have the King oblig'd to keep his Word with his Subjects and Inferiors.

7. *M.* If a Man loves wife and learned Persons, as precious things are lov'd; if

he uses his utmost endeavours to serve his Parents, and ventures his life in the service of his Prince, and just is and faithful in his dealings and conversation with his Friends; tho' all the World should say of him that he has not study'd, I will always defend and maintain that he has been conversant enough in the Schools.

8. *M.* If a Man want Stayedness and Gravity, he will have no authority over others. And tho' outward Modesty and Gravity be very requisite in a publick Person, yet the main stress lies upon that which is within him, that is, upon his sincerity and the fairness of his carriage.

9. *M.* Have you find? Mend then, be not daunted at the difficulties that appear in forsaking Vice, it behoves you manfully to oppose them all.

10. *M.* If Superiors and Governours exactly observe the Funeral Ceremonies at the Interment of their Dead, and appear careful in sacrificing to them, the Virtue of Piety will advance and increase in the Subjects and meaner sort.

11. *M.* Affability is much look'd upon in conversing and dealing among Men. The first Emperors were possess'd of this Virtue, and it help'd them to compass all their affairs whether great or small.

12. *D.* If the Engagement made be agreeable to Reason, it ought to be fulfill'd; if the Service done to another is conformable to the Law, and the honour given him is due, it ought all to be perform'd, and no other motives ought to obstruct it.

13. *D.* The Man that endeavours to follow the dictates of Reason, does not seek satiety in Meat, eats to preserve life, and so makes use of Food as it were of a Medicine. He seeks not his own ease and conveniency in this life, he is diligent in business, sincere in words, he does not rely on his own judgment, but rather humbly desires Learned Men to govern and direct him. He that acts after this manner, may safely be call'd a lover of Virtue.

14. *M.* Be not concern'd for that you are not known by Men, be troubled because thou hast not known Men. The curious Reader may see *S. August. Conf. 8. cap. 19.*

15. *M.* The King that governs his Kingdom virtuously and justly, is like the North-Star, which being fix'd it self, is the rule the rest go by.

16. *M.* If the King governs only by the Laws, and only inflicts punishments and penalties, it will follow that the People will be obedient to him for fear; but this Government is not lasting of it self. If he governs virtuously and lovingly, it will follow the Subjects will be obedient to him through affection, and will be asham'd to do amiss.

17. *M.* If you desire to know a Man, examine three things in him. First, what it is he does. Secondly, to what end he does it. Thirdly, what it is he fixes his heart and mind upon.

18. *M.* The King that is void of Virtue, and yet conceited, will easily incline to Vice, and by that means will endanger losing his Crown. If a King of great wisdom and abilities, thinks himself ignorant; if being virtuous and deserving, yields to others, thinking better of them; and if being strong and powerful, he judges himself weak and low; then will he secure his Crown, and preserve his parts and good qualities.

19. *M.* The perfect Man loves all Men, he is not govern'd by private affection or interest, but only regards the publick good, and right reason. The wicked Man on the contrary loves if you give, and likes if you commend him.

20. There are too many in the World who act and are govern'd by passion, and private affection. We were confin'd in the Metropolis of *Canton*, four years the Christians had been destitute of Priests, those of the Metropolis of *Fo Kien* sent for one of those Fathers that absconded, he heard their Confessions, preach'd too, encourag'd them, reduced some Apostates, baptiz'd many, administer'd the Sacrament of the Holy Eucharist, and did all that belongs to the duty of a good Minister. Another Missioner to whom that Church belong'd before the Persecution had notice of it, and having complain'd several times two years before, because our Religious *Chinese* had perform'd the same Function among his Christians, he now writ to the principal Christian, who call'd the said Father, and chid him for what he had done for the good of his Soul, and of the rest. Is this taking care of the publick Good, or acting for private Interest? It is to be observ'd that the Sacristan would not lend a Chafuble to say Mass, and that tho' all the Christians had confess'd at that time, he alone would not.

C H A P. V.

Other Documents of the same nature.

1. **M**. He that studies, and does not meditate, ruminates, and reflect, must needs forget and remain as ignorant as at first. He that meditates and considers, if he does not study, and labour that his study may be agreeable to good and wholesom Doctrine, will always continue full of Doubts, and be subject to many Errors.

2. *M.* He that governs himself, and guides others by ill Doctrines, forsaking those of Holy Men, is the cause of much mischief.

3. It is the Doctrine of his antient Emperors he calls the Doctrine of Holy Men, or Saints; this name they bestow on them, and look upon them as such. All others but these are look'd upon by their Learned Men as Heretical. More shall be said to this purpose in another place.

4. *M.* It is true Knowledge for a Man to affirm he knows what he knows, and flatly to declare he is ignorant of that he knows not.

5. This Answer the Master gave a conceited Disciple of his own, who ask'd him concerning this Point, and it is much the same as the *Yea, Yea,* and *Nay, Nay,* in the Gospel, without using any double meanings or equivocations. Which is agreeable to what *S. Augustin* teaches *Tom. 3. in Inchr. cap. 57.* see more there.

6. *M.* If when you hear several things you doubt of some of them, do not make known your Doubt, but keep it in your Heart, that by study you may dive into the Truth. In other respects talk cautiously and considerately, and by that means few faults will be found in your words. If you observe, in what you see in the World, that something is not suitable to your Inclination, do it not, and be diligent and careful in all your Actions, and in so doing you will have but little to repent of; and if your words do not offend others, and you have nothing to repent of in your Actions, high Places and Preferments will drop into your hands, and there will be no need of your seeking after, or making court for them. He deduces a Consequence suitable to the Principles of his Policy.

7. *M.* A petty King ask'd him, What he must do to keep his Subjects under? He answer'd, Put good and virtuous Men

into Employments, and turn out the wicked.

8. *M.* A Governor ask'd him, What means shall I use, that the People may honour, respect, and not defraud me, or contemn my Orders, and that they may love one another, and addict themselves to Virtue? He answer'd, If you manage your Peoples Concerns with gravity and modesty, they will honour and respect you; if you are obedient to your Parent, and bountiful and compassionate to all Men, your People will be faithful and obedient to you; if you reward good Men, and give a good example in your Behaviour, you will bring your People to live in Peace.

9. *M.* If you offer Sacrifice to a Spirit to whom Sacrifice is not due from you, it is acting the Flatterer.

The literal sence of this Doctrine shall be handled in another place. Here we must observe the words of the Commentator *Chang Ko Lao*, which are, That *Confucius* his Design is to teach us, that no Man ought to meddle in that which does not belong to him, nor must he dive into that which is above his condition and capacity.

10. *M.* If you perceive or understand that a thing is good, just, and holy, and that in reason it ought to be done, and yet you will not do it, either for fear, or any other human motive, you are not brave, nor a Man of Courage.

11. *M.* In that great Sacrifice which only the Emperors offer every 5 Years in the Temples of their Predecessors departed; I own, that tho I like the first Ceremonies, for which reason I am present at them with satisfaction; yet from the time they begin the Ceremony of pouring the Wine on the ground, with all that follows till the end, I have not the face to look on them, tho I be present, because it is all done with little reverence.

12. This seems to have been a Pontifical Sacrifice, for the Emperors play'd the Priests; Wine was offer'd nine times, and it was pour'd on the ground as often. The design of this Ceremony was, to invite the Souls of the Dead to be present at the Sacrifice. They practise the same to this day, which some Missioners call *Policy*. Of this in its proper place. Here

Here we only observe the Reverence *Confucius* himself had, and requir'd in others that assist'd at those Sacrifices.

This is good for us that say and hear Mass.

13. *D.* The Disciples report that *Confucius* sacrific'd to his Friends departed, with as much gravity, staidness and reverence, as if they had been there really present.

All these Sacrifices only respect'd the airy Souls which the living imagin'd met in the Temples. Notwithstanding this was so gross an Error, yet that Man was so modest and full of respect in that place.

14. *M.* When I do not behave my self with reverence and devotion at Sacrificing, it is the same thing as if I did not sacrifice.

15. What was said before, answers the design of this Sentence, and hits them, who when they hear Mass are prating and observing all that comes into the Church, with less respect than when they are talking to a Man of any Worth. These are very criminal Oversights. We find that new Converts outdo the old Christians in this and many other particulars. The *Indians* in the *Philippine Islands*, and the Converts in *China*, hear two, three, or four Masses, if there are so many, with all imaginable respect and modesty, and both Knees on the ground. *Solomon* put both his Knees to the ground, *3 Kings*, chap. 10. v. 54.

16. *D.* Whensoever *Confucius* enter'd into the great Temple dedicated to Prince *Cheu Kung*, where he was to offer Sacrifice by the duty of his Place, he enquir'd into, and inform'd himself particularly concerning all the Ceremonies, that he might not err in the Sacrifice, which he said was most agreeable to Reason.

17. I have several times observ'd, that some Churchmen make it a piece of Policy not to regard Ceremonies. They are exact in learning the *Chinese* Compliments, which are many and troublesome, and yet they look upon it as a matter of less moment to acquaint themselves with those that belong to their Profession. *Oleaster*, in *Num.* handles this Subject.

18. *M.* If Superiors are affable to those under their Charge; if they are too stately in their Behaviour; and if they do not show sorrow and concern at their Death, how will it appear that they are wise and virtuous?

19. *M.* The prudent and perfect Man has regard only to Reason and Justice; if a thing is just, he infallibly puts it in

execution; if unreasonable, he forbears to do it. He is not fond of his own Opinion and Conceit.

20. *M.* A virtuous Man thinks on nothing but what is good; he that is vicious and wicked, is wholly taken up with earthly things. A good Man, in his bodily Affairs, has regard to the Laws, which he does not break for his own private Advantage. A wicked Man only regards his Interest, without taking notice of the Laws. He that only regards his own Profit, and acts for his Advantage, must of necessity find Enemys.

21. *M.* A virtuous Man is not troubled because he wants an Employment, or Preferment, he is concern'd that he has not the Parts requisite for an Employment. He is not sorry that he is not known by Men, but because he is not so qualify'd as to be known by all.

22. *M.* A good Man, when he sees any virtuous Person, immediately endeavours to imitate him; if he sees a wicked one, he examines himself whether he is guilty of that failing, and labours to correct it.

23. *M.* Children ought to reprove their Parents Faults with Affection: if they take not the Reproof, let them repeat it with Respect and Reverence; if they find they take it ill, let them bear it patiently, without being offended at them.

24. Brotherly Reproof, either among Equals, or to Superiors, or Inferiors, is much applauded in *China*. *Confucius* makes it a Duty towards Parents, in which case there is no doubt much prudence and caution must be us'd, because it being a spiritual Alms, must be so bestow'd that it may profit, and not do harm. If a Father be somewhat haughty, all is lost.

25. *M.* Ill Men cannot hold out long in Poverty, for through impatience they fall into Thefts and Robberys. Nor is their Joy and Satisfaction lasting, for their Crimes are discover'd, and they receive due punishment. But good Men patiently and quietly persevere in Virtue, in which they place their Confidence, and not on Riches.

26. *M.* If a Man seriously and solidly embraces Virtue, it is certain he will not sin.

27. *M.* A perfect Man does not only patiently bear with Poverty, and a mean Condition, but he never swerves from Virtue. In Adversity he always values himself upon being near to that which is good, and not separated from it.

28. *M.*

28. *M.* That Learned Man who aims at Perfection, and is ashamed to wear mean Clothes, and feed on coarse Diet, does not deserve I should discourse with him concerning Perfection and Virtue.

29. *S. Thomas, Opus. 19. c. 8.* fully proves the Duty of wearing mean Apparel, especially in those who preach up Humility, Mortification, and Penance; which ought to be done by all that get into the Pulpit, after the Example of Christ our Lord, *S. John Baptist, Elias, &c.* All the difficulty is, whether this Doctrine binds the Missioners in *China*, or not. Some, and chiefly the Modern Divines, affirm the Negative; they positively maintain that Country requires we should clothe our selves like Gentlemen, and behave our selves like Marquesses, according to the Opinion of *F. Augeri*. Yet others, and they antienter, of the same Family, hold the contrary Opinion;

and even among the younger there are some, as the Fathers *Lubeli* and *Torrente*, *Navarrette*, who abhor the first Opinion; they several times told me so. Certain it is, the two last Preachers in the World shall be cloth'd, as *S. John* says, *Rev. 11. I will give to my two Witnesses, &c. clothed in Sackcloth.* The Comment says, *Preaching Penance, and teaching it by their Example.* And another; *And according to their Example must ye preach.* And what is yet more, it is certain they will not change their Apparel tho they go into *China*. Read *Humbertus, c. 1. p. 3. erudit. Relig.*

30. *M.* The Antients were very brief in Words; they were ashamed their Words should go beyond their Actions. All their care was how to act, not how to speak. A virtuous Man must be slow in Words, but diligent in Actions.

CHAP. VI.

Other Sentences and Sayings of the third Treatise of the Book Lun Ju.

1. *M.* *Nang Jung* my Disciple is such a Man, that when the Kingdom is in Peace, he preserves his Post; and when the Kingdom is in an Uproar, he is so discreet and of such sweet behaviour, that he always comes off free and in Peace with all Men.

2. It was no small discretion to know how to save himself in time of War or Peace. *Confucius* lik'd this Man so well, that he gave him his Daughter to Wife. He fulfill'd that of *Eccl. 7. v. 27. Give her to a wise Man.*

3. *M.* A certain Governour of the Kingdom *Lu*, was so circumspect in his Duty, and did all things so considerately, that before he would put any Matter in execution, he would weigh it with himself three times, or oftner. *Confucius* told him, it was enough to pause upon business once or twice, and that would make it more easy.

4. *M.* He tells of another Governour, who in time of Peace govern'd very discreetly; and when any Uproars were, feign'd himself a Fool and mad; yet in private he gave the King good Advice, to reduce the People, and bring them under.

5. *M.* They ask'd him, what it was he wish'd and desir'd? He answer'd, That all antient Men enjoy Peace and Quietness, and want neither Food nor Raiment; that

there be no breach of Trust, but fair dealing among Friends; that Youth be well taught and instructed; and whatsoever Men wish themselves, I wish they may obtain. This is what I covet, wish, and desire.

6. *M.* It is a great misfortune, that I have not yet known any Man who truly is sensible of his Faults, and heartily repents of them.

7. *M.* Those ought to look upon themselves as weak Men, who tho they make use of all their strength, cannot go through with what they have begun.

8. *M.* A vertuous and perfect Man does not study to gain Renown and grow rich; a base and ungenerous Person does.

9. Few virtuous Men will be found at present in *China*, or the rest of the World. Sciences are now become Arts to get Bread, and grow famous by. And God grant Preachers do not cast an eye this way, which will be intolerable.

10. *M.* Who can go in or out of the House, but at the Door? Why then don't Men endeavour to do their business by the way of the Door, which is Reason and Justice?

11. The *Tartars, Chinese, and Moguls*, are very circumspect in not carrying Women to the War, not to avoid the Sin, but because they are sensible how opposite

Sen-

Navarrette.

Sensuality is to the end of War. I was told at *Seratte*, that the *Subagi Mogul* was extraordinary careful that no Woman should be in his Army; and if he hapned to find one, he immediately turn'd her out, first cutting off her Hair and Ears.

12. *M.* If the sincerity and plainness of the Heart exceeds the outward Ornament, a Man will appear ignorant and savage. If the exterior Ornament and polite Conversation exceeds the candor of the Mind, a Man will be like an Orator, whose whole care is on his Words, and not on the substance of the Matter. But if the outside and sincerity of the Mind be equal, then will a Man be perfect.

13. I believe the outward Ornament is not taken care of so much in any part of

the World as in *China*. Whatsoever they do or say, is so contriv'd, that it may have a good appearance, please all, and offend none. Doubtless that Nation outdoes all others in Modesty, Gravity, good Words, Courtesy, Civility, Behaviour, and good Conversation; would to God their inside were as good.

14. *M.* All Men naturally are upright, and are born adorn'd with a Light, which teaches them to follow good, and eschew evil; but if sinning, they darken this Light and live, it is a great happiness to escape Death.

15. *M.* Those who only know the value of Virtue, are not to be compar'd with those that love it; nor those who only love it, with those that practise it.

C H A P. VII.

Of Confucius his Doctrine contain'd in the fifth Treatise of the Book, Lun Ju.

1. *M.* I am a Publisher, not the Inventer of the Doctrine I preach and teach the World. I love and honour the Doctrine of the Antients, in which I resemble, tho unworthily, the venerable *Pung*, upon being whose Disciple I value my self.

2. The Author *Pung* liv'd almost a thousand Years before *Confucius*, who valu'd himself very much upon being reckon'd Disciple to him, and others of the Antients. *Confucius* observ'd what *Eccles.* teaches, *cap.* 8. v. 9, 11, & 12. and therefore said, His Doctrine was not his own. He hated Novelty, and only look'd upon what was antient as true and solid.

3. *M.* It is the part of a Master to read silently, and meditate over and over on what he has read, and never to be weary of studying and teaching all Men, without exception of Persons. This being so as it is, how can I presume to say, I am qualify'd for the degree of a Master?

4. *Confucius* confesses himself unworthy of being a Master; in this he expresses some Humility, his Disciples do not follow his Example. There is an infinite number of Masters and Doctors in *China*; it is true, their Examinations are severe, and that they are most mighty careful and circumspect in this particular: Were it so in all the Universities in the World, there is no doubt there would be a less number of Graduates. In order to give their Degree to 50 or 60 Masters, there usually meet six or 7000 Batchelors, chosen out of many more. Degrees are the

Reward of those that study.

5. *M.* That I have not employ'd my self in acquiring Virtue; that I have not employ'd my self in asking, and in discoursing upon what I have study'd; that I have not observ'd the good things I have heard; that I have not amended my Faults, is the cause of my sorrow and trouble.

6. *M.* He says, his Disciple *Jen Jung* is such a Man, that if Kings put him into any Employment, he accepts of it without the least reluctancy, and does his best in it to the utmost. If they slight and turn him out of his place, he goes home without any concern, and lives there quietly and peaceably. I and my Disciple have this good quality.

7. *D.* The Disciples say, *Confucius* their Master was very circumspect about three Particulars. 1. Of the Fasts he kept to sacrifice to his dead Ancestors. 2. In War, when he serv'd there, or his Advice was ask'd about Military Affairs. 3. In Sickness; when well, he took great care of his Health; but when sick, his care was extraordinary.

8. *D.* They also tell us of *Confucius*, that he was so eager at study, that he forgot his Meat; and when he was satisfy'd about some difficult Point, he was so overjoy'd, that he forgot all his Troubles. He was so besides himself, with the exercises of Learning and Virtue, that he did not reflect, or consider on his great Age.

9. It is no difficult matter to make out this Truth, so that it is no wonder *Confucius*

Confucius should be so much besides himself on account of his Study. Of my self I must own, that when in *China* I apply'd my self to learn the *Mandarine* Language, I did it with so much application, that I sometimes went to Bed with my Spectacles on my Nose, and the best of it was, that the next day I could not find them till after Dinner, tho I sought about for them very carefully: At another time, I was a quarter of an hour looking for my Spectacles, and had them all the while on my Nose; I was a little impatient, my Companion came to me, and I complaining that I could not find them, he very pleasantly took them off my Nose and gave them me.

10. *D.* They also say he was a mighty lover of Musick, at the hearing whereof he would be in a Rapture and besides himself.

11. The Musical Instruments in *China* are neither so various, nor so good as ours: They have no Organs, nor any knowledg of them, they who have seen them at *Macao* admire them very much, in my time a little one was carry'd to the Emperor: *F. Matthew Riccius* presented another in his time. *Spondanus* says, the first that ever was in *Europe*, was presented to the Emperor *Pepin* in the year 766.

12. *M.* I am not wise, says he, from my Birth, but because I ever lov'd and honour'd the Doctrine of the Antients, and because from my Infancy I apply'd my self to the study of it, that is the reason I attain'd it.

13. This Point has been touch'd upon above: By this it appears that *Confucius* his being born learned is false, tho all the Learned Men affirm it; observe the reason he gives of his attaining to Learning.

14. *M.* Some said Virtue was very difficult, and requir'd much Labour to attain it. *Confucius* answer'd, It is near and easy enough for those that have a mind to it.

15. *M.* Once when they rail'd at him he said, I am happy and fortunate; for if I happen to commit a fault, there is presently some body to proclaim my Crime, so they help me to amend it.

16. *M.* A perfect Man is not disturb'd or perplex'd at the Changes of this World; a Sinner and wicked Person is ever restless.

17. *M.* *Tai Pe*, says *Confucius*, may be call'd a Man of extraordinary Virtue; there was nothing wanting that might make him so, nor could he receive any

addition; he generously resign'd the Crown, and that so privately, that his People knew nothing of his Design, to give him the Praises due to such an Action. *Nava-rette.*

18. King *Tai Vuang*, who liv'd 700 years before *Confucius*, had three Sons; *Tai Pe* was the eldest, *Cung Jung* the second, and *Ki Lie* the third. The Father attempted to usurp the Empire; his eldest Son oppos'd him, because he would not be disloyal to the Emperor (a right Noble Son) For this reason, and for that *Tai Vuang* had a great Affection for his youngest Son, the first and second met and agreed to leave the World, and privately retire into some remote Region. They did so, and went away to the Country call'd *King Man*, where they liv'd the rest of their days poorly and meanly. The *Chinese* Master highly commends the elder for this Action, and the second Brother who bore him company deserves no less Praise. The two Youths were well convinc'd of the Instability of Worldly Affairs. What Wars and Tumults would this have caus'd in another place? God forbid such a thing should happen in *Europe*.

19. *M.* If a Man serves and does not do it as he ought, he brings himself into trouble, and is uneasy to him he serves. If a stout Man wants Discretion, he will cause Tumults and Discord: If a just and upright Man is not prudent, he will prove harsh and severe.

20. The *Chinese* Master treats of the Obedience due to Parents, which tho it be the most remarkable thing in *China*, yet some are faulty in this respect, especially when Parents in their Life divide their Substance among their Children, and leave themselves to their Mercy. *S. Thomas opusc. 7. Præcept. 4. §. 2.* condemns this manner of proceeding, and urges against it the words of *Ecclus. c. 6. Give not thy Son, thy Wife, thy Brother, and thy Friend Power over thee in thy Life-time; and give them not thy Possession in thy Life-time, lest thou repent thee.* Many *Chineses* at this time repent them of what they did for their Sons, being experimentally made sensible of their Ingratitude, and the ill return they make to those that gave them their Being. This is seldom seen in our parts; in the *Speculum Exemp.* there is one much to the purpose, *John Basilius Sanctorus* brings it.

21. *D.* He that is qualified to be Tutor to a young King, and his Parts fit to be intrusted with the Government of a Kingdom, and behaves himself faithfully and loyally in both respects, without be-

ing discourag'd or dismay'd tho there happen to be Tumults and Rebellions; he I say may justly be term'd a generous and perfect Man.

22. Some Examples of this sort have been written already. S. Thomas *opusc.* 61. c. 1. §. *de prudentia*, says, Four things must concur to make a Man stedfast in any thing; a *bashful Fear*, *fear of Punishment*, *hope of Praise*, and *hope of Profit*: And there are four things that make a Man perfect; *to worship God*, *to love his Neighbour*, *to do as he would be done by*, and *not to do that to another which he would not have done to himself*. The Perfection the Chinese speaks of wants the first of these Qualifications, which is the chiefest.

23. L. Those who have the Power of Government ought to be magnanimous and patient.

24. He is much in the right. I will here set down those four Particulars S. Thomas mentions *opusc.* 61. c. 2. as requisite for a King to govern well; *To govern his Subjects with Fatherly Rule*, *to purchase Friends by Merit*, *to show himself placable or affable to any that sue to him*, *to execute Justice on Delinquents with Mercy*. He assigns four other Circumstances for the Government of Prelates, *Affiduity in Duties of their Office*, *Decency in their Actions*, *Exactness in their Government*, *Meekeness in Reproof*. The Saint goes on discouraging curiously on what is requisite to every Employment.

25. M. It is not easy to find any in this World that will labour and study eagerly many years, and not regard any thing that is temporal.

C H A P. VIII.

Other Sayings of Confucius and his Disciples.

1. **M**O how great was the Virtue of the Emperors *Xun* and *Ju*! they rul'd this World, and thought not themselves great; they only priz'd Virtue, and only valn'd themselves upon loving their Subjects!

2. The Emperor *Jao* excluded his Son *Tan* from the Succession, and left the Crown to *Xun*; this Man was a Peasant on the Mountains call'd *Lie Xan*; he fled from Honours and Preferments, and they persud'd him. He wept much, because with all his Endeavours he could not gain the Love of his Parents, of a Sister-in-law, and a younger Brother: His Sister-in-law attempted to kill him, and tho he knew of it, he never complain'd of her. Being made Emperor, he quite forgot that and other Wrongs he had receiv'd. An excellent Temper, good Nature, and rare Inclination! but it was a mighty pity he should want the knowledg of God.

3. *Confucius* prosecutes his Praises, and says, he was a Father and Mother to his Subjects, reign'd 60 years, and died aged 110, after he had taken a Progress throughout the whole Empire. He was the eighth Emperor.

4. Their Histories tell us great matters concerning *Ju*: The greatest Action he did was to drain the Land: All the Plains were overflow'd, either with the Waters of the universal Deluge, or some other particular Inundation that

happen'd in that Country, as did in other places. About the year 2258 The first was about the year 88. of Jacob. A Lapide in 47 Gen. v. 27. The second in the 67th year of Moses. there was one in *Achaia* call'd *Ogygeum*; about 2550 was that of *Deucalion*, which drowned *Theffaly*; such another might happen in *China*: However it happen'd the good Emperor *Ju* made Drains and Trenches to carry off that Water into the Sea, which render'd the Country habitable. Concerning this Emperor *Confucius* says,

5. M. I find nothing that deserves blame in the Emperor *Ju*, he was sparing in Diet, very religious in his Sacrifices to the Heavenly and Earthly Spirits, his Apparel mean, but rich when he offer'd Sacrifices, his Palace moderate; but he was very careful in digging Ponds and Trenches to hold Water that might be useful in time of Drought, and to carry it away when there were Floods. He was a true despiser of Himself, and a sincere lover of his People.

6. The Emperor *Xun* passing by his Son *Xang* unregarded, left the Empire to *Ju*; *Ke* hearing what Employment was design'd him, fled and hid himself, but being discover'd and found out by the Kings, was placed on the Throne (this is like what happen'd to S. *Gregory* the Great.) Among his other good Qualities one has been mention'd in another place, which was, his care and ease in hearing all Men. That all Men who had any business to communicate to him might have an oppor-

opportunity, he caus'd a vast Drum to be made and plac'd in the Porch of the Palace, ordering those that had occasion to beat it, and as soon as any did he immediately came out to hear him. One day it was beaten ten times whilst he was at Dinner, and he rose from Table as often to hear what they had to say. A strange Action, and great disrespect of those Men of business! Another day when he was in the Bath, they beat the Drum three times, and he as often put on his Clothes and went out to answer those that beat it. This is not to be parallel'd in the World. He forbid the use of Wine under severe Penalties, and banish'd the Inventer of it. His Reign was fortunate and happy. The Histories tell us it rain'd Gold three days together in his Reign; I suppose the *Chinese* thus express the Plenty and Riches of that Age.

Read Olevast. in 18 Exod. concerning Moses, to the same purpose.

7. Tho' so many Ages are past, the Custom of having a Drum in the Palace is still kept up, but it is not to be beaten so easily as we have spoken of: He that presumes to beat it is to receive forty Lashes, that no Man may dare come near it unless his business be of great consequence. And because some die of the forty Lashes or *Bastinadoes*, he that intends to beat it often carries his Coffin with him. The *Chinese* who rais'd the Persecution against us beat it, but they forgave him the Lashes for the great Service he did. Many of that Nation value themselves so much upon being accounted true and loyal Subjects, that notwithstanding the Penalty they expose themselves, that they may give notice of something that is considerable, and if they die in the undertaking they are very well pleas'd, because they carry that Honour along with them to Hell. What was said above, that those who are rais'd from mean place to Authority grow proud, is disprov'd by these two Emperors. There is no general Rule without some Exception.

8. *Ju* had another Quality, which was his Religious Zeal, tho' unlawful, towards Spirits (these belong to the learned Sect) *Val. Max.* quoted by *S. Thomas, lib. 1. c. 14.* says, *Our City ever thought all things ought to give precedence to Religion, even in those things wherein it would exert the greatest show of Majesty.*

9. *D.* They say the Master had remov'd three things from himself. 1. His own Will, for he was not govern'd by Affection, or private Inclination. 2. The Love of his own Profit, therefore he was always indifferent to all things that might

happen to him. 3. Being fond of and positive in his own Opinion. 4. Self-love.

10. These are good Qualities for Religious Men. Those who are positive in their Opinions have cold Brains, says the Trial of Wits, a Quality the *Sicilians* are much addicted to, as I have been told, and found by Experience. That *Confucius* did love himself, I make no great doubt; else why so much care of his Health, in curing his Diseases, in not eating any thing ill dress'd or tainted, and not drinking Wine sold in Taverns, because it is commonly naught? The Philosopher *Ethic. 4.* says, *A virtuous Man loves his Life so much the more, by how much the better he knows it to be.* This Love is so natural, that *S. Augustin* said of *S. Peter*; *Old Age took not from Peter the love of Life.*

11. *D.* There was one who would commend *Confucius* his Doctrine, and sighing, said, My Master's Doctrine daily appears to me more admirable and mysterious; I use all Endeavours to dive into it, and it daily seems to me more profound; I think to take a full view of it, and it is so spiritual that it immediately vanishes. He is singular in all respects, in teaching he is methodical, in persuading to Virtue he sweetly prevails; his Method makes me exercise all Virtues, and his Brevity makes me practise all I have learn'd that is good. I am so taken with his Doctrine, that tho' I would I cannot lay aside my Books; and tho' I have employ'd all my Wit to attain it, I cannot find out how to comprehend it.

12. The Disciple commends his Master too much, tho' he has left us little or nothing to benefit by in Natural Philosophy, and less in what relates to God; in which Particulars the Disciples have been as faulty as their Master, without advancing the least step forwards, wherein they nothing resemble other Antients. *For from the beginning,* says *S. Thomas* in Prolog. super *Job.* *they reach'd some small matter of Truth, but afterwards as it were step by step they came to some fuller knowledge of the Truth.* The *Chinese* are at this day as blind and ignorant as they were above 2000 years ago, nay rather more, since, according to the opinion of very grave Missioners (but not according to mine) those very antient ones had knowledge of God, and some insight into Eternity, all which those that have succeeded till this time have been destitute of.

13. *M.* He makes use of this Simily to prove, that we must hold on to the

end in the way of Virtue. If I had a mind to raise a Mount, and should leave off after much labour, when I only wanted one Basket of Earth to finish all, it is a plain case all my toil would be vain and fruitless. And if I design to raise a Mount on a Plain, tho' it rise but little every day, if I persevere, it will certainly be finish'd; if I give over, the work will remain imperfect.

14. The *Chineses* use many Similies and Parables, as the People of *Palesine* did. It is a very convenient method to explain ones meaning, says *S. Thomas*, and he proves it *Opusc. 60. art. 14.* where he has excellent Doctrine to the purpose.

15. *M.* Honour and Respect is due to young Men, because they may come to be holy and learned; but if when they come to forty years of age, they are neither wise nor learned, there is little hope they will prove so afterwards.

16. *M.* May Reproof, tho' it be harsh, be rejected? It is very reasonable to correct those faults we are told of. Can that reproof which is given in a florid Rhetorical stile fail of pleasing? If a Man is prov'd and does not mend his faults, the fault will be his own, not his who admonishes and reproofs.

17. We Missioners in *China* are put to no trouble to persuade the *Chineses* to Brotherly Reproof, it is well establish'd among them, and they are satisfy'd it is a duty.

18. *M.* He that is free from Covetousness and Envy, may live in any part of the World, and serve any Employment.

19. *M.* A prudent Man is not surpriz'd at any accident, because he provides for them; the perfect Man is troubled at nothing, because he is conforma-

ble to Heaven in all things. The resolute and valorous Man fears not, tho' he see Death before his face.

20. The rest contain'd in this and the following Treatises, all of it almost tends to the same end as has been seen; its scope is to dispose and order those five Ranks or States, which the *Chineses* Master assigns to a Kingdom, and which are, King and Subjects, Parents and Children, Husband and Wife, Elder and Younger Brothers, and Friends. Its drift is also to direct the Learned, the Husband-men, Traders and Mechanicks, to live in peace and unity.

21. I observ'd in the first *Chap.* of the second Book, that tho' all Nations in the World make special account of their Soldiery in all their Books of Politicks, yet the *Chineses* do not mention them in theirs, tho' they have made use of them for some thousands of years. *Plato* and *Socrates* divide the Commonwealth into five Ranks of People, viz. Princes, Counsellors, Soldiers, Handicrafts, and Husband-men; *Romulus* into Senators, Soldiers and Commons. See *S. Thomas, lib. 4. de Reg. Princ. cap. 11, & 14.* In the 15 he says, *All Politicks make mention of Warriors, because all Cities and Countries are preserv'd in their Splendor by Warriors, and the Commonwealth decays for want of the use of War, &c.*

22. I know not what reason the *Chineses* had, when they treated so much about the Establishing of their Monarchy, to omit and make no mention of a thing so material. The Art of War is much improv'd in that Kingdom at present, the *Tartar* holds it in esteem, but it is not to compare with the Military Art in *Europe*.

C H A P. IX.

Of some Sentences taken from the Doctrine call'd Xu King.

1. *Xu King* signifies a Law, or written Doctrine, it is a Book of vast antiquity, is explain'd in the fifth of this Volume, and contains several sayings of ancient Emperors, I will here set down some of them.

2. "He that comforts, makes much of, cherishes and maintains me, is my King and Lord; he that hurts and wrongs me is my mortal Enemy.

3. By this he explains the duty of Kings and Superiors towards their Sub-

jects; and it implies, that then a Man deserves the name and title of King, when he cherishes and makes much of his Subjects, and that of a Tyrant and Enemy when he treats them ill. *S. Thomas, Opusc. 71. c. 6.* says, four faults attend a Tyrant, *He breeds division among Neighbours, oppresses the Wife, drains the Rich, and beats down the Mighty.* See *Oleast.* in 41 *Gen. She cry'd to the King for bread.*

4. "He that is very Virtuous, neither jests, nor is unmannerly, no Man dares
" play

“ play upon, nor be disrespectful to him.
 “ His Modesty, Staidness and Gravity,
 “ does not allow of the first, nor give
 “ way to the latter.

5. “ Do not oppose the Emperor *Xun*,
 “ says one, nor Truth nor Virtue for a
 “ vain-glorious end ; and do not contra-
 “ dict what all Men do, to follow your
 “ own opinion and fancy.

6. Some Men have the spirit of con-
 tradiction, and look upon it as unbecom-
 ing them if they do not oppose all the
 World ; the beautiful Sun-beams cannot
 escape their Reflections and Arguments.
 The Emperor *Xun* was the same to the
Chineses as *St. Paul* is to us. His Sayings
 are Oracles, and great Patterns of Vir-
 tue ; they will have all his Actions hon-
 our'd, and no way cavi'd at. To this
 purpose you may read *S. Thomas* at the
 end of the 6 chap. of *Job*.

7. “ Whether you meditate, talk,
 “ pray, or do any other thing whatso-
 “ ever, says one, you ought to be very
 “ attentive and careful, without admit-
 “ ting any distraction.

8. “ Be not sparing or niggardly in
 “ correcting thy faults, said an Emperor ;
 “ be generous in eschewing Vice, and
 “ forgiving thy Enemies. Be compassi-
 “ onate towards all Men, and love them
 “ from thy heart. Let all this come from
 “ thy self, do not expect to be pray'd or
 “ sued to.

9. “ He that looks for a prosperous
 “ Event, must find out and make use of
 “ lawful means: He that would follow
 “ Reason and the Laws, must not put off
 “ the repentance of his Faults till the end
 “ of his Life.

Both these hints are very good and
 holy.

10. “ The Emperor *Tang* was wont to
 “ say, I am the cause of all the sins of my
 “ People.

*It has been
 observ'd al-
 ready, that
 Holy Men
 attribute
 the misfor-
 tunes of
 others to
 their own
 failings.*

11. This was a very humble and com-
 passionate Emperor, he attributed the
 faults of all the Limbs to the Head.
 Others might say so with more reason,
 and it is true that, *Regis ad exemplum to-
 tus componitur Orbis.* Read à *Lapide* in
 44 *Gen. v. 16.* who has much very good
 to this purpose.

12. “ Virtue, says one, has no peculiar
 “ place, a Man may be every where good
 “ and holy. Entertain no foul thoughts,
 “ and you will not smell their stink.

13. “ He that leads his Life carefully
 “ and watchfully, will have no troubles
 “ in this, or the Life to come.

14. “ He that is without a great sin
 “ will live free from many sins:

15. “ Let the Minister (says an Empe-
 “ ror) who attends a King help him to be
 “ Virtuous, he must not neglect this a
 “ moment. *Nave-
 rette.*

Christians may observe this Heathen's
 Doctrine.

16. “ Another tells us, Kings are ob-
 “ lig'd to honour Virtue, and Virtu-
 “ ous Men, they ought rather to lose
 “ their Kingdom and Life than fail in
 “ this particular.

17. “ That King who becomes a Mir-
 “ rour and Pattern of Virtue in his
 “ Kingdom, has a right and title to ask
 “ assistance and long Life of Heaven.

Plato said, Kings committed more sin
 by their ill Example than by the Faults
 they were guilty of

18. “ Do not aspire (says one) to ap-
 “ pear wise and learned, forsaking the
 “ antient and sound Doctrine of the first
 “ Kings.

19. Whensoever the *Chineses* fall up-
 on this Subject, they insist much upon
 this Point; to which purpose the Reader
 will find choice Materials in *Arriaga*,
Tom. 2.

20. “ He that governs, let him govern
 “ before the Kingdom is in an uproar ;
 “ once in Rebellion it is hard to govern.
 “ He that governs the Commonwealth,
 “ let him do it before the danger comes,
 “ when once it comes there is much dif-
 “ ficulty in applying a remedy.

Oleaster teaches the same divinely in 11
 and 14 *Num.* Read it there.

21. “ The Princes Favourite, says one,
 “ presently grows proud, it will be con-
 “ venient for him to think what a fall he
 “ may have.

22. “ Three sins, says the *Chinese*, will
 “ not admit of any diminution by circum-
 “ stances, and do not deserve pardon.
 “ The first is, to make the People muti-
 “ ny. The second to destroy the antient
 “ Doctrine of the Saints. The third, to
 “ make any Innovation in antient Cu-
 “ stoms and Manners.

23. “ We must bear with our Neigh-
 “ bours failings, says the *Chinese*. This is
 “ the 7th work of Mercy.

24. “ He that has patience, and will
 “ attend, will finish his business. Very
 “ well said. Read *Cajetan* in 21 *Luk.* and
Syl. Tom. 6. p. 510. q. 8.

25. “ Let him that governs be con-
 “ stant ; he that writes brief and sincere.
 Read *M. Arriaga, Tom. 2. lib. 2. c. 1. §. 1.*
 concerning Brevity in Writing. *Apolloni-
 us* was ask'd, *Who are the best of Men ?* He
 answer'd, *They who are briefest in Discourse.*

26. “ What Doctrine is that which
 “ does

Navarette. " does not descend from the Antients, or " why has it the name or title of Doctrine?"

27. " Superiors ought to be merciful, " and to take compassion on the misfortunes of their Inferiors, relieving them " in their distresses.

Much has been writ upon this Subject, and very much is said to it by our *B. Humbert. de Erud. Relig.*

28. The *Chineses* began betimes, and were some Ages before us in teaching the truth of what is daily preach'd among

us, and printed by Casuists and Divines.

29. " They write of a Counsellor that " was always in fear, and full of " doubts and scruples on account of his " Employment, and that he used to rise " out of his Bed at mid-night to consider " how he should discharge his duty.

30. By what has been said we may gather and make out how antient the knowledg of the Light of Reason is in *China*, and how strictly many of that Nation have liv'd up to it.

C H A P. X.

Of other Sayings and Sentences which I read and took notice of in China.

1. **T**he Reating of those who addiēt themselves to Virtue, a certain Book has these words: " If they open " their mouth to speak, Devotion evaporates, and the Spirit flies away; if they " move their Tongues, they fall into censuring, or at least idle words follow.

2. The *Chineses* call Man a Tree with the wrong end upwards. Others have said the same thing, so did *Socrates*, *Homo arbor inversa*. A certain token he was created for Heaven and not for Earth. *St. Augustin Serm. 55. ad Frat.* writes the answer *Ovid* gave the Tyrant, *Met. lib. 1.* when he ask'd him, *Why did God make you? He answer'd, That I may contemplate on Heaven, and the Deity of Heaven. For Man is made on Earth, not for the Earth, but for Heaven; and he was made of Earth, not for the sake of the Earth, but for the sake of Heaven.* Here the Saint exclaims: *Who among the faithful, Brethren, could have said more, or upon better Grounds? I know not.*

The *Chineses* confess something of this nature. The Brutes, they say, look to the Earth, and therefore their face is turn'd that way, but Man looks towards Heaven, and therefore was created upright, as tending thither.

3. " Few in number do not overcome " many, nor the weak the strong, says " the *Chinise*.

4. " When many are overcome by a " few, it is either the work of Heaven, " or want of courage, or treachery.

5. " The Counsellors heart is by the " Emperor's side, in the same manner as " a Sheep stands by a Tiger.

This Sentence is much celebrated among the *Chineses*, and sufficiently verify'd among them, especially since the

Tartar Government. They further add to enforce it, That when the Dragon, that is the Emperor, is angry, there is no place for a Subject to hide himself in. This is something like that of Holy *Job*, *The Lion roars, who will not fear? And that of Ecclus. 16. v. 14. The anger of the King is the messenger of Death.* The same is in *Prov. 19. As the roaring of the Lion, so is the anger of the King.*

6. " The Lamb kneels down when he " sucks, thanking the Dam for the sustenance he receives from her. For the " same reason the Crow maintains his " Parents when they are old. If Man is " not grateful to his Benefactors, he is " worse than the brute Beasts. *Enquire of " the Beasts and Birds, says the Holy Ghost, " that you may learn of them.*

The *Chineses* make great account of this Sentence, to recommend Gratitude to those who do us kindnesses and good turns; that Nation loudly condemns the vice of Ingratitude.

7. *Meng Zu* the second Master of *China* says; Tho there are bad and sinful Men, if they fast and mend, they will come to be good.

8. " Time passēs away more swift " than an Arrow flies when sent from a " strong Bow; it hastens on years, and " spurs on death. *S. Ambrose in Psalms, Thou sleepest, and thy time walks, nay it flies.*

Wicked false Doctrine cannot overcome that which is good and true.

9. They report of one *Lu Pan*, who is now the Patron of Carpenters, to whom they sacrifice when they begin a Building; that he was rare and ingenious in Architecture, and that he made Birds that flew, and Horses that ran.

10. They

10. They tell of an antient petty King, who was so brave, that he would fight hand to hand with a Tiger, and kill him.

11. One Man receiv'd a great kindness of another, and the Benefactor going to the House of him that had been oblig'd, who was an Innkeeper; he to be grateful for the Benefit receiv'd, after entertaining him well in his house, when it was time to go to bed, put his own Wife into the Room to him. She was twice dismiss'd, and he put her in the third time, and shut the door on the outside: A base and ungenerous way of requiting Kindnesses! The Guest perceiving how it was, desir'd her to go to bed and sleep; he sat up all night studying and writing Verses, without speaking a word to her, or once looking her in the face. Among other Verses he made after their fashion, some were to this effect: This Man knows not me, nor do I know his Wife. If I be not true to my Wife, she will not be so to me. If I transgress with my Neighbour's Wife, my Neighbour will transgress with mine. In the morning, when the Chamber door was open'd, he watch'd his opportunity, and fastning the Verses to the door, stole away privately, without being seen by any body. This agrees with what I quoted out of S. Augustin, *The Pagans are become Teachers of the Faithful*. What Christian would not be applauded for such an Action?

12. They say Flatterers carry Honey in their Mouth, and a Sword in their Heart; their mouth is sweet, and their inside bitter; they have Liquorice in their Mouth, and Wormwood in their Bowels. It all imports as much as, *Wolves in Sheeps clothing*. Pliny the Younger says, *When a wicked Man seigns himself good, he is worst of all*.

13. They report Confucius was wont to say, Is there any that exhorts others to the practice of Virtue? If there be, the best method is, to give a good Example: he that uses such Exhortation is sure of his Reward; he that does the contrary, is sure of Punishment.

14. The second Tyrant is worse than the first, and the third more cruel than the second.

15. The Chinese have that rule of Seneca, *He that will be below'd, must rule with an easy hand*. And that of Ammianus, *He that rules, must show all things that are too hard, as he would dangerous Rocks*.

16. And that of S. Chrysoström; As

to be always learning, is a token that no progress can be made; so always to seek Navarrette, is a sign of a resolution never to believe.

17. He that gives, ought in reason to give according to his Quality and Place.

18. A Slave must not be too tenderly kept.

19. Women are not to manage Business.

S. Thomas says the same, *Lib. 4. de Reg. Princ. c. 5, & 6. The Master of the Family minds Business abroad, Women attend the Affairs at home*. No Nation in the World observes this so strictly as the Chinese. No Woman is employ'd upon Business out of doors upon any account whatsoever; nor does it appear whether there is any Woman, or Women in the House. They are absolutely incapable of inheriting, or any sort of Trade or Dealings.

20. They who teach, and as Masters impart their Learning to others, must be humble.

21. The Chinese has that Proposition of some Authors, *Fasc. temp. fol. 31. pag. 2. There is a sort of miserable Victory, which is when the Conqueror comes off with few or no Soldiers; so that boldness is very hurtful when it is not govern'd by foresight*.

22. As also that of Varro; He will teach nothing that is great, who has learnt nothing of himself.

23. And that of Augustus; It is a great extravagancy to catch Fish with a gold Hook; for the loss of the Hook cannot be repair'd by any success in fishing.

24. Concerning changing or continuing of Governours, they say the same that Tiberius did upon the same account; *I saw a Man driving away the Flies that were upon a sick man's Sores; and the sick Man rebuk'd him, saying, Some that are thirsty will come and suck, now these that are full fill up the place*. The sick Man was much in the right; but it is true too, that there are some so covetous that they will always suck, without ever being satisfy'd, or satiating the hellish Appetite of Avarice.

25. Hecaton the Stoick said, *All that is good is difficult*; a common Proposition among the Chinese. All we Europeans have observ'd, what a general Consent and Agreement there is among all the Learned Chinese in the Doctrine of their Sect; which ought to be observ'd in all places, especially in Morality, and those things that relate to the Soul.

Navarrette.

C H A P. XI.

In which some Hieroglyphicks of the Chinese Characters are expounded.

THE first Chinese Letters or Characters began by painting of things; in process of time they shortned it, leaving only a part of the thing to signify the whole. The Letters or Characters now in use were invented whilst the Family *Han* possess'd the Empire, at which time the Son of God became Man. The number of Letters they use is excessive. The Dictionary I had, and lost in my Travels, which was that commonly us'd, contain'd 33375 Letters. There is another antienter and fuller, which contains 70000. It is a dismal thing for us that study there, to think on this vast multitude of Characters, it quite disheartens a Man, did not our Lord on the other side encourage us. It is true, that he who can make good use of 20000 is a good Scholar. I, whilst I was in *China*, through God's Mercy, attained to the knowledg of above 10000, which inabled me without much difficulty to compose five Volumes concerning our Holy Faith; whereof, according to the Letters that came in the Year 1674, four are printed by this time. Every Letter or Character is ingenious and artificial; for the better conceiving whereof, I will in this Chapter expound the meaning of some of them.

1. The word to express Antient and Antiquity, is *Kieu*; this is writ with the same Character as the Mouth, and over it the Letter that stands for Ten, which implys, it is a thing that has been deliver'd down by ten several Mouths successively, which is a sufficient Antiquity.

To express a mouthing bawling Man, they write the Letter that stands for Nine, and under it that which is for the Mouth, to signify he talks and roars as if he had nine Mouths. They also write the Letter that serves for the Mouth, and under that which signifys Great, to express he has a great Mouth in a figurative sense, that is, he talks much.

Happiness and Felicity is express'd by the same Letter as the Mouth, with the Letter that stands for Master over it; for, say they, what greater Happiness can there be than the Mouth of a learned Master? We might here apply that of *Prov. 10. v. 13. In the Lips of a wise Man,* &c. And that of the 14th Chap. *He shall*

be filled with good things of the fruit of his Mouth. Which is Happiness enough.

Among the Characters that signify a King, one is compos'd of that which serves for the Mouth, and over it that which is for guiding, directing, and putting into the way: Which imports, that Kings are to guide the People by their Example, and to rule and direct it by their Words and Laws; but the Example must be first, and next the Words must follow, which is the reason the Mouth is plac'd below.

The Moveables and Goods of a House are express'd by the Letter of the Mouth four times repeated, and that of the Dog in the middle of them; they say, Dogs guard them, barking and biting, that is, the Household-stuff.

A Square with the Letter of the Mouth, and that of Arms in the middle of it, stands for a Kingdom. This denotes that it must be fortify'd on all sides, and maintain'd and defended by Arms and good Councils.

To live in some particular place, is writ with a Hand on one side, and the Earth on the other; which implies, that he holds fast by that Earth.

Sitting is signify'd by the Letter that signifys the Earth, and over it that which stands for Stopping or Staying; that is, a Man stays upon the Earth.

2. Walls are express'd by the Letter of Earth, then that of Strength or Valour, and that of Arms: this imports, that Earth, Valour, and Weapons, defend the City.

To write Weeping, they make the Letter for Eyes, and that for Water, which is very plain.

The Sea, they write with the Letter for Water, and that for Mother, that is, Mother of the Waters. It is also call'd the Pool of Heaven, to which all Rivers flow.

To signify what is plain and visible, or to explain and make easy, &c. they write the Letters of the Sun and Moon.

Companions and Schoolfellows are express'd by two Moons of an equal growth.

3. Money is express'd by the Letter of Metal on the side, and that of Arms twice one over another. An Author says, I have often consider'd upon this Letter,

Letter, it has double Arms, which are Weapons to take away the Life of Man; so that it is Money which kills us; but rash Men, without taking notice of this danger, run all after it.

Fidelity is written with the Letter Man, and Words, or a Mouth by his side, to imply that Man is known by his Mouth and Words, and that he who keeps not his Word is no Man.

They have many Letters that signify to give, the most usual is a Hand busy'd about a Man.

Inconstancy and Lightness is express'd by the Letter Man upon Mountains, vainly aiming to get into the Clouds.

To signify Sun-rising, they make the Letter Tree, and Sun over it, because when he rises he is first seen upon the Trees. For his setting, they invert it, that is, hide him under the Tree.

For a Bargain or Contract, they make the Letter Nail, and that of Words by it, to denote, that the Word is as fast as if it were nail'd.

4. For Black, they write the Letter Fire, and Smoke above; for White, the Letter of the Sun, and a Point over it, which signifies brightness.

A Prison and Dungeon they express by the Letter Man between four Walls.

Theft is written with the letter Desire, and that of household Goods. To desire what is in another Man's House belongs to Theft, adding the letter Hand, the meaning is plain.

Arrows they write with the letter for Body, and the Arrow by it; this means, that the Body casts the Arrow.

Prayer is signify'd by the letter Xi, which imports to make known, by that of Man, and that of Mouth; this they explain thus, that Man's Mouth, by what it says, makes known to the departed Spirits what he desires or aims at. Others say it is not a Mouth that is placed next to the letter Man, but the Character of Rejoycing (these two are very much alike) and it imports, that Prayer rejoyces the Spirits.

The opposition of the Moon is represented by a Counsellor looking at the Emperor, and bowing to him. The Emperor is the Sun, the Counsellor the Moon.

A Magistrate, Gentleman, or Nobleman that serves the Emperor, is signify'd by the letter to Drag, and a Heart; this implies, that Kings and Emperors drag Men, bringing them to their beck.

5. Night they express by the letter to Leave, because the labour of the day is

left off, and the Body takes rest. They say a virtuous Man has four times, the morning to hear good Doctrine and Instructions; noon, to ask and enquire into what is necessary; the afternoon to retire, and think of perfecting his Life; night to rest his Body. Another Book expounding the same Letter says, That we must not stay till evening, much less till night, to serve a great Lord, but must begin in the morning.

To express Death, they have a letter compos'd of Entering and Hiding; he that dies, enters, *I enter the way of all Flesh*. And he remains hid and conceal'd to this World. It may have another meaning, viz. That Man enters into this Life, and in a short time is hid in the next: As *Seneca* said, *I enter'd upon condition that I should go out*. I was born, and came into the World under an Obligation of going out, and being hid.


A barren Woman is written with a letter of a Stone and a Woman by it; that is, a Woman of Stone, Barren, that does not break.

To signify Counterfeiting, or Falshood, they write three Women; well express'd.

To Quarrel, is signify'd by the letter that stands for Nails and Hands, and a stroke from top to bottom, which imports to put out; because quarrelling is only putting out the Hands, and making use of them and the Nails against another.

6. Woman is written with the letter of Submission or Subjection, and the word is joyn'd to that of Man; it is pronounc'd *Fu Jin*, to denote she is to be subject to Man, whom she is to serve; and by the letter for Woman, is that of Broom, signifying that the Wife must work in the House, even to cleaning and sweeping of it. That the Wife may be the more subject, they brought up the Custom that the Husband should pay the Portion. The People of *Crete* seem to have aim'd at the same thing, according to *Lycurgus* his Law. *S. Thomas* mentions it, *lib. 4. cap. 18. He would have Maids marry without a Portion, that Wives might not be chosen for the sake of Money; and Men might keep them the better within bounds, being under no obligation of Portion*. They took care of all. *Cassiodorus*, in *Not. Concil.* writes the same. Read *Sylv. Tom. 1. lib. 1. c. 5. num. 27.*

Learning, Wisdom, and Knowledge, is written with the letter Mouth, and that of Arrow joyn'd to its side; which means, that he who pierces into things, and sharply expounds them, is Wise, Learned, &c.


 Mother is written with the same letter as Suckling, and the Breasts but cover'd with a stroke across them. This, say they, denotes the Modesty and Decency Women ought to use in their Apparel, for they must not show their Breasts upon any account, which the *Chinese* and *Tartar* Women observe very strictly. Would it were so in our Parts.

We have never a *Pythagoras* in *Europe*, to prevail with the Women of our Times, to do what he perswaded them to do in his. *S. Thomas*, lib. 4. c. 21. mentions it, *Pythagoras* obtain'd, *That the Women should lay aside Garments set off with Gold and other Ornaments suitable to their Quality, as incentives to Luxury, and should carry them all to the Temple of Juno; where he perswaded them to offer all to her, affirming, that Virtue was the true Ornament of Ladys.* Less would content us at present, and we should be satisfy'd if the Clothes, Carriage, and Behaviour were like the Heathens and Idolaters, *Chineses*, *Tartars*, and other Women of those Parts of the World; certain it is, such Modesty is not to be found in *Europe*.

7. To use and habituate ones self, is writ with two Wings, and the Letter for Day under, to imply, that flying every day makes it customary and habitual.

Among other Letters which signify to Govern, one is *Chung*; it is writ with a Mouth and a stroke across it, which signifies to pierce, and denotes that he who governs must pierce and look into the Orders he gives. It also signifies, that he who rules, must fix in the Center of Justice, without inclining to one side or other.

They also say, the stroke across is a Sword in the Mouth, to signify, that if the Orders he gives are wicked, and his Judgment unjust, he deserves a Sword should be thrust down his Mouth and cut his Throat.

To Conquer, is writ with the letter for a Man standing, and by it that of Arms, that is, to go with Sword in hand.

A Soldier on the Frontiers, is signify'd

by the letter for a Man sitting, and that of Arms: This means a Soldier that is settled and does not march.

A greedy hungry Man, is express'd by the letter of Heaven, and a Mouth under it, to imply, he would swallow and devour Heaven.

There is another Character for a King, the word is *Vuang*; it consists of three strokes cross'd by another, which signify Heaven, Earth, and Men, to denote that a King is to be like them all; he is to be the common Father of all Men, to cover and protect them, as Heaven does; and to be like the Earth, which bears and maintains all Men. The King is to do the same with his People, as Man; he is to look upon himself as such, to esteem all others as his Brothers; and to remember the King is to die as well as his Subject. The *Chineses* say the same of the Earth that *Pythagoras* did, when he call'd her a common Mother; *The Earth is the Mother, and the Sun the Father of all that are born on the Earth.*

Man who in speaking is call'd *Nan*, is written with the letter that stands for a plow'd Field, and under it that of Strength, to signify that Man was born to labour; *Man is born to labour*, Job 5. and to seek his Sustenance with sweat and toil; *In the sweat of thy Brow.*

Fear and Dread, which they term *Ngoei*, in writing is express'd by a Tiger's Head, and Claws under it, which causes fear and terror.

Mercy, among them call'd *Ven*, is signify'd by a Man in Prison, and underneath a Dish to eat in; this imports that Prisoners must have Alms given them, and be maintain'd, which is a Work of Mercy.

The silk Worm they write, making the letter for Heaven, and that for Worm under it: That is, calling it a heavenly Worm, or Worm of Heaven; which notably expresses how beneficial God has made it.

It were easy to dilate upon this Subject, but what has been said may suffice to express the Inventor's Fancy, which was certainly very singular.

The End of the Third Book.

B O O K

B O O K I V.

Of the *Chinese* Moral Doctrine.

HAVING hitherto, tho' briefly, given an account of what is most material in the *Chinese* Empire, and made some mention of the remarkable Actions and Sayings of Emperors and their Ministers, from which the Reader may reap any benefit; I resolv'd in this fourth Book to give an account of the *Chinese* Book that Nation calls *Ming Sin Pao Kien*, i. e. The precious Mirror of the Soul; or, The precious Mirror that enlightens and diffuses a Brightness into the Heart, and inward part of Man. The said Book is made up of Sentences of several Authors, and of several Sects; the whole Subject is Morals, and I doubt not but any Man may find enough in it to make Profit of. A very good Christian of ours, and an able Scholar, whose Name was *John Mieu*, speaking of this Book, said, As *S. Thomas* chose and gather'd what he lik'd best out of holy Doctors to compose his *Catena Aurea*; so the Author of this Book extracted out of all our Authors, what he thought most conducing to make known the way of Virtue. This was the first Book I read in that Country, and which I took a great fancy to, because of its Plainness and Brevity. In the Translation I observe the Rule of *S. Hierom ad Pamach. de optimo genere interpretandi*; That the Septuagint did not translate Word for Word, but Sentence for Sentence. The Saint affirms the same thing of *Symmachus* on *Jer. 31. That he did not render Word for Word, but Sentence for Sentence, and Sense for Sense.* *S. Thomas opusc. 1. in principio* observes this method, and approves it in these following words: *It is the part of a good Translator, that in translating those things which belong to the Catholick Faith, he preserve the Sentence, but alter the manner of Expression, according to the Property of the Language into which he translates.* I will endeavour to follow this course, and trust to so sure a Guide, tho' I am satisfied my Language will not reach the *Chinese* Propriety of Expression, nor their Elegancy, which this Nation has in an extraordinary measure for explaining and delivering their Conceits. I will observe

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the Author's method, tho' I will not always set down the Authors he quotes, because it makes nothing to our purpose, and to save the trouble of words, which are harsh to *Europeans*, and hard to pronounce.

It cannot be deny'd but that it is commendable in the Missioners to study Heathen Books, since the Primitive Saints and Fathers did so; and sometimes this Employment is absolutely necessary. *S. Thomas* handles this Point elegantly upon *Boetius de Trinit. S. deinde quaeritur, ad 3. sic proceditur, & in opusc. 19. c. 11, & 12.* there the Reader may see this matter prov'd. I will only insert in this place what the Saint takes from the Comment on *Dan. 1.* *S. Jerom* also has it in the place above quoted, *But Daniel proposed in his Heart, &c. He that will not eat of the King's Table lest he be polluted, would never have learnt the Wisdom and Doctrine of the Egyptians if it were any Sin: He learnt it, not to follow, but to judge of and disprove it.* How could we in *China* oppose abundance of Errors those Heathens hold, if we did not read and study their Books and Doctrine? It were absolutely impossible. It is also useful to make our benefit of what Truth there is found in them, as says *S. Jerom ad Pamach. Monach. If you happen to love a Captive Woman, to wit Secular Learning, &c.* *S. Thomas* mentions it to this purpose in *opusc. 19.* quoted above. So that after clearing and cleansing the *Chinese* Doctrine of what is destructive in it, we may reap some Profit and Advantage by it. The Saint to the same purpose takes the words of *S. Augustin 2. de Doctrin. Chris.* where he says, *If by chance the Philosophers, especially the Platonists, happen to say any thing that is true and conformable to our Faith, it is not only not to be fear'd, but to be taken from them for our use, as from those who have stood wrongfully possess'd of it.* Which was signified to us by the Riches the People of God carry'd away from the *Egyptians*, as Doctors expound it, and our *Hugo* declares in *Exod. 11. v. 2, 3.*

Besides, there is more in the Heathen Doctrine, says *S. Thomas* in the 12th Chapter quoted above, which is, that it often proves a powerful Argument *ad hominem*

against Sectaries, and serves to confound and put Catholicks out of countenance. In short, it is a very allowable Employment (unless the ill End it is directed to corrupt it) if it be design'd for the benefit of the Hearers, because by this means sometimes our Adversaries are more easily and more effectually convinced and instructed, &c. The Testimony of an Enemy is of great Authority, says S. Basil Hom. 15. de Christ. Gener.

For these Reasons I have given I resolv'd to translate this little Book, which in truth has among the Gentiles the same place that the devout à Kempis has among Catholicks. I slightly pass over the Dogmatical Precepts of Sects, because it is a Subject that requires to be handled by it self, and the main Points of it have

been discuss'd in my Controversies, in the second Book of this Volume, and in the fifth more shall be said. In this place I treat only of the Morals, to which I will add some Quotations out of our Books relating to the same Subject, to make this the larger and more copious, and that the Reader may pick out what he likes best.

After having writ and observ'd what has been hinted above, I reflected that F. James de Morales of the Society of Jesus, handles the Point at large in his Treatises. But what I have alledg'd in this place, with what I write in several parts of my Controversies, and shall urge hereafter, is sufficient to prove and make good my Assertion.

C H A P. I.

In which the Heathen endeavours to encourage Man to follow Virtue.

1. **H**E enters upon his Design, laying down the Reward of Labour, an excellent Medium to compass what he aims at: Reward disposes the Will, quickens its Desire, spurs it on to slight Dangers, and overcome Difficulties, and sometimes makes impossible Attempts seem easy. Read Sylveir. Apoc. 1. v. 19. q. 34. num. 253. But if this Encouragement fails, and the hope of Reward is taken away, Man cannot stir one step. Therefore the Chinese says, "When the Recompence fails, the Heart sinks, the Gaul is child, the Strength decays, and the Spirits grow too weak to lift a hand."

The Chinese observe the same method Moses did. Our Hugo on 1 Gen. asks the Question, *Why Moses began so high? The reason is this, That which is difficult, burdensom, and harsh, is hard to be observ'd, if no Reward is propos'd to him that keeps it, &c.* He proposes the Reward to make the harshness of Virtue easy, he proposes the Punishment to banish Idleness and Sloth.

" 2. The Chinese Philosopher says, "Heaven will reward the virtuous Man with Wealth and Happiness, it will chastise the wicked with Troubles and Misfortunes."

3. Another Author. "Heaven will send a thousand Blessings upon him that acts well, and a thousand Mischiefs on him that does ill."

A thousand Blessings and Evils implies all Blessings and Evils, the Phrase is our

own: Job uses it, c. 9. S. Thomas expounds it, Lect. 1. The Chinese use the number 100 in the same sense.

4. Another. "He that lays up and heaps Virtues, finds and reaps Virtues; he that gathers Wickedness, will find and reap Wickedness."

That is to say, whatsoever a Man sows, the same he shall reap.

" 5. It is requisite and necessary to think well on this, for Heaven is not deceiv'd. Bear in mind, that Virtue and Vice have their Reward, which no Man can escape, tho he fly high, or into far Countries. You are the best Witness whether you do well or ill: The beginning of the Reward or Punishment is within you, you need not ask it of your Neighbour: Do not doubt of its coming, all the question is, Whether it will be to day or to morrow? Withdraw into your Chamber, search your Heart, mark out your Life, and silently consider by your self with care what you have acted. Do not forget that what is good has a good Reward, and what is evil a bad one. Endeavour always to use virtuous Exercises, and Heaven will protect you; but if you are foolish and stiff-neck'd, you will receive the Punishment you deserve."

6. The Chinese proceeds thus. "Endeavour always to go on in the right way, and to live with an upright and sincere Heart, and so doing you need not

“ not doubt but Heaven and Earth will
“ be favourable to you.

7. Another says : “ That House or Family which gathers Virtues, will doubtless have plenty and even superfluity of Wealth ; that which heaps Vices will abound in Misfortunes and Troubles.

8. The Emperor *Chao Lie* being at the point of Death, said to the Prince his Son, (this was mention'd in another place, but here more exactly) “ My Son, you must not venture to commit a Sin because it is small, nor omit doing a virtuous Action because it is inconsiderable. This was as if he had said to him, Lead your Life so cautiously that you may not commit one venial Sin ; for if you are not cautious how you fall into lesser Sins ; you will easily come to wallow in grievous Offences : According to that of *Ecclus. 19. v. 2. He that makes no account of small things, will fall by degrees* : And to that which devout à *Kempis* writes, *lib. 1. de Imit. Christ. c. 11. If you do not overcome small and light things, when will you conquer those that are harder ?* “ And do not forbear any thing that is good, tho it seem to you but a trifle, said the Emperor to his Son, because when you have made small things habitual, the greater will daily grow easier to you. In short, my Son, you are to understand that all Sin whatsoever is hainous, burdensom and hurtful to the Soul, and any virtuous Action is profitable and beneficial. What better Advice could *S. Francis* or *S. Dominick* give their Children, or what could they say beyond this ?

9. Another Author says. “ If but one day passes away without meditating on Virtue, it is enough to give way for all Vices to sprout up.

10. A *Chinese* says, “ Courage and Resolution is requisite for the attaining of Virtue, and every day this Bravery must be renew'd. Ears that hear good words avoid falling into three sorts of Sins.

The first part is not unlike to, *The Kingdom of Heaven suffers Violence*, Mat. 11. v. 12. that is, those that take up the generous Resolution of walking in the Paths of Virtue. A learned Christian expounded the second part to me, saying, It was meant of Sins of Thought, Word, and Deed. *It is not Virtue, unless the Courage encreases with the Difficulty*, says *S. Bernard* quoted by *Hugo Gen. 26.*

11. The same *Chinese* adds, “ To do Acts of Virtue is like climbing a Moun-

tain, to sin is like coming down from above. This Sentence is express'd three several ways in the *Chinese* Books, but they all tend to the same, which is, that to act virtuously is difficult, and to act viciously easy. The difficulty lies in hitting the Mark, 'tis easy to miss it ; this is the Opinion of the Heathens. *It is Princely to labour : To indulge Luxury and Sloth is servile*, said *Alexander* the Great.

It is not much to be wonder'd that Virtue should seem difficult to those that have liv'd without the knowledg of God, without a spiritual Law, without hopes of Reward, without fear of Punishment, as the *Chinese* have done. Original Sin made them and all others subject to this Misfortune.

12. A grave Doctor of theirs says, “ It is requisite that Virtue be coveted and desir'd, and so that no Man rejoice at Vice, or delight in it.

The *Chinese* word *Tan* is very comprehensive, it signifies Covetousness, to covet, a covetous Man, one that thirsts after, and is anxious about obtaining any thing, it is to seek it with Care and Anxiety.

13. A Disciple of the Master *Confucius* says thus, “ Virtue of it self is profitable and beneficial, Vice of it self is hurtful : Therefore a good Man makes the first his business, and shuns the Mischiefs the latter causes ; which he does, not to gain the Fame and Reputation of being a good Man, but to avoid the Shame caus'd by Sin.

14. “ Virtue is to be look'd upon (says another) as if a Man hunger'd and thirsted after it.

A King of *Africk* gave a *Portuguese* leave to take out of a Mine as much Gold as he could in a day for himself ; the Man got up early in the Morning, and began presently to labour courageously, and with a covetous Mind ; and tho the Labour and Toil was great, he felt nothing considering the Gold he gather'd. Noon came, and he felt no Hunger : A Servant he had carry'd him his Dinner, and call'd upon his Master, saying, Sir, it is late, Come hither and eat a bit : The *Portuguese* was in a Passion, and answer'd, Thou mad foolish Fellow, is this a day to eat or drink ? The King has given me this time to make my advantage of it, and get Riches to serve me as long as I live, and would you have me lose it by going to Dinner ? Stand out of my way, and don't talk to me of eating, or any thing else. He continu'd his

his Labour till night, and return'd home rich. I was told this Story in *Indi-Netta-rette.*

15. The *Chinese* proceeds: "In hearing that which is evil you must be as if you were deaf; you must be deaf to hearing of Detraction, and ill Tongues. Good Doctrine!

16. The same Author. "Tho a Man exercise Virtue all his life-time, it cannot be said, he has Virtue to spare; but if he sins only one day, his Wickedness and Vice will over-abound.

17. Another said: "He that values himself upon being virtuous, must not flight the least Atom of Virtue he sees, nor give way to an Atom of Vice.

18. It is not profitable (says another) to lay up Gold and Silver to leave to our Sons and Grandsons, because it is not certain they will know how to keep and make their benefit of it. To gather Books to leave them by Will is useless, and to no purpose, because you know not whether they will apply themselves to Learning. There is nothing so safe and good as to lay up a Treasure of Virtue, this will be the best Revenue and Inheritance you can leave them. If your Heart be upright, you live well and Fortune favours you; your Honour and Reputation will be great, and reach you betimes. If you live well, tho Fortune smile not, you cannot want an honest Livelihood: If you have good Fortune, and lead an ill Life, it will be hard for you to be easy. An ill Life and ill Fortune bring on Troubles, Miseries, and Poverty even to old Age.

The *Chinese* make great account of Fate and Fortune. *Josephus lib. 3. antiq. c. 9.* says of the *Esseni*, They affirm'd all things were in the power of Fate.

19. The Authors of these Sentences are not always several Men, many of them belong to the same. One of them says, Those Children who inherit from their Parents Loyalty towards their King, and Deference to their Superiors, are rich and powerful, tho they have not Bread to eat. Those who inherit Cheats and Tricks shall not prosper. He that enters upon business, and comes off from it with Humility, is brave. He that shields himself with Virtue is meek and good. Where is it he will not live well who is just and free-hearted? Be not an Enemy to any Man; for it may fall out you may meet your Enemy on the way, and it will be hard for you to escape him.

He seems to have much Reason in all he says. The same Points come over again hereafter.

20. Another writes: "When any Man does me a good turn, it is fit I should deal fairly with him, and show my self grateful: And if any Man misuses and hates me, it is fit I use him well and love him. If I love and use all Men well, who will hate me? No Man.

Excellent Instructions for loving our Enemies! The *Chinese* write much upon this Subject.

The Saint says, Virginity is a Virtue in common with the Infidels, which cannot be deny'd. The *Greeks* and others held it in great esteem, according to *S. Jerom*, as *Spondanus* writes, *an. 21.* What *S. Augustin* writes *Serm. 47. ad frat.* concerning the *Roman Tarpeia* is wonderful: This Woman was a Heathen, and finding her self tempted to Sensuality, she put out her Eyes that she might live chaste as she desir'd, and forsaking all the Pleasures and Pastimes of this Life, confin'd her self to live upon Bread and Water. She did not hope for eternal Bliss, says the Saint, and yet she us'd such rigid means to preserve the Jewel of Virginity. This Treasure is not valu'd or preserv'd in *China*, nor in other Countries of that part of the World. But strange things have been done there by marry'd Women to preserve their Fidelity to their Husbands. It is but a few years since one, to be rid of the Importunity of a *Mandarine*, cut off her Nose.

21. "A virtuous Man, says a grave Doctor, is Master and Pedagogue to him that is not so. A wicked Man furnishes a good one with matter of Merit.

22. The soft out-does the hard, says the *Chinese*, the weak the strong; therefore the Tongue which is soft lasts a great while, and the Teeth, tho hard, break and fall to pieces.

The meaning of this is, that a good and virtuous Man with his Patience and Forbearance overcomes the obstinate and harden'd Sinner, and a sweet and tender Heart triumphs over the Vanity of the proud. This was visible in the Apostles, whom Christ sent as Sheep among Wolves, yet they by Patience and Sufferings overcame the Cruelty of Tyrants. This was a new kind of War, and an unusual manner of fighting, said *S. Chryostom Homil. 34. in Matth.* The same has appear'd in many Children and tender Virgins, and of late years has been seen in *Cochinchina*, and

and what is yet stranger in *Japan*, tho there have been no Priests in that Country of late years; for in the year 1663, on the day of the *Ascension* of our Lord, 250 suffer'd Martyrdom; and every year since 30, or 40, as I am most certainly inform'd.

What is there more violent and strong than the Passion of an angry Man? yet one sweet tender word disarms and conquers it. *A soft answer breaks anger.* Who would not imagin that a hard and angry word should check a furious Man? yet it is not so. *A hard word breeds contention,* *Ecclef.* 15. And if we should say the softness of a sinners tears softens the anger and wrath of God, it were easily made out; at present let it suffice to reflect on those shed by *St. Peter*, *St. Mary Magdalen*, and others.

23. Another says, "The merciful and compassionate Man shall live many years, the cruel and wicked shall soon end."

24. One of these *Chinese* Moralists said: "Virtue is compar'd to the nature of Water; if it be oppress'd, it rises; being convey'd into Aqueducts, it runs over hills, and crosses Mountains; sometimes it is square, and sometimes round; here it runs straight, and there crooked, it does the will of him that conveys it in all respects."

25. The *Chinese* again: "The chief thing requisite in Children is, that they be upright and obedient; if they be good and bountiful to their Parents, their Children will be so to them. When a Man does good to others, he does it to himself. It is requisite to act well every day, and it is necessary at all times to express what is within by good works. To do good is the first quality of Heavenly Men."

26. Another *Chinese*: "Good and Evil, Reward and Punishment, have no peculiar gate or way of their own, Man by his actions draws on the one or the other of them. If he acts well, he purchases reward and happiness; if ill, he brings on himself troubles, misfortunes, and the punishment of his sins. Virtue and Vice have their recompence, which follows them, as the shadow does the Body. Therefore when any Person resolves to follow Virtue, tho he have not actually put it in execution, he immediately is sensible of the reward; if he resolves to be wicked, he presently finds the mischiefs that proceed from Vice, tho he have not yet practis'd what he resolv'd. But if when he has

"transgress'd in any things, he repents him of his fault, he recovers those advantages which he had forfeited by sin. This is according to the saying, That Evil is converted into Good."

27. "Another of them says, Heaven and Earth are just, upright, no exceptions of Persons, their spirits examine our actions, nor will they bestow Blessings on us for offering them great Sacrifices, nor will they punish us for omitting them. Whosoever is in high place or dignity, let him not rely too much upon it. Whosoever is great and rich, let him not rejoice too much in those goods. Let no Man despise the poor and needy; for Dignities, Preferments, Riches and Poverty, are ever rolling from one to another, without being ever being fixt or permanent. All dependance is in Virtue. He who is once good, tho he obtain not the reward of his good works, yet evils will fly from him; and he that is once wicked, tho the punishment of his crimes do not immediately reach him, yet all happiness will presently leave him. He that lives well, is like the Plants in a Garden in Spring, which imperceptibly grow and increase every day. He that lives ill is like a Grindstone, its decay is not to be discern'd, and yet it hourly grows less. To do hurt to another for ones proper benefit, must be carefully avoided. The Virtue be never so small, endeavour to advantage another by it; tho Sin be so inconsiderable, dillwade Men from committing of it. Let your Meat, Drink and Clothing be suitable to your condition and ability. If you do so, you will certainly live easie. Do not go about to be told your Fortune, nor trouble your self with casting Lots. To do ill to Men is ill Fortune; to do them good is good Fortune. Heaven's Net is large, its reward and punishment will come speedily."

This Book is made up of Authors of all the Sects in *China*; and tho it is true, they all in the main agree in the same Principle, yet they differ in some measure in the manner of delivering themselves, and exhorting others to Virtue. He calls Heaven and Earth upright, and not guilty of making any exception of Persons; for as we say of God, *That he causes his Sun to rise upon the just and the unjust*, so the *Chinese* says, Heaven equally covers all Men, and the Earth, which they call the common Mother, equally maintaineth

all. In the first he speaks of the light of Nature, which those People say, Heaven infus'd into Man. God infus'd it into them and all of us, that we might see our actions. *The Law is light*, says the 6 Chap. v. 23. of Prov. St. Paul, Rom. 1. calls it a Witness, *Their conscience bearing witness*, &c. Which the *Chineses* had some sort of knowledg of, for in their Philosophy they say, That Man has two hearts within him, which meet and fight, because one abhors what the other desires. This is agreeable to that of the Apostle: *I find in my body another Law opposite to the Law of my mind.*

28. Another says: "Those that are rarely qualify'd, are good without being taught; those who are indifferent, being taught, presently improve, and easily apply themselves to Virtue; those who are dull, tho they be taught and instructed, are never the better. He that is taught and does not improve, if he be not a brute, what is he? To know good is a great blessing and happiness; to be wicked is a great misfortune.

The Author goes on: "Happiness consists in the Eyes not seeing ill things, the Ears not hearing undecent words, the Mouth uttering no bad language, the Feet walking in no unlawful ways, having no Friendship with any but virtuous Persons, not taking any thing that belongs to another, flying from wicked Men as we do from Snakes and Vipers. Unhappiness consists in speaking deceitful and false words, in suffering our senses to stray, in coveting what is not ours, in disguising evil, in desiring Sensuality, and rejoicing at the harms of others, in hating good Men, and in breaking the Laws with as little regret as if a Man broke a Water-picher. To be happy, is to be virtuous, but one day is not sufficient to obtain this. To be unhappy is to be wicked and vicious, if a Man is so but one day, it is enough for all the World boldly to call him wicked.

The King of the Kingdom *Zu*, which at present is the Province of *Xan Tung*, was ask'd, What Pearls and precious Stones there were in his Kingdom? He answer'd, The Virtue of my Subjects is the Jewels and precious Stones of my Kingdom, this it is I regard, this I value and prize, not those that are found under Ground.

Really this King, tho a Heathen, may be Master to many Catholicks. The Commentators write, there were very precious

things, and of great value in that Kingdom, but that the King minded nothing save that his Subjects should addict themselves sincerely to Virtue.

29. The great Master *Confucius* says: "Virtue is so to be seen in another, as we may believe ours is not equal to it; the vice and failing of our Neighbour is to be seen, as a Man would put his hand into boiling water. A virtuous Man must be look'd upon, with a will and desire to imitate him. A wicked Man must be look'd upon, after examining ones own heart, and seeing whether the fault we spy in our Neighbour is not to be found there.

Excellent Doctrine! How carefully will he do it, that is to put his hand into boiling water? If he can avoid it, no doubt but he will, and when in, how hastily will he draw it out? The same rule is to be observ'd, not to pry into other Mens lives.

As to what has been writ concerning Reward and Punishment, most certain it is, the *Chineses* speaks not of what is in the other life, but of this. That Nation never had any knowledg of the other, nor is there any account of it in their Books. This Point belongs to the Controversies, where it is made out at large, and to the ensuing Book. The *Chineses* hold the same opinion with *Job's* Friends: *S. Thomas*, *Let. 2.* upon the fourth Chapter of it, says thus, *Where it is to be observ'd that this was the opinion of Eliphaz, and the rest, that misfortunes of this nature do not fall upon any Man, but as a punishment of sin. and on the contrary prosperity to be the reward of righteousness.* And this, says the *Chineses*, falls out accidentally or naturally. The same Saint, *Let. 3.* on *Job. 3.* says, the *Jews* held the same opinion. *Let. 1.* he says after *S. Gregory*, that *God scourges Men five several ways:* But the *Chineses* conceive nothing further than that hard fortune naturally attends the wicked, and prosperity the just. So that there is no manner of argument to be deduced from their Books to convince, or make them own a Reward and Punishment in the other life.

Whilst I was writing this Book in *Canton*, a Manuscript Book was brought thither compos'd by a Christian *Chineses* of the *Literati*, or Learned; he defends the Law of God, but proves more than is requir'd of him, and does not make use of sound Arguments. I will here set down two instances. He proves the Incarnation of the Son of God thus: Two of our Emperors, the one call'd *Cie*, the other

Sic, were conceiv'd without the help of Man; then it follows Christ might be conceiv'd after the same manner. Concerning our Blessed Lady he argues thus; Our Empress *Kang Juen* conceiv'd and brought forth without the help of Man; even so might our Blessed Lady. Another Queen conceiv'd with eating the Eggs that dropt from a Swallow; so might our Blessed Lady without the help of Man. This to me seems *an ill Defence of a good Cause*. Some would have the *Chinese* Chimera's to be Figures of our Holy Mysteries, but there is no manner of ground for it, especially if we allow of

what *S. Augustin* teaches, and *S. Thomas* quotes, *lett. 2. on Rom. 1.* That the Prophecies concerning Christ began to be written by *Isaiab* and *Hofea*, after *Rome* was in being; *Under whose Empire Christ was to be born, and his Faith to be preach'd to the Gentiles.* What has been writ of the *Chinese* was thousands of Years before. I do not treat of this Subject in this place, but of their Morals; which besides their being very antient, contain some very good things. Concerning the manner of proving Matters of Faith, read *Cajetan* on *Acts 16.*

C H A P. II.

Which treats of Reason, and the Light of Nature.

I. THE second *Chinese* Philosopher, of whom I am to speak in this and some other Chapters, was born 300 Years after *Confucius*. When we were carry'd Prisoners to the Imperial City, we came to pass the heat of the Afternoon at the place of his Birth, which is a Village in the Province of *Xan Tung*, not far from *Confucius* his native Town. We went into his Temple, after crossing a large Court or Church-yard, shaded with beautiful, lofty, and very antient Cypress-Trees. This seems to be one of those the Scripture calls *Groves*, *Deut. 12. Ole-* after and others expound it *streight Treces*. The *Chinese* have much of this, they are set regularly, and kept in good order. Within the Temple was the Statue of this Master on an Altar, after the same manner as other Idols are. Over him was a large Inscription in stately Gold Letters, to this effect; This is *Meng Zu*, the second Man of this Empire in Sanctity. His Posterity continues to this day, are Lords of that place, and have the Title of *Mandarines*. He writ much Moral Philosophy. All agree he was a Man of great Parts, but somewhat sharp and Cynick. His Books are of great Authority in that Nation, infomuch that the Scholars, or Learned Men, are often examin'd by them.

Among other remarkable Storys they tell of him, take this that follows. The Emperor *Leang Vuang* had certain Groves and Gardens that were a League and half in compass, at which this Master us'd to rail very much. The Emperor came to hear of it, for there is no want of Informers in *China*. The Emperor sent for

him, and being come into his Presence, put this question to him; Worthy and venerable Master, is it true, that you are concern'd, and find fault with my Gardens taking up so much ground? It is, Sir, answer'd *Meng Zu*. If he had deny'd, and it had been prov'd upon him, he had certainly lost his Head. I know, said the Emperor, that my Predecessor *Vuen Vuang* had Gardens three Leagues in compass, and yet no body rail'd at it. *Meng Zu* reply'd, *Vuen Vuang's* Groves were as large as your Majesty speaks of, and yet they were small; those your Majesty has are but half the compass, and yet they are too big; so that there is reason to rail at and find fault with these, and there was none to do so by the others. How d'ye make that out? said the Emperor. The Master answer'd, Tho those Gardens and Groves took up so much ground, the Gates of them were open and free, and the Subjects had leave to fish in the Ponds, cut Wood, gather Fruit, and make use of the Game; and the number of Subjects being so great, very many could not come to furnish themselves in the Imperial Groves, therefore I say they were too small. Those your Majesty has, tho they take up less ground, are shut up, and it is forbid upon pain of Death, to Fish, Hunt, cut Wood, or gather Fruit in them; so that no Subject has any benefit of what is within them, therefore, I say, they are too big. And since your Majesty is the Peoples Father, why do you lay Snares against your Childrens Lives? What else is it, to make a Law that none upon pain of Death come in to Fish, Hunt, &c.

but to lay Snares to catch your Children? The Emperor was struck dumb, and had not a word to say for himself. What Answer could be made to so excellent an Argument? *Oleaster* speaks to this purpose on *Deut. 4. ad mores in principio*. But nothing prevails on the great Men of *Europe*, tho they value themselves upon their Christianity; it were well if the Keepers they place in their Forests would not strip Passengers, as I saw them do.

As concerning this Philosopher's Religion, I suppose he was of the Sect of the Learned, and as much an Atheist as the rest of them; for in his Books there is not the least appearance of his having any Knowledge of God, the Immortality of the Soul, or Reward or Punishment in a future Life. Whence it follows that the Philosopher *Confucius* was no less ignorant as to these Points, because *Meng Zu* having study'd and learnt his Doctrine, it is certain if he had found any thing in it concerning God, an Immortal Soul, &c. he must have mention'd it in his Writings.

2. We may with good reason say of this, and the rest of the *Chinese* Doctors, what *S. Augustin* writes, *lib. 3. quæst. Evang. c. 42. They may therefore not absurdly be suppos'd to be Lepers, who being destitute of the Knowledge of the true Faith, profess variety of erroneous Doctrine; for they do not conceal their Ignorance, but expose it as great Knowledge, and lay it open in haughty Discourses. But there is no false Doctrine without some mixture of Truth, &c.* This is the same *Lactantius* writ, *lib. 7. c. 7. de divino præmio*. And we know how much the ancient *Europeans* err'd, and the *Greeks*, who were the wise Men of the World, from whom Wisdom and Knowledge was convey'd to the rest, as *S. Thomas* asserts, *Leſt. 6. in 1. ad Rom.* I know not upon what pretence we should endeavour to clear the *Chinese* from the same failings. *S. Augustin, de ver. relig. c. 2.* places *Socrates*, tho so eminent a Man, among the Idolaters. *S. John Chrysoſtom* does the same, in *3 ad Rom.* *S. Athanasius, Orat. cont. Idol.* says the same of *Plato*, who usurp'd the Title of *Divine*. Many hold the same Opinion of *Aristotle*, *Seneca*, and *Cicero*; to which purpose you may see *F. Arias, Tom. 1. fol. 426.* What wonder then that the *Chinese* should fall into the like Misfortunes? But Father, you'll say, the *Chinese* have writ incomparably, and are Men of great Parts. Still, I say, they have not writ better, nor so well as the others we have spoken

of, nor are they to compare to them for Wit and Judgment. And we know *S. Chrysoſtom* says, *Good Doctrine often comes from an ill Man, as a base Soil produces precious Gold.* See *S. Thomas, Leſt. 2. in 4 Joan.* and upon *Boetius, de Trinit. quæst. 3. art. 2.* And *Corn. à Lapide, in 1 Rom. v. 27.* with what shall be said concerning *Xenocrates*.

3. The *Chinese* hold this Man in great veneration; and that they look upon him as a Saint, appears by their dedicating Temples to him; this is an undeniable Argument of the Godhead they assign'd him. *S. Austin, Serm. Arian. cap. 20.* uses this Argument to convince Hereticks, that the Holy Ghost is God. *If the Arians did but read, that the Temple of Solomon was built of Stones for the Holy Ghost, they would not make any doubt of his being God, since the being of a Temple belongs to the Supreme Adoration, call'd Latria; how then can they deny the Holy Ghost to be God, since he has the noblest Temple? S. Ambrose, lib. 3. de Spiritu Sancto, c. 13.* handles this Point at large, and concludes thus; *God therefore has a Temple, Creatures have none.* *Bede* on *1 Cor. c. 6.* deduces the same Consequence; *How then can he be no God who has a Temple? S. Anselm* on the same; *The Holy Ghost is most plainly declar'd to be God; because unless he were a God he would have no Temple.* Read *S. Thomas 2. 2. quæst. 83. art. 2. ad 3 & 1. p. quæst. 27. art. 1.* where he says, *To have a Temple belongs only to God.* Hence we may infer, that since in *China* there are many Temples dedicated to *Confucius*, where they also worship this second Master, and other Doctors, they assign them Holiness, and a Godhead. This and other Points of the same nature are handled at large in the Controversies.

4. The first Proposition deliver'd by this second Master in this present Chapter, is this; "Those who follow the rule of Reason, and act according to it, will secure and perpetuate themselves; but they that act against it, shall perish."

5. There are many things in the *Chinese* Books, which may be easily interpreted to our meanings, if we mind the found and superficial sense of the words; but it is not convenient to print it in their Language. It is but a few years since a little Book was printed and publish'd in that Mission, which I believe no Man but the Author lik'd.

6. Another *Chinese* Doctor says thus; "He that adheres to the Rule of Reason, does not desire or expect any Profit, and

“ and yet every thing is profitable and advantageous to him. He that follows the Will and Humour of another, seeks his Interest, and aims at Advantage, and sometimes meets with trouble and loss before he attains it.

7. Another of the *Chineses* has this Sentence; “ To contrive Business is in the power of Man; to bring it to a conclusion is the Work of Heaven. Man desires this thing, or that; but Heaven does not always comply with his desires.

8. Another: “ Heaven hears all; tho the Business be never so private, it will not be conceal'd from Heaven. Do not trouble your self to ask where Heaven is; it is neither high nor far off, you have it in your Heart, it knows your Thoughts tho never so inconceivable.

9. To the same purpose another *Chinese* says; “ What private Discourses pass between Men, Heaven hears as plain as if they were Thunder; it sees the hidden Wickedness of the Heart, as if it were as visible as a flash of Lightning.

All this is literally meant of the Conscience, and rational Instinct, whose Ears and Eyes are so sharp and piercing, that it sees and hears whatsoever Man says or does, tho never so private, as plainly as if it were known to all the World. This Doctrine alone makes Heathens afraid, and forbear committing Faults.

10. A grave Author says; “ He that deceives and wrongs his Neighbour, deceives and wrongs his own Heart; and he that deceives and wrongs his own Heart, deceives Heaven. Can ones own Heart and Heaven be deceiv'd? One Man seeks to deceive another, let him be satisfy'd he deceives himself. Do not say, Heaven sees not, be assur'd you cannot deceive it; and that neither you nor any other Man can excuse the Faults you commit. Exhort all Men to live well, wrong no Man. The wicked Man imposes upon, and cheats the Good; but Heaven is not impos'd upon. Man fears Men, but Heaven fears no body.

By these Expressions they curb Men, and restrain them from running into Vice; and accordingly we see many of them live modestly and cautiously, and with such circumspection and fear of falling into any grievous Sin, that one would think they were afraid of being accountable to God for their Actions. It needs not be made out, that he who defrauds;

or wrongs his Neighbour, does more wrong his own Soul; for it is most certain the Sin sticks upon his Soul, and the Mischief it brings cannot be repair'd by Nature, being infinitely greater than any it can cause to another Man. This Hea-then asserts, there can be no Excuse made for our Sins; *S. Paul, Rom. 2.* teaches the same. If the Apostle cannot convince, let the Heathen confound you.

11. Another says; “ If you act wickedly to purchase Fame and Honour, and Men do not punish you, be assur'd Heaven will. He that sows Pompions, reaps Pompions; and he that sows Wheat, will reap Wheat: Heaven's Net is very large, and tho thin, no Man can slip through it. Tho the Husbandman plow deep and sow in season, that alone will not produce and ripen the Corn, Heaven must help it with Sunshine, Rain, Air and Dew.

12. Another Author says; “ To endeavour to benefit ones self to the detriment of another, can never go unpunish'd.

All Gain and Advantage must be compass'd without wronging a third Person, otherwise it is rather a Theft than lawful Gain, rather Tyranny than Conveniency and Advantage. *S. Augustin, Serm. 3. ad Grat.* speaks thus; *It is an excess of Wickedness to endeavour to grow rich out of the slender Means of the Poor and Widows: Therefore, Brethren, honest Gains are to be lov'd, but Extortion to be abhor'd.* This is very pat to rich Men, who engross all Commodities, not allowing the Poor to lay out their small Stock to support their Families. The *Chineses* call such Men Tigers without Teeth. The Tiger that has Teeth, say they, eats leisurely, relishing its Food; but that which has none, devours and swallows all whole: Rich Men are for swallowing all. In other Places they call them Crocodiles, or Alligators; tho this fierce and bloody Creature has too many Teeth, but it wants a Tongue, which makes it swallow its Food immediately, without holding it any time in the Mouth. I have known some of these in my time; there was a mighty Alligator at *Macassar*; he was poison'd not long since in the Island of *Solor*. He had lost many thousand Ducats, yet in his Will he left 680000 Pieces of Eight, and had no Heirs but a Nephew and a Bastard Daughter. What was this Wretch the better for having gather'd so much Money? What benefit had he of the Toil wherewith he got it, of the Dread with which he kept it, and of the

*Nava
rette.*

~ Trouble it was to him to leave it behind
Nava- to others to enjoy? Read *Oleasf. in 21*
rette. *Num. ad mores in princip.* His Doctrine is
 ~ admirable, as is that of *Ecclusf. 11. v. 20.*

13. The *Chinese* Master. "He that
 "offends Heaven, has none to beg Par-
 "don of.

Read *Ole-*
ast. in 10
Deut. ad
mores.

All the Expositors make it out, but of
 Heaven it self. It somewhat resembles
 that of *1 Kings c. 2. But if a Man shall*
sin against God, who shall pray for him?
 This Proposition some Missioners make
 their ground to prove that *Confucius* had
 knowledg of God: The contrary is most
 certainly true, as shall be made out in the
 Controversies whicre this Subject is
 handled at large, and it will appear by the
 fifth Book. I will only say in this place,
 that as to this and other Points, we must
 rather submit our Judgments to the opi-
 nion of his Disciples, than be govern'd
 by our own speculative Notions, ac-
 cording to that of *Lactantius, Whom then*
shall we believe, if we give not Credit to those

that commend? The words of Cardinal
Lugo disp. 1. de Euch. sect. 3. num. 4. is
 very proper to this purpose, and to some
 other Points. *In Disputes concerning the*
signification of words, no stress can be laid any
otherwise, than in the Expressions and Man-
ner the Authors and Teachers of those words
us'd. See *S. Thomas* to this purpose, *lect.*
2. in 7 Matth. The most that can be
 inferr'd from that Proposition, is, that
 he acknowledg'd a Deity in the material
 Heaven, and not in Statues of Clay or
 Metal; wherein he agreed with others of
 the Antients according to *S. Thomas,*
lect. 7. in 1 Rom. *And in this he condemns*
the wise Men of the Heathens, who tho they
never believ'd there was any Deity in Images,
as the Followers of Heracles believ'd, nor
did believe those things to be true which were
fabulously reported by the Poets, yet they gave
Divine Worship to some Creatures. Yet for
 all this I do not clear him from very many
 other Superstitions, nor do some grave
 and antient Missioners of the Society.

C H A P. III.

*That Man ought to be conformable to the Disposition of Heaven, and not to
 rely on his own Power and Ability.*

THE *Chineses* with only two Cha-
 racters of theirs, which are *Xun*
Ming, express almost all that is contain'd
 in the Title of this Chapter, which im-
 plies as much as, that Fortune and Fate
 are inevitable, and that we must be sub-
 missive and subordinate to them.

1. Therefore one of them says, "Life
 "and Death have their certain deter-
 "minate Bounds; Riches and Wealth
 "are in Heaven.

2. The second Master. "To work,
 "or cause to work, to go, or command
 "to go, to stop, or make to stop, none
 "of these things can Man do of himself.
 "The Birds drinking a drop of Water,
 "or eating a grain of Corn, is all settled
 "and determin'd before hand. The or-
 "dering and contriving of business is
 "long since fix'd. Since it is so, why
 "do Men labour and perplex themselves
 "for the things of this World? The
 "things of this World do not depend
 "on human Contrivance, they are all
 "regulated by the Fate of Heaven.

It is our Duty to work and labour, and
 not to be misled in this particular by this
 Heathen. *He that created thee without*
thee, will not save thee without thee, said

S. Augustin. And *S. Jerom, Labour is to be*
follow'd, Solitude to be taken away. We
 are not to leave all to God, as the *Chi-*
nese would have all left to Heaven.

3. One of them says, "There is no
 "Wisdom like good Fortune: There is
 "no Discretion like being lucky. Let
 "no Man think by his Ingenuity to e-
 "scape the Troubles of this World, and
 "let none imagine with little more or
 "less Industry to make themselves fortu-
 "nate in it.

4. Another *Chinese* Doctor. "When
 "you see him that scorns, and bears you
 "ill-will, do not hate him. When you
 "see Profit before your Eyes, do not
 "imagine it will presently fall into your
 "hands.

The first Proposition is good and holy,
 the second against covetous Persons.

5. Master *Confucius.* "He that knows
 "the Fate of Heaven, is not mov'd or
 "restless when he sees Profit before his
 "Eyes, nor does he hate Death when it
 "is near. Whether you go fast or slow,
 "the Race of this Life must have an
 "end.

This is a good help to those that would
 prove *Confucius* had knowledg of God.

This

This Philosopher has few Disciples in the Doctrine he teaches in this place. There is never a *Chinese* that is not disturb'd and restless if he has the least Profit in sight. The last part of this Document may serve those who are wholly resign'd to the Will of God, and have their Accounts made up.

6. Another of them says, "The Ignorant, the Deaf, the Dumb, the Wife, the Noble, the Discreet and

"Strong may all be poor. The Sun, Moon, Time, Day, Hours and Minutes are settled; consider then, whether these things depend on Man, or on Fate. Fate and Reason have their limited time.

Only the outward appearance of a rich Man, without his being really so, gain'd Esteem among the Courtiers: The same is done in *China*, as well as other places, and something beyond them.

*Navis-
rette.*

CHAP. IV.

Of the Obedience of Children to their Parents.

1. THE Book of Verses, which is one of the antientest for Instruction in *China*, speaks thus; "My Father begot me, my Mother with Sorrow brought me forth, and suckled me; if I will repay what I owe them, all Heaven will not suffice.

2. The Master *Confucius*. "I receiv'd Body, Skin, Hair, and all from my Parents; not to wrong these things is the beginning of Obedience: To labour to gain Honour, and leave a Name to Posterity to make them renowned, is the end of this Virtue. What belongs to Obedience is, whilst my Parents live, to honour, pay them the greatest Respect, and maintain them with Satisfaction, and cheerfully: When they are sick, to be sorry for their Sufferings, to grieve at their Death; and when I offer Sacrifice to them, let it be with all possible Attention and Devotion. He therefore that loves another, and not his Parents, is opposite to Virtue and Reason. A Man of Honour must value himself upon being obedient to his Parents, and loyal to his King. He is oblig'd to serve his Brothers, and be respectful to his Superiors.

Upon account of the first words in this Paragraph of *Confucius*, the *Chineses* ever made great account of their Hair, and never us'd to cut it, till the *Tartar* oblig'd them to part with it: They wore it put up and fast bound in a curious Pouch made of Horse-hair, and account those *Barbarians* who wear their Hair loose. The *Chineses* do not cut their Beards neither. *Diogenes* says it betokens Man, Virtue, Courage, and Resolution. *Sichius*, that it is a sign of Perfection. *Eucherius*, that it denotes Valour. *Rodolphus* adds, that it also signifies Wisdom.

In those that shave all off it may express the contrary. All things are inverted in *Europe*.

He expresses the sacrificing to Parents by the word *Ci*, which is us'd for all sorts of Sacrifices, concerning which I treat at large in the Controversies. The Devil will act the Ape in all things, and endeavour to appear like God. We have Bulls for the dead, and Indulgences; this Fiend has brought up the same in *China*. In Religious Orders it is customary to give Letters of Brotherhood to their Devotes and Benefactors, which are beneficial to the Faithful. They were in use among the Monks of *China*, and the *Cistercians* in the year 1118. as says *Spondanus* upon that year, num. 13. The Devil has set up the same in *China*. Many of the Faithful are usually buried in the Habit of some Religious Order; this too the Devil has taught them in *China*. The holy Custom of burying Priests in their Priestly Vestments had its beginning, says *Lyra* on *Levit.* 10. *Because that Nadab and Abiud were buried in the Priestly Garments, the Custom came in force of burying the Priests of the new Law in Priestly Vestments.*

The *Chineses* transgress in excess of Obedience towards their Parents; many Christians fall as short.

3. Let us go on with another *Chinese*. "He that has Parents must ask them leave when he goes out of doors, when they return they must make their appearance, and tell whither they go. The Son ought to be employ'd in some business. When he is bid to do any thing, let him not excuse himself; whilst his Parents live, let him not go away into far Countries: If he travel, let it be upon case of absolute necessity. It is not convenient Children should be

"ign-

Navarrette. " ignorant of their Parents Ages: One
 " reason is, that they may rejoice at their
 " long Life; the other, that they may be
 " sorry, because Age brings them the
 " nearer to Death. Whilst the Father
 " lives, let the Son observe his Actions;
 " when he is dead, let him imitate his
 " Virtues, and wear Mourning for him
 " three years without intermission.

All this that has been written the *Chin-
 neses* observe, and are far beyond the *Eu-
 ropeans* in knowing the Age of their Fa-
 ther, Mother, Uncles, Brothers, and o-
 ther Kindred: There is not one of them,
 tho not full six years of Age, but knows
 it; all from the highest to the lowest can
 tell their own Age, the Month, Day,
 and Hour when they were born. They
 look upon us Missioners as undutiful, be-
 cause we have left our Parents, and trav-
 el'd so many Leagues; and they think
 ill that we do not stay at home to serve
 and relieve them, but we give them rea-
 sons enough for what we do. Because
 they keep all their Birth-days, they ad-
 mire we do it not too; to this purpose
 they exactly keep in mind their Parents
 Age and Birth-day. This furnishes us
 an opportunity of instructing them how
 such days are to be kept, and why the
 Church celebrates the Day that Saints
 dy'd on, and not that they were born up-
 on. Certain it is many celebrate their
 Birth-day, others the Ages, or every
 Hundred years, as the renowned Society
 of *Jesus* did piously and religiously; and
 the Elector of *Saxony* and other *Luthe-
 rans* did sacrilegiously the Hundredth
 year since the Apostacy of the infamous
Luther, stamping on their Silver and Gold
 Coins, *Sæculum Lutheranicum*. See *Sponda-
 nus* in his *Supplem. an. 1617*. Others
 celebrate the Coronations of their Kings.
 I saw that of the King of *England* kept
 at *Madraſtapatan*, that of the Pope at
Rome; I twice saw it kept for *Clement*
 the 10th, who now steers *S. Peter's* Boat.

4. Another *Chinese* writes: " If a Son
 " be obedient to his Parents, his Chil-
 " dren will be obedient to him; if he is
 " disobedient, how can he expect his
 " should be obedient? He that is obe-
 " dient breeds obedient Children, he
 " that is rebellious begets rebellious Chil-
 " dren.

5. Another of them says: " He that

" breeds up Children, knows how much
 " he receiv'd from his Parents: He that
 " labours and watches, knows with how
 " much Pain and Trouble his Neighbour
 " earns his Bread.

6. The second *Chinese* Master. " Dis-
 " obedience has three Consequences; the
 " greatest, the want of Children: He
 " that has Children provides against old
 " Age, he that lays up Corn provides
 " against a Famine. In another place he
 " says, " There are three Sins belong to
 " Disobedience, the greatest is the want
 " of Children.

This Doctrine, as I observ'd elsewhere,
 made way for Concubines; which Error
 has been sufficiently impugned, but it is
 very hard to be rooted up. They look
 upon us as disobedient because we do not
 marry: For this reason the *Chinenses* are
 much concern'd at the want of Children,
 and use all their Endeavours to have
 them.

7. Another of them says: " When
 " your Parents express their Love to you,
 " rejoice, and forget it not; if they
 " hate you, fear, but do not love them
 " the less: If you discover any failings
 " in them, reprove them, but be not
 " disobedient.

Brotherly Reproof is of very antient
 standing, and much celebrated in *China*;
 it is to be us'd even towards Parents, as
 the Heathen says in this place, and shall
 be repeated hereafter.

8. *Confucius*. " Among all Sins none
 " equals that of Disobedience.

9. One of his Disciples: " Of all
 " Works whatsoever, Obedience to Pa-
 " rents is the chiefest, it reaches to Hea-
 " ven; for its sake Heaven sends the O-
 " bedient Wind and Rain in season. Come
 " down to the Earth; therefore it fur-
 " nishes them with plentiful Crops:
 " Come to Men, therefore all Blessings
 " and Felicities reach those that are obe-
 " dient.

Had these Authors known God, they
 had not certainly talk'd after this man-
 ner. Tho *S. Paul*, *Ephes. 6.* says, *Honour
 thy Father, and thy Mother, which is the first
 Commandment in the Promise*. What goes
 before he allows as tending to God, which
 is in *Exod. 20.* and *Deut. 5.* There is no-
 thing to this Point in the *Chinese* Books.

C H A P. V.

How Man is to order and regulate himself.

~
Nava-
rette.
~

1. **T**HE *Chinese* Philosophy. "When you see any thing that is good in your Neighbour, consider whether the same is to be found in your Heart; and if you perceive any defect in your Neighbour, search your Intide; if you do so, you will certainly improve: for if you find not the Good you observ'd in another, you will strive to get it; and if you find the Evil you saw in your Neighbour, you will endeavour to cast it out.

2. A grave Author says, "He that does not fear, draws on himself Troubles. He that is not full of Pride, will receive benefit. He that is not fond of his own Opinion, will be wise.

3. Another *Chinese* has these words: It is opposite to Reason, that he who lives loosely, should pretend to curb others. He that is in himself good and upright, and instructs his Neighbour by his Example, will doubtless have Disciples.

4. Another *Chinese*. "It is not lawful for him that has many good Parts, to blame or carp at the want of them in his Neighbour.

5. Another says, "You must not because you are Noble, despise those that are not so; nor must you reproach others, because you are great in Fame and Riches; nor is it lawful to undervalue an Enemy, because you are courageous and valiant.

He is in the right in every Point. Before we proceed any further, we might here set down the Origin, Rise, and Antiquity of Nobility. According to *S. Augustin*, it began in *Shem* and *Japhet*. The *Fasciculus Florum* in the first Age, fol. 4. says the same. When *Noah* cursed *Ham*, This is the first mention of Servitude, and consequently of Nobility. But this Blessing and Curse is in regard to Virtue and Vice, for the one or the other of which a Man is truly call'd Noble, or Ignoble. Fol. 5. p. 2. it says, Nobility first came up in the time of *Phaleg* the Son of *Heber*, many reasons concurring to make it so. Mankind increasing, and Men being prone to evil, it was requisite to prevent the Insolencies of the Wicked towards the Good; and therefore some good Man, who was more upright and wise than the rest, was chosen to be over the Community, to prefer the virtuous, to sup-

port the middle sort, and restrain the wicked; hence he was call'd Noble, as being notable for Virtue above the rest. Whereupon *S. Jerom*; I see nothing to be coveted in Nobility, but that Noble Men are in a manner constrain'd not to deviate from the Probity of the Antients. The second Reason was to preserve the Publick Peace. In some Nobility had its beginning from Courage and Valour, in others from their many Riches, and in others from Tyranny and Oppression.

However we see the Families of the two Masters have continued for many Ages in *China*, and are very noble, being so antient, that I believe there are few in the World can match them. The Line of some Emperors lasted 600, and even 800 years.

6. Another *Chinese*. "If Virtue reigns in a Man, he may be said to be brave and valiant; Virtue is in the Mind, not in the Fortune. He that endeavours by Violence to subdue another, shall perish.

7. The second Master. "He that forcibly subdues another, tho he have him under, yet his Heart nor his Will is not subject to him. When Virtue and Reason are the Weapons we fight with, the Will submits, and the Heart cheerfully complies.

8. Another Author. "Whosoever sees any thing in his Neighbour that is good, let him always endeavour to have it in sight, that he may imitate it: If he sees any ill, let him strive to conceal and hide it.

Those who do the contrary, either endeavour to make their own Crimes seem less, or to prevent being reprov'd; as if this would avail them before the dreadful Tribunal of Almighty God. *Oleas*, on the Book of *Numb.* often observes, that God reprov'd *Moses* and *Aaron* in private.

9. *Confucius*. "To hide the good that is in a Man, is to destroy Virtue. To expose the faults of others, shows a vile Temper in him that does it. To speak well of my Neighbour's Virtue, is as if I were the virtuous Person; to lay open his Failings, is as much as to own my self faulty.

10. One of their Doctors. "A Man should hear talk of the faults of others, as a Son would hear his Parents rail'd at.
"The

“ The Ears may hear, but the Mouth
“ ought not to divulge it.

Narrative.
I heard a learned *Chinese*, who was a good Christian, commend this Sentence, and he expounded it thus: When a Man hears his Parents rail'd at, he presently puts a stop to that Discourse, or takes their part, or shuns him that rails: All which we ought to do upon any other case of Detraction. To the second Point he said, That as a Son when he hears his Father's faults mention'd, conceals it without revealing it to another; so ought we to suppress and hide the faults we hear our Neighbour charg'd with. We know it is as bad to give ear to Detraction, as to detract.

11. The second Master. “ What Punishment does he deserve, who speaks
“ ill of his Neighbour, and discovers his
“ failings? There is none equivalent to
“ his fault.

Excellently express'd of a Heathen. The *Chinese* severely condemns Slanders, and tells us how tender we ought to be of the Reputation, Honour, and Good-name of all Men. The Scriptures and Writings of holy Men are full of this Doctrine.

12. Another *Chinese*. “ Let him that
“ knows he is slander'd, not be angry; let
“ him that hears his Praises, not be puff'd
“ up: He that hears others ill spoken of,
“ let him not contract Friendship with
“ those that rail, but let him contract it
“ with those who have good Tongues,
“ and let him delight in their Company.
“ The Book of Verses speaks thus; It is
“ pleasant to see a virtuous Man, it is a
“ great satisfaction to hear good words,
“ it is very delightful to talk of holy
“ things, it is an excellent thing to act
“ with a good Intention. To hear Rail-
“ ing, is like loading ones Shoulders with
“ Briars: To hear good words, is like
“ taking a Burden of Roses and Lillies. If
“ the Heart has no ill Thoughts, the Feet
“ walk not in ill Ways. If there be no
“ ill Friendship, nothing is heard dis-
“ agreeable to Reason or Justice.

This last Paragraph has been writ above 3000 years, and in substance it wants nothing I know of to make it Doctrine worthy any great Doctor of the Church.

13. Another of them. “ To remove
“ to Virtue admits of no delay, it must
“ be done as nimbly as the Wind flies;
“ mending of faults must be perform'd
“ with the celerity a flash of Lightning
“ breaks out of a Cloud.

This Sentence is written in the *Chinese*

Language very succinctly and elegantly. I read it so often, and was so taken with it, that I remember it and some others to this day.

14. *Confucius*. “ Sin in a virtuous Man
“ is like an Eclipse of the Sun and Moon,
“ all Men gaze at, and it passes away:
“ The virtuous Man mends, and the
“ World stands in admiration of his
“ Fall.

All *China* has the same Superstition in reference to Eclipses that was among the antient *Europeans*, which *Spondanus* gives an account of *An. 377. n. 5.* where he quotes those words of *S. Augustin* and *S. Ambrose*, which I writ in another place.

15. The same *Chinese* Author. “ He
“ that knows his failings, will doubtless
“ mend them; once mended, let him
“ take care not to relapse.

16. Another *Chinese*. “ To sin and
“ not to mend, is to be wicked and a
“ Sinner. He that tells me my Faults
“ is my Master: He that praises my Vir-
“ tues and makes them known to me, is
“ a Thief, who takes from me all I have
“ that is good.

17. The same *Chinese*. “ Having three
“ Friends, I must of necessity find one
“ among them that may be my Master; if
“ I adhere to him that is good and vir-
“ tuous, and shun those that are not so,
“ I shall compass my design.

18. Another *Chinese*. “ By talking
“ little, and adhering to good Men, I
“ shall save many Troubles.

19. Another. “ Care and Sollicitude
“ is a Jewel of inestimable value. Care
“ preserves Life, as the King's Hand
“ does.

The second Proposition alludes to the Custom of *China*; it is usual for those who travel to have Letters of Recommendation from some *Mandarine* for those they shall meet. This was in use formerly in the Church for Bishops, Priests, Deacons, &c. In the 34th Canon of the Apostles, and in the Councils *Antisiodorensis* Can. 7. and *Remensis* Can. 4. this Subject is handled. *Cassianus* Conc. *Carth.* 5. writes the difference there was as to this particular, and in *Syn. Chalced.* p. 244. he puts down to whom the Letters of Recommendation were to be given, and to whom those of Peace. And taking the Proposition in its literal sense, it is a plain case that he who carries his King's Pass, may go any where safe. Diligence, says he, produces the same effect. See *Spond. an. 142. n. 2.* where he writes the several Names given to those Letters.

Some

Some were call'd *Diplomata*, which they had who were call'd or sent by the Emperors, who had all Necessaries allow'd them. This is much us'd in *China*, but is very prejudicial to the Subjects. (*It is nothing but Free Quarters on the Road, or as it is call'd in France a Route*) Eight years ago a Petty King of the Province of *Canton* went over to that of *Fo Kien*, to which purpose 9000 Boats were taken up. He carry'd along with him 190000 People, all belonging to his Family. In the next Province they furnish'd him the like number of Boats, and 80000 Men to draw them. When we came from Court, they gave us an order for Boats and Maintenance, tho we had not the benefit of it, and shew'd it in every City and Town, ninety Men were allow'd for our Boats.

20. *Lao Zu*, Author of one of the principal Sects in *China*, says, "Many sins are hurtful to the Soul, much riches to the Body."

21. Another Author: "It is necessary that a Man leave the pleasures of this life. It is best to be sparing in Diet. Seek not Nobility, covet not Riches, and be not led away by Interest. If you do so, you will have but few troubles. He that is patient will have rest."

22. *Confucius*. "All good things are to be examin'd, and so are the bad in the same manner."

23. A *Chinese* says: "He who rejoices when he is told of his faults, has doubtless somewhat of a Holy Man."

24. Another: "Every Man desires and covets to be Virtuous, and he would be excusable for not applying himself to the practice of Virtue, if for compassing of it he were to use great force, tire himself, wast his fortune, and hazard his life; but since nothing of this is requir'd, why are not all Men Virtuous? If a Man because he employs himself in Virtue, were despised by his Neighbours, hated by his Parents, and slighted by his Kindred and Friends, he might be excusable for not following it; but on the contrary, if he addicts himself to it, his Parents will love him the better, his Kindred, Neighbours, and Friends, will honour and respect him every day more than other. Why then are we not all virtuous and good?"

25. The Master *Confucius*: "When a Man speaks in due season, and to the purpose, no body thinks much of his words. When he laughs in laughing-time, no Man thinks much of his laughter. He that takes a thing he has

"a good title to, is not accounted covetous. He that is silent amidst the Healths at a Feast, is virtuous. And he who in dividing Wealth acts fairly, is an honest and conscientious Man." *Nava-rette.*

Silence at Feasts is rare to be found. *Noisy drunkenness*, says *Eccles. c. 20*. In *China* it is excessive, they begin their Feasts with the greatest gravity imaginable, attended by a thousand Ceremonies, and the middle and end of them is all noise and confusion.

26. The same Author: "Riches strengthen Houses; Virtue makes the Heart fruitful. A little well got, is better than a great deal wrongfully acquir'd."

27. Another Author: "He that values himself upon being a Man, must show it by his actions. He that values Virtue above Riches is a Man of Honour, and he is base who prefers Gold and Silver before Virtue."

28. *Confucius*: "A good Purge is bitter to the Taste, but beneficial to the Health. A true and faithful word is harsh to the Ear, but good to the Heart. The surest way to be happy and fortunate, is to withdraw from sin. There is no better way to avoid Troubles, than to shun committing Faults. The perfect Man is never satisfy'd with himself. He that is satisfy'd with himself, is not perfect."

29. Another *Chinese*: "There may be three Faults in an honest Man: 1. That he having a Superior above him, and not serving him, expects to be serv'd by his Inferiors. 2. That having Parents, whom he does not obey, and to whom he is not grateful for the benefits receiv'd of them, he expects his Children should be obedient and grateful. 3. That having a Brother, whom he does not respect as he ought, he would have his younger Brother be respectful to him. He that does so, is not guided by Reason and Equity."

30. *Lao Zu*: "He that follows his own opinion, is in danger of going astray. He that relies upon himself, has not a perfect knowledge of Affairs. He that is conceited, has no merit."

31. A *Chinese*: "He that lays up Corn and Garments, fears not hunger or cold. He that hords Virtue, fears neither troubles nor misfortunes."

32. Another *Chinese*: "He that looks into other Mens lives, ought first to look into his own. He that affronts his Neighbour with ill words, may be assur'd he affronts himself first. Such a

Navarrette. "one is compar'd to a Man who carries his mouth full of Ink, to spurt it upon another, for he first dirt's himself.

33. A *Chinese*: "He who talks much, kills his Body.

34. Another writes thus: "The Husband-man forbears not tilling his ground either because he has too much, or too little rain; the Merchant does not give over Trading because he has had one, or two losses: then why should a Scholar leave his Books, because he is poor, or a good Man his Spiritual Exercises, tho he have troubles or business?

35. "If a Man employs himself only in Eating and Drinking, he will incur the contempt of all People, and it will come to pass, that for what is inconsiderable, as Meat and Drink, he will lose that which is of value, viz. his good Name and Reputation. Plays, Games and Jestings, are frivolous and useless things, only diligence in doing well is of value.

All this I like very well, but especially the last Proposition, which is good and holy. I have already said, that Plays are very antient, and much us'd in *China*. The Players are not look'd upon at all; no Woman is ever seen in their Representations. They were not admitted in *Rome*, says *Scipio Nasica*, according to the *Fascic. Temp.* fol. 31. *Because it was very destructive to a warlike People, breeding Idleness, and introducing Lasciviousness.*

36. A *Chinese* writes very elegantly: "Do not stoop to tie your Shoos in a Melon-garden; do not handle your Hat in an Orchard where there is Fruit.

The Author recommends to us circumspection in our actions, and cautiousness in our proceedings, that we may not give scandal, or an occasion to others to judge rashly. He tells us it is not convenient to do all that is lawful, according to that of *St. Paul*, *All things are lawful to me, but all things are not convenient.* *St. Augustin* Sermon. 43. ad Frat. *But take heed ye be not deceiv'd, for many ill things are done under the colour of good.* See *Oleas.* in 12, & 13 *Deut.* It is lawful and just for a Man to tie his Shoos, tho it be in a Melon-garden, but another that sees it will suspect or judge he steals Melons. It is also lawful to settle ones Hat, but if it is done among Cherry, or other Fruit-trees, another that sees him lift up his hands will imagin he gathers the Fruit. It is lawful to speak to a Woman, especially if she be a Sister, or near Relation, but it is not

convenient very often, because malice is so sharp, that what is only a point of civility may be improv'd to scandal. The same may be said in many other cases. Great regard must be had to circumstances of Time, Place, Quality of Persons, &c.

37. The second Master: "For a Man to love Strangers, and not his own Domesticks, is contrary to Piety; to govern others and not govern ones self, is contrary to prudence; not to return a Salutation is contrary to Civility and good Manners.

As to what concerns not returning a Salutation, there can be but two reasons for it among us, viz. open Enmity, or Rudeness. Among the *Chineses* there is none at all, for Enmity is no cause not to make a return, and such rudeness no Man is guilty of.

38. A *Chinese*: "When there are sins in thy House, it is soon known abroad among the Neighbours. If a Man is virtuous, there is none but will praise and extol his Virtue. If a Man is not honest and virtuous, make him not your Friend. Receive not any thing without you have a good title to it. If your thought be not good, suppress it immediately; if your business be not just and honest, let it not come out of your mouth. He that is circumspect in all things, will have no cause to grieve. He that is patient, is affronted at nothing. He that is of a quiet temper, will live easy; and he that is sparing, will always have enough.

39. Another *Chinese*: "The Mouth must not utter the Neighbour's faults; the Heart must not entertain evil thoughts, the Ears must not hear Detraction, the Eyes must not see the faults of others. He who observes all this is near being virtuous.

40. A *Chinese*: "If a Man fails in one thing, all he did before is lost, and cast away.

41. "A good and virtuous Man, says a *Chinese* Doctor, does not grow proud; the wicked Man is not ashamed to be puffed up.

42. A *Chinese* says: "He that has a sharp Wit and great Judgment, must not undervalue those who have not such good parts. He that is strong and powerful must not offend the weak and needy. He that knows not, let him ask. He that cannot compass what he aims at must have patience, and tho he can and knows always how to go through with business, let him always take care
"to

“to preserve humility. After all this
“he may attain to be virtuous.

43. *Lao Zu*: Holy Men heap up Vir-
“tues, not Riches. To adhere to Virtue,
“preserves the Heart; to adhere to Pro-
“fit, destroys it.

44. Another Author: “Many benefits
“and much love are what makes a Man
“esteem’d. To study carefully is the way
“to be powerful and wise.

45. “If rich and powerful Men hum-
“ble themselves to others, who is there
“that will not humble himself to them?
“If Superiors love and respect their In-
“feriors, which of the Inferiors will not
“again love, honour and respect them?
“If he that is in high place and authori-
“ty, carries himself stately and with ri-
“gour, who that is subordinate will not
“fear him? If he that speaks is in the
“right in what he says, and he that acts
“does it uprightly, who will dare to
“contradict his words, or carp at his
“actions? He speaks well.

46. “He that borrows a Book is ob-
“lig’d to use it well; and if it comes to
“any damage in his hands before restor-
“ing, he is bound to mend it.

This belongs to studious Persons, and
the care the *Chineses* take in this particu-
lar is worth observing. There are
many *Europeans* who ought never to have
a Book lent them, till they had learn’d
of the *Chineses* how to behave themselves.
The same in other things, they look up-
on them as belonging to others, whereas
they are oblig’d to use them better than
their own.

47. One of them says, Virtue takes
its original from Humility; when a Man
declines in Virtue, it is because his Humi-
lity decays: Misfortunes proceed from
Sensuality; Disasters from Covetousness;

Failings from much sloth and idleness. Acts of Piety, to keep our Eyes from
looking on the faults of others, to keep
the Tongue from Detraction, to keep
the Heart from Covetousness, to keep
the Body out of ill Company; not to
speak without it be to advantage, not to
meddle in other Mens business; to serve
the King, to obey Parents, to respect
Superiors; not to grow proud in Pro-
sperity, not to be cast down in Adversity;
not to spend time in thinking on what is
past, not to be in expectation of what
is to come; not to rely on Favour or
Preferment. These are the things Man
is to study and practise. *Nava-
rette.*

Much might be said upon this Para-
graph, it is all good and holy, and there
is nothing wanting but practising of it.

48. “To spend without measure, says
“the same Author, is to forget ones Fa-
“mily. A high Place is often lost for
“want of Frugality and Moderation.
“He that is careful and diligent, provides
“for his whole Life.

49. The 2d Master; “Among the rest
“of the Sins of Disobedience or Undu-
“tifulness, one is for a Man not to main-
“tain his Parents; the second to be gi-
“ven to Feasting and Pastimes, and take
“no care of them; the third to marry
“without their leave; the fourth, to
“follow ones own Will and Pleasure; the
“fifth, to love Broils and Quarrels.
“These things either are hurtful to Pa-
“rents, or give them trouble, or fail of
“the respect due to them.

No Son in *China* does, or ever did mar-
ry against his Parents Will. By what
has been written, it appears how little
need we Missioners have to instruct them
concerning the malice of these Particu-
lars; this part is done to our hands.

C H A P. VI.

That every Man is to be contented with his Condition.

1. **A** *Chinese* says thus: “He that can
“be contented, has cause to
“rejoice; much Covetousness brings
“Sorrow. He that can be contented,
“tho he desire something, may live ea-
“sily; he that cannot be contented, tho
“he have much, lives in sorrow. He
“that compares himself to mighty Men,
“thinks himself poor; and he that looks
“upon the Poor, judges himself rich.

2. Another: “Long Life is decreed
“by Heaven; Troubles and Poverty
Vol. I.

“have their certain times; to be satisfi-
“fy’d with his Lot is the greatest con-
“veniency of Man.

In reference to the Years of a Man’s
Age, the *Chineses* have the same Proposi-
tion we read *Ecl. i8. The number of the
days of Man, at most an hundred Years.* See
S. Thomas, 2 de generat. text. 57. Lect. 10.
and in *38 Job, Lect. 2.* and *Oleasf. in
32 Deut. Marcus Varro* said, Man was like
a Bubble in the Water. The *Chinese* says
the same. Among us we write much of
the

the Misery of our Life, they do so too ; yet both we and they are too fond of it.

The Chinese sometimes asks us, Why God conceals the Day of our Death from us? We answer with the words of S. Bernard, Sermon 69. *Traſt. de modo bene Vivend.* Therefore Almighty God would keep the Day of our Death conceal'd from us, that we may always be ignorant of, and always believe it to be near. Notwithstanding such great Light as we have receiv'd touching this and other Points, we live as negligently and unconcern'd as those Infidels do.

3. One of them says ; Nobility and Riches are coveted by all Men, but are not obtain'd by the desire. Poverty and Meanness are hated by all Men, but hatred will not deliver us from them. A Man grown rich with what belongs to others, and noble without deserving it, is to me like a little Mist which easily vanishes.

4. Lao Zu ; " He that sees himself rais'd very high, will do well to look to himself, and not forget he may be cast down.

5. Another writes ; " He that knows himself, does not hate his Neighbour.

6. The same Author ; " He that knows Fate, and the Decrees of the Stars, does not hate Heaven : He that hates it, is unwise. Have regard to Justice in the first place, and to Profit in the next. If you have a piece of brown Bread, be satisfy'd with it, and don't look for white. Make your Expence proportionable to your Income.

7. Confucius : " A good and virtuous Man is voluntarily poor ; a wicked Man is so by force, because he wastes his Estate. He that saves Charges, saves borrowing. So says, very ingeniously and wittily, the Chinese Seng Kie Seng Jung, Seng Kieu Fin.

8. The same Author ; " It is but reasonable that the Rich and Noble should live according to their Quality ; and it is so that the Poor and Mean do according to theirs.

9. An Author writes ; " He that has not charge of the Government, must not concern himself with it.

C H A P. VII.

How the Heart or inward Man is to be preserv'd.

1. A Chinese Author says ; " To preserve the Heart well, we must endeavour to place it in the most retired part of Man.

He speaks of the recollection of the Senses and Faculties. It is a very necessary, and a difficult Affair, especially as to the Imagination, which sometimes, nay very often, roves like a Mad-man, running through all things whatsoever. The R. F. Lewis de Granada, in his *Sinners Guide*, speaks to this Point with his usual Judgment.

2. The same Author ; " Tho a Man be very ignorant and dull, if he is reprov'd and correct'd, he may come to be wise ; and tho he be very ingenious, if he does not study, he will be ignorant. Let care then be taken to reprove all Men. To reprove and punish one for any Failing, is to punish ones self, if guilty ; to forgive the Faults of another, is to pardon ones self their own. He that does not go through Troubles, will neither come to be virtuous, nor rise to great Places. Measure others with the same measure you use to your self, and desire not that to another

which you will not have your self.

3. Another Author ; " He that would be very wise, must ask much. To speak lofty things, and act heroically, is the way to be in esteem.

Many admiring *Xenocrates* his Eloquence, *Plato* said, What is it you admire at? Don't you often see Lillies and Roses grow up among Nettles and Briars? The same may be said of the *Chineses*.

4. Another ; " He that is very wise, and has great Parts, if he would preserve them, must appear ignorant and simple. He that is ingenious, and a great Master at any Art, being humble, may go safely through the World. He that is very brave, must not depart from Military Discipline. The rich and powerful Man, by not growing proud, secures his Treasures.

5. Another Author ; " It is hard to find a poor Man that is not a Flatterer, or a rich Man that is not proud.

6. Another ; " It is easier to find an humble rich Man, than a patient poor Man.

There be none of S. *Austin's* fifth sort of Poor in *China*, there are very few patient.

ent. It were well if rich Men would sometimes read the 5th Chapter of *S. James*, with what Holy Fathers write upon it.

7. Another says; "Do not things hastily, when you meet with a good opportunity make use of it; tho you get what you aim at, yet be not therefore negligent. Ancient Men outwardly appear'd rough, but their Life and inward Man were virtuous. Those of this Age outwardly appear Men, but in their Hearts are wild Beasts. Let him that has Money remember when he had none. Let him that is at ease, not forget past Troubles: Let him that is well and in health, remember when he was sick.

8. "He that asks, says another, must take care it be of one that can give. He that relieves the Poor, must do it when Necessity presses him. He that does not give, must expect no thanks. If the Heart be free from Passions, all the Laws are plain.

It is all good. The second Proposition is like that of *Eccles.* 4. 3. *Defer not to give to him that is in need.* If Relief come not in time, the Want is not supply'd. It is certain the *Chineses* are charitable. All Men ought to be so. *Oleast.* in 14 *Deut. ad mores.* Whilst I was writing these Papers, the Supreme Governour came to *Canton*, only for the time till the Proprietor could come from Court; and the first day he came he distributed among the Poor 500 Bushels of clean Rice, which was a considerable Alms, and had been so from any Prince in *Europe*. Every Bushel was there worth ten Ryals Plate (five Shillings) up the Inland it is much cheaper. The last Proposition is but too true; if Passion be predominant, the Laws are expounded, and made to speak after every Man's Fancy and Humour, and as stands with his conveniency.

9. "It is requisite, says another, always to think and imagine that the day draws near when we are to meet with our Enemy, therefore we must live in continual fear and apprehension.

This is excellent Doctrine with respect to Death, which is our Enemy. Every Day, Hour, Moment, whilst we eat, sleep and laugh, it draws nearer insensibly. *Blessed is the Man who is always fearful,* answers to the second Part. See *Oleafter* in 32 *Deut. ad mores.*

10. "The perfect Man, says another, has nothing to repent of, the Peaceable has no Enemies; the Patient receive no Affront: Fearing the Laws, Man

lives pleas'd and satisfy'd. He that wrongs the Publick, is always sad. The humble Man may go safe all the World over; the proud and arrogant can scarce move a step without danger.

11. *Confucius.* "To think good and not evil, is to think.

12. Another says thus; "The Mouth must be guarded and kept with as much care as we do a Vial of precious Liquor. Thought must be watch'd as narrowly, as we do the Defence of a Fort. Law-suits and Quarrels proceed from much Talk. Heats and Animosities flow from Positiveness, and every one standing in his own Opinion.

Great Designs have miscarry'd in the World for want of the Mouth's being well guarded, and Secrets flying out. The *Chinese Tartars* are notable at keeping Counsel, which we know by experience. We were amaz'd to see the Secrecy and Vigilance us'd in their Government, which is such, that there never appears the least Token whereby to guess at their Designs.

13. Another; "Covetousness and Appetites spring from outward things: Desires proceed from the Passions. If a virtuous Man aims at temporal Goods, it is because he has a just Title to them. A virtuous Man is sad for the sake of Virtue, not for Poverty; he thinks on Virtue, not on what he shall eat. Let no Man aspire to be first. Let every Man take care to sweep the Snow off his own Tiles, and not the Hoar-frost off his Neighbours. An innocent Heart is not ashamed to appear before others.

14. Another *Chinese*; "The more Wealth a Man seeks after, the more harm it does him.

15. "Remember virtuous Men, says another; raise those that fall, hide the Faults of others, and reveal the Good you see in your Neighbour.

16. "Very few Men, says a *Chinese*, live to an hundred years of Age. The wicked Man leaves behind him the remembrance of his Wickedness, the good Man of his Virtue. It is cruel to divulge the Faults of others. It is Injustice to favour Wickedness. To take the Quarrels of others upon ones self is folly. One of the greatest troubles in the World is to bear with a Fool. If you have no Money, don't invite your Friends.

There are foolish Men every where, who take upon them other peoples Quarrels.

Navarette.

rets. These Heathens give us good Instructions to all Particulars. There is none of these Propositions but has something mysterious in it.

17. Another; "Six sorts of Men may have cause to repent. The Judge, who discharges his Duty unjustly, is fearful, and sorry when he is call'd to an account for it. The rich Man, who knew not how to keep his Wealth, has cause to repent when he comes to be poor. The Merchant repents when he has let slip a good Market. He that would not learn when he might, is sorry for his neglect and idleness, when an occasion offers that he might benefit by having study'd. He who gives ill Language, when his Passion is over, and he comes to himself, is troubled for having done so. He that is healthy, and takes no care of himself, repents when he is sick.

He is much in the right; but it is to be observ'd, that in none of these cases Man reaps any benefit by his Repentance or Sorrow, tho' it be never so great, it is only of force against Sin. *Let us change the discourse (says S. Chrysoft. Hom. 5. ad Pop. Antioch.) to sorrow, and we shall find it avails us nothing; but it only corrects Sin, and it was given us only to blot that out. If a Man is fined, he is sorry, but it takes not off the Fine. If he loses a Son, he is sorry, but it brings him not to Life. But if a Man has sinn'd, is sorry for it, and repents for his Offence, he retrieves all the damage he incur'd by it. This Sorrow, Grief, and Confusion it is that produces*

Bliss, according to *Ecclef. 4. There is a Confusion that brings Glory.* The Comment expounds it much to our purpose; so does *S. Gregory, Lib. 4. Moral. cap. 21.*

18. "It is better, says a *Chinese* Author, to be poor without uneasiness, than rich with it. It is better to live in a thatch'd House without Broils, than in a stately Palace with 'em. It is better to eat hard Bread in Health, than Pullets in Sicknes.

19. The Master *Confucius*; "False words destroy Virtue, Impatience Business. Humility puts away Troubles, Courtesy gains Love. Humility unites a Man to all People, Truth gains Good-will.

20. *Confucius* again; "Four things Man is to avoid; being fond of his own Opinion, acting upon mere constraint, showing a reason for all things, and endeavouring always to carry what he maintains.

21. Still *Confucius*; "A virtuous Man fears three things. He fears Heaven, he fears the Judges, and fears the Words of holy Men. A wicked Man, as such, has lost all Shame, and consequently fears nothing.

22. Another; "Much eating, and good clothing, cause Sensuality.

23. "One Quarrel, says a *Chinese*, breeds many. He that saves one Quarrel, saves an hundred. Good temper and meekness preserves Life, and gains Affections. Hardness of Heart, and Pride, is the source of Troubles.

C H A P. VIII.

How to curb and bring Nature under.

1. **A** *Chinese* says; "The Nature of Man is like Water, which once poured out of the Vessel, never returns to it; so if Nature once breaks loose, and slips away, it scarce ever is reduc'd to its own Bounds. They that would stop the Waters, make use of Dikes and Dams. Those that would check Nature, must make use of Laws and Punishments. One quarter of an hours Suffering, saves an hundred years Trouble. Let him that can attain the virtue of Patience suffer. If a Man does not bear, and curb himself, a thing that is no more than a straw, grows to a great heap. So that all Troubles whatsoever proceed from im-

patience and want of bearing. Patience is the precious Jewel of the Heart; Impatience is its ruin and destruction. He that always meditates on the Characters of Patience (*I have set down two in another place*) will live pleasant and easy. He that will not indure for half an hour, will have vexation every day.

2. The Master *Confucius*; "Patience is the most necessary thing to live in this World.

3. "A great *Chinese* Doctor being ask'd, What Persons stood in need of this Virtue? He answer'd, if the Emperor is patient, the Empire will be free from Troubles. If Kings are patient,

“tient, they will thrive. If a Judg is
 “patient, he will rise to a higher Post.
 “If Brothers are patient, they will in-
 “crease their Wealth. If Husband and
 “Wife bear with one another, and are
 “patient, they will live long together.
 “If Friends are patient, their Friend-
 “ship will be lasting. If any Man is
 “patient, he will be free from Misfor-
 “tunes.

4. “He was ask’d about Impatience,
 “and answer’d; If an Emperor be im-
 “patient, he will lose his Empire. If
 “Kings do not bear, they will bury their
 “Bodys. An impatient Judg will meet
 “with Troubles. If Brothers do not
 “bear with one another, each of them
 “will strive to live apart. If Husband
 “and Wife are not patient, their Chil-
 “dren will be left Fatherless. If Friends
 “do not bear with one another, Friend-
 “ship will cease. If any Man is not pa-
 “tient, he will not escape trouble. He
 “is no Man that does not bear with ano-
 “ther. He is not a Man who is not pa-
 “tient. *Fi Jin, Po Goei Jin*: The first
 “of these signifys Patience, the second a
 “Man; the difference between the two
 “words is very small.

The *Chinese* History tells us, That an
 Emperor taking a Progress through the
 Empire, he came to a Town, in which
 was a House where Man and Wife, Chil-
 dren, Grand-children, Daughters-in-
 law, Servants, and all the Family, liv’d
 in the greatest Unity, Love and Con-
 cord. The Emperor admiring it, went
 to talk with the Master of the House, of
 whom he ask’d, How such extraordinary
 Peace and Quietness was preserv’d among
 so many Persons? The old Man, without
 answering a word, took up a Pencil, and
 dipping it in Ink, writ *Jin, Jin, Jin*,
 that is, Patience, Patience, Patience.
 The Emperor understood him, commend-
 ed his Virtue, and rewarded it.

5. Another *Chinese* says; “He who
 “humbles and submits himself, will live
 “any where safely. He that is high,

“and will have every thing his own
 “way, will certainly meet with an En-
 “my. *Nava-rette.*

If a Man is proud, he will meet with
 one prouder than himself; and if he is
 positive, he’ll find another as stiff as he.
 The Learned *Chineses* who are so proud
 and haughty, like Humility. Such is the
 Nature of Virtue, there is no Man but is
 sensible of its Beauty. S. *Chrysofom*
 takes notice of *Herod’s* Sadness, after be-
 heading of S. *John Baptist*; *Why then does*
he grieve? He answers, *Because Virtue*
is such a thing, that even wicked Men admire
and praise it.

6. Another says: “It is a base and
 “vile Courage that shews it self with Pas-
 “sion and Anger, attended by ill lan-
 “guage. That is great Valour, which
 “exerts it self with Anger grounded up-
 “on Reason and Justice; it is not fit Man
 “should have the first, nor ought he to
 “be without the latter. He that under-
 “stands this difference, will easily per-
 “ceive there is an Anger that is vicious,
 “and another that is virtuous. A wicked
 “Man curses and persecutes a good one,
 “but the good Man must not answer him
 “by any means; if he answers, it is a
 “sign he wants prudence. If he does
 “not answer, his heart remains clean
 “and cool, and the tongue of the slande-
 “rer hot and burning; and he is like one
 “that should spit at Heaven, the spittle
 “falls in his own face. If I know any
 “Man curses me, I feign my self deaf
 “and dumb; and even as smoke vanishes
 “in the air, so do the words of an ill
 “tongue. But if I answer him, it will be
 “adding of fuel to the fire; it is best to
 “let him move his own lips.

7. *Lao Zu*: “A wise and learned Man
 “does not contend; a beginner does.
 “Where contention is, the best course is
 “to leave every Man to his opinion, and
 “not endeavour to carry a Man’s own;
 “and by this means there will be no
 “offence.

C H A P. IX.

An Exhortation to the Study of Learning.

1. **C**onfucius. “He that will be Learn-
 “ed, must ask many Questions,
 “must consider and meditate upon what
 “he reads, but he must not on that ac-
 “count omit actions of Piety and Mer-
 “cy.

2. Another says: “He that studies
 “and learns much, must improve in
 “knowledg and humility, these two
 “things make Man virtuous.

3. *Confucius*: “He that is sedulous and
 “desires to improve in his Studies, is not
 “asham’d

“astham’d to stoop to ask of o-
thers.

*Nava-
rette.*
In their Philosophy they say, The way to learn is, to think on what is study’d, to be diligent in asking, to meditate, and be zealous in acting. They rise from one point to another.

4. Another: “To aim at Preferment without studying, is like attempting to climb Heaven without a Ladder. He that studies and is wise, is like the Clouds drawn by the Sun-beams, which mount to the Skies. He that does not tread deep, knows not the gross part of the Earth; so he that wades not through the Documents of Holy Men, does not come to be Learned, nor to discover the profound Mysteries of Wisdom.

5. Another *Chinese* says: “Unless a precious Stone be cut, it is not fit to make a beautiful Jewel; if a Man does not study, tho he have a good Wit, he will never be Learned.

6. “If a Man does not study, he will remain as dark as night.

7. A *Chinese*: “If a Man does not study, and spend his time in Learning, he is like a Horse in Breeches and Doublet.

8. “Do not say, writes another, I will not study to day, but will to morrow. The Sun, Moon and Stars pass away, Years do not stay; so that you can never retrieve the time you lose this day. If you are poor, yet do not for that reason forbear studying. If you are rich, do not rely upon your riches, and on that account neglect to study. A poor Man that studies carefully, comes to be rich. A rich Man that is diligent at his study, gets great fame and reputation. He that shews Learning gets a good name. He that does not study will not come to be a Man. He that studies is a rich Jewel of the World. It is therefore requisite that all Men study.

9. An Emperor said; “It is good to study, and so it is not to study. To study is like the Ear of Corn, not to study like the Straw. Corn is the food of Man, and riches of the World; the Husband-man hates Straw and Grass; and the Spade is tired with taking it up, yet afterwards he makes use of it to burn, make Mud-walls, &c.

This is to signify there must be of all sorts in the Commonwealth. If all Men apply’d themselves to study, who would till the Ground, and work at so many Trades as are necessary to the Publick, and to every Man in particular?

10. “He that lights a Candle at night, says a *Chinese*, would have the House clear and bright. He that studies, seeks light for the understanding.

11. Another: “The Employment of a virtuous Man is quietly and with ease to compose his life, to be sparing in all things that he may increase Virtue. He that does not love Virtue does not love his Study; he runs over his time, as a Horse does his race. If Man does not make use of his time, what is it good for?

12. The Master *Confucius*: “He who studies must always imagin, he does not study enough to be learned. (*Solon* said, *We are to learn as long as we live.* Read *S. Thomas, Cajetan, and a Lapid* in 42 *ad Tim.v. 13.*) “It is a folly to love Wisdom and not Piety; to love Justice and not Wisdom, is the way to be unjust. To think to be strong and not studious, is only aiming to be mad.

13. The same Author: “A Son within doors must be obedient to his Parents, and abroad respectful to others. Let him be true and diligent in his actions; love all Men, and if he has any time to spare, spend it in study.

14. “Let him that teaches teach all Men alike.

This is good Doctrine for Confessors and Preachers. We seem always more inclin’d to the rich and mighty Man, than to the poor beggar, as if it had cost God any more to redeem the one than the other. I have heard of some passages both in *Asia* and *Europe*, which if they were written would not be at all edifying. On the words of *St. Job*. 4. *The Ruler said to him, &c. S. Thomas* asks this question: *But the question is, why God when intreated by him to go personally to his house, refuses it. But promises to go in person to the Centurion’s Servant?* One reason according to *Gregory* is, that by this he may reprove our pride, who offer ourselves to serve great Men, but refuse to serve little ones. *Ecclus. 4. Make thy self affable to the congregation of the poor, &c.*

C H A P. X.

Of the Education of Children.

Navarrette.

1. **A** *Chinese* says, "To breed up Children and not instruct them, is the Parents fault. To teach them, and not do it severely, is the Masters fault.

2. Another *Chinese*. "Those Parents who bring up their Children without Learning, do not love them; and if they teach them without Severity, they do not covet their good. The Son who is taught by his Parents, and does not learn, loves not those that gave him his Being. If he learns, but does it not carefully, he does not love himself. How many Sons of indifferent People by Learning, have rose to be Counsellors of State? And how many Sons of Counsellors of State for want of Learning, have degenerated into common People?"

This is often seen in *China*: Nobility there is personal; so that if the Son does not learn, when his Father dies he becomes equal to the rest of the common People.

3. "If the Husbandman, writes a *Chinese*, does not plow and till his Ground, his Barns will be empty. If he that has Childen does not instruct them, they will be void of Knowledge and Learning. He whose Barns are empty will suffer Hunger and Want; and he that has ignorant Children will be void of Equity and Justice.

4. A *Chinese*. "Where Children are not taught, it is because the Master of the Family is ignorant.

5. "Tho a business be but small, if it be not taken in hand, it is not done; so a Son, tho he have a Capacity, if he is not taught, will not come to be a learned Man.

6. Another. "It is better to have a Son taught, than to leave him much Gold. Of all the Pleasures of this Life, the greatest is to read good Books. Of all necessary things, the most absolutely so, is to instruct Children.

All he says is good. The *Chineses* always observe this for a Rule, that a Son must either be a Scholar, or learn some Trade; otherwise they say, they give themselves up to Idleness and Gaming, whence follow other Vices, and the ruin

of their Fortune, which their Parents acquir'd with much Toil. The Story of *Robert King of Sicily* is agreeable to the second Proposition; he us'd to say, he would rather quit his Crown than his Studies.

7. "An honest Man who does not give his Children Learning, *Ho Je*.

These two *Chinese* words are very emphatical; they signify, what Excuse can he give, what honest Motive, Design or End can there be, or can a Parent pretend, for not giving his Children Learning?

8. Another. "If a Son does not learn when he is little, when big he will be a Fool. If a Woman does not learn in her Infancy, when grown up she will be good for nothing. The Rule and Method of teaching Sons is to make them give ear to and follow the Advice of their Parents: To teach Daughters they must be made never to stir from their Mothers side. A Son must not use himself to drink Wine, nor to other Worldly Diversions. The Daughter must be taught not to go. A severe Father breeds beautiful Children. A hard Mother breeds pains-taking Daughters. Children must be belov'd with a Rod in hand. If the Bough of a Tree when tender is not streightned, when grown up it is hard to set it right. If a Son is not put into the right way when little, who will be able to direct him when he is big? Men usually love Pearls and precious Stones, but I love Learning and Virtue in my Children.

10. Another *Chinese*. "As soon as a Children can feed himself, teach him to do it with his Right-hand: When he is six years of Age, let him learn to cast Accounts: At seven separate him from the Women, that he may not be effeminate: At eight let him eat at Table, and be taught Manners and Humility: At ten let him live like a Man.

The *Chineses* are extraordinary caretul to observe all these Rules, and particularly in breeding their Children mannerly; so that a Child at eight years of Age behaves himself like a Man of forty.

Nav-
rette.

C H A P. XI.

Of the Satisfaction of the Heart.

1. **A** Precious Stone that has no speck
 “ nor blemish, is fit to be pre-
 “ sented to a King; and a dutiful Son is
 “ a rich Jewel in a Family. The use of
 “ precious Stones has a certain Period
 “ and End, but the Benefit of a dutiful
 “ and obedient Son lasts for ever. That
 “ House in which there is Peace and Uni-
 “ ty, tho it be poor, is rich; and that
 “ poor, which is full of ill-gotten Wealth.
 “ What should he covet any more who
 “ has one dutiful Son? The Father lives
 “ at ease when his Son is dutiful; and
 “ so does the Husband, if his Wife is
 “ discreet and prudent. The wresting
 “ of Justice and parting of Kindred
 “ proceeds from Interest. He that has
 “ receiv’d an extraordinary Pleasure,
 “ must prepare himself for an unex-
 “ pected Sorrow. Let him that lives at
 “ ease, think on the Trouble that may
 “ come upon him. Great Gains are fol-
 “ low’d by great Losses. He that has a
 “ great Name and Reputation, must have
 “ much Merit. He that obtains a great
 “ Reward must have done considerable
 “ Services. Great Satisfaction follows
 “ mighty Love; great Flattery is atten-
 “ ded with great Destruction, great
 “ Worth with great Sorrow, and gene-
 “ rally great Shame with Death. To
 “ love and do good, sometimes causes
 “ Uneasiness and Trouble.

2. The Master *Confucius*. “ He that
 “ does not fix his Eyes on the top of a
 “ Mountain, cannot comprehend what it
 “ is to fall from thence. He that does
 “ not go down to the bottom, will not
 “ know the pain of sinking that threatens
 “ him. He that does not go to Sea, can-
 “ not be sensible of the trouble of sailing.

The very day I was writing this fame
 in *China*, two hang’d and five voluntarily
 drowned themselves: They found them-
 selves on a sudden seiz’d by such a mourn-
 ing as will last them to all Eternity.

3. Thus says a *Chinese*. “ If you would
 “ have your Understanding clear, reflect
 “ on what is past, and think on what is
 “ present: If you would know what is
 “ to come, examine what is past.

4. The Master *Confucius*. “ A fair
 “ and clear Looking-glass serves to show
 “ the Body. Things past are a Mirror
 “ to what is present and to come.

The meaning is the same as before.

5. Another. “ Business, tho very plain,
 “ cannot be secur’d a year. Those that
 “ seem safe for a year, cannot be deter-
 “ min’d in a day, because there are so
 “ many alterations in Time, that no-
 “ thing is certain, and Misfortunes be-
 “ fal Men on a sudden that can never be
 “ foreseen. Husband and Wife are sure
 “ of six foot of Land. It is not easy to
 “ preserve Life many years. The World
 “ is a Monster without a Head: It calls
 “ an ingenious Man troublesome and
 “ offensive, him that is dull, given to
 “ ease; him that is virtuous, a sluggard
 “ and idle; him that is wicked, pleasant.
 “ A rich Man is envy’d, a poor Man op-
 “ press’d; an industrious Man is accoun-
 “ ted covetous, he that is sparing is
 “ term’d niggardly. Now do you con-
 “ sider, what you can teach a Man that
 “ he may live. In truth it is hard to
 “ live in this World.

6. A grave Author says: “ If a Tree
 “ is water’d and prun’d, it roots it self
 “ and grows strong in the ground,
 “ whence follows an increase of Boughs
 “ and Blossoms, and abundance of Fruit;
 “ and in time it comes to be a Beam fit
 “ for any sumptuous Building. So Man,
 “ if he has a good Education, will grow
 “ much, and be a Person of singular
 “ Note.

7. Another *Chinese*. “ A Man with-
 “ out Learning and Education is like a
 “ Cart without a Wheel; as this cannot
 “ go on, so neither can the other move
 “ or live in the World.

8. Another. “ A false Man trusts no
 “ body, and he that is real and sincere
 “ trusts all Men. Do not make use of
 “ a Man whose Fidelity you suspect, and
 “ if you make use of him do not suspect
 “ him.

9. The Master *Confucius*. “ When a
 “ thing is rais’d to the greatest height
 “ it can attain to, it returns to its first
 “ Being. The greatest Joy ends in Sor-
 “ row: Great Friendship and Unity in
 “ Division. Dignity and high Place
 “ often has a Fall.

10. The same *Chinese*. “ He that go-
 “ verns a Province must take care that
 “ there be no Tumults in it: He that
 “ governs a Kingdom, if he designs to
 “ establish himself, must prevent Mis-
 “ fortunes that may happen.

11. Ano-

11. Another *Chinese* says; “ Those who rule must foresee things, that they may provide a Remedy, and apply the necessary Medicine.

12. Another. “ The Fish dwell in the bottom of the Water, the Cranes fly very high; these tho so high may be shot, and the others tho so deep may be caught. Only two Inches of Man’s Heart are impenetrable. The height of Heaven may be measur’d, the depth of the Earth may be taken, but none can guard himself against the Heart of Man: It is easy to know Man’s Shape and Meen, but it is impossible to know his Heart. We see his Face, and hear his Words, but his Heart is a thousand Leagues off.

13. A *Chinese*. “ It is not proper to measure Water by the Peck, nor to be govern’d by the outward appearance of Man.

14. If Hatred once take root, says a *Chinese*, it is hard to pull it up. If you bear your Neighbour ill-will but one day, it requires a thousand to dispel it. If you requite your Enemy with good Deeds and Benefits, it will be like casting hot Water upon Snow; but if you repay ill turns, you will ruin your self and him. When I understand any Persons are at enmity, I use all my Endeavours to make them Friends, and lay aside the ill-will they bear one another.

15. Another *Chinese*. “ He that hates a Man is said to bring a great Trouble upon himself. He that forbears to act well is a Thief to himself. I beseech you be merciful, and live carefully, that you may not rob your Heart of the Riches of Virtue.

16. Thefts and Robberies proceed from Hunger and Cold. He who is rich and warm clad, thinks on Leadeness: The poor and hungry on stealing. He that considers the Troubles of Poverty, will not grow proud. He that earnestly fixes his Thoughts on the bitter Potions and Medicines us’d in Sicknes, will not be sad.

17. Another. “ The Garland and Laurel are for the Virtuous, and Fetters and Shackles for the Wicked.

18. *Confucius*. “ Noble and virtuous Men are compar’d to Justice: The vile and base to Interest: The former act for the sake of Virtue, the latter only for Profit.

19. Another. “ He that is not virtuous values Riches, the wicked Man prizes the Goods of the World.

20. *Lao Zu*. “ Much Wealth is not preserv’d with Justice and Integrity. Much reading causes what is study’d to be forgot. How can he who is not very holy do all things to perfection? *Nava-rette.*

21. Another. “ A poor Man is look’d upon as of no Judgment. He that is prudent to Perfection governs well. He that does not hear, does not go to prate. He who speaks any thing good or bad, is certainly vicious, and has himself those Faults he tells of others.

22. “ No body will look ill upon him who does no ill Action in his Life. If you hurt another, be assur’d you will be hurt. Tender Plants dread the Frost. The Frost dreads the Sun. His own Offence is an ill Man’s Enemy. He that wears Ambergreece about him diffuses a good Scent, tho he stand not in the Wind. A good Man, tho his Virtue be not made publick, exhales a sweet Odour of Virtue; but a wicked Man sends forth the stench of his Vices.

23. *Meng Zu*. “ A virtuous Man has many Supports. He that loses his Virtue, loses and destroys them all.

24. Another. “ It is not reasonable a poor Man should be despis’d, nor is it convenient a rich Man should confide in his Wealth and Power. It may so fall out, that he who to day is rich, may be poor to morrow, and the contrary.

25. “ He that avoids sinning gains many good things. He that saves Charges has Income enough. He that looks to what he has, does not want to give Alms. He that saves and lays up, has something to leave his Children.

Any Man will say he knows these plain common Truths well enough, and therefore there is no need of bringing them out of *China*. I say he is in the right, but let him practise them as the *Chineses* do.

26. “ Those who keep close to them that are in high Places, as soon as their business is done, forget them. Rich Men have many Friends, but very few when they fall into Poverty.

27. “ To serve a peevish Master, is the way to be affronted by him. To be a Friend to an impertinent Man, is the way to be parted from him.

28. “ A good Word and good Advice is worth more than many Pounds of Gold. It is easy to get Gold, but hard to meet with good Advice. A little Ship cannot carry a great Burden. It is not convenient to travel a deep and

Nava-
rette.

“ solitary Road alone. He that treads
“ dry Land saves tiring himself. Man
“ dies for Money, and Birds fall into the
“ Snare for Food.

29. “ A Secret must be confin’d, not
“ imparted to many. That business
“ which is made known to many takes
“ air, and the Design fails.

30. “ A poor Man relies on his Neigh-
“ bour. Another Book has it, A poor
“ Man is a Leprosy to his Neighbour.
“ A poor Man, tho he lives in the middle
“ of the Market-place, is known to no-
“ body. A rich Man, tho he live in a
“ Desert, is known by all Men, has many
“ Relations, and they come to him from
“ far Countries. In all places a Man’s
“ Face is taken notice of according to
“ his Garb. If a Horse goes not far, it
“ is for want of Strength: If a Man
“ rises not, it is because he is poor.

31. “ If a Judg has envious Friends,
“ wife and discreet Men shun him. If
“ the King has an envious Favourite, the
“ Great Men fly from him.

32. “ Let him that rules a Kingdom
“ not make use of flattering Counsellors.
“ He that governs a House, must not be
“ advis’d by a flattering Woman. A
“ good Counsellor is the Jewel of a
“ Kingdom. A good Woman is the
“ Jewel of a House. A flattering and
“ envious Counsellor ruins a Kingdom:
“ And such a Woman destroys a Family.
“ If the Plough goes awry it spoils the
“ Field; and flattering words destroy
“ Virtue.

33. “ Heaven, says a *Chinese*, has all
“ things for Man: Man has nothing for
“ Heaven. Heaven creates no Man with-
“ out Sustenance for him; nor does the
“ Earth produce any Herb without a
“ Root. Heaven gives a very rich Man
“ all he has; to him that has but a Me-
“ diocrity, his Care and Industry. The
“ Verses speak thus, “ The Man that is
“ very rich grows proud; he that is
“ very poor is sad, he that is sad turns
“ Thief, and he that is proud becomes
“ cruel. The Sons of Misers gather
“ Dung as if it were Gold. Lavish Men
“ use Gold as if it were Dung.

34. “ Life and Death are always be-
“ fore our Eyes. There is nothing bad
“ in this World but Man’s Sin.

35. “ Envy and Hatred, says a *Chi-
“ nese*, bring Mischiefs upon Sons and
“ Grandsons.

36. The same Author. “ The first
“ thing Man is to do, is to mortify him-
“ self, and curb his Appetites, to love
“ all Men, and be united to them through

“ Humility. Man ought always to think
“ on his past Offences, and endeavour
“ not to sin in thought. If he act ac-
“ cording to this Rule, the Crown of
“ the Empire will be establish’d.

This an Emperor said to his Subjects,
what could S. *Augustin* have said better
to his Children?

37. *Meng Zu* said to an Emperor;
“ To keep fat Cattel, and Fowls in the
“ Kitchen, and full-fed lusty Horses in
“ the Stables, when the People are star-
“ ving, shows more care is taken of
“ Brutes than of the Subjects, and is
“ destroying of Men to save Beasts.

He reprov’d the Emperor for pampe-
ring himself too much, and maintaining
Horses, without relieving the Peoples
Wants. This Philosopher was bold, and
not given to flattery; there are but few
like him.

38. Another Author. “ One spark
“ of Fire may burn a whole Forest; and
“ one bad word may destroy the Virtue of
“ one’s whole Life. He that wears Cut-
“ work is sensible of the Pains the Seam-
“ sters takes; and he who eats three
“ times a days, ought to remember the
“ Husbandman’s Labour. He that ga-
“ thers Virtues secures Piety, and a pious
“ Man gains a good Name. Many by
“ acting well come to be holy Men.

39. Another *Chinese* says. “ He that
“ would know what his King is, must
“ look upon those about him. He that
“ would know a Man must see what Com-
“ pany he keeps. He that would know
“ a Father, must observe his Children.
“ The King ought to be holy, the Fa-
“ vourite and Counsellor loyal and faith-
“ ful, a Father virtuous, and a Son du-
“ tiful. When a Kingdom is in an up-
“ roar, then the Loyalty of Ministers
“ exerts it self.

40. The Master. “ Water which is
“ very clear has no Fish; if a Man is
“ given to prying, and loves to know all
“ things, he wants Friends and Disciples.

41. The same Author. “ A virtuous
“ and honest Man is to think on three
“ things: One, that if he does not study
“ whilst he is young, when he grows old
“ it will not be in his power. 2. That
“ if when he is old, he does not make
“ use of the short time he has, when
“ Death comes it will be too late to act.
“ 3. That if he has wherewithal to give
“ Alms, and does not give it, when he
“ is poor, tho he would, he’ll not be in
“ a condition to give it: Therefore he
“ who being young hopes to live to be
“ old, must apply himself to study. He
“ that

" that is old, and thinks on death, must
" take heart and do good. And if a Man
" being rich is afraid he shall be poor,
" let him endeavour to give Alms.

42. Another : " He who is a great lover
" of himself, will not attain to Perfection.

43. " He that does not prevent things
" at a distance, will have troubles near
" at hand.

44. " The Rain in Spring, says a *Chinese*,
" is fruitful ; it makes the Plants
" grow, and the Fruit increase ; the Husband-men
" rejoice at the sight of it, but Travellers hate it.
" The Moon in Autumn is as bright as a Looking-Glass,
" People divert themselves by her light,
" but Thieves hate her.

There was a Counsellor, who had great influence in the Government, and the Emperor had a great esteem for him. Envious Men, who were no small number, spoke ill of him, and laid heinous Crimes to his charge. The Emperor sent for him, laid the Accusations before him, and in a great passion blam'd his Behaviour. He without any concern answer'd, what has been writ in the last Paragraph, which imply'd that wicked and envious Persons hated his Integrity and unbiass'd way of proceeding, because they could not defile him with Bribes, and other ill practices, therefore they hated him, as a Thief does the light, which hinders his ill designs. *He that does ill hates the light.* The Emperor was satisfy'd with the Answer.

45. A *Chinese* says : " To relieve him
" that is in distress, is to deliver him
" from danger. The Heart of Man is
" like Iron. The *Mandarines* are the
" Forge to soften it.

^ The second Proposition is much applauded by the *Chinese*s. The *Mandarines* take great care to mollify the hardness of some Men by severe punishments. For the most part the People of that Nation are the Sons of Fear.

46. " The Heart of Man, says another,
" is hard to be fill'd. If there be
" any alteration in the Sky, there follows
" either Wind or Rain ; if Man feels
" any change in his Body, he either dies,
" or falls sick.

47. Another : " If the Government
" of a Kingdom goes in the right course,
" Heaven protects and assists it. If the
" Ministers are uncorrupted, the Subjects
" live at ease. If the Wife is discreet
" and virtuous, a Husband has but few
" troubles. If the Son is dutiful,
" his Father's Heart is easy.

48. " If a King takes the advice of his
" good Counsellors, he will be Holy.

49. Another : " The first sow, they
" that come after reap. If you reap do
" not rejoice, for a time will come,
" when others shall reap what you sow'd.
" How many have sow'd, that never
" reap'd ?

50. Another : " He who acquires great
" riches without a good title, may be
" assur'd of much trouble, if he is not
" extraordinary fortunate.

51. " When Thirst rages, says a *Chinese*,
" a drop of Water, tho it be troubled,
" is sweeter than Honey. When a Man
" is drunk, the best Wine drinks
" to him like Vinegar. Wine makes not
" Man drunk, Man makes himself drunk.
" It is not Sensuality that blinds a Man,
" it is Man that blinds himself.

The first Proposition implies nothing comes amiss to one that is hungry or thirsty. I have too much experience of both sorts, I have sometimes drank foul water, and said I never drank any better in my life ; as one said upon the like occasion, and he gave the reason, *Because I never drank when I was dry.* This agrees with that of Job 6. *But to a Soul that is hungry, bitter things seem sweet.* The Holy Ghost speaks to the second point too.

52. " If any Man should ask me to tell
" him his Fortune, says a *Chinese*, I will answer
" him, that so wrong my Neighbour
" is my ill fortune. For me to be wrong'd
" by others, is my prosperity and good
" fortune.

53. *Meng Zu* : " A merciful Man is not
" rich, a rich Man is not merciful.

54. " He that is obstinate in his own
" opinion, says a *Chinese*, cannot distinguish
" betwixt truth and falsehood, nor
" betwixt what is probable and what is
" not.

55. The same Author : " The more a
" virtuous Man perceives he is advanced
" in perfection, the more he humbles
" himself. The more a wicked Man sees
" himself prosper, the prouder he grows.
" A vile Man is full with a small matter,
" a virtuous Man is not satisfy'd with a
" great deal.

56. " He who has virtue has certainly
" words : It is not certain he that has
" words has virtue.

57. Another : " It is rare to see little
" virtue and merit in high Dignity, and
" little discretion in much business without
" great troubles.

58. The same Author : " He that is
" in high Place must make ready to fall.
" He that has great Places must watch to
" prevent

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“ prevent his ruin. He that governs his Superior at will, must remember he may fall into disgrace.

59. The same Author: “ Kings and Parents must be merciful. The King must look upon his Subjects as Brethren and Friends. Only Loyalty to the King, and being dutiful to Parents, confer Nobility and Glory.

60. Another: “ A merciful Father loves not an undutiful Son. A wife King makes not use of ill Counsellors. The rich Man must not scoff at the Poor. The young Man must not laugh at the Old, for Poverty and Old Age will soon come upon them.

61. “ A Vessel too full, says a *Chinese*, runs over; a proud Man bursts. Lamb, tho it be good, is hard to dress to several Palates.

62. Another: “ Tho a Diamond fall into the mire, it loses not its value, or lustre. A virtuous Man, tho he be employ'd in mean or dangerous things, must not lose the purity of his soul.

63. The Master: “ He who is not merciful deserves not to live long in this World.

64. *Meng Zu*: “ That is the best time which Man makes good use of. Peace and Unity with our Neighbour is the greatest profit.

65. A *Chinese*: “ The water which is at a distance does not quench the fire that is near at hand. A good Neighbour at the next door, is better than a rich Relation afar off.

66. Another: “ Tho the Sun, Moon and Stars are clear Lights, yet they do not communicate their Rays to that which is under a close Veil. The Knife tho it have a good edg does not cut an innocent Person. Misfortunes do not follow the Virtuous.

The first furnishes us with an answer to the Gentiles, who often ask, how it

comes to pass, that God does not impart to them the light of the Gospel? Certain it is punishment was not design'd for innocent Persons. God sends troubles to the good as well as the bad, but upon different motives.

67. “ If a poor Man, says a *Chinese*, lives uprightly, he is always merry. A rich Man, if he behaves not himself uprightly, is sad. It is no matter whether the House stand high or not, all that is to be minded is whether it let in rain, if it does not, that's enough. All that is to be minded in the Garment, is whether it keeps a Man warm, there is no minding the curiosity of the stuff and making. Mind not whether Meat has spice in it, so it maintains and satisfies Nature 'tis enough. He that marries must not look upon the Womans Complexion, Air and Beauty; let him observe whether she is discreet and virtuous, and that's enough. It is not being a Nobleman, or a Commoner, that makes a Man a good Neighbour, he that is quiet and peaceable is best. He is not my Friend that eats and drinks at my Table, but he who relieves my wants. It is not being great or little that makes a *Mandarin*, but being upright and uncorrupted.

68. Another *Chinese*: “ When Death comes, the Owner can make no advantage of his Lands and Tenements, tho he have many good ones. When the last Day comes, tho a Man have much Money and Wealth, he cannot carry it with him.

69. “ It is easie to begin a Law-suit, says a *Chinese*, but a hard matter to end it.

70. Another: “ That Husband-man who does not take care to till his Ground, will starve.

C H A P. XII.

Of Establishing Laws and good Instructions.

THE Master: “ There are Rules and Instructions to make one a Man, but the principal and necessary point is that he be dutiful to his Parents. There are certain Funeral Rites and Ceremonies appointed, but compassion for the dead is the main circumstance. Warfare has its Rules and Discipline, but the Courage and

Valour of the Soldiers is the most material part. There are Laws to govern a Kingdom by, but the chiefest thing is to protect and take care of the Husband-men. There are Laws and Forms for living in a Kingdom, or Commonwealth, but the best is to be meek and merciful. There is a certain time prescribed for life, but the main

“ main concern is to banish idleness and sloth.

2. Another: “ The most necessary property of a Judg, is that he be upright and uncorrupted. The most necessary thing in a Family, is to save charges, and be assiduous at study. The proper practice of an honest Family is to conform to the Laws. Care and Industry produce Riches, and Saving prevents Want.

3. The Master: “ The whole Life depends on care and industry, the Year on the Spring, the Day on rising early. He who in his Youth is not diligent and assiduous at his Studies, when Old Age comes will be a fool, and find himself empty handed. He who in Spring does not till, in Autumn will not reap. He who does not rise early cannot order his Household-affairs well.

4. “ An Emperor us’d to say to his Subjects: If you would live well, the Father must be severe to his Children, and the Mother mild, Brothers and Friends must honour one another, Children must be dutiful, Marry’d People love one another; Men and Women not go or be together, Kindred relieve one another’s wants, no body hinder the Husband-mans labour, no body take from another what does not belong to him, none play, or breed Law-suits, the Rich not devour the Poor. When you travel, give the way to those

“ that pass by; when you till your Ground, strike not your Plow into another Man’s Field. If you observe this, you will live at peace and ease. *Nava-rette.*

5. The Chinese Philosophy: “ The first thing a Master that teaches is to endeavour, is, that his Disciples be virtuous. He that rules, must chiefly labour to stir them up to humility, and to honour one another. This will cut off Law-suits and Variances, and will prevent Lawyers growing rich.

Nothing can be better spoken; I must confess I am astonish’d at the great Knowledge that Nation has acquir’d of it self, without conversing with others.

6. A Chinese: “ Your first care must be not to meddle with the Emperor’s Government. The second not to carp at the Judges. The third not to censure that which all Men do. The fourth not to have to do with those that seek for Preferment. The fifth not to publish your Riches, or cast an evil eye upon the poor. The sixth not to converse with, or hear those who talk immodestly. The seventh not to pry into other Mens business. The eighth, when you come into a House, not to look into the Papers you find. The ninth, when you eat, not to chuse the best bit. The tenth, when you are in company with another, not to take to your self what is offer’d to both.

C H A P. XIII.

Concerning Government.

1. **T**Hree things, says a Chinese, make a good Judg: First, being uncorrupted. 2. Being watchful. 3. Being careful and diligent. A Man must serve the King as he would his Father, his Ministers as Elder Brothers, and must love all Men as he does his Wife. Ministers and Judges must do the duty of the Office, as they do the affairs of their House.

2. The Master: “ It is cruelty not to instruct and punish. He who in himself is upright and just, is obey’d, tho he do not command. If he is not righteous in himself, tho he command good things, he is not obey’d.

3. Another: “ What makes a good Judg, is observing the Laws of his Superior, looking upon his Inferiors as Children, and making use of them on-

“ ly upon necessity, or when there is reason for it.

4. “ No Man will be disrespectful to him that is courteous and civil. He who is bountiful and free will have many Friends. He who is true and faithful will be honour’d by all Men. He who is careful and diligent will always deserve well. He who gives much may make use of all Men.

5. “ A Noble and Virtuous Man is free-hearted, but not prodigal, or a spend-thrift, is noble and not hated, loves things but is not covetous; is grave but not inaccessible, values himself, but is not proud; being virtuous he endeavours to keep to a Medium, and fly all Extremes.

6. “ That King, Lord, or Judg, who hears reproof and will be corrected, is good, upright and just. 7. An-

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rette.

7. Another: "That Counsellor who values not his life, and fears not the stroke of the Scimiter, when he advises, deserves the name and title of a Counsellor. A good Counsellor is not afraid of death; he who fears death is not a good Counsellor.

This Doctrine is much applauded in *China*, some have practis'd it, as appears by the second Book, and many did when the *Tartar* came in. There are also many in that Country who kill themselves when they are in any great trouble. *Pliny* said, that the Earth like a pitiful Mother produced mortal Poisons, that her Chil-

dren, Men, may not die ignominious deaths, but might end their lives with one morfel or draught. Many have made use of this folly or barbarity, not only among the *Chineses*, but among others, as *Demosthenes*, *Democritus*, *Hannibal*, and *Aristotle*, as *Suidas* writes; *Cato Uticensis*, *Caius Plaucius Numida*, and the *Melesian Virgins*. The *Japoneses* reckon it a point of honour to cut themselves with their Sabres. It is a great misfortune that Counsellors should be faint-hearted. Read *Syl. tom. lib. 2. c. 9. q. 3. n. 13. & S. Thom. 1. 2. tom. 1. q. 18. disp. 12. art. 5. p. 761.*

C H A P. XIV.

Of Oeconomy, or Family-Government.

1. It is convenient, says a *Chinese*, to "give the Master of the House an account of any Household-affair. Care and frugality make the Family be always in plenty. In time of health, let them prepare for sickness. When the Wife comes home, let her be taught to work immediately.

The *Chineses* observe this last instruction very punctually, all the Women work, and curiously; we may say of the *Chinese Women*, as *Prov. And she eats not her bread in idleness.*

2. Another: "A foolish Man fears his Wife, a prudent Woman honours and respects her Husband. He who keeps Slaves must be very careful to see they have Meat and Clothes; let him always take care of his Fire, and at Night look to the Thieves. If the Children are dutiful, Man and Wife live pleasantly. If the Family lives in peace, all its affairs succeed well.

It is a point of Conscience to take care of Slaves. I am perswaded the *Chineses* outdo many *Europeans* in looking after these poor Creatures both in sickness and health.

3. "He who is about making a match, must first consider whether the Daughter-in-law's temper be suitable to those of his Family. Let no Man rashly take a noble or rich Woman to Wife, she that is virtuous and discreet is best, tho she be poor. Tho she be poor now, what do you know but by her labour and industry she may come to be rich?

4. "He that would marry his Daughter must take care it be with her Equal; if so, doubtless the Daughter will be easily brought to serve her Husband, and her Husband will certainly respect her. A Youth who is grown up and does not marry, is like a Horse without a Bridle. A Woman grown up that does not marry, is like prohibited Salt.

Prohibited Salt is never safe any where, tho it be never so much hid. This the *Chineses* are acquainted with, which is the reason of making the comparison. I before quoted the words of the Holy Ghost, *You have a Daughter, keep her Body.*

5. "He who is about marrying and considers the Portion, is a Barbarian.

Read *Sylv. tom. 1. lib. 1. c. 5. n. 27.* According to this Rule there are abundance of Barbarians in the World. *Pius V.* in his Catechism, as *Parroch. 2. p. c. 8.* speaks admirably to the Marriages of Catholics, there the Reader may see it.

6. "Let every Man that has a Family distribute the Household-affairs according to every Persons strength and capacity. Let him honour every one according to their merits. Let him use his Fortune with moderation. Let him reckon his Income, that he may know how to regulate his Expence. Let him see that every one has their necessary Food and Raiment, according to their quality, endeavouring to carry an even hand in all things to prevent envy and contention.

C H A P. XV.

Of the Order to be observ'd in Families.

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Nag
rette.
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1. " **H**usband and Wife are the first,
" Parents and Children the second,
" Brothers the third; these are
" the nearest Relations, and the Source
" of all other Kindred.
2. Another. " Husband and Wife
" are knit together by the Fidelity and
" Trust of Matrimony: They must not
" curse, quarrel, or strike one another;
" if any such thing be among them, it is
" a sign they are not in perfect Unity.
3. " The Children, says a *Chinese*, are
" as it were their Parents Hands and
" Feet: Parents are as it were their
" Childrens Garment.
" This implies, that Children are to
" serve and maintain their Parents, and
" they to protect their Children.
4. Another. " It is the Property of
" Man to acknowledg and be thankful
" for Benefits; to receive Favours and
" make no returns, is the part of a Brute
" Beast.

C H A P. XVI.

Of Ceremonies and Civilities.

1. **T**HE Master. " He who lives in
" a Family, must be acquainted with
" the Ceremonies and Civilities that be-
" long to it. Those within doors are,
" that there be a distinction between Su-
" periors and Inferiors. For the securing
" of Peace in the Womens Apartment, it
" is necessary there be several Degrees
" and Ranks. The same is practis'd
" in the Palace, and so in the Courts of
" Justice, otherwise there would be much
" disorders.
- The *Chineses* are most exact, and rather
troublesome in their Ceremonies; they
observe them with the utmost rigor, they
study them very carefully, and look upon
any omission in this nature as a fault.
2. " If a Superior, says one of them,
" does not observe Order, he'll not have
" due attendance from Inferiors; if
" the Inferiors do not so too, they will
" not be able to perform their Duty to
" Supriors.
3. " A Commander, tho he be brave,
" will spoil an Army if he does not keep
" good order. If a mean Man is stout
" and not orderly, he will turn Thief.
4. " A Noble Person is distinguish'd
" from the Vulgar by his Breeding and
" Civility. He that is well bred respects
" all Men, and all respect him.
5. Another. " Courtesy and Affabi-
" lity make way for a Man all the
" World over.
6. " At Court the Emperor is the
" first, and next to him the Counsellors.
7. " Among the People antient Men take
" place, among the rest virtuous Persons
" have Precedence.
7. The Master. " If I desire to be
" valued by Men, the sure way to com-
" pass it is to value them.
8. " When a Man goes out of doors,
" says a *Chinese*, he must do it with the
" same Gravity and Modesty as he waits
" upon Strangers; when he comes in,
" it ought to be as if there were Persons
" of Note waiting for him within.
- This is advising Men to Modesty and
decent Behaviour, tho they be alone in
their Houses. The *Chineses* are singular
in this particular, and in the Circum-
spection they use in all their Actions and
Motions.
9. Another says. " The Father is not
" to make publick his Childrens Virtues;
" Children must not discover the Failings
" of their Parents.
10. " Man proceeds from three, says
" another, and ought to serve all three.
" From his Parents that got him, from
" his Masters who taught him, and from
" the Emperors that maintain'd him. If
" there were no Fathers, there would
" be no Sons; if there were no Masters,
" Men would be mere Beasts; if Suste-
" nance fail'd, he could not live.
11. The Master. " Sacrifice to the
" dead as if they were present, sacrifice
" to Spirits as if they were present.
- This is not unlike what we find in
Wisd. 14. *They made him they would honour,
that they might worship him that was gone,*

as if he had been present. As if present imports the same as the Chinese *Ju Zai*: This Proposition, because taken in one sense by some Missioners, and by others in another, has caus'd much Discord in that Mission. I write upon this Subject at large in the Controversies, and therefore say no more to it in this place. I shall only observe here, that the Church has improv'd in the knowledg of many Truths, as I took notice when I treated of this Subject, and *Cassabutus* did, 7. *Synod. Oecum. pag. mibi 358, & 359.* in

these words, *And the Church of God in progress of time is illustrated with new Knowledge, whence it is writ in the Canticles, that she advances like the rising Morning.* Then he quotes the words of *Castro lib. 1. de hæres. c. 27. We now know many things, which were either doubted of, or quite unknown to the first Fathers.* Even so the Church of *Cbina*, tho so small and tender, has increas'd in several Particulars, as plainly appears by what is writ in the Controversies, and I hope in God it will still increase more.

C H A P. XVII.

How to preserve Fidelity.

1. **T**HE Master. " He who is not true and faithful, knows not what he ought to know to live in this World. It is certain a Cart without Wheels cannot move, neither can he who is not true and faithful live among Men.
2. Another says. " One single word coming from a Man ought to be of such force that it should never fail. When the Mouth has once utter'd a word, whatever comes on't it must be perform'd; therefore it is requisite to consider what a Man promises. If
- " great and Noble Men do not keep their word, they sully their Honour and Reputation.
3. Another. " If there is not sincerity between the Emperor and his Counsellors, there can be no Peace in the Empire; if it be wanting between Parents and Children, there will be no Peace and Quietness in the House; if it be wanting between Brothers, their Minds cannot be united: If it be wanting among Friends, their Friendship will certainly fail.

C H A P. XVIII.

Of Words, and the manner of speaking.

1. **T**HE Master. " Among Persons of Learning and Gravity, it is fit to discourse of serious matters, and speak weighty Sentences; among inferior sort of People business of less weight may be discours'd of. He who speaks must sute himself to those that hear. When it is requisite to speak to any Man, and he is not spoken to, it is losing of him; when it is not convenient to speak, and we do speak, it is losing of Words; but a discreet Man neither loses the Person nor his Words.
- In my Controversies I have writ, that it is not convenient to talk with Infidels of all the Mysteries of our holy Faith, and I prov'd it out of *S. Athanasius*: Since then I found this Subject is handled at large by *S. Thom. sup. Boetium in Trinit. q. 2. art. 4. & left. 6. in 11. 1 Cor. Angel. Maria q. 7. de fid. sect. 1.* does the same.
- It is absolutely necessary to sute the Discourse to the Auditors, otherwise the Words and Labour are lost. *S. Thomas* makes it out *sup. 8. Apoc.* where he quotes the words of *S. Gregory* upon this Subject. To avoid mistaking, it is requisite first, to consider what *S. Thomas* teaches. *The Preacher is discreetly to foresee what is to be said, and to whom, and how, and how much, and after what manner, &c.* Some get into a Pulpit to let fall extempore Sentences, and some of them plead for it the words of *Mat. 20. Do not think, &c.* But *S. Thomas* answers with the Comment, *That the Apostles were privileg'd Persons as to this particular, because the Holy Ghost was present in them after such manner, that they ought not to premeditate. Sylv. tom. 6. p. 112.* writes notably to this effect. The words of *S. Aug. Serm. 26. ad frat.* answer to the rest of the Paragraph: *For we must not lay open that which is good every where, but in all things must observe the time of*

of making it known. S. Thomas teaches the last in *Mat 24*. For if he will speak words when it is not convenient, he loses them.

2. A *Chinese* says, "When we talk with Kings, the Discourse must be that they may make use of good Ministers and Counsellors; if we talk with great Men, it must be of the Loyalty and Duty they owe to their King: When we converse with antient Men, we must advise them to make use of their Children: When we speak with young Men, we must lay before them the Respect and Duty they owe to their Parents and Elders: When we speak with the Commonalty, it must be concerning their Loyalty to their Prince: And if we discourse with Judges, it must be of Uprightness, Justice and good Administration.

3. The Master. "He who says little, is certainly in the right in what he says.

The same Man. "If Words are not agreeable to Reason, one is too much; if one word goes astray, it makes way for many more.

4. A *Chinese*. "The Mouth and the

Tongue are the Passage for all Mischiefs, and the Sword to destroy Life.

5. Another. "To talk to ones Neighbour concerning things that are good, is warning of him to go in the way of Virtue: Good Words are sweet as Honey, the bad are killing Swords; a Man is not good because he talks much. The Wound of a Spear or Sword is easily cur'd, but a bad Word is hard to digest. Good Words warm the Heart, as a Coat of Sables does the Body; the bad prick the Soul, as Thorns do the Body: One good Word is worth more than thousands of Ducats, and a bad Word is as mischievous as a poison'd Arrow.

6. The Master. "One word shows a Man's Prudence, and one discovers his Indiscretion. One word is enough to save a Kingdom, and one is enough to destroy it.

7. Another. "It is more delightful to hear good Words, than to hear all the Musical Instruments in the World.

8. The Master. "It is hard to enter into Discourse with an ill Man, the best way is to withdraw and keep from him.

Nava-rette.

C H A P. XIX.

Of Friends.

1. THE Master. "To live among virtuous People, is like living among Roses and Flowers, where tho a Man do not discern the Smell, yet by degrees it works it self into the very Bones. To live among wicked People is like living in a Storehouse of Pilchards and Fish, where if a Man stays a while, tho he be not himself sensible of the ill Scent, yet he carries it about him, and others perceive it. To entertain Friendship with good Men, is like having to do with Lillies, which if they are kept in one House, the Smell of them pierces to the next: To entertain Friendship with ill Men, is exposing ones self to danger of Ruin.

2. A *Chinese* says; "He who leans against Vermillion makes himself red; he that handles Ink is black; he that keeps Company with wise and learned Men, partakes of their Learning and Doctrine; if he adheres to discreet Persons he gains Discretion; if he follows Fools, he gets Folly, &c.

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3. Another. "The Friends of our times do nothing but shake hands, and if a word slips from one the other is angry and in a Passion; the first answers, and there's an end of their Friendship. Friendship must be grounded on Virtue, there must be no omission of Respect or Honour from one to the other: to meet and encourage one another to do good, and imitate one another's Virtue, is true Friendship.

4. A *Chinese*. "Keeping good Company is like walking in the fresh Evening Air, where a Man is cool without wetting his Clothes. Conversing with ill Company is like sitting near a nasty stinking place, where, tho the Clothes are not dirtied, they stink. Conversing with ill Men, is like playing with naked Swords; for tho a Man be not wounded, yet he is in danger of it.

5. Another. "*Jen Ping* (it is the Name of a Man of great Antiquity) tho he had many Friends for a long time, yet he never was disrespectful.

A 2

Narrative. " to them, or us'd them without Honour and Courtesy.

6. Another. " Give Respect to and keep far from wicked, pernicious, and ill-minded People; honour and keep as close as you can to those that are good and virtuous. If any Man come near to hurt, or give me ill Language, I must give him good words, and remove him in a courteous manner. If a Man comes to me with Deceit and Falshood, I must reprove and put him away with the naked Truth: If I do so, it is impossible he should bear me ill-will.

The first Proposition the *Chineses* urge in respect to evil Spirits as well as Men. *Lactantius de fals. relig. c. 20.* writes the same of other Nations, *That they worshipp'd some Gods that they might do them good, others that they might not hurt them.* The People of the Island *Madagascar* worship evil Spirits very much that they may not hurt them, the good they take little notice of: They say, that being good they require no Ceremonies to do them good, and are not capable as such of doing hurt. The latter part of the Paragraph I could wish were well observ'd by zealous Christians, who often frequent the Sacraments. The Author has more Followers of his good Doctrine among those Heathens, than he would find in *Europe*. This is not a little Confusion to us.

7. " Do not entertain Friendship with a Man who is fierce and cruel, is the Advice of a *Chinise* Doctor, and it is good.

8. Another. " A Lady that has not a clear Looking-glass cannot see the

" Freckles in her Face: A Man who has not a good Friend, will not be able to discover the false steps he makes.

9. " It is the Duty and Rule of Friends to gather Virtue, and act jointly therein.

Christians may observe what sort of Friendship there is among Heathens, and what among themselves.

10. " If you would join Friendship, says another, it must be with one that is better than your self, otherwise it is better to have no Friends. All Men are good enough for Acquaintance, but there must be but a very few Friends to whom you will disclose your Secrets.

11. Another *Chinise*. " If you would plant Trees, do not plant Willows; if you join Friendship, do it not with Men of little worth. The Antients were true Friends, because their Hearts were united; Friends of these times are not so, because their Union is exterior, and only consists in words.

12. " When a Man is rich and great, he has Friends and Kindred without number; if the same Man falls into Troubles, you will not see one of them come within his doors. The Friendship of Lords and great Men is as cold as Water, that of the indifferent sort is sweet as Honey.

13. " An upright and good Man does not seek Friendship for Interest-sake; to be a Friend on this account destroys Piety. A long Journey shows a Horses Strength, Friendship of long standing makes known the Heart of Man.

CH A P. XX.

Of the Women.

1. **T**HE Master. " A marry'd Woman must be subject to her Husband, and therefore it is not convenient she should have absolute Command. Woman is under three Subjections, one to her Parents before she is married, another to her Husband when married; when he is dead, as to the Government of the House and Estate, she must be subject to her Sons. She must not go out of her Apartment to order what belongs to her. When she is at Age to be married, let

her always keep close in her Chamber, and if she goes out of it, let her not walk in the Court to be seen, which is very unseemly: If she goes out of her room in the night, let it be with a Lanthorn, and not in the dark, otherwise he that meets her may suspect she is not going about any thing that is good.

Concerning the Retiredness of Women, read *Sylv. 2. tom. in Apoc. c. 12. q. 26.*

The words of St. Paul, *Women be subject to your Husbands*, are to this effect. The Chinese Women are incapable of inheriting, of managing Business, and of any other Power of Government: Some there have been renowned in the World, and very unhappy in Government. But because this is extraordinary, the Philosopher said their Government was the *Destruction of the Family, as that of a Tyrant is of the Kingdom*. S. Thomas quotes it in 2. 1 ad Tim. lect. 3. & in 15. 1 Cor. I have already made mention of the extraordinary Retiredness of the Chinese Women, and it is very strange, as appears by what has been writ, that they should maintain that Rigor for above 2500 years.

2. A Chinese. "Four things are commendable in a Woman: 1. Virtue. 2. Her Face. 3. Her Words. 4. Her Work and Employment. For the first it is requisite that she be very wise, discreet, and judicious; for the second, she need not be very beautiful; it is not expected her Words should be very witty, or that she should speak in Verse: It is not to be expected her Work should be so curious as to out-do prime Workmen: Her Virtues must be Retiredness and Modesty, that her Garb be suitable to her Condition, that in her Meen and Carriage she be grave and bashful, and that she be moderate in all her Actions. Every married Woman ought to be adorn'd with these Virtues. She must first weigh her words, not tell Lies, and speak in due time and season: It is enough that she keep her Face clean, and sober Clothes: Her Work and Employment must be to spin, weave, sew, and the like: She must be watchful that the Household Affairs may be orderly.

3. Another Chinese. "What a Woman is to observe is this, that if she speaks it be soft and mildly, without raising her Voice; if she goes let it be gently, if she stops it must be with Modesty, her Ears must not hear ill words, her Eyes must not look much, she must always be in fear and dread lest her Husband should receive any Affront, and have any Trouble upon her account. That Husband who lights of a good Wife has no Troubles, a virtuous Wife keeps all the Family in Peace.

4. "A Chinese was ask'd, Whether it was lawful for a Widow to marry again? He answer'd, To marry, be-

"cause she is poor and has no support, is lawful; but these are things of small moment, when compar'd to the Good there is in Continency. Nava-
rette.

By what has been said it appears, the Chinese make no great account of Womens Beauty.

For the Retirement of Women, we may well instance the Example of *C. Sulpicius*, who put away his Wife, because she went out of doors with her Head un-veil'd. *A Lapide* in 24 Gen. v. 28, & 67. says, the Women formerly had inner Rooms, as is now us'd in *China*.

I could easily have enlarg'd upon several Points. I have left out above half the Notes I took, whilst I was confin'd in *Canton*; the Matter we have in hand requires no more, since our only design is to show how much that Nation has receiv'd from God, tho it is so ungrateful. What has been writ is enough for this purpose.

We daily reading Chinese Books, always found something new to make our Reflections upon; and that our Liberty may not be quite lost, I will here add a few. It has been said already, that Women do not inherit, nor did they among the Jews till *Numb. 17*.



5. "A Counsellor said to the Emperor *Vu Kuang*, It is a great happiness to overcome ones Will and Appetite with Reason and Justice. It is a great trouble and misfortune when the Will sways more than Reason.

6. "In the Reign of the Emperor *Keng*, says the History, the Empire enjoy'd such Peace, Unity, and mutual Love, that for above forty years there was no need of inflicting any Punishment.

7. A Chinese Doctor says, "The Doctrine which is taught must be firm and solid.

8. "King *Kung* ask'd, How he might govern his Subjects well? A Counsellor answer'd, By looking to his Benefit and Profit. He ask'd again, How that was to be done? The other reply'd, Teaching them to employ themselves in Works of Piety, and to observe Justice; and so doing, everything will be profitable and advantageous.

9. "Another ask'd, How it might be discern'd, whether the Kingdom improv'd or decay'd? His Secretary answer'd, When the Counsellors do not often acquaint the King with what happens in the Provinces, it is a sign the Royal Patrimony wastes; because the Disease not being known, the Re-
"medy



 "medy is not apply'd. When the King
 "being told of his Ministers faults, does
 "not punish them, it is also a sign all
 "goes to ruin. When Ministers grow
 "great and rich with their Employ-
 "ments, that is the last sign of De-
 "struction; for it is certain the Body
 "of the Kingdom, that is, the Sub-
 "jects, are exhausted and drain'd.
 10. *Min Juen Chi* says, "The less

" is drawn from the People, the more
 " a King will have in time of need.

This is singular Policy, yet not so
 strange, but it has been practis'd in *Eu-
 rope*. We have an Example in *Con-
 stantius Chlorus*, Father to *Constantine* the
 Great, when he govern'd *France* and
England. This has been observ'd at the
 End of this Book.

The End of the Fourth Book.

B O O K

B O O K V.

Which treats particularly of the
Learned Sect.

TH O something has been said in the second and third Books concerning the Sect of the Learned in *China*, and some of their Principles set down, which might serve to make known its Design, and the End it aims at; yet because it is a Matter of mighty moment, that Missioners be fully acquainted with all that belongs to this Sect, I have thought fit to insert in this place, what has been writ concerning it by the R. F. *Nicholas Longobardo*, of the Society of *Jesus*, an anti-ent Missioner, and renown'd in that Mission: the understanding of which I am satisfi'd will be a great Advantage to the Ministers of the Gospel, and with small labour will lay before them how they are to deal with the Infidels of that Region. The Original Manuscript was carry'd to *Rome*, and I presented an authentick Copy to the Holy Congregation *de Propaganda Fide*, which is kept among the Records. This good Father writes thus.

A short ANSWER concerning the Controversies about Xang Ti, Tien Xin, and Ling Hoen (that is, the King of the upper Region, Spirits, and rational Soul assign'd by the Chineses) and other Chinese Names and Terms; to clear which of them may be us'd by the Christians of these Parts. Directed to the Fathers of the Residences in China, that they may peruse it, and then send their Opinion concerning it to the F. Visiter at Macao.

The P R E F A C E.

Giving an Account of the Original of these Controversies, and what has been done about them by Order of Superiors.

I *Mprimis*. It is above 25 Years since the Chinese *Xang Ti* (that is, the King of the upper Region) began to be an Eye-sore to me, and to go to my heart. For after having heard *Confucius* his four Books, as we all us'd to do at our first coming hither, I observ'd by degrees, that the Definition and Account of several Expositors of *Xang Ti*, was very opposite and repugnant to the Divine Nature. But having taken the Notion from the anti-ent Fathers of the Mission, that *Xang Ti* was our God, I laid aside those Scruples, and conceited, that perhaps some of those Expositors might be mistaken, as being but particular Authors who did

not consent to the anti-ent Doctrine. In this Perswasion, and with this Idea, I liv'd the first thirteen Years, which time I staid at *Xao Cheu*, without having an opportunity to confer about this Point, as I ought to do, with the Fathers of the other Residences.

2. After F. *Matthew Riccius* dy'd, I being left in his place with the charge of all this Mission, receiv'd a Letter from the F. Visitor *Francis Pascus* in *Japan*, in which he gave me to understand, that our Fathers were there reflect'd upon, for bordering upon the Errors of the *Gentiles* in some Books they had compos'd in the Chinese Language. So that the Fathers and

and Brothers in those Parts met with great difficulty in confuting those Errors, by reason their Adversaries urg'd what they found in those Books of the *Chinese* Fathers. Whereupon he earnestly requested me that we should take great care what was done as to this Particular: for tho' it was not easily to be imagin'd, that the Fathers who write Books in *China*, and are such able Divines, could be deceiv'd as to the Subject of the Sects; yet it weigh'd much with him to see, that many of ours in that Country affirm'd it was so, and these such Men as had made those Sects their particular study, and were very well read in the *Chinese* Books. This Advice from F. *Pascus* confirm'd me in my former Doubt, and therefore I apply'd my self the more carefully to sit out the truth. Besides all this, going according to the Duty of my Office to *Pe King*, I found F. *Sabatinus de Ursis* labour'd under the same Apprehensions concerning *Xang Ti*. Upon this we seriously discours'd with Dr. *Paul* and others we found well qualify'd, concerning the reconciling the Difference there was between the Texts and the Comments; and they all unanimously agreed that there was no need of taking so much pains to reconcile them, but that we should always stick to the Doctrine of the Text when it made for us, and not concern our selves with the contrary Interpretations of Expositors. The same Answer was afterwards given us at several times, and in several places, by the Doctors *John* and *Michael*. This made some of our Fathers of opinion, that this was a sufficient means to decide the Controversy, and therefore there was no need of any further canvassing the Point. But F. *Sabatinus* and I, with several others, were of opinion we could not thus be safe and easy, in regard the Learned *Chinese* Christians generally sute their Sentiments to ours, and explicate their Doctrines according as they think corresponds with our Holy Faith, without regarding of how great Consequence it is to have the Truth of these Controversys brought to Light, and that nothing be said which may have the least shadow of Falshood or Fiction.

3. Whilst we were busy upon these Debates, F. *John Ruiz* came up to us, being lately arriv'd at *Macao* from *Japan*, and desirous to decide the same Matters in Controversy. His coming was very reasonable, and as far as I can guess, particularly ordain'd by God for the benefit of the Christians of *Japan* and *China*. And

tho' those Fathers, who thought the case plain enough and settled, would not argue it with the said Father; yet the greater number of us, who judg'd the Truth was not yet clear'd, were glad to confer with him about the Difficulties that occur'd on either side. So we laid open the principal Fundamentals of the three Sects, *Ju*, *Xe*, and *Tao* (that is, the Sect of the *Literati*, or the Learned; that of the Idols; and that of the Wizards, so we usually call the Third) which will open a way to decide these Controversies.

4. F. *Ruiz* returning to *Macao*, gave a Letter in which was an Account of all these Affairs, to F. *Valentin Carvallo*, then Provincial of both Provinces; who writ to us, recommending the study of the Sects as a most important and necessary thing to prevent Mistakes in the Opinions and Terms we have introduced among the Christians of these Parts; and with it he sent us a Catalogue of the Names he judg'd dubious or dangerous, that we might examine and appoint which of them are to be us'd.

5. After this F. *Francis Vicira* came Visitor; and understanding what Orders F. *Carvallo* had given us concerning the doubtful Name, he confirm'd those Orders, and directed us anew to send him our Resolution upon that Matter, and the Opinion of the Christian *Mandarines*. This I sent him by F. *Sabatinus*, when he went away banish'd with the other Fathers to *Macao*: And besides I charg'd the said Father by word of Mouth to acquaint him with several other Particulars concerning these Affairs, he being a Person well acquainted with them. The Father perform'd his part very well, both in writing and by word of mouth. But the Father Visitor seeing there were then with him two Fathers of the contrary Opinion, who were F. *Pantoja*, and F. *Bagnoni*, he was of opinion these Controversies could not be decided unless disputed in form. Therefore he order'd those three Fathers, every one to write a Treatise upon them. And for the better and clearer proceeding in the Case, he commanded them to argue upon three Points; the first, *de Deo*; the second, *de Angelis*; and the third, *de Anima Rationali*: making out whether in the *Chinese* Doctrine there were any footsteps of these things, or not; for on that depended the concluding upon the *Chinese* Terms that were to be us'd among these Christians. The Fathers compos'd their Treatises, dividing themselves into

Spirit.

two opposite Partys. For the Fathers *Pantoja* and *Bagnoni* undertook to prove the Affirmative, alledging, that the *Chineses* had some knowledg of God, of Angels, and of our Soul, calling them by the Names, *Xang Ti*, *Tien Xin*, and *Ling Hoen*. *F. Sabatinus* undertook the Negative, urging, that the *Chineses*, according to the Principles of their natural Philosophy, and Physicks, had not the knowledg of a spiritual Substance distinct from the Material, as we assign; and consequently knew not what God, or Angels, or the rational Soul were. This Opinion was much applauded and approv'd by the Fathers and Brethren of *Japan* who were then at *Macao*, as better grounded on the *Chinese* Doctrine, and the Father Visitor was near giving Judgment for it. But the business in hand being of such moment, and he not a competent Judg of the *Chinese* Proofs alledg'd for either side, he resolv'd to send the said Treatises up hither that we might examine them, not only with the assistance of the Learned Christian *Chineses*, but of the Heathens too, who are not suspected that they will comply with the Fathers in giving the true sense of their Doctrine.

6. At the same time the three Fathers compos'd their Treatises at *Macao*, *F. Ruiz* compos'd another large one, following the Opinion of *F. Sabatinus*, so that there were two Treatises on each side. This last writ by *F. Ruiz*, being read by the Father Visitor, and the gravest Fathers of that College, gave great satisfaction to them all; for which reason the Father would have sent it hither to me with the other three: but because it could not be transcrib'd so soon, he made an abridgment of it in a Letter he sent me of a sheet and a half, and very sufficient to decide what we are now about concerning these Controversies.

7. Having receiv'd these four Treatises in this City, tho I did not question but the Fathers, *Ruiz* and *Sabatinus*, had the true Notion of the *Chinese* Doctrine, conformable to what I had before discours'd with them; yet I resolv'd to make further enquiry into it, receiving new information from the Christian *Mandarines*, and arguing further with the Fathers of this Mission, and I always found the Opinion of those Fathers the best and safest. As for the Heathen learned Men, I could not receive any Information from them (as the Father Visitor earnestly press'd me to do) by reason of the Persecution, which gave us no opportunity of

conversing with them freely, and therefore I was forc'd to delay this Answer longer than I was willing to have done, that none might complain Judgment was given without hearing what they had to say for themselves. In short, having laid hold of the Opportunities I met with, of conversing with several Learned Men during the last Years I was in the South, and more particularly the two I resid'd in this Imperial City, the business of the *Chinese* Doctrine, as far as relates to what we have in hand, was made plain and perspicuous, and therefore I will in this my Answer give my sense of it plainly and succinctly.

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8. It is requisite that those Fathers who are to see this Answer, should first see the four above-mention'd Treatises, for I here insert many things contained in them. It is also to be observ'd, that I make this Answer short, because I deal with your Reverences who are acquainted with these Affairs, and therefore it is enough to touch upon the principal Points. The same Reason will serve *F. Visitor*, and other Fathers who are out of *China*, who only desire a short decision of these Controversies, approv'd of by the antientest Fathers, and who are most vers'd in this Mission.

Notes upon what has been writ above.

Note 1. The King of the upper Region, assign'd by the Learned Sect, went to the Heart of, and was an Eye-fore to the good Father *Longobardo*. And yet there are some who have such Cataracts over their Eyes, that to this day they preach him up to be our God.

2. If a *Franciscan* or *Dominican* had writ what *F. Pascus* did, what Complaints would the World ring with against us? I take them for granted. It follows thence, that the preaching of the Word of God was defective in *Japan*, as well as in *China*; what wonder then it should so soon be check'd in both places?

It is certain, the Religion of *Japan* took its Origin from that of *China*; the *Japoneses* ever acknowledged the *Chinese* their Masters, as to Matters of Religion. The *Chinese* Merchants who sail'd to *Japan*, carry'd the Books of our Holy faith, printed in the *Chinese* Language, to sell to the Christians therè. They read them, and being well vers'd in their own Sects, took notice of the Errors they found in them. Now the *Japoneses* making this Reflection, is a powerful

Japan.
Religion.

Argument that the Doctrine of those Books was not sound. But the Authors of them can at most be somewhat guilty only of a material Mistake. I was told in *China*, that a Missioner had printed a Book full of Extravagancies and Errors; care was taken to get it up, if any Copys remain'd in the hands of Infidels, it is a plain case they will do harm. The worst was, that they did not examine it before it was printed. F. *James Collado*, in a Memorial he presented to *Philip* the 4th, says, That in a Book he read in *Japan*, he observ'd four several Heretical Expressions, which tho they were not imputed to the Author, yet the Hurt they may do was great, and the Consequences fatal.

By what has been and shall be writ, it plainly appears that the Argument they daily use is bad, viz. That the Antient Missioners of *China* being grave, learned, and experienced Men, the rest are oblig'd to follow and practise what they taught. If this Argument does not take place with them, less ought it to do so with us. The more weighty Matters are, the more examination they require; these are Affairs that concern Eternity, no Care or Industry is too great; we must not be satisfy'd with Probabilities, nor are they sufficient upon such occasions. So says the Bishop of *Nan King*, Disp. 4. c. 3. dub. 3. *For sacred things which belong to Religion it self, and are absolutely necessary to Bliss, Probability is not sufficient, but an undoubted Certainty is requisite.* He proves it very well in the next Doubt, and quotes F. *Vagocius* a Jesuit to make good his Assertion. F. *Strix* was deficient in this Point, for which reason the Pope forbid his Book.

As to the Advice of the Learned Christian *Chineses*, we all know their Sentiments, and yet there are some who shut their Eyes to follow and approve them.

3. I never lik'd the Sentiments of those Fathers; Disputes never do hurt, tho the Matter discuss'd be plain and easy, but it is rather laid more open by this means, according to the Doctrine of S. *Thomas* quoted in another place.

Besides, it is very consonant to Reason, that where there are Persons learned and expert in an Art, it should be taken for granted they have some reasonable grounds which incline them to maintain

the contrary to what others think is certain and plain. Why then should they avoid hearing them, since as Men they may be deceiv'd, as actually they were? And if the Fathers *Longobardo*, *Sabatinus*, *Ruiz*, and others, would not lay aside their Scruple on account of what the Fathers *Riccus*, *Pantoja*, and others taught; What Reason is there that I and others who are not of the Society, should rest satisfy'd and give over, because those Fathers practis'd it?

The words of S. *Augustin* quoted by *A Lapide*, *Can. 2. in Penth.* Answer to the Advice of the *Chinese* Christians, that we should follow the Texts, &c. *Philosophy and Physicks are to be adapted to Holy Writ, and to the Word of God, from whom all Method, Order, and Measure of Nature has its being. Holy Writ is not therefore to be wrested on the contrary to the Sense of the Philosophers, or to the Light or Dictates of Nature.* This last part is what the Learned Christian *Chineses* aim at. S. *Thomas* speaks to the same effect in 1, 2 *Pet. ad illud, Non sit propria, &c.*

4. Some, and those not a few, would persuade us, that nothing has been alter'd of what the first Missioners decreed; the contrary appears by what has been already written, and shall be made out more plain in the second Tome.

5. They divided themselves into two Opinions; the same has been done in other Points, which I do not admire at, but I am surpriz'd that the contrary should be spread abroad in the World. There were two Opinions opposite to one another; it is impossible for us to close with and follow both, we follow the best and safest, or rather that which is certain, which no Man can complain of.

6. I wish some Men had taken half the pains to prove their Opinion that F. *Longobardo* did for his; but I am more than sufficiently satisfy'd it is not so. It is to be observ'd too, that tho those of the contrary Opinion follow'd the Advice of the *Chinese* Christians, and of Doctor *Michael*, that they might curry Favour with the Learned Men, and gain them to their side, yet it avail'd them nothing to prevent their being sent banish'd to *Macao*, and put up into Cages. F. *Longobardo* absconded and staid behind; the Lord preserv'd him to write this Treatise.

P R E L U D E I.

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Of the Classick and Authentick Books of China, by which these Controversies must be decided.

1. **T**H O in *China* there be variety of Books of several Subjects and Professions, in which many Points of these Controversies are touch'd upon: Nevertheless in regard they are not all of such Reputation as is requisite to decide Matters of such weight, we have resolv'd upon mature Advice to make use only of the Classick Authors, whom the Learned Sect follows; which as it is the antientest in this Country, having been profess'd for 4000 Years by all the *Chinese* Kings and *Mandarines*, so it is the most renowned of all that have been to this day.

Books.

2. The Authentick Books of this Sect are reduced to four Ranks. The first of the antient Doctrines, *Je King*, *Xi King*, &c. they were left in writing by the first Kings and wise Men of *China*, and therefore the Learned are examin'd by them. The second is, the Comment upon those Doctrines; which is of two sorts, one a short Comment made by one Author only, which always goes along with the Text of each Doctrine, and the ordinary Gloss which Scholars study, and Masters teach. The other is the great Comment call'd *Ta Ziuen*, which was order'd to be made above 2500 Years ago by the Emperor *Jung Lo*, he chusing out to this purpose 42 *Mandarines* of great Note among the Learned Sect, of whom a considerable part of the Council of the Court call'd *Han Lin* was compos'd. These *Mandarines* in the first place examin'd and approv'd of the *Zu Xu*'s short Comment, and the aforesaid Doctrines. Afterwards they compos'd the great Comment, bringing together the Interpretations of the principal Expositors, who had writ upon those Doctrines for 1600 Years, that is, since the general burning of *Chinese* Books in the Reign of the Family *Zin*, by order of the Emperor *Chi Hoang*. These antient Expositors are very numerous, for in *Zu Xu* alone are contain'd about 107, in the Comment of *Je King* 136, in that of *Xu King* 166; and so upon the other Doctrines, as appears by the Catalogues of them printed at the beginning of the Works: And it is wonderful to see how they all agree in the understanding of the Fundamentals and most essential Parts of the Doctrines,

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so that they seem not unlike our Holy Doctors in the Exposition of Scripture. Wherefore, not without reason, the Comments are held in such esteem in *China*, that the Compositions the Scholars make upon the Text are not allow'd of, if they answer not the Sense of the Comment. The third rank of Books is, of those that contain the Body of their Philosophy, Moral and Natural, which they call *Sing Li*. The same 42 *Mandarines* collected this Body of Philosophy, gathering together in it the several Matters that lay dispers'd among the antient Doctrines, and those which were afterwards handled by several Authors, 118 of whom are mention'd in this Work. The 4th rank are, the Original Books of those Authors who flourish'd after the general Burning, that employ'd themselves partly in expounding the Doctrines of the first Philosophers, and partly in composing several things of their own. These are the Classick Books of the Learned Sect, from which we may gather whether the *Chineses* had any knowledge of the true God, Angels, or rational Soul.

3. Here by the by the Antiquity of the *Chinese* Doctrines is to be observ'd, which took their Origin from the first King of this Empire, call'd *Fo Hi*, who according to the *Chinese* Chronicles falls many years before the Flood. But because this cannot be allow'd of, as being contrary to Holy Writ, it is certain at least that he was soon after the division of Tongues. Therefore F. *John Ruiz*, in the Treatise he compos'd concerning these Controversies, very probably makes out that *Fo Hi* was the Great *Zoroastres* King of *Bactria*, Zoroaster. and Prince of the *Chaldean Magi*, who gave a beginning to all the Sects of the *West*, and afterwards came into the *East*, and founded the Kingdom of *China*, and the Sect they call of the Learned.

4. Whence it is, that this Sect of *China*, and those of the other Heathens of those Parts, proceed from the same Source, and by the contrivance of the Devil, they have a great resemblance with one another, and lead Men away to Hell by the same Art and Contrivance. I do not enlarge upon this Point, because the aforesaid Father has done it amply and learnedly in his Treatise. I earnestly

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ly desire, and advise all to read it with
Nova-rette. attention, because it will give them much
 Light and Assistance for deciding these
 Controversies.

N O T E S.

1. I and the rest of us agree with much satisfaction to all that is written in *num. 2.* In the *3d* I must observe, that as to the Chronology, there has been some disagreement among the Fathers of the Society. Some follow the Computation of the *Septuagint*; others that of the *Roman Martyrology*. It is a matter of Moment, and must be reconcil'd, to oblige us to follow it.

2. What is said *num. 4.* agrees with what I quote in another place out of *F.*

Arias, and *F. Kircher* writes the same. And tho the Learned Sect be so antient, yet I like what *Tertullian* says in his Apology; *But the Doctrine of the Prophets being much antienter than any of the Philosophers, it is therefore easy to believe that was the Treasure whence all later Wisdom flow'd.* This is the Opinion of *S. Augustin*, and others, whom *S. Antoninus* follows, *4 p. tit. 11. c. 4. Sect. 5.* whom I quoted in the third Book.

What has been said, disproves what *Morales* and others write, that the *Jews* of the Ten Tribes peopled *China*, and that the *Chineses* took their Doctrine from the *Israelites*. If they agree not in this Point, the Discord will be among their own Family, but not with us.

P R E L U D E II.

Of the Disagreement sometimes found among the Authentick Books; and that in such cases we must rather be govern'd by the Comments than by the Texts.

1. **T**H O in reality there be no disagreement between the Authentick Books of the Learned, if their Principles are rightly understood and conceiv'd; nevertheless, in regard sometimes there seems to be some between the several Texts of the Doctrines, and Interpretations of the Expositors, therefore this Prelude is inserted, to show how we are to govern our selves in such cases; and in the first place I will give some Instances of this Disagreement. *V. g.* The Doctrines tell us, or at least seem so to do, that there is a Supreme King whom they call *Xang Ti*, who is in the Palace of Heaven, from whence he governs Heaven, rewards the Good, and punishes the Wicked. But the Expositors attribute all this to Heaven it self, or to the Universal Substance, or Nature, which they call *Li*, as shall be said in its place.

2. The Doctrines further say, that there are several Spirits which they call *Xin* or *Kuei*, or *Kuei Xin*, which preside over Mountains, Rivers, and other things in the World. But the Expositors explicate this of the natural Causes, or of the operative Virtues which work in those Causes.

3. Lastly, The same Doctrines, speaking of our Soul by the name of *Ling Hoen*, give us to understand, that it remains alive after Man is dead. And they tell us of an antient King whose Name

was *Vuen Vuang*, that he is in the upper part of Heaven, and sits by *Xang Ti's* side. But the Expositors unanimously maintain, that *Ling Hoen* is nothing but an airy or fiery Entity or Being, which when separated from the Body, ascends and reunites it self to the Substance of Heaven, with which it is one and the same thing. And this is the genuine Exposition of those Texts which affirm, that King *Vuen Vuang* is by the side of *Xang Ti*; for *Xang Ti* according to them being the same thing as Heaven it self, when the Soul returns to Heaven, it is said of course, it goes to unite it self to *Xang Ti*.

4. Much of this seeming Disagreement is found in their Texts and Comments; and the Texts seeming more sutable and agreeable to our Doctrine, therefore some Fathers are of Opinion we should follow the Texts, without taking notice of the Comments. But the other Fathers think it not enough to follow the Texts only, but that the Exposition of the Commentators must be taken with it; and when any Doubt arises, we must govern our selves rather by the Comment than by the Text. Now this variety of Opinions being known, it being of such great consequence for the clearing of what we are about, there is a necessity of explicating it here in the first place; and therefore I will assign

God.
Xang Ti.

Spirits.

Souls.

assign the Reasons of both Opinions.

5. These that follow may be urg'd in behalf of that of the Fathers *Pantoja* and *Bagnoni*. 1. In the Text of the Doctrines is the truth of all the Philosophy and Knowledge of the Learned Sect; for which reason there is no doubt but their Force and Authority is greater than that of the Comments. 2. The Commentators for the most part liv'd in the time the Family *Sung* sway'd the Scepter, when the Sect of the Idols was already come out of *India*, and so they had imbib'd many new and erroneous Opinions from that Sect, which occasion'd them sometimes to swerve from the true Sense of the antient Doctrines. 3. The Principal Christians we have in *China*, who are great Scholars and *Mandarines*, advise and perswade us to follow the Doctrine of the Text (if, as they are grave and great, they were virtuous and fear'd God, they would give no such advice) giving them such Exposition as suits nearest with our Holy Faith, as has been done ever since the Society came into this Kingdom. Therefore it is likely we ought to follow their Sentiments, both because they are so well vers'd in the Affairs of *China*, and that they know what agrees and what disagrees with our Holy Faith. 4. We following the Text, where it is favourable to us, as it is in many considerable Points, we shall unite our selves with the Learned Sect, which will gain us the Affections of the *Chinese*, and facilitate the propagation of our Holy Faith throughout this Kingdom; especially knowing the Saints have given us an Example so to do, making their advantage of any small matter they found that was good among the Heathens with whom they convers'd, as *S. Paul*, when being in the *Arcopagus*, he made use of the words of the Poet, *Ipsius enim & genus sumus*.

6. The contrary Opinion is grounded on Reasons much more strong. The antient Doctrines are generally obscure, and in many places the Texts are faulty, either wanting, or having too many words, as the Learned themselves affirm. Besides, they frequently use Enigma's, or Parables, to conceal the Mysteries of their Philosophy, as shall appear hereafter. Therefore without the assistance and direction of Expositors, they cannot be understood, or at least not without great mistakes; and this was the reason they made those Comments with so much care, and such extraordinary choice of Expositors; and besides, all the Learned in their Compositions are oblig'd to follow

them, as was said before *Prelude* 1. n. 3. If the *Chinese* are govern'd by their Comments in the difficulties of their obscure and doubtful Text, it seems a clear case that Strangers ought much more so to do.

7. If we take the Texts in another sense than the Comment gives them, the *Chinese* will imagine we do so, because we have not read all their Books, or do not understand them as they ought to be understood; and accordingly some Learned Men actually censur'd several places in *Xe Fe* (the name of a Book) compos'd by *F. Matthew Riccius*, among whom was that famous *Bonzo* of *Che Ki-ang*, who writ four Articles against the said Book, and at the beginning of them says, The stranger Father might be excus'd for having misinterpreted the *Chinese* Books, as understanding no better. *Kin Tai So*, a Friend to the Society, and particular Devotee of the aforesaid *F. Riccius*, with his own hand writ a Pamphlet, in which he collected those things that ought to be said of the three Sects, because the Father was out as to them in his Book. I forbear bringing any more Instances, as being satisfy'd this I have brought is well known to almost all ours that belong to this Mission.

As for the Articles of the *Bonzo*, and the Pamphlet of *Kin Tai So*, they are kept in the Archive of *Kang Cheu*, he that pleases may see them.

8. It is certain, as I said at the beginning of this *Prelude*, that the Comments are not opposite to the Texts; to say such a thing would be a mere Heresy in *China*, forasmuch as these Comments are receiv'd and valued in all their Classes almost in an equal degree to the Texts. But let us allow some contradiction between them, and that the Texts were more consonant to reason than the Comments: Yet the *Chinese* will never submit to us in that Point, when we explicate the Text contrary to the Comments; for they take it for granted that the Comments do not err, nor contain any thing contradictory to the Texts. This therefore will be undertaking an endless Quarrel with the *Chinese*, and at last we shall come by the worst of it, of which I am a sufficient Witness, because of the great experience I have of my self and others entering upon these Disputes with the *Chinese*. For at first when they hear us say, for instance, that *Xang Ti*, explicated as usually we do, is the Creator of the Universe, &c. they laugh at us, as knowing that, according to the Doctrine of their Sect, *Xang Ti* is Heaven it self,

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or its Virtue and Power; and therefore it could not be before Heaven, but must have an equal beginning with Heaven, or be posterior to it. And when we offer to carry on the Argument, proving after our manner, that the Workman is before the House, &c. they will not suffer us to proceed, but presently put an end to the Discourse, saying, That since our God is their *Xang Ti*, there is no need of explaining it any more to them, for they understand it better than we do. In short, tho we contend never so much that the Expositors ought not to define *Xang Ti* after that manner, they always stop our Mouths with the same thing, which is, that we do not understand their Books. And many of them take pet, and look upon us as foolish and troublesome, for attempting to teach the *Chineses* how their Authors are to be understood and explicated.

9. When the Father Visitor *Vieira* order'd the Fathers of *China* to argue the three Questions above-mention'd, Father *Sabatinius* asking him, whether he would have them go upon the seeming sense of the Texts, as the Fathers *Pantoja* and *Bagnoni* had done, or upon the Explication of the Expositors? He answer'd positively, he would know the sense of the Expositors, for that was the practice of all Classes and Professions whatsoever; for there is no concluding any thing, for instance of the Platonick, or Peripatetick Doctrine, but according to what their Classick and approved Commentators maintain. This method being assign'd, F. *Sabatinius* compos'd his Treatise, and prov'd, that according to the Authentick Texts, *Xang Ti* could not be our true God, nor *Tien Xin* our Angels, nor *Ling Hoen* our Soul. These Reasons seem sufficient to make us approve and follow the second Opinion, which is, to be guided rather by the Comments than by the Texts. It only remains to answer the Arguments brought for the first Opinion.

10. As to the first; I grant all that is urg'd concerning the Force and Authority of the Doctrine it self, beyond that of the Comment; but I also affirm, that the Light and Assistance of Comments is necessary for the understanding of obscure Texts. Nor can I forbear taking notice in this place, that I am much surpriz'd to see how much stress those Fathers lay on the Text of the *Chinese* Doctrine, so that they seem to look upon it almost as reveal'd Doctrine, which cannot err. And yet we know *Confucius* corrected

several Errors in the antient Doctrine, as our *Aristotle* did in the Books of the Philosophers before him. Therefore as in *Aristotle*, in process of time, there appear'd many things that wanted to be corrected, so they may be found in *Confucius*.

11. To the second I answer, first, That the Classick Comments we now speak of, are not made only by the Authors who writ after the Sect of the Idols was introduced, which was in the Year of our Lord 65, but by many others who flourish'd before the coming in of the said Sect, for 2000 Years before the Incarnation. All these profess'd they follow'd the pure and peculiar Doctrine of the Learned Sect, without mixing any Opinions of other Sects, as appears by the Comments themselves. I do not deny that there were many, and those very famous Writers, who writ after the coming in of this Sect of the Idols, and seeing their Errors; but these do not belong to the Sect of the *Literati*, or the Learned, which we now make use, but to the Sect of the Idols, owning themselves to profess it. In the second place I answer, that there is never a Learned Man in *China*, who will indure to hear it said, that their Authentick Comments deviate the least from the true sense of their Doctrines. They are rather of Opinion that the Doctrines themselves will not bear any other Exposition than that of the Comments, if they be compar'd together, and the whole try'd by the Principles of their Philosophy.

12. To the third I answer. 1. That our Christian *Chinese* Learned Men give us that Advice, partly, because they are not sensible how prejudicial it is that any small Error should be found in the Matters we treat of; and partly, because they are willing to shroud themselves under the cloak, that our Religion borders upon their Sect, so to avoid being reflected on for following a strange Doctrine: but our Fathers must have higher Notions, not suffering themselves to be rul'd by, but ruling them, as they find most convenient for both Partys. 2. These same Learned Men, when they make Compositions on the Texts of their Doctrines, give them no other meaning but what agrees with the Comments, for otherwise their Compositions would be rejected as erroneous and faulty in the Schools of *Confucius*. Therefore I see not why they should persuade us to follow the very contrary to what they practise.

13. To the fourth I answer, That the Supposition is false, which is, that the Texts make for us; for in truth they do not, when understood as they ought to be by the Sect of the Learned. Therefore to attempt by force to lay any stress upon it, that is, to oppose the Comments, will be like building upon Sand, and flying with *Icarus* his Wings. As for the Example left us by Saints, it ought to be imitated, where it can be done upon good grounds.

N O T E S.

1. It is not at all strange to find some things in Books which seem contradictory, tho in truth they are not so. This may be seen even in the Holy Scripture; and the Holy Doctors, and other Ecclesiastical Authors, have taken much pains to reconcile this seeming Disagreement. *S. Augustin* writ *De Concordia quatuor Evangelistarum*. Others have reconcil'd many places of the Old Testament. *Peter Bergomensis* reconcil'd many of *S. Thomas*, and therefore it is no wonder the same should be found in the Chinese Doctrines.

Soul. 2. The Learned Chinese speak and conceive concerning our Soul, as is said in *Wisd.* 2. that it is a little Air; And the Word of a Spark of Fire. This according to *Alb. Mag. de hom. tract.* 1. q. 1. art. 2. is, *A natural Heat, which when quenched, the Body withers and falls away into Ashes, and breaths out the corporeal Spirit, which is dispers'd into the Air.* *Diogenes* said, the Soul was a thin Air, which seems to expire in death. The Chinese says the same. *Heraclius* said it was a Vapour. *Thales* held the same, and so does the Learned Sect of China, as shall be shown hereafter.

3. The Grounds mention'd in this same Number, are the only Reasons the Modern Missioners, who at this time follow the Antients, go upon, without adding any thing new, or answering to those the other side brings, tho they are so weighty and strong, that in my Opinion they will convince all that shall read them without prejudice.

4. I read the *Bonzo's* Book, but neither that, nor what our Author mentions of the other Learned Chinese, will convince some Men; a strange undertaking! *F. Balat* often said, if a Chinese should go into Europe, and after having study'd our Sciences five or six Years, should expound Scripture, Canons, and Fathers, in a contrary sense to that of the Saints, Doctors, Divines, and Cano-

nists, and should endeavour to persuade us that his Exposition was the truest, should we not think him a Madman or Fool? Who doubts of it? Then must not the Chinese of necessity say the same of us, when they perceive we expound their Texts contrary to the meaning generally receiv'd by all Men, for three or 4000 Years?

5. I shall say more to this Point in another place, tho I think what the Author writes may suffice.

6. Our Author with good reason admires to see his Brethren lay such stress upon the Chinese Texts. There are other Persons who make no account of what the Holy Doctors of the Church say and teach. Some Fancys run after Noveltys, others cling to all that is antient. The Chinese Doctrines were erroneous, says he; nor can it be otherwise, being the Works of Heathens, as I have prov'd out of *Lactantius* in the second Book. *Confucius* has innumerable Errors, as the Author of another Treatise, which I shall insert in the second Tome, affirms. Some late Authors have taken upon them to cry up *Confucius* his Doctrine at such a rate, that they justify it free from any slip or mistake whatsoever, without considering they oppose the Opinion of their elder Brethren. But such Men, by express command from their Superiors, ought either not to persuade Strangers to follow their Antients, or reflect on the Division they breed in their own Family, to the great prejudice of those Infidels, who say, that according to the Exposition they who hold this Opinion give their Texts, they have had the Faith we preach to them some thousands of Years in China, and therefore there is no need we should trouble our selves, sail 5000 Leagues, &c. for this purpose.

Besides, to be free from all Error, is the peculiar Privilege of the Law of God. The Bishop of *Nan King* expresses it very well, *de verit. Relig. Christ.* c. 4. Sect. 2. The same does *Prosper. Aquit. lib. cont. colat. cap. 26.* Nor is it unknown, says he, how much the Schools of Greece, how much the Roman Eloquence, and the curiosity of the whole World have labour'd in vain about the finding out of the Supreme Good, employing much hard Study and excellent Wit, and at last have only lost themselves in their own Imaginations, to the darkning of their foolish Heart, who make use of none but themselves to discover truth. *S. Antoninus* handles this Point, 4 Part. tit. 11. cap. 4. where he writes at large of the Errors

of the Gentiles. Why may not we apply the words of St. Paul, *Ephes. 4.* to those Fathers who find our Faith in the Works of Confucius and his Disciples? *Even as the Gentiles walk in the vanity of their mind, having the understanding darkned, being alienated from the life of God, through the ignorance that is in them, because of the blindness of their heart; who being past feeling have given themselves over to lasciviousness, to work all uncleanness, &c.* And that of *Prov. 2.* *Their malice hath blinded them, they knew not the mysteries of God.*

7. It behoves us to follow the Doctor of the Gentiles, *Tit. c. 1.* *Not giving heed to Fables.* And that of *Heb. 13.* *Be not led away by various and strange Doctrines.* St. Thomas *Leſt. 2.* expounds it thus, *That is divided. For Truth consists in a mean, to which Unity belongs, &c.* The Doctrine therefore of Faith is one, because from a point to a point but one right line can be drawn; all other Doctrines are various, because it is usual to stray many ways from the right. To this purpose read St. Antoninus quoted above.

8. Some will say that the Chinese Books are very agreeable to the Law of Nature, and that the Chinese wonderfully follow the track of Nature and Reason, and are courteous and apt to learn, as well as ingenious, great Politicians, and therefore very capable of Christian Wisdom, &c. So says *Corn. à Lap.* from *F. Trigaucius*; wherefore it will be convenient to follow their Books and Doctrine. I answer, That I do not wonder this should be written, but I would have it compar'd with what I quoted above out of *F. Arias*, and what shall be said in other places. If their being so addicted to Superstitions, Sodomy, Frauds, Lying, Pride, Covetousness, Sensuality, and many other Vices, is following the course of Nature and Reason, then that Father was in the right. Let the Mighty advance in Conversions; the constancy in the Faith they have shown, and the Fervor of the Learned in the service of God speak for them.

9. I cannot but admire the diversity of Mens wits. Some will be grabbing in the Doctrine of Saints, aligning errors to them, on account of some little words that may be explicated in a good sense. Others approve the Doctrine of Heathens in the bulk, tho they have not read it. St. Paul made use of the Philosophers, *1 Cor. 9.* *I am become to the Jews as a Jew, to those who were without a Law, &c.* But *S. Thom. Leſt. 4.* says, *That he suited himself to the Gentiles, that is, by consenting to their Reasons, and the sound Propositions of*

Philosophers. It had been a fine contrivance indeed to follow them in all things, when they were so much out of the way. The Saint in *1 Tim. 3. Leſt. 3.* speaks thus: *But in this they waver'd, because they had not the righteousness of Truth, by reason their manners were deprav'd; also for that it can hardly be found among them, that they agreed in Truth.* Let any Man look into the Manners of the Chinese, and from them as from an antecedent, let him deduce the Truth is to be found in their Learning; and if even in this the Text and Comments contradict one another, it manifestly proves they contain no truth at all. Nor is it reasonable that the Preachers of the Gospel should submit to be Disciples of Heathens (it speaks as to matters that concern our Religion) we are to be their Masters, their Light, and their Guides, and not to suffer ourselves to be guided by them. As our Author says, Our Notions must be of a more lofty nature. When they find ever a word in the Texts, which in the gross found, and superficial sense seems to be somewhat for us, they presently think our holy Faith is signify'd by it, and imagine they have a strong weapon to convince the Infidels; and they understanding those things better than we do, the consequence is, that they are farther than ever from compassing what they aim'd at. Our *Albertus Magnus 2. Sent. dis. 1. art. 5.* instances in *David de Dinanto*, who said the *Materia Prima* was God. This was signify'd in the Temple of *Pallas*, where it was written: *Pallas is whatsoever was, whatsoever is, and whatsoever will be, whose Veil no Man could ever lay open to another.* It were pleasant that we reading these words, should presently engage to maintain and defend that it is our God who is meant by them. It were absolutely necessary first to examine thoroughly whom they meant, and to whom they assign'd those Attributes; it were not proper to be rul'd by the literal sound of those words, for they made the *Materia Prima* eternal, *a parte ante*, and *a parte post*, and gave it a Divine Being. This same the Chinese do with their *Li*, or *Tai Kie*. They also give the Supreme Attributes to their *Xang Ti*; must we therefore rely upon their Books, and preach that to them for our God, which in reality is their Creature? Ought not we to examine the point, inquire what it is they mean by these things, undeceive, and make them sensible that they take from God the glory due to him, and give it to Creatures, as *Wisd. 13.* says of others?

Nava-
rette.

Virtues.

Vices.

others. Nor is what *Morales* urges of St. Paul's unknown God to the purpose, because it makes not for the ease of *China*. In this particular I would have them read and follow *Corn. à Lap.* To that of *Dinantus* may be added that of *Virgil* and *Trismegistus*, instanced by *S. Antoninus c. 4. §. 5. ut supr.*

10. It is certain the Learned Christian *Chineses* propose to themselves the End the Author mentions, in giving the advice they do, and no Man can find any Ground to maintain the contrary. These

Points are to be consulted about with good Christians, well instructed in our Faith, and sincere. I one day discours'd with *Linus*, who doubtless is qualify'd as above, and he said: Father, there is no looking into or reading our Books, in order to write or dispute concerning the Law of God, for in our Books there is nothing to be found but ravings, and nothing that relates to the Law of God; do not you be govern'd by us, nor ask us any questions concerning this Affair. This advice I took, and will always follow it.

P R E L U D E III.

Of the Symbols, or Hieroglyphicks us'd among the Sect of the Learned; whence it proceeds that they have two several sorts of Doctrine, the one superficial or according to appearance, and the other the true.

1. **A**S to the first part of this Prelude, it is to be observ'd that almost all the antient Heathen Philosophers invented several Symbols, Hieroglyphicks, or Figures, to the end to conceal the Mysteries of their Philosophy, whereof the Course of *Coimbra* speaking *Tom. 1. Physic.* has these words: *The antient custom of Philosophers taken by Pherecydes, Pythagoras his Master, from the Egyptians and Chaldeans, was, either not to write down the Precepts of Philosophy at all, or to write them obscurely, that is, under the obscurity of a deep hidden sense, and shrouded under Mathematical Figures, and Enigmatical Expressions. For the Poets darkned and conceal'd the Secrets of Philosophy under Fables, the Pythagoreans under Symbols, the Platonists under Mathematicks, and Aristotle under the conciseness of his Style. For they thought it a crime to admit the base multitude into the Secrets of Learning, and to make known to the large and idle multitude those things which Nature had hid from us. However Aristotle, tho he thought not that Philosophy was to be made common, yet he did not approve of that Method, which left all things dubious, and sometimes conceal'd truth under a vain show of falsehood.*

Symbols.

Even so the *Chinese* Philosophers, who were the Founders of the Sect of the Learned, have their Symbols, consisting as well of several Figures and Numbers, as of Metaphorical Expressions, all of them tending to express the Being of universal things, and their efficient Causes. The principal Symbols are even and odd strokes cross'd in the middle, black and white Points, Figures round and square, the six Positions of places in their way of

Writing, and other Metaphorical terms and expressions. The Books of *Je King*, which contain the Speculative part of the *Chinese* Doctrine, are full of these Symbols. As to the Mysteries and efficient causes of Numbers, there are two whole Books, which are the 11th and 12th of *Sing Li*, by which it were easy to restore the Science of *Pythagorical* Numbers, which were lost in the *Great West*.

2. This use of Symbols is also to be found in the Sects of the *Bonzes*, and *Tao Zu*. The *Bonzes* began to use them ever since the Sect of the Idols was brought into this Country, and brought at the same time the Hieroglyphicks of the *Gymnosophists*, which consist of Figures of Men, Beasts, Clouds, Serpents, Devils, Swords, Bows, Spears, Arrows and other Implements adapted to their designs. Those of the Sect of *Tao Zu*, in imitation of the *Bonzes*, make use of almost the same Symbols of human Figures, to express the first Principle, the Faculties of the Soul, the Elements Man is compos'd of, &c. So that it is plain and visible, Symbols are us'd in the three Sects. tho all Men do not know them to be such, but only those that were better vers'd in the Mysteries and Principles of those Sects.

3. As to the second part, it must be also observ'd, that by reason of these Symbols there have been in all Nations two several sorts of Doctrine, the one true and abstruse, the other false and visible. The first was Philosophy, and the knowledge of Natural Causes, known only to wise Men, and privately handled by them in their Schools. The other a

the appearance of popular Doctrine, which was the Enigma of the first, and the multitude thought to be true, as the words themselves sound, tho in reality it was absolutely false; and this they apply'd to their Morais, the Government of the Commonwealth, and Divine Worship, as *Plutarch de placit. Philos.* affirms, and so does *Pierius* in his Hieroglyphicks, and others. Thus they made many Gods, some good, some bad. The good were those they made to signify the *Materia Prima*, and the Chaos, the four Elements, as *Empedocles* writes, and is quoted by *Plutarch. de placit. Philos. l. 1. c. 3.* where he says, *In the first place I will show you four roots of things, Heavenly Jove, Juno that gives life; besides these Pluto and Nestis, who waters human channels with tears. Jove, that is Fire and the Sky; Juno that gives life, is the air; Pluto is the Earth; Nestis under the name of human Channels, is water and seed.* The bad and hurtful Gods were those they feign'd under the Names of Furies, Fates, &c. signifying the principal Passions of the Soul, which inwardly torment and disturb Man. This holds in *terminis*, as the Course of *Coimbra* observes, quoting *St. Augustin* in the Subject *de Anima*. The Sect of the *Gymnosophists*, to denote that those Men who suffer themselves to be led away by their Passions, are like brute Beasts, feign'd that the Souls after death went into the Bodies of several Beasts, whence the ignorant Vulgar suppos'd there were good and bad Deities, Angels and Devils, and that our Souls transmigrated through several Bodies. *Plutarch* in the same Book adds, that those who deny'd the Divine Providence over the World, and the Immortality of the Soul, because they could not by the fear of Laws alone curb the private evil inclinations of the People, did therefore invent a Deity and Religion under Symbols and Hieroglyphicks, to check the People, and govern the Commonwealth, thinking they could not live peaceably and quietly, without some sort of Worship and Religion, tho it were false.

4. *St. Augustin* plainly shows this in several places of his Books of the *City of God*, where he sets down the three sorts of Philosophy among the Antients; one Fabulous, us'd by the Poets; the second Natural, peculiar to the Philosophers; and the third Political, which was common among the People.

5. The three Sects of *China* absolutely follow this Method of Philosophizing, having two several Doctrines; one Private, which

they look upon as true, and is only understood by the Learned, and profess'd by them under the veil of Symbols and Hieroglyphicks. The other Vulgar, which is the Metaphorical part of the first, and is by their Learned Men look'd upon as false, in the superficial sound of the words; this they make use of for Government, for their Divine, Civil, and Fabulous Worship, thereby inclining the People to good, and deterring them from evil. Now leaving those two Sects, which at present we do not treat about; it is most certain that those of the Learned Sect, as has been hinted before, represent the general Causes with their Effects and Influences, under Numbers and Symbols; and under the name of good and bad Spirits, one of Heaven, another of the Earth, of Stars, Mountains, &c. they signify the universal things of the World, as the Faculties and Passions of the Soul, the Habits of Virtues and Vices, as they imagin them to be.

6. That the Sect of the Learned has these two different Doctrines, is prov'd as follows: 1. In the Book call'd *Lun Ju*, lib. 3. p. 5. *Zu Ku* a Disciple to *Confucius* says, as it were complaining of his Master, That he never understood by him, that he spoke to him of the nature of Man, and the natural disposition of Heaven, till last of all. 2. In the same Book, p. 17. *Confucius* says, that the way to govern the People well, is to make them honour the Spirits, and to keep far from them; that is, that they do not go about to search into what they are, or what they do, &c. 3. In the sixth Book of the said *Lun Ju*, *Confucius* being ask'd by his Disciple *Ki Lu*, What Death was? He answers very drily, How should he who does not know what Life is, know what Death is? Lib. 4. p. 6. four things are set down, which *Confucius* did not use to treat of. Of these, one was the Spirits. The Comment gives the reason, that he did not discourse of Spirits, because there are several things hard to be understood concerning them, and therefore it is not fit to talk of them lightly with all Persons. 5. In the Book call'd *Kia Ju*, *Confucius* designs at once to rid himself of answering the Questions many ask'd him concerning Spirits, the Rational Soul, and things after Death; he resolv'd to assign one general Rule, saying, The things that are within the six Positions (that is, within this visible World, and are visible) may be argued and not doubted of; but those things that are without the six Positions (that is, which are

out

out of this visible World, and are invisible) must be let alone as they are, and not disputed about.

7. From these and such-like places of *Confucius* his Doctrine, three or four other Deductions or Inferences over and above may be made. 1. That in the Learned Sect, besides the vulgar and visible Doctrine known to all of them, there is another hid and Philosophical, known only to the Masters of the Sect. 2. That *Confucius* shun'd talking distinctly and plainly of the Spirits, rational Soul, and things of the other Life, for fear lest the multitude knowing the truth of their Philosophy in relation to those things, would be quite depriv'd, and by that means the Publick Peace would be subverted. 3. That by the words of *Confucius* mention'd in the last Quotation, the Learned of *China* have their Hearts darkned, and their Eyes clos'd, that they may not see nor think any further than the visible things of this World. 4. That by this means the wisest Men of *China* are miserably led away into the worst of Evils, which is Atheism, as will more plainly appear in the following *Preludes*, where we will pry into and examine the Principles and Grounds of the Doctrine, as well in Physicks, as Morals.

NOTES.

2. Some allow of this Doctrine in the Learned Sect (there is no dispute as to the others; as far as it concerns that of the *Bonzes*, I writ enough of it in my

Relations to confirm what the Author says) others will not allow of it, they think it does not answer their Ends; and were it not so, there would not be the least appearance of Disagreement between the Texts and Comments. There are some too who think, it lessens the Value of *Confucius* his Doctrine; yet allow he makes use of Parables, wherein they are much deceiv'd, for we see that the *Greeks* and *Romans*, who far exceeded the Wisdom of the *Chineses*, observ'd that method, and the Holy Prophets did the same for other Ends; and it is said even of the Author of Life, that he spoke in Parables, according to the custom of *Palestine*; to which you may see *Corn. à Lap.* in the Canons upon the Prophets, *Can. 56.* in 2 *Exod. v. 6.* *S. Thomas* says the same of the old Law, in *Heb. 11. Lect. 2.* *Oleaster* gives the reason, in *Exod. 23. ad mores.* Read *S. Thomas* in 2 *Pet. c. 3. ad finem.* To deny this in *China*, is nothing but foreclosing the Argument, to contend that the literal Sound makes for our Holy Faith. Read the 7th Chap. of *F. Semedo's Chinese Empire*; and see *Oleaster* in *Num. 11.*

4. In this Paragraph the Author quotes *S. Augustin* at length; I think it not necessary to write his words. See the Saint *Lib. 1. lib. 2. c. 32. lib. 4. c. 27. lib. 6. c. 10. de Civit Dei.* He takes those three sorts of Philosophy from *S. Paul*, *Rom. 1. S. Thomas* expounds them, *Lect. 7. & 2. 2. q. 94. art. 1. Raphael de la Torre* on this place, *Disp. 2. And Suarez l. 2. de Superfc. c. 4. n. 8.* Some of these Points shall be hinted at again in another place.

P R E L U D E IV.

Of the Learned Sect's Method of Philosophizing in general.

1. **I**T consists in seeking after the first Principle of this our Universe, and how general and particular things proceeded from it, with their efficient Causes and Effects; and particularly in enquiring concerning Man, what he is as to the Body, and as to the Soul, of his way of understanding and acting, of the Habits of Virtue and Vice, of every Man's Fate, Influx and Destiny, by the Horoscope of his Nativity, that he may order his Actions according to his Lot. These are the things they treat of in a great measure, as was observ'd above, under several Figures, Symbols, Numbers, and enigmatical Terms.

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2. This their method of Philosophizing is compos'd of two Parts. The first is to reason concerning the first Principle, and the universal Causes proceeding from it, as to their own proper Being and Substance, with their Places, Qualities, and efficient Virtues; not as they actually work, but in as much as they have the power of working. This Science they properly call *Sien Tien Hio*, that is, a *Priori*. This *Fo Hi* treated of when he form'd the *Kuas*, and the Figures of their *Je King*.

3. The second is, that supposing this first Production, Order, and Constitution of the Universe, and its general

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Causas.

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rette.
 Causes, they enquir'd in what part of the Zodiack, according to their Hemisphere and Climate, the general efficient Causes begin to exercise a predominant Virtue, and to produce things; and how far that Predominancy reaches to the Generation of things, and that they may return and corrupt, as appears in the course of the four Seasons of the Year, with the access and recess of the Sun, the Heat prevailing six Months in Summer and Spring, and the Cold six more in Winter and Autumn. This Science they call *Hien Tien Ho*, that is, *a Posteriori*. *Vuen Vuang*, *Cheu Kung*, *Confucius*, and other Learned Authors of Note treat of this Subject *ex professo*, because in it consists all their End, which is to imitate Heaven and Earth in their Operations, and Government of the World, during the four Seasons of the Year.

4. Hence it is, that whilst the Heat which nourishes and produces is predominant, they follow their Business, Sport, &c. and when the Cold prevails, which corrupts and destroys, they execute such as are sentenced to Death. According to these Changes of the four Seasons, they enquire into every Man's Horoscope, to the Minute in which he was born. In this their Science *a Posteriori*, there are among them several Opinions and Ways of explicating. For some say the Universal Causes begin to have force in such a Point of the Zodiack, and according to it from thence forwards such Qualities are receiv'd in the production of the thing, and such a Fate is assign'd. Others say in such another Point, &c. and therefore there are several Sects, some following *Vuen Vuang's* *Kuas*, others those

of *Jang Xi*, others those of *Cbu Zu*, &c.

5. This Virtue or Predominancy of the general Causes, they call *Ti Cbu*, *Cbu Zai*, *Kiun*, *Vuang Hoang*; all which signifies to predominate, and they are the same Letters us'd for King. The difference betwixt these two Sciences is to be particularly observ'd as a matter of much moment to what we have in hand. Therefore I will explicate them more largely in two special *Preludes*.

NOTE.

1. All that has been said in this *Prelude*, is so far from deviating a jot from what the Learned Sect professes, that it is certain no Man who has read but a little in their Books can contradict it. What is mention'd in the first Paragraph was one of the Errors of the *Manichees*. *S. Thomas*, *Heb. 12.* says, *They ascribe the variety of Accidents that befall Man to his Birth; so that every Man's Life and Manners are order'd according to the Constellation under which he is born.* This it is the *Chineses* affirm, and other Antients believ'd. *S. Isidorus*, *lib. 9. Orig. cap. 2.* says, *The Aruspices, or Southsayers, were so call'd, as it were, for being Horarum inspectores, or lookers into Hours; for they observe Days and Hours in doing of Business, and they mind how Man is to govern himself at all times. The Horoscopes took their Name from the prying into the Hours of mens Birth, with various and different Destiny.* We see all this is observ'd to a tittle in *China*, and almost all of it is publish'd in the Kalender of the Mathematicians of the Court-Print.

P R E L U D E V.

Of the Science a Priori, that is, how the Universe was produced, according to the Chineses.

Cosmogon-
ia.
IN the first place, they not being able to imagine that any thing could be produced out of mere Nothing; and knowing no Infinite Power, that could create it out of nothing; and on the other hand, seeing there are things in the World which now have a Being, and anon have none, and that they were not Eternal, they concluded there must of necessity be a Cause eternally antecedent to all things, and which was the Cause and Origin of them all, which they call *Li*, that is, *the Reason or Ground of all Na-*

ture. They also supposed that this Cause was an Infinite Being, Incorruptible, without Beginning or End. For they hold, that as *out of Nothing comes Nothing*, so that which had a Beginning must have an End, and the End returns to the Beginning. Whence sprung the Opinion receiv'd throughout all *China*, that this World must have an End, <sup>Worldtem-
porary.</sup> and be again produced anew. The Interval from its beginning till the end they call, *Ta Sui*, that is, *Great Year*.

2. This

First Cause. 2. This same Cause according to them, has no life, knowledg or power, and is only pure, quiet, transparent, subtile, without shape or body, only perceptible to the understanding, as we speak of Spiritual things; and tho it be not Spiritual, yet it has not these active and passive qualities of the Elements.

3. The manner of enquiring how this visible World proceeded from the first Principle or Chaos, call'd *Li*, was thus: They seeing that of necessity there must be an Eternal Cause of visible things; and considering on the other hand, that this of it self had no manner of act or efficiency, without which things could not be produced from it; and perceiving again by daily experience that Heat and Cold generate and corrupt things, and that these two Qualities are the efficient causes of all Generation and Corruption; they sought out, how from this Chaos, or *Materia Prima*, call'd *Li*, was produced the *Materia Proxima*, which things are compos'd of, and how Heat and Cold could be generated in the World, that other things might be generated of them. Therefore they imagin'd that from this *Materia Prima*, *Li*, which is infinite and immense, this Air naturally and accidentally proceeded through five several changes or conversions, which they assign, till it became Material, as it now is; but still remaining confin'd within that infinite Chaos, call'd *Li*, was reduced to a finite Globe, which they call *Tai Kie*, that is, highly terminated, or confin'd. They also call it *Hoen Tien*, *Hoen Lun*, before things proceeded from it. And this Air which flow'd from the first Chaos through the aforesaid five changes, is also incorruptible as to its substance, and the same Entity with the first *Li*, but is more material and changeable, by *condensation and rarefaction*, by *motion and rest*, by *heat and cold*, &c. This second Chaos *Tai Kie*, before things proceeded from it, they imagin and describe after their manner. It is needless to give the description in this place.

4. They perceiving that Heat and Cold are the causes of the generation and corruption of things, and that they are produced by motion and rest, imagin'd that the conglobated Air in this second Chaos mov'd either accidentally or naturally, by which motion Heat was produced in the same body of the Air; and that motion ceasing, the stillness naturally produced Cold, part of the Air remaining hot, and part cold, but extrinsically not intrinsically, and of its own nature;

so that the Air was divided into Hot and Cold, which is what they call *Leang I*, *Nava*, and *In Tang*. The hot part is pure, clear, transparent, and light. The Cold is impure, unclean, dark and heavy.

5. So that the most general efficient causes of the Universe are *Rest and Motion*, *Heat and Cold*, which are call'd *Tung*, *Cing*, *In*, *Jang*. The Heat and Cold united themselves together in a most strict union, amity and concord, as Husband and Wife, or Father and Mother, and produced the Element of Water, which belongs to *In*. At the second copulation they produced the Element of Fire, which belong to *Jang*, and so they went on producing the five Elements, (the *Chineses* *Elements*, assign so many) which are *Tai Kie*, or *In Jang*, or the Air qualify'd, as among us the Qualities with their Elements; which are Water in the North, Fire in the South, Wood in the East, Metal in the West, and Earth in the middle.

6. *In Jang*, and the five Elements produced Heaven, Earth, Sun, Moon and Planets; for the pure, hot, transparent, and light Air ascending form'd Heaven, and the impure, cold, dark and heavy sinking down, form'd the Earth. After this Heaven and Earth joyning by their intermediate virtue, produced Man and Woman; Man answering *Jang*, or Heaven, and Woman *In*, or the Earth. For this reason the King is call'd *Tien Zu*, that is, the Son of Heaven, and Sacrifices to Heaven and Earth, as to universal Parents. In these three things, Heaven, Earth, and Man, all other things are contain'd, as in their Source and Origin.

7. Such was the Creation of the Universe, according to the antient and modern *Chineses*, the whole Frame of the World being form'd in three principal things, which are the cause of the rest. The first Heaven, which comprehends the Sun, Moon, Stars, Planets, and Region of the Air, which is between Heaven and Earth, where their five Elements are, being the immediate matter of which all things below are engendred. This Region of the Air is divided into eight *Kuas*, which are so many parts of the Air it self, or qualify'd Elements, having several qualities, answering to universal efficient causes, which they imagin. The second Earth, which includes Hills, Mountains, Rivers, Lakes, Sea, &c. and these are also universal efficient Causes, which are possess'd of Virtues and Effects. The Earth is also divided into parts, which contain the *Kang Jen*, that

is Strong and Weak, or hard and soft, harsh and smooth. The third is Man, of whom the rest are generated.

8. It is here to be observ'd, that this Production of the Universe was absolutely accidental, after the manner as has been shown; for the first efficient causes of this *Machina* were Rest and Motion, Heat and Cold; the *Materia Proxima* was the Corporeal Homogeneous Air. The Production of Heaven and Earth was also accidental, unforeseen, or natural, and not deliberate or advis'd; for it is said that the pure light Air ascended and became Heaven, and the impure and heavy became Earth.

9. The Form of the Universe is this, Heaven is Spherical, and therefore moves and influences in *circulum*. The Earth is Square, therefore it lies still in the Center, and influences per *Quadrum*; and four Elements answer to it, one to each of the four Sides, and a fifth to the middle Superficies. Besides, Heaven they imagin that infinite *Materia Prima*, call'd *Li*, from which *Tai Kie* flow'd; and they also call it *Kung*, *Hiu*, *Tao*, *Vu*, *Vu Kie*; still, transparent, rare in the Superlative degree, without knowledg, without action, nothing *Mera Potentia*. This Air that is between Heaven and Earth, they divide into eight parts, as has been said; four of them they assign to the South, where *Jang* reigns; and four to the North, where *In*, or the Cold rules. To each of these parts answer a portion of the Air, which they call *Kua*, because of the different quality it enjoys.

10. This Production of the Universe is assign'd by *Fo Hi*, and is represented in the figure of *Je King*, call'd *Ho Tu*, which has black and white Chequers, and was ever by Tradition understood after this manner. It is also express'd in the Figure of *Jo Xu*, which has black and white Points in even and odd Numbers, viz. odd, 1, 3, 5, 7, 9. and five even, 2, 4, 6, 8, 10. which answer to the *Kuas*, or General causes of the Universe. *Confucius* specify'd this in writing in his Exposition of *Je King*, beginning with *Tai Kie*, as follows: The Chaos produced Heat and Cold (which comprehend the five Elements) these two became four, that is Heat and Cold in an intense, and a remiss degree. These four produced eight quantities, viz. Hot and Cold, hard and soft; four in an intense, and four in a remiss degree. They substitute these eight for the three principal Causes, which are Heaven, Earth and Man; and so these eight, or these three, produced all things in the

World, which is all to frame the afore-said three, which they say are the cause of the things that are generated, or corrupted in this World.

11. The Learned Men, who succeeded *Confucius* in their Comments and Glosses, specify this Production of the World more minutely, beginning at the first Origin, or infinite Matter call'd *Li*, as it is in the first intrance into their Philosophy, call'd *Sing Li*, which commences from *Vu Kie*, whom they also call *Tao*. *Lao Zu* the Head of *Tao Zu's* Sect, sets down the Production of the World exactly after the same manner, in his Book call'd *Lao Zu King*, in Numbers, or Metaphorical terms thus: *Tao*, or the first Chaos produced Unity, which is *Tai Kie*, or the *Materia Secunda*. Unity produces Duality, which is *Lang I*. Duality produced Trinity, which is, *Tien Ti*, *Jin*, *San Zai*, Heaven, Earth, and Man. And Trinity produced all things. So it comes to be the very same Doctrine, as that of the *Literati*, or Learned *Chineses*.

NOTES.

1. I have several times with care and attention read in the *Chinese* Books; all that is written in this *Prelude*; if any Man makes a doubt of it, let him read a little, and he will be satisfy'd. Observe how true it is, that the *Chineses* hold the same Errors that were formerly in *Europe*, as the Author proves in the sequel, and I instanced in another place out of *F. Arias*, and *F. Kircher*. Our *B. Alb. Mag. tract. 2. de hom. quæst. 89. art. 2. in fine*, mentions the same that is writ in the first Paragraph: *Some said there were infinite Worlds successively; the head of them was Empedocles, who said, that one motion of the Heaven being perform'd according to the motion of the World, all things return to the first Matter, and another motion beginning are regenerated in like number as they were before, and another World begins. But that motion of the Heaven is perform'd according to the progress or motion of the fixt Stars, &c. in 36000 years, and this space of time they call one great Year. Who can chuse but observe, that this is what the Chineses teach to a tittle, tho they add 600 years to their great Year, and some more, which is a small difference in so great a number?*

2. There was another Sect, says *Albertus*, which taught, *That there were infinite Worlds, one without another. The Chineses have not fallen into this error; for they own, they cannot tell whether there*

are

are any other Worlds besides this or not.

3. The *Chineses* in their Books assign five Elements. This is a thing so universally agreed upon among them and their Books, that the very School-boys know it. *F. Matthew Riccius* owns it, and argues against this error. So does *F. Trigaucius* in his History, p. 177. and yet *F. Intorceta* being a Missioner of but a few years standing will maintain, that the *Chineses* do not hold that Opinion; and he proves it with the same words that *F. Riccius* uses to confute that error. Whom must we follow, the old ones, or the young ones? Those that are well vers'd and read in the *Chinese* Books, and the most Learned of the Society in *China*, or *F. Intorceta*?

4. There are some Men so open hearted, that wherever they find the least word which seems to have any resemblance to the Mysteries of our Holy Faith, without further examining into the matter, they presently make the application very contentedly, thinking they have found a mighty Treasure; as for example, what the Author mentions in this Number, they would appropriate to the Blessed Trinity. So that tho this Mystery cannot be positively found throughout all the Old Testament, yet they will have it to have been reveal'd to the *Chineses*. A strange conceit! If they had not a Revelation, as one of necessity must suppose, they could not attain the knowledg of it through Creatures, as Divines teach, and with them *S. Thomas* 1. p. q. 32. art. 1. in 1. dist. 3. art. 2. & 1. contrag. c. 14. Reason shows it: For God

has not the appearance of a Cause to Creatures on account of what is their own, but of *Nature* what is appropriated to them; they might nevertheless have some Revelation concerning God, either made by the Devil, or from the Doctrine of others, as *Plato* is said to have read the Books of the Law and Prophets, by which he might attain to some sort of knowledg of the Trinity. So tho *Aristotle* at the beginning of his Book de Cælo & Mundo, says, And through this Number, viz. of Three, we apply'd our selves to magnify one God above all the properties of things created: Yet it is not to be infer'd that he had any knowledg of this Mystery. Because, says *S. Thomas*, The Philosopher did not intend to assign a Trinity of Persons in God, but in regard that in all Creatures Perfection appears in the Number Three, viz. in the beginning, middle and end; therefore according to the Antients they honour'd him with treble Prayers and Sacrifices. And tho *Trismegistus* said, One begot one for his own sake, one begot one, and reflected his own heat upon himself: Yet we must not say he had this knowledg by any other means but by Revelation, or being taught by others. We must always have regard to the Principles of Philosophy, and to the common sense of Antients and Moderns, who having had no knowledg of one God, were less likely to have it of the Trinity. Did the *Chineses* speak like *Trismegistus*, it were a sufficient ground to go upon. Besides, the Trinity mention'd by our Author, is produced and caus'd after other Creatures, whose first Principle is *Li*, or *Tai Kie*.

P R E L U D E VI.

Of the second part of Science, which is a Posteriori, how things are ingendred and corrupted in this World.

1. **A**Nother method the *Chineses* have of Philosophizing, is, allowing the first production of the Universe, and Order of General Causes, to inquire into the Cause of the Generations and Corruption which happen every year in the four Seasons, Spring, Summer, &c. and to search into the Heavenly Influences that are prevalent upon our Bodies on the same Months, Days, Hours and Signs of the Zodiack; thence to gather every Man's Fate, Destiny and Natural inclination, thereby to know how he is to go-

vern himself in his actions, that he may cooperate with his Fate, and not oppose it.

2. The principal Authors of this Science, are *Vuen Vuang*, and his Son *Cheu Kung*; who seeing that things are ingendred, and the life of Animals, Plants, &c. supported by Heat, and that the same moves them to act for the attaining of their Ends, and that on the other side Cold corrupts and destroys them; they assign'd Heat and Cold as the Causes of Generation and Corruption, and that Heat

Heat was produced by Motion, and the access of the Sun, and by brightness and light; and Cold by the recess of the Sun, stillness and darkness. Moreover, perceiving that things began to be engendred and grow vigorous from the Spring forwards, and that they were in a flourishing condition till the end of Summer, and that from Autumn forwards they began to change, decaying, withdrawing, and ceasing their Operations, till the end of Winter, therefore they assign'd the two first Seasons to the Heat, and the two last to the Cold. And accordingly they divided the Zodiack round the Horizon into eight parts, like eight points, which are the eight *Kuas* of this Science, whereof four belong to Heat, and four to Cold. According to this Doctrine, they say, that the influence of general Agents, or predominancy, and activity in their Hemisphere, begins at the *Kua* call'd *Chin*, which answers to the East, and begins exactly with their Spring, according to the course of the Sun, and is usually on the fifth or sixth of *February*. This Actuality, Predominancy or Influence, they call *Ti Chu*, *Chu Zai*, which is the predominancy of Heat during the first six Months, which again withdraws at

the contrary Season about *October*. To express the beginning and end of this predominancy, they make use of the words *Cho*, *Je*, that is, to come out, and go in; *Kio*, *Xin*, that is, to draw up, and stretch out; *Vuang Lai*, that is, to go and come. All which bear the same sense. And this being caus'd by the access and recess of the Sun, which always in respect to them performs his course to the South, therefore they look upon that part as Hot, and call it *Tai Yang*, and the North as Cold, calling it *Tai In*.

N O T E.

1. This good Father deserves a thousand commendations, for having so exactly explicated these matters so difficult and obscure, and made them intelligible even to *Europeans*; and tho he had undertaken no other task in *China* but the composing of this Treatise, he might think the years he spent in that Mission well employ'd. He has by this his labour oblig'd us all to pray for him, tho I believe such was his Piety and Virtue, that he has little need of our Prayers. He dy'd at ninety years of age, and those truly worthily spent.

P R E L U D E VII.

*Of the Famous Axiom in China, Vuan Vue Je Ti, that is,
All things are the same.*

1. **A**Mong the rest of the *Chinese* Principles, which are to be observ'd to our purpose, one most material is, that they hold all things to be one and the same substance. And because this Opinion has much resemblance with that of some ancient *European* Philosophers, who said, That all things were the same, it will be convenient in this place to shew how they understood and explicated it. *Aristotle* speaking in several places of the Famous Philosophers, mentions those who said, *That all things were continued, and are one and the same by nature, and the manner of their being, but various according to sense, and no way differing.*

2. The Course of *Combra*, *Fonseca* and others, relying on *Aristotle's* Text, say, those ancient Philosophers knew nothing beyond the material Cause, and even that but grossly; for they imagin'd that the Matter it self was the whole essence of Natural things, and that they were all one continu'd thing, and very agree-

able to outward Sense; without having any essential difference among themselves. As if a Man should say, that Air and Water are the Source of all things; he must of necessity own, that all things as to their Essence, are Air and Water, but they are distinguishable as to the accidents, as Condenseness, Rarity, Heat and Cold, &c. Just as we say of artificial things made of Wood, that as to the Essence they are Wood, but are distinguishable by the artificial form. And in this sense *Parmenides* and *Milto* affirm'd that all things were one and the same, and accordingly *Aristotle* quotes and refutes them. See *Fonseca* in 1. *Physic*. from whom this is taken.

3. The Philosophers of our Times, and ever since *Aristotle*, by reason of the opinion they had conceiv'd of the others, will not be perswaded that Men of such great Judgment should speak in the sense *Aristotle* opposes, and therefore give them several Interpretations. Some say *Aristotle* blames

blames them, because the words found to that effect, and not that he believes they really held that Opinion. Nay, they accuse *Aristotle*, as if he charg'd them with what they did not mean; but they are all deceiv'd.

4. That those Philosophers held the said Opinion, the Author sufficiently proves in this place.

5. The fourth is prov'd, because others antienter than they held the same Opinion, as the *Indian Gymnosophists*, and the *Bonzes of China* who sprang from them. *Lao Zu* with his *Taos Zus* holds the same; and above all the Learned *Chineses*, from the highest to the lowest, as well the Antient as Modern. These three Sects are antienter than the aforesaid Philosophers; and all had their Origin from *Zoroastres* the Magician, and Prince of the *Chaldeans*, who so taught and spread it abroad throughout the World, making the Chaos Eternal, &c. By which it plainly appears that the said Antients, and three Sects of *China* conceive, *That all things are the same by Nature and Reason*; and that the Opinion of these and them is exactly the same.

NOTES.

I grant what the Author writes concerning the Opinion of the *Chineses*, is very plain in their Books, and is not in the least to be doubted; they so often

repeat all things are the same, that it seems superfluous to argue about it. *Tri-Nava-gaucius*, lib. 1. c. 10. fol. 52. says, The Sect of the *Bonzes* hold the same Opinion; but he was wilfully mistaken in saying, that this Doctrine came from the *Bonzes* within these 500 Years; forasmuch as the said Proposition is found *in terminis*, in the antientest Books of the Learned Sect. To these Points, read *S. Thomas*, 2 tom. in 1 p. q. 44. disp. 18. q. 1.

2. As for the antient *Europeans* believing the same, he proves it very well, and it may be confirmed by the Opinion of *S. Thomas*, 1 p. *Contr. Gent.* and especially *Opus*. 15. c. 6. where he mentions *Pythagoras* and others, and on *Heb.* 11. lect. 2. That the Errors of the *Chineses* sprung from the *Chaldeans*, shall be further made out in another place. As to what some Men, guided only by their own Fancies, say, that it is all false, denying what they please by the bulk, there is no notice to be taken of it, for it follows that what they so rashly utter must be false. So *Aristotle* confutes them, 4 *Metap.* lect. 17. *S. Thomas* expounds it; *It is equally manifest, that he who says all things are false, owns at the same time that what he says is false.* The Saint out of the Philosopher replies to the Answerer that may be made to this Conclusion; there the Reader may see it.

Tri-Nava-gaucius
rette.

P R E L U D E VIII.

What Generation and Corruption is, according to the Sect of the Learned.

1. **T**HERE were two sorts of Matter of which the World was compos'd, and both of them incorruptible. The first is the Infinite Chaos, their *Li*. The second the Original Air, or their *Tai Kie*, within which intrinsically is the Being and Substance of the first Matter, and consequently is in all things, and never quits them. After the Production of Heaven and Earth, this Air that is between Heaven and Earth, is the *materia proxima* of all corruptible things, as the Elements are among us; of it they are made by Generation, and to it they return by Corruption: so that the Air is the Being, Essence, and Nature of all things, they being engendred of it by condensation in some corporeal Figure, and proceeding through several Qualities, by virtue of Heaven, the Sun, Moon,

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Stars, Planets, Elements, Earth, and other Universal Causes, according to the Year, Month, Day, Hour, and Sign such thing was produced in; which Causes are, as it were, Forms and beginning of the Interior and Exterior Operation of the *Suppositum*.

2. Generation therefore, according to this Sect, is the receiving of the Being and Substance from the Air, or Chaos actuated into Figures and Qualities, which are more or less pure, penetrating and obtuse, and are to it in the nature of Form, the Heaven, Sun, &c. and the particular Causes which apply and dispose the Matter concurring. Corruption, or Death, the destruction of the outward Figure, and the Qualities, Humours, vital Spirits, &c. which maintain'd the living Creature; and being again

Dd

again

again dissolv'd into the Substance of the *Nava*- Air, the pure, light and hot Part ascending, and the impure, heavy and cold sinking down. Ascending answers to *Xin* and *Hoen*, Descending to *Kuei* and *Pe*. Here it is to be observ'd, that by the word *Xin* are meant the Spirits the *Chineses* think pure; by the name *Hoen*, the Souls of Men separated from the Body; by the name *Kuei* the Spirits which are reckoned impure, and by *Pe* human Carcasses.

NOTE.

Other Antients maintain'd the same Doctrine here mention'd; it shall be shown in another place. That it is a positive Opinion of the Learned *Chineses*, appears by their Books. The *Greeks* call the *materia prima*, *Hile*, which is the same as Chaos, and Confusion. See *S. Thomas Opusc.* 31. The *Chineses* call it *Li*. I have already quoted *S. Thom.* in 1 P. see him where he treats *de Generatione*.

P R E L U D E IX.

Allowing what has been said before, how things are distinguished from one another according to the Chineses.

1. **T**HEY making the Air the whole Essence of the thing, say, that all things are one and the same Substance, and are distinguished from one another by the outward Shape, and the Qualities of the very Air: this that distinguishes them they call *Ki Cho*. As to Figure, they mean the several Shapes of corporeal things. As to the Qualities, they imagine that this Air may be qualify'd four several ways, which are *Ching*, *Pien*, *Tung*, *Se*. The first, streight, constant, pure; the second, crooked, inconstant, foul; the third, sharp and piercing; the fourth, obtuse and thick. *Ching* and *Tung* are good, they who receive them become Men. *Pien* and *Se* are bad, those that receive them become Beasts, Plants, &c.

Men.

3. The two good ones are subdivided into Perfect and Imperfect, pure and sullied. Those who receive the perfect Part of *Ching*, and the pure of *Tung*, are Wife and Heroes, who are naturally born such, and act according to Reason, never doing any thing contrary to it, in which they excel all other Men, and are therefore held in great honour and veneration. They who at their Birth receive the imperfect Part of *Ching*, and the thick Part of *Tung*, are ignorant Men, ill Livers, and of bad Customs. They call them *Ju Jin*, who have nothing but the shape of Men, and in other respects are like Beasts. There is a mean betwixt these two sorts of Men whom they call *Hien Jin*, that is, prudent and virtuous Men.

4. After the same manner the two ill parts of Air are subdivided. Those that receive the perfect and pure part of

these become Beasts, and even among them there is another subdivision; those that receive the imperfect thick part, become Plants, Herbs, &c.

5. By which it appears, that they were so far from having any knowledge of the Creation out of Nothing, by virtue of an Infinite Power, that they did not so much as understand the true Generation of Matter and substantial Form, but only conceiv'd an accidental alteration and change of Figure and Qualities, presupposing the common homogeneous Matter of all things, which is the very Air, eternal, ingenerable and incorruptible in its Substance; yet alterable by Motion and Stillness, Heat and Cold, Rarity and Condensation, &c. This Air alone being the essence of all things, as was said above out of those Philosophers.

NOTES.

1. This Doctrine I have read in the *Chinese* Books, where it is so plain that it may be seen with half an Eye. There are material and sensible Similies enough to make it somewhat plainer. Of the pure Flower of the Meal is made the whitest Bread, then follows Household Bread, then brown Bread, next to that Dogs Bread, and last of all Bran. After this manner the *Chineses* talk of their Air, whereof there is a Part pure and refin'd, he that receives it at his Generation, becomes a Hero and Holy Man; he who receives a more imperfect part is wise and virtuous; he that has less is ignorant, the rest are Beasts more or less perfect. Swine, they say, receive the foulest Part of this sort, for they account them

them the meanest of Beasts; then follow the Plants in like order, and so other things.

2. That which *Monardes* brings in his Dialogue upon Iron, *Fol. 129.* may serve our turn. He says, after *Plato*, that the heavenly and earthly Virtue, are the Origin of Metals. *Trismegistus* says, The Earth is their Mother, and Heaven their Father. The *Chineses* say the same in regard to the Production of things. *Monardes* after *Avicene*, and other Modern Authors, is of opinion that Sulphur and Mercury are the Origin of all Metals, the first as Father, the second as Mother.

Metals vary as these Principles are more pure, or more coarse. So that Gold, *Nava-* *rette.* which is the perfectest of Metals, receives the purest part of those Principles. Silver, which is more imperfect, takes the Virtue or Influence of the same Origin after a more imperfect manner; then follow the rest. Thus it is the *Chineses* speak of that universal Air which they assign, and has been explain'd. I oppos'd this Error several ways in my Books, God grant it may do some good. Other antient *Europeans* affirm'd the same the Author mentions in the 4th Paragraph. See *S. Thomas*, *Opusc. 15. c. 1.*

P R E L U D E X.

That the Chineses know no spiritual Substance distinct from the Material, but only one more or less Material.

Spirit.

1. **A**llowing what has been said, it plainly appears that the *Chineses* knew nothing of any spiritual Substance, distinct from the Material, such as God, Angels, and the rational Soul; which is further confirm'd by their being ignorant of the Creation out of Nothing by an Infinite Power. They only knew of an Universal, Immense, and Infinite Substance, from which proceeded their *Tai Kie*, or primogeneous Air, which contains the same Universal Substance, and invelling it self by *motion and stillness*, with several Qualities and Accidents, becomes the immediate Matter of all things.

2. This Substance they divide into two parts, *Jeu* and *Vu*. The first is all the corporeal Substance with a material Figure and Body, and is condense and solid; so that being struck upon or touch'd, it resists and sounds. The second is a Substance not so material, such as this Air they imagine, nor has it any Body, Shape, or Sound, and therefore cannot be seen or felt, for which reason they call it Nothing and Emptiness, in *China Vu Kung, Hu, Vu Hing, Vu Se, &c.* And advancing still further in the consideration of this Substance, as far as only concerns its Entity, abstracting from any Quality or Accident, they call it *Tai Vu, Tai Kung*, and other Names which show it to be most pure, most absolute, simple, and rarify'd in the highest degree, as we represent the spiritual Substance.

3. But let no Man imagine that this Substance which the *Chineses* assign, can be

spiritual in the sense that we take spiritual things. For in the first place, it cannot exist of it self but in that primogeneous Air, from which it can never be separated. 2. Because it supports all the material Accidents and Qualities, and therefore makes the Being of all things, or to speak more properly, is the Being and Substance of them all. 3. Because they call those things which seem spiritual both to Antients and Moderns, *Ki*, that is Air, or Airy Qualities. And particularly *Confucius* being ask'd by one of his Disciples what Angels or Spirits were; he answer'd, they were Air. See the 16th Chapter of *Chung Jung*, which treats of this Subject, and *Sing Li*, Tract. 28.

N O T E S.

1. Other Antients held that Opinion *S. Thomas* mentions it, *Opusc. 15. c. 7.*

2. From this Doctrine of the Learned Sect I infer, that we cannot make use of the word *Vu*, to express the mere Nothing and Creation of the World, because the said word does not exclude the *materia prima*; and if I say God created Heaven and Earth out of *Vu*, I shall say he created them, not out of mere Nothing, but out of that Matter. Nor can we use the word *Jeu*, to express the Nature of God, Angels, and our Soul, because it signifies a corporeal Substance. This point requires much attention.

3. The *Chinese* Books themselves own, that *Li*, the Universal Substance, cannot

exist of it self. F. Matthew Riccius, Julius Aleni, and others, assert the same. Hence they infer it is a very imperfect Accident or Substance; but the *Chineses* own it is no Actuality or Intelligence. Ne-

vertheless Clement Chu Fi Chi a Christian, contended with me that *Li* was our God; if he is to be sav'd by him, bad will be his Lot. This is the benefit of following the *Chinesse* Texts.

P R E L U D E XI.

Of the Spirits or Gods the Chineses adore, according to the Sect of the Learned.

1. **T**H O by what has been already said, it is easy to conceive what sort of Spirits those are, which they reckon after their manner as Gods; nevertheless because this is the principal Point as to these Controversies, 'tis fit to handle it a little more at large, laying down what it is the Lernerd Sect says of these Spirits which relate to our purpose.

2. It is to be observ'd, that according to this Sect, all there is or can be in this World proceeds from *Li*, which comprehends *Tai Kie*, i.e. the *materia prima*, or universal Substance of all things; and the Primogeneous Air, which is the *materia proxima* of all; and that from *Li*, *quatenus Li*, flow the 5 Virtues, which are Piety, Justice, Religion or Worship, Prudence, and Credit or Faith, with all their Habits, and other Spiritual Matters. From the same *Li*, qualify'd by the Primogeneous Air, flow the five Elements we mention'd, with all other corporeal Qualities and Figures. So that with the *Chineses*, as well the Moral as Physical Part proceeds from the same Source, that is their *Li*, which is the Being of all things, as has been said. Whence came that Sentence of *Confucius*, that all his Doctrine was reducible to one Point, *viz. Li*, the most universal Reason and Substance.

3. Thirdly observe, that as *Li* does not produce the things of this World but by means of *Kie*, which is its conjunct Instrument, so neither does it govern them but by the same means; whence it is that the Operations as well relating to the Production as to the Government of things, are commonly attributed to *Kie*, as the instrumental and formal Cause to *Li*. As for instance we say, the Understanding conceives, and the Will loves, whereas it is the Soul that conceives and loves by means of those her Faculties.

4. Observe further, that according to this Sect, when the Years of the World's continuance are at an end, this Universe will expire, with all that is in it, and all return to its first Principle from whence it flowed; so that nothing will remain

but only the pure *Li*, accompanied by its help-mate *Kie*. Then the same *Li* shall produce another Universe after the same manner, which ending, another will succeed, and so another without end.

5. Observe yet further, that the first ground of assigning Spirits in *China*, as *Spirits*, well as in other Heathen Countrys, was for two Reasons. First, Because they saw that Heaven and Earth with the other Universal Causes, perform'd their Operations very sure and orderly, and thence they conjectur'd there was some invisible Author or Principle that govern'd within them, which they call *Chu*, that is, Lord; *Chu Zai*, that is, President; *Xin Kuei*, that is, the Spirit going out and returning; *Ti Kiun*, that is, King or Emperor. The second Cause was, the great Benefits they perceiv'd Men receiv'd by means of those Spirits, and therefore they thought themselves oblig'd to honour and worship them with several Sacrifices, as is said in the Book *Li Ki*, lib. 8. pag. 47. which is the name of their Book of Rites and Ceremonies.

6. It is yet further to be observ'd, that the *Chineses* even from the Origin of their Empire, which properly had its beginning in the Emperors *Jao* and *Xun*, ador'd those Spirits, as appears by their Doctrine call'd *Xu King*, lib. 1. pag. 11. where four sorts of Sacrifices are set down, which us'd to be offer'd to four kinds of Spirits. The first called *Lui*, was offer'd to Heaven, and to its Spirit, which is *Xang Ti*. The second term'd *Lu*, was to the Spirit of the six principal things, that is, of the four Seasons of the Year, of Heat, Cold, Sun, Moon, Stars, Rain, and Drought. The third they stile *Vuang*, to the Spirits of Mountains and Rivers of note. The fourth *Pien*, was offer'd to all the multitude of other Spirits, belonging to all the small Parts of the Universe, and to the Men of Note in the Commonwealth.

7. All the Spirits the *Chineses* adore, are the same Identical Substance with the things in which they are. This is made out;

out; 1. By the common Axiom, All things are the same. 2. Because *Chung Zu* a Classick Author, speaking of *Xang Ti*, the Spirit of Heaven, positively says, it is the very same thing as Heaven; then *a fortiori*, or at least *a simile*, the same must be said of the Spirits of other things. 3. *Confucius* in *Chung Jung*, p. 11. says of all Spirits, that they constitute the Being and Substance of all things, and cannot be separated from them, but they must be destroy'd.

8. If any Man object, that these Spirits are often taken for the operative Virtue and Actuality of things: I answer, 1. That it is true, yet that does not imply but they are also taken for that Substance, adorn'd with that operative Virtue; but this rather is the most usual sense, inasmuch that, as I said, according to *Confucius*, they make the very Being of things. 2. That taking the Spirits for the pure Virtue and Actuality of things, the Notion of them becomes the meaner, as of a Quality or Accident which cannot subsist of it self.

9. A second Conclusion. All Spirits had a beginning, because they all proceeded from *Tai Kie*, and the most universal Substance of all things, and so they are posterior and inferior to it. Hence it is that the Doctor *V. Puen Ju* said, that *Xang Ti* was the Son and Creature of *Tai Kie*, and that the same must be said of our *Tien Chu*, that is, of our God, if he was the same as *Xang Ti*. It evidently appears then, that what the *Chineses* conceive under this name *Xang Ti*, cannot be our God.

10. Third Conclusion. All Spirits will end when this World ends, and return to their first Principle. This is prov'd by the Doctrine of the third Observation, and confirm'd by what Doctor *Chey Keng Ju* one of the Court of Exchequer says, that as well *Tien Chu*, as *Xang Ti*, and all other Spirits, must have an end, nothing remaining but *Li*, the most universal Substance; whence he infer'd, that according to the *Chinese* Doctrine, there was nothing greater nor better than the said *Li*.

11. Fourth Conclusion. All the Spirits or Gods of this Sect are equally perfect as to their Being, and are one greater or less, with regard to the Places and Things they preside over. This is prov'd by the Simily of Water, which is in several Vessels of Gold, Silver, Copper, &c. The Water is the same, the difference is only in the Vessels. The same they say of Spirits, which are the very same *Li*, or *Tai Kie*, but placed in several

Vessels, as Heaven, Earth, Mountains, &c.

12. Fifth Conclusion. All these Spirits are void of Life, Knowledge, Understanding, or Liberty. (1.) Because they all proceed from that most universal Substance *Li*, which according to the Principles of this Sect wants all these things, as was said *Prelude 5*. Numb. 2. (2.) Because in their *Xu King*, lib. 1. p. 35. they positively say, the Heaven, which is the chief thing in the World, neither sees, hears, understands, loves, nor hates, &c. Whence it follows, that either there is no Spirit in Heaven, or if there be it is the self-same Substance with it, and consequently neither sees, hears, nor understands.

13. Thirdly, This is prov'd, because Heaven and Earth, as is said in the Philosophy, *Lib. 26. p. 16, 17.* are void of Reason, that is, of Will and Deliberation, but do all things by a certain natural Propension, just as Fire burns, and a Stone tends downwards. 4ly. In disputing upon this Subject, the Earth is parallel'd with Heaven. Now the Earth, 'tis most certain, neither understands, nor has life; and consequently the same must be said of Heaven. And in regard this is said with respect to the Operations which properly belong to Spirits, it plainly appears, that when they say such Operations are not done by Choice, or a rational Will, it must also be concluded, that the Spirits of Heaven, Earth, and other things, are void of Life, Understanding, or Liberty. Which is further confirm'd by the general persuasion of the *Chineses*, that he who does well shall be rewarded naturally and of necessity; and so he that does ill shall be punished: as he is warm'd that draws near the Fire, and he grows cold who is among the Snow. This implies, that the Affairs of this World are not govern'd by a Supreme Providence, but by Chance, or according to the course of natural Causes.

For the better clearing of this Point, some Questions are here put and answer'd.

14. The first Question is this; If the Spirits are one and the same Substance with the things they are in, why do they assign the name of Spirits apart from the things? The answer is; That this Name is given to denote the formality of acting, forasmuch as the said Action proceeds from an occult Principle, which after some manner rules within the things in the nature of a Spirit. And sometimes it denotes the very Substance of the things, in as much as it is singular, pure, rare, and very near incorporeal, which is the reason the Operations

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rationations are wonderful and inscrutable.

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15. *Quest.* 2. If these Spirits, as to their Essence, are the very Universal *Li*, how can it be said they proceeded from it? Answer; They were produced like all other things which proceed from the said *Li*, which is superadding some accidental Form or Formality, whereby they become formally another distinct thing from the very Universal *Li*; and this is sufficient to justify the saying they are produced from it. The same Argument holds as to what is said, that the Spirits shall have an end, or be destroy'd, and the active Virtue of *Li* shall cease at the end of the World; and then only the Substance of *Li* shall remain, being stripped of all the Qualities and Formalities it was possess'd of before.

16. *Quest.* 3. If *Li* of it self has not Actuality, as has been mention'd before; how comes it to be said, that it is the same thing with the Spirit whose Nature is to be active? Answer; The Substance of *Li*, which consider'd in it self had no actuality, begins to have it after producing its *Ki*, that is, its Primogeneous Air, which is its conjunct Instrument. Thus the Operations of the Spirits radically belong to *Li*, instrumentally to *Ki*, and formally to the Spirits themselves.

17. *Quest.* 4. If there be no Spirit in things distinct from their Substance, when Sacrifices are offer'd to Heaven, Earth, &c. Who are these Sacrifices directed to? Answer; The *Chineses* generally follow the Customs they receiv'd from their Ancestors, without examining who it is they offer Sacrifice to, whether to the things they see, or to their operative Virtue, or to some Spirit that may perhaps be in them, in so much that *Confucius* set it down as a general Rule to them, that they should not enquire into what cannot be seen. *Answ.* 2. The most learned and best-read Men in their Sect, acknowledg no more in those things they offer Sacrifice to, but the Substance of *Li* and its *Ki*, as plainly appears by the Doctrine of *Confucius*, in the 16th Chapter of *Chung Jung*, where after showing that Spirits are composing parts of the Being of things, and that therefore they cannot be separated from them without their destruction; he presently adds concerning the said Spirits, that they cause themselves to be honour'd and respected by Men, inducing them to compose themselves interiorly and exteriorly, and to offer them Sacrifices. This Point

deserves particular Observation, as the principal Foundation of the Learned Sect.

18. *Quest.* 5. Granting that many think there are such Spirits, and that they are a living and understanding Being, and that this was believ'd before the coming of the Sect of the Idols, even from the time of the Kings *Fao* and *Xun*, and so mention is made of them in the antient Doctrines, as if they liv'd and took care of Human Affairs. Granting this, What say the Learned *Chineses* to it? *Answer.* All the Learned *Chineses* of Note, both Antient and Modern, do unanimously deny there are any living Spirits, and of a different Substance from the Places and Things in which they are, because it would imply a contradiction in the very Principles of their Philosophy, according to which *all things are the same*, as has been said. As to the multitude, and the ways of speaking and expressing themselves we find in Authors, it is to be observ'd, that there are two sorts of Spirits assign'd, one that is call'd of Generations and Corruptions, the other of Sacrifices. The first are Physical Spirits, by which they say are signify'd the natural things of the Generations and Corruptions there are in the World; and these are sometimes taken for the Substance of the things operating, other times for the Qualities and Formality of acting. The others are the Civil Spirits which were brought into the Commonwealth, to restrain the Multitude and keep them in awe, by believing there are several Spirits in Heaven, the Earth, Mountains, &c. which can do harm to Men, as the Antients said of *Jupiter*, *Mars*, &c.

19. In short, it is requisite all our Missioners be acquainted with so essential a Point of these Controversies, which is, that in these Sects there is a secret Doctrine for the Wise which they account true, and a plain Doctrine for the Ignorant which they look upon as false. For which reason there is no laying any stress on the Texts of their Doctrines, in which they designedly express themselves, so as the Multitude may imagine there are living Spirits and Gods, and accordingly may reverence and fear them.

20. But it is requisite to hold fast to the Principles of their Philosophy, understanding every thing as the Masters of the Sects do, that is, according to the sense and direction of the Classick Expositors. And to shew this is the true *Chinese* Doctrine, I will mention some famous

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mous Authors, who handle this Article *ex professo*, and conclude, there are no other Spirits besides natural things themselves.

NOTES.

1. From what has been and shall be said it follows, that the Sect of the Learned has a religious Worship; which is agreed to by the Fathers *Gouvea* in his History, *Semedo* in his *Chinese Empire*, pag. 73, and 115. and other Authors. It is also a plain Inference that the Learned are Idolaters. What matter tho this Man or the other of their own Head deny it? *S. Aug. lib. 19. cont. Faust. Manich. cap. 1.* says thus; *Men cannot be united under any name of Religion, whether true or false, unless they are knit together in fellowship by some certain Seals or Sacraments.* Since all Nations in the World, tho barbarous, have had their sorts of Religion; why or wherefore will they deny this to the *Chinese* Nation, which they extol above others, and even above the Clouds? Or what matter is it tho they ador'd not Images, as if the Idolatry without Images were not the first and antientest? *S. Paul, Rom. 1. They worship'd and serv'd the Creature rather than the Creator. S. Thomas, Lect. 7. For they worship'd the Heavenly Bodys, and Air, and Water, and the like, according to that of Wisd. 13. Either Fire or Air, &c. And herein he blames the Folly of the Gentiles, who tho they never believ'd there was any Deity in Images, as Hermes his Followers believ'd; nor did imagine the fabulous Stories the Poets told of the Gods to be true; yet they gave divine Worship to some Creatures.* See 2. 2. q. 122. art. 2. ad. 2. and *Cajetan*, in 1 *Rom.* on the words, *And they worship'd and serv'd.* More shall be said to this Point in another place. Tho the *Chinese* were guilty only of observing Days, Hours, &c. which *S. Paul, Galat. 4.* forbids, it were enough to our purpose. *S. Thomas, Lect. 3. You observe fortunate and unfortunate Days, Months, Times, and Years; that is, the Constellations and Course of the Heavenly Bodys, all which things take their Original from Idolatry, &c. Therefore they that observe such differences of Times, worship the Heavenly Bodys, and order their Actions according to the judgment of the Stars, which have no direct impression on the Will of Man, &c. and in these to observe the Course of the Stars, belongs to Idolatry.* Can any Man in the World excuse the *Chinese* from this Idolatry?

5. That Doctrine is evidently plain in the 28th Treatise of the great *Chinese* Philosophy. The same Error is imputed

to *Ovigen*. Something was said to it above, and more shall be added in the second Tome. Nava-
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6. Thence we gather it is groundless to say, that those are no Sacrifices which are offer'd to *Confucius* and the Dead, because they do it in acknowledgment for Benefits receiv'd; for the Sacrifice to Heaven, the Earth, &c. on the same account. And this is assign'd as the reason in the Books concerning those Sacrifices. See *F. Semedo*, p. 125.

7. According to that Doctrine, the *Chinese* were Idolaters from the beginning. Read the same *F. Semedo*, p. 119, 125. and in other places of his Empire of *China*. The Fathers *Brancato* and *Fabre* may read this, and they will understand, that *Lui* is to sacrifice to Heaven, not *Chai*; and that the *Chinese* have sacrificed to famous Men many ages ago.

8. That Doctrine is so plain in the *Chinese* Books, that I think it needless to add any more concerning it. In my Relations I mention'd what *F. Gouvea* writ to the purpose; it is in the foregoing Book.

9. For the love of *Christ* see what a God has been preach'd in *China*, and there are some will still preach him; How is it possible the Learned Sect should be converted? How can they that are converted be sav'd through Faith in such a God? How can our Holy Faith chuse but be check'd in *China* and *Japan*? And if *Tien Chu*, whom we have all preach'd up as our God, is in effect the same as that *King* above, or of the upper Region, what can we say? In short, it was not for nothing the Learned *Chinese* daily said to us, *In fine, Heaven is the Lord*; for those words according to their Sect, bear that sound or sense. *Then in vain have we labour'd and run*, Light was forsaken, and we were left in the dark. This I say, because so essential a Point ought to have been sent to *Rome*. That God was preached to comply with the Opinion of some Learned *Chinese* Christians, in order to gain the good-will of the Professors of the Learned Sect. The *Bonzo* quoted above, very well observ'd and set it out, they would gain their good-wills, but it ought to have been by enlightning their Understandings. *Ovigen*, *Hom. 3. in cap. 13. Esdr.* says thus, *God deliver us from such Masters, who wheresoever they are, rend and divide the Church, speaking according to the inclination of their Hearers.* He gives the reason, *Because there are more lovers of Pleasure, than of God.* What is it to preach him up for God who is not

fo? Do they call this Prudence and Wisdom? *Wo unto you who are wise in your own eyes!* says *Iſa.* 5. 21. And *Corn. à Lapide*, *Who govern your ſelves by your own human and politick advice, not by the law and will of God, not by the Divine Prudence and Counſel; who rely more on your own judgment, than the Prophets, &c.* Some ſay, that we Friars ſpoil and diſturb all through our ignorance and diſcretion. But *S. Thomas* upon *S. Paul*, *Gal. 6.* *As many as deſire to make a fair ſhew in the fleſh,* *Lect. 3.* *For the Jews perſecuted the Diſciples of Chriſt for preaching the Croſs,* *1 Cor. 1.* *And this becauſe by Preaching of Chriſt the Rites of the Law were abolish'd. For if the Apoſtles had together with the Croſs of Chriſt preach'd that the Ceremonies of the Law were to be obſerv'd, they had never perſecuted them, &c.* Therefore that they might not be diſturb'd about the Faith of Chriſt, and might live in peace, they forced them to be circumciſ'd. But becauſe they may falſly ſay (*S. Thomas* goes on) that it was not for this reaſon they introduced Circumciſion, but only through zeal of the Law; therefore excluding this, he proves what he ſaid, and adds, *But neither they themſelves who are circumciſ'd keep the Law, &c.* For it is manifeſt, that if through zeal of the Law they ſhould induce ſome to obſerve the Law, they would alſo have commanded the Law to be fulfill'd in other reſpects, viz. in *Morals* which are more excellent in the Law, and in other *Obſervances.* But therefore it is they will have you circumciſ'd, that they may glory among the Jews in your carnal Circumciſion for making ſo many *Proſelytes.* See *Mat. 23. 15.* There might be zeal, but it ought to have appear'd in obliging them to confeſs and

receive once a year, to hear Maſs in that time, to abſtain from Fleſh, at leaſt upon *Good Friday*, and ſome other things; and not perſwade us what they do is through zeal of gaining Souls. God grant it be not (in ſome I ſay) *That they may glory in their making ſo many Proſelytes.* The *Saint, Lect. 2. c. 5.* obſerves that *Chriſt* ſuffer'd, and *S. Paul* was perſecuted for not allowing the Ceremonies of the Law. It had not been ſo, if they had ſuffer'd them to be obſerv'd together with the *Evangelical Law*, but the *Jews* would rather have been pleas'd at it. So the *Learned Sect of China* is pleas'd that the obſervation of our Holy Law be brought to condeſcend to *Sacrificing to the Dead, Confucius*, and other things, which they obſerve according to their *Traditions.* I adhere to the good *F. Longobardo*, and thoſe of his mind, who had no reſpect to *fleſh and blood*, nor to other motives, but only to *Truth.*

11. This number agrees with what *Suarez* ſays, *Lib. 2. de Superſtit. c. 4. n. 11.* *Whence it is likely they believ'd that every God had a ſupreme power and virtue in ſome Employment, Preſidency, or Efficacy concerning ſome things, tho' ſome were called greater, others leſſer, according to the dignity of the things over which they preſided.*

12. It is the *Doctrin* of *S. Thomas*, that every occult Principle is call'd a Spirit. So ſay the *Chineſes*, and add, that if the *Plants* had not a Spirit they could not grow, and be productive. Then the Spirit they have is the *Operative Virtue*, which is the ſame I mention'd out of *F. Gouva.*

P R E L U D E XII.

Of ſeveral Authorities of Claſſick Authors, who treat of the Chineſe Spirits and Gods.

1. *Ching Zu* upon *Chung Jung*, p. 11. explaining the nature and being of Spirits, ſays, they are the operations of Heaven and Earth, and certain footſteps of the Natural Generations and Corruptions. Where it is to be obſerv'd, that under the name of Operations, he comprehends the operative Power or Virtue, and under the name of Tokens or Footſteps, he alſo means the Being and Eſſence of Natural Things.

2. The ſame Author *Lib. 28.* of the *Great Philoſophy*, p. 37. ſays, that the Spirits, *Je King* ſpeaks of, are the Gene-

rations and Corruptions; that is, are the Cauſes of Generations and Corruptions, which is the proper Subject of that Book.

3. Here this Author asks, what the Clouds and Rain are, which proceed from the Waters? He answers, they are effects of the Smokes and Vapors of the Air; and giving this for granted, he further infers, that when Men ſacrifice to the Spirit of Rain, they only ſacrifice to the Air, which is the true Cauſe of it; and he further proves, that it is ignorance to go to aſk Rain at the Temples of the

the Statues of Wood or Clay, which have no Rain, and to leave the Mountains and Water, which are the proper place for it. By which it plainly appears, that this Author acknowledges no other Spirits, but the Air, of which the Substance of the Mountains and Waters is compos'd.

4. The same Author *Lib. 29. pag. 11.* speaking of the difference betwixt Heaven, and the King above, or of the upper Region, says: Taken as to its shape, and Celestial Body, it is call'd Heaven; in respect to its Government it is call'd a Governour: In regard to its great subtilty, it is call'd Imperceptible: In regard to its Operations it's call'd a Spirit: In respect to its nature and property, it is call'd Strong; and all these things in reality are the same, and are only distinguish'd by name and formality. This place ought to be taken particular notice of, because since it says that the King above, or of the upper Region, which is the Spirit of Heaven, is the very same thing with Heaven, the same must of consequence be said of the Spirits of the Mountains, Waters, &c.

5. *Chang Zu* in the 28th Book of Philosophy, *pag. 38.* says, the Spirits are nothing but Solidity and Fulness; that is, the universal Substance of the aforementioned *Li*, and its primogeneous Air, which is immense and infinite, and consequently fills all things. Therefore the Expositor *Liu Kien Chung* applies to it that of *Chung Jung*, *pag. 11.* that he is above on the right and left hand, that is, every where, as Air is in all places, since there is no Vacuum in Nature.

6. The same Author upon *Chung Jung*, *pag. 11.* says, that Spirits are the power or actuality of the hot or cold Air, which they call *In Fang*, and are the cause of the Generations and Corruptions that happen in the World.

7. *Cbu Zu*, *lib. 28.* of the Philosophy, *pag. 2.* asks the question, Are the Spirits Air? He answers, They seem to be the life, vigour, and actuality that is in the Air.

8. *Pag. 3.* the same Author says, that Rain, Wind, Dew, Hail, Sun, Moon, Day and Night, are all tokens and effects of Spirits; and that there are clear, universal and good Spirits. As for those that are said to sound upon Bridges, and beat in the breast (such as are in People possess'd) these are they that are call'd crooked, false and dark Spirits, which sometimes are, sometimes are not, go and come, disperse and gather. There are

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also some Spirits of whom it is said, that if you ask them they answer; and if you intreat them they grant. These are also call'd Spirits, and are the very *Li*, that is, the universal Substance and Being of all Things, as they are all this same Substance; and all the difference betwixt them is, that one is gross, the other rare, one great, the other small.

9. The same Author, *pag. 38.* proves there are Spirits thus: If there were no Spirits, the Antients would not ask any thing of them; now we see they abstain'd seven days from the use of Matrimony, and fasted three days, in order to make their Prayers to the things that are seen, or are not seen; then of necessity we must suppose there are such things. Now the Emperor sacrifices to Heaven and Earth, therefore it is certain there is Heaven and Earth. Princes and Dukes offer Sacrifice to the famous Mountains and Rivers. Gentlemen offer the five Sacrifices, therefore it is certain that there is the great Gate of two Leaves, there is the Way, there is the little Gate of one Leaf; there is a Hearth and inward Court. When any thing is seen now that is wonderful in the Temples of our Forefathers, it is nothing but the Air of the Mountains and Waters that is gather'd there. After much time past, if those Temples were destroy'd and cast down by Men, then those Wonders would cease. The cause of it may be, that the Air of those places is spent. Hence it is plainly to be inferr'd, that Spirits are nothing but the actuality of the Air, and to it are directed the Sacrifices which are made to Heaven, Earth, Mountains, Rivers, Bridges, the Hearth, and the Temples of the Dead.

10. The same Author puts the question further: When Sacrifice is offer'd to Heaven, Earth, Mountains, and Waters, and Victims are slain, Pieces of Silk burnt, and Wine poured forth; is this done to shew the affection of the Heart, or because there is really any such Air, which comes to receive those Offerings? He answers: If we should say, there is nothing comes to receive what is offer'd, to whom then do we sacrifice? And what thing is it that is above, which moves to Respect, and makes Men offer Sacrifice to, and fear it? Nevertheless if we should say there is some Chariot of Clouds in which that thing comes down, it will be a great falsehood and lie.

11. *Pag. 39.* speaking of the name of the Spirit of Heaven, which is the same with the King of the upper Region, he

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 says it is call'd *Xin*, because the Air of Heaven always spreads. By which it plainly appears there is no living or intelligent Spirit in Heaven, but only the substance of the Air with its actuality and influence.

12. He further asks in the same place : When Sons sacrifice to their Parents and Grandfathers, is it certain, they look for them, as the very Air of themselves? (that is, do they consider them as one and the same thing with the Air within themselves) When they sacrifice to the Spirits of other Persons or Things, how is this done? Do they come to receive the Sacrifices or no? He answers, That Children are undoubtedly the same immutable Substance with their Fathers and Grandfathers. When they sacrifice to other Persons, or Things, they are oblig'd on some just account to do it. Wherefore *Confucius* says, Sacrifice to your Parents, as if they were present. When the Emperor sacrifices to Heaven, Heaven is a thing he ought to sacrifice to, and its very Air resembles the Emperor. Then how can it forbear coming and accepting of the Sacrifice? When the Dukes and Princes sacrifice to the Household-gods, and to the Gods of the five Nourishments, they offer equal Sacrifice to them, because of the resemblance of the same Air that is common to them; then how can they but come to accept the Sacrifices? At present they sacrifice to *Confucius*, but this is only done in the Schools of the Universities, that they may conceit the likeness of his Air. If any shall say, that Heaven, Earth, Mountains, &c. are things permanent, and therefore when Sacrifices are offer'd to them, it may be that their Spirits may come to the Sacrifices; but as for Dead-men, their Air is now dispers'd, can it then be made to come to receive the Sacrifice? He answers, That there is only one and the same Air, which from the beginning was imparted to Grandfathers, Fathers, and through them to Sons and Grandsons. All this is taken from the aforesaid Author, by which it manifestly appears, that according to the Sect of the Learned, all Spirits, as well of Men, as of Heaven, Earth, &c. are nothing but Air, an Homogeneous Body, and common Being of all things, and consequently that

they know of no spiritual Substance distinct from the Corporeal, existing of itself, living and understanding.

13. *Chin Pe Ki*, lib. 28. of the Philosophy, p. 40. says, that when the Antients sacrificed to Heaven, Earth, &c. they always placed a Statue; the reason was, because Heaven, Earth, &c. are only the Being of the hot and cold Air, which they call *In Yang*; and by using this Statue, they intended that the hot or cold Air should gather in that Statue, that so their Sacrifice might not be offer'd in vain. When they shed the Wine, burnt Perfumes, slew Victims, and offer'd Pieces of Silk, all was to express the true respect of their Heart. This being done, immediately the Air of Heaven and Earth met to fulfil the desires of those that sacrificed.

14. *Chu Kung Zien* upon *Cbung Jung*, pag. 48. says, the Spirits the Learned Sect speaks of, are of two sorts; the first is that of Natural Generations and Corruptions. We have already spoke of it.

NOTES.

1. All the Author mentions in this place, I have often heard and seen, I wish others had done so too. It is a thing well known that the *Chinese* Sacrifices are offer'd to the Air; let him that denies it make out what he says, and answer the Author.

2. Had he call'd those only that are offer'd to the Dead, and to *Confucius*, Sacrifices, we might have done the same, without deserving to be reflected on; and many others of the same Society having done the same, who can justly blame, or complain of the two Religious Orders? The same holds as to their Temples.

3. Whosoever justifies the Sacrifices we have spoken of, and what is contain'd in the third Paragraph answering to this, will also justify those which are offer'd to the Dead; either they are all good, or all bad. Let it be well consider'd whether this may pass as a Political Ceremony; we say it cannot, and very grave Missions of the Society are of the same opinion. Others say it may, and practise it, *Let them look to it.*

P R E L U D E XIII.

That all the Spirits, or Gods of China, are reduced to one, that is, their Li, or Tai Kie.

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1. **W**E must observe in this place, that the *Chinese* Idolatry in a great measure resembles that of *Europe*; and laying aside at present other things wherein they agree together, I will only mention that which relates to assigning one only God, which they imagin'd to be the Substance and Being of the Universe. *S. Aug. 4. de Civit. Dei, cap. 10, 11, 12.* proves out of the ancient *Roman, Greek* and *Egyptian* Writers, that several Gods the Old Philosophers introduced were in effect one and the same thing; that is, that there is but one Thing, which is all Things, all the Gods, the Soul of the World, and the World it self. Whence we may gather that the Antients thought all to proceed from the Infinite Chaos, as they imagin'd it to be the first Material Principle, and *materia prima*, perswading themselves it was the same thing with the particular Parts of the World: and thus they grounded all their multitude of Gods and Idolatries on these Physcal Notions. And it is evident, as the same Saint says, that this Opinion was receiv'd and current in *Asia*, thence communicated to the *Greeks* and *Egyptians*, and from them to the *Romans*. Read the Saint's own words.

2. *Lewis Vivcs* upon the words of the Saint, *cap. 12. If the Spirit of the World is God, &c.* says, it was *Pythagoras* his opinion, that all things were part of God, which implies that there is but one thing in the World, that is, the Chaos, or *Materia prima*, which they call'd God, or the Mind. *This*, says he, was the opinion of *Pythagoras*, which *Virgil* expresses, *Æneid. 6. Principio cœlum ac terras, &c.*

3. This plainly shews what opinion they held concerning all things being one and the same, from which they proceed, and to which they return; which made them call it God, as knowing nothing Superior to it. The *Chineses* have the same notion of their *Li*, which is the same as, *The nature of a Mind, and the directing rule of all Nature, &c.* or their *Tai Kie*, which is the same as, *The bosom of all Nature, containing in it self virtually or confusely all possible things*; imagining that the said *Li* is the Universal Substance, which fills and governs the Universe. They have a thousand passages in their

Books upon this Subject, I will here insert two or three of the chiefest.

4. (1.) To prevent any mistake in the names, it is to be observ'd, that their *Li* together with the *Tai Kie*, are the same substance of the first Principle, only distinguishable in some certain formality proper to every thing: for *Li* denotes the Entity in particular, without any other circumstance; and *Tai Kie* denotes the same Entity, in as much as it is the ground and root of all things, being in the midst of them, as the North-Pole is in the midst of Heaven, and the King in the midst of his Kingdom.

5. (2.) In the 26 Book of the Philosophy, *pag. 28.* *Tai Kie* is said to be the cause why the Heaven moves, and the Earth always stands still, and Men and Causes perform their Operations without ceasing; and shewing the reason of it, says, that the *Li*, or *Tai Kie* is within the said things, as Governour and Director of them, which is the very Office assign'd to Spirits. *Ching Zu* expresses it in the definition of the King above, or of the upper Region, saying, he is so call'd because he governs.

6. (3.) In the first Book of the said Philosophy, *pag. 31.* it is shewn, how the *Li* predominates over the things of the World, and therefore there is no defect in them, so that when the Heat goes away the Cold comes, when the Sun draws off, the Moon comes up. In Spring things sprout, in Summer they grow, in Autumn they come to perfection, and in Winter are preserv'd; which was ever so, because there was a Predominancy and Government of the solid and true *Li*.

7. It is also said in *Lib. 26. pag. 9.* that the *Tai Kie* is the ground and cause of the Production, and end of the World. Before the World was produced, *Tai Kie* was the cause of Heaven, Earth, Men, and other things. *Tai Kie* shall again be the Cause at the end of the World, that Men and Things should have an end, and Heaven and Earth should again be united in the Chaos. But *Tai Kie* is always the same at the beginning or end, it can neither increase nor diminish. From these and such like Discourses there are in the *Chinese* Books concerning *Li* and *Tai Kie*,

Li.

Tai Kie.

it may be gather'd, that there neither is, nor can be any thing greater in the opinion of the *Chineses*. Some Queries of consequence may occur in this place.

8. (1.) If *Tai Kie*, or *Li*, is so great, as has been said, why do not the *Chineses* sacrifice to it, nor commend their affairs to it, as they do to lesser things? They answer, first, That Sacrifices being instituted for the well governing of the People, it was thought convenient they should be offer'd to things that could be seen, and understood by the Multitude, such as Heaven, Earth, Mountains, &c. with the Spirits, and operative Virtues they acknowledg to be in those things. As for *Tai Kie*, they leave it aside without any sort of Worship, as being most occult, and which is not to be enquir'd into by the People, according to *Confucius* his Rule. They answer in the second place, That the wisest of the Learned Sect think not themselves oblig'd to these Sacrifices, judging them to be a mere Political Ceremony, or are satisfy'd with offering them to particular Spirits, supposing them to be parts of the Universal Spirit. Therefore Doctor *Pucn Su* said, he might well adore the Dish of *Cha* he then held in his hand, as knowing that *Tai Kie* was in it, after the same manner as it is Heaven, and in all other parts of the World.

9. (2.) The question is, how is it to be understood that *Tai Kie* is the Universal Spirit, and the Spirits of Heaven, Earth, &c. are as it were parts of it? *Answ.* According to the Doctrine of the Learned Sect several Comparisons may be brought to make it out. 1. Of Water in general, compar'd with particular Waters, as the Sea with Rivers and Fountains. 2. Of our Soul which governs the whole Body in general, and each Limb in particular. 3. Of Nature, and the Universal Essence, which may be look'd upon in its own Being abstracted from Individuals, and conjunct, or concrete in regard to them. 4. Of the *Materia prima*, which being a general *Ens*, is divided into several second Matters, according to the variety of qualities it puts on. 5. Of a lump of Wax, which being melted, may be chang'd into several shapes of Trees, Flowers, Beasts, &c. and after that being again dissolv'd, remains still the same original Wax it was at first.

10. By these Comparisons it may be easily understood, that *Tai Kie* is the Universal Substance and Spirit of the whole World, and the particular Spirit and Substance of each part of it, which

their Philosophy in one place expressly declares thus: All things are one and the same *Tai Kie*; upon which the Comment adds a more Universal clause to this effect, which is, that every thing has its *Tai Kie*. The very same thing *in terminis*, is said of the *Li*, lib. 26. p. 1. *Li* is one, but its parts are many: speaking in general of Heaven, Earth and all things, there is but one *Li*; but speaking of Men, and other things in particular, each of them has its *Li*.

11. The third Query. By what has been said, it is only prov'd that there is one Universal Substance in the World, and all its parts; but it does not so plainly appear, that the Universal Spirit is one and the same with the particular Spirits; therefore the question is now ask'd, wherein consists the formal reason of a Spirit according to the *Chineses* Answer? It being prov'd that there is but one Substance in the World, the same argument proves there is one Universal Spirit. The reason is, because the Substance and Spirit are not two things, but one and the same, taken under two Formalities, one of the proper Entity, the other of its Operation, or of the Entity it self, in as much as it is the Principle of Operation; therefore as the Substance is the same throughout the Universe, and in each of its parts, so the Spirit is equally one and the same, tho it be Universal, in as much as it governs the Universe, and particularly in as much as it governs its parts. This Point I heard very well handled by Doctor *Hoang Jun Tai*, and Doctor *Cheu Mo Kien*, both great *Mandarines*, and by others well vers'd in the affairs of their Sects.

12. The fourth Query: Allowing what has been said concerning the Universal Spirit, the question is now concerning the Spirit of Heaven, call'd the King of the upper Region, what proportion it bears to the other Spirits? *Answ.* In some points they agree, and in some they differ. They agree first in the Substantial Entity, which is the same in them all with that of the first Principle, for which among them there is no greater or less Nobility or Perfection, but they are all equal. 2. In their Origin, because they were all produced from the *Tai Kie*, when Heaven, Earth, and other things were produced, and are the same thing with them, so that they cannot be parted. 3. In their final determination, because they must all have an end, when those things end whose Spirits they were, which will be at the end of the World, when

when the Great Year shall expire, as has been said.

13. They differ, 1. As to the Places in which they reside, for some are greater, some less. 2. In their Qualities and other accidental Dispositions, which are agreeable to the Places they belong to. 3. In their Operations, which are more or less perfect according to the Places and Qualities on which they depend. Let this suffice to shew that all the Spirits or Gods of the *Chineses* are reduced to one only, which is the first Principle, call'd *Li*, or *Tai Kie*; which being the *Materia Prima*, or the Air, according to the Learned Sect, is a lively Image of the *European Jupiter*, and therefore those Verses of *Valerius Sorianus*, *Jupiter omnipotens*, &c. may be well apply'd to them both.

NOTE.

The same Question, and with much more reason, may be put to *F. Trigaucius*, and others, who say the *Chineses* had the knowledge of the true God. Notwithstanding all this, *Lib. 1. cap. 10. fol. 52.* he says, Tho the Learned *Chineses*, as I

have said, know one Supreme God, yet they erect no Temple to him, nor appoint any Place to worship him, nor have they any Priests or Ministers of their Religion, or any solemn or set Ceremonies, &c. But he gives not the reason of it. It seems impossible and incredible, that if they knew God, they should have no Form or Ceremonies to worship him. They have them for a thousand other Purposes, and erect Temples to Heaven, Earth, other Spirits, and the Dead; and is it likely they would erect none to God? The God that Father speaks of in this place, is the *Li*, or *Tai Kie*; but I believe in no such God. In reference to the Answer that *Mandarine* gave, read Cardinal *Hugo de Incarn. Diss. 37. sect. 1. num. 2.*

In the first Treatise of Philosophy, there is the Simily of a piece of Quick-silver, which divides it self into a great many Parts, and again unites, the piece remaining as whole as at first. It seems to me pat to the purpose. All these Points shall be handled in the second Tome.

P R E L U D E XIV.

Of several Attributes the Chineses assign to this first Principle, we have already explained.

FOR the better understanding the nature of the first Principle and Universal Substance of all things, I will here set down the Names the Learned Sect gives it.

1. In the first place they call it *Li*, by which they signify it is the Being and Substance of things, imagining there is an infinite, eternal, ingenerable Substance, without beginning or end. This Substance with the *Chineses*, is not only the Physical Principle of Heaven, Earth, and other Corporeal Things, but also the Moral Principle of Virtues, Habits, and other Spiritual Things, whence came the Axiom so generally receiv'd, *All things are one and the same*; and the other, *viz.* To go to the bottom of things, is to exhaust their Nature and Being.

2. They call it Invisible Principle, because that Universal Substance, consider'd of it self, before it became visible by some Change or Quality, was altogether invisible, and is so still, if we look upon it with a Metaphysical Abstraction, in as

much as it only regards its Entity, strip'd of all Qualities and individuating Conditions.

3. It is call'd the First and Supreme Principle, because from it all things flow'd, and must be reduced to it at the end of the World. In its own Being it is perfect in the highest degree, and Perfection it self.

4. It is call'd the Great *Vacuum*, and vast Capaciousness, because in that Universal Being are the Beings of all particular Things, as the Waters of several Rivers are in the Spring, and in a Root is the Body, Branches, Blossoms, and Fruit of the Tree.

5. It is call'd Singular Unity, because as in Numbers Unity is the beginning of them all, tho it has no Principle it self and is indivisible; so among the Substances and Beings of this World, there is one singular in the highest degree, which is not capable of being divided as to its Being, and is the Principle of all other Beings that are or can be in Nature.

6. They

6. They call it mix'd and aggregated, because in the Being of this Principle the Beings of all things are virtually together, as it were in the Seed; and therefore when this Aggregation was distributed in producing this World, the light and pure Substance ascended, and became Heaven, and the gross Substance sunk down and became Earth.

7. They call it conglobated and round, because before the production of the World, the first Principle was like a round Ball which has neither beginning nor end.

8. They call'd it Great *Vacuum* and Emptiness, because it can receive and entertain all things within it self, and there is nothing without it.

9. They call it Primogeneous or Original Air, which is that first Universal Substance, but dispos'd and prepar'd by the five Changes the *Chineses* imagine (as was said *Prelude* 5. *num.* 3.) that it may act. So that this Air on one side denotes the first Quality which flow'd from the *Li*, and serves it as an Instrument conjunct; and on the other hand it signifies the very Substance of the *Li* already dispos'd to act, so far as according to the Rules of good Philosophy, *Actiones sunt suppositorum*.

10. They call it, a thing that is in Heaven, or contain'd in Heaven; because, tho' the Universal Substance of the first Principle be in all things in the World as in its Individuals, yet it is said to be chiefly in Heaven, which is the most excellent thing in the Universe, and more than any other shows its mighty Efficiency and Causality.

11. They call it the Gift of Heaven, because Heaven (with regard to second Causes) being the most general Cause which always concurs, and has the greatest share in the Causality of the production of things, it is said to communicate to them the universal Nature and Substance of the *Li*, and therefore it is call'd the Gift of Heaven.

12. They call it the Natural Condition and Rule of Heaven, for as much as it causes all things to be guided and governed in due method or order; yet not by any intellectual Sense or rational Choice, but only by a natural Order and Propension.

13. They call it the Nature of things, that is, in as much as that universal Nature of the first Principle is communicated to particular things; as for instance, if we should regard the Matter of any Metal as it is in several Vessels.

14. They call it the Supreme Solidity and Fulness, because Nature and the universal Entity fills all things, nay, is the Entity and Being of them all. This is discours'd upon from the 20th to the 25th Chapter of their *Chung Jung*; where it is to be observ'd, that the said universal Nature of the first Principle is stretch'd out within and without the Universe, giving their Being to all things, both in a Physical and Moral Sense.

15. To this Solidity, or universal Entity, the *Chineses* attribute what we do to the *Eus commune*, that is, Unity, Truth and Goodness. All which the Author makes out by positive Quotations of the Classick Books of the Learned Sect, to *Number* 18.

16. They attribute to it all manner of Perfection, as that nothing can be greater; that it is the supreme *Medium*, supreme Rectitude, supreme Cleanness, supreme Purity, supremely Spiritual, and supremely Imperceptible; in short, it is Supreme and Perfect in all respects, so that it is capable of no Addition.

17. On account of these Perfections they said, it is of an incomparable Excellency, not to be equal'd, as appears in their *Lun Ju*, Lib. 2. c. 5. And tho' in this place the said Commendation be given to Heaven, yet regard must be had to the Stile the Learned Sect use in their *Li*, that when they would magnify the King of the upper Region, they say he is the same thing with Heaven; and when they magnify Heaven, they say, it is the same thing as the *Li*; but when they speak of *Li*, they say it is great of it self, because they imagine it ever was of it self from all Eternity, and will be without End; and it is besides, the Beginning and End of all things, even of the King above, and Heaven, as has been proved.

18. Methinks some Man may entertain a thought, whether this *Li*, or *Tai Kie*, might not be interpreted to be our God, since they assign it so many and such excellent Propertys, which can only sute with God. *Answ.* 1. *Take heed, take heed, there's a Snake in the Grass; and a cruel Leviathan lies under the smooth Water.* No Man must suffer himself to be led away by these seeming specious and honourable Titles, but thorowly examine what it is they are apply'd to, which in short is nothing but our *materia prima*; which is manifestly made out, for notwithstanding they assign it so many Perfections, they also attribute to it many Imperfections, as our Philosophers do.

19. In the first place, they say, *It cannot exist of it self*, but stands in need of the Primogeneous Air, which is equivalent to our Coeval Quantity. 2. They say, consider'd as to it self, it is a stupid thing, without Life, Design, or Understanding. 3. That it can do nothing, but by the means of the Air, and our Qualities, which accidentally flow from it. 4. That it is the Subject of all Generations and Corruptions, taking on it, and casting off several Qualities, which, like accidental Forms, constitute and distinguish the Being of things. 5. That all things in the World are material of necessity, and there can be none properly spiritual. All this may be seen in the 26 and 34 Books of their Philosophy.

Worship.

20. *Answ.* 2. That from all Antiquity, there was never any Man in *China* that ador'd the *Li*, or *Tai Kie*, or offer'd Sacrifice to it, they being all of opinion, that religious Worship is not to be given to any but visible things, according to the Doctrine of *Li Ki*, Lib. 8. pag. 42. Whence a most important Inference may be made, that the Learned *Chineses* were either very stupid, or else invented an outward Religion, without regard to the Interior: For if the *Li*, or *Tai Kie*, according to them, has no Divinity, much less can Heaven have it, which is but an Effect of *Tai Kie*; and still less can the King above have any, being nothing but the operating Virtue of Heaven; and still can other inferior Spirits or Gods have, which belong to the Mountains, Waters, and other parts of the World.

NOTES.

I must inform the Reader, that whatsoever the Author mentions in this place, he proves it by positive Quotations of the Learned Sect, which are writ out in the Authentick Copys, and in the Original, which I have seen and read.

The next thing to be observ'd is, that as well *F. Matthew Riccius*, as *F. Julius Aleri*, and the rest of the Society who have writ concerning the *Tai Kie*, do unanimously own with the Author, that it is our *Materia Prima*. Nevertheless *F. Intorceta* in his *Chinese Wisdom* writ, that the said *Tai Kie* had been our God to the ancient *Chineses*. If the Brethren of the same Family differ about such material Points, why do they complain of us? *F. Trigaucius* and *Morales*, some of those that are now in *China* holding the same Opinion, say, that no small number of

the ancient *Chineses* found their Salvation in the Law of Nature, being assisted by that particular Grace which God does not use to deny to him that does the best that is in his power. It may be so, but I know not how it can be prov'd, if they had no God, the *Li*, *Tai Kie*, or King of the upper Region. I will make a particular Argument upon this Subject in the second Tome.

Nava-
rette.

The Author says, the Learned *Chineses* were very foolish, or feign'd Religion. When was not Idolatry foolish? says *Corn. à Lap.* I say they were guilty of both, tho *S. Aug. lib. 2. de Doct. Christ.* says, *If the Philosophers by chance spoke any Truths agreeable to our Faith, they are not to be fear'd, but to be taken from them as from unjust possessors, and to be apply'd to our use; as the Children of Israel took Gold from the Egyptians to put it to a better use.* But nothing is to be found in the Books of the Learned *Chineses* that makes for our Holy Faith; so that we may say of them the same that *Fascic. Temp. 4. atat. fol. 20.* writes of *Numa Pompilius*, and other *Romans*; *It is very much to be admir'd, that these Men of excellent Wits, argu'd so sharply upon almost all things that are done under the Sun (let us freely apply it to the Chineses) and yet rav'd so wildly as to the knowledg of the true God.* We may here add the words of *S. Isidorus*, lib. 5. Orig. c. 30. *The folly of the Gentiles, which had fram'd to it self such ridiculous Forgeries.* The Fictions and Ravings of the *Chineses* have been seen in this and the second Book, and shall appear plainer in another place.

The *Fascic. Temp.* in the place above-quoted, speaking further to the same purpose, adds: *Observe, that Holy Doctors do not make use of the Sayings of the Sibyls and other Heathens to confirm the holy Christian Faith, but declare they had no Prophetick Spirit, but were possess'd or rav'd.* Whence *Augustin* arguing against *Manicheus*, says, *If it be made out that either the Sibyls, or Orpheus, or any other of the Heathen Diviners and Philosophers deliver'd any Truth, it may avail for repressing the Vanity of Pagans, but is not to make their Authority the more.* For as much difference as there is betwixt the Preaching of Angels, and the Confession of Devils concerning the coming of *Christ*; so much odds is there between the Authority of Prophets, and the Curiosity of sacrilegious Men. *S. Antonine* quoted above handles the same Point. There are those in *China*, who take *Chimera's* and *Follis* out of the Books of that Nation, as a
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Principle on which to ground their proof of the Incarnation of the Son of God. It is a plain case such proceeding is not justifiable.

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P R E L U D E XV.

What Life and Death is, according to the Sect of the Learned, to make out whether our Soul be immortal, and after what manner.

1. **W**E must presuppose, first, *That all things are the same*, and only differ in the outward Shape or Figure, as has been said. 2. That the Substance or Entity produces the said Qualities, *per emanationem*, as the material Cause, and therefore they cannot be separated from it without being destroy'd. 3. That the universal Substance being qualify'd and dispos'd with its primogeneous Air, is distributed among the second Causes, which are Heaven, Earth, the Elements, &c. And therefore when the second Causes operate, the universal Substance is operating in the midst of them as first Mover, tho the denomination of the Operation is not taken from the universal Substance, but from the second Causes, as is usual among us; for when they combine to frame mixt Bodys, we make no mention of the *Materia prima*, tho it be in the Elements.

2. We must further take along with us four Denominations or Formalities that belong to the universal Substance relating to the Matter in hand. 1. That with regard to its own Being, or as it is in Heaven, it is call'd *Li*. 2. That as it is given by Heaven the most general Cause, it is call'd *Ming*. 3. As it is receiv'd by things, it has the name of *Sing*. 4. As to its Operations, it is term'd *Chu*, *Chu Zai*; and this last Formality being apply'd to Man, they say this *Chu Zai* is the Heart, which governs all that is in Man, whether Phylical or Moral.

3. In the first place, I say, the Life of Man consists in the Unity and Agreement of the Parts of the Entity of Heaven and Earth in the same Man. The Entity of Heaven is a most pure light Air, of a fiery nature; of this the Soul is form'd, or the Vital or Animal Spirits, which they call *Hoen*, that is, Soul. The Entity of the Earth is a gross heavy Air, and of an earthly nature, of which the Body is form'd with all its Humours, which they call *Pe*, that is, *Abumane Body* or *Carcase*.

4. In the next place I say, Death is

the separation of those Parts from one another, and they return to those Places they belong to: so *Hoen*, or the Soul, ascends towards Heaven; *Pe*, or the Body, goes to the Earth. *Xu King*, Lib. 1. p. 16. treats of this Point, where the Death of King *Jao* is describ'd in this manner. He ascended, and went down; *The Comment*, that is, he dy'd, because when Man dies, the fiery or airy Entity ascends towards Heaven, and the corporeal Mass returns to the Earth. It is to be observ'd, that the *Chinese* here gives our Soul the name of Air, and so in many other places; therefore it is a corporeal thing, tho it be very much rarify'd.

5. Thirdly, I say, as to Immortality, that when the Soul is separated from the Body, both Parts lose the Being they enjoy'd as such, and remain nothing but those Entities of Heaven and Earth, as they were before they join'd to compose Man; for which reason the Immortality or Permanency belongs no longer to the parts of Man that was, but to the two Entities of Heaven and Earth, which as general Causes ever continue in their substantial Being, and are only chang'd as to accidental Form. The same and much more is to be understood of the *Li* and Universal Substance, which ever continues immoveable in the general Causes, without suffering any change, either as to its Being or Place. All this is expressly set down, *Lib. 28. p. 41.* of the Philosophy, out of which I will set down but one saying of *Ching Zu*, which is this: When Man is compos'd and made, which is by the Union of the Entity of Heaven with that of the Earth, the universal Nature does not come; and when he dies, that is, upon the separation of those two Entities, the same universal Nature does not depart: but for as much as the pure Air, which is the Entity of Heaven, returns to Heaven, and the corporeal Mass, which is the Entity of the Earth, returns to the Earth, therefore it may be said, the universal Nature departs.

6. By

6. By what has been said, we may gather the literal sense of their *Xi King*, Lib. 6, pag. 1. where it is written that *Vuen Vuang* going up and down is by the sides of the King of the upper Region; for in the first place, *Vuen Vuang* is not there, nor his Soul, but that part of the heavenly Air, which once was the Soul of that King. 2. It is said of this Air, that it ascends and descends, and that it is by that King's sides, to denote that it is of the same nature with all the Air of Heaven; and for this reason they call the Soul of Man, after it is separated from the Body, *Feu Hoer*, that is, a wandering and vagabond Soul, like the heavenly Air which runs through all Quarters. 3. The Air of Heaven is in this place called by the name of King of the upper Region, to express its Similitude with the Air of the Soul; for as that predominates and rules in the heavenly Body, so does this guide and predominate in Man's Body; so that this is the Formality through which the Substance of the thing comes to be call'd a Spirit, as was said *Prelude 11. n. 15.*

7. Fourthly, I say, That true Immor-

tality is not by the *Chineses* ascrib'd to any thing but the *Li*, or universal Substance, which was before all things, and will remain after they are extinct, after the manner our Philosophers us'd to say the same of the *Materia Prima*. What the Author adds in this place has been set down already. Let *Trigaucius* and *Morales* read this Answer to it.

*Nava-
rette.*

N O T E S.

1. F. *Catanius* in his *Chinese Dictionary*, which is famous among the Fathers of the Society, says the same word for word, and with much reason.

2. Add to what has been said, that there is a place in their Philosophy, which positively asserts, that the airy Part which ascends to Heaven, becomes the same thing with it, which makes out the Author's Design more plain.

3. The *Chinese Books* explicate that place concerning *Vuen Vuang*, and others like it, very plain; how can we turn them to a sense contrary to all their Sect?

P R E L U D E XVI.

*That the wisest Men of all the Learned Sect, do all of them
at last conclude in Atheism.*

Atheists. 1. I Will here treat, as well of the Antients as Moderns. As for the latter, F. *Matthew Riccius* in his History, Lib. 1. c. 10. affirms, that they are almost all of them Atheists. *Ages afterwards passing on, that first Light was so darkned, that if any happen to abstain from the vain Worship of their Gods, there are few of them but make a greater fall into Atheism.* At the end of the same Chapter he expresses it more plainly; see F. *Trigaucius* in this place. This is in relation to the Modern *Chineses*, in which we all agree without the least difference. Of the Antients, the Father says in the same place, that they own'd and worship'd one Supreme Deity, call'd *Xang Ti*, that is, King of the upper Region, and other inferior Spirits, and that consequently they had knowledge of the true God. But I, with the good Father's leave, and the leave of others of our Society who follow his Opinion, am perswaded, that the Antients were as much Atheists as they.

Xang Ti.

2. (1.) By reason of their most universal Principle, *Omnia unum sunt*, all things are the same; which may convince the Masters of this Sect, that either they did not believe there was a God, or else they align'd a chimerical and monstrous thing for a God, which is as bad as assigning none.

3. (2.) An account of another Principle receiv'd in all their Schools, that all things in the World proceeded from the *Tai Kie*, and are to return to it; whence it follows that the King of the upper Region, and other Spirits, had a beginning, and will have an end, which is all repugnant to the Deity.

4. (3.) Because of the common Opinion of the Learned, that this World was produced by Chance, and is all govern'd by Fate. As also, that Men after Death return to the *Vacuum* of the first Principle, without any Reward for the Good, or Punishment for the Bad; whence it is gather'd, that the Gods they align'd for the good Government of the State, are

to them Gods of Wood, or Stone, without any thing but the outward show of a Deity.

5. To prove that the Antients were Atheists, it is enough to say, the Modern *Chineses* are so, because these are but the mere Echo of the Antients, on whom they build, and whom they quote

in their Discourses, as well relating to Sciences as Virtues, but chiefly in Matters of Religion. And to show how good grounds I have for what I say, I will set down what I found practis'd, by conversing with several Learned Men and *Mandarines*.

P R E L U D E XVII.

Of what several Learned Men of Note said, with whom I discours'd upon the Subject of these Controversies.

S E C T. I.

Of the Heathen Learned Chineses.

1. AMONG these our Author says, that Doctor *V Puen Ju*, a great *Mandarine*, made out, that our *Tien Chu*, that is, our God, as we call him in *China*, allowing that he has some resemblance with the King of the upper Region, could not chuse but be a Creature of *Tai Kie*: That all things are one and the same Substance; and tho it is said there are several Spirits, yet in truth there is but one universal Substance; nor is the Spirit a thing really distinct from the Substance, but the very Substance it self look'd upon under the Formality, as it is acting and ruling within the things. Upon this I ask'd him, says he, concerning the difference assign'd betwixt these Spirits, whereof some are superior, others inferior. He answer'd, that as to their Substance and Entity, it was the same as well in Heaven as upon Earth; but with regard to the Operation and Efficacy there was some difference, according to the several Qualities and Dispositions of things, as has been said.

2. Doctor *Cheu Mo Kien*, a *Mandarine* of the Court of Rites, having read *F. Riccius* his Books, ask'd us upon occasion, What we meant by *Tien Chu* (so we call God) and we explaining it as we use to do, that he is a living intelligent Substance, without beginning or end, &c. and that he had created all things, and govern'd all things from Heaven, as a King does from his Palace: He laugh'd at us, and said, we made use of very coarse Comparisons, in as much as *Tien Chu*, or the King of the upper Region, is not in reality one like a living Man that sits in Heaven, but the Virtue that has

Dominion and governs Heaven, and is in us and in all things; and therefore we must imagine our Heart is the very self-same thing as *Tien Chu*, or *Xang Ti*. Tho we labour'd never so much to proceed in explicating our *Tien Chu*, he would not permit us, saying, He very well knew what *Tien Chu* was, since we said he was the same thing as the King of the upper Region. Our *F. Vice-Provincial* was present at this discourse.

3. Doctor *Cien Lin Vu*, tho he was our Friend, and had often heard our Fathers discourse concerning the true God, who came into the World to save us, yet he could never frame any other Notion of it that he might be then like their *Confucius*; which they ground on their erroneous Opinion, that there is but one universal Nature, which is so absolutely the Principle of all things, that it is all of them. And as for what relates to Men, they who are more perfect, either by their good natural Disposition, or by their own Industry, do best represent that universal Nature of the first Principle; and therefore it is said, they are one and the same thing with it: so that speaking according to this Doctrine, our *Jesus* in *Europe* is no more than their *Confucius* in *China*, and *Foe* in *India*.

4. I will not omit relating what happen'd to me one day with the said Doctor, and Doctor *Michael*. We coming to the Point of discoursing, how in *Europe* we follow the Law given by God; the Doctor presently put in his Opinion, saying, It was probable it might be like that the *Chineses* have given by *Confucius*, since both Legislators were the same thing as Heaven

Heaven and the first Principle. I would have answer'd to this, but Doctor *Michael* in a low voice press'd me to forbear at that time, that I might not trouble his Friend, especially for that it was not easy to confute such an opinion in *China*. Observe this till another time.

5. Doctor *Sui Jo Ko* told me very positively, that there was but one only Substance in the World, call'd *Li*, or *Tai Kie*, which of it self is immense without any limit or bound. Granting this, it follows of necessity, that the King of the upper Region, and all other Spirits, are only the operative Virtue of things, or the Substance of the things themselves, taken as it operates. He said further, that the Government and Order of things in this world, came altogether from the *Lie*; but naturally and of necessity, according to the connexion of Universal Causes, and to the disposition of the particular Objects, which is what we properly call Fate.

6. Doctor *Cheu Keng Su* spoke these very words to me, That our God, call'd *Tien Chu*, shall end with the World. Then how can you say, that Man shall enjoy him for ever in Heaven? He said it for two Reasons. First, because he conceiv'd that *Tien Chu* was like the King of the upper Region, considering the resemblance there is between the two Names. 2. Because he knew the King of the upper Region, or Spirit of Heaven, must end with the World, as has been said. I answer'd him, That if our *Tien Chu* had proceeded from the *Tai Kie*, as does the King of the upper Region and other Spirits, then his Argument were good; but that it was not so, and then I laid before him the order of the four Causes.

7. Doctor *Li Sung Jo*, President of the Exchequer-Court, told us several times, That after death there was neither Reward nor Punishment, but that Men return'd to the *Vacuum* from whence they came. And when we told him, that there is an Immortal, Living, and Omnipotent God, who rewards every Man according to his actions; he positively deny'd there was any such God, Heaven, or Hell, as things never heard of in his Sect.

8. We ask'd Doctor *Ching Lun Ju*, a *Mandarine* of the Court of Rites, Whether according to the Sect of the Learned there was any reward or punishment in the other Life? He laugh'd at the question, then answer'd, That it could not be deny'd but there were Virtues and Vices in this World, but that all ended

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with death, when the Man in whom those things were expir'd, and therefore there was no need of providing for the next Life, but for this.

9. I accidentally met with *Cheu Jang Tien*, who was well vers'd in all three Sects, and so was a Master, gathering many Scholars in all parts. Finding him so well read, I ask'd him first, what the King of the upper Region was according to the Learned Sect. He answer'd, It was the Spirit or God they adore, and distinct from *Jo Hoang*, ador'd by the Sect *Lao Zu*, and from *Foe*, the God of the *Bonzes*. (2.) I ask'd, whether that King was the same thing as Heaven, or distinct? He answer'd, It was the very same thing with Heaven, as was said *Prelude 12. num. 4.* as also that he is the very same as the *Li*, *Tai Kie*, *Juen Ki*, *Tien Xin*, *Tien Ming*, and *Nan Jin*, that is, the Earth's Husband. So that these and other Epithets are only the several Formalities of the Substance, or Entity it self.

10. (3.) I ask'd, Whether this King was of equal standing with Heaven, or before or after it? He answer'd, It was coeval, and both of them proceeded from *Tai Kie*. (4.) I ask'd, Whether this King was a living and intelligent Being, so as to know the good or ill Men do, to reward or punish them? He answer'd in the Negative, but that he operates as if he were so, according to the words of *Xu King, lib. 1. pag. 35.* that Heaven neither sees nor hears, loves nor hates, but does all these things by means of the Multitude, with whom it has an inward conjunction in the *Li* it self.

11. (5.) I ask'd, Whether the King of the upper Region were only one? He answer'd in the Affirmative, and that he is the Spirit of Heaven.

12. (6.) I ask'd, Whether there be one like a King, who proceeds from the parts of Heaven, as is imply'd by the Doctrine call'd *Je King*? He answer'd, That King is the Air, which causes the Generation of Things, till they are perfected, as is evidently gather'd from the Changes the said Air causes in the eight parts of the Horizon; and this is the literal sense of that place under the Metaphor of a King.

13. (7.) I ask'd, If the King of the upper Region is not a living Creature, but only the Air, or Virtue of Heaven, how comes it to be said in some Authors, that he convers'd with Kings, who said, they had his orders for doing some things? He answer'd, There never was any such

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conversation in that nature the words *Nava-* found, but that it is all a Metaphor and *rette.* Figure, for as much as the said Kings have an inward correspondence with the *Li* of Heaven, and therefore they acted as if they had receiv'd Orders from Heaven.

14. (8.) I ask'd, Whether the Sacrifice the Emperor yearly offers to Heaven, be also offer'd to the King of the upper Region? He answer'd, That Heaven and the King of the upper Region were one and the same Substance under two Formalities, and therefore when Sacrifice is offer'd to Heaven, it is offer'd at the same time to the King of the upper Region; and the same may be said of the Sacrifices offer'd to Mountains, Rivers, Valleys, &c.

Confucius. 15. (9.) I ask'd, Why would not *Confucius*, when he was sick, suffer his Disciple *Zu Lu* to pray for him? He answer'd, Because he was perswaded, Heaven and its Spirit and He were the same thing; and besides, he never did any thing opposite to Reason, and therefore there was no occasion to pray for him.

16. (10.) I ask'd, If the wise Men of the Learned Sect do not believe there

are real Spirits, why did they bring them up among the People? He answer'd, To curb the Multitude, that they may not be unruly. Thus far the said Doctor, which of it self were sufficient to clear all these difficulties.

17. In this Paragraph he names eight *Mandarines* more, all of the Court and several Provinces; and concludes, And others no less famous and learned at this Court, whom I pass by for brevity sake. Nor do I mention another great multitude of Learned Men and *Mandarines*, with whom I convers'd in other parts of *China*, during the many years I liv'd there, for I perceive they all agree unanimously.

N O T E.

1. I shall say something to these points in another place. Here I cannot but take notice, that if the Doctor who was so Learned, had so mean a notion of the God the Fathers preach'd to him, what Idea could ignorant Persons frame? Our God is as much in *Europe* as *Confucius* is in *China*. It seems our Holy Faith is well advanced in that Kingdom.

S E C T. II.

The Opinion of the Learned Chinese Christians.

1. **N**OT only the Heathens, but even the Christians, when the Question is categorically put to them, confirm what has been said, as appears by what follows.

2. In the first place Doctor *Michael*, whom I work'd upon to lay open to me all the secrets of his Heart, without his being sensible what I was doing. I made use of this Stratagem: I acquainted him that our Fathers in *Japan* and *Cochinchina* study'd the *Chinese* Books as they did in *China*; and some doubts recurring to them, which they could not solve, they desir'd us, and it was really true, to send them the Exposition of them, receiving our information from Learned Men of note and esteem. But that he must observe, those Fathers desir'd to know the pure Doctrine of the Learned Sect, without any mixture of Interpretations given by us Christians. He was very well pleas'd to hear this, and bid me propose their doubts, and he would answer them, as understood by the Learned.

3. (1.) I ask'd, Which were the Authentick and Classick Books of the Sect? He

answer'd, The five Doctrines, *Zu Ku*, with its Comments, *Sing Li's* Philosophy, and the Chronicle *Tien Kien*; and took notice, that in these Books very often the words run one way, and the sense is taken in another. By which he would express that they made use of Tropes and Figures, to be understood only by those who are vers'd in the Mysteries of the Sect.

4. (2.) I ask'd, Whether the Expositors of those Doctrines, and particularly the Learned that liv'd while the Family *Sung* reign'd, were reputed of good authority at present in *China*. He answer'd, Their Authority was very great, because they had corrected the Text of the antient Doctrines, and had moreover commented upon them, without which they would be all in the dark. And therefore with good cause it is establish'd, that at Examinations no Composition be allow'd, that is opposite to the common Explication of Expositors. And those sometimes vary among themselves, and err in matters of small consequence, yet they all agree in essential Points, and

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hit the design of the Antients. He observ'd further, that the Learned Men of *China* discourse excellently upon those things they see; as for instance, the five Ranks of Men, the five Universal Virtues, the Government of the State, &c. But of things that are not seen, as of Angels, the Rational Soul, &c. they spoke very wild and fully, so that there is no relying on them. All which ought to be mark'd with Capital Letters, for the better deciding of these Controversies.

5. (3.) I ask'd, If the *Chineses* can give no account of Invisible things, to whom do they offer their Sacrifices? At this he shak'd his head, and smiling said, The *Chineses* properly offer Sacrifice to the Universal Heaven, and to the Earth, Mountains, &c. which they all see, thanking them for the Benefits and Advantages they receive from them. As for Spirits they don't certainly know there are any, but guessing there may be, they honour and respect them, together with the aforesaid parts of the Universe, believing they are the same Substance and Entity with them.

6. (4.) I ask'd, Whether after death there be any reward or punishment for good or wicked Men, according to the Doctrine of the Learned Sect? He answer'd, That they make no mention of any such things. Here he sigh'd and complain'd of the Professors of this Sect, for falling so short, in not teaching the things of the other Life; which is the cause the Multitude is not encourag'd to practise Virtue in earnest. He commended *Foe's* Sect, which preaches up Heaven and Hell.

7. (5.) I ask'd concerning the Immortality of the Soul, and the place of *Vuen Vuang*, who is by the side of the King of the upper Region? He answer'd, There was no further mystery in it, than that the Earthly part return'd to the Earth, and the Airy ascended to Heaven, uniting it self to that King, who is the Heaven it self. The Poet endeavours to magnify *Vuen Vuang*, feigning that the Heavenly Body is like a King, and he sits by his side like Loyal and well-belov'd Subject.

8. By what has been said it appears, that according to the Doctrine of the Learned, there is no God, Angels, Immortal Soul, &c.

9. Being afterwards in the Imperial City, he shew'd us several Treatises he had compos'd of things relating to our Religion, with an Exposition of the *Ten*

Commandments; in which tho he treats of many things he has heard from our Fathers, yet every foot he flies out into other things taken from his *Chinese* Doctrine, which more fully makes out the true opinion of the Learned. I will here insert some of them. 1. In the Introduction to the *Commandments*, he says, that all things are one and the same Substance, which is their *Li*, not differing from one another, any otherwise than by the outward shape, and accidental qualities; whence follow all the absurdities our *Europeans* deduce from the Principle, *Omnia sunt unum*, or all things are the same, till at last they come to downright Atheism.

10. In the same Introduction, he says, that all the antient wise Men of *China* were Spirits, or Angels Incarnate, continued one after another. Which according to the Notion of the *Chineses*, is thus, That the *Li*, or Universal Substance, as on the one side it performs its wonderful Operations, and on the other those that are beneficial to Man, is call'd a Spirit; and for as much as its Operations are observ'd in Heaven, the Earth, Mountains, and other parts of the Universe, as also in Man; therefore several Spirits are assign'd to those things, all which to the wise Men are but one, as the Substance is but one.

11. *Je Ko Lao* in the Preface he writ to this very Book, alludes to the same, when he says, the King of the upper Region, or *Tien Chu*, was Incarnate upon our Earth. Which he proves thus: The King of the upper Region did incarnate several times here in the East in the Persons of *Jao*, *Xun*, *Confucius*, and many others, as well Kings as Subjects; Ergo, he might as well incarnate in *Europe*, as the Fathers of the Society say he did in the Person of *Jesus*. By which it plainly appears, that to the *Chineses* Christ in *Europe* is no more than *Confucius*, or any other wise Man in *China*. This was the reason why Doctor *Michaël* would not permit me to reply to Doctor *Cien*, as I observ'd, §. 1. num. 4. because he himself still entertains this *Chin. f.*, or rather this confused Notion.

12. (3.) In the same place he says, That *Confucius* his Doctrine is perfect in all respects, and the very same with Gods, which is an Inference naturally deduced from the two Points we spoke of last; viz. That all wise Men are Spirits Incarnate, and all Spirits are the very self-same Substance, and therefore have the same Wisdom, Power, &c.

Navarrette.

Li.

Sacrifices.

Spirits.

Future State.

Immortality.

Nava-
rette.
13. In the Exposition of the First Com-
mandment, he says, We are to worship
Heaven and Earth; and in the Exposition
of the Third, That Sacrifices may be
offer'd to our Saints, as is done in *China*
to Heaven, Earth, Masters, and other
dead Persons. All which is grounded on
the receiv'd opinion of the Learned, that
all things are the same Substance, or Parts
of it, as has been several times said.

Thine
Señs.
14. In regard this Opinion, that all
things are the same Substance, is com-
mon to the three Sects; he endeavours
in this Treatise to speak well of them all,
shewing that all of them have the same
End and Design, which is to assign a
Principle to the Universe; and that
therefore they border upon our Holy
Faith, and come to be the same thing
with it in Essentials. And if any Man
should object the many Errors there are
in the Sects, all of them very opposite
to our Holy Law: He answers, There
were not at the beginning, when the
Sects flourish'd in their true and pure
Doctrines, but that they crept in after-
wards by means of the Comments made
by Disciples, who did not reach the de-
sign of antient Authors; therefore he
often advis'd us in explicating things, to
use a twofold, or amphibological Meth-
od, which may be easily apply'd to ei-
ther part of the Controversy; and thus,
he says, we may please, and so gain all.
This is the Method and Advice Dr. *Michael*
gives us to preach the Gospel in *Chi-
na*. Let every wise Man consider what
Consequences we may and must deduce
from hence.

15. I also ask'd our M. *Athanasius*, who
had so much study'd the Learned Sect,
and perus'd several of the best Libraries
in *China*. He answer'd in some short and
comprehensive Sentences: His words are
these; 1. The Learned treat of Men, not
of Heaven; of Humane, not of Divine
things. 2. They treat of Life, not of
Death. 3. They treat of this, not of a
future Life. 4. They treat of Corpore-
al, not of Spiritual things. 5. They
treat of one Principle, not of diversity
of Species. 6. They say, things must
be done without any delign, and that
there is no Reward nor Punishment.
7. They say, Men and Heaven are the
same *Li*; and that for Man to exhaust
himself, is to serve Heaven. 8. They
say, that the height of Goodness and Per-
fection is the height of Nature, and
that there is nothing beyond her. 9. That
the directive Rule of Heaven is the Enti-
ry of the supreme Goodness, which

has neither Scent, nor Sound, that is, it
is imperceptible. 10. That Nature su-
premely good has neither beginning nor
end, and is only in the Body and Heart
of Man. 11. That if a Man does his
Duty, his Life will be happy, and his End
easy. All these are the words of *Atha-
nasius*, who says, it is requisite to oppose
these Tenets vigorously.

16. I put the same Question to Doctor
Paul, who answer'd very ingeniously, *Xang Ti*.
That he was of opinion, the King of the
upper Region could not be our God, and
he believ'd neither the Antient nor Mo-
dern *Chineses* had any knowledg of God.
But since the Fathers upon good Motives
call'd that King *God*, that the Learned
Chineses might make no Objections, and
because this Epithet was decent, he judg'd
it good and requisite to give him the At-
tributes we give to God. As for the
Soul, he said, he fancy'd the *Chineses*
had some knowledg of it, but imper-
fect.

17. Doctor *Leo*, the Licentiate *Ignatius*,
and generally the rest of the Learn-
ed *Chineses* Christians, ingeniously confess,
that all the Modern learned Sect are A-
theists, and build on the common Opini-
on of the Expositors. But they further
say, they are of opinion, that to comply
with the *Chineses*, we ought to stick to
the Text of the old *Chineses* Doctrines
which make for us, without minding the
Modern Expositors. On this very Point
depends the whole difficulty of these
Controversies, for deciding of which
rightly we must beg the Light of the Ho-
ly Ghost. It being a Matter of such con-
sequence, I will here add some Consid-
erations of my own which occur at pre-
sent, as shall appear in the following *Pre-
lude*.

This *Prelude*, which would be of great
Consequence, is wanting; so that the
Treatise remains lopt, and imperfect,
tho it contains enough for those that
have an insight into the Matter.

N O T E S.

1. What the Bishop of *Nan King*,
Disp 5. c. 4. *sect* 3. quotes out of S. *Au-
gustin*, suits well in this place; *The Phi-
losophers themselves who profess'd Learning*,
*scarce deliver'd any thing relating to the Wor-
ship and Love of God; and tho many of them*
diligently employ'd themselves in suting the
*Manners of Men to Civil and Political Vir-
tue, and writ long Treatises concerning the*
*same Civil Virtue, yet they either very light-
ly touch'd those that concern'd the Worship of*
God,

God, or refer'd their Disciples to the Country Worship practis'd by the Idolaters.

2. The Fathers *Morales* and *Martin Martinez*, call Doctor *Michael* the Pillar of the Chinese Church. If the Pillar and his Doctrine were no better, how could the Structure chuse but fall?

3. Doctor *Michael* compares and unites our Holy Law with that of *Confucius*, and consequently with the other two, for they all three grow into one, as *F. Matthew Riccius* confesses. We will here set down what *Corn. à Lapide* writes in *Encom. Sac. Script. sect. 2. num. 15. Our Age, which has seen all sorts of Monsters, saw a Fanatick, who publish'd a blasphemous Triumvirate of the three Impostors of the World, Moses, Christ, and Mahomet. In China they assign us a Quadrumvirate; Confucius, Foe, Lao Zu, and Christ.* Note, that according to the opinion of the Society, as was said in my presence, *Dr. Michael* was one of the best Christian Learned Chinese.

4. He gives all the Sects a good word, he will be at peace with them all, and is against Disputes or Persecutions. This is not the Peace of Christ; *I came not to bring Peace, but the Sword.* The Bishop of *Nan King*, *Disp. 5. Sect. 1. num. 2. Most, if not all the Professors of Superstitions and false Religions, were generally of opinion, that several Religions might be allow'd of, nor did they altogether condemn others which they did not follow. But the true and lawful Religion even condemn'd all others, in so much that the Followers of it would never entertain any Commerce with those who deny'd, tho it were but one Tenet of Faith and Religion.* Which he there proves sufficiently. In *China* order is taken not to oppose the Sect of the Learned, not to speak ill of *Foe*, to use double-dealing to gain all Men (to undo all Men were better express'd) not to provoke the Infidels, to prevent Persecutions, &c. This was great Prudence in Doctor *Michael*. But the greatest mischief is, that his Advice prevails with some Men. A Missioner in a Book of his speaks thus; Tho there are in this Kingdom three Laws, yet that of Christ is most holy and perfect. You should say, Father Missioner, that only the Law of God and his Son Jesus Christ, is good and holy, that only that can save, that the rest are wicked and pestilential; otherwise I must say, you desire to be at peace with them all, and grant them to be good and holy.

5. So that it seems good Motives and Policy are allow'd some weight in these

Cases. Humane Policy and Prudence has stretch'd so far, as to make him a true God who is not so, nay, even that which is destitute of vegetative Life. The Heathen Policy extendeth not so far, for tho it made and unmade Gods, yet it knew no true Deity; yet they that know one, take away its Divinity to bestow it on a mere Creature. This is the great Power *Trismegistus* spoke of; *And that Men had taken that great and wonderful Power of making Gods.* We have seen it of late Years in *China*, as shall appear in another place.

6. I highly approve of *Athanasius* his Opinion, that the Learned Sect ought to be vigorously oppos'd, yet it is not receiv'd nor made use of.

7. The Learned Sect is here excellently laid open and made known; it is expressly forbid to say it agrees either in the whole or in part with our Holy Law. If we observe the Prohibition, and others do not, and any Trouble or Persecution should arise thereupon, we will give God thanks, and bear with it for his sake, rather lying under the Scandal, than conceal or forsake the Truth. Of how great Authority all that has been writ by *F. Longobardo* is, may be gather'd by his many Quotations out of the Claslick Books of the Learned Sect, and the Sayings of so many Doctors, as well Christians as Heathens, so that I do not see what could be added to it; our Adversaries alledging for themselves none but the Fathers, *Riccius* and *Pantoja*, and Doctor *Michael*, it plainly appears they are far from ballancing of him. One thing I observ'd in *China*, which was, that tho *F. Longobardo* was so great a Missioner, so holy a Man as all People own; and in Method, Style, Distribution, and Variety of this Treatise, shews himself to be a Metaphysician, Divine, Humanist, and well vers'd in the Chinese Sciences; yet those of his Family who will not follow him, lessen his Reputation, by saying, he was no great Divine. Here the words of *Boetius* are to the purpose; *Many let us call Men have often gain'd a great Name by it a little the false Conceit of the Multitude.* But allowing that others might excel him in Divinity, does it therefore follow that they have more knowledge of the Learned Chinese Sect? Not at all; for then it would follow that any Missioner must understand the said Sect better than all the Doctors and Authors of it, in regard he must outdo them all in Divinity. I must add further, that this Point may not be argued

argued any more, that all the Author quotes is in their Books, and so understood by the *Chineses*.

8. I must add, that I was the first Cause that brought all at length to agree, that the *Chinefe* King of the upper Region, neither is nor can be our God. The compassing of this only thing makes me think all my Sufferings well bellow'd.

9. In this place, among others, one considerable Point might be argu'd, which is, Whether the *Chineses*, who have hitherto believ'd this King of the upper Region to be our God, have had a supernatural Faith concerning him? According to what has been premis'd, I am something confident they had not. It will be requisite to discourse upon this Subject in the second Tome; for the present it will suffice to see what Divines teach as to this Point: They, as *S. Thomas* 2. 2. q. 1. disp. 2. art. 4. §. *Resolutio hujus dubii*, are of the same Opinion I have declar'd my self. *Serra*, Art. 3. q. 1. decides the same with *S. Thomas*; so *Gonet*, *Ferre*, and others. What the Consequences are may easily be infer'd, I will write them in another place. The chiefest, to which all the others tend and are reduc'd, is, Whether those who liv'd and dy'd in no other Faith, but that that Supreme King was our God, could be sav'd. I propos'd some Doubts concerning it at *Rome*, drawn from the Doctrine of this Treatise, which I and others look upon as most true; but they at that Court not understanding the *Chinefe* Letter, nothing was decided: I will set them down in my second Tome.

It might also be here discuss'd, Whether the *Chineses*, being as they are really Atheists, and having no knowledg of God, Angels, rational Soul, Reward or Punish-

ment in the Life to come, are capable of Oaths, or the like? The occasion of the Doubt is taken from *S. Paul*, Heb. 6. that those who swear, *do swear by one greater than themselves*. The Atheists own no Superior Being, or greater than themselves, and consequently are not capable of an Oath. This is the Opinion of *Leander*, *Traët. 1. de Juram. disp. 6. q. 44.* where he quotes, to confirm his Opinion, *Suarez*, *Fagundez*, and *Palao*.

I must say I have seen the contrary, and taken notice of it in the *Chinefe* Atheists spoken of in this Treatise. Which may be prov'd, first, because they sacrifice, pray to, and beg of Heaven, the Sun, Moon, and other things already mention'd; whence it follows they own a Superiority in them. The Consequence to me seems good: Then why may not this Superiority suffice for an Oath? We see that notwithstanding their Atheism, they worship the Heaven, Earth, &c. as Superior Beings, as such they honour, reverence, and fear them; and in reality they swear, and have certain Ceremonies to render the Oath more solemn. Nor do the *Chinefe* Atheists imagine there is nothing greater than themselves, none of them is so extravagant; then consequently they own a Superior, which suffices for them to bring him as a Witness: this will hold in general, or absolutely, not if we come to determine of the nature of an Oath. And if this be deny'd, why may not the Sacrifices, Prayers, and Supplications be as well deny'd? have not these too respect to a Superior? I find all the several Species of Oaths among those Heathens, that for asserting what they say, that for threatenng, and that for execrating.

The End of the Fifth Book.

B O O K

B O O K VI.

The AUTHOR's Travels.

C H A P. I.

His Voyage to New Spain.

1. **M**Y holy Father S. Thomas, *lett. 2. in 1 Rom.* teaches that only great things are to be written, that they may be continu'd in the Memory of Men. *It has not been the Custom to write any but great things which are worthy to be remembered, and ought to be transmitted to Posterity.* These Words have much discourag'd me from writing this Book, nevertheless the Rarity of some things, and the Novelty of others, made me resolve to take Pen in hand, and give an account of what I my self have seen. Our *Oleaster in Princip. 33. Num.* says thus; *Posterity is pleas'd to hear, not only the famous Actions of their Ancestors, but also their Dangers, Sufferings, and other things of that nature, tho they be toilsome.* I can truly say, that *I have compass'd the Earth, and walk'd over the Sea and dry Land.* But it was not through Curiosity or Covetousness, which usually encourage many to such Undertakings. This Work was much forwarded by the superfluous spare time I had in the Island of *Madagascar*, where to divert it, and be less sensible of my long stay there, I made my benefit of the Words of *Ecclus. 38. 25. Write in time of leisure.*

2. I have read some printed Travels, and observ'd several things in them, which as being common and trivial, deserve no Reflection, nor making a Mystery of, or magnifying them. I read an Account of a Journey certain Persons made from *Vera Cruz to Mexico*, which does so magnify the Difficulties, Hardships, Sufferings, Hunger, Cold, and other Calamities, that the Author makes it sufficiently appear, he has far outdone the truth of what it really is: and if he takes such liberty to lanch out in speaking of a Road so well known, so much beaten, and so common, and than which there are certainly some worse in *Spain*, what will he do when he writes of Travels through

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Places less known to, and more remote from us? I will not follow this Method, nor make a Mystery where there is none; I will endeavour not to tire the Reader with needless extolling of things, and crying up that which is ordinary and common.

3. That certain and generally receiv'd Opinion all Men had conceiv'd (and no Man either here or there does at all question) of the rigid and most exact regular Observance of our Province of the Holy *Rosary* in the *Philippine* Islands, was the Motive that made me resolve to leave my Kindred, Country, and Friends, and undertake so tedious a Journey, and two such long Voyages, as there are from *Spain* to the utmost Bounds of *Asia*. This great Part of the World commences at those Islands. It is no small Contradiction to humane Nature, to leave ones Country. *Nazianz. Epist. 108.* calls it, *The common Mother.* *Lyra* in 2 *Reg. c. 20.* says the same. 'Tis true, that to religious Men all the World is their Country. The same Saint says so, *Epist. 28. To me every Land, and never an one is my Country.* And *Hugo de Sanc. Vict. lib. 3. de Disdasc. cap. ult.* writes thus: *He is still very tender to whom his Country is sweet; he is brave who accounts all Nations his Country; he is perfect to whom the whole World is a Banishment.* Here the Words of *St. Paul* sute well; *We have here no settled City, but we seek after one to come.* So that of *Tertullian de Martyr. cap. 2.* where he teaches and proves, by what *St. Cyprian* says, *Epist. 81.* that this World rather deserves the name of a Prison and Dungeon, than of an Habitation and native Country. *Diogenes* was almost of the same Opinion: *A worldly Man*, so he call'd himself, *because I am a Citizen and Inhabitant of all the World.* To leave Friends and Kindred is more, a Truth that requires not any proof, no more than to say, all this is nothing in regard

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of our Duty to God. I do not mean in case they obstruct serving of him, for what St. Jerome teaches in this case is well known. *Go on trampling on your Father, proceed treading on your Mother, and fly with dry Eyes to the Banner of the Cross.* S. Bern. Epist. 351. *In this respect it is the highest piece of Compassion, to be cruel for the sake of Christ. Be not mov'd by the Tears of mad People, &c.* Read Sylv. tom. 2. lib. 4. c. 8. q. 18. n. 137. Being then actually Professor of Philosophy in the famous and renowned College of St. Gregory in Valladolid, I set forwards upon my Journey on the 20th of January, 1646. Little remarkable happened then, tho there wanted not some matter of Merit. The Author of the Book that treats *de Conversione Gentium*, says, the first thing a Millioner is to arm and provide himself with is Patience, and truly he is much in the right. So many Provocations occur every Moment, that if this Vertue be wanting, the bravest and most resolv'd Spirit will soon dismay. *It is Patience, says he, which causes the Mind in Adversity not to depart from the Love of God, and the Righteousness of Justice. And when the Manners of others are insupportable, says the Apostle, bearing up one another, granting, that is sparing.* Read Tertullian, cap. 8. *de Patim.* where he has much to this purpose; and let every Man endeavour to provide for good a Companion.

4. The second Night we lay at *Salamanca*; the Scholars were at variance, and that Night one of them was kill'd. I look upon it as most certain, that no Scholar has dy'd a violent Death in *China* these 2000 Years, tho there are above three Millions of them in that Kingdom. I spoke of their Modesty and good Carriage in the Second Book, in this place I might write of the Leudness and Debauchery of the *Europeans*. If that were observ'd in *Europe* which is in *China*, as I have mention'd before, many Mischiefs would be prevented. That Murder caus'd Trouble, some fled, others absconded, the dead Man was bury'd; I saw him in the Church of our Lady *de la Vega*.

5. Two or three days we travell'd in Rain and Cold, and the Comfort we had the last Night, was to lie upon the Stones. On the first of *February* we set out from *Plasencia*, to lie that Night at a lone Inn, call'd *Venta de la Serrana*. We soon met with a Trooper, who began to molest us; he committed Barbarities in the Inn, abus'd the Innkeeper and his Wife, and two poor Youths that were there much worse; because at eleven at night they

would not wash their Hands and Faces, he turn'd them out of doors, the Ground being then cover'd with Snow. The Fellow did such things, as a wild *Arab* would not have been guilty of, and there was no possibility of bringing him to hear Reason. God mortify'd him a little, or else neither I nor my Companions had far'd well. After this two other religious Men came the same way, they had a little *As*s betwixt them, and barely as much Money as would serve them to *Sevil*; they met with two Souldiers, who took all from them. These Workmen of our Lord begin to suffer before they preach in *China* or *Japan*. When I travel'd in so much Safety among Infidels, as I shall show hereafter, I call'd to mind these Passages, and reflected on them by my self: in short it is, *A Man's own Family are his Enemies.*

6. Being to cross the River *Guadiana*, we met two Watermen with each of them his Sword and Pistol; they freely offer'd us our Passage, but when half way over, they gave us to understand, that as for our selves the Passage was gratis, but each Beast was to pay a piece of Eight. There was no Appeal from them, nor any Writ of Error to be brought. We had recourse to Intreaties and Tears, through which God softned their Hearts, and it was brought about that they should be satisfy'd with half a piece of Eight a Head. At *Villanueva* no body would give us a Lodging, they were so kept under by the Souldiers. Coming one Evening in *China* with a great number of Passengers to a Village where Lodgings were scarce, the Master of one of them turning away his own Countrymen, entertain'd me and three Servants I had with me. I then remembered what happen'd at *Villanueva*, how well these two Passages agree. Having spent that Night uneasily enough, next day we went to dinner to a reasonable good Town. As we came to the Inn, the Inn-keeper came out to meet us very gravely, and with tokens of great Admiration, ask'd, Fathers, whence came ye? We satisfy'd his Curiosity, and he clapping his hands together, said, Blessed be God, I have gone out of my House three times, and return'd home every time beaten, robb'd, and stript, and your Reverences and those Gentlemen come safe and sound in all respects. Blessed be God: We gave God thanks, and had compassion on him.

7. As we came into *Borlanga*, we saw a Troop of Horse marching along another Street: The Captain was a Man of

a graceful Presence. The Chaplain rode with his Church-stall before him; and the Captain's Mistress veil'd, follow'd the Chaplain upon another Horse. I like it very well that there should be publick Prayers in time of War to implore the Divine assistance, without which no Victory can be obtain'd. Read *Corn. à Lap. in Exod. 17. 15.* but, *One praying, and another cursing, whose voice will God hear? One building and another pulling down, what does it avail, but mere labour?* Why should God hear the voice of Priests, and not the crys of open and scandalous Sins? If the Soldiers with their wickedness pull down all that the Servants of God build with their Prayers, what can we expect, or what can follow, but labour, toil, and weariness? Some say, it cannot be remedy'd, or that the redressing of it will cause greater inconveniences. It is a great misfortune that the *Chineses, Mogols,* and others can remedy it, and in our parts they cannot. Something to this effect has been said in the fourth Book. *Ferdinand the First, and S. Pius Quintus* were us'd to say, *Let Justice be done, and let the World perish;* what a happy end it would have. There is no doubt, but the *Spanish Nation* is more fierce and unruly than some others, there are instances of this truth. It is but a few years since two Soldiers short of *Badajoz* met a Father and his Son, who carry'd a little Saffron to sell; they took it away, and resolv'd to murder them. The Son pray'd them to kill him and spare his Father to be a comfort to his Mother and Brethren. The Father desir'd them to be satisfy'd with his life, and to let go his Son, that he might maintain his Mother and Brethren. They would not compound, but inhumanly butcher'd both the Father and the Son. One of them paid for it with his life, and confess'd what has been said, the other fled. If such an account were sent from the *Mogols Country, Siam, Japan, or China,* should we find ever a Man amongst us that would not abhor such Nations, and rail at them, saying, they were Barbarians, Pagans, and had no fear of God? Then let them be very well assur'd that these and the like Barbarities are to be found among us, but not there. Here we might apply what in another place I quoted out of *Eugenius* and *Oleaster.*

8. We come to *Santillana,* our Supper there was light, our Breakfast next morning none at all, for our *Vaticum* was quite spent. At the passage of the River we took no notice of our condition, till

we were over, and this contrivance flood us in good stead. I told the Waterman how things were with us, a Companion of his was offended at it; but the first of them who seem'd to be more courteous and pliable, said to him, These Fathers have it not, what can we do to them? There are many Passage-Boats in *China,* and some over deep and wide Rivers, but there is no obligation of paying at any of them; they ask something as free Gift, and none give but such as please. We made hast to get to Dinner to *Sevil;* by the help of God we got thither, hungry enough. We continued but a few days in *Sevil,* and kept for the most part within. *It is better to be at home, but it is hurtful to stray abroad,* says *Hesiod.* And *S. Anthony, A Monk out of his Cell is like a Fish out of the Water.* There our Vicar gather'd some Alms. At *S. Lucar* we got some more, and his Excellency the Duke of *Medinaceli* reliev'd us according to his Generosity, and the particular affection he bears our Order. We had need enough of all this, for tho his Majesty supplys us bountifully, and orders we should have decent accommodation in his Ships, nevertheless we are at incredible expence to get some little hole, where we may be by our selves, and free from the noise of the Sailors. The Gun-room Cabin cost us two thousand Pieces of Eight. Who would imagin it? Where shall we have it, if we do not beg and pinch our selves for it? They kept us seventeen days aboard in the River of *S. Lucar,* spending our Provision, melting with heat, and eaten up with Flies and Mice. Every day they founded the Bar, Orders came from the Council to put to Sea, but they did it not for want of Water. A good Clergy-man of *Saldanna,* who had experience in Sea-affairs, came to me one day, and said: Father, your Reverence may assure your self, that till the Admiral has his Wine, there will not be Water enough to carry out the Ships. He prov'd a Prophet. As soon as ever he had got 6000 Jars of Wine he wanted, the Water rose wonderfully, so that we got to Sea to the great satisfaction of us all. The Council, added that good Clergy man, is very sensible of these contrivances, and that is the reason they send such positive Orders. True it is they avail but little, and these Men are the cause that very much of the King's Revenue is wasted, and Passengers consume their Provision; and what is worst of all, these delays upon their private account sometimes endanger a Fleet.

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rette.*

Allowance was then given for Officers and Seamen to ship a certain quantity of Wine. *D. John de Mansilla* one of the Directors of the Trade went aboard, I waited upon him, as being my Countryman and Friend. He examin'd them upon Oath, whether they had Stowage of their own to carry the allowance that was made them. They swore they had. *D. John* said to me, I am satisfy'd they are foresworn, but I do my duty. The Admiral took up all the Ship; even the Gunners made their complaint to us, that the Cabin of the Gun-room was taken from them, to sell it to us; they had as little mind to part with it, as we to give 2000 Pieces of Eight for it. We put to Sea in *June*, and had we sail'd as they did before the Flood, it had certainly been a great diversion. *S. Thomas* from the Glos on *S. Pet.* 2. chap. 3. says, *Then the Air was more serene and still than now, for then there were no storms.* Tho there are some of another opinion. Our Method was, at break of day we sang the *Te Deum*. After Sun-rising, having first consulted the Master, four or five Masses were said, and all the Crew resorted to them; in the Afternoon the *Salve Regina* and Litany of our Lady was sang, then the Rosary was said by Gangs, some miraculous Stories were read, and there was some discourse of Religious matters. On Sundays and Holidays there was a Sermon. An hour after the *Angelus Domini*, (which is before night-fall) a Man went out at the Hatch (for he was continually almost under Deck) and having rang a little Bell in the saddest and most doleful voice that ever I heard, said, *Death is certain, the Hour uncertain, the Judg severe. Wo unto thee who art slothful! do that thou couldst wish thou hadst done when thou diest.* He rang the Bell again, and praying for the Souls departed, withdrew, and all the Crew repenting for their Sins went to rest without the least noise. During the Voyage there was frequent confessing and receiving, little Gaming, scarce any Swearing; save only the Master who transgress'd in this particular; he certainly fasted every *Saturday* upon Bread and Water. The Purser us'd to say to him, What are you the better for fasting, when you swear every moment? Honest *Lazio* *Brato*, that was his Name, answer'd, And what would become of me, if I did not fast? That Employment is provoking; but I have observ'd aboard *Portuguese, French* and *Dutch* Ships, that their Masters command with more ease and calm-

ness than ours, nor are they so severe towards the Steerfmen as with us.

9. We were once talking of the disorders there had been in the *West-Indies*, about distribution and propriety of the *Indians*, things little talk'd of in *Old Castile*, especially but little known among young People; the *Spaniards* call every Division subject to a Lord or Proprietor, under whose command the *Indians* are, a Vicarage. Several Opinions are, deliver'd, at last the Clerk of the Check deliver'd his thus: *If I were King, all the Vicarages should be in the hands of Religious Men, for it is certain it would be more for his Majesty's, and the Indians advantage. If I were General of the Religious Orders, Religious Men should possess never a Vicarage, for it is better for Religious Men to be in their Monasteries, free from troubles and disputes.* I have since read what the Lord *Solorzano* writes upon this Subject. I have heard others say, and found it to be true by experience, that the Clerk of the Check was in the right, and in few words decided the case, which I think all Men must of necessity own, if they consider the point with the least piety.

10. The first day we discover'd four Sail, we gave them chase, they soon put out their Boat and came aboard. They prov'd to be *Dunkirkers*, who had taken two *French* Ships, and were carrying them to *S. Lucar*. The eighth day we had sight of the Island *Lanzarote*, and left it a Stern. On *S. John's* or *Midsummer* day, we made great rejoycing, all our Colours and Streamers were hung out, the Cannon were fir'd, there was High Mass, and an excellent Sermon preach'd by the Father Commissary of the Order of our Father *S. Francis*, in the Afternoon. There was a Bull-feast aboard our Ship, and so diverting that I never saw the like in all my life. A *Mulatto* handsomely dress'd went out to strike the Bull with his Spear, he rode upon two foremost Men ty'd back to back, betwixt them he had placed a Saddle, which one of *Peru* carry'd over; the *Mulatto* did Wonders. The Bull tho he had but two feet, was well furnish'd with Horns, and laid about him at such a rate that no Man could stand upon the Deck: all this while we were under Sail, which was the best of it, the day pass'd away very merrily. This may serve to divert the Reader. We read in *2 Macc.* 15. 40. *For as it is hurtful always to drink Wine, or always Water, but it is pleasant to drink sometimes the one, and sometimes the other;*

even so, if Speech be always finely fram'd, it will not please the Reader. There must of necessity be variety in a Voyage, and that of it self is agreeable, and sharpens the appetite of Reading. On the Feast of the Seraphick Doctor S. *Bonaventure*, in regard the Father Commissary, to whom we were much oblig'd, bore that name; and to honour the Saint, the Day was solemniz'd, we all said Mass (being twenty nine Priests) there was High Mass, an excellent Sermon preach'd by one of our Order, a Professor of Divinity of S. *Thomas* in *Sevil*, a Man great in all respects. He dy'd the first year he came into the *Philippine* Islands; but, *Being perfect he soon run out a long time.*

11. Captain *Balladares* a *Galician* by birth, being somewhat a head of the Fleet, took two small *French* Vessels. That Captain was much applauded by all Men; his Joy was not lasting, for another day giving chase to a great *French* Ship, he spent his Main-mast, and all Men rail'd at him without mercy or modesty. He went into *Vera Cruz* with Drums beating, Colours flying, and his Prizes astern, and within three or four days dy'd lamented by many.

12. The Feast of our Father S. *Dominick* was kept Solemn. On the Eve Vespers and Compline were sung, with as much Grandeur, as if we had been in *Sevil*. The Chappel was so beautify'd both within and without, that we all admir'd it. The Officers and Passengers vy'd in bringing all they had to adorn it. That Night they spent in honour of the Saint, with Musick and Hymns. Next day there was High Mass, the Father Commissary was to have preach'd, but excus'd himself upon account of indisposition, and it fell to my lot to dishonour the Feast.

13. We arriv'd at *Vera Cruz* after sixty days Sail, having endur'd but little fatigue, no storm, aboard our Ship only one dy'd, aboard all the rest I think none but one that drop'd over Board. There was scarce any distemper, save a little Sea-sickness at first, all the Voyages I have made since I have never been subject to it. We endur'd some thirst because we took in no Water upon the Voyage; the reason they alledg'd was, that his Majesty had given strict Orders that no time should be lost: thus they disguise their Contrivances. It is likely the delay we made seventeen days at *San Lucar*, was the King's pleasure too. The Vermin Man uses to breed, as soon as we came to the Leeward Island, dy'd all a-

way, so that there was not one left; it is very strange but common to all *Europeans*. I am sufficiently inform'd concerning it by *French* and *Portugueses*, so that when they have pass'd that Sea no *European* breeds Lice. This I can safely vouch of my self, that during twenty six years I liv'd in the several parts I shall mention in this Paper, I never bred one; whether I wore Cotton, or Woollen, whether I shifted me once a Fortnight, or oftner, or seldomer, I was always in the same condition without so much as a Nit. After I return'd through *Portugal* to *Castile*, the old habit of Body return'd. I cannot dive into the secret of it. If the Natives of the *Philippine* Islands, *China* and *India* bred none, it were reasonable; but that they should breed them, and yet the *Europeans* go free, I can give no reason for it, it is some particular influence. A Religious Man of the barefooted Friars of our Father St. *Augustin* hapned to embark at *Manila*, designing for *Spain*, and *Rome*; he was troubled with several *Tetter*s, which many *Europeans* are subject to in that Country; but having sail'd forty Leagues Northward, he on a sudden found himself free from that Distemper. Five years after he return'd to the Islands, and before he could get ashore, that ill habit of Body return'd upon him, and he had the same distemper, tho during that time he had been wholly clear of it. This is certainly very singular.

14. Another thing no less strange hapned to another Religious Man of the same Order, which I will insert here that I may not forget it. He sail'd to *Persia*, and travel'd thence by Land. One day he alighted from his Camel hastily to ease Nature, and did it as hastily because the *Caravans* never stop; he hapned to find a Leaf of some Plant at hand, which he made use of instead of Paper; and he prov'd so fortunate, that it absolutely cur'd him of terrible *Hemorrhoids* that tormented him, so that he continu'd some years in *Europe*, and return'd to the Islands, yet never had more of that Disease. When he observ'd how he was mended, and reflected on the cause, he could never find what Leaf or Plant that should be, which he was much concern'd at, and blam'd his oversight, tho the eagerness of overtaking his Company was his excuse; it was pity he knew it not, it being a loss to those who labour under this distemper. These two Passages, and what I said before, prove there are unaccountable influences. On S. *Lawrence* his day we landed, dirty, full of Tar, and

in a fcurvy posture, but well pleas'd we left so much Sea behind us. We thank'd all that belong'd to the Ship for the Kindness they had show'd us. To say

the truth, we did them all the Service we could, and they deserv'd it for their kind Entertainment and Civility towards us, the Lord reward them for it.

CH A P. II.

The Journey to Mexico, stay there, and further progress to Acapulco.

1. IT cannot be deny'd, but that the Spanish Nation has been renown'd for extending the Faith of Jesus Christ, and making it known to Mortals. This Truth is plainly made out by the many Conversions they have made, the Blood it has shed in defence of the Doctrines it preaches, and the great numbers that daily leave their Country and Parents on this account. This seems to be peculiar to Spain, says *Gilbertus Genebrardus* a French Man, *Lib. 8. Chronolog. An. 1492. Which Year, says this grave Author, the War of the Spaniards against the Moors was begun, and their Expedition to the West-Indies began, as if it were the Work of the Spaniards to subdue Pagans and Infidels.* This same Spirit continues to this day; and so we see that almost every Year religious Men go to several Countrys and Provinces, without being discouraged by long Voyages, difference of Climats, and other great Inconveniences they meet with every moment. My Order has had no small share in this Undertaking, as is well known to the World, for much is written of it, which I allow as receiv'd. To this purpose 28 religious Men of us came into *New-Spain* in the Year 1646. Four and twenty upon his Majesty's Charge, the rest upon Charity, and retrenching our Allowance. Being come to *Vera Cruz*, we soon found Lodging upon Charity till we went from thence, which was a great Goodness of God. We presently borrow'd a thousand Pieces of Eight to pay for the Gunroom Cabin, for it was our Bargain to pay 1000 at *S. Lucar*, and a thousand at *Vera Cruz*. They were lent us without any Interest, and the Owner waited till we found means at *Mexico* to get the Sum, which we honestly repay'd. For the better conveniency of travelling, we divided our selves into three Companies. All was new to us, the Country, the Trees, the Fruits, and all other things. We pass'd through places infested with Mosquito's, or Gnats, which are very troublesome over mighty Waters, heard terrible Thunder, but met not with those

uncouth Roads, or mighty Cold, which others who travel'd the same way the next Year so mightily magnify'd; much whereof I mention'd at the beginning of the first Chapter of this Book.

2. At *Puebla de los Angeles* we repos'd our selves a little, and were very charitably entertain'd in the Monastery and College of our Order. We saw the City, the Church of our Holy Father *S. Augustin*, which is one of the best in the World; we had the blessing of the most Illustrious Lord *D. John de Palafox y Mendoza*, a Prelate great in all respects, insomuch that it will not be in the power of any Man to eclipse his Grandeur: He was mighty obliging to us, and behav'd himself like a loving Father. We went on to our *Hospitium* of *S. Hiacinth de Tacuba*, without the Walls of *Mexico*, where we found the very Learned and Venerable *F. F. Sebastian de Oquendo*, of the Monastery of *Oviedo* in *Asturias*; he had been some Years before at *Manila*, where he was long Professor of Divinity, preach'd much, and that with singular Spirit and Fervour. He was Prior of the Monastery of *S. Dominick*, and labour'd indefatigably in that Province, honouring it with his Learning and Virtue. He had writ a Comment on *S. Thomas*, several Tracts of Morality, and likewise Matter for Sermons; was a Man singular in all things, never drank Chocolate, never eat Flesh, spent most part of the Night in Prayer, was held in great esteem in that Country: after death his Reputation still increas'd, for when he had been bury'd six Years, his Body was found uncorrupted. At this time he was Vicar of that House; it is easy to guess how he receiv'd us, and what tender Affection he show'd us. Being altogether there, we began to live according to the custom of our holy Province, without any other Bed but only two Blankets upon Boards, two hours mental Prayer, our Choir Duty, time of Study, and the rest that belongs to our Profession. On Sundays and Holidays we preach'd and heard Confessions, and every Week had publick Disputes.

1647. putes. It was our misfortune that the following Year 1647, the Ships from *Manila* miss'd coming, so that we were forc'd to stay till the Year 1648. That Country was govern'd by the Count *de Salvatierra*, a religious and affable Person, who did us great Honour. We made use of a Precedent that had been to furnish the second Year's Maintenance and Clothing; and the Viceroy in pursuance of it resolv'd to relieve us. The Assessor who was to pass the Order, expected we should present him. Among the rest of the King's Officers, there was one *D. Peter Zarate*, a Man uncorrupted and consequently poor; he had a great kindness for us, and was wont to say, These Gentlemen here understand their own Methods; but I don't conceive nor comprehend them, let them look to it, for I hope in God I shall not go to Hell for leaving my Heirs Plate. Three of us went to see the Desert of the barefooted *Carmelites*, who entertain'd us as might be expected from their great Charity, and the Affection they have for our Order. We saw it all, and judg'd it to be what it really was: Every part exhal'd Virtue and Sanctity. In our return we call'd at *Santa Fe*, and saw the House of that Prodigy and wonder of Virtue, the Venerable *Gregory Lopez*.

3. At this time happen'd that terrible Storm against the Lord Bishop *Palafox*; God bless me, what was it they did not lay to his Charge! These are things well known, and therefore I will not insist upon them. Two things I could never dive into, tho I took pains about it; one is, the Mask made by the Scholars belonging to the Society (it is a plain case, that the Fathers who are so circumspect in all their Actions had no hand in it) in which one of them carry'd a Crosier ty'd to a Horse's Tail; another a Miter at the Stirrup, and the Figure of the Bishop with the Men he had on his head. All Men dislike'd, and none could approve of it; the Scholars deserv'd to be severely punish'd. The other thing is, that I make no doubt of the many Privileges granted to the *Mendicant* Orders to preach, and hear Confessions; which Grants have been made by Popes, who have done it upon mature deliberation, in regard to the extraordinary Services they have done and daily do the Church. Now what I observe is, that in *Japan* and *China*, the Fathers of the Society have, and do still pretend, that the Orders of *S. Augustin*, *S. Francis*, and *S. Dominick* can neither preach to, nor hear the Confessions of even the *Gentiles*, without leave

had of their Order, who are *Vicarii Foranei*; upon which Church-Censures have *Nava-* been let fly: And that they attempt to *rette.* do the same in *Puebla de los Angeles*, contrary to the Will of the Bishop of that Diocefs. I say again, I do not understand, nor can I dive into it, and yet this does not imply that they have acted wrongfully. There was a great disturbance, and no little scandal given in that Country at this time; who was the cause of it does not belong to me to determine. I look upon what *S. Bernard* says, *Epist.* 78. to be true, *He is to himself a cause of Scandal, who did that which ought to be reprov'd, not he who reproves it.* No doubt but the good Bishop suffer'd very much. Some boasted afterwards at *Manila* (there are always impertinent People) that they had got the better, and thrust up the said Bishop into a Hole at *Ofma*. All I know of it is, that he liv'd and dy'd in that Hole as they call it, with great reputation of Piety, and that his Body is at this time held in great Veneration. The rest is left to God.

4. Leaving aside many things which are not material to the Reader, I will go on with my Travels. In *Novemb.* 1647. three of us set out for *Acapulco*, to expect the Ships from *Manila*, and provide necessaries for our Voyage. We went no doubt too soon, but our eagerness to be at the end of our Journey made things appear rather as we wish'd, than as they were. We soon came to *Cuernabaca*, Cuernabaca. from the top of which place we discover'd that famous Vale from which the *Marquesses del Valle* take name. It look'd like a Terrestrial Paradise, and *Cuernabaca* seem'd no less. In every Street there were two Christalline Brooks, shaded on both sides with most beautiful Plantane Trees; these are not Planes, as was observ'd before. A little beyond this place, upon crossing a small Brook, the temperate Air changes into excessive Heat. This Road is indeed bad and troublesome, there are Mountains that reach up to the Clouds, and as uncouth as may be; mighty Rivers, and the Summer then beginning, high swoln. Bridges there are none, but abundance of Mosquito's, or Gnats, that sting cruelly; some nights Travelers lie in the open Air. To secure ourselves against the Snakes, we beat the Grass very well all about, and then set fire to it a good distance round; then got into the middle of it, where we rested as long as time would permit. We came to the place of the two Brooks, where we pass'd the heat of the day expos'd

pos'd to the Sun. There are infinite Gnats in that place; I placed my self in a small Island between the two Brooks to say my Office, arm'd my self with Gloves, and a Cloth before my face, yet was it impossible to continue there two minutes. I us'd other methods, which avail'd neither my Companions nor me, so that we were forc'd to make hast away; some places were tolerable. Being come to the River *De las Balsas*, we arm'd our selves again with patience; it is well known that River is very large, people pass over it on Canes, which are supported by only four Calabashes they are fastned to; at first it is frightful to see so ridiculous and weak an Invention; an *Indian* lays hold of one end of it, and the Passenger being upon it with his Mules Furniture, he swims, and draws it over after him. There I saw a thing that appear'd odd to me, every *Indian* wears a long Towel over his Shoulders, and with the end of it they are continually driving away the Gnats, and yet I saw their Legs were raw with their stings.

5. I was told another thing no less strange: One of my Companions went down the River to see for some Fowl, he found the Curat of a Town, who to escape the Gnats, was in a little Room close shut, and cover'd all round with Clothes, they go not into any dark place. The Heat was intolerable; discoursing of it, the Curat said, That a few years before it had been so violent, that the Thatch of the Houses took fire, and the whole Town was burnt. They were thatch'd with Straw, and Palm-tree Leaves. Nothing could be beyond this.

6. We pass'd by night through the Cane Grove of *Apango*; in Summer no body passes it, because the heat is so great people are stifled with it; it is six Leagues long, and as many over, two cannot go abreast. At break of day my Mule spy'd a Lion, which made her start, so that she had like to have thrown me; at our Shouts the Lion went away slowly into the thickest part. At Sun-rising we came to the Town, where we were well receiv'd by the Curat who was born in *Old Castile*, his name *Santoyo*. He wore a Cloth upon his Shoulder to defend himself against the Gnats, and ceas'd not beating with it a moment. Discoursing about the Cane Grove we came through, he told us how troublelöm and dangerous it was to pass when the Waters were out, as well because they met there, as by reason of the Snakes that bred in the Trees; so that when he went to the Town on the

other side of it to say Mass, or to any sick Person, he carry'd two *Indians* before him with Hatchets to cut down the Boughs, or could not go through, because certain small green Snakes bred upon the Boughs among the Leaves, which by reason of their colour were hard to be discern'd, and as any one pass'd, would let themselves down upon his Hat or Cap, and then make to the Face, sting, and immediately a Man falls down dead. Their Poisson must needs be very strong.

7. Short of the River *del Papagaio*, or of the Parrot, there are some Sugar-works; we arriv'd at them just as a poor *Indian* putting the Cane into the Mill, had his Arm drawn in and ground to mash: He made his Confession, with the assistance of an Interpreter, because he would have it so, and dy'd soon after.

8. At *Tistla*, because the Place was commodious, we rested two days and a half, without spending our time idly. We visited the Curat, who then kept his Bed, having been sore wounded with a Spear by a villanous *Mulatto*, and the Curat being old was very weak. The Governour *D. Joseph de Castejon*, was not able to turn himself in his Bed, because his Leg was broke. Other *Spaniards* labour'd under Spiritual Distempers, because all of them having had a great falling out with the Curat, they would not be reconcil'd to him, tho' he from his Bed heartily beg'd their Pardon for any displeasure he had done them. The Governour was willing to comply, as believing the misfortune he labour'd under had befallen him for having quarrel'd with the Curat. Fathers, said he to us, I was going to a small Town, and rode my Mule, which is a good-temper'd Beast, the Road as plain as my hand; I was discoursing with my Friend concerning our Quarrel with the Curat, and said, Before *George* I will furnish the Curat with Matter of Merit. No sooner had I spoke the words but my Mule stumbled, down I came in a moment, and my Leg was broke. It was certainly a Judgment, I'll have no more falling out with Priests. The Ensign *Valenzuela*, who was as deep in the Mire as any, prov'd obstinate, ill-natur'd, and inflexible to all our Exhortations to him to speak but a word or two to the Curat, by way of condoling with him for his Distemper, which was as much as we desir'd of him. He agreed to it with an ill will, and we went together to the poor Curat's House. The Ensign went in stamp-

1647. stamping, and in a haughty tone said; No more quarrelling, Master Curat, let every Man stay in his own House and look to it, let us not scandalize the Town. We were out of countenance, and the Curat was struck dumb, that he had not a word to say for himself. In this posture we left that Business. The Mulatto was fled, and we continu'd our Journey on the Day of the Conception of the Blessed Virgin, when there was a Bull-Feast. I shall never forget *Valenzuela's* perverse Temper. *D. Joseph* the Governour was of a generous Disposition, and was a genteel Person; I heard some Years after that he was not cur'd, but walk'd about *Mexico* upon Crutches; it is likely he did not forget what he said to us when he was in Bed. Remembring the very words *Valenzuela* spoke to the Curat when he visited him with us, I thought good to set them down, for it is no small Rarity that I should keep them in mind 25 Years. Master Curat, said he, since what's past is past, let us have no more trouble about it, or make words of it. An excellent way of begging pardon, especially considering his way of delivering himself, which cannot be describ'd.

7. We saw abundance of Pheasants by the way, and some Trees peculiar to that Country; particularly one the *Spaniards* call the Organ-Tree: It is a very proper Name, for the shape of it is exactly like an Organ. I never saw such a Tree in all my Travels but only on that Road. At a little Town the *Indian* Governour spoke to us; among other things he told us, in broken *Spanish*, That he had a Son whose name was *D. Francisco de Aragon, Portu-*

gal, Mendoza, Gulman, Manrique, y Cam-puzano. We were pleas'd at his Noble Surnames, and the *Indian's* Vanity. It pleas'd God we came safe to *Acapulco*, which in the Country Language signifies *Mouth of Hell.* I must here insert one thing which I hapned to omit in the foregoing Chapter: The Monastery of the religious Men of the Order of *S. John of God* was at this time building at *Mexico.* The Church was finish'd and finely contriv'd; the Work went on, and yet it was not known who was at the Charge. Some Endeavours were us'd to discover it, but without Success. Only the Prior knew the Founder, under this tie of Secrecy, that whensoever he discover'd him the Work should cease. I ever lik'd this Action, he sought for no Reward in this World who so carefully conceal'd his Charity, he reserv'd all for the next Life, where doubtless he receiv'd great Interest: Read *Oleas.* in 25 *Exod. ad mores* to this Point. I have often ask'd, whether this Benefactor was yet known, and was at last told that after his Death he was, and that he was an honest Man of no great account in that New World. About that same time *Lorenzana* built the renowned Monastery of the Incarnation. I am inform'd others have been built since. *Mexico* is one of the noblest Cities in the World. I saw and handled another Rarity, which is the Crown of our Lady of the Rosary at our Monastery, it cost 24000 Pieces of Eight. They tell me another of the very same sort, tho less, is made for the Child Jesus, which she holds in her Arms. A religious Man of Note gather'd Alms to pay for this Work,

C H A P. III.

The Author's stay at Acapulco, and Voyage to the Philippine Islands.

1. **W**E had a House hir'd for us at *Acapulco* ever since the last Year, against the Season, came to go to Sea: It is usually hired for eight or ten days, the religious Men use to stay there for two months to provide Necessaries. The Houses are all low, without any upper Floor at all; the best of them are Mud-walls, and all thatch'd; nevertheless they made us pay 400 Pieces of Eight for ours; this seems incredible, but to me who paid it is most certain. Our Landlady was a good antient Widow, whose Name was

Mary de Esquibel; she had a Son a Priest of a most exemplary Life. He was excellent company for us: The Curat's Name was *N. Anejo*, born near *Osonne* above seventy years of Age; he was something poor, yet the report went that he had hoarded above 20000 Pieces of Eight. He once own'd to me, that one Year his Benefice had been worth to him 4000 Pieces of Eight. The Governour of the Fort was *D. John de Bracamonte Santisfevan*, born at *Avila de los Cavaleros*, an affable, meek, courteous and accomplish'd Gentleman. He held not that

Nava-
rette.
Post as Proprietor. The Port is the best and safest in the World, as they who had seen many others affirm'd. Of all I ever saw, and they are not a few, none can compare to it. The Fort is good, has a Battery of excellent Cannon; no Ship can come into the Harbour, but they can sink her. The Temperature of the Air is Hellish, according to the name it bears; and therefore in the rainy Season, which is the Summer in *Spain*, all Persons retire up the Country for better Air, excepting the Blacks, some poor People, and the Souldiers. Whilst I was there my two Companions fell sick, and I continued in Health to attend them, and do our other business. That is such a Country, that if a Man will keep a Servant, it will cost him at least a Crown a day, besides his Diet; and if there are Ships in the Harbour, three pieces of Eight will not do. I never saw a dearer Country in all my Travels. I was forc'd to do all our business my self, because our Money would not reach to Servants, and therefore I took care of the Poultry, and fed them. The drinking Water was brought from a little Spring, about a Musket-shot from our House; they call it *Chorrillo*, the little Stream. Every earthen Vessel cost me two Ryals, [a Shilling].

2. Two Misfortunes befel us in that place. One was the Death of the Governour of the Castle, who was a real Friend. I heard his Confession, and attended him as much as I could. He dy'd in my Arms, and was a great loss to us. They went about burying of him, and 500 pieces of Eight were demanded. I was astonish'd at it, especially because there was but one Priest belonging to the Church: at last they agreed for 150. At his Funeral the Cannon were fir'd, and it was strange that it was heard 14 Leagues up the Country. I would not have believ'd it, had not the Man who heard it, and was a Person of Worth, vouch'd it in my hearing. He was a particular Friend to the Deceas'd, and was going to visit him that very day the Cannon were fir'd. He had lain 14 Leagues from the Port, and hearing the Cannon, said, Either *D. John* is dead, or some Ship is come from *Manila*. This he told us after his Arrival there. Several made Interest for that Employment: the Viceroy gave it to a *Biscainer*, whose name was *D. Martin*—he prov'd a good Man; he had been before at *Manila*, and liv'd not long, as shall soon appear.

3. The second and greatest Misfortune was, that the Church of *St. Nicholas*,

which was at the end of the Town, a ^{1647.} great way from our House, took fire. It broke out about one of the Clock, and about four all the Town was almost reduced to Ashes. The Wind carry'd the Fire, the Houses were thatch'd, and dry as Tinder, there is no doubt but it burnt fiercely. The Rarity was, that the Wind would carry a Spark two hundred paces, which no sooner fell upon a House, but the Flame blaz'd up to the Clouds. The Bells of the Monastery of *St. Francis* fell down; their Fall and the Hole they made in the Ground, were the cause of discovering eight pieces of Cannon hid there by *D. Sebastian de Corcuera*, who had been Governour of the *Philippine* Islands, and was then kept Prisoner at *Manila* by *D. James Faxardo*, who succeeded him in that Government. The Loss of the Royal Apothecary's Shop was deplorable, all the Pots and Vessels were of fine *China* Ware; and tho the House was slated, yet that would not save it from utter Ruin. In the Yard of our House there was a Shed in which were 36 long heavy Chests belonging to *D. Sebastian de Corcuera*, the six least were sav'd with much Trouble, the other thirty were burnt, and the Fire held there three days. All that was Brass remain'd, but much disfigur'd; a thousand Curiosities were burnt, abundance of rich *China* Ware, which to save it from breaking, was pack'd up with Cloves, Pepper, and *China* Ink. *Corcuera* lost several thousand Ducats. Some have writ great Commendations of this Gentleman, as well in regard to his being uncorrupted, as upon other accounts, which might be very well sav'd; many Truths may be conceal'd, but it is not lawful to maintain and publish the contrary, especially when the Fact is notorious. To undertake for private ends, to give the lie to all the World, who were Eye-witnesses of what was done, is to convict ones self of Flattery and Deceitfulness. According to the vogue of all Men in the *Philippine* Islands, he was no good Man; some in these Parts will have him to be so, God rest his Soul, and give us Grace. The Fire went so far, that it got into our Hen-roost, and burnt near 300. so that we lost the Refreshment of our Voyage. One thing mov'd me to Compassion, and made me shed some Tears. Every Man upon such occasions, looks to his own House, without regarding his Neighbours. The Guardian was left alone in his Monastery, and being sensible of the danger of the Fire, put a Stole about his Neck, and carry'd out the Blessed

1647. Blessed Sacrament. The old Man walk'd about weeping, without knowing where to secure his heavenly Treasure. He went away to our House; we placed our Lord in our Oratory. The Fire came on, F. Guardian took him up again. We set a Chair under a Tree, where it stood some time, till at night it was carry'd to the Governour of the Castle's House. We three with what little we had, stay'd in the open Field, expecting some Body would give us House-room. The Governour was every where, he walk'd afoot, and being fat overheated himself, which turn'd to a Fever, of which he dy'd after we were gone to Sea, as we were afterwards inform'd. That Town was so ruin'd, and all Men so sad, that no body spoke a word. Near to our House there were two large stately Trees, the Fruit they bear is like dry Beans, they are an excellent Purge: we saw the Experiment try'd upon a little Black; it was very remarkable, it never ceas'd working till he wash'd his Hands in cold Water, which stops it. Opposite to the House in the old Fort were, as I suppose there still are, the Royal Tamarine Trees, which are beautiful, and the Fruit wholesome and very medicinal; there I took Provision of it for the Ship. In that place I several times saw the King of the Zopilotes, which are the same we call Vultures, it is one of the finest Birds that may be seen. I had often heard it prais'd, and as I thought, they over-did it; but when I saw the Creature, I thought the Description far short of it. I mention'd it in my first Book. There are in that Country abundance of terrible Scorpions. We were told a good and easy Remedy against them, which was when we went to bed to make a commemoration of St. George. I continu'd this Devotion many Years. God be prais'd, the Saint always deliver'd me both there and in other Countries from those and such like Insects. We us'd another Remedy besides, which was to rub all about the Beds with Garlick. We were assur'd there, that it was a try'd and certain Remedy against this sting, and the pain of it, to stroke the part that was hurt with a Child's private Member, which immediately takes away the Anguish, and then the Venom exhales. The moisture that comes from a Hen's Mouth is good for the same. I once catch'd another little Insect that disturb'd the Poultry, it was very deform'd, and of a strange shape. As soon as it was known, several Women came to beg its Tail; I gave it them, and they told

Tamarine.

Zopilotes, or Vultures

Scorpions.

me, that it was of excellent Use dry'd, and made into Pouder, being a prodigious help to Women in Labour, to forward their Delivery, if they drank it in a little Wine.

Navarrette.

4. There is another little Creature in Mexico, which they call Zorrillo, of a hellish Nature, for when it breaks wind, it infects all the Grounds about with the Stench. The greatest Trouble we all of us had during this time, was, that no Ship came from Manila, tho the Season was well advanced. At night Whales would come into the Bay, and make such a noise in the Water, that it sounded like Cannon; at first we fancy'd some Ship was coming in, the Neighbours deceiv'd us, so that we took no more notice of that noise. About the middle of March a Ship pass'd before the Harbour to the Norward, every body was alarm'd; we expected it should tack about, as being of opinion they had not made the mouth of the Harbour. It accordingly tack'd, a Boat went out and brought it in, but it came from Panama to fetch the Viceroy, who was prefer'd to the Government of Peru. There was some Dispute, whether the Viceroy should go away to Peru in that Vessel, or should send Relief in it to the Philippine Islands, whence no Ships had come in two Years. There were some Troubles in Peru at the same time. A Consultation being held, they agreed it was best to relieve the Islands. The plain truth is, they had no mind the Bishop of Campeche, who had been at Mexico some time to that purpose, should take the Government upon him. What the Consult had decreed, was put in execution; the Pink was taken up for the King's use, for 36000 pieces of Eight. There is no doubt but in the East Indies they would build four Vessels as big again as that for the Money.

Zorrillo.

5. This secur'd our Voyage. I began with fresh Courage to make my Provision, and secure Water, which is a main point; there was enough of it, but the laying it aboard only cost me 36 pieces of Eight. The Blacks monopolize this Trade, and it must be as they please. The Vessel was small; the Men, Merchandize, Commodities sent by the King, Provision, Water, Wine, &c. in so great quantity, it seem'd impossible so little a Ship should contain; and in short many Bails were again brought ashore for want of Stowage. The Commander was our Friend, he made the best provision for us he could, and we were much better accommodated than

we had been the first Voyage. Thirty Priests of us went aboard upon Palm-Sunday the 8th of April, 1648. One of the King's Officers never return'd me twelve Foul I had lent him, tho he had no manner of Right, for he did us no kindness, nor had we the least Favour from him or his Companions. F. Guardian kept back six upon Charity, that was the Reward I had for the Sermon I preach'd upon St. Joseph's Day. As we were going abroad, a Letter from the Lord Bishop Palafox came to our Vicar, telling him, he had received News from Spain, that the Islands were in the hands of the Dutch, that he would do well to look to it. This News was spread abroad: I don't doubt but there was sufficient ground for it, as shall be said hereafter. And tho it was enough to discourage any Man, yet none were dismay'd the least, but we all resolutely declar'd we would see how it was. If we consider it rightly, it was a Rashness, at least to humane Appearance; but God seem'd to have a hand in't, we were eager to go, and therefore valued nothing. *S. Thom. in 1 ad Rom. lect. 5. says, That whatsoever a Man eagerly desires, he seeks to gain it at any rate, whether easy or difficult.* He never considers Obstacles.

6. On Palm-Sunday we din'd aboard the Vessel upon what our Landlady sent us; for having receiv'd 400 pieces of Eight for the hire of two little pitiful Houses she furnish'd us, after the Fire we spoke of before, she now show'd her self grateful, and treated us well. There is a Lake near that place, which breeds an excellent sort of Fish call'd *Almojarra*, this it was we din'd upon that day. I put to Sea with much Satisfaction, and tho the Land we left astern was high enough, yet we lost sight of it that Afternoon. Eight days we lay by for a Wind, the Heat during that dead Calm was extraordinary. Upon Easter-day one Mass was said, the Pink was not convenient nor big enough to celebrate that High Mystery, so that was the first and last. We never miss'd the *Rosary*, *Litanies*, and *Te Deum* at break of day; besides these, other Devotions, and spiritual Discourses. That day the Wind freshned, and held without abating the least 24 days. The Sea beat hard upon the side of the little Pink, which made it and us very uneasy. The Commander, who was us'd to that Voyage, said it was a strong Current coming down from *California*. And tho afterwards discoursing on this Subject with one who thought himself skilful in Navigation, he deny'd that any such

thing could be, yet I believe what I heard from him that understood it, and am the better satisfi'd in it, in regard how ill the said Person came off, when his Opinion was thwarted. All the Jars and Pots that were empty'd aboard the Vessel were cast into the Sea, a Chest of Bisket and Hen-coops were immediately burnt to make us some more room. We had hardly room to stand. No body could live under deck, it was so full of Provisions and Commodities. All Men lay expos'd to the Sun and Air. We had the Steeridge, which was no small Comfort, the Cabin was very little, yet a great ease. Having sail'd 800 Leagues, we left St. *Bartholomew's* Island to the Norward, but saw it not; they say it is small, and destitute of all things. We had a dead Calm for eight days again. The Seamen and Souldiers would leap into the Sea to cool themselves, but would sometimes return hastily to escape the Sharks they discover'd. A very strange, and to appearance miraculous Accident befel us. Some Men went down for Water, to give all People their Allowance; when they came up, I and many others observ'd they were as pale as a Clout, we ascrib'd it to the great Heat under deck. They kept their Counsel, without taking notice there was any thing more than ordinary; among the rest one *Belaftain* a Captain of Foot had been down: when we were ashore, we understood that they going to look with a Candle what Water there was in cask, lit upon a Barrel of Powder, in which the Candle went out, without giving fire to it. This seems incredible, but certain it is, that had it taken fire, we had all flown up into the Air, before we could say, Lord have Mercy upon us. When we do not watch, our Guardian Angels watch for us, and succour us in Distress. When they told it us, tho we were ashore, it made our Hair stand an end.

7. There was another extraordinary Accident, but of no danger. The Master was a *Portuguese*, his Name *Antunez*, who no doubt understood his Business; he daily computed how many Leagues we ran, according to his Judgment, for in sailing from East to West there is no certain Rule. This is a Subject has employ'd many, and does at present, to find the sixth Longitude, but I believe to no purpose. Some who slept more than the Master, would have it we had run more Leagues, and said, we were past the Islands *de Los Ladrones*, or of Thieves, now call'd *Marcanas*: there was much de-

1648.

bate,

1648. bate, and Wagers laid. The Master was netled, and swore they should not be seen till next Sunday. Every body look'd upon it as a piece of *Portuguese* Positiveness. Trinity Sunday came, at Sun rising he sent up to the Round-top, and said, This day before eight of the Clock we shall discover the Islands *de Los Ladrones*. It was very strange; about half an hour after, he that was at the Top-mast cry'd out, Land a head, Land. They all stood amaz'd, and not without cause. That Afternoon they discover'd four Sail from the Topmast-head, which caus'd a great Consternation, but it was a Mistake of the Sailor. A small Vessel made up to us; we lay by for it, to take in some Refreshment it likely brought, which the Natives of those Islands exchange for Nails and old Iron. About Night-fall it quite vanish'd astern of us. How that came to pass, and who was aboard, shall be said in another place. Three days after was a great Calm, and after it follow'd a terrible Storm. They lower'd the Top-masts, and the Commander was for cutting down the Masts by the board. The Master's Mate, who was an excellent Seaman, oppos'd it. The Violence of the Wind put us by our Course. We stood for the Channel of *St. Bernardine*, and were forced to steer away for *New Segovia*. Having discover'd the Land of the Islands, we kept coasting along, and towards the Shore perceiv'd high Sandbanks, Shoals, and Rocks. The Master gave the Steersman Directions what Course to hold, and lay down to sleep a little. Fresh Islands and Shoals were discover'd ahead, and our Commander order'd the Man at helm to stand in to shore. The Purser presently stept up and cry'd, A Shoal ahead. They shifted the Helm, and we weather'd it wonderfully, the Vessel almost glancing upon it. The Master wak'd with the Noise, was in a mighty Passion, and he had good reason, because they had not follow'd his Orders. He stood directly from the Land till we came into 14 Degrees and a half Latitude. Thus we arriv'd safe on Midsummer-day at *Casigura de Balcr*. Next day some People went ashore, but late, for which the Commander was blam'd. They advanced to hear how things stood, the *Dutch* having been there with four Sail, which had not the Storm prevented it, had certainly taken us; the Natives thought our Men were Enemies; being satisfy'd they were not, they receiv'd them. There they had a short account of the posture the Islands were in,

of the great Victories his Majesty's Forces had obtain'd over the *Dutch*, and that the Enemy still infested those Seas. They brought aboard with them two *Indians* who spoke several Languages, and knew how to carry a Ship to *Lampon*. Having heard this News, and receiv'd these Pilots, we sail'd that night, and the next day within Musket-shot of the Shore, which was very delightful. That Afternoon we came to an Anchor in the Port. About Midnight the Wind blew furiously at South West, and tho it came over the Land, it made our Anchors give way, and was driving us out to Sea. That Wind seems to have been the effect of a special Providence, to keep off the Enemy. Next day the Plate, and other Goods belonging to his Majesty and private Persons, were secur'd, and it was propos'd to lay up the Pink upon the back of a small Island, that the Enemy might not discover it, tho he should come into the Port. We set out for *Manila*, and by the way were inform'd how much all Men were overjoy'd at our unexpected Arrival. That great Satisfaction was in some measure allay'd, for the Enemy by mere Accident discover'd the Pink, and made to it. Our Men being ill provided, at variance, and the Commander but an indifferent Souldier, they set fire to it sooner than there was occasion; so that in half an hour's time his Majesty lost 36000 pieces of Eight, and they that were aboard some Reputation.

8. We travel'd four days afoot, not along a Road, for there is none, but over Hills, Rocks, and inaccessible places. Some Rivers we swam over, others we waded Breast-high. On the Mountains, which are very high and thick of Trees, we found such multitudes of Leeches, that there was no possibility of avoiding them; the Blood ran from us all as we went. I declare it for a certain truth, that I saw one making its way through a Shoo; I call'd upon others to observe that strange sight, as accordingly they did, and stood amaz'd at it. It rain'd very hard; we halted where-ever Night overtook us. The *Indians* made Huts cover'd with the Leaves of Palm-trees, in which we lay upon the Grass with the Water flowing over it. The last day we went down a Hill, whose Ascent was two Leagues, some said more; that day we descended as much as we had ascended in three. Some part of it was very rough, the Rain continual, so that we tumbled every step, and could not avoid it; and I avouch it for a truth, that I saw some of my Companions

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Leeches.

panions sitting down carry'd some little way by the Water, and yet so well pleas'd it is hard to be imagin'd.

9. We came to *Apanguiel*, where there is a fine Monastery of our Father St. *Francis*, but were so wet, dirty, weary, and hungry, that nothing less than all the kind Entertainment we met with there could have made us appear like Men. Our Cheer was such as agreed with those holy Mens Charity. The next day two Fathers arriv'd there from *Manila*, which was still fresh Comfort to us. Another F. Guardian, who was F. *Luke*, carry'd four of us to his Monastery; the Church was beautiful, the House indifferent, the Seat the finest and most delicious that can be imagin'd. It stands high, and from a Balcony there was a full Prospect of all the Lake *Bai*, which is thirty Leagues in circumference, has some Islands in the middle, and is encompass'd on all sides with Mountains, Groves, Palm and Plantane Trees, Rivers and Marshes, extremely pleasing to the eye. We afterwards visited other Monasteries, and still found every thing new and rare. We set out in two Vessels for *Manila*, cross'd the Lake, lay that night at *Binangoa*, where the Guardian F. *Francis* made very much of us. The next night we continued our Voyage to the mouth of the Lake, where ten Vessels from *Manila* expected us; in them there were *Chineses*, *Indians*, and

the *Mungvels*. We said Mass, and getting aboard sail'd down the River, being notably entertain'd with Fireworks, beating of Basons, and firing of Muskets. The *Chinese* Basons made us gaze, for tho they are no bigger than an ordinary Bason, they sound like a great Bell. It is a strange Instrument. The River is one of the finest in the World. That of *Goa* is wider and deeper, but this is better set out with great Houses, Orchards, Towns and Churches. We went into some Palaces, which would surprize any *European*. Being come to the Bridg of *Manila*, a notable Structure, we saw it cover'd with People of several Nations. We were receiv'd into our Monastery with ringing of Bells, where we immediately visited the miraculous Image of our Lady of the *Rosary*, the Comfort of that and all the other Islands in their Afflictions and Distresses. The sight of it rejoiced our Souls, and made us forget all past Toils. The Father Provincial, as a singular Favour and Indulgence, granted us eight days exemption from Mattins. Those that came at other times said, he had dispens'd with them but for three days, and that the Privilege granted us was very great. To say the truth, there wanted not some that went to the Choir that very night, but I had not so much fervour of Spirit as to perform so much.

1648.

C H A P. IV.

The Author's Stay at Manila.

1. **D.** *James Faxardo Cbacon* govern'd the Islands at this time; this Gentleman was excellently qualify'd for Government, because he hated Money and Women. F. *Andrew Gomez*, a religious Man of my Order, carry'd him a little bit of the Holy Cross set in Gold. He valued it at a great rate, but would not accept of the Relick till the Gold was taken off. He retir'd too much, and gave ear to none but *Emanuel Estacio de Venegas*, who grew so proud of his Power and Preferment, that he govern'd absolutely. He was no less dreaded by all Men, than *Nero* was in his time, but he suffer'd for it afterwards. *D. James Faxardo* had now kept *D. Sebastian de Corcuera* in Prison five Years. A strange turn of Fortune! *D. Sebastian* had been the most absolute, the most dreaded Lord in the World. In his time hapned the Banish-

ment of that Archbishop so much talk'd of throughout all those Nations. He undertook the War of *Iolo*, where the Gentry of *Manila* perish'd. The Island *Hermosa* was lost, by his neglecting to relieve it, as all Men there say. He gather'd vast Wealth. He was sent a Prisoner to *New Spain*, and afterwards to *Madrid*, where it is said he came off well. They expected other sort of News than they heard of him at *Manila*. Some body has writ that he was a Man that regarded not Interest, but the Author gives no proof of it but his bare Word. I read it in a Pamphlet that *D. Sebastian de Corcuera* clear'd himself, alledging, he had gather'd his Riches out of his Majesty's Allowance. But another Pamphlet argues against him thus. First, That Governours cannot deal or trade with his Majesty's Allowance. 2. That it is impossible

1648. ble he could with his Allowance gain as much as the *Custodium* cost, which was lately brought to his Majesty; what he lost in the Ship that was cast away upon the Islands de *Los Ladrones*; what was burnt at *Acapulco*; the Plate he had at *Mexico*; and what was taken of his at *Burgos*. Nor does it follow, that he was a good Governour, because he has since behav'd himself like a good Christian: Nor is there any ill Consequence can follow of speaking the Truth out of a true Zeal, only that they are displeas'd to hear it, who do not desire to know it. *Estacio de Venegas*, whilst a private Man in *Manila*, was belov'd by all Men, when a Favourite he was hated: there is a great deal of Difference between being in a Post, or being in none, to make a Man's Actions be the Rule of Honesty. *D. Sebastian* was the Inventer of the *Vandalas*, (it is a Name given by the Natives, and signifies a Division, or rather Assessment) which has been the Ruin of all Men. For the better understanding of it, I will explain it in a few words. In the first place I must declare it is a great piece of Ignorance to make *D. Sabiniano Manrique de Lara* the Author of this Division. How could this Gentleman be the Author of the *Vandalas*, when there was fourteen Years Pay of the *Vandalas* due to the *Indians* when he entred upon the Government? The Revolt of *Pampanga* for want of paying these Divisions happening during this Gentleman's Government, perhaps was the cause some Men talk'd as they did. True it is, that Insurrection oblig'd *D. Sabiniano* to give them a great number of picces of Eight, in part of what was due, as they told me afterwards; but this was paying, and what is that to prove him the Inventor? In short, after the *Indians* have paid their Taxes, attended the *Cortes*, and other personal Duties, which are many, they rate every Province yearly; as for instance, that of *Pampanga* at 24000 Bushels of Rice, at two Ryals, or two and a half a Bushel, because it is for his Majesty, and this they are to trust, God knows how long. The *Indians* of the Province are rated how much every one is to furnish to make up this quantity, which is exacted with great Rigour, besides the Frauds of the Masters of Vessels who carry it; so that he who is assess'd three Bushels, must give half a Bushel over; and he who is assess'd six, pays seven, &c. This is it they call *Vandalas*, and this is what was not paid for so many Years, which makes the *Indians* quit the Islands, and go to other Places,

and forbear sowing, as I my self have heard them confess; and it is most certain, that if this Assessment were sometimes taken in lieu of the other Taxes, or they were exempted some personal Duty, they would be very well pleas'd. But it is hard that this should be continued every Year, and that there should be Plate to pay Ministers, Officers Civil and Military, and other Expences, and never any to pay what is bought of the *Indians*. If these and the like Proceedings cause the *Indians* to quit the Country, where will be the Advantage of those Lands, or what will the *Spaniards* do there?

3. The greatest Trouble we religious Men meet with in the Towns of the *Indies*, is to see their Sufferings, and find out how to comfort them. It sometimes happens, as it did in my time, that the Rice is destroy'd in some Parts (this is frequent, sometimes the Mice eat it, sometimes for want of Rain, and sometimes the Sea breaks in and drowns it) so that there was no possibility of paying the usual Tax. This was made known to the Lieutenant of the Province, the Governour of the Island was petition'd, but to no purpose; so that the *Indians* bought Rice at four Ryals the Bushel, and sold it to his Majesty for two and a half upon trust, never to be paid. It is plain our Catholick Kings Bowels of Compassion would not allow of such Practices, were they sensible of them. It were better for the *Indians*, that the Governours should maintain them, and they work all year for the Taxes and *Vandalas*, than to be handled as they are now. It is a great Misfortune that the *Tartar* should take such care of his *Chinese* Subjects, and that we should make it our business to take no care of our Sovereign Lord the King's Subjects, having receiv'd such frequent Intimations of his Will. It is no wonder those Islands are so exhausted, tho the Soil is as good, as fruitful, and as kind as can be wish'd.

4. It were endless to descend to Particulars. I know that in my time a Governour of *Ilocos* in two Years made 14000 pieces of Eight of his Government; what a condition did he leave the *Indians* and their Country in? It were well that those who write from thence would speak plain, and point at Persons and Things, and not do in general terms, leaving room to blame those that are innocent, and clear the guilty. This must be either a Design, or Malice. All the World knows how clear our Province has always been, and still is, from seeking after any world-

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ly interest in that Country, they have never consented to possess the least Revenue, they have never receiv'd Duties from the *Indians* they serve, they have always been satisfy'd with the Alms freely given by *Spaniards*, or Natives: thus have they been maintain'd, and have cloth'd themselves out of the Alms his Majesty gives them, and have wanted for nothing. It is requisite to discover who are guilty, that all may not suffer. Read *Oleasf. in 25. num. & nomen viri Israel, &c.* One year a certain Governour writ a complaint against our Fathers at *Pagasinam* (one while he was for us, another against us, so changeable is Man) that they had burnt some Woods, whence Timber was to be had to build Shipping. It is easy to imagine the effects this Letter from a Governour produced in the Council of the *Indies*. Now if this Man would go about to burn but the hundredth part of one Wood, he would not be able to compass it in a year with the assistance of 10000 *Indians*. This is well known to those who have seen the Woods in the *Philippine* Islands, and the proofs are convincing. The Blacks who live in the midst of those Woods, are very numerous, and burn a great deal, yet it is never mis'd. In the Island *Mindoro*, where I was twice, I was an eye-witness to what the *Indians* practise. They have no Lands to sow, and to get some little Rice they fire part of a Wood; after they have labour'd at it some days, they clear and cut down the Underwood, they heap them together, and set fire to them again; when all that is burnt, they set fire to the great Trees, till they wast them by degrees; and they are so hard that the *Indians* are forced to ply it eight days or longer, stirring and raking up the fire. When an *Indian* has labour'd two Months from Morning to Night, he has clear'd about as much Land as he alone can manure. How then could a Vicar with four *Indians* burn whole Woods? Were not this true, I would not write it, but would rather have pass'd it over since it is now forgot, but it is fit to be known in case any thing of the same nature may happen again, that no Man may rashly give credit to that which is in it self incredible. *D. Sebastian Cavallero de Medina*, being his Majesty's Attorney General, either to show great zeal, or gain reputation, sent a complaint of the excessive Duties Religious Men exacted from the *Indians* in these parts, there is

no doubt they were all thought guilty. 1648. He ought to have explain'd it, and not make the innocent liable to be blam'd for the fault of some.

5. Eight days after our arrival, we were distributed into several Provinces to learn Languages, that we might administer to the *Indians*. I remain'd in the Province of *Manila*, where with some others I learn'd the Language *Tagala*, without much difficulty. If in *Europe* Grammar and other Arts were follow'd with such application, as we there learn Languages, Men would soon be learned. At the end of five Months we all heard Confessions and preach'd, and at the years end did both with great ease, and convers'd with the *Indians* about their affairs. During this time we employ our selves no other way save only in the business of the Church and Choir. Our whole time is taken up in descending to Cases and Tenses of strange Tongues, for the benefit of Souls. If the Climate were not so opposite to that of our Country, we should take double the pains. The Heat is excessive, to ease it we use Baths, and the Fruit, which is most delicious, but in time we grow sickly. I always lik'd the *Indians*, they are not harsh and stern, like those we saw at *Mexico*, but civil and tractable; they have Wit enough, and are very dextrous at any thing. There are among them excellent Penmen, Painters, Carvers. They are apt to learn any Mechanick Trade, and above all very willing to learn, and submissive to Priests; as for their understanding in what concerns our holy Faith, they may vie with most of our Countrymen, and out-do them all. They have excellent Books in their Language, which the Religious have printed, and they love to read them; so this is owing to our labour, and their aptness to learn. The *Indian* Women are very devout and modest, and frequent the Sacraments with great zeal. There is no Holy-day great or small, but abundance go to Confession, and receive the Blessed Sacrament. I us'd to say, that the fervour of the ancient People of *Castile* was gone over to the *Indian* Men and Women at *Manila*. The *Indians* celebrate Festival days very well, there are few among them but dance very well; and so in Processions they use Dancing, and play well on the Harp and Guitar. His Majesty allows every Church eight Singing Men, who enjoy Privileges, are employ'd at the Divine Office, sing well; and there being always some aiming at those Places, the number is greater,

Philippine-Natives.

1648. ter, but only the Eight that are appointed enjoy the Privileges granted. The Ornament of the Churches is decent, curious and cleanly; and there being abundance of Roses, Flowers, and sweet Herbs all the year, these things are great helps to fet out the Churches.

Archers.

6. The *Indians* are great Archers, especially those they call *Zambales*, and those that live in the Mountains, they have no other Arms Offensive or Defensive. I heard antient Men tell such feats of them, as I judg'd incredible, till I had an opportunity of convincing my self. Men ought not presently to believe all they hear, nor should they be as incredulous as I have been. I once met a Company of Mountain-*Indians*, and among them four, of about seven or eight years of Age. I took an Orange, which are very plentiful there, and threw it up into the Air, as high as I could, saying, Shoot that Orange, my Lads. They all four hit it in the Air, and beat it to pieces. Another new comer and I were astonish'd, and he who had been longer there, and told us of it, laugh'd at us. This I was my self an eye-witness to in the little Town they call *Abucanamtaas*. This shows they are good Archers.

7. Whilst I continued in the Islands I perform'd all the duties Obedience laid upon me; I ministr'd to the *Indians*, I taught in our College and University of *S. Thomas*, and preach'd, tho I was never healthy, for after two years being there, the Country disagreed with me very much. During this time some particular accidents hapned, a few whereof I will put down, that I may not extend too far. Col. *D. Lorenzo Laso*, a good Soldier, very brave, and of a Gigantick stature and presence, was Governour of *Terranate*; he was at variance with *Emanuel Estacio*, and was impeach'd of holding correspondence with the *Dutch*, a mere foppery. He was brought away Prisoner, and dy'd aboard the Ship somewhat suddenly. His death was laid to *Estacio's* charge, I know not how he clear'd himself. His death was much lamented, and the manner of it suspected, for he was very well belov'd, and much fear'd and honour'd by the *Chinesse* Infidels, because at the rising under *Corcuera*, he alone with his Sword and Buckler on a Bridg, stop'd a world of *Chineses* he met there, as *Horatius Cocles* did upon the like occasion. Admiral *Sebastian Lopes* a *Portuguese*, and brave Soldier, liv'd at *Manila*, and did wonders in the Victories we obtain'd over the *Dutch*. He dy'd suddenly, and

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was thought to be poison'd. This also was laid to the charge of *Emanuel Estacio*, besides many other things sent into *Spain*.

8. The *Hollanders* some years before having done much harm in that Country, entred the Territory of *Batan*, where those of my Order exercis'd the Spiritual Function, and possess'd themselves of the Churches, rather through our fault, than any valour of theirs; the Governour resolv'd they should be demolish'd. The greatest mistake was in suffering them to be built, but once finish'd, they could stand the Enemy in no stead, as having no Harbour, or so much as Water enough for their Ships within a League, nor any safe way to travel by Land. Our Cowardice gave them the opportunity to break in, and was the occasion of demolishing those Buildings, in which the Natives suffer'd much, because they did not only work, but all the Timber, which was very good, a considerable quantity, and their own, was taken from them, without allowing them a cross for it, and *Emanuel Estacio* made his Presents of the very Stone. If the Materials had been left to the *Indians*, since they were their own, they would have demolish'd the Churches for the value of them, have had Money to spare, and time to attend their Tillage, and other labour. This brought those poor People into some distress, and among their other misfortunes the Enemy took some of them, and two Religious Men of ours well vers'd in the *Tagala* Language.

9. Upon the death of *D. Lorenzo Laso*, *D. Lorenzo de Ayala* succeeded as Colonel; he was a *Castellan*, or Governour of Fort *Santiago*, or *S. James*, a most amiable Person; there was no body in *Manila* but lov'd him tenderly. The Lady *Anne Tellez* his Wife was a Saint-like Woman, they were call'd the Loving Couple, and each was above Seventy years of age. *Estacio* took not this in good part; a proud Man cannot endure that any body should rise above him, he thwarted the Old Gentleman, which soon put an end to his Life, to the great regret of all that knew him. From him that Command went to *D. Peter de Almonte*. This Gentleman had been some time banish'd *Manila*, he was not of *Estacio's* Faction, and therefore it was fear'd he should be chous'd of the Post; but the Governour having by this time a jealousy of *Estacio*, because *D. John de Sarraos* had done him an ill turn, he sent for *D. Peter* and gave him his Commission,

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and

and made him Knight of the Order of *Santiago* at the same time. The Publick rejoic'd at this, and *Estacio* was very much troubled and in care for his Fortune, which having rais'd him so high through so many wrongs, he had cause to fear would soon cast him down. St. *Thomas* in *Psal.* 36. says thus, *The order of falling is, because they are lifted up that they may fall the heavier; but the manner is like smoke, which once scatter'd is no more to be retriev'd.* So it prov'd with this Man. On the 14th of *September*, being the Feast of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross, it was whisper'd about the City that he was apprehended. Every Man was struck dumb without daring to speak out; for had it not prov'd true, any Man that had mention'd the least word would have paid for it. The news grew hotter, and it appear'd they had carry'd him away Prisoner to the Fort of *Santiago*, or *S. James*. The City began to breath, and was eas'd of the heavy cross it had bore some years, and that day he began to bear that which God sent him: *When he was in honour he did not understand.* He neither understood himself, nor knew how to sit fast in the Saddle. Much of what he had was seiz'd, but he had much more conceal'd, as well in *Manila*, as at *Mexico*. He suffer'd and came to misery, and some years after dy'd in the Dungeon. It were better for him to have been contented with his first fortune of a Merchant, and Inhabitant of *Manila*, in which quality he was belov'd by all Men. This is he who said, he would stop the mouth of any Governour that should succeed *D. James* with one or 200000 Pieces of Eight. He was very much deceiv'd.

10. Upon *Corpus Christi* Day, in the year 1653, a considerable misfortune befel me, which was that a flash of Lightning fell upon the House of *Batan*, where I then was; our Lord deliver'd me, the Religious Men and others belonging to the Monastery. That day sevennight another flash of Lightning fell two Musquet-shot from the House, where it kill'd a Black and an *Indian*, who were gone out a Hunting. That disaster struck a great terror into me; till then I own it I dreaded Thunder but little, or not at all, but ever since nothing can be more fearful than I am. Soon after upon *S. Barnaby's* Eve, as I was carrying our Collegi-ates of *S. Thomas* out to Recreation, in crossing the River, the Wind blew hard, overset the Boat, and we were all in the Water. The waves were so strong that

we holding fast by the sides of the little Champan which was overset, they drove us away as if we had been but a straw. The danger was great, and therefore I took care to absolve them all, tho with great trouble and anxiety. There was no body to absolve me, and I had scarce presence of mind enough to lift up my heart to God. An infinite number of People look'd on without being able to succour us. It pleas'd God some Canoos ventur'd out, which tho they overset too, yet they sav'd our Lives. I was in most danger because of the weight of my Habits. Two Blacks who stuck by me, under God sav'd my Life. We all return'd safe to the place where we took Boat, Clothes and other things were lost; but the Bottle of Wine to say Mass, being two fingers breadth empty'd, was thrown ashore. God in his mercy was pleas'd to deliver me from all these dangers.

11. About the same time we receiv'd the news of a dismal accident which had happen'd at *Cagayan*, to one of my fellow Travellers, whose name was *F. Luis Gutierrez*, born at *Almagro*, and a very good Religious Man. On *Candlemas-day* that year he had said two Masses in two several Towns; there was another three Leagues off, and therefore for the satisfaction of those *Indians*, that they might not be left without Mass on so great a day, he resolv'd to go thither and say the third. He was sailing along a Creek very dangerous, because of the *Alligators*; they observ'd one stirring in some particular place, the *Indians* in the Boat took heart, and endeavour'd to keep on their way, making a noise with their Oars and shouting; but it avail'd nothing, for at the second terrible stroke the *Alligator* gave with his Tail, he overset the Vessel, so that they were all in the Water. The *Indians* being more active, and having less hindrance from Clothes, easily got to shore. The poor Religious Man loaded with his Habits, and not over skilful in swimming, became a prey to that cruel bloody Monster, who fed on him, and he was bury'd in his Bowels.

12. We know for certain that some Deaths, which to the eyes of Men are unhappy, are happy before God, and to them that pass through them. A good Death, says *St. Augustin*, is that which follows a good Life, be it of what sort it will. It is a bad Death which comes after an ill Life, tho it be quiet and peaceable in Bed. The Good *F. Lewis Gutierrez* having liv'd so virtuously,

1648. oufly, said two Masses that day, and being about to say the third, who is there that can doubt of his good Disposition? Why God should permit that Misfortune, is to be try'd in another Court, it is our Duty to be always ready; *Be ye ready, because ye know neither the day nor the hour.* Read what *A Lapid* writes concerning *Lot's Wife* in *Gen.* 19. 24. and that of the Prophet, 3 *Reg.* 13.

Alligators. 13. I several times saw fierce and terrible Alligators, especially one morning as I was coming down from saying Mass in a Town, and went down the River towards the Sea; the *Indians* began to cry out *Caiman, Caiman*, that is, *Alligator, Alligator*; I look'd all about and saw him not, they pointed at him, and yet I was not satisfy'd; and the truth was I saw him, but he being so vastly big, I could not perswade my self it was an Alligator, or that there were any so large in the World as what they shew'd me. We drew nearer, and then I plainly discover'd and distinguish'd him: He lay asleep upon a little Island of Sand at the mouth of the River, and I thought it as big as the main Mast of a good Ship; and before I thought that Bulk had been some Tree carry'd thither by the stream of that great River. I saw others afterwards, but not so large. They are terrible to look to, and have four Eyes, two above and two below; there are abundance of them in the Lake *Bai*. In dry Seasons they carry the great Cattel to feed thereabouts, it being excellent Pasture. The Horses and Cattel graze; and tho they are watch'd, yet an Alligator comes out and carries away one of them every now and then, as a Cat does a Mouse.

14. Some small time before I came to the Islands, there hap'ned a remarkable Accident, which was, that a couple of *Indians* being marry'd, and ready to go to dinner, the Bride took a fancy to go down to the River to wash her Feet, as they do every now and then. The House was built, as is common there, partly over the River. As she was washing, an Alligator snapt at, and carry'd her away: Her crys brought out the People, who saw her betwixt the Alligator's Teeth, and he making away with his booty. The Bridegroom seeing that dismal sight, blinded by Love, and over-rul'd by Passion, rashly cast himself into the Water, with his Dagger in his hand, and follow'd the Robber that carry'd away his Love. He overtook and fought with him, recover'd the Woman, and return'd victo-

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rious with her in his Arms, but she was dead. He return'd a Widower, sad, and full of Tears: It was a famous and heroick Action. Many *Indians* have escap'd these Monsters, they have found by experience that they are very tender in the Eyes, therefore those who are not in a Consternation, attack that part, and the Alligator flies to save himself. In those Countrys all people report, that when the Female spawns, she always does it where there is a Current of Water: When the young ones come to life, they drive down the Water, where the old one expects them with her mouth open, and eats all she can catch, that which slips by on either side saves its life. This they say is the reason the Rivers are not all full of those Creatures, tho there are many of them. I shall return to them in another place.

15. I will end this Chapter with the account of a most strange Accident, tho of another nature, that fell out in my time in the Port of *Cabite*. I was told it, but made a doubt of the truth, inquir'd further of Mr. *Quinnones* the Curat of that Port, and was satisfy'd and assur'd of the certainty of it. An *Indian* Woman sent her Daughter to the Sea-shore, which was about thirty paces distant from her House, to gather some Sticks which the Water throws up: The *Indian* Girl saw something on the Shore like the Paunch of a Sheep or Goat. She went and told her Mother; her Mother bid her fetch it. When the *Indian* Woman saw it, she perceiv'd it was the Off-spring of a Woman, she open'd and found the Child alive, carry'd it with all speed to the Curat *Quinnones*, who baptiz'd it, and it soon after died. It was always suppos'd, that some wicked Woman to conceal her Crime when she was deliver'd, had thrown the Child After-Birth and all, into the Sea; and by the place where it was found, and the time it was computed, it must have been at least five or six hours in the Water; and yet neither the Cold, nor length of time kill'd it, which is very strange. All Men admir'd at it, and I am amaz'd every time I think on it; and as with regard to God nothing happens accidentally, we are bound to praise and adore the inscrutable Mysterys of his Divine Providence, vvhich as it preserv'd *Moses* in a Wicker-Basket on the River *Nile*, so it preserv'd for his Glory this Child in its natural Swathing-bands, in which its cruel and vvicked Mother brought it forth.

Nava-rette.

Navarrette.

1653.

C H A P. IV.

What Observations I made, and how I was employ'd during that time.

Sabiniano Manrique de Lara.

1. **I**N the Year 1653, *D. Sabiniano Manrique de Lara*, Brother to the Earl of *Eriginiano*, arriv'd at *Manila* as Governor of those Islands. With him went *D. Miguel de Poblete*, an *American* born at *Puebla de los Angeles*, as Archbishop: The Lord *Cardenas*, a Native of *Peru* of my Order, a very Learned Man, and greater Preacher, as Bishop of *New Segovia*: The Lord *N. S. Gregorio* a *Franciscan*, as Bishop of *New Caceres*; and Doctor *Vcles* Dean of the Cathedral of *Manila*, as Bishop of *Zibu*: they brought Men and Plate, which was new Life to the Islands. All Men were consum'd, poor, sad, and tir'd out with *D. James Faxardo's* Severity, and overmuch Retirement. The new Governor's Familiarity was very pleasing, he spoke to every body, heard all Men, walk'd about the City, visited the Monasteries, never fail'd being present at Festivals and Sermons of Note. He was pleasant, and held a Discourse very wittily; he was not the least proud or vain, but religious and godly, and several times I heard him speak of spiritual Affairs, and the contempt of the World; I was astonish'd, as well at the Words he spoke, as at the Spirit and Energy vvith vvhich he spoke them. He vv as never partial towards any particular Religious Order; he honour'd, respect'd, and lov'd them all, behaving himself towards them as a Prince ought to do. He show'd himself very devout upon sundry Occasions, going himself in the Processions that were made in the City. He vv as charitable, and endeavour'd to have the People multiply; to vvhich effect many Marriages were concluded through his means, he forwarding them by giving some Employment. When the new Archbishop absolv'd that Country from all Ecclesiastical Censures it had incur'd on account of *Corcuera's* banishing the Bishop, as vv as said above, *D. Sabiniano* himself conducted the Lord *Poblete* to the Postern of the Storehouses, vvhich vvay the Archbishop had been thrust out, to give his Blessing there. When he had done it, *D. Sabiniano* cast himself at the Archbishop's Feet, and said, Your most Illustrious Lordship may be assur'd I will not cause any such Troubles. This Action of his gave an excellent example to others.

2. He was unfortunate in some things, particularly in Ships being cast away in his time, but I don't see why he should be blam'd for this. What vv as *D. Sabiniano* to blame, because the Ship which *D. Peter de Villaroll* commanded was cast away? What Fault was it of *D. Sabiniano's*, when the Commander *Vgaide*, and *Thomas Ramos* lost another of great Value? All I can say is, that this Gentleman took a great deal of pains, built good Ships, and fortify'd the City well to oppose the *Chineses*. I heard afterwards of some things vvhich vv ere laid to his Charge, vvhen he gave an account of his Employment, vvhich are fitter to make a Jest than any thing else of. That little sharp Humour he had, vv as the best thing he could show in that Country. I observ'd, and carefully took notice of one thing, vvhich vv as, that if in his haste and passion he happen'd to speak a hard Word to any body, he vv as so much concern'd and troubled at it, that he vv ould omit no possible means to satisfy the Party that vv as griev'd; so that for the future he vv as extreme kind, and express'd his Affection to him in all manner of ways; a great proof of his good Temper. Much more might be said, were it futable vvith my Design.

3. Yet I cannot bear that this Gentleman's Services and Merits should be altogether bury'd in Oblivion, and therefore I resolv'd in this place to give some small touch upon them. I vv ill not play the Panegyrist, nor the Historian, my Pen will reach neither, but will only in plain terms relate vvhat I know of certain. It is not my business to blazon his Family, or deduce the Genealogy of *Manrique Lara*, or give an account of its several Branches, which honour many Houses in *Spain*; for besides that it is an Undertaking above my reach, it vv ould be holding a Candle to the Sun. *Pbilo Alexandrinus* said of the Sacrifice of *Abel* and *Cain*, *For neither the Sun, nor Moon, &c.* These beautiful Planets vvhich govern the Day and Night, need no Orators to commend their Beauty; their own Light makes them known, and recommends them to all the World.

4. I must also own, that if he I speak of had nothing greater than his Birth to recommend him, I should not be so much led

1656. led away by that. It cannot be deny'd but Nobility Native is commendable, but that which is acquir'd exceeds it, and raises a Man above the Clouds. And tho' *Ovid* in his Epistle to *Piso* lessen'd the former, *Perit omnis in illo gentis bonos, cui laus ejus in origine sola*: Yet others vvith good reason extol it; but there is no Man who does not cry up that which is gain'd vvith Dangers, Labours, Troubles and Fatigue. Read *S. Thomas* his 1st Book, *de Erudit. Princip. c. 4 & 5.* where he says much to the purpose. Therefore I say this Gentleman by his Piety, good Example, and Service done his Majesty, had added new Splendor to the Family of *Manrique de Lara*, and increas'd its Glory.

5. Being at the Port of *Cabite* in the Year 1656, I heard him say he was a Colonel at nineteen years of Age. Some Men by their Valour and Resolution, gain more in a few Years than others do in a great many. *S. Jerom*, and after him *Lyra* in 1 *Dan.* says, *There is this Advantage in a Noble Birth, that it imposes a sort of Necessity on Noble Persons, not to degenerate from the Worth of their Ancestors.* Nobility influences Men to act as becomes their Descent. It is no matter tho' a Man be young, if Courage and Resolution guide him.

6. Her Highness the Princess *Margaret* governing *Portugal*, and having fitted out a Fleet of 18 Sail against the *French*, *D. Sabiniano* was made Admiral of it for 18 months. This was a Post of great Honor, and imply'd that he who was prefer'd to it was better qualify'd for it than others at that Court. There was no Action, for tho' the Storm threatned *Portugal*, it fell upon *Biscay*.

7. But the time when he show'd the greatest Constancy and Courage, was, when he carry'd Supplies to *Portugal*, at the time that Crown began to cast off the Dominion of our Monarch. How often was his Life in danger? How many Straits was he reduc'd to? But how great Resolution and Valour did he show upon all occasions? He set out of *Cadiz* vvith the Command of two Vessels, in which were three hundred Foot, six reformed Captains, Provisions and Ammunition for the Castle of *S. Julian*, at the mouth of the River of *Lisbon*; there he resolutely landed, to be inform'd of the state of the Place, tho' his Officers oppos'd it. It is in vain to vvithstand a Man who runs on vvith Zeal in his Prince's Service. He understood he Castle had surrendred. He vvvas

forced to strip from the Waist downwards to get to his Boat, vvhen in it overfet; *D. Sabiniano* sav'd his Life by swimming: They cannonaded his Ships from the Castle; and he because they lay by for him, made signs to them to make off, vvithout regarding the danger he vvvas in himself of falling into the Enemies hands. This it is to regard the Publick, not ones private Good. The Ships set sail, not knowing how to take up their Commander; so that he, vvet and almost naked, together vvith Capt. *Bartholomew Antonio*, took into a litle Cave to dry himself and attend his Fate. That little repose, such as it vvvas, lasted not long; the danger so much increas'd, above 300 Men passing that vvay in a Body, that the Captain and he gave themselves for dead. God deliver'd them that they might begin to suffer afresh. Here begin the Disasters of *D. Sabiniano* in that Kingdom; He vvvas taken and carried to the Castle, and tho' the Count *de Prado* his Friend us'd him vvell, yet that did not deliver him from vvhat God had ordain'd he should endure for his King and for his Honour.

8. The news of his being taken coming to *Lisbon*, abundance of People flock'd to see him, because he vvvas so vvell known at that Court. Being at dinner, one rose, and drawing his Sword half vvay, said, I hope in God I shall enter the *Activo* (that is, the King of *Spain's* Palace at *Madrid*) and kill the King of *Castile*, and the Count Duke. To talk thus in the presence of a Prisoner is a great folly. The *Chineses* say, A Dog that barks much is ne're the better for it. That *Portuguese* vvvas talkative, and vvithout doubt a Coward: Had he said that when *D. Sabiniano* vvvas drying himself in the Cave, and had his little Sword, I suppose he would have had cause to repent it. *D. Sabiniano*, who will put up nothing that concerns his King, tho' never so inconsiderable, answer'd, I trust in God I shall see you hang'd in the great Market-place, call'd *Rocio*, vvith other impudent Traitors like your self. It is no great matter to give such an Answer, when a Man is at liberty vvith his Sword by his side; but it is a sign of great Courage and Loyalty to break forth into such Expreiions, being a Prisoner among Enemies. That pass'd, and five days after one of the four *Corregidores* of the City carry'd him away Prisoner to *Lisbon*. When he entered the City, the Mob lording it, threw every thing that came to hand at him. He vvvas committed to the Castle of *S. George*, where being feverisht vvith vvhat he had gone

Nava
rette.

gone through, he laid down upon a Mat. *Nava-* The Constable of the Castle took pity on *rette.* him, gave him a Bed, and order'd the Officer commanding to use him well. A month after he was carry'd to the Prison of the Court (it answers to our *Mar-shalsea*) because there had been a Report that certain Captains design'd to take him out of the Castle: There he continued five days, was then remov'd to the City Goal, lay eight months in a Dungeon, which threw him into a dangerous Diltemper. This did not move the Goaler to give him the least ease, he had certainly banish'd all sense of Charity. The Heathens in *China* treated me and others much better. Mony prevail'd, for that is the God of such People; he put him into a little Room, where he recovered of his Indisposition. Nor was this Comfort lasting, for on account that a Prisoner had made his escape, a new Goaler came into place, and the Prisoners far'd the worse. He order'd *D. Sabiniano* back to the Dungeon; some words pass'd upon it, so that the Goaler went to make his complaint to the *Alcaldes de Corte*. One of the Alcaldes came down, words pass'd between them, he commanded him to go into the Dungeon. *D. Sabiniano* excus'd himself, saying, There were Orders he should be alone, and that in the Dungeon there were a great many. The Alcalde said, Go in *Fidalgo* (that is, Nobleman) for there are other honest Men there as good as you. Had the Alcalde not known *D. Sabiniano* he might have been excusable, but knowing him, he was certainly very brutal, and deserv'd the Answer *D. Sabiniano* made him, who in a rage told him, He was an impudent Villain, and that but for dirting his hands, he would beat him to death. It was boldly spoke of a Prisoner to the Judg; but ill usage provokes generous Souls.

9. The Alcalde being in power, and affronted, order'd him to be put into the Hole, to which he was let down through a Trap-door, and there lay six months in misery. These sufferings nothing discourag'd him, but rather added to his Resolution; his Body so tenderly bred, suffer'd, but his Heart surmounted all Difficulties. Next follow'd that famous Conspiracy carry'd on by the Archbishop of *Braga*, Marquess of *Villareall*, Duke of *Caminka*, and others who were executed. *D. Sabiniano's* Opinion was not follow'd in it, I doubt not but his was the just and right Method, for he was a Person of excellent Judgment. He writ

to the late King concerning that Affair, 1656. and gave a Note of Directions how his Letter should come to the King's hands, but this Paper was found out. He was brought before a Court compos'd of sixteen Judges, and went with a resolution to break through all that stood in his way, if they did not shew him the Respect due to his Quality. His Reason was, that he was not carry'd before that Assembly as a Criminal, but as a Prisoner of War, and therefore ought to be treated with all respect. At his coming in he found them all bare-headed; it is likely he had declar'd his Intention, and they were acquainted with his Resolution; they all bow'd, and gave him a Seat. Being examin'd upon Oath, he own'd that Note was his. Being ask'd who the Letter was for mention'd in the Note? He answer'd, For a Woman. They ask'd, Whether she was marry'd, or a Maid? He wittily reply'd, That Question did not belong to the Court, but to the Confession-Seat. After some other Interrogatories, that Ceremony ended. He was return'd to the same place, and order'd to be taken care of and secur'd.

10. A fortnight after the Corregidor, with four Alguaziles, conducted him to *Santarem*; a great many removes, and all bad ones. He was there delivered to a Goaler, who was well qualify'd to execute that place in Hell. Five days he kept him in a Room convenient enough, but then carry'd him down to a dark and strait Dungeon. There he was under two Locks, with a guard of 25 Souldiers, and their Commander, without being allow'd Ink, or to converse with any body. His Diet was search'd; a Window there was with strong Iron Bars they shut up every night; and us'd so many Precautions, that he had need of all his Courage not to disney. Five or six months after King *John* the Fourth pass'd that way, the Prisoners implor'd his Mercy, which they obtain'd, who had no body to oppose it. The Corregidor had advis'd *D. Sabiniano* to do the same; but he boldly refusing the Advice, shut his Window, which was as much as throwing of it in his Face that pass'd by: A resolute Action for one that was in a Dungeon. The Rabble rose, and cry'd, Let the Traitor die. King *John* order'd the Window to be fast barr'd without, so the poor Gentleman was immur'd for nine months, without any Light but what came in at a little hole he made with a small Knife he had, and was so close kept,

1656. kept, that a Captain who was his Acquaintance could not give him some Relief he desir'd him.

11. His shutting the Window was much resented by the *Portugueser*. I was told it in *China* by some of that Nation, and they added, they were about putting of him to death for it. After so many Misfortunes, he was exchange'd for the Count de *Villanova de Portimano*. *D. Sabiniano* was taken on the 25th of *December*, 1640. and releas'd the 8th of *May*, 1645. Who can imagine his Sufferings in five Years? Being come to *Madrid*, he was soon after made Constable of the Castle of *Acapulco*, an honourable Post, but I often heard it said, there was nothing at that time greater to reward his Services. Next he had the Government of the *Philippine* Islands, the best and greatest Post in the *Indies*. He govern'd as I have related, and shall further write hereafter. More he has not had, because he would not. I very well remember he said to me once at *Manila*; *F. Dominick*, if it shall please God to send us to *Spain*, your Reverence shall see I will retire to *Malaga*, to endeavour so to live as I would die, without concerning my self with worldly Affairs.

12. About the time the new Governour came to the Island, I discover'd upon the Mountains of *Butan*, that Fruit so much esteem'd, and so delicious there is in *China*, which the *Spaniards* call *Luchias*, and the *Chineses*, *Li Chi*. It is one of the best in the World. I carry'd some to *Manila*, and they were the first that ever came fresh to that City. Those they carry thither from *China*, are dry'd, and do not show what they are when new gather'd. I spoke of this in the first Book.

13. About the same time, I being then gathering Strength after a fit of Sickness, offer'd to go Companion to one of ours, who was design'd for the Island *Luban*, and thence to *Mindoro*, to visit some Christians, and do the best Service we could to those poor *Indians*. The Isle of *Luban* is 12 Leagues distant from that of *Manila*, it is small but beautiful, has abundance of *Coco* Trees, much *Cotton*, and very good use is made of it; the Town contains about 200 Families that pay Taxes: It has a very good Fort, with an excellent Ditch, for the Inhabitants to defend themselves against the Robbers they call *Camucones*, who, through our great negligence, every Year infest that and other places, to the great detriment of his Majesty's Subjects. Whilst we were there, an Alarm was given; we fled to

the Fort, but it prov'd a false one. The Church is indifferent, and well adorn'd. The Curat had order'd, that as soon as the *Angelus Domini* Bell had rung, it should ring again to the *Rosary*, and all the Town resorted to it. Some Persons assur'd us, that since the introducing of that Devotion, no Enemy had ever come thither, whereas before there were many that infested them, and carry'd away all they had. Before they neither said the *Rosary*, nor had a Fort, afterwards they had both, but the first had sufficed to secure them. We heard Confessions, and preach'd there till after *Christmas*, which was kept with great Solemnity. About that time a most terrible Storm rose, which made us go down to the Porch, as believing it would bear the House down. Not far from thence one of the King's Champan was under Sail, and in it the Governour of *Caraga*, with his Wife and three bare-footed Fathers of *St. Augustin*; they ran right before the Wind, without knowing whither they went. The Night was dark, the Sea swell'd, they concluded they should be cast away, but knew not whether near or far from Land. Two of the Fathers of *St. Augustin* consulted together in private, and as it is suppos'd, said, it was better to be in a readiness, and not stay till all fell into the Sea together, where it is hard to get loose from one another. Each of them ty'd up his little Quilt full of *Varo*, which is a thing like *Cotton*, that bears above water a long time, call'd his Boy, and so they cast themselves into the Sea, without being taken notice of by any body; but what we have written was guess'd to be done by their being missing with their Quilts. Their Companion and the rest were much troubled at it; but they were never heard of, it is likely the first plunge in the Sea they lost their Quilts, and perish'd. At break of day the little Vessel was cast ashore upon a small Island, half a League from that of *Luban*. All the People were sav'd, except one Woman-Slave, who throwing her self into the Water to get to shore, was drown'd before any body could come to her Assistance. They came to *Luban* so thin and poor, that any one might guess what they had suffer'd. The Curat treated them well.

14. Upon the day of the *Epiphany* we cross'd over to *Mindoro*. That Afternoon we went up to the Town of *Calavit*, it is above a League from the Sea, and all the way steep and craggy. Three days after we came down to go to *Guistin*, where

Luban.

Camucones.

Mindoro.

we were to reside, thence to repair where-ever there was occasion. That day we travel'd above 6 Leagues afoot, along the hellishest Road imaginable. In some places we climb'd up the Rocks, in others we could scarce get up with the help of the *Indians*. We saw a place where the Rocks were pointed, and so sharp and piercing, that in truth they pierced the Soles of our Shoos, and the poor *Indians* Feet which were bare, really ran Blood, that it broke our Hearts to see them. We came to the foot of the Mountain of *Guistin*, without having broken our fast: there we found some *Indians*, who had roasted *Batatas*, but cold; we eat a little of that Dainty, and began to mount the Hill: it is as high as the other, but much more craggy. For a good space we did nothing but crawl upon all four, holding by the Roots of Trees, then we walk'd, but every now and then laid our selves on the ground to get Breath. By God's Assistance we came to the top, found the Church, but without being able to get into it, fell down at the very door flat upon our faces, where we lay a great while to rest. That done, we found our selves in such a Sweat, that our very outward Habits were all wet. The Wind was cold, and blew very hard; that Night's Lodging was in a little thatch'd House, where the Air came in at every corner; our Supper was a morsel of Bisket dipp'd in the Wine we had to say Mass, because of the Cold; we slept sitting, and one leaning against another. The next day, which prov'd fair, we made use of the Sun to dry us. Having said Mass, we went about our business, which was to take care of the Souls of those *Indians*. All our cheer was some Eggs, Rice, and *Batatas*, whereof there is abundance, and good ones in those Mountains. Upon *Candlemas* after saying Mass, and Preaching, I return'd to *Calavit*, all the same day travelling the second time that blessed Road I spoke of before. The Weariness, Sweat, Wind, and ill Provision, made me so sick that night, as I lay alone in my little Hut made of Cane and Straw, that I thought I should die, and yet in truth I was pleas'd. Some days I continued there doing my best. I went to two other little Towns, and the Road had enough; there I preach'd, catechis'd, and baptiz'd some. One day I had nine marriageable young Men, who were come down from the Mountains to desire Baptism. They had never seen Priests; after being instructed, they were christened. An old Man,

in appearance above fourscore years of Age, came duly to the Catechising; he appear'd very devout; and when I went to say the divine Office, he would go after me. Once I call'd him, and ask'd what he would have, and why he always follow'd me. He answer'd, Father, I hear you say, we are oblig'd to know the Christian Doctrine, and I being ignorant of it, seek an opportunity for your Reverence to instruct me. How long have you been a Christian, said I? He answer'd, A Year. And I thought he had been so from his Infancy. I farther ask'd him, Who baptiz'd thee, and how? He gave me a full account of all, and told me, they had not taught him a word, giving for their reason, that he was old and could not learn. It troubled me much, and I began immediately to instruct him. I us'd to take him with me to the Sea-shore, and both of us being seated, I explicated the Belief to him the best I could, according to his Capacity. I would say to him, Do you see the Sea and the Sky? God created it all. He then reply'd, Is that possible? is God so great, that he could do what you say? I repeated and explain'd it, and would again say to him; So that this Sky, this Earth, this Sea, &c. is all the Work of God. And he admiring still, went on: Is God so great, so very great? which he often repeated. I took care of him, and he was diligent, for he understood things better than the young ones. I afterwards heard his Confession, and found some Difficulty to absolve him. I ask'd, *John*, have you ever sworn, or told any Lie? He answer'd, To what purpose Father should I swear or lie? Have you had any words, or been angry with any body? Father, said he, I live alone, mind my Tillage, I see nor converse with no body; tho I had a mind to quarrel, I have no body to fall out with. Thus he answer'd to all I ask'd. I gave him a few Rags, and bid him call himself *John of God*. He went his way very well pleas'd, and I remain'd with great Comfort. Having catechis'd that little Town, and baptiz'd the Children, with those I said were grown up, I return'd to *Guistin*. The Curate of *Nanhoan*, 30 Leagues Southward, sent for one of us, and I resolv'd to go thither immediately.

15. As we were sailing along in sight of shore, the *Indians* discover'd a *Carabao* or *Bufalo* near the Water. We put to shore; I was left in the Vessel: the *Indians* fell upon the *Bufalo* with their Spears, and he defended himself wonderfully; at last he ran raging into the Sea, and

1665. and came furiously up to the Vessel in which I was; he struck the Canes on the outside, or else I had been in danger of my Life. At length they kill'd and cut him in pieces. I went ashore to wait for the Men, and presently we discover'd a Company of Mountain-Blacks; we perceiv'd they were Friends, so that I rest'd satisfy'd; and that the sight of me might not disturb them, I slipt in among some Trees. They came up to us, being about 30 Men, Women, and Children, all of both Sexes with Bows and Arrows, and stark naked, only their Privities cover'd with Leaves of a certain Tree. The Men were painted with white, the Women with other Colours, and wore great wild Flowers in their Ears. To say the truth of it, they all look'd like Devils. When they were in discourse with the *Indians*, I came out on a sudden, talking to them in their own Language, and offering them Leaf Tobacco, which they make great account of. As soon as they saw me they started, and almost all the Women and some Boys fled so nimbly, that they seem'd to fly. The rest were pacified: I gave them Tobacco, and talk'd to them with all possible Kindness, and endearing manner. Two Women went to bring fresh Water to drink, and the *Indians* having done with the *Carabus*, they staid there with the Offal, Paunch, and Bones. The *Indians* told me, As soon as we are gone, all these People will gather about here, and will not stir till they have gnaw'd the Bones, and eaten the Paunch and all that is in it.

16. At ten of the Clock at Night we went up the River *Bacco*, which is at the main Point of that Island. The Rain was so vehement, that the Town was drown'd. There I stay'd 24 hours. In sight of the Town is a vast high Mountain, whence a River tumbles down, which being look'd upon from below, looks like a Mountain of Cristal; the Water runs near, which being so softned with the fall and running over much *Carza parvillu*, is extraordinary good. This Island has some notable things. First, abundance of *Civet Cats*, of which they might have a considerable Trade; abundance of Wax upon all the Mountains; they make no account of the Honey; plenty of *Potatoes*, *Cometes*, *Ubis*, *Namies*, and variety of Fruit; an infinite number of *Cedars*, whose Blossom, which I often saw, exhales a most fragrant Scent, and reaches far; a multitude of *Coco-trees*. There are besides abundance of other Trees, from which they extract Honey, Wine,

Vinegar, *Tuba* and *Chunco*; a sort of Trees like *Plantain*, of which they make a sort of black Hemp for Rigging. There is another sort of white Hemp, taken from another Tree. they call *Alca*, it is excellent for Cables, the more it is wetted, the stronger it grows. There is another Tree of which they make them as white as Snow, and delicately fine, which the *Indians* use for their Bed and Clothing, tho they do not want Cotton, of which they make excellent Cloth.

17. The Sea and Rivers abound in excellent Fish: That sort is found there which is commonly call'd *Piscis Muller*, of the Bones whereof Beads of great value are made, because they have a singular Virtue against Defluxions; that which has been try'd is worth much Money. The Licentiate *Francis Roa*, Curate of that place, told me a very extraordinary Passage that had happen'd in his Division. An *Indian* going a fishing every day, found near the Water a *Piscis Muller*, they say it is like a Woman from the Breasts downwards. He had actual Copulation with her, and continu'd this beastly Whoredom for above six Months, without missing a day. At the end of this time God mov'd his Heart to go to Confession; he did it, and was commanded to go no more to that place, which he perform'd, and that Abomination ceas'd. I own, that if I had not heard it my self from the Person I have nam'd, I should have doubted of it.

18. The next day late, the Curate, Governour, and I set out in three Boats for another Parish, which was it I design'd for; they three were to be reconcil'd, having had some falling out, and that was the reason of undertaking this Voyage. The Curate made us very welcome; they embraced and became good friends, putting an end to the Festival with a noble Treat he gave us. Upon such occasions, and great Rejoicings, it is no sin to add something extraordinary. *St. Thomas* observ'd it, speaking of *Isaac*. After him *Iyza* made the same Reflection in 2 *Tob.* upon those words; *When it was the Festival-day of the Lord, and a good Dinner was made in Tobit's House*; he says, *By this it appears, that upon Festival-days it is lawful to drink more, and more delicately, in respect to the Feast, not out of Gluttony, &c.* Even God himself seems to have intimated the same formerly. Read *Oleaster* in 28 *Numb. ad mare*, &c. There is no doubt, but upon a day of entertaining Guests, and making a Reconciliation, there ought to be a Dish extraor-

Nava-
rette.
Leeches.
Tooth-ach.
 dinary. It is true there was no Wine, but abundance of good Water. A few days after I fet out upon my Visitation, I had many places to go to, and they were far afunder; having been at the first, I struck up the Country to avoid a Cape that runs far into the Sea. The way was so thick of Trees, and they so tall, that for two Leagues there was no seeing the Sky; and there was such abundance of Leeches, that we could not get rid of them. Coming down to the Sea, I was carry'd over a Brook upon an *Indian's* Shoulders, who carry'd his Spear in his hand; about the middls he spy'd a stately Thornback, darted his Spear, and nail'd it to the Sand. Having set me down, he went back and brought away the Fish struck through the middle. He told me how delicate Meat the Liver was, which being boil'd for me, I found to be very dainty. I told this at *Rome* in the Year 1673. and it took so well, that there were Persons who endeavour'd to get some. I did not then know the great virtue there is in the fiat Bone at the tip of that Fishes Tail; it is an excellent Remedy against the Tooth-ach; scratching them with that Bone takes away the Pain, but it must be cut off whilst the Fish is alive.

Cacafu-
siles.
 19. I went to pass the Holy Week at a little Town, which had a small Church, the pleafantest and most delightfully seated of any in the World, I believe. It is three Leagues from the Sea, and the way to it is up an admirable and mighty River. Upon Floods it spreads its Stream a League wide. Near to this River is a little Hill, that looks like a fine Garden. On the South-side of it are beautiful Coco Trees; on the West and North it is cover'd with *Cacafuchiles* full of Flowers, pleasing to the Eye and Smell; on the East is a Prospect of vast high and delightful Mountains. About it was an Enclosure of stately *Maguies*, and in the midst of them was the Church and House, the Town on the South-side; the North-side on which the River ran was very craggy, and a fine Spring at the bottom of it. The Ascent was designedly cover'd and blind-ed, to secure the place against the Enemies they call *Camucones*. *Indians* of other Towns assembled there, and confest and receiv'd, some were baptiz'd. Two things somewhat remarkable happen'd to me there. One was the hearing a Confession of 30 Years. Truly the *Indian* made a very good Confession, and was a Man of good Sense. The other was, that a Woman who was marriageable,

1656.
 and of a very sound Judgment, said to me, Father, I went up to the Mountain with a Youth, we liv'd there six Years as if we had been marry'd. (In the Mountains they may live without working.) One Night, as we had done many others, we lay down to sleep upon the Grass. At break of day I wak'd, bent my Body up to look upon him, and saw him dead by my side. That struck such a Terror into me, that I immediately came down to the Town, and resolv'd to confess my self, and mend my Life. I have found this opportunity of your being here, and will make my advantage of it. I advis'd her what to do, and always to bear in mind how merciful God had been towards her. Here what God says is literally verify'd, that when two sleep, he will take the one and leave the other. The poor miserable Youth being suddenly assaulted by Death, was in danger enough, considering the time and condition he was in when call'd. We perform'd all the Ceremonies us'd by the Church from *Palm-Sunday* till *Easter-day*. There was a Sepulcher; the chief Man of the Town found all the Wax that was us'd. I remember that as I was preaching upon the Monday, the good old Man's Heart was touch'd, and on a sudden he knelt down, crying out aloud. His Devotion provok'd me and others to shed Tears, and so the Sermon ended.

Natives.
 20. All those *Indians* are like our plain Countrymen, sincere and void of Malice. They came to Church very devoutly; not a Word was spoke to them but produced Fruit: would to God the Seed were sow'd among them every day; but there they have Mass but once in two or three Years. When they die, there's an end of them; but great care is taken to make them pay their Taxes, and the Curates Dues.

21. There is one great Conveniency for the *Indians* in having religious Men in their Divisions, which is, that these being now and then chang'd, if an *Indian* is bashful, or afraid to confess to one of them, or has had any difference with him, he lays himself open to another, and makes a good Confession. But if once he is afraid of a Curate, or it happens the Curate is harsh to him, he can hardly be brought to make a clear Confession to him. He that made a Confession to me of 30 Years, had before conceal'd some things out of Fear. Some Years before the Fathers of the Society had been in this Island, they had four of their Family there, who labour'd very diligently; the

1656. the Clergy to whom it belong'd before, went too low with them. The Fathers resign'd, and all that was left to one Curate, which had been before the care of four religious Men. We may guess what a condition it remain'd in; this is seeking those things which are their own, not those which are Christ's. Places were visited where the Curate had not set foot in fourteen Years.

22. Upon *Easter-day*, after having said Mass, explicated that Mystery, and distributed among the Poor some Rice, Batatas, Eggs, and Fruit that had been offer'd me, I set out by Land to another Town. By the way I lay under the Shade of certain Trees, there I met a Mountain Infidel, he had an excellent natural Disposition; I us'd him with all imaginable Kindness, but there being no previous Disposition, it avail'd little. The next day I lodg'd in the House of another Infidel, who treated me well. These and thousands of them will not be baptiz'd, for fear of the Taxes and personal Duty, as I observ'd before.

23. We came to the Town of *Santiago*, or *St. James*; it is in an ill Air, and expos'd to the Enemies call'd *Canucones*. The foregoing Year those People had carry'd away some of the *Indians*; one of them gave me this account: Father, my Wife was in labour in this House when the Enemy came, I threw my self out at that Window, and others follow'd me; the rest, especially the Women who attended my Wife, were taken. They drove them this way, and my Wife being weak and spent, was not able to go, and they were beating her on, which I stood yonder looking on without being able to relieve her. One of them carry'd the new-born Child upon his Arm, and just in that place he clave it from top to bottom with his Hanger, and left it there. Inhumane Barbarity! This griev'd my Heart, and Fear would not let me sleep, and so my Health daily impair'd. I spoke to the *Indians* to remove to another place which was more healthy and safe; they consented, and there soon set up a little Chappel, and a small House for me. For themselves they made Barracks after their manner, and they are sufficient to keep out the Wind and Rain; Cold there is none, but excessive Heat.

24. A Boat of the *Chineses* of *Manila* that ply thereabouts came to this place. The *Chinese* whose name was *Gose* told me, how he had by Art and Cunning got clear of six Vessels of the Enemy; he had aboard a Father of the Society and a

Spaniard. He seeing the Enemy design'd to attack him, prevented him, let fly his Colours, and playing on his Bassons, made towards them as it were in defiance. They drew together to consult, and the conclusion was that they fled. The *Chinese* in his broken Language said, Those Fellows don't see nor know what is my Boat, and they are afraid of Death; if I fly I am certainly lost, then is it not better to attack them? He must either imagine I have Arms, or at least will be jealous of it, and which of them will venture his Life? Upon *St. Philip* and *Jacob's* day I was in great trouble: I was hearing Confessions in the Chappel, and observ'd that the Cane-chair on which I sat mov'd. I imagin'd a Dog was got under it, and bid the *Indian* turn him out. He answer'd, Father, it is no Dog, but an Earthquake. It encreas'd to such a degree, that leaving the Penitent, I kneel'd down, to beg Mercy of God. I thought the end of the World had been at hand: I have seen several Earthquakes, but none so great as that. When it was over I said, If it has been so great at *Manila*, there is not one Stone left upon another. I was afterwards inform'd it had done some harm, but not considerable. It was an hundred Leagues from thence to *Manila*, and much Water betwixt.

25. During those days I catechis'd all, heard their Confessions, and administred the Blessed Sacrament to them. There were no Persons of Age to baptize, but some Children. The Heat increasing, as did the danger of the Enemy, and my Health decaying, I resolv'd to return, with no small Grief for leaving two other places unvisited, 20 Leagues from thence. I came to *Nanboan*, calling at the same Towns I had come through before. In this Journey I observ'd, that having gone up a River, and order'd the *Indians* to provide me a place to say Mass in, and another to lie that Night, they did it in two hours time, covering all the place with only two Leaves of *wild Palm-tree*. A violent Rain fell that Night, but not one drop came through. I have then and several times since admir'd this; each Leaf was so large, that an *Indian* carry'd it dragging after him; and being shap'd like a Fan with Gutters, and strong, it could bear out any Rain whatsoever. Another thing happen'd in another Town, which put the *Indians* into much Fear, and not a little amaz'd me. They were upon the Sea-shore making ready the Vessel I was to go in, and on a sudden there came out of the Water a Fish very well

known there, which we call *Picuda*, and the *Portugueses Vicuda*, and laid hold of an *Indians* Ankle with such Force, that it was dragging him away to the Sea; the Company came in, and with Sticks and Stones made him quit his Prey, and return to the Sea. They brought the wounded young Man to me, he made his Confession, remain'd in a bad condition, was afterwards cur'd, but ever halted. Those Men were scar'd, for they had never seen or heard say that Fish would come ashore, and much less that it would fall upon a Man.

26. Near to *Nanboan* there is an admirable Lake, so full of Fish, especially that sort we call *Lifas*, that sometimes they take them with their hands; they take out the Roes and leave the Fish; these Roes salted are very good with Rice, and look'd upon as a Dainty. Whilst I was there, an *Indian* Woman went in to wash her self, but was devour'd by a Crocodile. I set out for *Manila*, and a Chief of the *Indians* with his Son and four others went Southward; the Enemy attack'd them, and tho they fought, they were taken and carry'd Captives to *Mindanao*: God deliver'd me and those that were with me. I pass'd by the Bay of *Batangas*, and then had a sight of the

Lake of *Lombon*, which is a very fine one. 1656. From *Manila*, where I stay'd a few days, I went to *Batam*; there I was much troubled and disturb'd by Witches or Fairies, what it was we knew not, but the effect show'd it to be a contrivance of the Devil. No considerable hurt was done any Man, but we heard much Noise, and saw Stones fly; the House all foul in a moment, and as suddenly clean; the Chairs hurry'd about without perceiving who mov'd them, and the like. We pass'd whole Nights without closing our Eyes.

27. One Night when I and another were gone to Rest, and the Noise was abated, there came into the place where we lay, the Governour, Judg, and other *Indians*, to see whether they could discover any thing. They went on courageously, threatening those that durst disturb the House. The moment they came in they were thrown down Stairs, an infinite quantity of Stones, Sand and Dirt tumbling after them. They were so frightened, that they never enquir'd further into the Matter. I was call'd away to *Manila*, and by that means deliver'd from this Vexation, which continu'd some Months, and others had enough to do with it.

C H A P. VI.

Of my Second Mission to Mindoro.

1. I Return'd the third time to the College of *St. Thomas*, and it was to be first Professor of Divinity. Next Year about the end of *April*, the Lord Archbishop appointed *D. Christopher Sarmiento* Curate of our Lady of *Guia*, Visitor of *Mindoro*. He desir'd me to bear him company, a little Invitation serv'd, because the Air of the College did not agree with me. Father Provincial gave his Consent, and taking one of my Scholars for my Companion, we went up the River all together; then we cross'd the Sea, and upon the Feast of the Invention of the Cross, which is the 3d of *May*, I preach'd at *Baco*. The *Indians* have a more than usual Devotion for the Cross, they celebrate the Festival the best they are able. There is no *Indian* Town but is full of Crosses, which they adorn and set out very curiously. Going to the first place we were to visit, as we were sailing up the River, a terrible Storm overtook us, and we had a wretched Night in the Ves-

sel, which was very small. We cross'd the Mountain of the Leeches a second time with much trouble. I was about leaving the second place of visiting till our Return. A Chief ask'd me to hear his Confession; I advis'd him to stay, because I would return that way, and stay there some time. He press'd and desir'd me to hear his Confession; I did so, and when I came back he was dead. I look'd upon it as a special Predestination: I remember he made a good Confession, and was very penitent.

2. I came to the Town, so beautifully seated, as I describ'd before; but the *Camucones* having taken their Chief the last Year, as he was going from *Nanboan*, I found the People remov'd, and all sad and disconsolate. I spoke to his Wife, who was in Mourning, and heard her Confession: I had heard her before, and truly she never uncover'd her Face, so great is the Modesty and Reserv'dness of many *Indian* Women, tho they be but

Coun-

1657. Country People. I comforted her the best I could. At another Town before we came to that of *Santiago*, many *Indians* met, and we staid some time there. Here I observ'd that the Dogs bark'd very much at Night, and the place being expos'd to the *Canucones*, we were somewhat concern'd. I ask'd the *Indians* why the Dogs bark'd so much? and they answer'd, Father, there are abundance of *Crocodiles* in this River; the Dogs that have a mind to swim over, meet in one place, and bark for a good while, till they think the *Crocodiles* are assembled there (it is most certain and known by experience that the *Crocodiles* vvatch Dogs, as the Cats do Mice) then some of them running up, and others down, they cross over out of danger from the *Crocodiles*. This happens every Night, and therefore you need not be concern'd at their barking. I vvondred at it, and remembred I had read that the Dogs of *Egypt* did the same at the River of *Nile*.

Dogs.

3. During that time, a Spy of the Enemies came to us; he put upon us, telling a thousand Stories, when we began to suspect it, there was no finding of him. Afterwards an *Indian* came to us from the other Towns, who said there were ten Vessels call'd *Caracoas* of the Enemy failing that way. The *Indians* immediately retir'd into the Mountains, and we stay'd behind only with our Boys. This bad news made us resolve to return, very much concern'd to see what obstacles there were to hinder the prosecution of our Mission to those places that were in most need. At my return I heard of several Skirmishes the *Indians* had with the *Canucones*, but were ever worsted. Before we came to *Manila* we heard the news, that the Ship *S. James* coming from *Mexico* under the Command of *D. Peter de Villaroel*, was cast away near *Balain*. I heard the Commander *D. Peter de Mendiola* say, that Ship stood his Majesty in above 200000 Pieces of Eight. This was the famous Ship *S. James* that serv'd instead of a Castle when the *Dutch* assalted *Manila*. She receiv'd the shot of all the *Dutch* Artillery upon one side, being then a ground. Above 1000 Bullets were found in her, and of above 2000 that were fir'd at her, not one went through. The Timber of that Country is extraordinary, and they build Ships very strong. The Ship which sail'd that year for *Acapulco*, weather'd great storms, and one Wave carry'd fourteen Seamen over Board, as the Letter I saw menti-

on'd, the Ship's Crew afterwards justify'd it, and that the same Wave threw them back upon the Deck, which was the strangest happiness. Those that are acquainted with the Sea will not think this impossible. Some years before, the Seamen said at *Cavite*, that a Wave took thirty six Men out of another ship that was bound the same way, some were sav'd, the rest perish'd. When *D. Peter de Villaroel* return'd, he that is now Archbishop of *Manila* writ me word that a Wave had carry'd away all the Gallery stern; it was so strong, it seems incredible a Wave should have such force. It seem'd as if some Spirit had been during that time at *Marivelez* to hinder any Ship coming into the Bay, as I observ'd in a Sermon at *Cavite*. The Ship *D. James Faxardo* built at *Camboja*, came near and was cast away on the Flats of *Japan*, and People of Note perish'd in it. The Ship that sail'd afterwards from *Mexico* under the Command of *Laurence de Ugalde*, being in a River, there arose so monstrous a Storm, that all of her which was above water, was torn off and cast ashore, and some Men were dash'd against the Trees, to which they stuck, and were found there afterwards mere Mummies. Abundance of Plate was lost, and much stolen. It was reported as a certain truth at *Manila*, that betwixt *Acapulco* and that place, the Commander had got above 12000 Pieces of Eight, Box-money at Play. Who can believe it in these parts? At *Pamgasinam*, there was terrible Thunder, Lightning, Earthquakes; and there fell Hail and Stones of such a prodigious greatness, that some weigh'd an hundred and a quarter. The Lord Bishop *Cardenas* writ so to the Bishop and Court, adding, that he himself had seen some of those Stones. It was thought some burning Mountain had broke out, but it could never be found whence those Stones came.

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Nava-
rette.
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Storm.

4. The loss of so many Ships was very afflicting, the greatest damage fell upon the *Indians*: for there being no living without Ships, when one is lost another must be built, and Timber must be fallen; to this purpose they gather six or eight thousand *Indians*, and send them into the Mountains, they have the vast labour of felling and dragging them down, besides the beating of them, bad Pay and worse Provision. Sometimes they send Religious Men to protect them against the Hellish fury of some *Spaniards*. Besides all this, under pretence of one they cut Timber enough for

for two Ships, so many make their advantage of the labour of the *Indians*, as I saw it done at *Cavite*.

5. Before I leave *Manila*, it will be proper to say something concerning that Island. I will not particularize any thing concerning those of *Oton*, *Ilo*, *Zibu*, *Marinduque*, *Romblon*, *Caraga*, *Calamianes*, and others subject to our King, inhabited by *Indians*, and attended by Religious Men, or Curates, because I was not in them. I know they abound in Rice, Black Cattel, Wax, Cotton, and the usual Fruits of the Earth; but, as I said before, I can tell no Particulars of my own knowledg. Only this I know for certain, that the Swallows Nests, which are near the shores, are held in great esteem, and look'd upon as a Dainty. Boil'd with Flesh they are exceeding good and nourishing. At *Manila* they are given as Presents. Those they carry to *China*, are worth much Money, as I have observ'd elsewhere. At *Calamianes* there is abundance of them, and so I suppose there is in other Islands, because the *Portugueses* make a Trade of them from *Camboja* and *Siam* to *China*. To look to dry they are like ash-colour'd Clay, when wash'd and boil'd they alter. It is beyond dispute, there is Gold in all the Islands we have spoken of, in some more than others. The Island of *Manila* is the largest and most known, it extends from nine or ten Degrees of North Latitude, to above nineteen, (others say only from fifteen or sixteen to nineteen, and this I look upon to be truest.) Its breadth from East to West is very unequal and uncertain. The City *Manila*, which is the Metropolis of all the Islands, is seated upon a great River, and near the Sea. In it reside the Governour, four Judges, the Attorney-General, Archbishop, three Officers of the King's, a Great *Alguaril* of the Court, the Council of the City, a Head-*Alguaril*, and two in Ordinary, and Aldermen. The Old Cathedral was overthrown by the great Earthquake in 1643; another was afterwards built, but not finish'd in my time. There is a very large and beautiful Royal Chapel, the Monasteries of *S. Francis*, *S. Dominick*, the Society, *S. Augustin*, *S. Nicholas*, *S. Clare*, *S. John* of God; and two Colleges, that of *S. Thomas*, which is ours, and an University incorporated and annexed to that of *Mexico*; and that of *S. Joseph* of the Society. There is a Noble Royal Hospital, Church of *S.*

Potenciana, with a House for honest Women to retire, and a Stately Church of *Misericordia*, or *Mercy*, with a School, in which they breed up many *Spanish* Fatherless Maids, and give them Portions to marry. The best sort of Inhabitants of *Manila* look after this Seminary; to be first Brother of the *Misericordia*, is one of the chief Posts in that Government. Being to preach one year in that Church, I read the Statutes of that Brotherhood, which gave me some information into their affairs. One was, that in one year, which was not long before, 36000 Pieces of Eight had been given in Charity to private Poor. There are excellent Buildings both within and without the City, Orchards, Gardens, and Baths, which are very convenient, because of the vehement Heat. The Walls, Bulwarks, Bastions, cover'd ways, and other Works about the City are as fine as may be. The place is naturally impregnable, and the Fortifications would secure it, tho it were not so. There are good heavy Cannon. It is one of the best Towns the King has. Without the Walls is an infinite number of People and Towns all about. The River runs along the Walls on the North-side, and over it is a Stately Bridg. I do not insist longer on these things, because they are well known.

6. The *Chineses* in their Books make mention of the Island of *Manila*, which they call *Liu Sung*; they say, it is a Country that abounds in *Gold*, and they are in the right. The Provinces of *Pagasinan* and *Ilocos* are more remarkable than the rest on this account. There is abundance of good *Rice*, some comes up in forty days, so that in the space of forty days it is sow'd, grows, ripens, is reap'd and eaten, which is very remarkable. Some is two, some three, some five Months coming up. There is excellent Land for *Wheat*, were there any way of sowing it; no *Indians* incline to sow, the Land being taken up in the King's name, and therefore they will not addict themselves to that labour. In my time a Bushel of *Wheat* came to be worth ninety Pieces of Eight; and if they sow'd, it would be very cheap. The *Black Cattel* has increas'd and multiply'd beyond measure, the set Price of a stately Bull is four Pieces of Eight. There are *Goats*, abundance of *Deer*, and more of *Bufaloes*; they have coupled with *Cows*, and produced a third Species very fine to look to. There are *Geese*, *Hens*, *Sugar*, *Wax*, and so much of that we call

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1657. call *Brazill-wood*, that it costs nothing but the cutting; *Cotton* enough to cloth the Inhabitants, *Wine* and *Strong-Waters* made of *Nipa*, and other Ingredients enough, and enough to drink. The Fruit is good and plentiful. The *Guayava*, which has spread so much that it destroys the Grazing Land, is excellent good, raw, boil'd, dress'd with Meat, preserv'd in Jelly, and all sorts of ways. The reason it has increas'd so much, is because the Crows and other Birds eat of it, drop the seeds, and wherever they fall they grow. Thus the *Portugueses* told me the *Sandal* increas'd in the Island *Timor*, without any other labour, as I said before. This Tree also bears a little fruit, which the Birds eat, they let fall the seeds, and they take root without any further help. The *Macupa*, *Bilimbin*, *Pabo*, *Santol* and *Papaya*, are equal to the best of ours. The *Nanca*, which is the largest Fruit that is known in the World, some being above forty Pounds weight, is very pleasant, and the Nuts or Kernels every slice of them has in it, as delicious, raw or roasted. This Fruit grows out of the Body of the Tree, and large Branches, for the small ones could not bear it. The Tree bears no Blossom. F. Kircher very much admires this sort of Fruit, and the *Pine-apples*, or *Ananasses*, as the *Portugueses* call them; he says, they grow in *China*, but was mistaken in this Point; they are in these parts, but not in *China*. The *Portugueses* much commend the *Ananasses* of *Molaca*, they are certainly good, but I found very little difference betwixt them and those of *Manila*, which tho I eat them in *New Spain* seem'd to me never the worse. There are *Chiconzapotes*, *Black Zapotes* very good and plentiful; but above all *Ates*, which I am convinced exceed all Fruits in the World for tast and smell. Seven or eight several sorts of *Plantans*, some better than others, so of *Oranges*; the *Lemmons* of *Manila* are small; a thousand varieties of fragrant Flowers, and no less of sweet Herbs. *Majericons* and *Sage* grow wild in the Fields to a wonderful height; several sorts of *Coco-Trees*. The *Coco* is of excellent use, before the Nut comes out, they draw an excellent Liquor from the nib of the Branch; these *Indians* call it *Tuba*, and the *Indian* properly so call'd, has the name of *Sura*; what runs from it at night is a pleasant and wholesome Drink, being boil'd in the Morning it holds good all day, they make of it excellent SIRRUP, and good Honey, as I have done myself.

What drops in the day is made into Wine, and delicate Vinegar. Of the outward rind of the *Coco* they make a sort of *Okamto* to caulk Ships, and make Ropes, and good Match, which the *Musketers* there make use of. Of the inward shell are made fine Bowls to drink Water, or *Chocolate*. The Water within, when the *Coco* is fresh, is wholesome and pleasant drink for sick People. They roast the *Coco*, and laying it out all Night in the Air, they drink the Water, and find a good effect of it. Of the white Nut, into which the Water by little and little is converted, they extract Milk, and use it several ways, particularly to dress Rice. Besides, they make an excellent Preserve of it, which the *Indians* call *Buchayo*. It also yields good Oil. Of the Mash that remains, the *Indians* and *Mulattoes* make a very good Dish with Rice. There remains the Trunk of the Tree and Branches, which serve for many other uses. Canes are also very serviceable, some are as thick as a Man's Thigh, of which they make Chairs, Tables, Houses, Churches, Enclosures for Cattel, Scaffolding for Buildings, and many other things. The Islands abound in Fish, stately *Oysters*, *Iguanas*, which tho they look hellishly, are a great Dainty; *Olaves*, and *Pampanos*. All the Island of *Manila*, and others subject to it, have but a little coolness, tho some parts are temperate, for any thing else they need not be taken care of. The King gets nothing by it, but private Persons do for him and themselves too. There are places in it will produce any thing, *Corn*, *Cloves*, *Cinamon*, *Pepper*, *Mulberry Trees* for Silkworms. *Tobacco* there is a great deal and good; as much *Ebony* as can be desir'd; *Sandal* in the Mountains, but not of the best sort. There are precious *Bezoar-stones* in Deer. I saw a singular one they said was worth many Ducats. They hit a Deer with a forked Arrow, which stuck in him and he alive; some time after they kill'd him, and found the forked point of the Arrow in its full shape, but all overgrown with *Bezoar*; they broke a point, and through it the Iron appear'd, to the admiration of all that beheld it, and the Iron of the Arrows being poison'd, they said, that Stone, because it had hindred the poison of the Iron from taking effect, must needs be an excellent Antidote against any Poison. I forgot to take notice of the Fruitfulness of the Soil of *Manila*, and it will suffice to make

Nava-reite.

Bezoar.

make it known, that six short Leagues from that City, there are certain Lands which they call of *Tumazan*; these yield 130 Bushel of Wheat for one that is sow'd in them, which is as much I think as can be said.

7. Some other Matters of less moment concerning *Manila* had like to have slip'd me, but it is not fit they should be forgot. One is a College call'd of the Children of *S. John Lateran*; it was founded by a Lay-Brother of my Order, his name *B. James of S. Mary*: In my time it had once above 200 Boys, to the great benefit of the Islands. His way of governing them was inimitable, he taught them to read, write, Grammar and Musick; for Philosophy and Divinity they came to our College. He cloth'd them twice a Year, taught them their Christian Doctrine in the morning before Breakfast; they said the third part of the Rosary divided into two Choirs, another third at noon, and the other third in the evening, with the Solve and Litanies of our Lady. On great Holy-days they said Mattins at midnight; whilst they din'd and sup'd, one read. Every month they confess'd and receiv'd. He punish'd and cherish'd them. From thence some went to be Soldiers, some Clergymen; others into the Religious Orders of *S. Dominick*, *S. Francis*, and *S. Augustin*. So that it was a Nursery of Spiritual and Temporal Soldiers. He procur'd an Order from his Majesty to help to defray the Charge. He got Alms at Funerals, and of the *Indians*. An Heroick Undertaking! I am told they are now brought into the City, and attended by the gravest religious Men in the Province, and even of late those that have been Provincials of it.

8. We see another remarkable thing in that Country, which is, that tho' the City is little, and the *Spaniards* but a few, yet thousands of *Chinises*, Mungrels, and Natives, live by them; so that in the *Pavian* of the *Chinises* it is likely there are 200 Carpenters, and a proportionable number of other Trades, and they are always employ'd at *Manila* by the *Spaniards*. There are at least 200 *Chinise* and Mungrel Barbers, who all live upon the *Spaniards*, and so of others. Without the Walls there is a famous Hospital for the Natives, the *Franciscan* Fathers attend them very well, they having charge of the Hospital. Opposite to the Castle of *S. Gabriel*, is the Hospital of the *Chinises* under our direction: There is a *Chinise* Physician, *Chinise* Medicines, a religious Man that speaks the

Chinise Language, Servants and Attendants to look to every thing. Few have dy'd without being baptiz'd, many with hopeful Tokens of their Salvation. All the Country about *Manila*, except that part next the Sea, is full of Towns and Churches. That of *Pavian* is ours, where there is always a religious Man, who is *Chinise* Interpreter. *Dilao* is for the *Japoneses*, and has a *Franciscan*. The Parish of *S. James* the Apostle is for the *Spaniards* who live without the Walls. That of our Lady of *Guia*, a miraculous Image. Ours of the Rosary is very miraculous, and the Comfort of all those Islands; I am told they have made Imperial Crowns for both Images of Mother and Son, richer than that I spoke of at *Mexico*. The Barefooted Fathers of *S. Augustin* have an *Ecce Homo*, which moves all that behold it to pious compassion; it was placed there with great Solemnity at the first coming into the Government of *D. Sabiniano Manrique de Lara*, who went thither to Mass every Friday.

9. During these Years some Persons of Note died in that City, such as *D. Francis Diaz de Mendoza*, *D. Peter Mendiola* once Governour of *Ternate*, Major *Navarro*, otherwise call'd the Just Judge, his Son-in-Law *James Enriquez de Losada*. Of Churchmen *D. John de Ledo*, and *D. Alonso Zopata*, Doctors of our University. I think at present none of my time are left.

10. At that time the Supreme Court consisted of *D. Sebastian Cavallero de Medina* of *Mexico*, *D. Alvaro Fernandez de Orampo* of *Madrid*, *D. Francis Samaniego y Juesla* of the Mountains, *D. Salvador de Esinoja* of *Vera Cruz*, *D. A. de Bolivar* Attorney General. They all favour'd me, I dedicated Conclusions to the second and third, and after to *D. Sabiniano*, which he was present at with all the Council. *D. Peter de Almonte* Colonel. The Major *D. Martin de Ocañiz* went that Year to command the Supplies sent to *Ternate*. *F. Francis de Paula* was Com-millary of the Inquisition, he had been Provincial, and was so afterwards again. At this time I resolv'd to leave those Islands.

11. A very holy and religious Action done a few Years before at *Manila* had like to have been forgot; it is so it should be known to all Men, and approved by the Senes of the Church. When the Christians were brought to *Manila*, it is well known they came to *Manila*. It is impossible to express how those Confes-

fors of Chrill were receiv'd, treated, and caref'd, every one strove to outdo another in Piety. Many came sick, and with the Leprosy, yet Charity was such, that they carry'd them home to their Houses to be cur'd; and they that had one of them fall to his share, thought themselves happy. They look'd upon them as Saints, and valu'd them as Relicks of inestimable Value. The Governor, Counsellors, Townsmen, Religious Persons and Souldiers, went, as it were, to snatch a *Japonefe*, either sound or sick. I don't question but it much edify'd the *Chinese* Infidels that look'd on; for tho they observe and take notice of our Faults, yet at that time they were sensible of the wonderful Efficacy of our Holy Law. The presence of so many Witnesses, and such as they are, ought to make our Carriage and Deportment such, as may make them by it know and glorify our God; a Point *S. Thomas* proposes and treats of in his *Opusc.* to the Dutchess of *Brabant*. I heard afterwards some *Europeans* behav'd themselves not so well towards the banish'd People of *Ireland*, a sign they have not known what Trouble

is, and that the practical part of their Faith is not so vigorous as it ought to be. They are cruel, hard-hearted, and even impious, who upon such occasions do not relent a little. Let us ask those Men with *S. James* the Apostle in his Epist. Canon. c. 2. *Show me your Faith, &c.* *S. Thomas* upon it, *Who says, Prove to me that you have Faith by certain Tokens; who says, You cannot prove it, because Actions are wanting, and Words are not sufficient, &c. And I will show you my Faith by my Works;* that is, I can prove my self one of the Faithful by my Works. Those who are persecuted and banish'd for the Law of God can make good proof, not only by the words they answer'd to the Tyrant and his Ministers, but by the Consequences of their Actions, (*The proof of Love is the performance of the Work, says S. Gregory*) that they are faithful to God and his Law, and Catholics: But they who are hard-hearted to them, only testify by Words, not by Actions. What the Holy Apostle says immediately before the words last quoted, is very pat to this purpose.

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C H A P. VII.

Of my departure from Manila, and Voyage to Macasar.

D. *Sabiniano Manrique* was Governor, and gave general satisfaction (never any Governor did or will please all Men) tho he wanted not some Enemies, which humane Prudence can never prevent; but an Argument that he govern'd well is, that the Commander *Francis Enriquez de Losada*, in the Year 1666, writ to me, and I have his Letter still by me, that all Men cry'd out for *D. Sabiniano*, but particularly the Religious Orders. I never heard that they cry'd out for others. This is a sufficient Commendation of that worthy Gentleman: tho his Lordship had promis'd to secure my Passage in the Ship, which was to sail that Year for *Acapulco*; the dread I have of crossing those Seas, and other Motives, inclin'd me to go aboard the Commander *Christopher Romero* my old Friend. All my Store and Provision amounted to sixty Pieces of Eight, four Tunicks, and two Habits; that I might go the lighter, I left my Cloak with a Friend, and afterwards mis'd it and other things. No Voyage upon Sea can be ascertain'd, and it is a folly to set days to it.

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2. We set sail the 14th of *February*; I own I was presently discourag'd, and fear'd our Voyage would be tedious, because the Sailors who in reason ought to live regularly, began to grow loose. About that time the East Winds usually roar'd, and to us they seem'd to be lock'd up in their Caverns. On the 6th of *March* we came to *Zamboanga*, met the Succours that were going to *Terranate*, they had taken in Rice and Flesh at *Oton*; the Commander in chief was already dead. The 7th at night we continued our Voyage; the Sail with a sudden gust of Wind threw the best Sailer we had into the Sea, where he perish'd; which misfortune increas'd my fears. During our passage, which is but of sixty Leagues to *Macasar* (this is otherwise call'd *Celebes*) we had very bad Weather, most furious driving Winds, terrible violent Gusts, but not lasting, and what was worst of all bad Pilots. One morning we found ourselves driven in among most frightful Banks and Rocks; I cannot imagine how the Vessel got in among them without being beaten to shivers. We got out of

Celebes.

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 that danger to run into greater ; for four or five days the Weather prov'd very fair till about half an hour after eleven ; and when we were to make an Observation, the Sky would be clouded and we disconsolate. The Land lay upon our Larboard-side, sometimes about two Leagues from us, as we afterwards observ'd, but so clouded that we could not discern it. One day we held our course with a fair Wind and Weather ; they conceited it was a great Bay, and discovering Land to the Northward made to it. The Current was so strong against us, that tho' the Wind had freshned very much, we could not make the least way. We were then in a place, from whence in eight days we might have been at *Macasar*. My Sins were the cause we did not reach thither till *October* following: We run up to that Land at a venture. Upon Holy *Saturday* being the last day of *March*, when we were about sounding, our Vessel stuck fast. It is impossible to express the confusion we were all in ; all cry'd out, Strike the Sails, and none stir'd to do it. I crept into a corner to give my self up into the Hands of God, concluding all was lost. The Ebb show'd we were surrounded with Flats, save only the Channel through which we had sailed, by the special guidance of God : There was fourteen fathom Water at the Stern, and the Head was aground. They labour'd till after midnight, the Weather being clear and serene, which was our good fortune. The Flood return'd, and after much pains taken, the Vessel floated without having raken in any Water ; as soon as it was day we sail'd. Good God, what a melancholy *Easter* we had ! Our Provision grew daily shorter, and our Confusion increas'd. In short, after eight days we found our selves imbay'd, without knowing which way to get to Sea. There were small Vessels plying thereabouts, they took us for Pirates, we them for Robbers ; so we fled from one another, and knew not how to find out where we were. We had already perceiv'd by the Sun, that we were by our course in two Degrees of North Latitude, which by our Chart was wrong. We spent eight days more in getting out of that Bay. We plainly discover'd Land ahead, and the Weather favouring to make to it, the Commander, contrary to the opinion of all Men, resolv'd to anchor there till next day. When we were at dinner he said to me, They all are against me ; Is not your Reverence of my opinion that we make over to morrow, it be-

ing *Saturday* ? I answer'd, Sir, the best time to stand over is, when God gives us a fair Wind. He held his tongue, and follow'd his own head. The second day of our passage, about three in the afternoon, being the Eve of the Feast of *S. Mark*, the Wind started up at South-West so strong, that we were forced to run away before it close to the shore, not knowing what Sands were in the way. That night was one of the worst I have seen upon Sea ; the Main-sail flew in shivers, the Yard was spent, the Foremast came by the Board, the Whipstaff broke, we all took into the Cabin, said the Rosary and Litany of our Lady, expecting how it would please God to dispose of us. All the Crew had already made their Confession. After midnight through weariness I fell asleep in a corner ; when I wak'd the Wind was fall'n, but the Sea ran very high. We found our selves near the shore, and discover'd the Landmarks, which was no small comfort. We had been six weeks beating about that place ; there we lighted upon that they call the *Devil's Island*, and might have made the Kingdom of *Totole* had our Men dar'd. The Commander resolv'd to come about, and stand back for the Kingdom of *Bobol*, to take in Provisions. When we were half way over, the Wind came about ahead of us, so that we were rain to give way to it ; thus we lay cruising in the same place. We made a second time for *Bobol*, being almost lost ; it was by my Advice we had tack'd about ; and the Commander said, Father, some Angel spoke through your Reverence's Mouth, for it is most certain we must have perish'd, had the fierce Wind that started up found us where we were the day before. Something we bought there, and took aboard an *Indian* of *Manila*, now become half *Mahometan*. He was a great help to us afterwards, being well acquainted with that Coast. Upon *Corpus Christi* day we anchor'd near *Totole*, where we found Totole. Capt. *Navarro*, who was bound in another Champan for *Macasar* as well as we ; at which we rejoic'd, but our satisfaction was not lasting. It is well known that in sailing to the East twelve hours are gain'd, and twelve lost in sailing Westward. Betwixt *Terranate* and *India* the *Portuguese* Computation is follow'd. We came to that place according to our reckning upon *Corpus Christi* day, which is a Thursday, and they that came from *Terranate* took it for Friday ; so that at noon we had eaten Flesh, and at night in the Port supp'd upon Fish, and lost that day,

so that the next was Saturday; so that if we had anchor'd at midnight, we should have had no Friday, and but six days to the week. As to the Divine Office, tho I was not oblig'd to all that of Friday, yet having time to spare, I perform'd for both days.

Sagu,
Yolo.

3. There we bought abundance of *Sagu*, the *Indians* at *Manila* call it *Toro*, it is the Heart of certain Palm-Trees; being steep'd, it becomes a sort of yellow Meal, very like yellow Sand. Of this they make thin Cakes, which those People use instead of Bread, and we liv'd upon it 6 months. Excellent Diet for *Europeans*, and sometimes not enough of it to satisfy hunger; sometimes it was insipid, sometimes had a taste; it is so tough it never breaks, tho it be drawn out a yard in length. The *Indians* at *Manila* eat it in time of Scarcity; we were mov'd to compassion when we saw them eat it, for it is no better than Ground-sticks; but at this time we thought it a Dainty. The place we were in, was in a little above one Degree of North Latitude: From ten till two every day the Sun scorch'd, but about that time every day a great shower of Rain fell, with terrible Thunder and high Winds, so that the Air was cool'd, and so cold at night, that we were forc'd to put on more Clothes.

4. Capt. *Navarro* and our Commander agreed to winter there; we were much troubled at it. I and two other Passengers design'd to have bought a Vessel of the King, and gone away in it. When the Bargain was made, and the Mony paid, the King repented him, and kept above half our Mony: He paid it afterwards, was very knavish, tho he treated me honourably, always making me sit by him; some ridiculous Passages hap'n'd between us. His Palace was a little House made of Canes and Straw, and in that Hovel he carry'd himself very majestically; all his People spoke to him prostrate on the Ground. He once made us a Treat, which consisted of *Sagu* Cakes, and some dry'd small Fishes boil'd without any Salt. The Prince his Son dy'd, and I own I was astonish'd at the Funeral: The King and Queen went to it, the King in wooden Clogs, and the Queen barefoot. At their return, as she was going up, a Maid wash'd her Feet upon the Stairs. For four and twenty hours, they every half hour sir'd some Pedrero's that were before the Palace Gate. The King withdrew, and would not be seen for several days. He expos'd all he had to sale, to denote his Concern, but no body durst

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buy any thing. There we saw one thing extraordinary enough, which was, that *Nava-most* of those People would not take Silver; and if we show'd them a Piece of Eight, and a single Ryal together, they would rather take the Ryal than the Piece of Eight. Whilst we had single Ryals we liv'd cheap; when we had spent them, they would not give us as much for a Piece of Eight, as before they gave for a Ryal. We endur'd a great deal of hunger. One day I went ashore and met with a Black, who was our Commander's Cook, boiling some small Fishes. I desir'd him to give me one or two; he answer'd, Father, I have them by sale. Then, said I, will you give me a little of the Liquor they are boil'd in, for God's sake? I will, reply'd he. I look'd about the shore, and found a half Coco-shell, dirty and full of Sand; I wip'd it with my hand, and in it receiv'd the Broth, into which I put a piece of dry *Sagu*, (tho it lie a whole day in Water it will not soak) I ate a few mouthfuls with much difficulty, and sup'd up the Broth, and so went contentedly away.

5. Upon the Ebb, the Seamen went to catch Shell-fish upon the Rocks and Sands that were left dry; there they gather'd strange Creatures, as Snails, Toads, Snakes, and a thousand several sorts, all which they eat, and throve upon it. I was reduc'd to such a condition, that I stole *Sagu* when I could conveniently. I often said, what need was there of any other dainty, but some Rice boil'd in Water? At *Manila* I strictly observ'd the Physicians Directions, not to eat Butter and several other things; in this Voyage I eat such things that I wonder I liv'd. *He that gives Snow, gives Wool.* On the first of *August* we set out from *Totole*; those cruel Men expos'd us all to the danger of losing our Lives; four were already dead, and others sick. I observ'd a strange thing, which was, That a poor Black that was going only to beg at *Macasar*, came aboard so lean he could scarce stand; and yet for all our Sufferings, in which he had the greatest share, he recover'd, and grew so fat it was hard to know him again. On *S. Dominick's* day about Sun-setting, we cut the Line, and entred upon South-Latitude. The Line is directly over the two Islands they call the *Two Sisters*. The Wind came so cold from off the Land, that every one clad himself as warm as he could, so that in *Europe* Men at that time sweat in fifty Degrees of North-Latitude, and we shak'd with cold under the Line.

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Who

Who can conceive the natural Reason of it? *Cajetan* ingeniously says, this is *Scientia de Singularibus*, which is only found by Experience. Two days after we came to the Kingdom of *Caile*, in one Degree and a half of South Latitude. It is a noble Bay, above three Leagues in length, and two in breadth. As soon as we dropt Anchor, an *Indian* of *Manila*, whose name was *John of the Cross*, came aboard. He came in a devout posture with his Beads about his Neck; I ransom'd him for 20 pieces of Eight, and carry'd him to *Macasar*, where he prov'd to be a great Knave. He inform'd us, there were two *Portugueses* there, whom we presently went to see. By the way we visited a petty King, who treated us with Coco-nuts. Captain *Navarro* ask'd for Water to drink, the Queen said, there was none in the House; the King was angry, and order'd some to be brought presently. Upon this the Queen came out of her little Room immediately, and taking up a great Cane, went away nimbly to the River, which was near at hand; she soon return'd, and we drank. Here one of the *Portugueses* came to us, the other was very sick; we went to his House, whither Men and Women flock'd to see us, and among those, those hellish Monsters of Men in Womens Clothes, who are publickly marry'd to other Men. Nothing so much astonish'd me in those Parts as this. Here the *Portuguese* told us, some Men would rather marry those Brutes than Women: for which they gave two Reasons; the one, that they took great care to make much of their Husbands; the other, that they were very rich, because only they could be Goldsmiths.

6. It is in this Kingdom where Men and Women are clad in nothing but Paper, and that not being lasting, the Women are always working at it very curiously. It is made of the Rind of a small Tree we saw there, which they beat with a Stone curiously wrought, and make it as they please, coarse, indifferent, and very fine. They dye it of all Colours, and twenty paces off it looks like fine Tabby. A great deal of it is carry'd to *Manila* and *Macasar*, where I have seen curious Tent-beds of it; they are very good in cold Weather. When it rains, Water being the Destruction of Paper, those People strip, and carry their Clothes under their Arm.

7. The Men are always employ'd in making Oil of Coco-nuts, of which they sell very much, and pay a great deal as Tribute to the King of *Macasar*. Whilst we were there, he sent to demand of

them 90000 Pecks of Oil. It is wonderful to see the Coco trees there are about the Fields. That Country produces an infinite number of Plantan Trees, and they are the best in the World; the Natives live upon them without sowing Rice or any other Grain. Eight days we continu'd among those People, eating nothing but Plantans, and drinking the Water of Coco-nuts. They breed Bufaloes, Goats, and Horses, which they sell, and when they have general Meetings they eat a Bufalo or two, half raw half roasted. The Towns are regular, the Town-houses extraordinary. The Climate is good, and the People would willingly submit themselves to the *Spaniards*, as we were told there, that they might be deliver'd from the Tyrannical Government of the King of *Macasar*.

8. I afterwards ransom'd another *Indian* of *Manila*, he was sick, I heard his Confession, and as soon as he came to *Macasar* he died. I gave six pieces of Eight for him, and would have given my very Habit rather than go without him. We sail'd out of the Bay on *S. Bartholomew's* Eve, but the Sea ran so high, we were forced back. On the Nativity of our Lady, we set out again, and by degrees got to the Kingdom of *Mamuyo*. With much difficulty we got into the Port, where all the Seamen fell sick. I, with the sick *Portuguese* I brought away, and two young Servants I had, bought a little Boat; whilst it was fitting out, I rested, and attended the sick. I saw the King's Palace, which was very fine, and made of extraordinary Timber. We set forwards, leaving the two *Champans* there at Anchor. We had enough to do to escape some dangers, but we spent the Nights at ease and quiet. True it is, we were guilty of some Rashness. Before we came to the Kingdom of *Mandar*, we lit of another King, an antient Man, who us'd us well, and sent the Prince to visit me, he was a handsom Youth. The nearer we drew to *Macasar*, which is the Capital of the Island, the more civiliz'd we found the People. It pleas'd God in his Mercy that I arriv'd at *Macasar* nine Months and three days after I set out of *Manila*, that Voyage being never reckon'd above 40 days. I thought I was come into a Paradise, found two of my Order there, who to me seem'd two Angels; and they prov'd so to me, for they made as much of me as their Poverty would permit. The truth is, nothing was so pleasing to me, as being off the Sea, among my own Brethren, and where I might say Mass.

C H A P. VIII.

Of my Stay in the Kingdom of Macasar.

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1. **T**HE Island of *Macasar* (or rather *Celebes*) is very large. The *Sumbane*, which in their Language is the same as Emperor, lives in the most Southern Part of all the Island, which lies in about six or seven Degrees of South Latitude. He has several petty Kings under him. The Country abounds in Rice. Fourscore Years ago it was inconsiderable, but since then has thriv'd mightily by reason of the Fairs kept there; Ships met there from *Manila*, *Goa*, *Macao*, *English* and *Dutch*, so that abundance of rich Commodities were brought thither from all Parts of that *Archipelago*. Trade enrich'd the Country, and made the Sovereign powerful. Before this Trade, the knowledge of the Law of God was brought thither by means of the *Portugueses* then at *Malaca*, and that of *Mahomet* from *Siam*. At that time they were all *Gentiles*, and thought good to receive one of the two Laws; that they might not err in so necessary a Point, they resolv'd to make use of an extravagant Expedient, which was, at one and the same time to send away a Vessel to *Siam* for *Mahometans*, and another for religious Men to *Malaca*, resolving to admit of those that came first. The *Mahometans* came first, through the fault of those at *Malaca*, as I heard it often from grave *Portugueses*, as well Clergy as Laymen. They receiv'd them and their Law, which they have observ'd most strictly, and has obstructed the Conversion of those People. When the *Dutch* took *Malaca*, most of the *Portugueses*, *Mungrels*, and others who serv'd them, retir'd to this Country. The King receiv'd and assign'd them a place to live, so that in my time there was a great Town there. By the help of these *Portugueses* the Trade daily increas'd. Many *Mahoyis* repair'd thither, and I have seen an Ambassador there from the great *Nabab*, that is of *Golocondur*. No Man paid Anchorage, or any other Duty; saving the Presents Captains of Ships and Merchants of Note made the *Sumbane*, all the Trade was free. This made it an universal Mart of those Parts of the World. The very day I arriv'd, Prince *Carrin Carroro*, a Man of good Parts, and well vers'd in ours and the *Portuguese* Language, sent me a Message. He was the Son of that renowned tho' unfortunate Prince, our great

Religion.

Trade.

Friend *Carrin Pain Galoa*. He sent me word he would see me in the House of a rich and considerable Man, who liv'd by our House. He would not go to the Monastery, because a little before the *Sumbane* and he had order'd our Church, and that of the Fathers of the Society, to be thrown down, at the Request of the Governour of the Bishoprick of *Malaca*, who liv'd there, and of the Curate, either because the People went all to the Monasteries, or else because there was not so much Alms given to the Parish, the Religious sharing with it. This is the Original of all fallings out of this sort, and will ever be so. They made the *Sumbane* and Prince some good Presents to gain their Consent. The Churches were demolish'd by the *Moors*, but even all of them did not approve of the Action. Inasmuch that there being great want of Rain that Year I was there, *Carrin Samana*, a *Moor* of great Repute, and a rational Man, us'd to say, How should God send Rain, when they destroy and burn his Churches? I went that Afternoon to see the Prince; he receiv'd me kindly, and ask'd several Questions concerning *Spain* and *Manila*.

2. I had no thoughts of repaying his Visit, as believing those People did not take notice of such things. I understood the Prince had complain'd of my Neglect; I desir'd Captain *Francis Vilira*, in whose House he had visited me, to bear me company. He did so, we went together three quarters of a League. His Palace was very good; he kept us till one of the Clock, show'd us some of our Maps and Books; he kept his Father's Library, which was considerable, had an excellent striking Clock: we talk'd of *Mahomet*, and the *Portuguese* who was a very zealous Catholick, flatly toll him he was in Hell. Do not say so Captain, quoth *Carroro*. I commended this Man's Resolution, another would have call'd it Folly. If he had dy'd on this account, he had been a Martyr; as the Priest was whom they put to death at *Damascus* for the same reason. We return'd home through a row of Palm-trees, the finest in the World. The Sun's Rays could not pierce it, and it was above a League long, tho' we did not go the who'e length. How it would be valu'd among us, and

with

with good cause! The Prince repeated his Visits oftner than I would have had him. As soon as I took his hand, which was the way of paying him respect, he would say, Our Lord be with your Reverence. He one day brought the *Sumbane* to *Pilira's* House along with him; I was presently call'd, came, and in truth they both did me too much Honour. Their Garb was the most ridiculous that can be express'd; they were both in their gay drefs, had Cloth Coats after our fashion on their bare Skins, their Arms naked, the Sleeves hanging down, and their Bellies uncover'd after their fashion. The Prince told us how his Men had kill'd a Crocodile seven Fathom long, and three Fathom thick; and that he had some of the Teeth by him. It was then the monstrous Creature in the World. I mention'd it in the first Book.

3. At this time an Ambassador came from *Jacatra*; they receiv'd him in the House of the Secretary *Antony Mendez*, Knight of the Order of Christ, Son to the last *Sumbane*, and a black Woman. The Ambassador was call'd, the *Sumbane* and Prince sat upon Chairs rais'd high under a Canopy; the Prince plac'd me by his side, and ask'd me some Questions; he had a large sparkling Diamond on his Finger. The Ambassador came upon a stately Horse, 6000 *Moors* with Lances attending him. Having made his Obedience, the Ambassador sat down and was cover'd. They commanded him to be uncover'd; the Interpreter urg'd, that Ambassadors us'd to be cover'd. They told him, it was true, Ambassadors from Kings did use to be so, but that was not for him who came but from the Governour of *Jacatra*; he obey'd and held his Tongue, offer'd the Present he carry'd, which consisted of several pieces of Silk. It was not receiv'd, the Letters were read; and not being satisfy'd with the Excuses that were made concerning two Ships the *Dutch* had taken from them, they resolv'd to remit the business to force of Arms. It had been better for them to continue in Peace, and lose the two Ships. The Ambassador went aboard his Ship; they took away what they had in the Factory by night; then he declar'd War, cannonading the place. Great Wars ensued; it cost the *Dutch* dear, but they stood to it, and in the year 1670. when I pass'd by *Malaca*, they made themselves Masters of that Country; and that the People might not rebel again, as they had done before, they carry'd away the *Sumbane*, the Prince, and several Great

Men; thus God humbled their Pride. The first time the *Dutch* took it, their first Article was, that all the *Portugueses* should depart the place: they did so, and had well deserv'd it.

4. About that time an old Man came to me; he fix'd his Eyes upon me, and I did the same to him. I thought I knew him, and he had a mind to speak to me. After a while I bethought my self, and found it was that Chief of the Island *Mindoro*, who was taken when I left that Island to return to *Manila*. I was very glad: he told me how he had liv'd four Years in Slavery under several Masters. He wore his Beads about his Neck, and assur'd me, he had never miss'd saying them over a day; that they had offer'd him Wives, but he would never consent to marry. He made his Confession, and in truth I was astonish'd to see how God had preserv'd him so clear, among such wicked People. It is a great thing to be good among ill Men, says *S. Bernard*, *Epist.* 25. I enquir'd after his Son, and the Tears running down his Eyes, he told me, that flying from *Jacatra*, where they had sold them to a *Chinese* infidel, they travel'd over the Mountains by Night, sleeping betwixt whiles in places remote from the Roads, that they might not be found by any that sought after them; and that one Night his Son lying asleep between him and a Youth he had with him, a Tiger came and carry'd him away in his Jaws. Lord have Mercy on him! what a Grief it must have been to his Father! I took particular notice of one thing, which was, that when this Chief liv'd in his own Town, and at home, he was so fat and unweildy, that he could hardly go with a Staff; and when I saw him almost naked at *Macasar*, he was spare, and as light as if he had been but 20 Years of Age. By which we may see how natural Labour is to humane Life, and how hurtful Tendernefs is. I provided for him the best I could in a Vessel that was bound for *Manila*: how pleas'd were his Family and Town when he return'd?

5. I preach'd at *Macasar* in Lent the Year 1658. *Caroro* every day said he would hear me, but never perform'd it. His Father was a great Lover of Sermons, and constantly heard them. He had read all the *R. F. F. Luis de Granada's* Works; he was convinced ours was the true Faith, and was wont to say, Many went to Hell out of Policy, and that he was one of them, (this is Barbarity in earnest) it was suppos'd by his Words that he intended

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to be baptiz'd at the last hour of his Life, and therefore F. Francis a Jesuit attended him in his last Sickness, having Water ready to use it, whensoever he should desire it. But he having neglected so many Calls, God slighted him: *Because I have call'd you, and you refused, at your Death I will laugh, &c.* He lost his Sense, and so dy'd. A most unhappy Man! Carroro his Son, in my hearing, said of him, that he was an Admirer of all our things: Whensoever he saw a Sword, he would handle it, and enquire of the Use of it. He once took a Portuguese's Sword in his Hand, and understanding from him that it would pierce a double Buff Coat, he made him try it immediately, which the Portuguese perform'd, tho he hurt his Hand with the great Force he put to pierce the Buff, which was upon a Chair. Patm Galoa seeing that done, ask'd for his Bow, and adding one fold more to the Buff Coat, made such a furious shot, that he pierc'd the three Folds. All that were present stood astonish'd. That sort of Bow seems to be an insignificant Weapon, and they do wonders with it; all their Arrows are poison'd.

Bow.

Elephant.

6. We once saw the *Sumbane's* Elephant pass by along the shore, with his Driver upon his back; very soon after he came running back alone. We were surpriz'd at it, enquir'd how it came about, and were told, that the day before the Driver had a Coco-nut given him, which he struck twice again't the Elephant's Forehead to break it; this day as he was going towards the Town, the Elephant saw some Coco-nuts they were selling in the Street, he took one up with his Trunk, and beat it to pieces upon his Driver's Head, left him dead upon the place, and return'd alone. This comes of jesting with Elephants.

7. About this time the *Sumbane* commanded two Portuguese should be apprehended for a Murder they had committed, and condemn'd them to death. At the place of Execution he offer'd them their Lives if they would turn *Mahometans*. The first would not consent, so they ript him up with a sort of Dagger they call *Clis*. The other was so daunted at the sight, that he immediately abjur'd Christianity. Afterwards he fled to the Mountains, and got over to *Macao*, where he was reconcil'd. There were abundance of Slaves to the Portuguese there, who had renounced their Religion; upon any little Quarrel the Slaves would go away to the *Moors*. When they had abjur'd Christianity, they would come and

scoff at their Masters. I understood another thing there which is deplorable, viz. *Nava-rette*. that Christian Men kept *Mahometan* Women, and *Mahometan* Men Christian Women. Whence sprung these and many other spiritual Calamities?

8. At the Court of the Island *Borneo*, which is very near to *Macasar*, there are above 4000 *Indians* of *Manila* in Slavery, which is a great pity. *Indians* of *Manila* may be found in every Island of that *Archipelago*, being either Slaves or Runaways; and in all places whereioever I was, from *China* as far as *Suratte*, I met with Natives of *Manila*, and its lesser Islands, and yet People will assign other Chimerical Reasons of the Decrease of them. Use them well, and they will not fly; protect them, and they will not be carry'd away into Slavery. There is not a Ship sails from *Manila*, whether it belong to *Siam*, *Camboja*, or the Portuguese, &c. but carries away *Indians* out of the Islands.

9. At *Macasar* I saw *Ostridges*, and a Child that had 24 Fingers, Toes and Thumbs; and besides they said it was an *Hermaphrodite*. About May, 1658. a Pink arriv'd there from *Goa*, and fortunately escap'd the *Dutch*; it had aboard some Franciscans and Jesuits. Discourfing about the taking of *Ceylon* by the *Dutch*, one of the Franciscans said, It was to be lost of necessity, or else Fire must have fallen from Heaven and consum'd it, for the Iniquities and Wickedness of the Portuguese. He was a Portuguese, and a religious Man, who spoke these words in my hearing.

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10. I being then out of conceit with the Sea, and unprovided of all Necessaries to bring me into *Europe*, resolv'd to go over with the Portuguese to *Macao*, and thence to enter *China*, where those of my Order were, and to end my days among them. I met with good Convenience and Company; four small Vessels were ready to sail, but all of them very fearful, because a great *Dutch* Ship lay in sight. Some made great boasts in their talk, but an *English* Man advis'd them to take heed what they did, for the *Dutch* would not come to board, but batter the Pinks at a distance, and out of danger. He said further, You Gentlemen have order'd your business very ill, you have only taken care to build one Nest in one place, and another in another, which divided your Force, and so could secure nothing. The Portuguese own'd the *Englishman* was in the right, and that made them sometimes rail at their Government, and complain of their having cast off our King. Upon S. Anthony's day we

set

set Sail, rather trusting to God, and the Assistance of the Saint, than to our own Strength. What hap'ned to us, I will set down in the following Chapter.

C H A P. IX.

My Voyage from Macasar to Macao.

Portu-
gucies.

1. IT is most certain the Portuguese Nation are devout, godly, and religious, which I know by Experience, and the first of it I had this Voyage. I was treated by them with great Civility, Courtesy and Generosity; and what is more, I prevail'd with them, never to discourse before me even at *Macao*, about the Differences then betwixt the two Kingdoms. Aboard the Ship the third part of the Rosary was said every day kneeling, and our Lady's Litany was sung every day. I took upon me to preach to them, which I did daily, as long as we were upon the Sea; this and my retiring to my Apartment, made them over-fond of me. Our Voyage was as good as could be wish'd, without any Mischance.

Tacaraba-
ca.

2. When we had pass'd the dangerous Flat of *Tacarabaca*, which signifies the Knife of Hell, and is a long sharp Rock, where many Ships have perish'd, the Pinks parted two one way, and two another, tho' ashore they agreed always to keep together. It was a brutal Action in the Opinion of all Men. The third day after we discover'd astern two light Frigats that gain'd upon us amain. We put our selves into a fighting Posture, tho' we wish'd there might be no occasion for it. The Sails were hoisted up to the Round-tops, and they wetted to make the more way. We begg'd of God the Sun might not stand still, as it had done for *Joshua*, but that it would set presently. It set, and when it was somewhat dark we alter'd our Course, steering eight Points more to Windward, which we held all Night. Next Morning we found our selves all alone, and clear of our Enemies. Three days after that we spy'd another great Ship, but made the best of our way and escap'd it.

Samatra.

3. Our Pilot was a *Chinese*, and in truth a Man of extraordinary Vertue, and good Fortune; he was extremely meek, humble, calm, and knew those Seas admirably well. He was alive in the Year 1670. but very old and blind. We had all of us extraordinary Comfort in him. A Pilot at Sea is like a Physician to sick Men. We came to the place of the *Samatras*; so they call the fierce Winds that

prevail at that season. There is no describing their Fury: did one of those Gusts last an hour, no Ship could keep the Sea; they always bring much Rain with them, which is the cause they soon fall: our small Vessels scudded upon the Foam of the Sea.

4. We were four religious Men in the Cabin; there was no going to bed all the Voyage: I us'd to lie down by a Bale of Stuffs; one Morning I wak'd, and found it on the wrong side of me: I presently concluded with my self, there had been some extraordinary Hurricane that Night. In came a Franciscan looking pale and sad; and saluting us, I ask'd him, How he had pass'd the Night without. He told me, the Vessel had been at the point of foundring, and it was a miracle we were alive. The business was, the Pilot lay down to sleep a little, and order'd that as soon as ever they found it rain'd, they should furl the Sails. The Night prov'd so dark and dismal, that there was no discerning which way the Vanes stood, tho' never so near; and it being mizling Weather, it could not be distinguish'd whether it rain'd or not. It pleas'd God that he who supply'd the Pilot's place was sensible of some Noise on the Stern, and cry'd, Furl, there's Rain at hand. They let the Tacks run, and immediately the *Samatra* follow'd; so that had not the Tacks been loose, we were all gone. At this time the Bale which was by me tumbled, but I did not wake, which was a great Mercy, since we were not to be drown'd; for the fright and dread would not have suffer'd me to close my Eyes again.

5. When we came in sight of the Kingdom of *Champa*, the Sky was clear, and the Weather alter'd. Those who had been there said, there was a wonderful Idol-Temple near that place. It is a Concavity betwixt Rocks, very large, long, wide and strong. A few days after we had discover'd the monstrous Rock of the Kingdom of *Cochinchina*, it is upon the top of a Mountain, and reaches a prodigious height above it. The Passengers aboard had abundance of *Cacatooes* and Apes, which made some diversion.

It

It was very pleasant to hear those Birds talk, and a fine sight when they were made angry, nothing can be more pretty. On the other side the Monkeys made some sport. During this Voyage I receiv'd full information concerning that Religious Man who brought a young *Chinese* as his Servant into *Europe*, and being come into these parts set him up for that Emperor's Son, which made a great noise, and turn'd to his advantage. At *Macassar* I had a satisfactory account that other Millioners of *Japan* had given out, that some Christian Merchants that came with them were great Princes. They impos'd upon all the Princes of *Europe*, as the Pamphlet said, who believ'd what they were told, and generously offer'd them rich Presents and things of value. During this Voyage I was told a notable Story, it was confirm'd when I return'd in the year 1670. It was, that a Sailor then aboard, who sail'd every year backwards and forwards betwixt *Macao* and *Macassar*, which is at least thirty days sail, never eas'd his body till he came ashore. He ate and drunk heartily, made a great deal of water, but never the least of going to stool. There is no doubt but the Sea binds up the body, as well for want of exercise, as because of the nature of the food; but it is strange it should do it to that excess, without throwing up fumes to the head, or producing some other distemper.

Civilians

Nourishment.

6. In a Book I read by chance, I observ'd the reason, why less sustenance serves in hot Countries, than in cold. That it is so appears by constant experience, and so it appears that in those Countrys the Natives live upon a little Rice, *Sago*, and some shell-fish, and are as plump, fat, and strong, as those who in cold Countrys eat Flesh and Bread, and drink strong Wines. The Cold it's certain drives in the Heat, which helps digestion and causes hunger. This is not so common in hot Countrys, there is a sort of decay or faintness, but no hunger, because the Heat spreading over all the parts of the body, that which remains in the Stomach has not strength for digestion, for which reason it needs not so much to prey upon, as when it is strong and vigorous.

Xan Choang.

7. We had a sight of the Island *Xan Choang*, where *S. Francis Xavier* dy'd, and upon *Friday* the 13th of *July* at night we entred a narrow Strait. We sail'd out of danger to all appearance; the Pilot ask'd, How wind ye? The Steerman answer'd, North. Furl the Sails, quoth

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the Pilot, and drop Anchor, or we are lost. It was done in a moment. In the Morning we found our selves within Muffet-shot of the shore. From thence to *Macao* was five Leagues; our Captain, who was a handsome Youth, spent all the time we were sailing them, in dressing himself, and he had enough to do it with. He was almost dress'd, and the Vessel with all its Colours and Streamers abroad, when a Boat came from shore, and brought the news that his Father was dead. The Extravagancies that Man committed, were the greatest I ever beheld: He grew as furious as a Tiger, and tore his fine Clothes with Hellish rage, there was no comforting, or appeasing of him; a few days after a fit distemper seiz'd him, and in less than six Months sent him to his Grave. There aboard an antient venerable *Portuguese*, who us'd to be familiar with me, and told me, that a few years since a Curate, who was a *Jew*, had been burnt at *Lisbon*, who had baptiz'd very many without any intention to confer the Sacrament; which was the cause that Orders were sent to all parts, that all who had been baptiz'd in such a Parish during such a certain number of years, should be rebaptiz'd, which abundance did, and among them one who was Governour of *Diu*, to whom the news was brought as he lay a dying, which was a great happiness. He said further, that four of the Inhabitants of *Macao*, and he among them, discoursing upon this Subject, they began to argue whether the Curate that baptiz'd them had a good or bad intention. To remove all doubts, and remain free from any scruple, they resolv'd to go to *S. Francis* his Well, and privately baptize one another. They did so, and were well pleas'd. Was it not very well done of us Father, quoth the *Portuguese*? No, it was very ill done, said I. The good Old Man was very much troubled at my answer. Strange things happen in the World.

Nava-rette.

8. We landed, I went with those of my Order to our Monastery, we had need of rest. That Afternoon it being *Saturday*, I receiv'd great satisfaction in hearing the *Rosary* said, the Litany and *Salve Regina* sung. It is very well perform'd among us, as well in the *Philippine* Islands, *New Spain*, *Italy*, and other parts, but much better throughout all *India*. Upon all *Saturdays*, Festivals of our Lady, and first *Sundays* of the Month, the Brothers meet; and they are all such, they put on a long Robe of white Silk with an Image of our Lady, embroidered on the Breast,

M m

and

and every one with a Torch of white Wax in his hand: thus they accompany the Holy Image in the Processions, and the Singing of the *Salve*, at which the Superior in a Cope carries a little one. I lik'd it better and better every day, and it increas'd my Devotion.

9. I shall hereafter write a particular

Chapter concerning what the City *Macao* is at present, and what it was, its Situation, Strength, Monasteries, Churches, and what else it contains; this to save Repetitions. In the ensuing Chapter I shall speak of other things I observ'd there.

C H A P. X.

Of my Stay at Macao, and first entring the Great Empire of China.

1. **A**LL the while I stay'd at *Macao*, I had a great deal of trouble in preaching and hearing Confessions, most People came to me. One day I heard a good Lady, who said to me, Father, some years since, when I had riches to spare, I had enough to hear my Confession, now I am poor I can't find one. I was much troubled at her words; I offer'd her my service as often as she pleas'd, and perform'd it. I heard some others, who told me they came by stealth, because their Masters confin'd them to certain Confessors; others that their former Confessors might not chide them for going to a new one. I mislik'd both, and I found so much of it, that I was forced to give a hint of it in the Pulpit.

2. A few Months after they sent a Confessor into *China*, he had several Spiritual Daughters, and from thence writ, exhorting them to Virtue, and advising them not to go to Confession to such a Church and Monastery. I thought this very ill advice, and it was dislik'd by a Person of Note, when he heard of it.

3. I was there inform'd, that in a certain Church of that City they had given the Blessed Sacrament three times to one Woman upon *Christmas*-day. I was ask'd my opinion concerning it, and answer'd, It was very ill done, and a breach of a Precept of the Church there is to the contrary. That there was a particular reason for Priests saying three Masses that day, which did not extend to the Laity receiving. This point is particularly handled in its proper place.

4. At that time there happen'd a misfortune that might have prov'd of ill consequence. The *Tartar* Soldiers take more liberty at *Macao*, than they do in *China*; they uncover Womens faces, as they go along the Streets, and even in Processions, and there is no body can hinder them, tho in *China* they look upon it as a heinous

offence for a Man to look upon a Woman. Some of them went to see the Church of the Society, which is a very good one, but not so extraordinary as *F. Rodas* makes it. They stay'd longer than the *Sacristan* would have had them, he grew impatient, and was something rough with them, which they resent'd, and waited an opportunity to revenge. It is no prudence in a strange Country to abuse those that are Masters of it. Those Soldiers got together some more of their Gang, and walking about the Streets that Afternoon, met two Fathers of the Society, on whom they took full revenge for the wrong done them; they cudgel'd, dragg'd them about the Ground, and tore their Clothes. This alarm'd the City, some substantial Citizens took up Arms, the Temporal Coadjutors went out with Spears, fell upon the Soldiers, who had secur'd themselves with their Captain in the House where they quarter'd; they assaulted the House, threw in Hand-Granadoes, and beset them, but the House being over the Sea, they easily made their escape at Night, and acquainted the petty King of *Canton* with the matter. He immediately order'd the Magistrates of the City, and Fathers of the Society to appear before him. Each sent two as Deputies. The Religious Men were kept close Prisoners several Months, the Towns-men follow'd the Suit. It was compounded for 3000 Ducats in Silver, which the Society paid with an ill will. This was the end of that business, and it might have prov'd worse.

5. I saw a Monstrous sight there, which besides that it griev'd me to the Soul, put me out of patience. A *Chinese* Cor-rector liv'd there, whose Nickname given him by the *Portugueses* was *Boneca*. He seeing our Processions, resolv'd to make a Festival to his Idols, and to this purpose borrow'd Jewels and Relicaries of the *Portugueses*, as I suppose deceitfully.

fully. With these things he adorn'd a Bier to be carry'd on Mens Shoulders, on which he placed an Idol, and calling together the Infidels, they carry'd him about the Streets and Market of the City, with Musick. I was an eye-witness to it, and bewail'd the miserable condition of that place. A Citizen, whose name was *Texera*, an honest Man and good Christian, laid hand to his Sword, but check'd himself. He afterwards said to me, I had not valu'd being cut in pieces, but bethought my self, that the whole City would perish, and that stopp'd me, otherwise I did not want courage to break the Idol, and kill the Idolaters. A few days after I preach'd, and I believe they remember what I said to this matter, and about the Women lending an Infidel their Reliquaries.

6. All Church-men and Laity there pay Ground-rent for their Houses and Churches, as is usual all over *China*, but above all the People of *Macao*, who are strangers, and had the Place given them upon that condition. The Magistrates receive it from all Persons, and pay in the Money. They came to a Monastery to ask their Quota, and they oppos'd it vigorously; the Magistrates argued the case, and intreated, urging the example of the Cathedral, Parishes, and other Monasteries. All would not do, the others alledging it was contrary to *Bulla Cœnæ*. The Magistrates gave their reasons, and at last the City paid the Money, because the Religious Men could not be brought to hearken to reason. They put this case to me, without my being acquainted with the Particulars of it; I answer'd, as I thought fit, and what I would answer at this time, which was, that those Fathers should go to the *Tartar* Emperor, and notify that Bull to him, and if he allow'd of it, they might enjoy their Privilege, and not pay. Such a question deserves no other answer. I have always said the things that happen in those parts are incredible. Is there any such thing as *Bulla Cœnæ* in the World, that concerns the receiving of my Ground, or other Rent? I was in the right to believe that was not the effect of ignorance so much as of wilfulness.

7. I found abundance of violent *Sebastianists* in that City, (so call'd for that they expect King *Sebastian* slain by the Moors above one hundred years since will return again.) I stood amaz'd to hear the Arguments they us'd to prove he was still alive. One who was a good Christian ar-

gued thus to me: Father, no King ever dy'd, but his Obsequies were perform'd, *Navarrette*. none have been for King *Sebastian*, therefore he is not dead. The Major is undeniable, the Minor plain, so the Consequence, &c. When I discours'd this point with *F. Gouvea* a Jesuit, he deny'd the Minor, and said, the Obsequies were perform'd at the Monastery of *Bethlehem* near *Lisbon*. Others have told me they were not perform'd by the Kingdom, (*this seems a Quibble*.) When I return'd out of *China*, they were still of the same mind, and expect him daily.

8. Another thing I thought strange at *Macao*, which was that a Widow Gentlewoman, whose name was *Elizabeth Ravigoto*, having a Law-suit about a considerable quantity of *Sandal*, with the Procurator of a certain Order, another of the same House took part with the Widow, and pleaded for her. So that one was for, and another against the Widow, in the same House. *F. Gouvea* told me he had seen the like at *Lisbon*, in a great Suit there was with the Collector, with whom *F. Suarez* sided, and did him all the service he could. And another very Learned Man of the Society was violent against him. There is no doubt but there may be two probable opinions, and one hold the one, and another the other.

9. When I declar'd I would go into *China*, the whole City was concern'd at it; and there was a Layman that said, I ought to be stopp'd, for the general good of others. I was oblig'd to them for their love and many favours. Having no knowledge of that vast Kingdom, I was necessitated to have recourse to them that had, for directions how to travel. They gave me written Instructions very willingly, but I found the contrary by experience. The Paper specify'd the Provinces of *China* as far as *Tartary*, without mentioning any City, Town, or Village, as if a Man should direct another how to travel from *Madrid* into *Germany*, and should write, You must go into *Catalonia*, and thence into *France*, so into *Flanders*, &c. This did not discourage me. I took a *Chinese*, who spoke a little *Portuguese*, agreed with him, and order'd our affairs to set out. I us'd all my endeavours to go as far as *Canton* with another Millioner, who was to build a Church in that Metropolis. He and his Superior promis'd I should, and that they would give me timely notice. I was ready, and expected to be call'd upon some days, but they never perform'd; perhaps they could not be as

Sebastianists.

Nava-
rette.
good as their words. The other went away, and I remain'd somewhat baffled, but not out of hopes. I found an Infidel, who conducted me with a very good will, and for a small charge. I consider'd by my self what difference there is betwixt the Sentiments of God and Man. A Catholick Priest and Missioner would not take me along with him, and God order'd that a Gentile and Idolater should carry me, and use me with all the respect in the World. Some *Tartar* Soldiers went in the same Boat, who carry'd themselves very civilly towards me. I was destitute of all human dependance, and was the first that ventur'd among those Heathens in this nature, and openly: Which Father *Gouvea* of the Society often admir'd, and declar'd as much in my hearing. So that all the Missioners who had enter'd *China* till that time, either did it privately as the *Franciscans* and those of my Order, or else under the protection of some *Mandarines*, or as Mathematicians as those of the Society. It was certainly a special goodness of God towards me, otherwise it could not have been done.

10. As soon as we were out of *Macao*, we came to an Idol Temple the Heathens have there, and as we pass'd by it, the Sailors offer'd their sacrifice, and perform'd their Ceremonies for obtaining a good passage. *Macao* was never able to remove that eye-sore; and yet they boast they are Lords of that Island. In two days, we came to the Metropolis of *Canton*. I was astonish'd to see that prodigious City. We run up the River under the Walls, they extend almost a League and half from East to West. I spoke something of this City in the first Book.

11. When I went hence I was assisted by the black Soldiers who were Christians; they were very uncivil to me, they stole from me fifty Pieces of Eight, my Church-stuff, and other small things. I was upon my guard against the Infidels, but not against Christians, which was the cause this misfortune befel me, which I found out 24 hours after, when I had sail'd some Leagues; I made some enquiry, but to no purpose, so my sufferings began. In the Metropolis I found a Black, who made a practice of baptizing all the Children he met in the Streets, and had done so to many. There is no doubt but all that dy'd in a state of Innocence were sav'd, for he baptiz'd them well. I blam'd him for it, but know not whether he was the better. I sail'd up

the River nine days with three *Tartar* Soldiers, and declare it, they could not have been civiler, tho they had been good Christians. I was astonish'd at their courtesy, calmness and good behaviour. All that way I never gave any Man the least thing, but he return'd some little Present; and if he had nothing to return, there was no persuading him to accept of a morsel of Bread. This is the general custom throughout the Kingdom. I came to the River of the Watering Engines I mention'd in the first Book.

12. I travel'd afoot for want of Money, where there was no River. One day I went up a vast Hill, which tired me very much; on the top of it was a good House, where Soldiers lay to secure the Roads, of which that Nation is very careful. The Captain saw me going by, came out to meet me, was very courteous, invited me in, and led me by the hand; I sat down, he presently order'd their Drink made of *Cha* to be brought, shew'd compassion to see me travel afoot, and limping with weariness: he ask'd my *Chinese* Companion how I came to travel after that manner, was sorry that my things had been stolen, conducted me out, and took his leave with much civility and concern for my loss. I went on much comforted with that kindness, went down the Hill, which was tedious and craggy, that quite lam'd me, so that I was not able to stir. We came to an Infidel's House (I met with no Christian till we came to *Fo Kien*) whilst they were boiling a Chick for me to eat, I fell down and fainted, and tho I presently came to my self, they thought I should have dy'd there. The Infidel presently went in and brought Clothes, he made me a little Bed, on which they laid me, and I went to rest. I was astonish'd to see with what care and diligence the Infidel attended me, no more could have been done in any Town in *Spain*. I eat and gather'd strength, that Man did wonders with me that night, he gave me his own Room and Bed, which were very good. True it is, I slept but little, being in care to rise betimes. He made much of me, and would take nothing for my Lodging. This is very much among Infidels.

13. Next day as we were entering a great Town, my *Chinese* and he that carry'd the small Baggage went before, and I was left in a desperate condition, sad, and out of patience, among thousands of *Chineses*, without knowing how to enquire for my Company, or answer their questions; I had an ill Afternoon of it, but

but no Man was uncivil to me: I have said it, and must repeat it a thousand times, that this Nation outdoes all others in the World in this particular, and some others. Next day it being very cold, for it was past the middle of *October*, we came to a River; I took off my Shoes and Stockings, and waded it with the Water up to my Knees, and very sensible of the violent cold. The Company that travel'd together, spy'd a mighty Tiger, that lay on a rising ground close by the Road; I saw it, and was much daunted, it was as big as a large Calf. That day we came to a stately and populous Town, seated on a stately River, on which there

were thousands of Vessels. I endeavour'd to hire a Boat presently, but could not, because the people were in an uproar, by reason a company of Robbers were abroad. The War was hot there against the *Sea-Chineses*, who would not submit to the *Tartar*. I went into a Lodging, and after Night we went away very hush't to a Boat. At break of day we got out, sail'd down the River all day, continually seeing great numbers and variety of Vessels. At dark night we anchor'd under the Walls of the famous City of *Chang Cheu*, where we rested a little, and will begin another Chapter to conclude this Voyage.

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C H A P. XI.

My Travels continu'd as far as Fo Ngan.

1. **T**HE City *Chang Cheu* is very famous and renown'd in *Cbina*, all the *Chineses* that trade to *Manila* are of it and its Territory, and are therefore called by us *Chincheos*, by corruption of the Name; it is part of the Province of *Fo Kien*, and cost the *Tartar* dear. He took it once, but lost it to the *Chineses* of *Cabelle*; but he coming a second time with great Force, made himself Master of it again. True it is, it cost abundance of Lives on both sides, for it was strongly garison'd, being a Frontier Town. At the dawn of the day we went out of the Boat; to continue our way we went about a great part of the City, and on a sudden found my self in a Street, the longest, finest, and fullest of People that ever I saw. I was astonish'd and surpriz'd, especially hearing all People say, This is a Father of *Manila*. And considering how ill the Souldiers at *Manila* use the *Chineses*, I concluded, it would be well if I came off with a good beating. I went on apace to escape the danger I fancy'd hung over me, and thought the Street had no end, it was little less than half a league long: It is all the way at twenty paces distance adorn'd with stone Arches curiously wrought. Troops of Horse march'd out of the City with much noise and confusion, and I could not think what would become of me. One Lodging would not entertain us, and the worst was, we had a River to pass in a great common Boat. I went into the Passage-boat very much concern'd, and there was aboard a great many People who took not their eyes off me. I wait-

ed two hours till the Boat was full; we went down the River three or four Leagues: when I got ashore, I thought my self in another World. Having travel'd about two Leagues, I met with the tallest and fiercest *Chinese* to look to I had yet seen, he prov'd to me an Angel sent by God. He came to me, made much of me, comforted me, and by Signs gave me to understand that I should be merry and fear nothing, for he would take care of me. I understood something, and my *Chinese* explain'd it to me very well. In the Lodgings he gave me the best Room; when he eat he gave me the best Morsel; he took me by the hand, and plac'd me on his right side, and always took as much care of me as if he had been my Tutor or Guardian; I never saw a better-natur'd Man. Two days after another, nothing inferior to the first, joyn'd us; I was very well pleas'd with such good Company. Being come to the City *Civen Cheu*, I was amaz'd to see such a vast place; the whole appear'd from an Eminency, and it look'd like a little World. When the *Tartar* took it, the Walls were ruin'd, and he caus'd them to be new built; they were finish'd in two Years. I believe it impossible for any *European* Prince to compleat such a Work in four or five. The Form of them is like ours, with Curtins and Bastions. We travel'd under the Walls, crossing the narrowest part: As I went I counted the Cannon, I reck'ned as far as Seventy, and observing I was not come half way, left off to take notice of other things. About the Year 63, the Floods swell'd

so high, that they overflow'd the Walls, and drowned a great part of the City. Having pass'd this place, we came to that wonderful Bridge I mention'd in the first Book. Three days after we met the General of *Fo Kien*, who was marching to *Chang Cheu* with 20000 Men. I was in great confusion and distress upon this occasion, considering in what condition a poor Religious Man must be in such a strange Kingdom, and amidst an Army of Idolaters. Those two *Chineses* were so assisting to me, that were it not for them, I know not what had become of me, not that any Man spoke to me, or offer'd the least incivility, but because of the dread and disorder that multitude of *Gentiles* put me into, in regard I could not speak, or give the least account of my self if occasion had requir'd. I pass'd in sight of the General, vvho vvas near the shore vvith the greatest Gravity and State imaginable. It vvas prodigious to see his Sumptures, Camels and Horses. When vve were pass'd the Body of the Army, and thought all vvas over, from an Eminence I discoverd another Party, vvich vvas no small trouble to me, they were all Pikemen, and drawn up on both sides of the Road. I went through the midst of them all alone, because my Companions were behind seeking their Saddles, and my *Chinese* our Baggage. When I vvas pass'd, I said, and still say the same, that I had rather go through two Armies of *Tartars*, than one of ours. We saw Country Houses and Villages vvith their Fruit, and Meat set out in the Shops to sell, as if never a Soldier had gone that vvay. Then, and often since have I made Reflection upon it; it is never known that Soldiers in that Country vvrong the Subjects, and therefore tho an Army marches through a City, Town or Village, none of the Inhabitants are the least disturb'd. The Handicraft minds his Business, he that sells Fruit keeps his station, and so others; no Man dares touch any thing vvithout Money in hand, and paying the usual rate. The following Year a Soldier paid a Halfpenny short in a little Rice he had bought; the Seller complain'd, and having made it out, the Soldier was beheaded. The *Chineses*, and at present the *Tartars* say, Soldiers are to defend the People from the Enemy, and prevent the harm he may do them; but if the Soldiers do the same harm, the People will be expos'd to two Enemies: so that it is better not to raise Forces, that the People may have but one Enemy, whom they can better oppose than

two: This is evidently true.

2. Before I came to the Metropolis of *Fo Kien*, call'd *Fo Cheu*, I sent my *Chinese* into the City to find out the Church, and know whether there was ever a Father at it. It was long before he came back, which troubled me very much. My Companions carry'd me to an Inn, a better than which there is not in all *Italy*; we pass'd through two Courts, and found a Table cover'd with a thousand Dainties. I was concern'd that it was the Eve of *S. Simon and Jude*, tho I was in such a condition I might without any scruple have forbore fasting. My countenance expressing my sorrow, those Infidels ceas'd not to comfort me with Signs and Motions. It pleas'd God the *Chinese* return'd, and with him a Christian of that City, which fetch'd me to life again. The religious Man, I think, hid himself, so that I neither saw him, nor went to his Church, such are the humors of Men. I was not a little afflicted, because I was desirous to confess and say Mass. Perhaps he did nothing to help me forward in my Journey, and consider'd it, but I stood not in need of him. Two days after I set forward, having been well treated by a Christian Physician, and receiv'd some small Gifts from others. I cross'd the City, which is extraordinary beautiful, tho the least Metropolis in *China*, they say it contains one Million of People: The Suburb I came in at, was a League in length; the concourse of People, without one Woman among them, was incredible. The Street I went through was exceeding broad, long, well pav'd and clean, Shops on both sides of all sorts of things a Man could wish for. Going along it, I met three *Mandarines* at a good distance from one another. I was order'd to get out of my Sedan, or *Palanquine*, and stood astonish'd to see with what gravity, state, and attendance they went. I look'd upon them earnestly, which I ought not to have done; but in that Country it is counted unmannerly: But being ignorant of this, and many other Matters, it is no wonder I err'd. I got out of that Fright, and the City, and travel'd more easy in the open Country. Soon after I met a Christian whose name was *Charles*, who came from the place where those of my Order were; he was a great comfort to me. I travel'd five days longer over Hills that reach'd the Clouds, but God be prais'd no body did me the least displeasure. The last night we lay in a little Castle, in which were about fifty Souldiers; it is incre-

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Civility. incredible what civility I met with there. The Commander quitted his own Room, which was a good one, for me to lie there. I endeavour'd to excuse it, but he prevail'd, and went to lie in another place. I was amaz'd at this usage from Infidels, who among *Europeans* are accounted *Barbarians*; these and such-like Passages were always the subject of my Observation, they very well deserve consideration and reflection. Next day the Commander and others came down to the Door to take leave of me, begging my pardon for the slender entertainment. I went up and down seven hellish Mountains that day; at the last of them it rained hard, at the top of it we rested a little. I was very hungry and weary, for they had deceiv'd me in the number of Leagues. I saw a *Chinese* cat boil'd Rice in the morning, and as cold as Ice; I took a good parcel and eat it, methought I never eat any thing more dainty in all my lifetime. As we went down the Hill, which was very tedious, it rain'd again, and I met a company of Horsemen, who all saluted me after their manner. We found the Gates of *Fo Ngan* shut; we went late in a dark night, and very cold to a Suburb, where we had a bad night of it, because there were not Necessaries to be had, nor could we dry our Clothes. Wet as I was, I lay down-upon some Straw, and the Cold being intense, I could not get Heat into me: I never had so bad a lodging in forty days I had been travelling, and it was good fortune to get any, because there were abundance of Soldiers quarter'd. Next day being the 3d of *November*, I went into the City, came to the Church, where I found three Fathers of our Province of *Manila*; the very sight of them rejoic'd me, and made me forget all my Sufferings during the Journey.

3. Some at *Macao* look'd upon it as a rashness in me to undertake that Journey, others were of opinion I could never perform it. I my self was doubtful of the Event, which prov'd more fortunate than any Man could imagine; the Circumstances make it the stranger, for it is certainly very strange that I should travel forty days over Mountains and Valleys, upon Rivers, through great and small Towns, for the most part near the Sea, when the War was hot between the *Tartars* and *Chineses* of *Cabello*, and abundance of Horse and Foot marching, and that no body seeing a Stranger, should speak to or do him the least wrong, but

rather should all behave themselves courteously, civilly, and kindly. Till I met the Army at *Fo Kien*, I travel'd with my Beads about my neck, a Cross of that sort they call of *S. Toribuis*, and a Medal hanging to it; it was made of Jet, *Jet.* and in *China* there was none of it; they look'd upon, touch'd it, admir'd what it was made of, and there was an end. As we were going through the Army, my *Chinese* Friend took it off, and made signs to me to lay it up; I did so, because there was no necessity of carrying it openly. All Men knew I was a Preacher of the Evangelical Law, and my Interpreter told them as much, without being ask'd. All the Journey I us'd to rise very early, so that I had said most of the Divine Office before I came out of my Lodging; at night I perform'd what remain'd. I never wanted time to do this Duty, and I found afterwards that the Infidels were very much edify'd by seeing me pray. I said other Prayers in the day-time upon the Road. When I din'd or sup'd, there commonly came some poor body; I gave some small matter, and this was matter of Edification to the standers by. I gave my Companions some small Gifts; they were thankful, and made some return.

4. During this Journey I saw innumerable Cities, Towns, Villages, and Country Houses; it was rare, but we were in sight of some. The plenty of Fruit, Flesh, Fish, Cakes of several sorts, and other Varieties, was wonderful. At one Inn I stood a good while to see one mince Bacon to put into the Meat he dress'd; since I was born I never saw such Activity, Expedition, Cleanliness and Neatness as that *Chinese's*, I was quite astonish'd. Along the Roads I saw several Paper-mills: What I admire in those People, as to this and other particulars, is, that they set up a Paper-mill and other such Necessaries upon half a dozen Stakes, and vwork it vwith the least Rivulet of Water; among us we have a thousand Utensils.

5. I forbear vwriting many small matters, not because they will tire the Reader, but because I am tir'd my self: I have seen them so often, that they are very common to me, vvhich makes me have the less inclination to write them. I spoke in the first Book of the multitude of Temples and Idols I saw. The famous Idol call'd *San Pao*, vvhich has been represented as an Image of the most Blessed Trinity, is exactly the same with that vvhich is on the High Altar of the

Mona-

Navarrette.

Paper-mills.

Monastery of the Trinitarians at *Madrid*.
Nava- If any *Chinese* vvhatsoever saw it, he
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would presently say, the *San Pao* of his
 Country vvvas vvorship'd in these Parts.

C H A P. XII.

My stay at Fo Ngan, till I went up to Che Kiang.

1. **S**OME things I gave account of in the first Book, vvvhich I vvwill not repeat in this place; but I forgot to write one remarkable to us *Europeans*, vvvhich is, that during the forty days I travel'd, I never saw any more than three Women, either in Towns, upon the Road, or at the Inns. One as I went thrōugh a Village, another on the Road, and another at a distance from me near a Town. Among us it will seem incredible, among them it vvwill seem too much that I saw three.

Women.

2. The Town, or as others call it, City *Fo Ngan*, is very renown'd in the Province of *Fo Kien*; it suffer'd much upon the coming in of the *Tartars*, twice they took it, and twice the *Chineses* beat them out, the third time the latter submitted. The *Tartars* capitulated to hurt no Man, drew up, and order'd all that bore Arms to appear; they did so, and 14000 of them were delstroy'd. The first of them vvvas a good Christian, and very Learned Man, vvwho vvvas a Commander. The *Tartar* had a good opinion of him, and he would have been prefer'd had he submitted at first. A Soldier as he vvvas going to make his appearance, had some business, and said to a Townsman, I am busy at present, do you appear for me, and here is a Ryal (six Pence) for you to drink. He did so and was put to death, the other escap'd; it vvvas very fortunate for the one, and very unlucky in the other.

3. *Liu Chung Zao*, the *Chinese* General, a Man of great Learning, and brave, finding himself in distress, resolv'd to poison himself; he invited some Friends to do the same, and among them the Christian I spoke of before, vvvhose name vvvas *John Mieu*. They all excus'd themselves, and he took the Poison alone, dy'd in his Chair of State, vvwhere the *Tartars* found him sitting, and leaning against a Table; they made many obeisances to the dead Body, and extol'd his Loyalty, since he chose to die rather than to deliver up the City to an Enemy.

4. In one of those Sieges the Venerable *F. F. Francis de Capillas*, of the Monastery

of *S. Paul of Valladolid*, and born at *Villaquerin de Campos*, suffer'd Martyrdom. I saw the place vvwhere they cut off his Head, and kiss'd the Ground. His Business lies now before the Holy Congregation of Rites at *Rome*. In this Place my Order had their first Church in *China*: Here they sow'd the Seed of the Word, and did, and still do reap a plentiful Harvest. What relates to this Particular being written in our History, I vvwill proceed, but shall say something more in the Second Volume.

5. I vvvas there told a very remarkable Story, vvvhich is as follows; *Lieu Chung Zao*, vvvhom vve mention'd before, going to fight the *Tartars*, a Missioner attended him vvwith the Title of *Mandarine of the Powder*. He took up his Quarters at our Church, vvwhere he had the best entertainment they could give him. He being so great, and those of my Order so poor, the Infidels began to doubt vvwhether he and the rest vvvere all *Europeans*. To clear this Doubt, it vvvas resolv'd that one of ours and he should meet in some publick place, and talk together. The time and place were appointed; *F. Francis Diaz* a vvworthy Missioner and Labourer in God's Vineyard, got up early, and travel'd afoot two Leagues of very bad way; he was cloth'd in Cotton, not in Silk, and came sweating to the place appointed, vvwhere the other vvvas in great state in his Sedan, vvwith Attendants like a *Mandarine*. Our Father faced him; and vvwhen the Father *Mandarine* saw him from his Sedan in that garb, and without Servants, *he despis'd him*, and went on without taking any notice of him, leaving him out of countenance in the presence of a thousand Lookers on, and some Christians vvwho expected by that means to have gain'd Honour to their Spiritual Fathers. Afterwards a good Christian ask'd the Father *Mandarine*, how it came he had put so great an Affront upon the *Dominican* Father? He answer'd, Why should I go out of my Chair to pay a Complement to a Man in that garb?

6. Another time the General spoke ill of us in the hearing of that *Mandarine* Missioner, and of a *Chinese* Christian. The reason the General had for it was, because a Concubine had left him, and was become a Christian. The Father hearing what the Infidel said, and perceiving he bore us ill-will, said, *Sung Ta Men Ki Pa*, which is as much as if in our Language he had said, *Turn them out of the Kingdom, and let them be gone.* The Infidel star'd, the Christian amaz'd fix'd his eyes on the Father. Observe how the Infidels us'd me, and how one Missioner uses another. In short, *Figulus Figulum odit.* Notwithstanding all this, he afterwards desir'd our Fathers to procure him a faithful Christian Servant to wait upon him. They got him one, he brought him into *Europe*, made him pass for an able Physician. He was with him at *Rome*, where he forbid him going to our Monastery of *Minerva*. Our Father General sent us this intelligence into *China*; I saw, read, and had his Letter in my hands.

7. I came to the Church the 3d of *November*, as I said above, and presently apply'd my self to the study of that most difficult Language; there are few but find great discouragement in it, I labour'd all I could. Mattins were certainly said at Midnight; and it was usual with me to sit in my Chair after them till Morning at my Study. Continual application overcame the difficulty in great measure. It pleas'd God I preach'd in the Church the second Sunday in Lent, which but two months before I thought impossible to be done in two years. I was commanded to study the Character, and thought it a difficult Task; began with infinite reluctancy, but in a few months was so fond of it, that I could not be a moment from my Books. This study is so necessary, that without it there is no coming to a right understanding of the Errors they profess, nor opposing them, nor conversing with the Learned. In two Years I continu'd in that Province, I came to hear Confessions, preach'd with some ease, read some Books, and discours'd concerning Matters of Faith with Heathens and Christians.

8. I observ'd during that time that the *Chineses* confidently reported that their Emperor should die in the eighteenth Year of his Reign. The *Chineses* reckon their Emperors Lives by the Years of their Reign, as we do the Pope's; but it is not true to say they have no other computation of Years, as *F. Trigau-*

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cius, Cornelius a Lapide, Tirinon and Kircher affirm. We know they reckon the Year by Moons, allowing twelve to a Year, and thirteen to the Bissextile or Leap-year, wherein they agree with the *Jews*, as *Cornelius a Lapide* in *Exod.* proves. Their Moons are some of 29, and some of 30 Days. The name *Mensis*, a Month, is well known to be deriv'd from the *Greek*, taken from the name of the Moon, as *S. Isidorus* says, *lib. 5. de Orig. c. 33.* The *Jews* counted by Moons, as the *Chineses* do at this time. The Day according to the *Egyptians*, says the Saint, *cap. 30.* began at Sun-setting: According to the *Persians*, at Sun-rising: According to the *Athenians*, at the sixth Hour of the Day: According to the *Romans*, at Midnight. This last is the Method the *Chineses* observe. In the 37th Chapter the Saint speaks of the *Lustrum*, which was every five Years. The *Chineses* have the same, and call it *Ti*. The *Jews* reckon 50 Years an Age, as the same Saint observes, we make it 100; the *Chineses* allow but 30. The *Greeks* began the Year at the Autumnal Equinox, says *S. Isidorus*, *cap. 6. de natura rerum*; the *Chineses* as has been said before. Certain it is, they have other Computations beside the Years of their Emperors Reigns. To conclude, the *Chinese* Prophecy prov'd true, *Xe Pa Chung*, that is, he will end the 18th Year of his Reign. They also gave out they would banish the Law of God, it was talk'd of three Years before it hap'ned. This was easier to be known, because our Enemy was then contriving the mischief.

9. At an examination of Batchelors, some things remarkable hap'ned to certain Christians; One of them liv'd near the Church, was an extraordinary good Christian, and being old us'd Spectacles: He went to the Examination without them, through forgetfulness; the Man was utterly undone, for there was no avoiding losing his Degree, being whip'd, and undergoing the shame that follows of consequence. I was told he clap'd his hands upon his Face, and offer'd up to God that Trouble and Affliction he was fallen into, after he had many Years continu'd in his Degree with Honour and Reputation. He pray'd, then open'd his Eyes, and thought his sight was very clear; so taking the Pencil, he began and ended his Exercise, admiring at himself; and it prov'd so good, that he receiv'd a *Premium* for it. There is no doubt but it might happen naturally, and God might specially assist him.

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10. Another, who was newly baptiz'd in his Rhetorick, committed a gross Fault, which deserv'd a whipping at least. He offer'd up his Prayer to God, and made up his Paper the best he could. It was a strange thing that the Fault was not perceiv'd; and his Composition was not only approv'd of, but he was prefer'd a step higher for it. The other Christian Batchelors, all of them had *Premiums* that Year, which the Infidels took notice of.

11. I was alone a few days in a Town, where that hap'n'd to me which I mention'd in another place, which was, that an Infidel bid me go preach at *Manila*, where there was more need of it than in their Kingdom. I was out of countenance; it was in this Town I baptiz'd the Child I spoke of, that was expos'd to perish. As I was one day at my study, two Infidels open'd my Cell-door very softly; on my Table was a Crucifix, they stood looking at it; and making some little noise, I look'd about, saw them, and rose to ask what they wanted. They said, they were going to see the Church, and had a mind to see me, but that they were surpriz'd at the sight of that Image, which had mov'd their Hearts to some tenderness. What I write is the very truth, let others write or say what they please. Before this, when I was at *Fo Ngan*, the same thing hap'n'd to me twice; and when I spoke something concerning that Divine Mystery to those Infidels, they knit their Brows, and paid respect and honour to that Holy Image. This Point is particularly handled, and I would have the curious Reader reflect upon what *S. Thomas* writes on *Joan. 12. Sect. 4.* on the words, *But Jesus answer'd, &c.* About this time a Heathen Batchelor, who lay very sick, sent for me; he had read some Books of ours, and God touch'd his Heart. He earnestly desir'd to be baptiz'd; I instructed him the best I could, and caus'd some who were Christians of long standing to discourse him. Ten days after he had devoutly receiv'd the Sacraments, he went to enjoy the sight of God, as I charitably believe.

12. As I went one day to see him, some Christians and Infidels went with me. I heard an Infidel Batchelor say to a Christian, Is it possible none can be saved without being of this Religion, and that all our Forefathers and Predecessors who had no knowledge of it, were damn'd? This is a hard case. If God be so merciful as these Men preach, and one Person was incarnate to save those

Men, had it not been proper that another should have taken human Flesh here to redeem us, and not leave us so many thousands of Years in a desperate condition? I was much troubled that I was not so perfect in the Language at that time, as to answer fully and satisfactorily as the case requir'd. Nevertheless that he might understand something of it, I gave him a Book that treated upon the very Subject. He went his way hammering upon this Point, and God calling him, came afterwards and desir'd to be baptiz'd; his Wife and two Sons were also baptiz'd; so all came into the Church, and after them their Sons two Wives. The whole Family was sensible of God's special protection in an assault of some Rebels.

13. There was in that place a Christian Batchelor, whose name was *Thomas*, a Man of an excellent Wit, and much Reputation. I once practis'd the Language, and expounded to him the Mystery of the Incarnation. When I had spoke what was material to the Point, he took me up very short, and said, If it is so that God show'd his infinite Love and Charity in this Mystery, it had been more convenient that the Holy Ghost had become Man, since Love is his peculiar Attribute, and not the Son, whose Attribute is Wisdom. The *Chinese* made a good Reflection, and press'd it home; for my part I was amaz'd, and so were others. What I had read in *S. Thomas* upon that Subject occur'd; he brings as a reason of Conveniency, 3 p. art. 4. *That the Reparation might be answerable to the Creation.* The Creation of the World was for the Son, *In the beginning, that is in the Son.* It was proper the Creation, or Reparation, should be answerable. The *Chinese* understood it, and was satisfy'd.

14. Near to the Church there liv'd an Infidel Batchelor who was above the Exercises; he liv'd very retir'd, was much of a Stoick, and therefore in great esteem. He had a good opinion of the Law of God, insomuch that he himself in my time, perswaded his Wife and two Sons to be baptiz'd; these two I baptiz'd, and my Superior the Wife: Yet he could not resolve as to himself, and all his objection was, that he thought it very indecent for God to be present in the Host, and expos'd to be receiv'd by ill Christians. Very much was said to him upon this account, but still he was obstinate, till it pleas'd God to move him effectually. The Persecution was then beginning, when one would have thought he

he should have been the further from embracing our Holy Faith, as being condemn'd by the Emperor, and endeavour to make his Wife and Children forsake it. Then it was God shew'd his mercy towards him, enlightning his understanding, and inclining his will to receive Baptism, as he actually did. Above 250 were baptiz'd during those two years, and had not the Wars hapned at the same time, the increase of Christianity had been great. They burnt five Churches of ours, two in my time, one of them the biggest there ever was in *China*. It was built by an excellent Christian *Chinese*, who had been at *Manila*, and seen our Churches; he return'd into his Country, came to be a *Mandarine*, and in his own Town he built a Church exactly like that he had seen at *Manila*, in bigness, shape, and ornament. A Christian Woman liv'd with her Family in a Country-house near the Sea, her manner of living was scandalous; when all the Family was asleep, a Tiger got in and carry'd her away, the Christians look'd upon it as a judgment.

15. In *August* I was sent for to a small Town, to hear the Confession of a sick Woman; I went and gave her the *Viaticum*, and all the Family confess'd and receiv'd. They were all extraordinary good Christians, and well instructed in the Faith. The Inhabitants of the next House were their Relations,

but profess'd Enemies of the Law of God, yet it pleas'd his Divine Majesty they soon after came in and were baptiz'd. As I return'd it rain'd hard, and the North-wind blew; the Cold and Rain pierced me, and being afoot in some places the water was half way my Legs. Being come home before I had time to rest me, I went to hear the Confession of a poor Old Man, and gave him the Extreme Unction; this struck me into an Ague, which was very troublesome. After the Feast of our Lady in *September*, news came that relief was sent us from *Manila*, it was a great comfort, for in truth we were in want. It pleas'd God, as a punishment of my sins, that when it was ashore safe from Sea-robbers, as it came up a River all was lost, but one hundred Pieces of Eight a Christian hid; the Thieves were taken afterwards, and confess'd this Robbery among others, they were put to death; but we remain'd eleven Religious Men of us with only one hundred Pieces of Eight among us. In *November* following *F. John Polanco*, a notable Missioner and Religious Man, went over to *Manila*; he dy'd, after having labour'd very much, at *Sevil* in the year 1671, being then Bishop Elect of *New Caceres* in the *Philippine* Islands. I was order'd to go up to the Province of *Che Kiang* in his stead, as accordingly I did, and shall relate in the next Chapter.

C H A P. XIII.

My Journey to Che Kiang, and stay there till the Persecution.

1. **I** Now speaking the Language, and my Beard being grown, this Journey was easier to me than the first, tho I went in some fear, because I carry'd Wine with me to serye for saying Mass, and half the Money that had been sav'd. With me went two Christians, and an Infidel who was upon his Conversion; they were Country Men of the Inland, and most excellent natur'd Men. The second day I came to the highest Mountain I ever saw in my Life. This and several others I cross'd in eleven days; travelling tired my very Soul. At every half League or League, we found resting places cover'd, and so neat, that nothing could be finer for the purpose. All *China* is furnish'd with these Conveniences, and has good Roads. I saw several Temples of the *Bonzes*, some upon

high Mountains, and the Ascent so rough and difficult, that it was terrible to look at them. Others were in deep Valleys, others close by the Road. These last had hot water at the Doors, with the herb *Cha* for Passengers to drink. At some certain places there were *Bonzes* in little Houses, where they had Idols, and the same sort of Liquor; the *Bonze* offer'd it very courteously, and with much gravity and modesty. If they gave him any thing, he took it, making a low Obeisance, and returning thanks for it; if not, he stood stock still, without stirring. I never gave these People any thing, the reason I shall assign in its proper place.

2. We came to the limits of the Province of *Che Kiang*, the Gate was betwixt two vast high Rocks, there stood a Guard of Soldiers; in the middle be-

between that and another Gate were their Quarters. There we stopp'd a while, they gave us *Cha*, and very courteously said, There is no doubt but this Gentleman has an Order to pass this burden. The Infidel *Chinese* answer'd, It has all been search'd, Sir, here are the Certificates. Enough, enough, said the Soldiers. To say the truth, nothing had been search'd. They spoke not a word more, we took our leaves according to their fashion, and went on. This was done by Heathen and Idolatrous Soldiers, we shall see in its proper place how Christians have behav'd themselves. I observ'd that and other such Passes, and methinks it is impossible for an Army to force them against a handful of Men, tho they had no Weapons but Staves; they are so narrow two cannot go a breast; the *Chineses* with but indifferent valour might have made them good against innumerable multitudes of *Tartars*. Soon after we came to another narrow Pass like the former, but the Guard was much more numerous Here we rested, and warm'd our selves at the Sun. I saw a Temple there was there, every body made Obedience to me, but none ask'd me any question. During that time I observ'd, that a Woman was coming up from a deep Valley, and as I could guess she was going to a Temple that stood on a Hill hard by. She came up to the Soldiers, they all stood up, and very gravely bow'd to her, which she answer'd very modestly, and went on. I was astonish'd that this should happen among Infidels, when at the same time there is so much impudence in our Country. We ought all to be asham'd and confounded at it.

3. I was notably made much of in that Journey. In one Inn I saw a Woman, which was the first and last I ever saw in an Inn, tho I lay in very many.

4. I arriv'd at the City *Kin Hoa*, that is *Flower of Gold*, because there is a Hill by it that bears abundance of Gold Flowers, or Walwort. The Church there had not been founded a year, so that there were but few Christians. I baptiz'd some, and among them a *Licentiate*, a Bachelor, and a Taylor. I baptiz'd one more, who was a Merchant, but he came to naught. The case was, that he learn'd the necessary Answers for Baptism; a violent sickness seiz'd him, he came to the Church desiring me to baptize him; I made him return home, instructed, baptized, and gave him Beads, Pictures, and Holy Water, and encourag'd him to expect Death, with great

assurance that God would be merciful to him. A Brother of his who was an Infidel dislik'd what was done, went to his House, made himself Master of it, and deny'd me admittance; he call'd the *Bonzes*, perverted and made him an Apostate, he soon dy'd and went to Hell baptiz'd: *O the depth of the riches of God's Wisdom and Knowledge!* &c.

5. A few Months after I went to a Village, where there were good Christians, there I apply'd my self to writing of some Books which I thought very necessary. They were the four Volumes I mention'd in another place; in which explicating Christian Truths, I impugned the Errors of that Nation. I am satisfi'd they were approv'd of by Learned Christians of the Society, and others of ours. An antient Christian Batchelor of the Society, whose name was *Matthew*, read them, and when he had done, said, Till now I was not perfectly instructed in the Law of God. I preach'd often in that Village. A Youth who prov'd a good Christian was baptiz'd, and an antient Woman, besides others who relaps'd.

6. Here it is to be observ'd, that in a dispute we had at *Canton* touching some Ceremonies, whether they were Political or Superstitious, in the answer *F. Faber* gave in opposition to my Opinion, he puts the question, What Gentiles I had baptiz'd, since I held that Opinion? Or how many Infidels I had converted at *Kin Hoa*? This he started after I came out of my Confinement. What I would have answer'd him there, I will shortly insert here, reserving the principal matter for the second Tome.

7. In the first place, God did not command me to convert, but to preach: *Preach the Gospel*, &c. *Cajetan* observ'd it, and says, that Conversion is the work of God, not of the Preacher, which answers the Question, granting I preach'd and taught the Doctrine and Points ascertain'd at *Rome*. (2.) It is a receiv'd opinion, that the Apostle *S. James* converted but only seven Persons in *Spain*, which does not make it lawful to slander the Doctrine he preach'd. (3.) That during that time I sow'd the seed of the Word, both by Preaching and Writing, which I hope in God will yet yield a good Crop. (4.) I ask'd of him we speak of, and others, what Conversions they had made by preaching their Opinions? It is well known, there were only three Learned Men that were tolerable Christians at *Xang Hai*. And of 2000 that had been baptiz'd in *Jang Cheu*, only seven or eight

frequented the Church, as F. Pacheco a Missioner own'd in that City.

8. (5.) I gave in answer the words of *Corn. à Lap.* in 1 *Cor.* 3. 8. where he handles this Point very Learnedly, and says more than I need. The curious Reader may see it there; and if we add to it what *Cajetan* writes in *Mat.* 25. concerning the equal reward the Master of the Family gave to him of the five Talents, and him of the two, which is admirable to the purpose, with what *S. Thomas* in his *Cat. Aur.* quotes out of *Origen* on the same Chapter, my Opinion will be still more strengthened. To which may be added what *St. Paul* teaches, 1 *Cor.* 3. 7. *Neither is he that plants any thing, &c.*

9. The Reader may also see *S. Thomas* in 16. *ad Rom.* l. 2. *in fine*, in 1 *Cor.* 3. *lect.* 2. & in 1 *Joan.* 2. *prope finem*, & *Cajet.* in 11. *Joan.* together with *F. Sylveira* in 12. *Joan.* Tom. 6. p. 613. n. 77. And if I add I am still preaching in *China* in my Books, I shall not be in the wrong. Read *Sylveira* Tom. 1. in *Apoc.* cap. 10. q. 17. and Tom. 2. cap. 8. l. 4. q. 10. n. 71. If more be requir'd it is easily found, but the Reader will meet with enough in the second Tome, to answer this and other Points.

10. The Learned Christians in that Village put such questions to me, as amaz'd me. One concerning the light of Glory; another concerning the *Species impressa*, for seeing of God; another about the distinction of Angels, whether it was Specifical, or Numerical. But what I most admir'd was, that I being once reading in a Book of *F. Adamus*, (that is in the *Chinese* Character) whether there had been the virtue of Penance in Christ, and he answering in the Affirmative, according to *Suarez* his Doctrine; *Linus*, a Batchelor above his Exercises, very well known to all the Fathers, came up and ask'd me, What is it you read, Father? The answer I gave him was, the Book it self, pointing to the place. He read it, and being disgusted at it, said, *F. Adamus* might well have forbore writing this. If Christ did not, nor could not sin, how should he have sorrow and repentance for sins? Truly I was amaz'd to see, that at once reading he should understand the difficulty, and give that reason of his doubt.

11. After some Months I return'd to the City; I had a Catechist who was a good Scholar, with whose help I carry'd on the putting of my Books into good Language. My Church was kept as clean, neat, and well adorn'd, as our Religious poverty would permit. The People that resorted to it were very numerous, and

shew'd a good inclination towards the Law of God. I was sent for in all haste to the Towns and Villages. The extraordinary Poverty and Want we had endur'd for three years last past, was a sufficient reason not to go out of doors. If it were usual to preach there, as we do here and in other parts, nothing would stop us; the Devil makes his advantage of this particular. This will not satisfy some Men, but what I say is most certain.

12. I began to print my Catechism, because it had pleas'd God to send us some small relief in the year 1664, when on a sudden and altogether unexpectedly news came from Court, that our Enemy had presented a Memorial against *F. Adamus* and the Law of God. The very Infidels were astonish'd. Many comforted me the best they could, the Christians did the same. Many thought it would all come to nothing, but when I observ'd they laid Rebellion to his charge, I was convinced that affair would run high, so my Impression stopp'd.

13. The case was, that *F. John Adamus* being President of the College of Mathematicians, who had the charge of, and every year set out the Almanack, by which the whole Empire is govern'd, as well in Political as Religious respects, assigning lucky and unlucky Days for every thing they are to do, tho' some excus'd the said Father as to this particular; It happen'd that a Prince had dy'd some years before that Court was order'd to appoint a proper time and fortunate hour for his Funeral. All the *Chineses* are very superstitious in this respect. It was appointed, but not lik'd; or, as others say, the President of the Court of Rites alter'd it, the Mathematical Court being subordinate to his. Soon after the Prince's Mother, and next the Emperor himself dy'd. The *Chineses* imputed these two Person's death to the ill timing of the Prince's Burial. This was in reality the principal and only occasion of the Persecution; to which they added Blasphemies against God and his Holy Mother, as shall be instanced more at large in *Chap.* 15.

14. These news being spread abroad, the Christians grew cold, and withdrew; they have not the courage of the *Japoneses* and others, the Infidels fled from the Church, and from us. One, who tho' an Atheist was an honest Man, said to me: Father, forty days hence there will be a fresh Order, you have nothing to do but to expect it courageously. One day three *Mandarines* came to pry into our House and Church; I shew'd I was sensible

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 sible of the business, we discours'd about it, and to say the truth they were concern'd we should be disturb'd. The resort to us being grown less, I stay'd at home, spending my time in composing a little Book; and truly in it I disprov'd all the Extravagancies our Enemy alledg'd against the Law of God, except some which were altogether Chimerical. The second advice came, and brought news that the cause was depending, and F. *Adamus* in Prison. The other three Fathers then at Court, were at the point of going to keep him company. After forty days more, the third advice came, with Orders to carry us all to Court. The Civil Magistrate of *Lan Ki*, which is six Leagues down the River, and where two of my Order were, was then in the City; he sent to apprehend and put them into Goal immediately, which was done that very night with great noise and tumult, fifty Troopers besides Foot-Soldiers being at the taking of two poor Religious Men. They told me they would do the same by me, I thank God I was not concern'd, I was only troubled that the Holy Images and Church-stuff should be left there. I waited all night with a Christian young Man; a little before break of day perceiving there was no noise of People, I went to say Mass; that day pass'd over, and no body spoke a word to me. The Infidel I spoke of advis'd me to present my self to the Supreme Civil Magistrate; he writ my Memorial, and I went away with him to his Court. He receiv'd me favourably, and presently sent me away, bidding me be quiet in my House, and he would dispatch me when their New year was over, giving me to understand the Emperor intended to banish us his Empire. This quieted me, and I liv'd the following days more at ease. They brought the two Fathers that were down the River, to present them before the Governour; they gave me an account of their Imprisonment, and the next day they sent them back to their House. By the advice of my Infidel Friend before mention'd, I presented another Memorial to the Supreme Civil Magistrate of the City, in which I intimated that I had not Money to bear my Charges on the Road, and therefore would sell my Household-Goods. He consented to it, I sold some Wheat and Rice, gave some things to Friends and poor Christians, and others I made nothing of. The Church-stuff was what concern'd me most, it pleas'd God I sent it all to a Christian, who liv'd in that Village where I had been some time.

15. After the Feast of the New-year, I was busy one Morning, ordering some small things to send to the Corregidor, or Supreme Civil Magistrate of the City, when on a sudden he came into my House, attended by Officers, Executioners and Soldiers. I went out with my Present, and said to him, I was putting this trifle in order to send it to your Lordship. He look'd on every thing, lik'd it, and order'd it to be kept: The whole value I believe amounted to two Pieces of Eight. His courtesy to me both before and after deserv'd much more. Tho he had often seen the Church, he ask'd nothing about it. He acquainted me with the Emperor's Order, and deliver'd me to the Head of that Quarter, enquiring first, whether there was ever another *European* there besides my self. The Officers ran in like so many ravenous Tigers to lay hold of what they could, but found only my Breviary, Primmer, *S. Augustin's* Meditations, and other small matters which I had thought to be safe, but they carry'd all away, and left me for some time free from the duty of saying my Office. The Headborough was a very honest Man, at night he lock'd my door on the out-side, without minding a Back-door I had; and would say to me, Father, I know you will not run away, I do this only that those who pass by may see I obey my Orders. Then they brought me before the Superior Judge, who allow'd a Boat to carry me to the Metropolis. I believ'd I escap'd the best of any as to the manner of my imprisonment. I imputed it to my sins that God would not permit me to suffer somewhat for his Holy Name, when all others did.

16. Before I proceed to the next Chapter, because I forgot it in the first Book, I will here briefly mention the most usual, common and cheap sort of Food all *China* Food. abounds in, and which all Men in that Empire eat, from the Emperor to the meanest *Chinese*, the Emperor and great Men as a Dainty, the common sort as necessary sustenance. It is call'd *Teu Fu*, Teu Feu. that is, Paste of Kidney Beans. I did not see how they made it. They draw the Milk out of the Kidney-Beans, and turning it, make great Cakes of it like *Cheese* Kidney-Beans. as big as a large Sive, and five or six fingers thick. All the Mass is as white as the very Snow, to look to nothing can be finer. It is eaten raw, but generally boil'd and dress'd with Herbs, Fish, and other things. Alone it is insipid, but very good so dress'd, and excellent fry'd in Butter. They have it also dry'd and smok'd,

smok'd, and mix'd with Caraway-seeds, which is best of all. It is incredible what vast quantities of it are consum'd in *China*, and very hard to conceive there should be such abundance of Kidney-Beans. That *Chinese* who has *Tou Fu*, Herbs and Rice, needs no other Sustenance to work; and I think there is no body but has it, because they may have a Pound (which is above twenty Ounces) of it any where for a Half-penny. It is a great help in case of want, and is good for carriage. It has one good Quality, which is, that it causes the different Airs and Seasons, which in

that vast Region vary much, to make no alteration in the Body, and therefore they that travel from one Province to another make use of it. *Tou Fu* is one of the most remarkable things in *China*, there are many will leave Pullets for it. If I am not deceiv'd, the *Chinese* of *Maniila* make it, but no *European* eats it, which is perhaps because they have not tasted it, no more than they do Fritters fry'd in Oil of *Ajonjoli* (a very small Seed they have in *Spain* and *India*, which we have not) which the *Chinese* make in that City, and is an extraordinary Dainty.

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C H A P. XIV.


My Journey to the Imperial City, and Residence there.

1. **A**S soon as a Boat was order'd, and Officers appointed to conduct me, these began to contrive to get Money of me. This sort of People is covetous all the World over; but there is a difference, for in *China* any Officer of the Civil Magistrate is satisfy'd with a little, and thankful for it; but in other parts a great deal goes but a little way, and they undervalue it. I will relate what happen'd to me there: They assign'd me an Officer, who I fancy'd was too busy, and I fear'd would be troublesome and uneasy upon the way. This matter depended on the Clerk, I sent him a Message, and a little Money, desiring him to appoint another who was more courteous and civil. The Man deliver'd the Message, and only two Ryals Plate (a Shilling.) He consented, order'd another in his stead, and said, Your Master has a sharp Eye; since he knew that Man, I will appoint one who shall please him in all things, and serve him. So it prov'd; would they do the like to a *Chinese* in these parts?

2. I forgot to relate how the City *Kin Hoa* had held out bravely against the *Tartars*, and it cost them dear to take it. When taken, the *Tartar* General having promis'd to spare all Men, call'd together all the Citizens; and when they were all in a place, gave the Signal to his Men to fall on, they butcher'd 40000. He was a cruel Man, his name *Ma Tie To*; some Years after he was put to death at Court. That City was much impair'd, however in my time it paid 50000 Ducats a year Taxes. The Town down the River where my two Companions resided, surrendred without drawing Sword, and so escap'd untouch'd.

Its Trade is great, the Duties there amount to 70000 Ducats a Year. The best Liquor of all *China* is there made of Rice, and is so good that we do not miss the Wine of *Europe*. Their Gammons of Bacon are the best in the Empire, nothing inferior to the choicest in *Spain*. The price is certain, a pound containing twenty Ounces cost a Penny, and so a pound of the best Wine; if it rises it is but a small matter.

3. I took Boat for the Metropolis, not imagining what I was to meet with there. Next morning I saw my two Companions, the supreme Civil Magistrate of the Town being still at variance with them. I had indur'd much cold that night in the Boat. I went thence alone, and that day saw the pleasant fishing with Sea-Crows, which I mention'd in the first Book. (I guess these he calls *Sea-Crows*, may be either *Cormorants* or *Barnacles*.) Three nights I lay in my little Boat, every morning the Hoar Frost lay upon us, for it was in *February*, and very frosty weather. My two Companions overtook me, and we came together to the Metropolis on the 27th of *February*, being the 15th day of their New Moon. Next day they put us into Prison; eight days I lay under a Bed where two were: I laid a few Boards on the ground which was wet, and laying one Blanket over and another under me, slept comfortably. I have already given an account of what happen'd to me in this place. On the 21st of *April* we were taken out of that Prison to be sent to the Imperial City; and tho a Boat was allow'd us, they made us pay to get a good one. True it is, the Father of the Society who had suffered


 suffered much there being sick, manag'd this Bargain, vve consenting to it something against our Will, for indeed we valu'd not how they carry'd us, being resolv'd to endure all that came. They appointed us a Guard of Soldiers, who rode always in sight of our Boat, and every now and then were reliev'd. In their behaviour they vvere like very good Christians; they offer'd not the least incivility, but rather sometimes help'd us vwhen vve stood in need of it.

4. Being come to the famous City *Zu Cheu*, vve rested there five days, being much made of by five Fathers of the Society vwho vvere detain'd there by the Judges, in order to perform the same Journey vvith us. We sail'd as far as the Red River, the sight vvhereof frighted us, and no less the violence of its Whirlpools. When vve left it, vve met two more Fathers of the Society. It is impossible to number the Vessels vve saw, both great and small; sometimes vve had a great deal of trouble to get through them, especially at a Custom-house; it is incredible vvhat a multitude there vvas in that place, they cover'd all the Water for a large space. Two *Tartars* vvere there, vvho, as our Officers told us, got 500 Ducats a day each, in Presents Passengers made them. We argued against it, believing it vvas too much; but they gave convincing Reasons for vvhat they said. We travel'd 200 Leagues along a plain Country vvith Carts, because the Water vvas low in the cut River. The weather vvas hot enough, but every half League there was cool Water, and delicate Apricocks, and eight or ten Eggs for a Half-penny. After this I read in a Letter vvrit by the V. F. F. *Dominick Coronado*, that at *Zi Ning*, vvhere he founded a Church, he bought three bushels of Wheat for half a Piece of Eight, and a Pheasant for a Half-penny. Nothing can be beyond this, and vve thought a great fat Pullet cheap at Three-half-pence: I don't doubt but had we stood hard, they would have given it for Five-farthings. At a City before we came off the River, a Christian *Mandarine* made us a Present of a Sheep, Rice, and some small things. His Father was an Infidel, came to see us in the Boat, was old, and had almost lost his Nose; he would not be a Christian, because he had not a mind to part with his Concubines.

5. It was wonderful to see what swarms of People we met with on the Road, some upon Mules, others upon Asses, others in Litters, and others on

Sedans. We were known to all Men by our Beards; some comforted us, saying, our Cause vvas accommodated, others said it was in a bad posture, which was what we imagin'd. Others told us, one of ours was dead; by the name they gave him, I alwas suppos'd him to be the V. F. F. *Dominick Coronado*; and I was apt to believe it, because he was sickly. On the Eve of *S. Peter and Paul* in the morning, we came into the Imperial City of *Pe King*. We came time enough to the Church of the Fathers of the Society to dine, and found the death of our Companion was certain, but precious in the sight of our Lord. Six Fathers of the Society gave it me under their hands, that he had dy'd a Martyr to the best of their knowledg. It is well known it belongs to his Holiness to ascertain it.

6. By degrees those that liv'd in other Provinces join'd us, and we met five and twenty of us, besides the four that resided in the Imperial City, and five of my Order that hid themselves at *Fo Kien*; another of ours, who not long before had founded a Church in *Ziven Cheu*, having no conveniency of absconding, went over to *Manila* in a *Dutch Ship* then in that Kingdom. We continued in the Imperial City till the 13th of *September*, on which day we set out, being banish'd to *Macao*. Most of what besel us has been writ before, it will be proper in this place to mention some things that have been publish'd without any ground for them; one is, that the *Bonzes* gather'd thousands of Ducats to suborn the Members of the Court of Rites against us. This was inquir'd into at the Imperial City, and no other ground could be heard of it, but that a Christian heard an Infidel say so in a Tavern. Upon this some believ'd it as if it had been a certain truth, and as such have printed it. A strong Argument against it is, that at the same time they persecuted the *Bonzes*, so that they had enough to do to mind their own business, without minding what did not concern them; and if they brib'd, it was likely to save themselves, not to hurt others. Besides, what harm has the Law of God hitherto done the *Bonzes*, when there are so few Christians? It has been given out too, that when they sign the Warrant to put us to death, a fiery Ball fell upon the Palace, and did great mischief, &c. which is all false and groundless. I was at the Imperial City with the rest, and we neither saw nor heard of it. And tho' this be a Negative, yet

it is convincing, because we often pass'd under the Palace Walls, we convers'd Christians and Infidels, and our Servants and others told us every thing that hap'n'd, and all that was talk'd of us very particularly; how then should we have had no account of such a Prodigy?

7. Besides the very Foundation is false, for Sentence of Death never pass'd against us, all the Judgments the Court of Rites gave against us were revers'd by the four Governours, who only approv'd of that of Banishment. F. *Adamus* was adjudg'd to be cut in pieces, the Judgment was not approv'd; they brought it down to quartering of him, that was reject'd above; nor would they admit of the last, which was, to banish us all into *Tartary*.

8. I have also read several times, that F. *John Adamus* often excus'd himself to the Emperor from being concern'd in the Mathematicks, and that he had the Employment against his will. Why should any body give this out, when his own Brethren are of the contrary opinion, and own it? What I write is so true, that Father *Verbieft* making his excuses from attending the Mathematicks, on account that he was a religious Man; and the Emperor alledging that F. *Adamus* was so too, and yet follow'd that Employment, this Father answer'd, That was the reason he had ever liv'd in sorrow and discontent. This Answer being afterwards known at *Canton*, where we were altogether, F. *Gouvea* Superior of that Mission, and F. *Faber* who had been so before him, both said in my hearing, F. *Verbieft* ly'd, and deserves to have his Head cut off for it: Does not he know that this Punishment is due to him that lies and imposes on the Emperor of *China*? This is a clear case, there is no need of palliating it, nor any reason for it. It is requisite to be cautious in reading other things which have been publish'd in *Europe*, and shall be taken notice of in their due time.

9. That a Comet appear'd several days before the Persecution, is true, but the same appear'd in these Parts. It is true, that a well-shap'd Cross was seen some Years before in the Metropolis of *Xan Tung*. So it is, that about that time there were Earthquakes; and that whilst we were in the Imperial City, the Rains were so great, that part of the second Wall was ruin'd, so that shall be mention'd hereafter. My opinion is, and F. *Luweli* of the Society is of the same,

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that Christianity is not yet so far advanced there, that God should work Miracles in defence of it.

10. Five and twenty of us sail'd for *Macao*. Those four who had resid'd in the Imperial City remain'd there; they had all eaten the King's Bread, and therefore were left there, according to the *Chinese* Policy. F. *Adamus* was a Cripple, he soon dy'd, the other three were kept close Prisoners almost two Years. We were six months and twelve days going to *Macao*; we were all a terrible Winter in the Boats, and suffer'd great hardships, which if I would write it would fill many Sheets. Being brought before the Supreme Governour of *Canton*, who was in his Chair of State, with greater Majesty, Attendants, and Respect, than any Prince in *Europe*; he said to us, The Emperor orders me to send you over to the People of *Macao*; at present we are at variance with that City, stay here the mean while, and I'll take care of you; when the Affair of *Macao* is adjusted, I'll send you thither. They carry'd us to a House that had been the Church of the Fathers of the Society; it was night when we came to it: We had much ado to find every one of us his Rags, and compose our selves to rest; there was neither Fire, nor Candle, nor a morsel to eat, nor a drop of Water; we did nothing but stumble and fall, but very well pleas'd. Blessed be the Lord, for whose sake we suffer'd.

11. We spent some days very uneasily. The Governor at twice sent us 250 Ducats in Silver; it was a noble Alms, and well tim'd for us. Who would imagine a Heathen should be so good to us? With this Supply some little Cells were contriv'd, in which we liv'd very contentedly. The Dispute with *Macao* prov'd very dangerous to that City, they were about destroying it, and bringing all the Inhabitants into *Canton*. The News from Court was various and confused; the Opinions of the Missioners very opposite to one another as to the event of our Affair. Some, with good reason, thought it was ended, since we were banish'd by the Emperor's Order. Others fancy'd it would all come to nothing, and we should all soon be restor'd to our Churches. In this confusion we pass'd our time in Study and Prayer; our Life as to the World being sad and dismal, but happy with regard to God, for whose Faith we had lost our Liberty.

12. A Year and a half after there came to *Macao* an Ambassador from *Goa*,

as from the King of *Portugal*. He was brought into *Canton*, meanly treated, and look'd upon as a sham Ambassador, upon which account there was something to do. He was brought sick, and his Secretary, one Companion and the Chaplain, saw the Governor, who commanded them to bow both Knees, and touch the ground with their Foreheads, which was a great Affront. The Governor enquir'd after the Ambassador's Quality, the Chaplain thinking it a great Honour, said, He had been a Captain of Horse. The Governor laugh'd and answer'd, My Servants are Captains of Horse, and some of them greater Officers. And he was in the right; he sent them to the Metropolis, with Orders they should be receiv'd within the Walls, and care taken of them; they had a mean House assign'd them, and the Governor sent Advice to the Emperor. Tho' this be notorious and publickly known, yet the following Year the *Portugueses* writ to *Goa*, giving an account that the Ambassador had been receiv'd with the greatest Honour in the World; that the petty King came out himself to meet him, with his Gallies full of Musick, with Flags and Streamers, and had receiv'd him into them; and that afterwards they lodg'd him in a sumptuous Palace, and much more to this effect. We stood amaz'd when we heard this Account afterwards; but we could not discover the Author of the Report, tho' he was shrewdly guess'd at. He that has seen such things will not be surpriz'd, tho' they should write there was no such place as *China* in the Universe. Another strange Passage happen'd at the Imperial City: Some Letters from *Europe* came thither by the way of *Macao*; one was for *F. Francis Ferrari* of the Society, a *Savoyard*, born at *Coni*; in it they told him that a Letter had been writ to the Duke of *Savoy* by order of Pope *Innocent* the Tenth, wherein his Holiness congratulated with him for having a Subject in *China*, who was a great Favorite of the Emperor's; through whose means it was hop'd he and all his Empire would be converted to our Holy Faith. This was meant of the afore said *F. Ferrari*. He, who is a very good religious Man, was astonish'd, and smil'd. He show'd the Letter openly, and we had good sport with it, being certain he had never seen the Emperor, nor been within his Palace. How can it be found out who writ such an Invention? perhaps he who writ several other things

F. Kircher relates was the Author of all.

13. Let us return to our Ambassador. He design'd to visit the petty King, and then took into consideration what Respect he was to pay him. He sent a Message to us about it: Opinions vary'd; mine was, that he should not contend about it, but submit to what the petty King thought fit, taking it for granted, that he would rather exceed than fall short in Civility. The *Chineses* are very obliging in this particular. He follow'd his own head, articul'd that he was to carry Colours, Trumpets, and many other things. They told us the Interview was fix'd for the next day; I never could be perswaded it would come to any thing, because of the Precautions he had us'd. Next day he and his Family dress'd themselves very gay; and when they were ready to set out, a message came from the petty King, to tell him he was busy, and could receive no Visits. This was a great mortification. This was the occasion that no *Mandarine* visited him.

14. I profess'd my self his Friend in a particular manner, gave him good Advice, but he endur'd some Trouble and Affronts. He was detain'd two Years, during which time he was expensive to *Macao*, that City being at the Charge of the Embassy. Orders came from the Emperor for him to go to Court, but the Present he carry'd, of which the Particulars had been sent up, seem'd very mean to the Emperor; and yet to say the truth, it was worth above 30000 Ducats. But a little before he had receiv'd a great one from the *Dutch*, which perhaps made this seem the less. He prepar'd for his Journey, but before he set out, a pleasant Passage hapned. The King of *Portugal's* Letter was read before the Supreme Governour (this was a new one, for his Predecessor had hang'd himself) and the Viceroy, when it was read, they took notice, that before signing he did not subscribe himself, *YOUR MAJESTY'S FAITHFUL SUBJECT*. They ask'd how those Letters came to be omitted. They answer'd, It was not the Custom of *Europe*. They sent the Emperor word, and he order'd, that in regard the Ambassador had been long there, he might go to Court, where they would examine into the Omission of the Letters. I had no account afterwards what came of it. Two *Dutch* Ships arriv'd there about that time; Advice was sent to Court, and immediately a strict Order return'd them

them to be gone immediately, without buying or selling any thing. All Trade with Strangers was absolutely prohibited. The Captain's Name was *Constantin Noble*; he visited us, and design'd to return to *Europe* the following Year; but I heard afterwards at *Masulapatan*, that he was dead, and had taken a Journey to Hell.

1669.

15. In *October* 1669. the Emperor's Order concerning us came down, which made all despair of returning to the *Mission*. The Fathers at Court having seen the Emperor, found means to get some petty Kings and Counsellors to put in a Memorial in our behalf, which they did. The Contents of it were, that our Enemy had accus'd *F. Adamus* wrongfully, touching the *Mathematicks*: That the Christians were a good People: That during all that time none of them had made any Commotion, wherefore there was no cause to apprehend a Rebellion: That we who were banish'd to *Macao*, should be carry'd Prisoners to the Imperial City. The design of it was, that we might stay in the Kingdom; for when we were come thither, they design'd to propose, that since we were grown old, and many of us sickly, we might be suffer'd to return to our Churches, to die there. The three Fathers had before writ from *Pe King*, that all would certainly go on our side, and to the greater Glory of our Holy Faith. *F. Emanuel George* and I were of opinion it would not be so; others held the contrary, and knew not what to think of it. A Copy of the Emperor's Order came to our hands: I understood it as the rest did, but none of us hit the right Sense. What was bad in it, could be understood in the main at least. As we were afterwards sailing one day, I look'd over and consider'd those Letters, and with no little Surprize hit upon the meaning. On *S. Teresa's* day I overcame another Difficulty there was in that Paper. The Emperor's words were, *Jang Kung Sien* (that was the *Chinese's* Name who prosecuted us) deserves Death, but in regard he is very aged, making use of our Magnanimity and Bounty, we forgive him at present, and also remit the Penalty of Banishment to his Wife and Children (when a Man is put to death, his Wife and Children are banish'd). It is needless to bring those 25 that were sent to *Macao* back to the Court. As for the Law of the Lord of Heaven, *F. Verbieft* and the other two may follow it, as they have done hitherto. Any further I am apprehensive of allowing them to re-

build Churches in this or the other Provinces, or bringing over People to the said Law, to propagate it as before. Let it be made known to them, that they are forbid preaching: the rest as it is in the Memorial. *Nava-rette.*

16. We afterwards consulted among our selves, whether we should go to *Macao*, or stay there. The most were for going, for we had been there some time upon our own account, and were at liberty to go. Many thought it convenient to stay, that we might be nearer at hand, in case some Overtures should in process of time be made for restoring of us to our Churches; it was put to the vote, there was much canvassing, and nothing resolv'd on. I then heard many things, and observ'd some against it proved useful to repeat them. All Truths are not to be spoken, if no Benefit is to come of them.

17. There had been already great Earthquakes, Towns overflow'd, Mountains divided, and a great Mortality. One City was swallow'd up by the Earth. There was a Report, that a wonderful Dragon had dropt out of the Air; the News was sent into *Europe*, but it was false and a mere Fiction. An extraordinary Comet was seen for three or four Nights; I was the first that saw it in our House, and it was seen at *Macao*, it pointed to the East. Soon after we all saw a strange Cross in the Air, but very perfect and compleat, the Head of it was to the East; every Night it continued a considerable time, and then vanish'd by degrees. The sad News was then come too of the loss of the Millions of *Tunquin* and *Cochinchina*. There were some famous Men who gave their Lives for the Love of God in the latter; something shall be said of it in another place.

18. We had receiv'd good and bad News from our Religious at *Fo Kien*. The Provincial Vicar went out to assist some Christians; the Servant that went with him was taken, and by that means they discover'd the Father. He was apprehended, and when I left *China* had been above six months in Prison. Afterwards I saw Letters, giving an account that he was carry'd to *Canton* among the rest, and nothing further had been done against the Christians. I had some Comical Arguments with *F. Gouvea*; he was provoking, and said, That his Society had founded the Inquisition in *Portugal*; that our Inquisitions were much improv'd since they join'd with those of *Portugal*: That the University of *Salamanca* gain'd

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reputation by fellowship with that of *Coimbra*: That in *Spain* there is no devotion of the most Blessed Sacrament, and other such fopperies. They are Men bred in a corner of the World, have seen nothing but *Lisbon* and *Goa*, and pretend to know all the World, whereas they err grossly in things as plain as the Sun. This Old Man was insufferable, I always shun'd him, and when I could not, thought it the wisest way to hold my peace.

19. During all that time the Fathers of the Society manag'd the Expence of the House, they were more in number, they had more Servants, the House had been theirs, and it was convenient for us, especially because they were able to supply us when we wanted, wherein they were very kind, and did it with a great deal of charity, tenderness, and affection, as I often writ to the General of the Society and ours; and should not I and my Companions own it, the stones themselves would make it known. But it is not fit some impertinent Person should take a fancy to write into *Europe*, as they say it has hapned, that those of the Society were at the whole Expence, and that we and the Religious Men of the Order of *S. Francis* bore no part. I have no inclination to touch upon this particular, but it is fit the truth of the whole matter should be known, and I have the Accounts by me to this day. The *V. F. F. Dominick Coronado* was some days in the Imperial City, he was taken out of Prison sick, and carry'd to the Church of the Fathers *Magallanes* and *Bullo*; his distemper increas'd, and eight or ten days after God took him to him. I am assur'd he was attended with extraordinary care and diligence. I coming afterwards to that Church, *F. Bullo* gave me the account of what was expended in Medicines, Physicians, and the Funeral, and acquainted me the Deccas'd had given them a very fine large Looking-glass, valu'd at fifty Crowns Plate in our Church of *Lan Ki*, and besides a Piece of Silver Filigreen-work, valued at six or seven Crowns more. It was afterwards propos'd to erect a Tomb to him, after the manner of that Country, for the building of which I gave *F. Bullo* all the Silver he ask'd. This does not agree with what

F. Grelon writ, that those of his Order had taken nothing for the Medicines bought for that sick Man. My two Companions, three Servants and I continued in the Imperial City from the 28th of *June* till the 13th of *September*. During this time, bating Fish, Flesh and Wine, the Emperor allow'd all our Expence, as well as theirs; so that we had Rice, Wood, Herbs, Oil, and that they call *Teu Fu* in abundance brought in to us; so that when we went away the Fathers of the Society that remain'd were stock'd for a great while with Rice, Wood, Oil and Vinegar. Nevertheless I gave them forty Pieces of Eight, which they receiv'd five or six Months after, being carry'd 600 Leagues at our Expence. Towards the Journey to *Canton* I contributed thirty Crowns in Silver, of ten Ryals each. During the time of our Confinement we paid 35 Ryals Plate a head per Month. *S. Antony* of *S. Mary* paid after the same rate for himself. And when *F. Gregory Lopez* of my Order, now Bishop of *Basile*, set out from *Canton* to visit all the Christian Plantations of the Society, I supply'd him with fifty Crowns, *F. Antony* with twenty two, and those Fathers with only sixteen, with which Money he spent above two years in the Service of the Society, without so much as a Letter, or God reward you, from its Superior. I could write more, were I not asham'd to handle such things. I am very sure the Fathers *Fabro*, *Brancato*, and *Balat*, would never mention these things. Certain I am we should not have spent the third part of this at our Churches. I would never take Pen in hand to write of such a Subject, were I not in a manner forced to it by the great Scrowls some Men have writ, perhaps consid'ing that they would not come to my knowledg.

20. We had often Disputes during our Confinement, which was what we ought to do, both to spend our time well, and to agree and settle what we were to do for the future, if it should happen we were restor'd to our Churches. In the second Tome I shall treat of these and other Disputations that have been held in that Million, it being so material a point.

C H A P. XV.

Navarrette.

The Articles our Chinese Enemy, who rais'd the Persecution, charg'd upon our Holy Faith.

1. **I**T is requisite that all Missioners and those who design to go over to those Countrys, should be well inform'd in these affairs, that they may be provided against all things that shall occur. That wicked *Jang Kuang Siem*, so he was call'd, in the year 1659 printed a Book in the Imperial City of *Pe King*, the Title of it amounts to this, *Take heed of false Prophets*, (so I translated the *Chinese* Characters, *Pi Sie Lun*) all there lik'd my Version, and to say the truth this is the genuine interpretation of those words. In order to translate the said Book, and the second, which shall be inserted hereafter into our Language, we join'd four Fathers of the Society, one of the Order of *S. Francis*, and I, and we all agreed to this following sense of it.

(1.) First Article. "That Heaven has no other Principle but the Matter and Form, from which it naturally flow'd, without admitting any efficient Cause, distinct from the Heaven it self, to produce it.

2. (2.) "That what we Missioners call the Lord of Heaven, is nothing else, but one of the two parts which compose Heaven; which being so, it is not possible it should produce Heaven without the help of the copart.

This is a very material point, its difficulty will be made appear in the Sixth Book, and more shall be said of it in the Second Tome.

3. (3.) "That if Jesus is God, how can we say he is Man? And if he is truly so, who govern'd the Universe from Heaven during the 33 years he was on Earth?

A *Mandarine* put this question some years before to certain Missioners. I writ largely to the point, judging it convenient so to do. The *Chinese* did not dive into what it writ in the Books of our Holy Faith.

4. (4.) "That it was convenient God should have become Man at the beginning of the World, to redeem *Adam*, and all Mankind, and not so many thousands of years after.

A common Argument the *Chinese* use every day. *F. Emanuel Diaz* handles it very well in one of his Books printed in the *Chinese* Character, where he quotes the

causes of conveniency the Saints assign, and those *S. Thomas* has, p. 3. q. 1.

5. (5.) "That from the beginning of the World till an Emperor living in these days, there have past millions of years.

The *Chinese* assign an infinite number of Worlds, past and to come; the duration of every one, according to the Learned Sect, is 366000 Years, and something over. In the Second Tome more shall be said to this point.

6. (6.) "That it is scandalous Christ should have no Father, since even brute Beasts have one.

In this place he runs into Enormities, like a Barbarian void of the Light even of Natural Philosophy. The *Jews* according to *Theophil. in Cat. D. Thom. in S. Joan.* were guilty of the same Blasphemy.

7. (7.) "That there is neither Heavenly Glory, nor Hell. That Heaven is nothing but the goods of this life; and Hell only its evils and sufferings.

This is the Doctrine of the Learned Sect, as shall be made out in the Second Tome. Some Missioners positively assert the contrary, tho they oppose their own Body.

8. (8.) "That Sins cannot be altogether forgiven; and if they are quite forgiven, and ill Men are sav'd, through the Intercession of our Blessed Lady, Heaven will become a filthy loathsome place.

Cajetan in 13. *Heb.* says, *Herein consists all Christian Faith, that Jesus Christ be believ'd true God and true Man.*

9. (9.) "That it is false, to say there were Prophets, who beforehand foretold the Birth, Life and Death of Christ.

10. (10.) "That God did ill in creating *Adam* proud, knowing he was to be the cause of all Mens calamities.

He had not read the Printed Books concerning our Holy Faith.

11. (11.) "That God ought to have created all Men virtuous, and that Christ ought to have apply'd himself to virtuous actions, that the People might imitate him, and not have employ'd himself, without knowing the important part of Virtue, in curing

Nazarette.
 " the Sick, raising the Dead, and preach-
 " ing up of Heavenly Joys, and pains of
 " Hell, whence it follow'd he was put
 " to death for his crimes.

But the natural man receiveth not the things of the Spirit of God, 1 Cor. 2. 14. The Manichees maintain'd the same error, according to S. August. lib. cont. Faust. A brutal and extravagant reflection.

12. (12.) " That since Christ pray'd
 " and kneel'd in the Garden, he could
 " not be God, being inferior to him he
 " kneel'd and pray'd to.

This inference would be good, were there not two Natures, and two Wills in Christ. The Arians alledg'd the same. See Silvius in 3. p. D. Thom. q. 21. art. 1. and Suarez Tom. 1. in 3. part. disp. 33..

13. (13.) " That the visible Heaven
 " is the beginning of all things, and
 " there is no Lord above it, and there-
 " fore it ought to be ador'd as Lord.

He handles this point at large in two places, and proves it out of their Confucius. Yet some Europeans would know more than the Chineses, of what relates to their own Sects. It is the general opinion of this Sect, that there is no first efficient Cause.

14. (14.) " That we call Heaven
 " God's Slave, whereas the Holy Chineses
 " call their Emperor the Son of Hea-
 " ven.

The antient Europeans gave Jupiter the same Title.

15. (15.) " That we command the
 " Christians to break the Tablets of
 " Heaven, Earth, the King, Parents and
 " Masters.

This belongs to the Second Tome.

16. (16.) " That we do not worship
 " Heaven, because it has no Head, Belly,
 " Hands and Feet; nor the Earth, because
 " we tread and throw all filth upon it.

This point is expounded in the Books of our Holy Faith.

17. (17.) " That we do not honour
 " the Emperor, because he is the Son of
 " a Slave, that is Heaven.

This was a malicious insertion, for the contrary is contain'd in the Books of our Holy Faith.

18. (18.) " That we do not honour
 " our Parents, because Christ had no
 " Father.

He could not chuse but have read the contrary in our Books, which highly commend Obedience to Parents and Superiors.

19. (19.) " That Heaven and Earth
 " weep, seeing us trample upon the Law
 " of Nature.

The Heathen raves.

20. (20.) " That any ordinary Man
 " may be accounted King of the upper
 " Region, with more reason than Christ,
 " who was crucify'd as a Malefactor.

He plays the Gentile and the Jew; observe the opinion they have of their King of the upper Region, whom some have preach'd up as our God.

21. (21.) " That there never was a
 " Holy Man punish'd for his crimes.

The wicked Wretch invents all these Blasphemies, tho he had seen in our Books what motives Christ had to lay down his Life for us.

22. (22.) " That if Christ being
 " God could govern the World, how
 " came it he could not govern him-
 " self?

As if he had said, He hath saved others, &c. as the Jews did, who were certainly more to blame than this Infidel, having been eye-witnesses of so many Miracles.

23. (23.) That the Books of the Law
 " of God do not treat of Christ's Passi-
 " on, because it was shameful; but only
 " of his Miracles, Resurrection, and Af-
 " cending to Heaven.

He speaks in this place of the Books of the antient Missioners, not of those who have writ for forty years last past. F. Emanuel Diaz writ very much concerning the Passion of our Lord. That is also later which F. Henao quotes de Divin. Sacrif. disp. 29. sec. 17. n. 219.

24. (24.) " That it is a mere ficti-
 " on that Christ heal'd the Sick, and
 " rais'd the Dead, and that it was unbe-
 " seeming God to be so employ'd.

25. (25.) " That it is a matter of
 " small merit to relieve Sinners, and that
 " it had been very meritorious if Christ's
 " Benefits had reach'd the whole People
 " for ever, like those of their Emperor
 " Ju, who drain'd China.

26. (26.) " That it had been a grea-
 " ter benefit of Christ to cause Men not
 " to fall sick, or die, than to heal or
 " raise them again.

I said enough to these three points in my Apology.

27. (27.) " That F. Mathew Riccius
 " suppress'd the Passion and Death of
 " Christ, which he did to impose upon
 " the People.

It is plain that great Man had no such design.

28. (28.) " That we give Christians
 " Crosses in token of rebellion.

A false Calumny.

29. (29.) " That we impose up-
 " on the Mandarines, and gain the good
 " will of Mandarines with the Curiosities

“ of Europe, more than the Truth of
“ our Doctrine.

Watches, Harpsicords, Looking-glasses, Prospective-glasses, Tweezers, and other Presents, brought this Affront upon us.

30. (30.) “ That the *Mandarines* are
“ mistaken in looking upon us as Learned Men, who are nothing but great
“ Talkers, Mountebanks, and make use
“ of their *Chinese* Learning.

Some have deserv'd the Reflection.

31. (31.) He speaks of F. *Adamus*,
“ adding, that he accepted of the Office of a *Mandarine*, tho we boast we
“ will not accept of Employments.

32. (32.) “ That the *Portugueses* of
“ *Macao* were placed there by F. *Riccus*.

This is a known Falshood.

33. (33.) “ That of late Years the
“ Walls of that City were demolish'd,
“ and the Inhabitants turn'd out.

The first part is true, but the second false.

34. These are the principal Points he mentions, but adds much more, using a great deal of Rhetorick and Artifice, which is sufficient to incline People, who have no better Light, to believe it, dazzling their Understanding.

It is very plain that nothing here concerns *Dominicans*, *Franciscans*, or *Castilians*; nor is there any mention of the King of *Spain*, *America*, or the *Philippine Islands*; so that some People may be brought to look upon what they read of this nature as mere fiction.

This Book spread through the Imperial City, and other parts of that Empire. The Fathers who liv'd in the Imperial City did not mind to answer, or took any notice of it. F. *Antony* of S. *Mary*, a *Franciscan*, heard of it (we had it very late, as being far from Court) he writ to those Fathers to know why they were so silent, intimating that their Silence would be interpreted a tacit confession: All signify'd nothing. When we were all at the Imperial City, it was propos'd to write an answer when it was too late, and impossible to publish it.

35. They had before put out a little Book, of which mention has been made, and at which our Enemy was enrag'd, who immediately printed another with this Title, *Po Te I*, that is, as a faithful Subject I cannot forbear appearing and speaking the truth. Among the rest he said in it,

“ That Christ was crucify'd for attempting to usurp *Jewry*, which he re-

“ peats several times; and that he fled
“ into the Garden to escape from those
“ that came to apprehend him. *Nava-*

“ That the People who applauded him
“ on *Palm Sunday*, forsook him afterwards, fearing he would be punish'd
“ for encouraging Rebellion. *rette.*

“ That he contriv'd to kill the King,
“ that he might usurp the Crown.

“ That ours is a rebellious Law, and
“ owns neither Parents nor Kings.

“ That there are so many People at
“ *Macao* in order to a Rebellion; and
“ that to this purpose we have such and
“ such Churches in *China*, where Father
“ *Adamus* accepted the Office of a *Mandarine*, that he might disperse the Fathers throughout all the Provinces.

“ That we go in and out of *China*
“ privately, and our Designs unknown
“ to any body.

“ That by degrees we take Draughts
“ of the fifteen Provinces, and inquire
“ into the Number of Soldiers, Strength,
“ &c.

“ That such People were never admitted into *China*, and that we had hidden
“ Arms.

“ That Father *Riccus* went into *China*
“ the foregoing Years, and had quoted
“ his Bible and Comments of his Saints
“ to palliate his bad Doctrine; and that
“ they who compos'd the Book above-
“ mention'd had done the same. He
“ condemns us for saying that *Foe* (the
“ Founder of the Idolatrous Sect) is in
“ Hell, and urges that we only say so
“ out of Envy.

“ That the Heavenly Joys, and Pains
“ of Hell, the Sect of *Foe* preaches up,
“ are nothing but a politick Invention
“ to keep the People in awe, not that
“ there really is any such thing.

The Sectaries themselves hold the same.

36. Not one of all these Articles is particularly charg'd upon *Franciscan*, *Dominican*, or *Castilian*. He speaks against the *Portugueses*, and their City *Macao*; so that all Men will be satisfy'd that we shar'd in the Persecution, passively and not actively; and that the *Chinese* bear no particular hatred to the *Castilians*, as some have written and given out.

37. After this he presented other Memorials, in one of which he said, we had been banish'd *Japan* for attempting to possess our selves of that Kingdom; and that the *Europeans* (without specifying *Castilians* or *Spaniards*) had seized the *Philippine Islands*, and that some Years before the Fathers of the Society had been
banish'd

banish'd out of *China*. Here he speaks of the Banishment in the Years 1617, and 1618, when no Frier had yet entred upon that Million.

38. Before I conclude this Chapter, I must in this place take notice, that among the *Chinese* Sects, whereof I said something in the Second Book, there is one more which is convenient to be known, in order to what we shall treat of in another place. The Founder of it was born at *King Hoa* in the Province of *Fo Kien*, his name was *Ling*, and it is about 136 Years since he laid the Foundation of it. The Temples of it are call'd of the three Legislators. This Sect unites and incorporates the three principal Sects of *China*, which are those of the Learned, the Idolaters, and the Sorcerers, whose Origin is in reality the same, tho they express it after several manners. The Learned *Chineses* agree to this. F. *Longobardus* proves it sufficiently, and F. *Riccus* does not dissent, as shall be proved in its place. On the Altars of this Sect are placed the Images of the three Legislators, *Confucius*, *Lao Zu*, and *Foe*; this last as a Guest and Stranger is in the middle. F. *Athanasius Kircher* has the Cut to the Life. There are very many of this Sect; F. *Gouvea* told me he had seen of them. Some Learned *Chineses* profess it, who are very modest in their demeanour. Whilst I was in *China*, a Christian of the Imperial City writ a Book, the Design whereof is to unite and incorporate our Holy Law with those three we have spoken of; they all tend to the same end, says he. It is likely that Author follow'd the Advice of Doctor *Michael*, mention'd by F. *Longobardo* in his Treatise. *Linus*, whom I spoke of before, read this Book, and disapprov'd of it. Any Man that values himself upon being a Christian, must be of the same mind. I treat of this and other Points more at large in my Second Tome.

As the *Romans* had a Law against al-

lowing any strange Religion, upon which *Trajan* and *Adrian* persecuted the Christians, as *Spondanus* writes, *Ann.* 120. n. 2. so have the *Chineses*; but they observe it not any further than in not following that of our Lord.

39. S. *Leo*, *Serm.* 1. in *Nativit.* *Apost. Pet. & Paul*, says of *Rome*, It follow'd the Errors of all Nations, and seem'd to it self to have taken up a mighty Religion, because it reject'd no Falshood. This in some measure might be said of the Errors the *Chineses* have admitted. F. *Arias*, *Tom.* 1. *Traft.* 8. cap. 12. writes, that the *Chineses* are most ignorant and stupid in point of Religion and Virtue, do not know one God Ruler of all things, are full of Superstitions and Idolatries like the other *Gentiles*, adore Heaven as God, and Men who have been among them Governors, Judges, and brave Soldiers in War, and such as have led a hard and penitent Life; and in their Temples have Idols, the Statues of these false Gods, of whom they beg Temporal Blessings, and offer Sacrifice to them. It is wonderful that they who are so witty, sharp, and ready for worldly Affairs, should know nothing material of what relates to their Salvation, God, and another Life, as if they had no manner of Reason in this particular. In his 13th Chapter he says, The *Gentiles* that have been discover'd as to Idolatry and the Worship of Devils, follow the same Errors and Superstitions the antient *Gentiles* did: This is the Opinion of the antient Missioners of the Society. In short, that Nation is so full of Fopperies and Absurdities, that nothing can outdo it, and they would have receiv'd more had more come to their knowledg. But in respect to the Law of God, they are deaf and dumb to all that is said to them. God of his infinite Mercy and Goodness enlighten their Understandings, that they may confess, worship and adore him.

C H A P. XVI.

My Departure from Canton to Macao.

1. THE Fathers of the Society very well knew my Intention, as to going out of *Canton*, because I had made it known upon several occasions, and writ about it to their F. Visitor *Luis de Gama* who was at *Macao*, giving him sufficient Reasons for my going to see him. This my Resolution being known, the

Fathers consulted whether my going away might be prejudicial or hurtful to them, as F. *Lubeli* told me. They and I both knew it would not, but it was a kindness to them, for they brought in another of their own in my stead, as I was afterwards inform'd, and I had my self urg'd before. That which made me most eager to be gone, was,

was, that I knew F. *Intorceta* was gone for *Rome* the Year before, after the Disputations we had held; and there being many Points in which I and others could not agree, I was troubled I could not go to *Manila* to confer about them with my Superiors, for to manage this by Letter is endless. I also design'd to discourse the F. Visitor upon the same Subject, and to propose accommodating some Matters betwixt us. F. *Antony* of *S. Mary a Franciscan* desir'd the same. I afterwards slackned in this Part at *Macao*, by reason of some idle Stories that were carry'd backwards and forwards at *Macao*.

Having consider'd the Business, which was not easy to compass, tho there was no difficulty in going about it, and having communicated it to Persons of undoubted Reputation, I made use of a Christian *Chinese* Merchant, not very considerable; and the time being fix'd and agreed upon, I went out very cunningly upon pretence of visiting the Ambassador. This was easily credited, because I often did it: Being come to the Christian's House, some *Portugueses* visited me that afternoon, but nothing was done that night. Before break of day we went into a Passage-boat, which sail'd at Sun-rising with so fair a Wind, that by noon we had run ten Leagues. We stop'd at a Village, where we lay that night very uneasily, for the Weather was very cold, and the Room was so good, that we could see the Stars through seventeen several places; there we staid for the Passage-boat till noon. All the Country is cut across with Rivers and Lakes, so that there seldom wants Boats. We found a very great one, and full of People, which I did not like at that time. They took me in, the Commander immediately came out to receive me, put me into his Cabin, and made very much of me.

2. The Ebb came on, and our Vessel stuck upon the Owse; we were oblig'd to stay for the Flood, which was a cruel check, considering my haste and impatience. We came to the Town *Hiang Xan Ngao*, which is the Capital of the Island in which *Macao* stands. Abundance of Soldiers were about there, they all look'd at me, and I pass'd through them more afraid than ashamed, till I got into an inn. The next day I did not travel for want of a Sedan, and it was God's Mercy, for I must of necessity have met with the *Mandarine*, who has charge of *Macao*, who came thither that day with

an hundred Sedans, and some Horses. Tho the days are so short in *December*, yet this seem'd to me a whole Year. The next day we set out by Land, I was easily to be known in that Country, so that I was not a little afraid, especially because all intercourse with *Macao* was cut off. The Christian was a bold Man, and attempted any thing, tho never so rash; I follow'd his opinion, tho with some reluctance. At the mid-way there was a Company of Soldiers in a House, and just opposite to them the Christian took up his resting-place; the same did the Chairmen who carry'd me, following his Example. I was much troubled at it, being in great fear, but no body came to look into the Chair. We eat at another place, where there were Houses of Entertainment; but I came not out of the Chair, because the foregoing Year F. *Intorceta* was known there, and I was afraid the same might happen to me. I went away to a Village, where I waited 2 days expecting how to get over; during that time I scarce ate or slept. They put me into a Straw-loft to secure me against the Soldiers, where I lay in great fear and consternation. We resolv'd, through my impatience, to travel two Leagues by night to another Village, to seek some conveniency there: The Gates were shut, and a Guard within, we expected in two hours to have them open'd; it was then the 17th of *December*, I was hot and weary with walking. We saw a light in a little House without the Gate, and I ask'd for some Water; I drank near a Pint, and wonder it did not kill me; besides we were in no small fear of the Tigers. We got into the Village, hir'd a close Sedan, went down by-ways to the shore, that we might cross over from thence to *Macao*, to which was about half a League by Sea. I saw *Macao*, heard the Bells, and was forced to turn back, because all about was full of Soldiers: I absolutely despair'd of getting over, and return'd to the Straw-loft. The Christian was not discourag'd in the least, he did not like of that days Journey; it was my contriving, but rash and foolish. That afternoon a Vessel the *Chinese* had bespoken the day before, came near to where we were: Because it had out-staid its time half a day, I thought the Infidels would not be so good as their words, and that was the reason we took the course I have spoken of. We went aboard at night-fall, and rowing as still as might be, pass'd by the Guards that were along the shore. The Wind came ahead, and

put us into some fear; the little Boat took in Water, and tho we laded it out continually, yet we could not keep our selves in safety. It pleas'd God we landed at nine of the Clock that night at the Captain General's Door. Because I would not disturb the Monastery, I went to a Friend's House, where they were amaz'd to see me. I came weary, thin, and hungry, and all was well when I found myself free and among Catholicks; this was on the 18th of December, on which day dy'd Brother *Royes* the famous Procurator of a Monastery in that City, who had been the cause of great Troubles and Disorders there. Nobody lamented his Death, and as the Captain General told me, he left above 50,000 Ducats without his House. A considerable History might be writ of this Man, perhaps we may give hints of some small Particulars. The next day my Arrival was publickly known, by means of some *Chineses* who had seen me on the other side; several Judgments were made upon it, some for, some against me, and some indifferent; certain Priests particularly declar'd against me, which made me backward in communicating some Points concerning the Mission with them. I was visited by Persons of Note, and the Superiors of Religious Orders. I contract'd a particular Friendship with *D. Alvaro de Sylva* Captain-General of those Forts, which prov'd very advantageous to me. He made much of me, fitted me out, found me convenient Shipping, and join'd me in a Mess with some worthy Friends of his, most excellent Persons.

3. The Governor of the Bishoprick, formerly my intimate Friend, and now a profess'd Enemy, for some good and holy Considerations, endeavour'd to do me a mischief with the Captain-General, putting him in mind of what others had quite forget, which was, that through my means that City had been about submitting to *Munka*, which he altogether imputed to me; therefore he said I was a Traitor to the King of *Portugal*, and the Peace having not been yet proclaim'd there, it was enough to breed ill Blood. The Captain-General answer'd very well, saying, He is no Traitor, but a very loyal Subject to his King; to endeavour the delivering of this City to his King, was a good piece of Service. If I could deliver *Badajoz* to my King, would it be Treason, or a good Service done my King?

The honest Governour us'd his Endeavours with the Government of the City

not to let me go: But they answer'd him with a Letter the Ambassador's Secretary had writ to them, declaring that City was very much oblig'd to me for the Service I had done the Ambassador, and Embally, which was very true. The Ambassador writ to the Captain-General to the same effect, so that *F. Emanuel de Angelis* was very much sham'd.

My Design being only to go over to *Mankila*, I agreed with some Masters of *Siam*, to whom I deliver'd Books, Clothes, some Baggage, and other Curiosities, tho but few, for them to carry to *Siam*, whence I was to cross over to the Islands. The *Dutch* at *Malacca* would not consent to it, so I have heard no more of them since, it is most likely all I sent is lost.

4. On the 11th of *January* the Captain-General carry'd me aboard the Ship, where I thought myself free from impertinent People, tho I had a great deal to go through. One thing I was much surpriz'd at in *Macao*, and had it not been told me by one of the gravest Citizens I had not believ'd it. *Vasco Barbosa de Melo*, who is well known to be honest, well born, and a good Christian, told me, that the foregoing Year 1668, some Persons had taken out Certificates, that we had ruin'd the Mission of *China*, and were the cause they had no Trade or Commerce. As to the last Point, I do not concern my self with it, because it belongs not to me, let them look to it. *Alexander* the 7th, *Clement* the 9th and 11th, have issu'd their Bulls, repeating what *Urban* the 8th order'd in his of 33, be it for these or those. As to the first I say, it is no new thing in the World for Men to lay their own Faults upon others, to excuse, and endeavour to conceal them. Let us cast our Eyes upon *Adam*, Gen. 3. He excus'd himself, laying the blame on *Eve*, she on the Devil, or Serpent. Let us go on to the 31st Chapter, *Laban* said to *Jacob*, Why hast thou done so? *Corn.* a Lapid. v. 16. Observe here in *Laban's* words the humour of the World; for tho he knew he by his perfidiousness had given the just *Man* cause to fly, yet he dissembles it, and casts all the blame upon the just *Man*, &c. So the World palliates its own Faults, and lays all the blame on the Godly. So *Ahab* charges *Elias* with disturbing *Israel*; whereas he wicked King was the cause of all Evils. Read *S. Chrysostom* in *Cat. aur. Joan.* 1. v. 29. and *Lipsomanus* in *Gen.* 44. 12. The King of *England* complain'd of *S. Thomas* of *Canterbury*, that he could not enjoy Peace for one Priest in his Kingdom, whereas

whereas he himself was the only cause of the discord.

5. The manner of obtaining those Certificates, make the thing yet more foul and criminal. *Vasco Barboza* having attended the Embassador two Years in *Canton*, and knowing this business perfectly well (the second is known to all the World) he spoke with the Judg who had sign'd those Certificates; the *Portugueses* call him *Veador*, and said to him, How came you, Sir, to sign such a thing, when you so well knew the contrary? He answer'd, Mr. *Vasco Barboza*, I was sick in Bed, and somewhat cast down; two, to wit, *N.* and *N.* came to me and said, Sir, we bring you some Papers of small consequence, you must sign them. I Sir sat up, and sign'd without reading them; who would imagin that such Men should impose upon me? (I bring God to witness, that what I have writ is true.) I then said to *Vasco Barboza*, Sir, who was most to blame in this affair? This Gentleman who did read what he sign'd, or they that tendred the Papers, desiring to have them sign'd? Doubtless the latter, first because they sign'd deliberately and designedly. (2.) Because they sign'd maliciously. (3.) They deceiv'd in a matter of consequence, and to the detriment of a third Person. (4.) In regard they were Priests. (5.) Because of the motive and end, which could be no other than worldly Honour and vain Glory. (6.) Because they were the efficient forcing cause that the Judg sign'd. (7.) Because of the scandal of such proceedings; and if the matter be further look'd into, other deformities will appear. The Layman may alledg many excuses, and the Reader may reflect on them, without inserting of them here.

6. Knowing this case, I thought it requisite and necessary to prepare my self to make a defence; this is Nature, and no doubt in many cases we are bound to it, *lest Silence seem to imply guilt.* And this being prejudicial and dishonourable to a whole Religious Order, the defence is more absolutely necessary. *S. Thom. 2. 2. quest. 26. art. 2. corp.* says thus, *For any part has a principal inclination to a common action to the benefit of the whole.* Any Man is bound to appear upon such like occasions. Especially, because as *S. Ambrose* says in *Epist. ad Philip. He is cruel who slight his own reputation.* And *S. August. de bono viduit.* *They are not to be hearkned to who cruelly despise mens reputation, because our Life is useful to our selves, our good Name to others, our Conscience to our selves,*

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our Reputation to our neighbour. This suffices for our purpose; it were easy to add more, but it being a common case and out of dispute, I think it needless. ~
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7. For these reasons I obtain'd fourteen Certificates from the Clergy, Superiors of Orders, the Captain General, and others of the principal Men of that City, who all upon Oath testify and declare, who were the cause that the Missions of *Japan*, *China*, *Tunquin*, and other places in the East were lost. I had Duplicates of the said Certificates, one parcel I deliver'd to the Holy Congregation de *Propaganda Fide*, by order of Cardinal *Ottoboni*; another parcel I have by me, beside an authentick Copy taken at *Rome*. If any curious person pleates to read them, I will lend him them very freely.

8. As for the Mission of *China*, I will write the matter of fact briefly, as all Men own'd it who were there when the Persecution began. When they told us the news of our Banishment in the Imperial City, *F. Gouvea* said to *F. Cuvari*, I being by at the same time; *F. Matthew Riccius* brought us into *China* by the Mathematics, and *F. John Adamus* now banishes us by his.

9. *F. Gouvea* discoursing with me at *Canton*, told me, That the strangers of his Society, who were in *China*, had ruin'd the Mission. Another time he explain'd himself further, and told me plainly, That their *French* Fathers had been the cause of it: And perhaps it was because of the division there was among them about Superiors, a little before the Storm rose. *F. Humbertus Augeri* talking with me concerning this Point said: What have we *French* done? Our want of unity and mutnal love, has ruin'd this Mission. *F. James Faber* who was Superior at that time told me, When I was at Court I perceiv'd that when *F. Adamus* dy'd, there would rise a great Persecution. I look'd upon it as certain, and so I writ to our Father General. The Fathers *Canavari* and *Balat* imputed it to the Law of God's being imperfectly preach'd in that Kingdom. Besides all this the Fathers of the Society several times said in my hearing, that the little Book the four Fathers who resided in the Imperial City, had publish'd, was the only cause of all that disaster.

10. Our *Chinese* Enemy in his Memorials quotes *F. Adamus*, and charges him as has been writ; he quotes *F. Matthew Riccius* his Books, and others of the Society. The Emperor's Edict that was

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brought

brought up, expressly names F. *Adamus*, and F. *Verbiest*, and their two Companions, and no other except F. *Antony* of *Savoy*. *Mary*, not because he was a *Franciscan*, but because his name was the first in the Paper, because he came to the Imperial City before any other. The Petition that was presented in our behalf was F. *Adamus's*. The *Dutch* who went to Court after we came from thence, and knew all that had hapned in their *Mercuries*, mention none but those of the Society. The *Mathematicks*, whence the dispute sprung, were follow'd by the Society, not by us, or the *Franciscans*. The Presents that were made in *China*, with which our Enemy says we infatuated the *Chineses*, were given by those of the Society, not by us, who had scarce Bread to eat. Who but the Society has made use of the *Chinese* Learning in the Books of the Law of God, which our Enemy says we do to palliate our ill Doctrine? These Articles are made out in the foregoing Chapter.

11. Did not the first imprisoning begin with F. *Adamus*, and the other three in the Imperial City? It must be understood that of Eleven there were then of my Order in *China*, only four went up to Court. One fell sick to death in Prison, he was taken out from thence with leave

from the Judges, and carry'd to the Church of F. *Mazallanes*, who was then in it, where a few days after he gave up the Ghost. We three came afterwards, the Judges never put any questions to us. Now how are we brought in here, but only to suffer to lose all we had, and leave our Christians expos'd to our Enemy. It is a necessary duty to observe what the Holy Ghost says, *Ecclusi. 37. 20. Let a true word go before thee in all works.*

12. It may be urg'd that those of the Society had contriv'd to return to their Churches, for which they deserve much praise and honour. I say it is but reason they should have it, and that it has been an heroick action, and suitable to their zeal, yet this does not detract from the truth of what has been written. It is well known there were no *Dominican*, *Franciscan*, nor *Augustinian* Millioners in *Tunquin*, *Cochinchina*, and other parts, so that the loss of those Millions cannot be imputed to them. I shall say somewhat to the point of Persecutions in the Second Tome. Leaving aside several Stories I heard at *Macao* during my stay there, and other matters that were given me in writing, before I put to Sea, it will be convenient in this place to make one particular Chapter of the City *Macao*.

C H A P. XVII.

Of the City Macao, its Situation, Strength, and other Particulars.

1. I Have hitherto observ'd, and will for the future, what I lately quoted out of *Ecclesiasticus*; wherefore no Man need make a doubt of what I write, but ought rather to give entire credit to it. *Cajetan* in *Præf. in Luc.* says, *For it is most reasonable, that all credit be given to those who have not only seen, but whose duty it is to testify to others what they have seen.* As I am a Religious Man, Priest, Apostolical Missioner and Preacher, tho unworthy in all respects, what I relate deserves and ought to be look'd upon as undoubted truth, especially in regard I am an eyewitness.

Trade.

2. The *Chineses* from all antiquity had prohibited the admitting of Strangers into their Kingdom, and Trading with them; tho for some years, Covetousness prevailing, they have sail'd to *Japan*, *Manila*, *Siam*, and other parts within the Straits of *Sincapura*, and Governador in the Sea of *Malaca*, as I have ob-

serv'd before: but it has always been an infringement of their antient Law, the *Mandarines* of the Coast conniving at it for their private gain. This is the reason why when the *Portugueses* began to sail those Seas, they had no safe Port, nor any way to secure one. They were some years in the Island *Xan Choang*, where S. *Francis Xaverius* dy'd; some years they went to the Province of *Fo Kien*, another while to the City *Ning Po* in the Province of *Che Kiang*, whence they were twice expel'd, and the second time ill treated. They attempted the place where *Macao* now stands, but with-
Macao.
 out success; they return'd, and the *Mandarines* of *Canton* sending advice to the Emperor, he order'd they should remain there undisturb'd, paying Tribute and Customs for their Merchandize. Thus they settled there, and had continued till my time the term of 130 years. Many of the Inhabitants of *Macao* say that place

place was given them, for having expell'd thence certain Robbers, who did much harm to the neighbouring *Chineses*, to which they say they oblig'd themselves, whence they infer that place is their own. The *Chineses* disown it, and so does the *Tartar* who is now Lord of it. And if the Grant was upon condition they should pay Tribute and Custom for Merchandize, as they have always done, the difference is not much. At best they are like the *Chineses*, among whom no Man is absolute Master of a foot of Land.

3. The place is a small neck of Land running off from the Island so small, that including all within the Wall the *Chineses* have there, it will not make a League in circumference. In this small compass there are Ascents and Descents, Hills and Dales, and all Rocks and Sand. Here the Merchants began to build: The first Church and Monastery built there was ours, of the Invocation of our Lady of the Rosary, and the *Portugueses* still preserve it. Afterwards there went thither Fathers of the Society of the Orders of *S. Francis*, and *S. Augustin*. Some Years after they founded a Monastery of *S. Clare*, and carry'd Nuns to it from that of *S. Clare* in *Manila*: The Foundation was without his Majesty's leave, he resent'd it when it came to his ears; and not without reason, for a Country of Infidels, and so small, is not proper for Nuns. That Monastery has of late Years been a great trouble to the City. Before I proceed any further, I will here set down what was told me by the Licentiate *Cadenas*, a grave Priest of that City. When the *Tartars* conquer'd *China*, those Nuns fearing lest they might come over to *Macao*, and some disaster might befall them, petition'd the City to send them to some other place. Having weigh'd and consider'd the Matter, they answer'd, That they need not be in care, for if any thing hap'n'd, they would presently repair to the Monastery with a couple of Barrels of Gunpowder, and blow them all up, which would deliver them from any ill Designs of the *Tartars*. An excellent Method of comforting the poor afflicted Creatures.

4. There are in the City five Monasteries, three Parish-Churches, the House and Church of the *Misericordia*, or Mercy; the Hospital of *S. Lazarus*, and Seminary of the Society; one great Fort, and seven little ones: The Plan is very bad, because it was built by piecemeal. It was afterwards made a Bishop's See; the first Bishop was of my Order, and

till my time no other Proprietor had been consecrated to it. It shall be argued in another place, whether that Lord Bishop has a Spiritual Jurisdiction over all *China*, or not; as also whether *Tunquin* and *Cochinchina* belong to him. At present it is certain they do not, for his Holiness has divided *China* into three Bishopricks, under whom are *Tunquin*, *Cochinchina*, and the Island *Hermosa*. And tho' the *Portuguese* Resident at *Rome* oppos'd it, he could not prevail.

5. That City throve so much with the Trade of *Japan* and *Manila*, that it grew vastly rich, but never would vie with *Manila*, nor is there any comparison between the two Cities. I find as much difference in all respects betwixt them, as is betwixt *Madrid* and *Vallecas* (much the same as between *London* and *Hammer-smith*) and somewhat more, for the People of *Manila* are free, and those of *Macao* slaves.

6. I take it for granted, that what *Emanuel Leal de Fonseca*, Knight of the Order of Christ, said in my hearing, upon *Maunday Thursday* at night, in our Monastery of *Macao*, is certainly true, That the Governor of *Manila* had more Employments to give than the *Portuguese* Viceroy at *Goa*, even before the *Dutch* had taken so much from them. It is also certain that his Majesty has more Lands and Subjects in the *Philippine Islands*, than the *Portugueses* had sixty Years ago throughout all *India*. These things were unquestionable.

7. The Trade of *Japan* failing, *Macao* began to decay; and that of *Manila* ceasing, it almost fell to the ground. I was told so in that City, and it was visible in the Wants they endur'd. The Monasteries which some Years before maintain'd 24 Religious Men, in my time with much difficulty and want maintain'd three. The two Trades above being at an end, they took up with *Sandal* of *Timor*, *Ateca* of *Siam*, *Rosanulla*, *Rota* (all Drugs) and such-like Commodities, which the *Chineses* bought, and they took Silks, Calicoes, and other Merchandize in exchange, which they sold at *Siam* and *Macassar* to the *Spaniards* by a third hand.

8. *Macao* ever paid Ground-rent for the Houses and Churches to the *Chinese*, and Anchorage for Shipping. As soon as any Ship or Pink comes into the Harbour, a *Mandarine* presently comes from the Metropolis, and takes the Gage of it, and receives the Duty according to his computation of the Burden. When the Ship

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Ship goes out, he takes the dimensions again, and receives fresh Custom. Every Year their Measures alter. Is this any thing like being absolute Masters of that Place? They have lost what they had, and would appropriate to themselves what is none of their own.

9. They complain and alledg, say the Ambassador *Emanuel de Saldanha* said in my presence, that our King employ'd all his Strength in the *West-Indies*, and suffer'd the *East* to decline, because it belong'd to *Portugal*. But I confuted him with my answer, and said, If the King of *Spain* was Lord of both *Indies*, and his Grandeur consist'd in maintaining his Dominion from *East* to *West*, why should he suffer that to decline which he possess'd as absolute Lord and Master? for that would be lessning his own Greatness, which he so much valu'd.

10. 2ly. When *D. John de Sylva* was Governor of the *Philippine Islands*, his Majesty order'd all the force of *Manila* and *Goa* should rendezvous at *Malacca*, and that the Governor and Viceroy should go aboard in Person, in order to fall upon *Jacatra*, and drive the *Dutch* quite out of *India*. The Governor came with five mighty Ships, the best Men in the Islands, Ammunitions, Provisions, and all Necessaries. He arriv'd at *Malacca*, where he expected the Viceroy two Years, but he is not come yet. *D. John de Sylva* went away sad and troubled to *Siam*, where he was forced to fight some Ships of that Country and *Japan*. After which he dy'd for grief of the disappointment; many more dy'd, the rest return'd to *Manila*, having been at a vast Expence. All that ever spoke of this Subject say, that if his Majesty's Orders had been obey'd, the *Dutch* had infallibly been ruin'd and expell'd *India*.

11. 3ly. About the Year 1640, one *Meneses* a Gentleman of *Goa* came to *Macao*, in his way to *Japan*, whither he was going Ambassador. He proceeded no further, because of the ill success of another Embassy the Year before. This Gentleman talking with *F. Antony de Santa Maria*, a *Franciscan*, of the Power of the *Dutch* in *India*, told him, that our King had writ into *India*, to acquaint them that if they thought fit he would send them a strong Fleet, and in it *D. Frederick* of *Toledo*, as Viceroy of *Goa*, *Malacca*, and *Manila*, who would scour the Sea, and make it safe to them from *East* to *West*. We would not accept of what was offer'd for our good, said *Meneses*, and that was the reason we

are in such a poor condition. The Ambassador answer'd me, I did not know all that.

12. After this on *Midsummer-day*, I being invited with *F. Gowvea*, and two others of the Society, the said *F. Gowvea* maliciously insinuating, That our King could not recover *Brazil*, and their new King had done it: The Ambassador said, I was a Soldier in that mighty tho unfortunate Fleet King *Philip* the Fourth set out for that purpose. The *Portuguese* General was one *Mascarenbas* Count de la *Torre*, who was in fault that it was not recover'd. The *Spanish* Commander was to keep the Sea, the Count to act ashore, and to that purpose had 13000 chosen Men. The *Spanish* General offer'd him 3000 *Muquetiers* of his Men; he several times desir'd him to land, and he would secure the Sea, but he never durst. It was the Count's fault, concluded the Ambassador, that *Brazil* was not then recover'd. I was very well pleas'd to hear it, and what is it now they complain of? I often heard it said, that *Malacca* was lost during our King's Government in the Year 1639. *Bento Pereira de Faiz* the Ambassador's Secretary, said before all the *Portuguese* then at *Canton* who were in that Error, It is not so Fathers, for the Revolt of *Portugal* was in *December* 1640, and *Malacca* was lost the following Year. I was well pleas'd at the Answer.

13. Discourfing about the loss of *Mascate*, *Emanuel de Fonseca* a worthy *Portuguese*, told me at *Canton*, That it had been lost, because, contrary to our King's Orders, they had tolerated a Synagogue of *Jews* there. Avarice made them connive at those infamous People.

14. At *Diu*, said the same Man, they allow'd of a *Moorish* Mosque on the same account, and contrary to his Majesty's Commands. Speaking of the Loss of *Ceylon*, the bare-footed *Franciscan* gave the Account I set down in another Chapter. I afterwards heard it over again, That it was well it was lost, for otherwise Fire must needs have fallen from Heaven, and consumed it all.

15. Talking about some Towns along the Coast, *F. Torrente* said, the *Portuguese* Commanders us'd horrid Injustice towards the Natives.

16. Upon discourse of the losing of *Ormuz*, *F. Ferrari* related, That he being at *Malacca*, heard some who had been present at the Action, and among them the Enemy's Admiral, say, If the *Portuguese* the day after the Fight had come upon

us again, they had certainly catch'd us all, for we were undone; they went off, and left us Conquerors and possess'd of all.

17. Father *Antony Gouvea* talking at *Canton* of the loss of *India*, said, God had taken it from them for two Reasons; one was, the inhumane usage of the Natives, especially of the Women, towards the Blacks, and the other for their Lust.

18. These and such-like things *F. de Angelis* might have inserted in his General History; what the *Spaniards* did in *America* we know and abhor. It is unreasonable to see the Faults of others, and be blind to our own.

19. We being altogether at *Canton*, there was some discourse with the Ambassador's Gentlemen concerning the loss of *Cochin*. The *Portuguese* Fathers of the Society imputed it to ill Fortune, and to the Natives assisting the *Dutch*. A Layman who was by took up the business, and said, Alas, Fathers, we *Portugueses* are the most barbarous People in the World, we have neither Sense, Reason, nor Government. He went on with much more to this purpose, and concluded, They overcame, slew, and took that Country from us, as from base and mean People. The Society was much blam'd; all the Religious Orders spent all they had to relieve the Soldiers and Townsmen, the Society not one grain of Rice. The *Dutch* entered the place, and took all they had.

20. We talk'd of the miserable condition *Macao* was in of late Years (I design'd this City for the subject Matter of this Chapter; but because one thing draws on another, and all tends to make known what I saw and heard in those parts, it is convenient to write all) the Ambassador's Secretary said to *F. Gouvea*, Father, the truth of it is, that Brother *Reyes*, and his *Chinese* Friend *Li Pe Ming*, are the cause of the ruin of *Macao*: He had not a word to answer. All this has been inserted here, to prove they have no reason to complain, that our King was the cause of their losing *India*.

21. The miserable State and wretched Condition the *Portugueses* do now, and have liv'd for some Years in those parts, might make them sensible, if Prejudice did not blind them, that their own Sins, and not those of others, have brought all these Misfortunes upon them. They liv'd some Years at *Macassar*, in great subjection to the *Mahometans*, neither the Laity nor Clergy had the least Authority,

so the Governor of the Bishoprick of *Malaca* who resided there told me, his name was *Paul d' Acosta*. Upon *Maunday Thursday* when I was in the Church, a Company of *Moors* came into the Church, and went up the Sepulcher to see what was in the *Custodium*, no body stirring to oppose them. When they search'd for any Criminal, the *Sumbane* sent five or six thousand *Moors*, who look'd into the privatest Closet without sparing any place. They always watch'd at night to secure themselves against the *Moors*, who stole all they had. They told me above 4000 Christians had turn'd *Mahometans* in that Country. When expel'd thence by the *Dutch*, some of them went over to *Cambouxa*, submitting themselves to such another King, others to *Siam*, where they live in ill repute, and despis'd by the Natives and *Chineses* that are there. Some would fain get away from thence, but are not suffered by the King, who says, they are his Slaves; and the reason is, because some *Portugueses* have borrow'd Money of the King to trade, and pawn'd their Bodys for it. The King easily lent it them, and it is his Maxim, That all who in that manner receive his Money, are his Slaves, and have not the least Liberty left them.

22. Those who liv'd in *Cochinchina* and *Tunquin* were expel'd thence. In the Year 1667, this I shall now relate happen'd in *Cochinchina*: The Women there being too free and immodest, as soon as any Ship arrives, they presently go aboard to invite the Men; nay, they make it an Article of Marriage with their own Countrymen, that when Ships come in, they shall be left to their own Will, and have liberty to do what they please. This I was told, and *F. Macret* who had been a Missioner there affirm'd it to me to be true. A Vessel from *Macao* came to that Kingdom, and during its stay there, the *Portugueses* had it is likely so openly to do with those Infidel Harlots, that when they were ready to sail, the Women complain'd to the King, that they did not pay them what they ow'd them for the use of their Bodys. The King order'd the Vessel should not stir till that Debt was paid. A rare Example given by Christians, and a great help to the conversion of those Infidels! Another time they were so lewd in that Kingdom, that one about the King said to him, Sir, we know not how to deal with these People, the *Dutch* are satisfy'd with one Woman, but the People of *Macao* are not with many. *F. de Angelis*

*M*gelis may take these Virtues of his Countrymen along with him.

Narrate.
Macao.
23. Whilst the Government was in the *Chineses*, the People of *Macao* own'd themselves their Subjects; now the *Tartars* rule, they are, and confess themselves their Subjects. When the City has any business, they go in a Body with Rods in their hands to the *Mandarine* who resides a League from thence, they petition him, and that on their Knees. The *Mandarine* in his Answer writes thus: This barbarous and brutal People desires such a thing, let it be granted, or refus'd them. Thus they return in great state to their City, and their *Fidalgos* or Noblemen with the Badg of the Knighthood of the Order of Christ hanging at their Breasts, have gone upon these Errands; and I know one there to this day of the same rank, who was carry'd to *Canton*, with two Chains about his neck. He was put into Prison, and got off for 6000 Ducats in Silver. If their King knew these things, it is almost incredible he should allow of them.

24. Ever since the *Tartars* made the People retire from the Sea-coasts up the Inland, to avoid the attempts of the *Chineses* of *Cabello*, as was writ in the first Book, they began to use rigor with *Macao*. At a quarter of a League distance from that City, where the narrow part of that neck of Land is, the *Chineses* many years ago built a Wall from Sea to Sea, in the middle of it is a Gate with a Tower over it, where there is always a Guard, that the People of *Macao* may not pass, nor the *Chineses* to them. The *Chineses* have sometimes had their liberty, but the *Portugueses* were never permitted to go up the Country. Of late Years the Gate was shut, at first they open'd it every five days, then the *Portugueses* bought Provisions; afterwards it grew stricter, and was only open'd twice a Month. Then the rich, which were but very few, could buy a Fortnights Store; the Poor perish'd, and many have starv'd. Orders came again that it should be open'd every five days. The *Chineses* sell them Provisions at what rate they please.

25. The *Chineses* have always liv'd in *Macao*, they exercise Mechanick Trades, and are in the nature of Factors to the Citizens. They have often gone away with all their Trust. Sometimes the *Chinese* Government has oblig'd them to depart *Macao*, which has much ruin'd that City. Because several Inhabitants, and some Monasteries have nothing of

their own, but a few little Houses the *Chineses* live in, when they were gone they lost the Rent of them.

26. It would take up much time and paper to write but a small Epitome of the Broils, Uproars, Quarrels and Extravagancies there have been at *Macao*. Among other things our Enemy alledg'd his Memorials presented to the Emperor, one was that *F. Adamus* had 30000 Men conceal'd at *Macao* to invade *China*. No doubt but it was a great folly. He added, that some years before the City had rais'd Walls, which were demolish'd by the Emperor's command. This was true. In another Memorial he accus'd us, that the *Europeans* resorting to *Japan*, had attempted to usurp that Kingdom, for which many were punish'd, and the rest banish'd; and that we had possess'd ourselves of the *Philippine* Islands. But never any particular King in *Europe* was mention'd; nor was there any naming of Religious Orders, or Religious Men. They always made use of the general name of *Europe* and *Europeans*.

27. The two Councils of Rites and War, put in a Memorial, advising it was convenient the People of *Macao* should return to their own Country. The Government answer'd in the Emperor's name, That since they had liv'd there so many Years, it was not convenient to send them away, but that they should be brought into the Metropolis, for as much as their own Subjects had been drawn from the Sea-coast to the Inland. This was the beginning of much debate and confusion. The *Mandarines* make great advantage of the Inhabitants of *Macao*, and would not have them change their habitation. At Court they insist on what has been said, and order'd a place should be assign'd them to live in. One was appointed near the River of *Canton*, the worst that possibly could be found. Notice was given to *Macao*, the City divided into two Factions. The Natives and Mungrels were for going, the *Portugueses* against it. The Supreme Governour beset them by Sea, order'd their Ships to be burnt, accordingly ten were burnt before their Faces, and they seiz'd the Goods seven of them had brought the foregoing Year.

28. We at *Canton*, and they at *Macao*, were in great confusion, things growing worse and worse every day. The City promis'd the Supreme Governour 20000 Ducats, if he could prevail that they might continue in their City. Interest mov'd him to use all his Power to obtain it.

1667. it. He obtain'd leave for them to stay, but that they should not trade at Sea. The Governour demanded the promis'd Money; they answer'd, they would pay it if he got them leave to trade. This irrag'd the Governour, who endeavour'd to do them all the mischief he could. He shut up the Gate in the Wall, allowing it to be open'd but twice a Month. It pleas'd God, or rather it was his permission, that the Governour having been at variance with the Petty King, hang'd himself the 9th of *January* 1667, upon which *Macao* recover'd some hopes of bettering its condition. The Ambassador's business was at a stand the mean while; he was full of trouble, especially because he had brought but 2800 Pieces of Eight with him, and had above ninety Persons to maintain out of it. *Macao* could assist him but little, and afterwards excus'd it self. All complain'd of the Society, which had advis'd that Embassy. True it is, that this Complaint being made before me to those that were in *Canton*, F. *John Dominick Gaviani* a *Piemontese* answer'd: Gentlemen, all the Society had not a hand in this Embassy, some particular Persons had, you are not therefore to condemn the whole Society. *Pereira* the Secretary, who was all fire, reply'd, We do not blame the Society in *Rome*, *France*, and *Madrid*, but that in *China*. Your Reverences procur'd this Embassy, and that *Macao* should bear the charge of it, which has ruin'd us; therefore the Complaint is made here, not before the Fathers in *Europe*. One of the greatest troubles the *Portugueses* had, was to see and hear how they us'd their Ambassador. They call'd him a *Mandarine*, that was going to do homage, and pay an acknowledgment from the Petty King of *Portugal*. When he went up to the Imperial City, there was a Flag or Banner upon his Boat, with two large Characters on it, which according to our way of speaking signify'd, This Man comes to do Homage. All Ambassadors that go to *China* must bear with this, or they will not be admitted.

29. I write what follows for F. *Emanuel de Angelis*. The vilest, basest, and most infamous action that has been heard of in the World, was done at *Macao*: The Revolt of *Portugal* being known there (I will not insert in this place what F. *Gouvea* told me to prove and evince, that his Brethren had brought about this action, as allowing it for a certainty among them and many others, tho the Governour of the Bishopruck of *Macao* would

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attribute that action to his Family; read *M. Sencir* of the Order of S. *Augustin*, *Nava-Cap. 3, 4, & 5.*) they painted our King under a Gallows, and their own as Hangman hanging of him; this Picture was expos'd in a publick place of the City. Some millik'd, others were asham'd of it, as I suppose, because of the Honourable Employment they had given their King; so it was taken away and hid. I had made many reflections upon this Passage, which at present I lay aside, but must observe that in *China* the Gallows is for Noble and Great Men, and base People are Beheaded, just contrary to what is practis'd in *Europe*. To be Hangman is the vilest thing that is throughout the world. The *Chineses* are in the right in calling the People of *Macao* barbarous and brutal, this action alone is enough to entitle them to it. I suppose some Mungrels were the Authors of it, and not others, whom I have heard talk of our affairs with all imaginable reverence. What the People of *Macao* did in *Japan* is well known, and they ingenuously confess it; they own'd it to me in that City, and F. *Gouvea* told it me at *Canton*. It was, that till the Ships return'd, they publickly without any shame keep common Women in their Houses. A good help towards the Conversion of those People! F. *Torrente* told me they did the same at *Tunquin*.

30. But a little before I came to *Macao* the Governour of the Diocess had committed to Prison a Woman for living in open sin with a *Tartar* Soldier; the Soldier with others of his Companions came to the Goal at Noon-day, broke it open, and carry'd away the Woman; no Man daring to open his mouth. About the same time a Maiden Daughter to one of the principal Inhabitants of that City, run away into *China* with an Infidel. Of late years many Women expos'd their Bodies to Infidels for Bread. The Governour banish'd sixty of them; the third day the Ship sail'd she was cast away, and not one of the Women escap'd.

31. Some years before a great many arm'd *Portugueses* assaulted the Captain General's House; he hid himself under the Stairs, they found and stuck him in several places. After this an ordinary Fellow with a Black murder'd the Town-Mayor. A Man flying from his Enemy took into our Church, and stood betwixt the Altar and the Priest that sung High Mass, who had consecrated; his Enemy pursu'd, and murder'd him in that place. Many base Murders have been committed in that City. In my time one distur'd

Qq

enough;

enough and soon after at Noon-day the Curate of the great Church was murder'd. About six or seven years since a Portuguese kill'd the Curate, their Nation has at *Siam*. The Curate of *Macasar* was very familiar with the *Dutch*, he told them he had two Daughters at home, and the Governour had one, and yet they think God will not punish them. For they are bumbled for their iniquities, Pſal. 106. Excepting *Goa* and the Northern parts, which is as much as nothing, they have not one foot of Ground in all *India*, but are every where ſubject to *Gentiles*, *Mahometans*, or Hereticks, and by them cruſh'd, contemn'd and deſpis'd. Kingdoms, ſays *S. Thomas*, *Lib. 6. Opusc. 41.* are loſt through Pride. Who is ignorant how guilty that Nation was of it?

32. Thus *Macao* may be ſufficiently known, and ſeveral Particulars relating to that City and other parts. We may ſay with *S. Auguſt. Ser. 6. ad Frat.* that all is, and has been a great mercy of God. *It is a mercy if God ſcourges, that he may correct, if he delivers from ſin through tribulation, if he permits Hypocrites and Tyrants to reign. For God does all theſe things in his mercy, being deſirous to give us life everlaſting.* The *Tartars* entering *China* to afflict thoſe *Gentiles*, and diſtreſs *Macao*, the *Dutch* poſſeſſing themſelves of *India*, and other accidents we have ſeen, are all the mercy of God, and for our good, if we our ſelves will with patience, humility and ſubmiſſion, make our advantage of what his Divine Majeſty ordains and diſpoſes.

33. To conclude this Chapter I will add certain Revelations, as they call them, in great vogue at *Macao*, and other parts of *India*; I do not look upon them as ſuch, nor can I find any ground to allow them the name. Theſe Revelations are pretended to be made to *Peter de Buſtos* at *Malaca*, about the years 40 and 42. (1.) Four years before the revolt of *Portugal*, ſay they, he foretold it, almoſt in the ſame manner as it hapned; it was reveal'd to him by God in the Conſecrated Hoſt. The Revolt was in the Year 1640, the Revelations began at the ſame time, then how could he foretel it four Years before it hapned? (2.) That in the ſame Conſecrated Hoſt he ſaw a ſtately Throne, and our King *Philip* the Fourth ſitting there on a Pine-apple, from the bottom whereof iſſu'd four Branches of Thorns, which growing up by degrees, preſt him ſo hard that they caſt him from his Seat, and that he heard a Voice, ſaying, The Monarchy of *Spain* is at an end.

34. This Brother ſaw our King in a better place than the People of *Macao* had assign'd him. God's Will be done, but we ſee he was a falſe Prophet, for the Monarchy ſtill continues under *Charles* the Second, and we hope for much proſperity in his time. (3.) That there would in a ſhort time be a Pope of the Society: That new Millions ſhall be diſcover'd, and thoſe that are loſt reſtor'd; and that there ſhould be mighty Conversions in *India*, ſo that the Society ſhould not be able to go through the Work, but that it ſhould be mighty proſperous.

35. All that relates to the Society I look upon as likely enough, and there needed no new Revelations for it. The daily experience we have of their increaſing in Learning and Virtue, may be ground enough for us to hope as much. As for the Miſſions the time is not fulfill'd; for tho he ſays ſhortly, it may be many Years to come, and yet be ſo call'd.

(4.) That the *Portugueſes* and *Dutch* would be as cloſe as the nail and the fleſh; That he ſaw a Miter and other Episcopall Ornaments with the Arms of *Portugal* over *Jacatra*.

36. The firſt Article I can expound no otherwiſe, than that the *Dutch* are the Nails that have claw'd off all the fleſh the *Portugueſes* had in *India*. The Miſſioners in *Canton* us'd to laugh at the ſecond.

(5.) In the Year 1640 he propheſy'd the miſerable ſtate of *Macao*, and that *India* ſhould be reſtor'd to the condition it was formerly in.

37. The firſt part we are eye-witneſſes to, and it was a neceſſary conſequence of the loſs of its Trade with *Japan* and *Manila*. The ſecond is at preſent worſe than it was then, for that Year they loſt *Malaca*, after it *Ceylon*, and laſtly *Cochin*.

(6.) In the Year 1641, he ſaid, a way would be open'd into *Japan*, becauſe the Holy Ghoſt appear'd favourable to that Kingdom, and that he ſaw many things relating to it in the Conſecrated Hoſt. No part of this Prophecy has been verity'd to this day.

38. He ſays further, That he ſaw *F. Cyprian* in the Conſecrated Hoſt on the right hand, cloth'd in Glory, with many Rays of Light coming from him; and *Buſtos* ſaid, That Father was a great Saint, but that he was not yet perfected, nor did he know which way God would guide him, but yet he was much beloved by God.

39. This

39. This spoil'd all the rest, and proves they are Fictions and Frauds, and no Revelations, for *Cyprian* was a great Knave, Hypocrite, and Cheat: It is wonderful what false Miracles he gave out, and how he counterfeited Sanctity; let it suffice that he is at this time in the Prison of the Inquisition at *Goa*, and condemn'd to perpetual confinement there. The Ambassador *Emanuel de Saldanna* told me, he was a treble Heresarch. There it is he will be perfected.

7. In the Year 42 he prophesied the Martyrdom of five Persons, but two of them gave an ill account of themselves.

40. Those Men believe, applaud and extol these Follies.

41. Just before my departure from *China*, some News arriv'd out of *Europe*; One piece was, that *Bindarra* had been a notorious *Jer*, that his Tomb was thrown down, and his Prophecies suppressed.

42. That the *English* at *Bombay* over-

threw the Churches, and cut to pieces the Pictures of the Altars. I was afterwards told at *Goa*, who had been the cause of it; perhaps in another place I may give a hint at it, and perhaps not, for all Truths are not to be writ: *All things are lawful to me, but all things are not convenient*; it is enough it be known in those parts of the World.

43. That the Infidels attack'd *Goa*, took 2000 Christians, and kill'd a *Franciscan*, and that the Viceroy did not behave himself well.

44. Considering the present condition of *India*, we may well apply to it the words of *Macchab.* 1. 40. *As had been her Glory, so was her Dishonour increas'd, and her Excellency was turn'd into Mourning.* And those of *Chap.* 2. v. 12. *And behold our Holy things, even our Beauty and our Glory is laid waste, and the Gentiles have profaned it. Mahometans, Gentiles, and Horeticks, have all desil'd the Beauty and Glory of our Religion in those Kingdoms and Provinces.*

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C H A P. XVIII.

My Voyage to Malaca, and Stay there.

1. **T**HE Captain and Pilot of the Ship's name was *Stephen Diaz*, a Man in great repute at *Macao*, but he lost much of it this Voyage. There are many ill-grounded Opinions; because four or five say such a Man is an able Pilot, or good Souldier, they presently applaud him as such, and when occasion offers he appears to be a mere *Ignoramus*. Certain it is, he was an honest Man and good Christian; so that doubtless God favours him, which is Knowledg and good Fortune enough. He never swore nor curs'd, a thing rare enough in an *European* and *Portuguese* Sailor. When angry he would say, I vow my Soul to God. He pray'd incessantly, his Beads were never out of his hands, and he delighted in hearing talk of Spiritual things. He offer'd me all he had aboard; I stood not in need of it, but was thankful for his good Will, and did him all the Service I could. When the *Tartars* oppress'd *Macao*, he put to Sea, and to save his Ship and Mens Lives, he went to *Manila*, which Port he put into upon the security of a Pass he had from the Governor *D. James Silcedo*; who did not observe it, but took his Ship. All Men disapprov'd of this Action, and when that Governor was seiz'd, he that suc-

ceeded him, restor'd the Ship to the right Owner, and he return'd in it to *Macao* in *August* 69. I had good accommodation given me in the great Cabin, where there were some other Passengers, who all were extremely kind to me. The first night he steer'd East, and then tack'd and stood away to the South, thinking he had left the Flats of *Puliffi* astern (they are famous in that Sea, and extend below *Cambogia*) here it was he began to lose the Reputation of being an able Seaman. A great Pilot who went aboard as a Passenger, said to him, Captain, how can you expect in one night's sail to come up with the Flats along the shore? The Pilot still fell off to Leeward, which was making up to the Flats. One night when the Pilot was gone to rest, after having given his Orders to the Steersman; the Pilot who was a Passenger, his name *Vincent Fernandez*, ask'd for his Sword, and bid his Man take his Spear, and be on the watch; he was persuaded we should be upon the Flats, and design'd to betake himself to the Boat. He came up softly without any noise to the Bittake, and said to the Steersman, We are running right upon the Flats, pray bear up 8 Points to windward; and if the Pilot says any thing,

tell him the Ship flew from the Helm. Under God this Precaution sav'd our Lives, for notwithstanding that bearing away eight Points one morning, we found our selves within a Stones throw of the Point of the Flats, the Current running off it, we were all much frighted. Every day the Rosary, Salve, Litany, and other Prayers were said kneeling, few days pass'd without saying Mass, we had frequent Sermons and Exhortations, and often going to Confession and Communion. We arriv'd at the Island *Pulocondor*, which is large and well-wooded; the Natives came out to us with some refreshment of Fruit: They brought with them a little Animal the *Portugueses* call *Perguiza*, that is, Sloth; it was very strange and oddly shap'd, its slow Motion and Looks seem'd to be the very emblem of Sloth. It brought forth a young one aboard, the young one clung fast to the Dam's Belly, and she with it hanging crept up the Shrouds extraordinary leasurly.

2. We made thence for the Strait of *Simapura*, our Pilot had never pass'd it; we came within Musket-shot, and no sign of a Passage appear'd: he was about to tack and steer away for the New Strait call'd *del Governador*, which is wider, and at present most people go that way. Some aboard were satisfy'd the Strait was there, as having pass'd it some times; but honest *Stephen Diaz* was so positive, he would believe no body. At a Point of Land which conceal'd the Passage, there was a great number of Fishermen there call'd *Salfetes*, who always live upon the Water, and in their Boats carry their Wife, Children, Cats, Dogs, Hens, &c. as I mention'd in the first Book many liv'd in *China*. One of the Boats made to us, the Master of it came aboard and carry'd us through very safe. That Country belongs to the King of *Jor*, who has abundance of Pepper. Having discover'd the Passage, which we admir'd to see how close Nature has hid and conceal'd it, we sail'd easily along. I had heard it said at *Canton*, that when Ships sail'd through there, the Yard-arms hit against the Trees on both sides, and that the Current was so violent, it whipp'd a Ship about with all her Sails abroad. The first is a mere Fiction, the second is false; tho perhaps when the South-West Winds reign there may be something of it, but it is not likely considering the position of the Continent and Islands about it. The Passage is scarce a Bow-shot in width, two Ships cannot pass it board by board; it presently grows wi-

der, and abundance of Illands appear. Our obstinate Pilot would needs keep close under the Shore; he lost the Channel, and the Ship struck upon the Sand; being it sprung no Leak, we were not much troubled. As soon as this happen'd, abundance of the *Salfetes* took their Posts to observe us, to make their advantage in case the Ship were cast away. Practice had made them very expert at it; the Flood carry'd us off safe. On *Saturday*, being the Eve of the *Purification*, or *Candlemas*, we came to an Anchor in sight of *Malaca*. I went ashore that afternoon, and told the Governor I desir'd to make my way thence to *Manila*, either through *Siam* or *Cambodia*. He would not consent to it; I us'd all my Interest and Art, but in vain, which made me very melancholy: I spoke to the chief *Domine*, who did all he could for me, but obtain'd nothing. I was in a pailion one day, and said to him, So it is then, that your Lordships in this place tolerate *Gemiles*, *Mahometans*, and all barbarous Nations, and will not admit a *Spanish* Religious Man for one Month, tho we are at peace with you; what reason is there for it? There is none but their profession and our meanness.

3. That afternoon the Stewards of the Brotherhood of the *Rosary*, invited me to go up the River at eight of the Clock at night, where most of the Christians live, there to sing the Salve and Litany of our Lady. I could not avoid it, but went; their Church was adorn'd: after the Rosary, the Salve and Litany was sung very well, I being in a Cope, brought out the Image of our Blessed Lady, which was a very beautiful one. Then I heard some Confessions, and having taken my leave of the People, went away to rest at the House of an honest *Portuguese*, who was marry'd to a *Malaye* Woman. I was twelve days ashore; the Evening and Morning was spent in hearing Confessions: I said Mass every day but one, and administred the Bless'd Sacrament: The rest of the day I visited the Sick, and that they might all be pleas'd, said Mass one day in one House, and the next in another; thus we secur'd our selves against a *French Domine* who was watching of us. There was another *Portuguese Domine* born in *Algarve*, who was more trusty, and a better Friend to his Countrymen. At *Jacatra*, as I was there told again, tho I had heard it before, there were two other *Domines*, they were both of considerable Families. It is well known who the Governor was originally, who has

has govern'd those Parts several Years.

4. There were about 2000 Catholicks in that place, as I was told; the Women were extraordinary good Christians, some of the Men were so too; many did not confess, because it was easy to them to resort to an *Indian* Clergyman who was disguiz'd there: I am perswaded some as lukewarm in the Faith, by reason of their conversing with the *Dutch*. Herefy, says *St. Paul*, is like a Cancer, it is a Plague and Poison that insensibly infects. I shed Tears as I walk'd those Streets, to see that Country possess'd by Enemies of the Church, for it is a mere Garden and Paradise for worldly Pleasure; in Spirituals it was once a great Colony, and the Church has many Children there still, but they are among bloody Wolves. The Women wish they could get away from thence, but are so poor they cannot; those who have some Wealth are pleas'd and satisfy'd.

5. That place is in two degrees and a half of North-Latitude; the Climate is charming, the place where the Catholicks live the best in the World. The *Coco* Trees grow up to the Clouds; there are Orchards full of Orange, Lemon, and Plantan-Trees, Papagos, Xambos, and other sorts of Fruit. They have two other places there, but not so pleasant. The Fruit then began to come forwards, there were very good and well-tasted Pine-Apples. The Christians furnish'd me with several Necessaries against I went aboard, and some Mony given me for Masses. Another Religious Man of my Order, took up his Lodging in an Acquaintance his House; he and I took all the pains we could, and had we staid there much longer, we had found enough to do. Among the rest there was there a Woman, an extraordinary good Christian, she furnish'd Bread and Wine for the Masses. She had a Daughter whom she had educated with all possible care; yet when grown up she marry'd a Heretick, who soon perverted her, and she prov'd a mortal Enemy to Catholicks.

6. The *Dutch* gave good Alms even to the Catholick Poor, but almost oblig'd them to be present at their Service. A poor lame Man said to me, Father, I cheat them very handfomly, for being lame as I go up that Hill, I feign my self lamer, and sit down to rest every step, so that I never get to the top, nor never will. Upon Sunday-nights the Hereticks make their Feasts in the Streets. As I was going home with some Friends, we found a

jolly *Dutch* Man with his Table and Bottles in the cool Air; he invited us, and I accidentally ask'd, Are you marry'd, Sir, in this Country? He answer'd me very pleasantly, Yes, Father, I marry'd a Black; since I cannot eat white Bread I take up with brown. Some of us from a Catholick's House, saw a *Dutch* Man lash two Blackamore Women most cruelly, they seem'd to be Catholicks; he had ty'd them to *Coco*-Trees, and beat them unmercifully: One of them call'd upon *Jesus* and *Mary*, and we saw him for that reason lash her again in a most outrageous manner.

7. *Anthony Marinbo* a *Portuguese* told me, that *Emanuel de Sousa Coutinho* had basely lost that place of so great moment and consequence. He that has it commands the *Strait*, and that place is the general Rendezvouz for all the Kingdoms of *India*. When all was taken by the *Dutch*, three Fathers remain'd there; two of them I knew very well, the other who was a *French* Man, dy'd some Years since in *Europe*. They demanded a place where they might administer to the Catholicks; the *Dutch* had sent to *Jacatra* for Orders to give them a Church, and it is reported they design'd it should be that of *S. Anthony*; but the Fathers being too impatient of delay, tho' the *Dutch* themselves advis'd them to be moderate, they threatned the *Dutch* they would take from them the Water of the Well of *Batachina*, which is the best they have, and is always guarded. These Threats provok'd the *Dutch*, who sent them to *Jacatra*, where they were forbid saying Mass. The *French* Father, who was over-zealous even in the Opinion of his own Brethren, continued saying of it. They grew angry at him, took away a Crucifix he had, and the Villains burnt it publickly, the Father himself was at the foot of the Gallows; happy he, had he ended his Life there.

8. The compass of *Malaca* is small, but the situation strong. It is encompass'd with good Walls and Bulworks, it is in the shape of a Sugar-loaf, in the upper part stood the House and Church of the Society; the Monastery at present is a Magazine: It was a great annoyance to the *Portugueses*, as they themselves say, that they had not level'd that Eminence. Among the Hereticks there was one who always valu'd himself upon his Wisdom, tho' he had none; he obstinately urg'd that Woman was more perfect than Man, without alledging any reason but his repeated Affirmation. He expos'd the Er-

Nava-
rette.

ror he had in his Heart; but when the words of St. Paul, 1 Cor. 9. *For Man was not created for Woman, but Woman for Man; and Man is the Head over Woman, and let Women be subject, &c.* were urg'd against him, he had not one word to say for himself.

9. The Hereticks administer Baptism and Matrimony to the Catholicks. I found there some *Indians of Manila,*

they enjoy their Liberty, and are free from Taxes and other Dutys that lie upon them in their Country.

10. On the 11th of *February* we went aboard again, and the 12th with a fair Gale left *Cape Rochado* astern, it belongs to *Malaca*, and is poss'd by the *Hollander*. Now we begin another Voyage, therefore it will be fit to conclude this Chapter, and begin another.

C H A P. XIX.

My Voyage from Malaca, as far as Madraffa Patan.

1. THEY told us at *Malaca*, the Season was too far advanced for us to reach *Goa*, so that we went in fear and dread. To increase it the more, we had a dead Calm in that narrow Sea: We cast Anchor at Sun-setting, and at Sun-rising again weigh'd very leisurely. Thus we came to an Island uninhabited, call'd *Pulo Pinang*, well wooded; there we took in Water very leisurely. We continued there two days, and one of them the Wind blew very fair, and we afterwards mis'd it to compass our Design. On the first of *March*, after Sun-setting, the Wind blew terribly, and we being just ready to pass betwixt two of the Islands of *Nicobar*, the Pilot was afraid and back'd his Sails, so that we lost Way every moment. The second of the said month, as we sail'd betwixt the said Islands, several Boats came out to us with fresh Provisions; our People dealt for Hens, Cocos, Plantans, and some Amber, all for old Rags. The Vessels were extraordinary fine, some had thirty Oars, and row'd to the admiration of us all. The People were somewhat black, and had red Hair, which is wonderful; among them that row'd there were Women, all naked, saving just before and behind, where they had some dirty Rags. As they sail'd aboard our Ships, those People were so warlike, that they had boarded a *Dutch Ship*. It is certain they devour the *Europeans* they catch alive, as near as they can. The Pilot told me there was a strange Well in an Island we saw there, whatever is put into it, whether Iron, Copper, or Wood, comes out Gilt; I do not remember whether that gilding is lasting, but it is very remarkable. The Weapons those people use are their Oars, which we saw were very sharp-pointed; the Wood is very hard, I believe they will strike through a mud Wall.

2. The Wind held us the two following days, and we wanted forty Leagues of passing the Gulph of *Ceylon*. The third day we were becalm'd, and endeavour'd to avoid the Currents, which they said ran toward the *Maldivy Islands*, fell sixty Leagues below *Cape Gallo*, all things conspir'd to thwart our Course. We had been three days making for the Island *Ceylon*. On the 9th of *March* when the Pilot least expected to make it, the Captain accidentally went out of the Cabin, and bent his Sight to discover Land. The Pilot said to him, It would be a Miracle to see Land now. The Captain cry'd out, Land ahead, had we sail'd one minute longer, the Ship had been ashore. They fur'd the Sails, and dropt Anchor with all possible expedition, then we plainly saw the Shore. It rain'd apace, the Wind blew hard and was right aft. It was very strange, we discover'd a League below us two Ships at Anchor as well as we; one of them weigh'd immediately away, and sail'd to windward of us. We lay there till next day; the Weather clear'd up, and we ran along the Island with a fair Gale. On the 25th of *March* we left *Cape Gallo* astern, with terrible Thunder and Lightning that blinded us; three Men spent that night, till Sun-rising the next day, at play, without rising off the ground; the rest of us were very fearful, for the Wind still increas'd, so that we had a dismal night of it; but the three being intent upon gaming, minded nothing.

3. The *Waggoners* directed to coast *Cape Gallo*, then along by *Columbo*, and to hold on to *Nigumbo*, as the best way to strike over to *Cape Comori*. The Pilot would not steer the usual Course; and it succeeded accordingly, tho the reason he gave for it seem'd good enough in regard to the Voyage he was to make; but

but new ways are always dangerous. Next we had Calms and hazy Weather; we met a Pink bound our way: every body was for making up to it to get some Information, but the Pilot thinking it a lessening of him, would not consent. They are strange People, tho they perish by it, they will not ask Advice, nor follow it. The Sea ran as swift as an Arrow towards the Continent, and the Pilot thought he should fall upon the *Maldivy*-Islands. One night two Lights on the Coast were seen, so near were we to it: We tack'd, and in the morning found our selves near Land, but knew it not; in the afternoon two Blacks came up to us in a *Catamaron*, which is only three pieces of Timber on which they go out to Sea. They told us we were off of *Comori* and *Tutucori*. The Wind came to South-West, so that in eight days we did not advance a foot. We had sight of Cape *Comori*, but could not possibly weather it at that time. It was then propos'd to make for the Coast of *Coromandel*. *Lent* was near at an end, no body in the Ship eat Meat so much as once, all did the Duty the Church imposes. That *Lent* I said Mass 31 times, and preach'd 19, which is enough at Sea. I blest'd Palm on Palm-Sunday, and we did the best we could.

4. A Council was held about going into Port; they had before talk'd of and resolv'd upon it, yet none would give his Opinion in publick. I took upon me to show the Reasons that oblig'd us to put into a Harbour, which afterwards all agreed to. That night we sail'd before the Wind, and if they would have done as the Pilot advis'd, which was to go to *Columbo*, it had been better for us. We sail'd as far as the *Flats*, which are fifty Leagues above Cape *Gallo*; all the business was in passing them. On the 8th of *April* so furious a Wind rose with the Moon, that we were forced to run before it. The next night we found our selves against *Gallo*, we were willing to put in, but no body knew the way, they design'd to winter there. We pass'd on to *Columbo*, cast Anchor; some went ashore, but they would not give leave for the Priests, and we were three of us. There are above 3000 Catholicks there, they have had no Priest among them ever since the *Portugueses* lost that Island to the *Dutch*, as basely as they had done *Malaca*. So I was told aboard the Ship; some blam'd *Antony de Sousa Coutinho*, Brother to him that lost *Malaca*; others said it was a Judgment, as I have men-

tion'd before. His own Countrymen report it of *Philip de Mascarenhas*, who had been Governour there, that he us'd to say, The King of *Candea*, who was Lord of that noble Island, should be his Footman and Groom. There are Men of wonderful Pride in the World; they say, the King, tho a Heathen, begg'd Peace of him with a Crucifix in his hands; What more could a Christian expect from that Pagan? Yet the *Portugueses* complain'd that the Natives of the Island took part against them; what reason had they to favour them? It were no wonder tho the Elephants and wild Beasts had fought against them. General *Machuca* who took that place, and afterwards *Cochin*, two months before our arrival, made War upon the Blacks of *Tutucori*, kill'd 14000 of them, built a strong Fort, garison'd it, and return'd to *Columbo*. He came aboard us civilly, gave us Wood of the Cinnamon-Trees; we chew'd many of the Leaves, and they tasted like fine Cinnamon; we were supply'd with all things. Some Catholicks came aboard to Confession; the Women shew'd much Devotion, sent Beads and Candles to blefs; ask'd for Holy Water, written Gospels: some were for sending their Sins in writing, others for telling them to the Seamen, that they might confess by a third hand. An honest *French* Man and his Wife writ to me very feelingly, and presented me; I sent them Beads and Pictures. Another *French* Man, whose name was *Bertran*, very Old and Honourable, had been fourteen Years a Slave to the King of that Country; he fled, I heard his Confession, and got him some Alms of the *Portugueses*. They hang'd two Blacks on the shore in sight of us: They were Catholicks, and some *Portugueses* who were ashore told me, that a Heretick Preacher going along with them, one of the Blacks turn'd to him, and said, Do not preach or talk to me, I know what I am to do, I am a Catholick and so I will die. There was Oil of Cinnamon sold there, but under half a *Quartillo* (that is, half a pint and half a quartern) for seven or eight Pieces of Eight: The Scent was enough to raise a dead Man; I twice anointed my Stomach and Nostrils with two drops of it, it burnt my Bowels, and I was forced to rub my self very well with a Cloth, my Nose swell'd and burnt. Had these two anointings been one some time after another, I had never ventur'd upon the second; but they were presently one after the other,

Catamaron.

Nava-
rette.

Tutucori.

Columbo.

ther, which made the Effect the great-
Nava-
rette. er.

5. The Island is eighty Leagues in length, and sixty in breadth; it is one of the best in the World, if not the best, the Temperature incomparable; Fields green all the Year, the Waters many and pleasant; it produces precious Diamonds and Rubies, and another rich Stone they call *Cats-eye*; it has Mines of Gold and Silver, Chrystal, the best Cinnamon in the World; abundance of Rice, Coco-Nuts, Fruit; the choicest Elephants, to which those of other parts pay Homage. Some few months before the *Dutch* had been a hunting of these Creatures, they drove 150 of them down towards the Sea, sixty took into the places they had enclos'd for them, where they were tam'd; they sell them to the *Moors* for three or four thousand Ducats apiece; there are Ships that carry four and twenty of them: They are very good at Sea, because they always bear up against the upper side, and being so heavy do much good, and are a stay to the Motion of the Ship.

6. Many *Portugueses* live in the *Hollanders* Pay. At present they own how careful our King was of preserving that Island: He was us'd to say in all his Orders, Let all *India* be lost, so *Ceylon* be sav'd. He was in the right, for that Island alone is worth more than all they had in the *East*. We were told there were above four hundred *Portugueses* at *Candea*, which is the King's Court, and is in the middle of the Island, with their Wives and Children, and maintain'd by the King; but they affirm he is jealous of them. He was at War with the *Dutch*. In the
1669. Year 1669 the *Dutch* took the Prince; eight days after they sent him to *Jacatra*, in order to be sent into *Holland*. Unhappy Prince, what a disaster befel him!

Dutch. 7. All Spice, as Cinnamon, Cloves, Nutmegs, &c. are in the Power of the *Dutch*; but the *English* and *French* deal in Pepper, because it is to be had in many places. In *Ceylon* there are abundance of Horses, Cows, Sheep, Asses. The *Portugueses* said they had five thousand Slaves only to work at their Fortifications.

8. The principal Places in that Island are *Nigumbo*, *Columbo*, *Gallo*, *Maturè*, *Matuturè*, *Triquimalè*, and others of less note. Besides this, the *Dutch* are at present possess'd of *Manor*, all the Kingdom of *Negapatan*, *Jasanapatan*, *Java*, *Tutucori*, *Cochin* and *Macasar*. They

have abundance of Factories in those Eastern Parts; the greatest of them are *Peru*, *Queda*, *Vargueron*, *Venselam*, *Pegu*, *Racon*: Fifty in the Kingdoms of *Bengala*, *Vipelapatan*, *Cararga*, *Palacot*, *Clicaceli*, *Mabilapatan*, *Carcal*, *Napapatan*, *Calipiti*, *Caimal*, *Calature*, *Batacolor*, *Punta de Piedra*, *Caulon*, *Carneculom*, *Peria*, *Castel*, *Cangranor*, *Canonour*, *Bingorla*; in all these places they have Forts and Garisons. *Paliacate*, *Musulapatan*, *Golocondar*, are only Factories; *Suratte*, *Congo*, *Bandarabassi* a Port in *Persia*, are also Factories: So they have at *Hispaa*n the Court of *Persia*, *Basora*, *Meca*; *Agra* the *Mogel's* Court, *Borneo*, *Siam*, *Tunquin*, *Cochinchina* and *Japan*.

9. The *English* are at *Congo*, *Suratte*, *English*. *Bombaim*, which was part of *Queen Catherine's* Dowry, *Carbat*, *Cape de Rama*, and near *Goa*, *Madrastapatan*. Here they have a very fine Fort, with a good Garison, and heavy Cannon; *Musulapatan*, *Madapalam*, *Velasor*, *Ugali*, *Bantam*. When I came away they quitted *Siam*, they lik'd not the Country and Trade: They have also footing in the Island *Hermosia*. The *French* begin to have a Trade *French*. in *India*; they have Factories at *Suratte*, *Kogiapur* near *Cochin*, *Musulapatan*, *Bengala*, *Siam* and *Batang*. Not long since I was inform'd, that the Fleet I met at the Island of *Madagascar* had put into *Ceylon*, where they built a Fort, with the leave and permission of the King of the Country; but the *Dutch* destroy'd it, took their Men, Ships, and other things. Afterwards understanding the Wars were then in *Europe*, they kept all they had taken, and the *French* remain'd Prisoners. The other part of that Fleet laid siege to the City *S. Thomas*, and took it, the Infidels being unprovided. Afterwards a great Power of Infidels came down, and besieg'd the *French*; what the Event was I know not, but it seems impossible they should maintain themselves without a Miracle. They have no Provisions but what the Country must furnish; and the *Dutch* will use all means, and press at *Golocondar* that they may be expell'd.

10. When the *Dutch* had taken *Columbo*, they sent an Ambassador to the King of *Candea*. He suffer'd him not to depart his Court in eleven Years. By degrees he made an Orchard and Garden to his House, planted Fruit-trees, and curiously adorn'd his Habitation. The King gave him leave to return to *Columbo*, and he, that the Natives might not enjoy the fruits of his labour and industry, cut
down

down the Trees, pull'd up the Flowers, and spoil'd all. The King being told of it, was very much concern'd, and for a punishment order'd he should stay there till the Garden and Orchard were in the same condition they had been before he spoil'd them. He ask'd of the *Dutch* a small Ship to see the shape and manner of those us'd in *Europe*. They made a fine one lin'd with Copper, and sent him word it was all Gold. He found it was not, resent'd the fraud, and conceiv'd an ill opinion of those People. What a folly it was to think he should not distinguish betwixt Gold and other Metals! He left two Kingdoms and retir'd into the heart of the Island. Not long before his own People had assaulted him in his Palace, designing to kill him, but he made his escape, and absconded for a Month. Then he return'd, found means to execute some Great Men, and put their Wives to death, by which he secur'd himself. The *Portugueses* told us thus much during the twelve days we stay'd in the Port.

11. The *Dutch* Judg ask'd the Captain of our Ship, whether the Pope had power to take away King *Alfonso's* Wife, and give her to his Brother Prince *Peter*. The *Portuguese* had not a word to say, as he himself told me.

Coin.

12. The Coin that pass'd at *Columbo* was Rix-dollers, Rupies, *S. Thomas's*, Pagodes, Pieces of Eight, and a particular Coin for the Country like that they had at *Malaca*. I sent a Sample of it to the Governour of *Manila*, that he might see the Metal and form it, in case he would coin any like it, which has been talk'd of many Years, but is not yet begun. There is no comparison between the *Philippine* Islands, and *Malaca* or *Columbo*, or others of the same stamp, and yet these have coin'd a current sort of Money, which never goes out; and in the *Philippine* Islands for these hundred years, they have had no Coin, but the Silver of *New Spain*. I have seen a Memorial at *Madrid*, which treats of this Subject.

13. *Francis Caron* a *Dutchman* took *Nigumbo*. He himself told me the manner of it, and said, the *Portugueses* might easily have hindred them landing, and then they could never have hurt them; but they scoffed at them, and cry'd, Let those Drunkards land, and then we will treat

them as they deserve (it is great folly, and pride to despise an Enemy) they landed, drew up, the Fight began, and the *Portugueses* fled. The River of the Fishery is near *Nigumbo*, the *Dutch* are Masters of all. Our Pilot being old and worn out, ask'd for a *Dutch* able Pilot, who knew those Seas at *Columbo*. He design'd if the Weather would permit to put into *Gallo*, and lie there till *September*. There is a Port, tho none of the best, and plenty of Provisions. We came near the mouth of the Harbour, the Wind was scant and we were to Leeward, therefore we dropp'd two Anchors. That Night was one of the dismallest that ever Man had at Sea. The Ship was foul of the Cables, the Sea ran high, the motion was so violent that a Man was safe in no place, there was not a Bed or Couch but broke, the Lashers, Boxes, Chests, Jars, and every thing was beaten to pieces. The worst was, that every time the Sea beat against the Ship, we imagin'd she would founder. It bore much, and at last began to leak so fast that the Pumps could deliver the Water.

14. Thus we continued till one of the Clock next day. Good God, what falls and bangs we had! It pleas'd God we had leisure to weigh. We sail'd quite round the Island with a stiff Gale, and so to *Jasanapatan*. Opposite to *New Port* a *Dunkirker* came up with us, she put into that Port, and we pass'd on. That day we discover'd *S. Thomas's* Mount, and saluted the Saint with five Guns. On the second of *May* we anchor'd before *Madrastapatan*. I had an extraordinary desire to be ashore. A *Portuguese* came aboard, and I got into the Boat that brought him, so did others. Those are very odd Boats, they have no Nails or Pins, but the Boards are sew'd together with Ropes made of *Coco* outward Shells; and tho the Infidels assur'd us they were safe, yet we could not but be in great fear. When they come towards the Shore, they take the Surges, which drive them up so that we stept out of the Boat upon the dry sand. Thousands of Souls waited there to know the Ship, and who came aboard it. I went immediately to the Church of the *French* Capuchins, who resided there, to give God thanks for having deliver'd us from the Sea.

Navi-
relie.

C H A P. XX.

My Stay at Madraſtapatan.

1. **W**HEN we came to this place, we found it beſieg'd by the King of *Golconda's* Army, but without his Orders; their deſign was to extort ſomething from the *Engliſh*, but they were diſappointed. It is on the Coaſt of *Coromandel*, half a League ſhort of the City of *S. Thomas*, otherwiſe call'd *Meliapor*. Here the *Engliſh* have a noble Fort; they have alſo other Walls but ſmall, within which live all the *Portugueſes*, who after the loſing of *Jafanapatan*, *Negapatan*, and *St. Thomas*, went to ſeek places to dwell. The *Engliſh* receiv'd them, and they live under their Protection and Government. They ſtand the *Engliſh* in ſtead, for upon occaſion they make uſe of them, as they did at this time, when all Men took Arms and guarded the Walls. The Enemy had ſtopp'd all the Avenues, ſo that Proviſions grew ſcarce. There is neither Port nor Water, this laſt they get out of ſome ſmall Wells they have dig'd. Ships lie faſe ſix Months, then they go away till the fair Weather comes again. The *Engliſh* allow a publick Church, kept by two *French* Capuchins; and tho' there are ſeveral Clergy-men, they all ſay Maſs there, with no ſmall ſubordination and diſſatisfaction: but the *Engliſh* who are Maſters there, favouring the Religious Men, they muſt have patience per force.

2. Two Years before, there had been a great conteſt there betwixt two *Engliſh* Governours, both of them would govern the place, and there was no reconciling of them. The *Portugueſes* were divided, ſome favour'd the one, and others the other. One got the better, and baniſh'd many of the *Portugueſes* that oppos'd him, together with the *French* Capuchins. Above a Year after he gave them leave to return.

3. It is in about 12 or 13 Degrees of North Latitude, and an excellent Climate, any nice Man may live there; the conveniency of buying Clothes is great, all thoſe People living upon it. I took up in a little Room the Religious Men gave me, there I ſtudy'd, and eat what an honeſt *Portugueſe* ſent me. Another maintain'd the Religious Men. There I found a *Bifcainer*, whoſe name was *Dominick Lopez*, an honeſt Man in good repute, had

a Wife and two Children, but was poor. He told me very great hardſhips he had endur'd among the *Portugueſes*. I advis'd him to ſend his Sons to *Manila*, what he did I know not. I alſo found a *German* who was a mighty Mathematician, In-gineer and good Souldier; he did the *Portugueſes* good ſervice, but they requited him ill. Knowing who he was, and how well look'd upon, I propos'd to him to go away to *Manila*, where he might come to Preferment with eaſe. He agreed to it, I writ to the Governour about it, and directed him how to ſend his answer.

4. I went with him to *S. Thomas*, we S. Thomas. were firſt in a Church of *Franciſcans*, which they call our Lady of Light, there was a Religious Man there poorer than I, he gave us to eat, and me his Hat, becauſe I had none. I ſpoke with the Governour of the Biſhoprick, who told me he would go the next day to the Mount. We ſpent that Evening in a Houſe of the *Jefuits*, but there was never a one in it. There we ſaw the Fountain the Holy Apoſtle made between two Rocks, and drank of it with much ſatisfaction; we alſo ſaw two Croſſes cut in the hard Rocks, the Workmanſhip of the ſame Saint. We went into the Cave where we pray'd, it was very ſmall, they afterwards cut the Rock and enlarg'd it. On one ſide there is a Breach in the Rock, which made a ſmall Window. They recount for a certain truth, and receiv'd tradition that when the Infidels came to kill him, he would transform himſelf into a Peacock, and get out that way.

5. In the way hither it is that happen'd to me which I have often told. A pair of little curious *Chineſe* Wallets ſlipt off the little Horſe I rode on, and in them my Breviary and ſome other little things; I did not obſerve it, but met two Moors with their Spears, they ſaluted me, and went their way: ſoon after I heard loud calling out, which made me turn about to ſee what was the matter, and perceiv'd the Moors pointing with their Spears to my Wallets. I return'd, and made ſigns to them to reach it up to me, they would not touch it. I made ſigns again that they reach them me upon the point of their Spears. They underſtood me, and one of them taking it up with his Spear gave it

it me. I thank'd them by ſigns, and went my way. What *European* would have done ſo much here, or there ?

6. That Evening we came to the Mount, there are two little Houſes at the foot of it uninhabited, beſides others gone to ruin. When the Infidels took the City, they deſtroy'd all about it, but durſt not meddle with the Apoſtles Church, nor with that of our Lady of Light I ſpoke of before. The aſcent of the Mountain is ſteep and difficult, but well provided with Seats and reſting-places at certain diſtances. On the top is a ſmall Flat or Plain, kept in good order, wall'd about breast-high, with good Seats, and large Trees to make a Shade. In the middle is a curious little Church, with a Houſe for a Prieſt and two Servants. The Proſpect all about the Hill is incomparable, and extends as far as the ſight can reach. To lie that night, we went down from the Mountain, and took up under a Tree upon the bare ground. Our Reſt laſted not long, for a violent ſhower came on, which oblig'd us to get into a little Houſe, into which we felt our way, and feared to meet with ſome Vermin. It ſecur'd us from the Rain, but we had a troubleſome night of it, for we were engag'd with the Knats which never ceas'd tormenting of us.

7. Next day we went up the Mount again. The Governour came, we ſaid Maſs, I diſcover'd the Holy Croſs and Picture of our Bleſſed Lady. The Holy Croſs is exactly as Hiſtorians deſcribe it, part of it is bloody, they ſay it is the Apoſtles blood ; I worſhip'd and touch'd my Beads, and other that were brought me to it. Our Lady's Picture is painted upon Board, very beautiful, but the Colours ſomewhat decay'd. There they ſaid, it had been found at the ſame time with the Croſs, which is a mighty evidence againſt antient and modern Hereticks, who oppoſe Pictures ; we worſhip'd, and I touch'd the Beads to it. The ſecond Maſs being ended, the Tabernacle in which thoſe great Relicks are kept, was cover'd and lock'd up. The good Prieſt made much of us, we ſpent another night there upon the Bricks. The Bed not being very caſy, we got a Horſeback betimes in the Morning ; I went to ſay Maſs at our Lady of Light, there I ſtay'd till Evening, being left with only my *Chineſe*, and that holy Religious Man, for the *German* went home, carrying my Horſe with him. We went to ſee the City of *S. Thomas*, the Moors would not let us in ; from the Gate we ſaw ſome good

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Buildings, the Walls are very fine. A Gentleman that was with me lamented that loſs very much. The *English* are not ſo ſtrong at *Madraſtapatan*, yet they hold it and are like ſo to do. What ſignify Walls and Bulwarks, where there is no Government ? I ſaw ſome curious Temples of the Natives, and wonderful large, deep, and wide Ponds, with artificial Iſlands in the middle curiouſly contriv'd. I walk'd home gently along thoſe Habitations of Infidels, obſerving what was worthy of it. This was the 21ſt of *June*, and on the 24th I was to travel by land.

Navarrette.

8. But before I ſet out it is requiſite to obſerve ſome things, and to know them, not to follow, but to reject them. The Inhabitants of the City of *S. Thomas* came to be very rich, and conſequently grew very proud. It is generally reported of one Woman, that ſhe grew to that height of vanity, that when ſhe went to Church attended by many Women-ſlaves, one went before with a Cenſor perfuming her with Burnt-sweets. Can any madneſs be greater ? She had, ſay they, ſo many *S. Thomas's*, (they are Crown-pieces with the Effigies of the Apoſtle) that ſhe meaſur'd them by the Peck. What follows is worſe ; many told me, (would to God it were a lye, and I had not heard it) that Catholick Men were Pimps to Catholick Women, with *Mahometans* and *Gentiles*. *F. de Angelis* will do well to note this ; A beautiful and honeſt Maid was forc'd out of her Father's Houſe, and deliver'd to a *Mahometan*. The King of *Golconda* has a Concubine to this day, the Daughter of a *Portugueſe*. At a Proceſſion of the Holy Week in the City of *S. Thomas*, they drew their Swords one againſt another ; a ſpecial Proceſſion and good Example. It was common to permit the Infidels to make Proceſſions within the Walls, and ſo it was to be God-fathers at Chriſtning, and Fathers at Weddings, in Heretick Churches along that Coaſt. At *Travancor* one *Portugueſe* kill'd another cloſe by the Altar, as Maſs was ſaying by *F. Michael John*, who had then conſecrated, and whom I viſited, ſaw and diſcourſ'd with at *Madraſtapatan*.

9. The Capuchins are not belov'd by the *Portugueſes*, one of them holds ſome odd opinions. One is, that the Apoſtle *S. Thomas* did not feel our Saviour's Wounds, and therefore he does not i n t him as we do, but with his hands join'd. I had never heard of any ſuch opinion before. We have in our Office

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an *Antiphon* to this Saint, in which are these words: *O Thoma, qui meruisti Christum tangere, &c.* S. Gregory in his Homily upon this Saint particularly mentions it. I had a mind afterwards to be satisfy'd as to this point. I look'd into *Cornelius à Lapide*, who proposes the doubt; and tho he quotes two or three Authors for the Negative, yet he proves the Affirmative by the common consent of Saints and Doctors. *Tirino* does the same. Read *Sylveira tom. 5. lib. 9. cap. 5. num. 31.* where he mentions the holy Doctors and others. Is not this enough to make a Man follow the opinion, if it were only for quietness sake? Neither would he admit of carv'd Images in the Church. I fancy'd perhaps they might not be us'd in *France*, but was convinced they were.

10. There was a great and scandalous contention about who should be Governour of that Diocess, two Competitors strove for it. *Silva* was one of them, and *Diaz* of *Canara* the other. The latter was at *Trangamba*, the first near *S. Thomas*, and is the same that went with me to the Mountain, when I visited that Holy Place, *F. Pessoa* favour'd him; and the *Franciscan*, *Augustinian*, and *Dominican* Fathers having spoke for the other at *Goa*, *Pessoa* said, they were all ignorant Fellows. *Pessoa* went away to *Madrastra*, and affirm'd that *Silva* was legally excommunicated by *F. Diaz*, who was the lawful Governour. Notwithstanding all this, the next day he admitted him to say Mass in his Church. *Pessoa's* Companion sided with *Diaz*. He writ a large Paper in defence of *Diaz*, and his Opinion, and challeng'd the *French* Capuchins, who stood for *Silva*, to dispute that point with them, appointing the *English* Preacher *Judg* betwixt them. Was ever the like heard of among the barbarous Blacks?

11. *Diaz* took the short cut, and had recourse to the *Mahometan* King of *Golconda* to use force; he sent his Officers, who carry'd away with them *F. Sylva*, two Jesuits, and above forty *Portuguese* Men and Women Prisoners. They were brought before the King, who bid them chuse one of the two in his presence, and obey him. They did not agree, were cast into Prison, where one *Portuguese* kill'd another; they gave very ill example, one Jesuit was expell'd the Society, some Men and Women dy'd of the fatigue of the Journey. *F. Ephrem* a Capuchin assur'd

me that above fourscore had been fore-sworn upon the Evangelists in that Quarrel.

12. *Diaz* afterwards betook himself to the *English* Governour of *Madrastra*, and sought his Protection. He sollicitated the assistance of a *Mahometan* and a Heretic. The dispute is still afoot. I left two Governours, I know not whether either of them is dead, this is the only way of adjusting that difference.

13. It is a sad thing to see the *Portuguese* Nation, formerly so famous, and dreadful in those parts, now so oppress'd and trampled on by those People.

14. *F. Silva*, the day we were at *S. Thomas* his Mountain, told me some passages that had hapned at *Goa*, concerning some Wills made there; but many things are said, which are not prov'd, we must not believe all things.

15. At *Madrastra* I spoke with the *Malabar* Master the Capuchins had at their Church to instruct the Natives. Inquiring into some Particulars, I found that Nation owns five Elements, Fire, Earth, Water, Air, and Wind. They adore the Sun, Moon and Stars (tho *Mahometanism* is introduced there, yet most of the Natives stick to their Paganism) they have a great reverence for Cows. They say, a certain God took flesh upon him in one of them, and that they are that God's Horses. The greatest Oath Kings swear, is by a Cow, and they never break it. They kill no Creature, undervalue those that eat them, and despise those of their Country that become Christians. The greatest reproach they cast upon a Christian, is to tell him, he eats Beef. When they are near death, they endeavour to have a Cow near at hand, and they clap her Fundament as near as they can to the dying Person's mouth, that as he breaths out his Soul at his mouth it may go in at the Cow's back-door. They honour the Lion, saying, another God rides on him; and they pay a respect to Deer, Dogs, Mice and Kites. Many days they will not break their Fast till they have seen a Kite. When they yawn they call the Dog, snapping their Fingers, which is calling of the God that rides upon the Dog, who has power to hinder the Devil from entering the Body when the Mouth opens.

C H A P. XXI.

My Journey to Golconda.

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Nava-
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1. **W**HEN we arriv'd at *Madrasapatan*, our Pilot said he would make a Voyage to *Tenaseri*, or some other place, to make amends for the great Expence he had been at; his Resolution was dissolv'd. For this reason, and to avoid the Sea which had quite tir'd me, I resolv'd to go to *Goa* by Land: They gave me such a description of the Road, that it would have put any Man into the mind of seeing it, tho he had never so little mind to travel. I sold some Rags at a poor rate, left some Books and Papers with my Friends, borrow'd eight Pieces of Eight to be paid in *Goa*. I went to the *English* Governor, rather to beg an Alms, than to take my leave; told him my Want and Design, he immediately with much courtesy gave me five *Pagodes* of Gold, which amount to little less than ten Pieces of Eight. A Native of *Canara* gave me two, so I thought I had enough for my Journey. The day before I set out, I took more notice than I had done before of the practice of the *European* Factors in those Parts; they are all serv'd by the Natives, who are most faithful, submissive, and punctual in doing what they are commanded. Some Factors have above 100 Servants; they are very chargeable, every one has a Piece of Eight and half, or two Pieces of Eight wages a Month; all these come together in the Evening to bid good night to the Factor, Governor, or Commander, and take their leave to go to their own Homes to bed. They rank themselves over against the Fort; some have lighted Torches in their hands, others beat Kettle-drums, others sound Trumpets, others play on Fifes; the rest beat their Spears and Bucklers together for above a quarter of an hour. After this a great Lanthorn was put out on the top of the Governor's Palace; he appear'd at a Balcony, they all made him a low Bow, and there was an end of the Ceremony, which indeed was pleasant enough to see. Those Gentlemen take great state upon them, I thought it too much.

2. I bought a Horse to carry me my Journey for eight Pieces of Eight, for four I hir'd an Ox to carry my *Chinese*, and a *Gentile* who spoke a little *Portuguese*. A poor *Portuguese* went along with

me to add to my Charge. On *Midsummer-day* at three in the Afternoon we set out of *Madrasa*. During this Journey, which held me 24 days, God be prais'd nothing hap'n'd amiss. The lodging Houses, which they call *Chauril*, were not all alike, but all open alike, without any Door, free to all the World: Nevertheless we always lay quiet and safe, and sometimes in great Towns, without being molested by any body in the least, which would be rare among Christians. The *Portugueses* had a small Leather-bot-
Leather-
bottles.
 tle for Water; they are made at *Golconda*, they would be of no less value in our parts than in those hot Regions. When the Water had been an hour in it, tho the Weather were never so hot, it become so cool, I daily admir'd it anew, and in two or three hours it was very cold; thus we never wanted good Drink all the way: I afterwards bought one, which lasted me a long time, and was well worth my Money; at *Suratte* I gave it to an *Indian* of *Manila*; they would save a great expence of Ice in *Europe*. Our Food was not good, for there was nothing but Milk, Whey, Curds and Onions; but abundance of these things, as well in Towns as on the Mountains, on which there is abundance of Cattle. When we saw a Cottage, at the least Call out came the Shepherds with a pot of Milk, four of us drank our Belly-full for a Halfpenny.

3. A very remarkable Passage befel me with the *Gentile*, who was owner of the Ox: He carry'd his Pot to dress his Meat (so they do all) wrap'd in Clothes, and put into a Sack: My Man touch'd it over the Sack, the Heathen saw it, and came to me in a rage, complaining that his Pot was dent'd, and there was no pacifying of him. At last he pull'd the Pot out of the Sack, and with wonderful rage dash'd it against the stones, I was forced to buy him another. I said enough to have convinc'd a Stock, but those People are harder than Steel in the observation of their barbarous Customs. There are three ranks or degrees of People in that Country: The *Banians* are the Nobility and Gentry,
Banians
 they are great Fasters, and abstain from Flesh all their life-time: Their ordinary Food is Rice, four Curds, Herbs; and the

the like. Others are call'd *Parianes*, these neither eat nor drink any thing that another has touch'd, nor out of a Vessel that another has touch'd, tho' there be many Clothes over it. My Heathen Ox-driver was one of these, he would never eat any thing from my hand, nor drink out of any Vessel of mine; he broke the Pot because it had been touch'd. Among these *Parianes*, there is one sort who are look'd upon by the rest as base and vile People. These on the Roads, when they see one of the others, step aside and give them the way: In Towns they come not to any body's Door but their Equals; in the Streets as soon as ever they see a Man that is not of their own Rank, they run or hide themselves. They are despis'd and hated by all Men, and look'd upon as leprous and contagious Persons. I heard say, they had been formerly the noblest People in that Country, and that for a piece of Treachery they committed, they were so cast down; in so much that the others will not admit of them as Servants or Slaves; and if it were made out that one of them had been within the House of one of the others, he would immediately pull down the whole Structure. They are the most miserable People in the World; the greatest Affront is to call them *Parian*, which is worse than among us Dog, and base Slave.

4. It is wonderful what numbers of great and small Cattel we met with in the Fields; I saw two species of Sheep and Goats, some like those of *Spain*, others much bigger. There are also of those Sheep which are in many other parts, and we usually say have five quarters. The Goats are vastly taller than ours; the Shees had at their Throat two little Dugs longer than their Ears. As the *Egyptians* kept Ewes and Cows for their Milk and Wool; so do these People for the same reason. *A Lapide*, in 47 *Gen. v. 17*.

5. There are infinite Groves of wild Palm-trees. At *Manila* they are not minded, and here they are the greatest Riches of the Earth: They draw from them a great deal of the Liquor I said was call'd *Tuba* at *Manila*, which yields them good profit. They also produce a sort of Fruit which I saw not in any other place, and is like Snow, the coolest thing in the World. It is wonderful to see what Woods there are of Tamarine-Trees, we often travel'd a considerable way under their shade. I gather'd the Berries as I rode, and eat them with a

Gust. Near them we often found stately Ponds all of Stone; when it rains they fill up to the top, and that Water lasts all the dry season; there Travellers stop, rest, drink, and water their Beasts. They told me they were the work of great and rich Heathens, who being mov'd to compassion, seeing there was no Water for Travellers in several places, had caus'd those Ponds to be made to supply this defect and want.

6. The Tamarine Trees are planted very regularly; the Natives make use of their Shade to weave their Webs in it, shelter'd from the Sun. Their Houses are little and dark, they cannot see in them to weave so fine, nor is there room for the Looms, therefore they have provided that Shade for this purpose. They make much use of the Fruit in dressing their Diet.

7. We also saw stately and antient Temples, and wonderful Mosques of the *Mahometans*. The further we travel'd, the greater Towns we met with; in some of them there was a mighty concourse of Passengers, Horses, Elephants, and abundance of Camels, which in that Country carry all Burdens. The *Mahometans* travel with great state; the Governors of large Towns had Royal Attendance: They were always very civil to me, I had occasion to speak to one of them; I took off my Hat, he would not hear a word till I was cover'd and sat down by him. In some places I met *Persians* and *Armenians*, fine Men, graceful, tall, well-shap'd, very courteous, they have the best Horses in the World.

8. About the middle of *July*, near a Town, we found a little Brook so clear and cool we were surpriz'd at it; I guess'd the Spring was near; we drank unmercifully, and our Diet being slender it did us harm, but me particularly; we were forced to stay a day there. Next day a Scorpion stung the *Portuguese*, I really thought he would have dy'd, and this somewhat retarded our Journey. We came to a River so wide and deep, that the Horse, who was but small, could not carry me over: It was some hardship, for we waded with the Water up to our Breasts; the Current was rapid, the *Portuguese* a poor heartless Man began to cry out, the Water carry'd him away; and it was so, we had all enough to do to bring him off. After this we pass'd another not so deep; for more safety I deliver'd the Papers and Letters I had to my Man, charging him to be very careful: No sooner was he in the River,

River, but he fell, and left all he carry'd in the Water. I was much concern'd at this Misfortune; to remedy it in some measure, I laid all the Papers in the Sun, and some *Chinese* Books, which being of extraordinary fine Paper suffer'd the more; in this place we spent some hours. To mend the matter we came afterwards to a Lake, the *Gentile* was positive we must cross it to shorten the way; I was so unlucky that my Horse fell, and I too, with my Wallets that carry'd the Papers; I gave all for lost, tho' with some trouble and loss of time all was reasonably retriev'd.

9. By the way we met a *Pagan* Youth of a good Presence; the Horse he rode on was very fine, his Attendance numerous; he was going to Court to be marry'd, and had with him for State a mighty Elephant, well adorn'd with Clothes and Bells. This was the second I had seen till that time; when we stop'd, I drew near to take a full view of him: This I did particularly one afternoon; as soon as I came near him, his Governor spoke one word to him which I did not understand; but the Consequence show'd what he had said, for he presently fac'd me, and made a profound Reverence, bowing all his four-feet at once; I saw them give him Meat and Drink. It hap'n'd a Native, without reflecting on it, was going to pass before him; as he came up the Elephant stretch'd out his Trunk, and gently gave him a blow on the Forehead, which sounded like a good cuff on the Ear. The Man's colour chang'd, and he stagger'd backward a good way as if he had been besides himself. Our laughing brought him to himself, and he kept off from that Mountain of Flesh. I fancy'd the Elephant thought it unmannerly to go by so near him, and therefore he friendly warn'd the Man to look before he leap'd. I was much astonish'd at what I had seen.

10. After this we came to a mighty River, the Boat was lost the day before, for they had swam an Elephant over, ty'd to the Boat; and he growing angry, carry'd the Boat down the River; then he got to the shore, broke the Rope, and ran about the Fields; his Driver went to catch him, but the Elephant being still in a fury, took hold of him with his Trunk, cast him up into the Air, of which he died. There are two other Ferries there, and the comicallest that can be imagin'd; they were round wicker Baskets, cover'd without with Cows Hides; we hired one, put in all our Baggage, more People came up, and

fourteen Passengers of us went into it; the Horse and Ox swam, we holding by the Halters; we struck allant over, and sail'd a quarter of a League vvhilst one might say the Creed three or four times. The Current was violent, we all quak'd for fear, and were cram'd together vvhithout the least motion. We landed, I paid our Passage, the Owner took his Basket out of the Water, and clapping it on his head, vvalk'd up the River to carry over to the Town others that waited for him.

11. Four Leagues short of the Court we stop'd at a great Town vvhich they call the *Queen's Palace*. The Mother or Grandmother of the King then reigning, had built that sumptuous Palace, from which the Town took its Name. We could not go in, but the front and all we could see of it might vie vvhith the best in *Europe*: Before it is a Square not inferior to any in *Spain*. We went into a most beautiful and spacious Court almost square; in the midst of vvhich was a stone Mosque vvell built, vvhith a Porch before it. The Court is like a Cloister, arch'd all round except vvhithere the Gates interrupt it. At every six foot distance there are stone Arches, and in the hollow of the six foot there is a fine Cell vvhithin vaulted like the rest, and all vvhite as Snow. I counted 118 Cells in all, well contriv'd, and curious and exact Windows and Doors. The Floor was of very hard Plaster; those Rooms were for the King's Followers, when they came thither to divert themselves. The Square was in the same nature, but had a Story above vvhich the Court had not.

12. In one Corner there was a Door which led to a large and deep Pond cut out of the said Rock, with Stairs cut in the same Stone to go down for Water, all we Passengers drank that Water; I don't doubt but what we saw cost many Millions. I would have seen the Mosque, but as I was going in a *Moor* came out, who would have thrown me down the Stairs, and said nothing, but desisted. Before I came to this Town, and from thence to Court, I took notice of another thing of which the *Portuguese* had given me a hint, and was, that I saw several parcels of Horses, Mules and Asses, loaded with the *Tuba* of the Palm-Trees I have mention'd, all running as fast as they could; and the Drivers, who strain'd their Hearts, with their Lashes took care the Beasts should not stop a moment. This they do that the Liquor may come sweet before

Navarrette.

Elephant.

Ferry-boats.

Navarrette. before it sowers; abundance of it is consum'd at Court, especially the *Mahometan* Women drink much of it. The Drink is very pleasant, it would take more at *Madrid* than Mead, or *Sherbet*. Those People say the King's greatest Revenue comes out of it.

13. To save time and charges we did not go through a great Gate of the Court; all that come in through these Gates, wait for leave from some Great Men, have all they carry search'd and pay duties. I was not concern'd for the search, tho something must be always given. We went almost two Leagues about, which was a great trouble; nevertheless we pass three Custom-houses, but they said not a word to us. Being come to the fourth, they talk'd big to us, but were satisfy'd with a few Pence. Half a League further we came to the place where they sold Horses, there was a pleasant Grove, divided

by four large and spacious Walks, in which were abundance of People, and very fine Horses, which they rode about to show them. Then we pass a River, and saw a multitude of People on the Bank; we drew near, and it prov'd to be the Funeral of a young Woman, who lay barefac'd on the Bier, very well set out and adorn'd with Flowers; next to the Corps were Musicians and Dancers. There was one (perhaps the Husband) whose Body was dy'd of several Colours, and he skip'd and made a thousand motions. Other Antients wept when a Child was born, and rejoiced at its death, so did those we saw. At last we came to a little Church, where one *Martinez* a *Portuguese* Priest resided; he receiv'd me with all possible kindness, and great tokens of affection. There I rested a little, but not so much as I had need.

C H A P. XXII.

My Stay at Golconda, and Journey to Musulapatan.

1. I Was inform'd there was in those parts one *D. Felix Enriquez*, a Native of *Madrid*, whom I had been acquainted with in the Apothecaries Shop of *S. Paul* at *Valladolid*, tho I could not call to mind his Name. He was Physician and Surgeon to the King's Army there. I presently sent him a Note, his Answer was very civil, next day I went to his House. It is a long League from the City to the Forts, where the King is always close for fear of his Subjects, as I was told. The Road, besides its being very plain and broad, was so full of People, that there were scarce more in the Cities of *China*, all of them clad as white as Snow, most afoot, several in half Coaches, half Carts, drawn by Oxen, and well cover'd, and many on Mules; some *Persians* and *Moors* excellently mounted, and well attended. Some Great Men were carry'd in rich and slightly Palanquines; instead of Umbrellas they use large Shields gilt and painted of several Colours, the Servants carry them on their Arms, and lifting them up defend their Masters from the Sun. They carry Plumes of Peacocks Feathers with the Quills stuck in Silver, which serve to drive the Flies away, they are properly Fans. All the *European* Captains and Factors in those Countrys make the same use of those Feathers. It all

look'd to me like Court-grandeur. There were about that place abundance of great and lesser Elephants, I was much diverted with the sight of them, and admir'd their motion; I rode upon a good Horse, and had much ado to keep up with their walk.

2. I took notice that there was abundance of People on the one side of the way, and that more continually flock'd to them. I ask'd the Black that went with me, what it meant? He answer'd, Father, the Saints of this Country are there. I drew near, and saw they were Men quite naked, as if they had liv'd in the state of Innocence; perhaps they were *Adamites*. Their Habitations were on certain Mountains, whence the Men came down at certain times to beg Alms. They walk'd among the People stark naked, like brute Beasts. When I return'd to the Church I saw them again, and Women looking at them very devoutly. Presently I discover'd a sumptuous Palace, and beautiful Towers and Pinnacles all cover'd with Lead. The Palace of *Segovia* is not more beautiful, I admir'd nothing so much in that Country, methought I was looking upon *Madrid*. I came up to the great Fort where the King's Apartment is; I went not in, but it had a fine outside, and look'd great, the Walls were strong and stor'd with Cannon,

Cannon, the Situation high, the Ditches wide and deep. They told me the King had 900 Concubines within there, and among them the *Portuguese* Woman of *S. Thomas* I mention'd above. Next I met some *Portuguese*s who expected me, many of them serve in that King's Army for Bread. They carry'd me to *D. Felix's* House, which was very little, low, and inconvenient, like the rest of the Commonalty. He receiv'd me very lovingly and truly, I knew him again, tho' I had not seen him in twenty four Years, he had a good mark to be known by. He gave me an account of part of his Life, had been in *Ceylon* Physician to the *Dutch*, marry'd there, left his Wife at *Columbo*, and went over to *Madrastapatan*, was there Physician to the *English*, and then went to *Golconda*, where he receiv'd the King's Pay, twenty Pieces of Eight a Month, besides what he made of his Salves. Hard by was a mighty Army commanded by the Great *Nababo*, (that is as much as the Great Duke of that Kingdom) he was an Eunuch and Man of great Parts, he govern'd all; the King kept in his *Mahomet's* Paradise among Women, Mulick, Dancing, and other Sports, all unbecoming the duty of a King. It is a shameful thing, says *S. Thomas de Erudit. Princ. lib. 1. cap. 10.* that he who is Lord over others, should be a slave to his Senses. And talking of Musick, he tells how *Antigonus* Master or Preceptor to *Alexander* the Great broke his Lute, and said, He that is of age to reign, may be assum'd to be subject to these Passions. The Saint has much very good to this purpose. The King of *Golconda* lives in worldly pleasures and pastimes, without the least regard to the Government, having committed the whole charge of it to the Great *Nababo*; what can this King expect but what *Job* says, *cap. 21.* They take the *Timbrel* and *Harp*, and rejoyce at the sound of the *Organ*: They spend their days in wealth, and in a moment go down to *Hell*? The moment that puts an end to their Pleasures, begins their eternal torments. What an unhappy and wretched case! The same will befall all that follow such a course. There cannot be a double glory, that of the Life to come is not the consequence of the worldly. The words of *Tertullian* are common: *After gall the honey comb.* Christ tasted not the sweetness of honey till he had gone through the bitterness of his Passion. What can be the consequence of Dancing, Mulick, Plays, Feasting, and the pleasures of this Life, but the

neglect of ones duty, forgetfulness of ones soul, and future calamities? The *Navarrette. Chinese* is much more vigilant and careful of the Government, and if he forgets himself, they mind and reprove him, as appears in the second Book. Two Years before this one of the *Nababo's* Teeth dropt out, he sent it with 6000 Ducats to *Mecca* an Offering to *Mahomet's* rotten Bones. At this time another dropt out, and it was reported he would send it with 6000 more. He order'd a Temple to be built, which I saw, but it was not yet finish'd, because they said he had dream'd he should die when the Building was finish'd, so he order'd the Work to cease. He was then ninety Years of age, pay'd the Souldiers punctually, and gave the *Persians* great Wages. In that Country there is abundance of very fine *Sapphires*, and they say abundance of rich *Diamonds*, I was assur'd the *Mahometans* gave above fifty thousand Ducats for some.

3. I discours'd *D. Felix* about my Journey to *Goa*, he represented it very easy; others objected difficulties, and no doubt but there were enough, especially in going from one Kingdom to another. Next day I said Mass in a Chappel the *Portuguese* Souldiers and some Mungrels and Blacks had there. They gave me to understand it would please them I should stay there three Months, till it were time to go away to *Goa*, and they offer'd to assist me according to their power, which was small. I had certainly stay'd there, had not what I shall write presently hapned, and I believe it had gone but ill with me. I went that Afternoon to see the *Dutch* Factor, for whom I had a Letter. I went on *D. Felix's* Horse, which was better than mine. I again observ'd what I had seen before, and again was astonish'd at the multitude and diversity of People. I cross'd all the Capital City, which is very large, and in it at small distances excellent Buildings, and innumerable multitudes of People. The great Square was very beautiful; the Royal Palace, an admirable Structure, fills one side of it. They shew'd me a Glaz'd Balcony, and told me the King sometimes shew'd himself there to his Subjects. It was a long time before I came to the *Dutch* Factory. Those Men had a fine Palace there, and richly furnish'd. The Factor was a Mungrel but had a *Japanese* Woman, and show'd it in his carriage. We discours'd a while with a great deal of coldness on his side; the *European* *Hollanders* did not serve me so, and this ap-

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 pear'd presently, for within half an hour another *Dutchman* came out of a Room who was infinitely obliging; he gave me *Cha* of *China* to drink, and some of the Wine they made there, he courteously shew'd me the Orchards, Gardens, and a stately Bath. There I was inform'd of the great modesty and reserv'dness of the Women of that Country, not much inferior to that of *China*, as they told me. A great shame for *European* Christian Women.

4. When I took my leave he ask'd me, Whether I had visited the *French* that were in that City? I answer'd I had not, nor thought of it, because I knew none of them, nor had any business with them. He earnestly desir'd me to visit them, I did all I could to excuse my self, but still he urg'd it. I to avoid that visit, wherein my happiness then consisted, said, Sir, I neither know their House, nor have I any Body to conduct me to it. I'll send a Servant of mine, said he, to wait upon the Father, and show him the House. There was no withstanding it any longer, I went thither directly, they receiv'd me with singular kindness and affection; brought out fruit of *Persia*, Dates, Almonds, Raisons, and other things of the Country. They treated me well, I thank'd them, and took leave. They would not suffer me to be gone presently, so we held on our discourse. The Director spoke good *Spanish*, he had been several times at *Cadiz*, and carry'd Millions of Pieces of Eight from thence into *France*, and told me how he dealt with our Ships and ashore. It is a shame to see how many Officers manage the King's business. He freely offer'd me passage in his Ship as far as *Suratte*, and thence into *Europe*, with all the accommodation his People could afford me. I went back to lie at the Church, and he sent me in his Palanquine with twenty four Servants to attend me. Perceiving how difficult a matter it was to go to *Goa*, and that the difficulty every day increas'd, because a Rebel whose name was *Subagi* rang'd those Countrys with a powerful Army; I made those Gentlemen a second visit, and finding a fit opportunity accepted of the favour they offer'd me. They assur'd me they had orders from their King to be assisting to the Missioners, and that they went to *India* for that purpose. There is no doubt but the end is very good and holy.

5. We left the Royal City on the 28th of *July*, there went twenty two Carts loaden with Goods and Necessaries

for the Journey, six Officers of the Company a Horseback, four stately *Persian* led Horses with rich Furniture: One of them dy'd by the way, that had cost 500 Pieces of Eight: Four Colours, four Trumpets, four Waits, two Kettle-Drums, sixty Servants, and five Palanquines, with five or six Men to carry each of them, it was a Train for a King. We cross'd a wide but shallow River, there were a great many Elephants washing in it. We observ'd with how much ease those Mountains of Flesh tumbled in the Water, and started up again. All the Carts were cover'd with Oil'd Cloths, so that not a drop of Rain-water came through. The Palanquines had the same Covering. There is no such easy way of Travelling in the World. We pass'd through the middle of the Royal City with all that Noise, Attendance and Confick, and went to lie at a stately Orchard. Half a League of the way was among fine Trees, the rest of the way very plain and easy. We came to a Noble Stone-palace, which had beautiful Halls, Rooms, and Balconies, and much Ornament in several curious Riches, with several Figures of Plaister and Stone. The Orchard was vastly big, full of abundance of Fruit-Trees and innumerable Oranges and Lemmons. The Walks were wide and very clean, with Ponds at distances, and Water-works continually playing; it appear'd to me a place fit for any Prince. Two days we stay'd there, and spent the time in observing at leisure, what I have writ in short.

6. My Company carry'd good Provision and Plenty, which made the way easy to me, and made amends for the want I endur'd in my Journey to the Royal City, whence we now came. One Morning we came to a place, where there was the Liquor of Palms, I spoke of in the last Chapter; we drank to our hearts content, it was as cold as Ice, and sweeter than Honey; it did us much good, for it purg'd us to the purpose. We pass'd over a mighty River with some trouble, but on the further side found the best Olives in the World, for a Penny a Pound. It is incredible what quantities of delicate painted and plain Calicoes there were in every Town, they came out to the Roads to offer and press us to buy.

7. In every Town we found Women that play'd on Musick and danced. There are certain Women there, who alone can follow this Trade, for which they pay a duty to the King. When any Guests

Palm-Liquor.

Dancers.

of

of note come, they presently repair to their House, make their Obeifance, and immediately some begin to dance, and others to play. They were well dress'd, and had Gold and Silver enough about them, spent two or three hours in this Exercise, were well paid, and went their ways. I was seldom present at these Entertainments, but indeed they were worth seeing and hearing.

Tumblers. 8. It was also very common to meet with many Tumblers that show'd Tricks of Activity; they have no settled place of abode, but ramble up and down like Gypsies. Sometimes we met them under the Trees in the Field, sometimes near Towns in the Barracks made of Wicker, which they always carry about with them. As soon as they see any likely People, they make to them, and offer to show their Activity; then they set up their Sticks and Canes, and play wonderful Tricks. Both the Men and Women would certainly be much admir'd in *Europe*. Two Women, one old and the other young, did such things in a Town, as amaz'd us all. One Man besides many strange Tricks, took a Stone betwixt his Teeth; his Companions threw others up, which he catch'd in his mouth without ever missing a jot; afterwards he lay'd it upon one eye, and on it receiv'd the others that fell from above, and never miss'd in all the time. Another thing astonish'd us yet more, and we thought the Devil had a hand it, he ty'd a Stone of about a quarter of an hundred weight to a stick which had another cross it; he alone, laying hold of the Stick with one hand, held up the Stone in the air, and kept it without the least motion; then he put together eight or ten Men, and gave them the Stick to hold as he had done, and they could never bear it up tho they put all their strength to it, but the Stone bore them all down. We could never find out what art that Black us'd to do that which we saw with our eyes.

Snakes dance. 9. There is another sort of Men, who make a trade of carrying about Snakes that dance; they are ridiculously dress'd, wear feathers on their heads, and little Bells about their Body, all naked but their Privy-parts, and daub'd with several Colours. They carry a little Trumpet in their hand, and two Baskets cover'd on their shoulders full of hideous Snakes; they go where they are call'd, open their Baskets, and as the Trumpet sounds the Snakes rise, using several motions with their Bodies and Heads; sometimes they cling to their Master's Arm,

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or Thigh, and set their Teeth in it. I saw one of them whose Body was all over as if it had been pink'd by the Snakes. A strange way of getting their Living! At first it was dreadful to me to see that Dancing. They give them a Half-penny or a penny, the Snakes return to their Baskets, and away they go. I observ'd several times, that as soon as they catch'd and laid them in the Basket, they roll'd themselves up, and remain'd immovable; and tho they open'd the Basket, they never stirr'd without the Trumpet sounded. Some were thicker than a Man's Wrist, they said those that carry'd them were anointed with the Juice of several Herbs, so that tho they bit they could do them no harm. There are others who have Dancing Cows, and get their Living by them.

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10. One Night we lay in an Idol-Temple, one of the beautifullest in the World; it had Jasper-stone and Marble, as curiously wrought as any in *Italy*, and three Chappels dedicated to three Gods. There were in it some Cows cut in Stone as black as Jet, and as lively as possible. The Priest came to us, and we discours'd him with the help of some Servants of the *French* Company, who spoke several Languages. He gave a very bad account of the Origin of those three Gods, made them all Men, and said they came thither upon the Waters of the Sea from very far Countrys, and had produced the World. We objecting, how it could be made out that they had produced the World when there was before them a Sea, and other Countries from whence they came thither? He answer'd, It was so written in their Books. Speaking of the Parents of his Gods, he asserted they were of other Countrys: and we answering, Then there were Men before those Gods; he laugh'd and said, I say nothing but what is in this Book. Two Leagues short of *Mufulapatan* we found a great many *French* Men in a noble Orchard, expecting their Director and Companions. There was Musick, Dancing, and a plentiful Entertainment. That Afternoon we went into the City, it was the 8th of *August*, past over a Wooden-bridg, little less than half a League in length, a wonderful crowd of People came out to see us. *English*, *Dutch*, *Persians*, *Armenians*, *Portugueses*, *Mungrels*, *Alabometans*, *Gentiles*, Blacks and Natives, were all Spectators. The Factory was a stately large House, the People many in number. There was a great confusion that Night; however we had some rest.

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C H A P. XXIII.

My Stay at Musulapatan.

Musulapattan. 1. THE City *Musulapatan* is famous all along the Coast of *Coromandel*, it is seated 60 Leagues North of *Madras*, a very populous place, and of great Trade. The *English* and *Dutch*, and at present the *French* have considerable Factories there. Some Years ago besides these the *Danes* had one too. Some *Portugueses*, *Mungrels* and *Blacks*, who are *Catholicks*, live there, and have a little Church where there was a Father of the Order of *S. Augustin*. Some *English* and *Dutch*, who have discharg'd themselves from their Companies, have settled there, and live with their Families. The Climate is very bad and unhealthy. They said, the Heat from *August* till *April* was intolerable. All that Country abounds in Wheat, Rice, Sheep, Hens, Geese, Fish, and Fruit, all at reasonable Rates. I stay'd with my *Chinise* in the *French* Factory, where I said Mass to them every Day, and din'd and sup'd at their Table; they treated me in Health and a small Sickness I had, with extraordinary Kindness, Love, and Affection. Afterwards some *French* Men fell sick; and I assisted them with a great deal of Care and good Will. The Ship that was to sail for *Suratte* lay 6 Leagues lower at *Rosipor*, it was to be sheath'd, and they had not yet began to work upon it, which troubled me extremely, and I repented my leaving the *Portuguese* Ship, which I was inform'd was bound for *Goa*.

2. There were in the Factory abundance of Monkeys, which serv'd to divert us; sometimes they would be as furious as Lions, sometimes they play'd, and did a thousand Tricks. After Dinner they commonly carry'd them to a large Pond in the middle of a great Court. It was pleasant to see what pranks they play'd there, they swam just like Men, and would leap into the Water, dive and come up again exactly like them. They had also a little Deer, which a Servant fed with Milk, he once amaz'd us all. The Servant came into the Court, the Deer saw, and immediately went to him; it was beyond all belief how he made much of and caress'd him; he would leap up on both Sides, lick his Hands and Feet, and put his Nose to the Man's Face, all Tokens of Gratitude for the kindness he receiv'd from him. Good God, how

even wild and savage Beasts teach us Gratitude! *F. Mascarenhas* the *Augustinian* kept the Feast of the Nativity of our Lady and the Octave, and it was perform'd with all imaginable Solemnity; all the *Catholicks* resorted to it, and I gave a Sermon. About that time there arriv'd Ships loaded with Elephants. One *Mahometan* Merchant alone brought 30 in one Ship, which is a mighty Stock; they carry them up the Country, where they sell them at great Rates, and get much by them.

3. There were two Directors in the Factory; one whose name was *Macara*, an *Armenian*, had been at *Rome*, *Florence* and *Paris*. This Man procur'd the settling the Factory at *Golconda*, under the same Privileges the *Dutch* and *English* enjoy'd: He was a *Catholick*, and had a Son and Nephew both *Catholicks*. The other was a *French* Man of the Territory of *Roan*, his name *Francis Gouxon*; he had Orders from the Director General residing at *Suratte*, to apprehend *Macara*, on account of Expences he had made. He being a Stranger, and those who had been his Friends become his Enemies, because he knew not how to preserve their Friendship; every Body was against him, which he was sensible of, and therefore was jealous, and fearful of what happen'd. He might have prevented it by staying at *Golconda* among his Countrymen and *Mahometans* of Note, who had a kindness for him. I told him so afterwards, he was sensible of his Error, and all his repentance could not mend it. In short, upon *S. Matthew's* Day, after baptizing a Godson of his with great Solemnity, they seiz'd him with a great deal of Noise, and seiz'd his Son. *Macara's* Servants fled, and gave an account of what had happened to the *Moorish* Governour of the City. The *French* immediately sent Advice to the Captain of their Ship to be upon his Guard, and it stood them in good stead, for without it the Ship had fallen into the Governour's Hands. Next Day he sent 300 Men commanded by the Supreme Civil Magistrate to beset the Factory, hinder any Provisions from being carry'd in, and by that oblige them to set *Macara* at Liberty. The *French* took up Arms, which was a rashness in a strange Country, where they had no Force, nor so much

much as a Ship in the Harbour. They fell to Blows; a handsome young *French* Man, and good Christian, was kill'd, and another much wounded. Of the Infidels four or five were slain, and several wounded; this made a great uproir. The Governour seeing the fury and resolution of the *French*, caus'd his Men to draw off, and sent to acquaint his King with what had hapned; the *French* sent too. Whilst the Answer came back, they arm'd themselves very well, and provided Fire Arms, which the *English* and some other Friends lent them underhand. The Governour was for composing the matter, and would have them send some Persons of Note to his House, or me. The *French* were afraid to trust him. As for me, they answer'd I was a *Spaniard*, and no way concern'd nor understood that Affair. It was fear'd they might attack us in the Night, and fire the House. I was not a little concern'd for it, but much more to see my Voyage, which I was so eager upon, obstructed.

4. The Director was indispos'd, these Troubles made him worse, so that in eight Days he dy'd on *Michaelmas* Day, having receiv'd the Sacraments. I lost more than any Man, because he had a particular kindness for me. I was also much oblig'd to him that succeeded in the Post. His Funeral was great: First went two Horses in Mourning, then the Kettledrums and Trumpets making a doleful Sound, above 100 Servants *Portugueses* with Lights in their Hands; I went along with only one *French* Man, the rest stay'd to secure the House and themselves; the *Dutch* and *English* attended the Funeral. The Body was left in the Church till eight at Night. The Tide flow'd, and we went over in Boats to an Island, which is the Catholick Burying place. Those People will not allow any to be buried in Towns.

5. The Kings Answer came, he order'd no words should be made about those that had been kill'd on both sides, and that the *French* if they pleas'd might carry away *Macara*, but should pay what he ow'd, which amounted to 2000 Ducats. Several odd things hapned during that time, which I would write if I had more leasure. The Country is singular, and there being such diversity of Nations, there falls out some thing new every Day, among *Per-*

sians, Armenians, Moors, &c. That City resembles *Babel* in the variety of Tongues, and difference of Garbs and Customs, but I lik'd the natural Inclination of them all. I sometimes went to the Church, which was a considerable distance from the Factory, met several sorts of People by the way, and they were all courteous and civil. I talk'd with some *English* and *Dutch*, visited them, because it was necessary, and found them very obliging in Words, and some no less in their Actions. Two came to take their leave, the Night we went aboard; one of them took me aside, we talk'd a long while, he offer'd me all his Interest at *Surratte*: when we were parting, he said to me with much Humility and Submission, Father, I know I am a Heretick; but I beg the Favour of your Blessing. I was surpriz'd and answer'd, Sir, if you are a Heretick and design to continue so, why would you have my Blessing? He reply'd, That's true, Father; but for all that I beg you will grant me this Satisfaction. He press'd very earnestly, I gave him my Blessing, spoke a few words to him, which he requited by embracing me, and went his way. I heard them censure some Churchmen. We ought all of us to be very cautious of our carriage among such People, for they pry into every Action. They told me two passages, and one of them but very trivial, at which they were very much scandaliz'd; but they do not reflect upon their own hainous Faults they commit every Day; yet this is no excuse for us, who ought so to order our Lives, that they seeing our Actions might glorify God the Author and Cause of all Good.

6. It pleas'd God our Ship came, in two Days all was ship'd, and I had thought it would have taken up eight at least; the Weather was calm, which help'd to expedite our Business. On the 17th of *October*, at eleven at Night, we went aboard; I had so much Interest, as to get three *Portugueses* in. The Night was so dark, we had much ado to find the Ship. That very Night we sail'd, all of us well pleas'd to leave that base Country, and draw near to *Europe*. From that place, according to the course we took, it is above 6000 Leagues. Being upon a fresh Voyage, it is requisite to begin a new Chapter.

Musulapatan.

Navarrette.

C H A P. XXIV.

My Voyage to Surat, and other remarkable Occurrences.

1. **I**N the way from *Golconda*, I heard several disputes concerning matters of Religion between *French* Men, I took them to be all *Catholicks*; doubtless they were not all so, for I never heard any thing of that nature betwixt *Spaniards* and *Portugueses*. Several Reports went concerning *Macara*, who was Prisoner in our Ship; some maintain'd he was half a *Mahometan*, others that they did not know what Religion he was of. He always own'd himself a *Catholick* to me, and so heard Mass, and said the Rosary, but upon several occasions he said to me, Father, whilst I took care to serve God, and perform'd the Duty of a Christian, God assisted me, and I throve, but declin'd when I fell off; it is some time since I neglected all things that belong to a Christian, and therefore I believe God has punish'd me, and I am now in Irons. Hence I took occasion to comfort and exhort him to patience in his Sufferings. They treated him too cruelly, not allowing him the means of defending himself. They examin'd and laid things to his Charge with four Pistols at his Brest; he answer'd, not the Truth, but what they would have him say, as he own'd to me. The General Director was his mortal Enemy, his Judg, and a great Heretick.

2. There was a Youth in the Factory, whose name was *Portal*, all the rest look'd upon him as proud and haughty, and I had grounds to believe him so. He contracted Friendship with me, and told me many things I was no way concern'd with. He was a good Grammarian, lov'd reading, had some Books, and among them *Macchiavel* and *Bodin*, which he study'd more than the rest. He was for reducing all Religion to Policy, like the *Chinjes*, and those Authors. I often told him my mind friendly, and sometimes harshly, for I thought him ill grounded in matters of Faith. At *Suratt* he went aboard a Ship that had no Chaplain, and dy'd by the way to *Madagafcar*, where the Ship took Harbour, as ours did. I was much troubl'd at it, but something comforted, because they told me he had prepar'd himself for Death.

3. I often heard it said at *Musulapatan*, that the *French* own'd no Superior but

God and their King. Upon which I us'd to call them *Schismatics*, for not owning the *Pope*. They answer'd they did in some things, but not as the *Spaniards* did, who dreaded his Censures. This I took as an Honour. Those *French* were Merchants and no Divines, they knew not how to distinguish betwixt the Spiritual and Temporal Power.

4. Some Divines at *Paris* in *May* 1614 sign'd the following Propositions. 1. That the King of *France* holds his Dominions of God and the Sword only. 2. That the King in his Dominions owns no Superior but God. 3. That the *Pope* cannot interdict the King, nor absolve his Subjects from their Oath of Allegiance. 4. That the *Pope* has no Authority Direct or Indirect, Mediate or Immediate, Coactive or Coercive over the King, upon any account whatsoever.

5. One *Molfese* said in my hearing, that God was cruel in making the Pains of Hell everlasting; and why should he condemn to them for Sins of the Flesh, which were natural to Man? And that since Man in comparison with God was less than an Ant, why should he be offended at them? And tho they offended, why should he damn them eternally? I was much provok'd, and told him my mind, but less than he deserv'd. He said he was a *Catholick*, and his Father a Heretick, but his words prov'd him a Liar, as to himself. Many of them learn Grammar, and thrust themselves into higher Sciences. The Quality of a Grammarian, says *Spondanus*, is Pride, that sets them against God himself, which is the Property of that horrid Vice. There was an antient Error, that God did not punish Sensuality, and this *Molfese* follow'd it. S *Paul*, *Heb.* 13. condemns it, *Whoremongers and Adulterers God will judg.* Read S. *Thomas* on this place, *lett.* 1. For the rest he would revive *Origen's* Error, who said, the Pains of Hell should have an end; which Christ condemns, saying, *They shall go into everlasting Fire.* The Hereticks of these times do not maintain the extravagancies that Man did.

6. It is fit to say something of the Great *Mogol*. He that now reigns, put his Father in Prison, where he dy'd, and he usurp'd the Crown. This Man has a Son

Son who governs a Province eight Days Journey from *Golconda*, towards *Bengala*, which properly belongs to the Prince, who designs to follow the example his Father set him, and get all into his own Hands. *Antony Coello* a *Portuguese*, who had serv'd under him, told me he had already 200000 Horse and 300000 Foot. A brave Army, if they are but good Men. He designs to join in League with the Rebel *Subagi*, who is very great and powerful. I mention'd in another place, how he attack'd the Territory of *Goa*, and carry'd away two or 3000 Christians and a *Franciscan*. He sent to demand of the Viceroy of *Goa*, to make good a Ship of his the *Portugueses* had taken. The Viceroy was in a passion, and beat his Ambassador, an Action no body could approve of. The *English* Governour of *Madraspatan* told me that Infidel would make War upon *Goa* by Sea and Land, and make Slaves of all the *Portuguese* Men and Women he could light of. *Subagi* may do it, and the *Mogol* better, but he will not take small things in hand. The King of *Golconda* is more to be fear'd, because *Coromandel* and all those Coasts are subject to him. This being a considerable point, an account of it was sent several ways to *Goa* and *Madras-ta*.

7. I heard much of the Kingdom of *Bengala* as to its Fruitfulness and Plenty of Corn, Rice, Sheep, Cows, Fruit, Silk, and Cotton. This Country, as I said, belongs to the great *Mogol's* eldest Son. There are in it Fathers of the Order of *S. Augustin*, who administer to the *Portugueses*, and *Mungrels*. Some of these are of Note, and wear the Badg of the Order of Knighthood of Christ, but are basely us'd by the Natives, for the least matter they drive them to Prison with a Cudgel. There are also *Indians* of *Manila* in that Country, I saw one at *Musulapatan*; I said at *Lisbon*, there was no need of carrying People to *India* because there were Infinite numbers dispers'd through those Countries; but the Secretary of State answer'd me, Will it be easy to bring those together that are scatter'd abroad? I reply'd, It would not, for they all fled from *Goa*, where they wanted Bread; but if he would allow them a sufficient maintenance, they would rather serve their own King, than Infidels and Hereticks, as they did for want.

Mogol. 8. The *Mogol* is a mighty Prince, his Dominions are vastly large, his People numberless, his Wealth inexhaustible. A

Portuguese, who had serv'd in his Army at *Agra*, which is the Seat of the Court, assur'd me, he had 300000 Horse there besides other vast Numbers. Some Years since on the same day he declar'd War against the *Turks*, *Persians*, and *Portugueses*. What more could *Alexander* the Great have done? He has many tributary Kings under him; and it is not long ago that the King of *Golcondar* having conquer'd the Empire of *Narsinga*, which had been famous in those parts, the *Mogol* took it from him, and it still continues under his Dominion. The *Mogol's* Dominions extend above 300 Leagues in length.

9. I was told that at *Ispahan*, the *Persian* Court, there were Missioners of the Orders of *S. Augustin*, *Carmalites*, *Jesuits*, and *Capuchins*. They do no good upon the Natives, but serve the *Armenians* that are there, who are made very small account of. The Emperor sometimes goes out to *Pecoreia*, but first orders the *Armenians* to repair to such or such a place; the Women stay at Home, and the Emperor goes to sport and divert himself with them. They that are grounded in the Love of God, have a good opportunity of obtaining the Crown of Martyrdom. A *Capuchin* Father is in great esteem at that Court, on account of the *Mathematicks*. Let him have a care he comes not off as *F. Adamus* did in *China*.

10. In the Year 1663, when I was at *Rome*, there came thither two *Armenian* Religious Men of my Order, who brought Letters from the *Sophi* of *Persia* and his Secretary for his Holiness, in answer to those our *Armenian* Arch-bishop carry'd four Years before. His Holiness writ to him again, thank'd him for his kind usage of Christians, and exhorted him to continue it. I read the Letter Cardinal *Altieri* writ to the Secretary upon the same Subject, it was in easy and elegant Latin, so finely pen'd the best Scholar would admire it. The *Sophi* now reigning is almost always drunk; tho I was told by the *French* he had caus'd abundance of Vineyards and House-Vines to be destroy'd, others say it was his Father.

11. Let us now return to our Voyage. The fourth Day a furious Gust of Wind started up about Evening, but lasted a very short space; for had it held us three or four Hours, there had been an end of our Voyage. Being come to *Suratte*, we understood by Letters brought over Land, that four Ships, which were at

Anchor

Navarrette.

Anchor
at
Mafulaputan,
were
cast
away,

Anchor at *Mafulaputan*, were cast away, and all lost that were in them. The same fate had certainly attended us, had we been near that Coast. Every Year infallibly about that time eight Days sooner or later, there is a terrible Storm upon that Coast, they call it *Bira*. The Wind was spent when it came to us, and fallen with the great Rain, which was our good Fortune. The eighth Day we discover'd the Island *Ceylon*, and for fear of the North East Winds which reign about that time, stood out to see a Day and a Night, and got out so far, that we were afterwards 11 Days before we could come in sight of the Land again, tho it was in another place. We pass'd Cape *Gallo*, which is in six Degrees of North Latitude; there we lay five Days without advancing a Foot, and met the Ship of *Macao* bound for *Goa*, we had one another with a great deal of Satisfaction. Before we could make Cape *Comori*, we had furious North Winds, terrible Currents, and after all dead Calms. They made the Cape, the Water run against us like an Arrow out of a Bow. I having seen so much of the Sea, took upon me to play the Pilot, and contended to have us get in under the Shore. I argu'd, Who would run upon an Enemies Sword? That the best way was to avoid and come in with him; that there we lay opposite to that Point which did us all the mischief; that we should remove from it, and expect a Wind, for since it must come from Shore, we should be so much the more to Windward. This was accordingly done; one Night a furious North East Wind blew, we were but a League and a half from the Cape, and yet were above five Hours weathering of it, so rapid is the Current. On the 22^d of *November*, by break of Day we had the Cape astern. The *Portuguese* Ship stood so far to Sea, that we lost sight of her, and she was two Days longer getting clear. The North East Wind abated, and within two Hours we had a fresh Gale at East. A little Boat of Blacks came a head of us; our Men looking at it off the Poop, perceiv'd the Ship was running directly on a Rock that lay under Water; they were all surpris'd, and the Wind freshen'd as if some Evil Spirit had sent it to destroy us all; they stood in to Shore, and in a Moment I saw the Rock a Stone throw from the ship. The Blacks were astonish'd, as if they had concluded we were either Blind or Mad. It was God sent those Blacks, for had they not come we had ended our Days

there. The Rock is mark'd down in the Chart, but they were so joyful they had weather'd the Point, that no body thought of it, and it was very strange that as soon as ever the danger was over, the Wind ceas'd and the Sails flagg'd.

12. That afternoon a little Boat came aboard with a *Dutch* Man, who brought Fruit, and Stuffs, and told us abundance of News, but all prov'd false. That they call the Coast of *Malabar* is very pleasant and delightful, we wanted not for Fruit, Fowls, and other refreshment whilst we run along it; it lies North and South. Every Night we came to an Anchor, which makes it toilsom sailing along that Coast. On the 27th of the Month we lost our Anchor, the 28th we appear'd before *Coulam* with a good Gale, the *Dutch* fir'd two Guns at us. On *S. Andrews* Day we sail'd before *Cochin* and *Calicut*, where we were inform'd that the King of the Country was engag'd in a Bloody War with the *Dutch*. In the Night we got up to *Cananor*. Here I might write some things memorable enough. Those who were acquainted with that Coast said, that when some Persons marry'd, the Husband carry'd his Wife before he had to do with her himself, to the King, who kept her eight Days in his Palace, making use of her at his pleasure; and that time being expir'd, the Man came for his Wife, taking it as a great Honour and Favour that his King would make use of her. In other places they carry them to the Temples of the Idolatrous Priests, and left them there the same number of Days to the same purpose; this sanctify's them, and the Husbands carry them home well pleas'd. Those Priests seem to act like the Sons of *Elis*, 1 Sam. 2. 11. *They lay with the Women that assembled at the Door of the Tabernacle*; but the difference was, that in *India* the Women and their Husbands are consenting, and look upon it as no Sin.

13. When the Husband dies, the Wife must die too, but after several manners; the dead Body is burnt, and if he was a Noble Man, the Woman is seated in his Lap, and then they lay the Wood about, set Fire to it, and they are both burnt, the one dead, the other alive. Other Women clap their Arms about their dead Husband, and are burnt with him. The 3^d manner is, when the Body is burning in a Pit, the Wife walks round weeping, attended by her Kindred and Friends; in the height of it one of

Marriage.

Funerals.

the next Kindred thrusts her into the Pit, then they heap wood upon her, hollow and shont, and there the Wretch perishes. It is look'd upon as a great infamy not to do so. Not many Years since, as they were carrying a Woman at *Rogiapur* near *Goa* to be burnt with her Husband, it hapned that some *Portugueses* who came to that part seeing the Train, had the Curiosity to draw near; the Woman seeing them by themselves, left her People, and running embraced one of them, begging they would protect her. They did it very handfomly, defended themselves against the Infidels, and carry'd her off. She went to *Goa*, was instructed, baptiz'd, and marry'd to him she had fled to. She was living in the Year 1670, when I was at *Goa*. A most fortunate Woman!

14. During these Days we had some disputes aboard, and the Pilot pretended to play the Divine, asking why there were several Religious Orders in the Church? What need the Pope had of Money, since the Kings of *Spain* and *France* would support him? Why the *Jews* were not tolerat'd in *Spain*? Why God did not work Miracles? I answer'd sufficiently to every point, and left them muttering; but they had not a word to say, when I ask'd them, Why there were several Military Orders, and why several Heresies were tolerat'd in *France*?

Goa.

15. On the 14th of *December*, we come to an Anchor two Leagues from *Goa* opposite to the Bar, because we wanted Water. It was very lucky for me and the *Portugueses*. We went to the Fort they call *Aguada*, which is very fine, and has the best Brass Cannon in it I had ever seen. There was one piece carry'd a Bullet of 96 Pound, the *French* were amaz'd. We spoke with the Commander, and taking our leave went up the River, which is one of the finest in the World, both the Banks being cover'd with Towns, Sightly Temples, and Lofty Trees. I stay'd in the College of *S. Thomas*, which is a quarter of a League from the City. A most delightful Seat as can be imagin'd, built upon the edg of the Water. Afternoon I went up to the Monastery of our *F. S. Dominick*, it may

vie with the Best in *Europe*. The *French* said there was not the like in all *France* (it is likely they had seen but little there.) They afterwards show'd us Vestments, Chalices, a rich Bier to carry the Image of our Lady, with other Church stuff, which was very surprizing. But what I most admir'd was an Ivory Crucifix all of one piece except the Arms, the rarest thing that can be imagin'd, not so much for the Curiosity of the Workmanship, as its Biguefs; to all appearance, the Tooth that Piece was cut out of must weigh at least three Hundred weight. The Prospect of the City is very fine, and the Buildings sumptuous, but not so much as a Missioner has writ, who affirms it outdoes *Rome*. We all went away well pleas'd and treated, the *French* own'd themselves oblig'd to me for the kindness those of my Order shew'd them; it did me a kindness afterwards, but they did not like the vast Revenue they were told a certain Family enjoy'd. On the 16th we weigh'd for *Surat*, I lightned my self, leaving the *Chinese* Christian I had brought with me at *Goa*, that I might not see the Misery he endur'd at Sea, his sufferings afflicting me more than my own. We sail'd before *Bengala*, and the 2d Day we lay by at *Rosapur* a *French* Factory. A Black came to us from the Factory, but empty handed. The Wind fail'd us some Days. The Captain my Friend told me what base things his Countrymen did at *Madagascar* and *Musulapatan*, taking marry'd Women from their Husbands, whom they threatned with Death if they complain'd. They are inordinate in this particular. We lay some Days in sight of *Dabul* a strong and handsome Fort belonging to *Subagi*: we went on to *Bombaim*, *Bazaim*, and on the 8th of *January* by break of Day were before *Daman*. On the 11th we Passengers went up to *Soali* in a *Dutch* Boat that came to us. There we entred another Region, under another Government, saw other sorts of People, and had Trial of several Humours. God grant we may find a place to take some rest in.

Nava-
reile.

C H A P. XXV.

My Stay at Soali, and setting out again for France.

1. I Came to *Soali* much tir'd, and had a mind to stay at *Suratte* to wait for a Religious Man, who design'd to travel by Land; but the next Day I had a Letter from him, giving me an account he had not been able to come by Land, by reason of *Subagi's* Army which lay in the way, he having already drawn near to *Golconda*, and destroy'd many Towns and Villages about that Court. This made me take another course, which was to make my Intention known to the Director General, who tho' a rank Heretick, had been civil to me, and always gave me place at Table above others; he drank to me first, and gave me the best Bit off his Plate. At first he made some difficulty of giving me my Passage in the Company's Ship, but was prevail'd upon by a *French* Gentleman, who was bound the same way as my self: From that time forward he was daily kinder and kinder to me. On the 20th of *January* he gave a farewell Treat, at which were all the Officers of the Company. After several Healths, he drank to the Captain of the Ship, charging and intreating him to take care and make very much of me, as he would do by him if he were aboard. I thank'd him for so extraordinary a favour.

2. On the 21st in the Morning the Director-General sent for me. I was surpris'd, but went to him; the Captain of the Ship, and the Gentleman I mention'd before, were with him; he shut his Door, drank several Healths to us three in delicate Wines; order'd the Captain to give me a place in the Great Cabin, and charg'd him to make much of me. I went aboard with the Captain well pleas'd, but with some concern, because there was no other Priest for so tedious a Voyage. *Caron* mis'd me at Noon, and I not being to be found, he was told I was gone aboard, at which he seem'd concern'd that I had not staid to dinner.

3. *Soali* is the Port to *Suratte*, a Noble City in the *Mogul's* Dominions, in 21 Degrees of North-Latitude; is no close Harbour, but an excellent Road; at low Water the Sands appear towards the Sea; Ships ride there very safe, and there were abundance there, *Dutch*, *French*,

English, and *Mahometans*. There these Nations have Factories to prepare Loading for their Ships. At *Suratte*, which is a League higher, the Factories are very great: From all parts of the World they resort thither, and from thence trade to *Persia*, *Meca*, *Cambaya*, and all parts of *India*. While I was there, the *Portuguese* little Fleet arriv'd, which runs along that Coast every Year, and trades along it; near *Bazaim* they met another small Fleet belonging to *Subagi*, consisting of fifteen small Ships; they drove it up to the shore, and took every one of them without the expence of a grain of Powder. One day the *French* in my hearing were talking with a considerable *Mahometan* who serv'd their Company, and magnifying the King of *France*, said, Only God is great in Heaven, and the King of *France* upon Earth. The *Mahometan* very soberly answer'd, Gentlemen, God in Heaven, and the *Mogol* upon Earth. They had no more to say.

4. That Afternoon *Caron* went aboard, attended by the Officers of the Company; the Cannon were fir'd, there was a plentiful Supper, and excellent Grapes, I had eaten some of them ashore. The Climate varies extremely in those parts. *Caron* was extremely loving to me. The Feast ended, he went away with his Company, and we were quite clear'd; about ten we sail'd. The following night, the Wind being very fair, and the Weather clear, the Ship ran aground off of *Bazaim*. Good God, what a wonderful confusion we were in! the Ship beat upon the Sands, and every stroke we expected she was bulg'd; by good fortune it was Flood. God was merciful to us in putting us by a Shoal that ran from the point of Land, which was a League and half from us: With that we made out to Sea by degrees, and came into Water enough. The Captain was ready to fire a Pistol upon the Pilot; he was much to blame, because they had warn'd him to take heed of the Point of Land; he would have stood out, had they not spoke to him: They are strange obstinate People.

5. Aboard the Ship, I was inform'd by a Heretick of Note, that *Caron*, when he was Factor at *Japan*, had been the
Man

Man that forg'd a Letter against the Catholicks, upon which ensued the last and greatest Persecution there ever was in that Country; after which the Preachers of the Gospel could never gain footing there. I will write in another place, where it will be more proper what *Caron* told me.

6. On *Candlemas-day* we made *Cape Comori*, and left it astern in eleven days and a half, whereas we had spent 49 in sailing from it to *Suratte*. I said *Mafs* every day, God be prais'd, and this day four receiv'd. We took a great Sea-Calf in the North-Sea; and I often observ'd that tho' it is such a devouring Fish, yet those Fishes they call *Romeros*, have a peculiar Friendship with it, lie under its shelter, stick close to its Fins, and come to its mouth without any hurt; the *S. Peter's* Fish also clings to it. God's Providence is wonderful in all things.

7. I enquir'd of the *French* and *Dutch*, Whether it was true, the *Hollanders* made Salt-water fresh, as I had been inform'd? they told me it was false; (*But we have seen it sufficiently practis'd in England, which the Author was a stranger to.*)

8. I also ask'd, Whether there was an Engineer in *France* that did as much Execution with a Pistol-Bullet, as with a whole Cannon, which was told me in *China*? and they answer'd that was a mere Fable too.

9. I further put the Question, Whether there were Vessels made in *France*, that by force of Wheels, without Wind, went against the Stream? They own'd such a thing had been done, but prov'd useles, (*This we have seen upon the Thames*). The *Dutch* Man said, He had seen the Ship building in *Holland*, that was to sail from thence in eight Days to *India*, but that the Inventer ran away, and so it could never be finish'd. So much any Man might have done, but it was a great folly to believe and spend Money upon such a mad Undertaking.

10. On the 10th of *February*, being *Shrovetide*, we had pals'd the Line, and were becalm'd. The Seamen made merry and sported.

11. We had some discourse concerning the *French East-India* Company, whether it would stand; and most agreed it would not, because they had no good Government, and particularly did not set out their Ships in due season. The *Dutch* fell a railing at the *French* Diet, and prais'd ours and the *Portuguses*; and the *French* oppos'd him, for my part I never lik'd their Cookery.

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12. It was argu'd, Whether the Court of *China* were *Grand Cathay*? The *Turkish* History translated into *French*, which they read there, mention'd, That before *Tamerlan* conquer'd *China*, which I am satisfy'd is false, the King of *Cathay* met him without the Wall, with 1400000 men. They that speak of *Grand Cathay*, make no mention of the Wall of *China*; and consequently the Court of *China*, which is but four and twenty Leagues from the Wall, is not *Cathay*. I never heard any of the Missioners of *China* speak any thing material to this Point, but only made Conjectures.

13. We had fresh Fish plentiful, almost all the *Lent*. On the 15th of *March*, about eight at Night, the Whipstaff broke; they were four hours making another; the Wind was indifferent, and so we had no great trouble. Some few Years before a *Dutch* Ship was lost about the same place, through the same Accident. Three more perish'd, but no body being sav'd, it was not known by what Accident. Of the first three Men escap'd, and went in the Boat to the Island *Mauricia*: No Ship misses of a storm there; we had a great one, and what I have said happen'd the fourth day after the violence of it was over. One of those days they took a Sea-Hog, in nothing different from those ashore as far as Snout and Ears; the Flesh of them of them is good and wholesom, the Fat is black but well-tasted.

14. On the 17th about eight in the morning, we discover'd the Island *Mascarenhas*, which the *French* call of *Bourbon*; if it had a Port, it would be one of the finest in the World; the Air is temperate, the Water good and plentiful, abundance of Fish and Fowl, these so numerous that they knock them down with sticks. The Rice, Corn, Fruit, and Herbs the *French* have sow'd and planted there, have all thrive incomparably.

15. Soon after the Wind started up at South-East so violent, that at one gust it carry'd away three Sails, the Main-top-sail, Mizzen-top-sail, and Sprit-sail: It lasted all night, the Sea ran high, and beat the Ship furiously. Every day she grew more leaky, the Main-mast gave way, and I was but too apprehensive of what we were to endure.

16. On the 4th of *April* in the Morning we had a horrid storm of Thunder, Lightning, Rain and Wind; it came a head of us, and we bore it five hours

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with-

without a rag of Cloth aboard, the Sea beat against the Poop in such violent manner that all the Planks seem'd to give way, the Water flow'd in amain; we were all in a cluster begging mercy of God, I pray'd and cast Holy things into the Sea. That fright past over, and we prepar'd for others, because we daily drew nearer to the Cape of *Good Hope*, where Winter was beginning. The Captain would not ly close to the shore, as the Waggoners direct, and with good reason; for the Land always shelter'd us from South-west, West and North-west Winds which tore us to pieces, and besides it was convenient for making our advantage of the Land-breezes. One of those Winds would blow, and we would lie by, without advancing a foot in eight days. The Ship was hard work'd, and the Men ply'd the Pump day and night. One Afternoon the Ship gave such a Bulge that there was not a Man but fell violently, and she ship'd so much Water at the side that we were all in a consternation. That night was very troublesome, the Pilot was afraid the Ship would founder. We discover'd Cape *Agujas* (I kept a Journal, but it is needless to write things of small moment) it is twenty Leagues from the Cape of *Good Hope*. Three days we lay upon the Sand. By reason of the contrary Winds we ran away Southward to 42 Degrees. (By which it appears to be a folly which some write, that the *Portugueses* when they turn that Cape discover *Terra de Fogo*, or *Incognita*) I sometimes wish'd we might light upon the Southern Land, I was much afraid because it was Winter in those parts. On the 29th of *April* it was resolv'd to take up at *Madagascar*, having been at Sea ever since the 22d of *January*. This was a great affliction, yet we were glad of it to be rid of those terrible Winds and Waves; but we were in the wrong, for had we stay'd three days longer, we had certainly weather'd, as the Wind prov'd afterwards, four hours time would have done our business. We spent a whole Month about the Cape. The Wind would come fair, and within another, tho that never ceas'd, another would start up ahead, which distracted us. Sometimes there would be a Calm, and immediately the Sea appear'd full of Whales on the surface of the Water, and they would ply round the Ship to the great terror of us that beheld them, it being a certain token of a Storm, as we found by experience.

17. We wanted not North and North-East Winds in our return towards *Madagascar*, which had been the best in the World to double the Cape. There was no body aboard that had knowledg of those Seas, which was very prejudicial to us. On the 14th of *May* after night fall, the Wind blowing furiously at North, we all of us saw those they call the Candles of *S. Telmo* on the Main-top and Fore-top, so plain, so bright, and natural, that there was no discerning them from those that are placed on Altars. We were all astonish'd at it, they continu'd above six hours in the same form, their brightness not declining in the least. I having read something of this nature, was very curious in making particular observation of it. In the first place the Wind was violent, and lay upon our broad side. (2.) The Ship beat very hard. (3.) Those Tokens were only to be seen in those two places I mention'd, always perpendicularly over the Round-top, without the least alteration. If they had been drops of Water, how came they to be only in those two places? And how came it the Wind did not blow them away? And how came it they did not fall with such terrible beating? I own I do not understand it. Some Seamen had seen the like before; some said they presag'd fair Weather, others a Storm, others that their appearing aloft was a good sign, but had it been on the Deck it had been bad. Every Man spoke his mind, the best was to have recourse to God. We sang our Ladies Litany, begging her assistance. The consequence was that the next day about Night-fall, on a sudden the North-wind ceas'd, and another started up a stern, the violentest we ever had yet; we sail'd three days under a Forefall reef'd, with our Yards and Topmasts struck. The Sea beating on the Poop frighted us, and ran so high, I had not courage to look at it. What I endur'd during this time is not to be writ, God and I know it; and what I suffer'd at other times, how many nights I spent leaning upon a Brass-Gun, and how many sitting by the Bittake. Amidst a great deal of foul Weather, and discontents betwixt the Captain, the Gentleman, and the Pilot, we at length arriv'd at *Madagascar*, or the Island of *S. Laurence*, which the *French* at present call *Isle Dauphine*. In the Bay (for it is no Port) we found the King's Fleet, and one Ship of the Companies. The *French* had sometimes spoke ill of the *Spanish* Inquisition, having heard several false and scandalous reports concerning

cerning it from wicked Men; I inform'd *Monsieur Dandron* of the whole truth, and he was well pleas'd, and said, It were happy they had it in *France*. I inform'd him what *F. Rogemont* a *Flemish* Jesuit told me in *China*, to wit, that his Countrymen had a most hideous notion of this Tribunal, because they conceited many foolish fancies concerning it, but that he was very sure had they been rightly inform'd, they would not have made the least opposition.

18. They never fail of Prayers Morning and Evening aboard their Ships, and do not neglect it upon any account whatsoever. Upon Sundays and Holidays we sang Vespers, and the Litanies, in the Morning Psalms and Hymns proper to the day. All were punctual at Mass, which I never omitted when the Weather would permit, so there were always some went to Confession and Communion. Truly I was much edify'd at them, particularly at their not swearing, for it was rare to hear an Oath aboard, which is seldom so in our Ships. *Dandron* said their way of Praying in *Latin* was better than

our general use of the Beads, but I convinced him that the Beads were of more use to ignorant People who understood not *Latin*, and therefore had the comfort of understanding the Prayers they said by their Beads. *Nava-rette.*

19. Several other Arguments were held aboard, not at all proper to be handled by those who had only read their Grammar. In short, it pleas'd God we came to an Anchor at *Madagascar* on the 29th of *May*, tho in rainy foul Weather. There came immediately aboard us a *French* Capuchin, who was a great comfort to me; I went with him to his Ship, and then to another, where I was much made of. The rest did the same afterwards, they all offer'd me their Ships, and any thing in them; in truth I was much beholden to them. I went ashore, and receiv'd a *French* Bishop's Blessing, who had been a Missioner in *Tunquin* and *China*, and was returning from *Rome*, of whom I had news from thence and *Spain*. I consider'd the vast distance, being above 3000 Leagues, and thought it impossible to reach thither.

C H A P. XXVI.

My Stay at Madagascar, or the Island of S. Laurence.

1. I Lay some time aboard, because there was no conveniency ashore, I had foreseen what I was to suffer there. Before I went ashore again, I convers'd with the *French* Capuchin concerning the *French* Bishops, and the *Spanish*; and he answer'd me, The King of *Spain* is more Religious than our King, and so are the People, so that they have a different notion of these things than my Countrymen; and tho there are learned and pious Religious Men enough, many Bishopricks are given to Men of Great Families.

2. Aboard the other Ships they had ask'd the Bishop's leave to eat Flesh always, which I did not like because Fish might have been had. The *French* and *Portugueses* laugh at the *Spaniards* for eating Offal-meat on *Saturdays*, without considering they do much worse themselves upon other accounts. The *French* rail'd much at their King for selling of Places of Honour and Trust, which they thought was not at all convenient in the Government, tho several methods were us'd to obviate inconveniences.

3. The *Portugueses* discover'd that

Island, and abandon'd it; next the *Dutch* Madagascar took and left it, the *French* took possession on last, and say they will quit it, because no benefit can be made of it. The Bay is in about 26 Degrees of South Latitude, the Air unwholesom, and the Water bad. The *French* have nothing there but the Bay, some Thatch'd Houses, and a Mud-wall, till they build a Fort they design. The Island is the biggest that is known in the Universe. The Inland abounds in Blacks, has many Kings and petty Princes. The People are very Barbarous, Brothers and Sisters marry, Fathers have to do with their Daughters, and Sons with their Mothers. They are Warlike, and manage their Spears very well, as we saw while we were there. The Country breeds vast numbers of very large Cows, whose flesh is very good, and on their Shoulders they have great Bunches like that on a Camel, one of them, weigh'd whilst I was there, was 36 Pound weight; it is all fat like Butter, except some strings of Lean mix'd with it; they cut it in slices, and fry it, and it is an excellent Dish. There are Goats in abundance, some peculiar sorts of Fruit,

Nava-rette. Fruit, an infinite quantity of Rice. There are in the Island two Noble Ports, one on the East-side, which is call'd *Anton Gil*, a *Portuguese* Discoverer's name. There the Fleet for *Glass Beads* got a great quantity of Rice. The other is call'd *S. Augustin's Bay*, it is reported to be an extraordinary Port, but both Places very unhealthy.

4. As to the Religion of those People, the Missioners told me they acknowledg'd a good and a wicked God; that they gave little Worship to the good one, and a great deal to the bad. The good one, say they, being such, will do them no harm, so that they need not trouble their heads about him; but they must please the bad one that he may not punish them, and therefore they offer several Sacrifices to him. They are addicted to strange Superstitions to deliver themselves from Crocodiles, Sickness and other misfortunes. They cut off the Childrens Navel-string, and wear it about their Necks to make them fortunate. I observ'd it, and they themselves told me so. Every one has as many Wives as he pleases, and they have the liberty of being unmarried whensoever they will.

5. I contriv'd to lie ashore because the Ship was not convenient for Prayer, Reading and Study. There was Feasting, Visiting, and such noise in the great Cabin, that no quiet was to be expected. Besides that, the North-East Winds are continually boisterous, and no Ship is safe there; this too oblig'd me to quit, tho' I was ty'd to come and say Mass aboard. It was no easy matter to contrive to live ashore, because the Missioners had the Bishop and his Companions in their House, so that no place was empty. I took up in a little low Thatch-Cottage, went to dine with the *French* Gentleman, and he always did me extraordinary Kindnesses. The Church was far off, so that I spent much time in going to it and returning. I continued in this manner above a Month, and it was no small Penance had I made a right use of it. The Gentleman and Captains took compassion on me, and blam'd the Bishop without cause. One day without my knowledge *Danbron* went to the Bishop, and said to him, My Lord, we are all scandaliz'd to see you are all Missioners, and preach up Charity, and yet use none toward this poor Old-man, who is a Missioner as well as you, and banish'd for the Law of God. I was concern'd at it, for fear they should imagin it was

a contrivance of mine; but that way of living was so tedious to me, considering it was to last five Months, that I was out of patience, and I resolv'd to return to *India* in that Fleet, which I told the Capuchin my Friend; he acquainted the Bishop with it, and mov'd that I might go to the Church, alledging reasons for it, and among others the good Offices I had done the Missioners of *Tunquin* and *Cochinchina*. He was mov'd to it the more, because among some Papers I had given him, he hapned to find that I was Superior of my Order; this wrought much upon him, and had I known it would stand me in such stead, I would easily have made him acquainted with it; but it never came into my thoughts, nor is it to the purpose when you are to do a poor Religious Man a kindness, whether he is a Superior, or otherwise.

6. On the 11th of *July* I went to the Church, had a Cell, and a fine Study of Books, which was a mighty satisfaction to me. A Month after the Fleet with the Lord Bishop and his Companions sail'd for *Suratte*. I was left with the Missioners belonging to the Island, being three in number, and two Lay-brothers of a new Religious Order in *France*, Men of great Piety. They serv'd every Body readily, and every Morning at Four of the Clock precisely met at Prayers at home. Their Diet was slender and indifferent. Upon *Fridays* and Fasting-days, they eat Herbs out of a little Garden they had, and if there was an Egg over and above it was much. One *Friday* whilst the good Bishop was there, we were seven at Table; there was Pottage, and only two Eggs for his Lordship, I sat next him, he gave me one, and we had no more. By this I guess'd that what had been said of eating Flesh on Fasting-days was false, because all the time I was with them, tho' the Fare was so slender they never eat Flesh on any day when it is forbidden.

7. As to the state of Christianity in the Island they told me there were above a thousand baptiz'd, and not above fifty that liv'd like Christians. The *French* Gentleman had a little Black he had carry'd from thence to *Suratte* and *Mafulpatan*, where he had been three years, was well clad, spoke *French* and *Portuguese*, was grown familiar and well fed; nevertheless the Love of his Country prevail'd, and he fell. Till the Natives are subdu'd, which is not easy, they will never improve in Spirituals or Temporals. The Admiral went up the Country

try with 500 *French* to strike a terror into their Enemies. He would not be advis'd by the Governour, and so came off with the loss of 400 of his Men; and it was reported that fifteen Blacks had made all that Slaughter, and a jest of him.

8. The Governour was a little Man, lame of a Hand and a Foot, and sickly, but a very Saint; the Enemy dreads him him more than if he were a Giant, he has done great feats; and obtain'd signal Victories over those Blacks with a handful of Men. After the loss we have spoke of, the Admiral went away to the Island *Mascarenbas* or *Bowbon*, and left the Governour Orders not to wage War with the Enemy, tho they should provoke him; and they said, it was for fear he should get the better with that handful of Men he had, which would make his attempt the more shameful. All his Men went to *India* with an ill will under his command. I heard some account of him, and declar'd I was of opinion he would do no good there. I prov'd a true Prophet, as it hapned.

9. When he return'd from the Island *Mascarenbas*, I talk'd with him, he treated me courteously. The Major of the Island was dead, he had been marry'd to a lusty Black Woman. He left three Daughters: *John Lambertegi* Captain of a Company, who told me he had serv'd in the same quality in *Spain*, presently propos'd to marry the Eldest, which was accordingly done with the greatest Pomp I ever saw, the Wedding was kept aboard the Admiral. All the Ships being thirteen in number discharg'd several broad sides. The Captain of another Company, and very handsome Man, marry'd the Widow, but it was before break of day, and very privately. I was concern'd at it, they are not so nice as our *Spaniards*. There were several *Frenchmen* there marry'd with Black Women, and others were gone up the Country where they liv'd naked like the Blacks. I saw some in that condition, and was much asham'd of it.

10. In this Island I saw beautiful Pea-

cocks. In that of *Mascarenbas* they say there are fine Birds and Beasts, and that to this day they have never seen a Toad, Snake, Mouse, or any other sort of Vermine, which is very strange. And how should we guess which way all those living Creatures got thither; the matter is easier for Birds, but not of all sorts. Pigeons fly far, but Turtles, Nightingals, and other sorts found there cannot easily hold a flight over so vast a Sea. The Bird *Ruc* I mention'd in the first Book, is a mere Chimera. *Mozambique* lies West of *Madagascar*. The *Arabs* arriv'd there in the Year 1670, and did great mischief. The Country abounds in Gold and Elephants, and is said to have Unicorns. In the Inland is the Empire of *Monomotapa*. The late Emperor's Son, Elder Brother to him now reigning, was of late Years baptiz'd by the Religious of our Order, and took their Habit, has prov'd a good Religious Man, was at *Goa* when I was there; he was call'd home by his people, but knowing, or suspecting they intended to put the Government into his hands, he apprehended running himself into some danger, and refus'd to go.

11. On the West and near the Mouth of *Madagascar* there is a small one inhabited by *Arabs*. They have a Fort, and go over to *Madagascar* to rob. A great number of Blacks came together, and courted the *French* to join with them, in making War upon those *Arabs*, before we left the place. *John Lambertegi* went up the Country with fifteen *Frenchmen*, and some Natives to treat about this affair. By degrees time slipp'd, and Winter pass'd away, and about mid *October* the Rains had ceas'd, and the Cold abated. I was so eager to be at Sea, that every Day seem'd a Year. *All-Saints* Day was appointed for our departure, but the Weather was such as gave little hope of weighing Anchor. On *All-Saints* Day I laid Masts, but we could not stir. Upon *All-Souls* Day, we being out in readiness, the Wind began to blow at North-East, and we by God's goodness to fail.

C H A P. XXVII.

My Departure from the Island Madagascar.

1. **T**HE Ship-provision was not good, I beg'd some Onions of the Missioner my Friend, which he gave me, and I valued very much. I was told the *French*

Admiral bound for *Suratte*, intended to make the *Dutch* and *English* strike to him; 'tis not likely he compass'd it; they added, the Honour of *France* lay at stake upon

on that Fleet; if so, it was at a low Ebb, yet they pretend theirs is the most mighty King in Christendom. God who gave it him *gratis*, continue his Grandeur.

The Apostle S. James says, *Every good and perfect Gift is from above, descending from the Father of Lights.* S. Thomas observes the word *descending*, the Apostle does not say *falling*, to give us to understand that God bestows Riches, Dominions, and every thing else on whom, and as he pleases, *not according to desert, but gratis*; and as he gives he can take away, especially if he be provok'd by Sins.

2. We had a good Voyage all the Month of *November*, save one furious Storm on the 28th; but Summer being now advanced we fear'd it not, but turn'd our Head to it, and back'd the Sails. On the last day of the Month we turn'd the Cape. A *Hugonot* Captain, but an honest fair Gentleman, came aboard us at *Madagascar*; I cannot express how much I was oblig'd to this Heretick, for he was well provided. He order'd his Servants to give me every thing I ask'd for. I ask'd and ask'd again, and they supply'd me without failing. Next to God this Man sav'd my life, I wish'd I could have given him Eternal life. This Man told me that his King aspir'd to possess himself of *New Spain*, and in order to it had sent one over to view and take an exact account of the Country and Parts, who had spent three Years there, and return'd with full information, which he deliver'd in Writing to *Mons. Colbert*.

3. I was eager to come to the Cape of *Good Hope*, that I might see what the *Dutch* have done there. Some *French* who had seen told wonders of it, that there was an admirable Fort, with abundance of good Cannon, fine Houses, Gardens and Orchards, producing all sorts of *European* Fruits, and those of the Country, which are good and various, and abundance of Cows, Sheep, Hens, Turkeys, besides good Horses. Major *John Munoz Gadea*, who came that way in the Year 1672, told me the same in *Spain*. The *Dutchman* aboard our Ship had told us there were Sea Elephants seen in that place; some believ'd it, others, and among them, suspended their judgment, but the same Gentleman told me he had seen two there, each about as big as a Cow, but the Feet and Tail very like an Elephant. Before we put into *Madagascar*, we saw the Sea in places cover'd with Geese, it was wonderful to see such multitudes of them. D. *John Munoz* assur'd

me they were Sea-Geese, which had no Feet, so that they had Wings and Feathers to fly, and no Feet to walk, and therefore were feather'd Fish. God knows how they laid or hatch'd.

4. Fifteen or twenty Leagues Norwest of the Cape is the Bay of *Saldania*, discover'd by the *Portugueses*; all about it there is not a drop of Sweet-water to be found. The *French* Admiral set up a Mark there in token that he took possession of that place for his King, but the *Dutch* presently pull'd it down; whilst they have the Cape, who can subsist near it? And had the *Portugueses* secur'd the Cape, which cost them so dear to find, who would have sail'd to *India*? Now there is no remedy, they repent it. The *Dutch* take Whales and abundance of Sea-wolves in the Bay of *Saldania*, the Skins of the latter serve to cover Trunks, and yield good profit.

5. We sail'd for the Island S. *Helena* with fair Wind and Weather. On the fourth of *December* we were in 28 Degrees, 45 Minutes of South Latitude, our course Norwest. Summer came on, the Heat with it, and the Wind slackned. Not a Fish to be seen or taken, I wonder what became of them.

6. On the 10th the Sky was so thick clouded, that for six days following we neither saw the Sun by Day, nor the Moon by Night; we were then within the Tropic and the Sun Vertical, the Weather as cool as it is in *Spain* in *March*. There is great variety of Seasons in the same Latitude, who can assign the reason? The Year before vve said, the strength of the Sun consum'd the Vapours in that Latitude, and therefore there vvere no Clouds appear'd; now we said the force of the Sun drew up thick Vapours, vvhich caus'd such black Clouds; certain it is there is no deciding this matter.

7. We observ'd some never failing Tokens, by which to know vvhether there vwill be Wind, or not. One vvas the running and fluttering about of little Insects aboard the Ship; and the more restless they are, the higher the Wind; and by observing what place they come from, they know whether it vwill be fair.

8. Another is vvhhen the Svvine run and tumble about the Ship, in a Calm; vvhhen vve saw them play vve vvere sure of a Wind.

9. There vvas aboard a Young Man of Quality, vvhho had been Major aboard the Fleet that sail'd for *Swatte*; he vvas somewhat impertinent, had lost all he had, and so vvas forc'd to give over play.

He

He us'd to eat with the *Hugonot*, who observing he did not say Grace told him of it, and he alledg'd it was not the Custom in *France*, which was false, and all others in the Ship did it but he.

10. This Young Man and another us'd to swear at Play; the *Hugonot* told them he would play no more with them, if they did not give over that Vice, and he was as good as his word. Talking with him one Afternoon I ask'd him, how it came he did not play? He answer'd, I play to divert my self, and pass the Time, not to swear my self, or hear others swear; those Gentlemen swear, I have told them my Mind, they don't mend, and I don't like to play with them. I was amaz'd and out of Countenance. I was told he had done the same at *Madagafcar*, and that at *Geneva* they had Spies about to discover Swearers in order to punish them. O shame of Catholicks, *Spaniards*, and *Portugueses*, who are unruly, impudent and scandalous in this particular! He that does not rap out an Hundred Oaths, thinks he does not look like a Man. How horrid is it to hear a *Portuguese* swear by a Ship-load of consecrated Hosts, and a *Spaniard* by the Wounds of Christ, and by the Blessed Virgin! They thrive accordingly, and so God prospers them. *So thou visitest us, as we worship thee.*

11. On the 20th of *December* at two in the Afternoon we anchor'd at the Isle S. *St. Helena*. *Helena*; being so small, it was much we hit it so exactly without missing an Inch of what they had said aboard. The *Portugueses* discovered that Island; had they kept possession of it and the Cape, they might have easily lorded it in *India*, for where should Ships take in fresh Water and Provisions? The *Dutch* took it, but then fixing at the Cape the *English* made themselves Masters of it; the *Dutch* retook, and the *English* again beat them out of it. The Island is small, all encompass'd with Rocks rising up to the Clouds, it looks like a great Fort or Castle; it has no Harbour, but there is good Anchoring and safe from the Winds, because at that Season they come over the Island. The place where the *English* were, is a small Valley, not a musket Shot in Breadth, without a Tree or Bush, or a Foot of Strand; but there is an excellent Spring which God has provided for the Benefit of Sailors; there is no Wood, which would have been a great help. Beyond the Rocks they say there is plain and pleasant Ground well water'd. In that place there is a little Town of *English*, who till the Ground, sow Rice, make

Butter and Cheese; there are some sorts of Fruit, Swine, and Goats that were put in by the *Dutch* and *Portugueses*, so that there is refreshment enough there at present. There was some dispute about Landing, the little Governour was afraid they were going to assault him, he order'd the *French* should not come within his Fort arm'd, and that they should come but two at a time; so that none went ashore but the Seamen and two poor Fellows. After Mass I went to get a little Biscuit, and saw the Governour who receiv'd me courteously; he had been at *Madrid*, and valued himself on his *Metaphysicks*; to say the truth, he was an Ingenious Man, made much of me that Day, forced me to stay all Night, gave me a good Bed; we discours'd upon several Subjects, and he put to me three Cases concerning Baptism, he was at variance with his Parson. There I found some Blacks of *Madraspatan*, for whom I was concern'd, because they had bin Catholicks at home, and were Hereticks there: there were also two *French* Men in the same way. The Fort is considerable enough for that place, the Garrison small, but there is no need of a great one to oppose any Enemy. I admire *Dutch* should take that Island from the *English*, and much more that they should recover it from them.

12. After this we had a Treat, and what follows according to the Custom of those Nations. The Governours Name was *Richard Cung*, he said to the *Hugonot*, whose Name was *Foran*, The Father is your great Friend. I had indeed spoke well of him. *Foran* answer'd, There is no trusting of him, for the Fathers don't love Hereticks. I have observ'd that these Men plainly own themselves Hereticks, as I have often heard from their own Mouths. Others will not confess it.

13. About 26 or 27 Years ago a *Portuguese* Carack was cast away there; the Men got to the Island, and stay'd there two Years. They took the Swine, Goats, and other Cattel out of the Carack, turn'd them loose, and they began to increase so very much, that some time after twelve *English* and *Dutch* Ships putting in there, found Plenty of Provision to serve them all. 'Tis strange, but they all affirm it to be true. The Dogs multiply'd too, and at present do harm among the Calves and Kids; they hunt them, as we do Wolves in other Parts. There are abundance of Pigeons, and all white; in those Parts they call that sort Pigeons of *S. Helena*, to distinguish them from those that have been carry'd from several Parts of *India*.

Narrate.

14. Discourſing concerning Transmigration of Souls, the Governour ſaid, that when he was in *Guinea*, the Interpreter told him, that in ſuch a Houſe there was a Lion, in whom was the Soul of the firſt Anceſſor of that Family, as thoſe Heathens believ'd. He deſir'd to be carry'd to ſee him, they went, and he ſaid he ſaw a moſt terrible Lion, which very tamely paſſ'd by him into the Houſe, where he took two or three turns, and then in his ſight went into a Room. He own'd he quak'd with fear at the ſight. ſure ſome Devil was in the Body of it, to deceive thoſe People, which is the more likely, becauſe they told him it neither Eat nor Drank.

Attention.

15. I ſaid three Maſſes on Chriſtmas Day, the Sailers were very Devout, and eight Perſons Communicated. That afternoon we ſail'd towards the Iſland of the *Ascenſion*. We had but little Wind till the 3d of *January*, and the Weather being fair I ſaid Maſs every Day. On the 4th we had ſight of the Iſland, and the 5th anchor'd oppoſite to a little Bay, from which riſes a high Pyramidal Mountain, on the top whereof are two great Croſſes ſet up by the *Portugueſes*, three *French* Men went up thither. The Iſland is but ſmall, lies in 8 Degrees of South Latitude, no Water has as yet been found there. It lies almoſt half way betwixt *Guinea* and *Brazil*, which are 400 Leagues aſunder Eaſt and Weſt. They found Letters aſhore of *French* and *Engliſh*, who had paſſ'd by there the Year before; thoſe that ſail this way, are ſo curious, as to write Letters, put them into Bottles, and leave them in a ſafe place but vilible, by which the next Comers have intelligence who is gone by, and what Voyage they had. It was the *Twelfth-day*, or *Epiphany*. Foran made a Feaſt at Night, and according to the cuſtom of *France* we drew for King, it fell to my Lot, and I could not excuſe my ſelf, ſo I choſe my Officers, and forbore the reſt of the Sport.

16. Some Seamen having ſpent a whole Night in fiſhing for Tortoiſes, got but one; tho' it was a great one. The Captain was out of Patience at it, order'd to weigh, and we continued our Voyage without hopes of ſeeing Land till we came to *France*. We fell to eating the Tortoiſe, whoſe Fleſh was very good; they found above 300 Eggs in her, all of them as round as a Ball; the Shell was tough, and when thrown againſt the Deck, would rebound like a Ball.

17. The 10th of *January* was the Feaſt of S. *William* Duke of *Aquitain*, the Cap-

tain's Name was ſo; we celebrated it the beſt we could, he was thankful, and made a generous return. On the 15th we found our ſelves 20 Minutes North of the Line, ſo that we had cut it about 9 or 10 of the Clock. All the way from the Cape of *Good Hope* to this place we had always the Wind at South-Eaſt, Eaſt-South-^{Wind} Eaſt, and South-Eaſt by South. There were aboard the Ship only a Black Boy of *Madagaſcar*, and a Black Girl two Years and a half Old, that had never cut the Line; and not to loſe the Sailers Cuſtom, they duck'd them both; this and ſome other Sports the Seamen always found out was ſome Diverſion to us.

18. When we were got beyond two Degrees of North Latitude we had ſome Calms, then followed terrible Thunder, and a furious North-Eaſt Wind; S. *Telmo's* Candles appear'd again upon the Round tops, but not ſo bright, nor did they laſt ſo long as the other time. Now was the firſt Holy-day we miſſ'd of Maſs ſince our departure from *Madagaſcar*, the Sea look'd as if we were got back to the Cape of *Good Hope*.

19. In 19 Degrees 15 Minutes of North Latitude there is a Rock, on which a Ship periſh'd ſome Years ſince, we alter'd our courſe to avoid it. I have often conſider'd, did we ſhun the occaſions of Sinning, as a Pilot does the Shoals, our Lives would be moſt Holy. Good God, how careful is a Pilot to ſhun the danger! he thinks not enough to get 3 or 4 Leagues off, but runs 20, 30, nay 40, as I have ſeen, and ſtill is afraid. Our Pilot *Lazaro Beato* us'd to ſay in the North Sea, Fathers, the King's Ship is not ſafe in a hundred Fathom Water. How careleſs is every Man of the Ship God has committed to his charge, and yet we would have it come off ſafe from ſo many Flats, Rocks, Sands, and Dangers, as occur at every ſtep in this World!

20. We were all ſad and melancholy, tho' the Winds had been favourable, and had not been much troubled with Calms. A Ship has been in a dead Calm 50 Days together near the Line; had the like happen'd to us, our Proviſion was ſo ſhort and bad, that we muſt have all periſh'd. I have cut the Line five times, that's enough in Opinion; he is mad enough who croſſes it, unleſs he goes purely to ſerve God. Yet I never found any manner of alteration in my ſelf, or any thing elſe; others tell ſtrange Stories of it, which are not to be credited.

21. Upon *Candlemas-day* I ſaid Maſs, we had been now four Months at Sea, were
in

in 18 Degrees of North Latitude, and had left *Cabo Verde* astern; we had not sight of it, nor of *Cape S. Antony*. Our course was n. n. w. for we could not lie closer to the North. We had a new repetition of the King of *France* his designs against *New Spain*, and they said the *River of Plate* was but weakly defended by us, and must be first secur'd. The *Hugonot* took a Ship there some Years before, and after that another at the Island *Santo Domingo*, with only 25 Men and a Boat; he himself said it was a shame they suffer'd themselves to be taken.

22. On the 7th of *February* we found our selves without the Tropick of *Cancer*; the Wind came about to East, and we stood three days due North: Our true Course was N. N. E. and so we wanted another Wind. We sail'd on in melancholy manner; *Job* calls our Life, *A Warfare upon Earth*; and we may properly call it, *A Voyage upon Sea*. The World is call'd *a Sea* in Holy Writ, and with good cause; in it we see the furious Winds of several Vices which assault Man, Dangers, Rocks, on which great Vessels shipwrack daily, &c. This makes Man a Ship, and his Life a Voyage. This is so easily made out, it is needless to spend time about it.

23. During the remaining part of our Voyage we had sundry Winds, Rain, troublefom Seas, and cold enough; the Seamen fell sick every day, Provisions fell short, we did not take a Fish in a month. The *Hugonot* supply'd me, and all the sick, with every thing he had: This I was much edify'd at, and observ'd that others who were able did it not, tho they had so good an Example shown them. I divided among the Seamen the allowance of Brandy they gave me, and took care of their Souls, which was the main Point. It hap'n'd more than once that two Men held me fast whilst I administred the Sacrament of Extreme Unction, and yet I could scarce stand to do my Duty, the motion of the Ship was so violent. In 15 days time we came out of Summer into sharp Winter; we ran into 46 Degrees of Latitude, and then fell again into 43; we steer'd directly East, the North-wind came up very furious, and held us eight days in the same place: We reck'ned our selves within *Cape Finisterre*, and expected in a day more to reach *Bourdeaux*; but the Weather continuing, and Men dying, it was resolv'd to put into *Corunna*. Having stood about, and sail'd half a day, about Night-fall we disco-

ver'd *Cape Finisterre* a League from us. It was resolv'd to pass on to *Lisbon*; the Wind was large, and we ran along the Coast very pleasantly. Next day an odd Accident well worth writing hap'n'd: One that had been Purser was sick aboard, he had ben put of that Employment for his dishonesty, and conceiv'd such hatred against the Captain and Steward, that he said he would not forgive them. He was often advis'd at *Madagascar*, and by the way thence, to lay aside that Rancour; he would not. The Captain and Steward sent to let him know they bore him no ill-will, that he might relent; this avail'd nothing. I desir'd too ingenious *Frenchmen* to discourse him upon that Business, and advise him to confess himself, because his sickness was dangerous, all to no purpose. I, with the little *French* I had, said all I thought convenient. He answer'd, when he came to *France* he would do it. I told him, it was doubtful whether he would ever reach thither; he took no notice of it. One day they call'd me on a sudden, telling me that young Man was dying. I came as he was giving up the Ghost, he dy'd; and on a sudden the Wind chang'd and rose so high, that we had not seen the like all the Voyage; the Sea flew up to the Clouds, such a Wave broke upon the Ship as frighted us all. They threw the Body into the Sea as fast as they could, and it was strange that the Wind began to fall immediately, and came about to the same Point where it was before. There was a very remarkable alteration when the Heretick Director dy'd betimes in the Morning on this side the *Cape of Good Hope*, I took particular notice of it. I had before told him my mind, offer'd him my service, he would not give ear, and went away to Hell. The Devils, it is likely rejoiced, which made that alteration we were sensible of. I rather took this Man for an Atheist, than a Heretick; he liv'd like a Beast, and drank like a Madman; one Night he got up to drink, and instead of the Wine laid hold of the Ink-bottle, and drank a good deal; it is likely it hurt his Stomach, and he was ill of it before.

24. Eleven, or thirteen Seamen dy'd as I remember; they had receiv'd all the Sacraments, God be prais'd, which was my greatest comfort, and they dy'd well. On the 18th of *March* we anchor'd at *Cascaes*, some went ashore presently, and return'd at midnight with fresh Bread, Wine and Fruit. I came to *Lisbon* on *S. Joseph's Day*, having sail'd a Month before I would be satisfy'd to land that day.

C H A P. XXVIII.

My Stay in Lisbon, and Journey to Rome.

Navarrette.

1. I Am satisfied I have forgot several Particulars, which must be among such variety of Accidents, and in the course of so many Years. I omitted one remarkable thing concerning the Island Ceylon, which is a vast high Mountain, the Portugueses and others call *Pico de Adan*, or *Adam's Clift*; it ends above in a Point sharp to appearance, whither they say our first Parent ascended; this is grounded on that Opinion which maintains that Paradise is there. The Beauty, Fruitfulness, and Pleasantness of the Place makes for it. They have less to show for it who placed it in the Island *Zibu*, or that of the Name of *Jesus*, which is one of the *Philippine Islands*; and I wonder some Authors have not placed it in *China*, where what is written concerning that most delightful place is more easily verify'd.

2. I writ nothing concerning *Cambaya*, a Kingdom subject to the *Mogol*, because I came not into it. The *Agate-stone* is found there, and there is so much of it, so cheap, and so curiously wrought, sold at *Suratte*, that it is wonderful.

3. At length I reach'd *Europe*, after almost fifteen months sailing from *China*. I gave a larger turn about the World than *Magellan*, for he was neither at *Coromandel*, *Suratte*, nor *Madagascar*; he return'd not to *Europe*, as I have done, God be prais'd. I have been in all four parts of the World, for *Madagascar*, *S. Helena*, and *Ascension*, are parts of *Africk*. I have gone through such diversity of Climates, and tasted such variety of Fruit, and other Food, that I believe few Men can match me. It appears what Seas I have seen; and now, lastly, going to *Rome*, and returning, I have travers'd the *Mediterranean*. One said, that the greatest Miracle God had wrought in a small thing, was the variety of Faces: I have seen such total diversity of this sort, as I believe no Man besides me has. In *America*, besides the *Cachupines*, which are those that go over from *Spain*, I have seen these several sorts of People, call'd *Criollos*, *Mestizcos*, *Casticos*, *Indians*, *Mulatoes*, *Cambahijos*, *Tornautros*, and *Tenteenlagre*. In the *Philippine Islands* there are still more mixtures, besides Foreign Nations. Afterwards I saw *Chineses*, *Tartars*, *Japoneses*, *Tunquines*, *Cochinchineses*, *Cambox-*

ans, *Siamites*, *Corians*, *Laos*, *Malayes*, *Mindanaos*, *Joloes*, *Zamboangas*, *Camucones*, *Javans*, *Sumatrans*, *Macassars*, *Solors*, *Borneans*, *Nicobars*, *Ceylonites*, *Narasingans*, *Malabares*, *Bengalans*, *Golcondars*, *Mogols*, *Persians*, *Armenians* and *Turks*. In *Europe*, *Spaniards*, *French*, *Italians*, *English*, *Dutch*, *Flemings*, *Germans*, *Suissers*, and Natives of *Malta* and *Oran*, and many others; and yet among them all never found two exactly alike.

4. At *Suratte* there was an Ambassador from the Great *Turk* to the *Mogol*, a handsome and brave Youth; he and his Men did Wonders when *Subagi* attack'd that City, but neither he nor the rest could prevent the plundering of that City by the Enemy.

5. Since it pleas'd God to bring me safe off the Sea, and set me ashore in *Europe*, let us conclude the Voyage. The River up to the City of *Lisbon*, and higher, is one of the finest in the World; and were it as pleasant as that of *Goa*, all others must yield to it. The Palace is good, I was told it was built by *Philip* the Second, and so the Citadel. There I heard many things, which I think should lie bury'd in Oblivion, that future Ages may not have cause to condemn or rail at this. The City is very handsome, the Buildings low, Provisions plenty, the People courteous; but all that have not been abroad imagine there is nothing in the World so good as in their Country; a great Absurdity, which some are so far led away with, as to conceit there is no good Wine in *Spain*. Our Monastery of *S. Dominick* is very fine, and in it a stately Tomb of the incomparable in Learning and Piety, *F. Luis de Granada*; it would take up a particular Volume to particularize with what Love, Kindness and Zeal those good Fathers entertain'd me: The most R. F. *Peter de Magallanes*, President of the Inquisition, was wonderful kind to me. I visited the Count *de Umanes* then Ambassador there, saw his splendid Entry, and he bountifully assist'd me toward my Journey to *Madrid*. At that time there were some Rumour about a War with *Spain*; the Nobility were for it, saying, they should get their Bread that way. The People oppose it, and the Religious Orders more than

than the rest; Sermons were preach'd in several Parts against those restless Spirits. I heard the same in the Monastery of *S. Dominick*; and the Professor *Swero* the King's Preacher said, The Angels will fight against us, because there is no Pretence to justify this War. They told me the reason that convinced them; Father, the Controversy was, Whether *Portugal* belong'd to *Castile*, or not? No Man in this Kingdom ever said or imagin'd that *Castile* belong'd to *Portugal*; then what Pretence or Reason is there to commence this War?

6. I was told several Expressions Preachers had us'd in the Pulpits whilst the Wars lasted, and had before read some in a certain Author's printed Sermons. One of ours took too much liberty once in this particular; our Provincial held a Chapter that Night, and said, It is allowable we should wish to have a King of our own for several Reasons; but it is unreasonable that any of us who have receiv'd such signal Favours from the Kings of *Castile*, should speak ill of them; and therefore I am so far from allowing of, that I will punish it severely. For this Reason the *Dominicans* were suspected, because they did not rail; but they easily clear'd themselves.

7. I spent the Holy Week at *Lisbon*, and lik'd it well; visited the Sepulchers, which are very fine, that of the *Dominicans* is noble; I was at the celebrating the Feast of *S. Peter Martyr*, which was perform'd with magnificence, and the Inquisitor General Duke of *Aveiro* was present. About the middle of *May* I set out for *Madrid*, was in all the Monasteries of the Order by the way, and charitably entertain'd. I admir'd the Fort of *Elvas*, and how the Work daily advanc'd; and was no less astonish'd that nothing was done at *Badajoz*. By the way I heard many Stories which made against us *Spaniards*.

8. I reach'd *Madrid*, the Court of our Kings, in eleven Days, 26 Years, and three Months, after I left *Valladolid*. I dislike'd many things, but the World being changeable, Worldlings are so too. *The World lieth in Wickedness*, saith the beloved Disciple. *S. Augustin* says, *He that knows thee not, loves thee; but he that knows thee, hates thee.* *S. Thomas* upon *Rom. 8.* mentions the same others have writ concerning this Monster, *The World is not clean because it defiles; how then can he be clean who is in the World?* It is a great Perfection, and ought to be our Endeavour to live clean and unfully'd in the

foul World. The same Doctor expounding the Words of *S. Jude*, *Hating it*, &c. *Nava* expresses it thus, *It is perfect Religion to preserve ones self untainted in the midst of those that are defil'd.*

9. My business belonging to the Court of *Rome*, I presently began to dispose my Affairs to that end. I saw Letters at *Lisbon* and *Madrid* from Cardinal *Barbarin*, in which he desir'd some Information for the Holy Congregation concerning the Mission of *China*. I gave a short account of the most material Points, reserving the rest till my arrival at the Court of *Rome*. I set out in *September* following, with Letters from some great Men. At *Cartagena* I had the good fortune to wait upon the Dutches of *Osuna*. Our Voyage was tedious and troublesome, we stay'd 29, or 30 days at *Caldiques*. *D. Pagano*, *D. Oria*, who commanded the Gallies for his Nephew, dy'd there; he was a worthy Gentleman, I assist'd him at his death. The Dutches gave a very good Example that Voyage in praying and bestowing Alms. The Lady *Elizabeth Formento* was with her; the Great Cabin was like a Chappel, Prayers almost continual, and much frequenting of the Sacraments.

10. We struck across the Bay with fair Weather, and were nobly receiv'd at *Final* by the Duke, who there expedied his Wife and Niece. I went on to *Genoa* in one of the Gallies, without setting foot ashore. A few days after I went to *Leghorn* with good Company, cold and foul Weather; I came thither sick, was taken care of in the Hospital of *S. John of God*, where I was look'd to with great assiduousness and charity. I came to *Rome* with much difficulty on the Day of the *Epiphany* 1673. Soon after there came to my hands a considerable Alms sent me by Bill from *Milan* by the Duke of *Osuna*. I began to treat about my Affairs, kiss'd his Holiness's Foot twice; he entertain'd me with wonderful Goodness: I was much edify'd at his great Humility, and the Poverty I saw in this little Room. I convers'd with some Cardinals, particularly *Ottoboni*, *Bona*, *Maximis*, *Porco Carero*, and lastly Cardinal *Casinate*. Cardinal *Borromeus* dy'd presently after my arrival, which troubled me much for the miss I had of him. I spent sixteen Months in approving the Propositions I deliver'd to the Congregation *de Propaganda Fide*; gave in several Informations, presented Manuscripts, translated *Chinese* Books by order of the Congregation; They refer'd the Matter to the In-

quisitors, they to the Consultors and Qualificators. In fine, in *March* 1674, by direction from the Holy Congregation, the Cardinals *Bona* and *Casinate*, met with the most R. F. *F. Laurea*, and *F. Cajetan Miralold*, they debated the Points, and what the two most Reverend Fathers had decreed, which they approv'd and confirm'd, which set at ease and satisfy'd me, after I had gone through some Particulars, which I reserve for a proper time.

11. I had before urg'd strong Arguments and Reasons for the making one of my Order, who is a Native of *China*, Bishop, since the Bishops Millioners who were at *Siam* could not get into *China*. All the Holy Congregation agreed to it. I also press'd the confirming the Bull of *Urban* the Eighth, which empowers Missioners to go to *Japan* and *China* from all Parts, and all Ways: The Resident of *Portugal* oppos'd it, alledging that all those Kingdoms belong to the *Portuguese* Conquests. Much may be said to this Point, and they will not be convinc'd that *Japan* falls within the Limits assign'd to the *West-Indies*, which is beyond all dispute. In the next place, that since till this time they never made any Conquest there, they can never do it for the time to come. 3. That if once they are inform'd in those Parts that such a thing is mention'd, they will not leave one *European* alive there. 4. That from *Sinapura* Eastward, no part is or can be call'd *India*, as I have heard the *Portuguese* themselves own; otherwise the *Chineses*, *Japanese*, and other Nations, would all be *Indians*, which is not so. But the Designs and Motives they have being of another nature, there is no talking of it, as they themselves own. In short, *Urban* the Eighth, *Alexander* the Seventh, and *Clement* the Tenth, who now governs the Church, order'd it should be so, and lay heavy Censures upon those that shall obstruct it. But the best of it is, that I resided some time at *Lisbon* in view of all that Court, was known to be a Missioner of *China*, had several questions put to me concerning that Country, particularly by the Inquisitor General Duke of *Archievo*, and yet nobody ever thought of mentioning this Point to me; and yet when I came to *Rome*, the Resident quarrel'd with me on account that we *Spaniards* go by the way of *Manila* into *China*, a thing ridiculous in it self; I have said before this proceeded from other grounds. Cardinal *Ottoboni* several times told me, it was convenient I should re-

turn to *China* as Bishop of that Mission. I declar'd my opinion concerning it, he threatned to have it forc'd upon me; which I dreaded, but prevail'd with him to desist.

12. At my departure from *Rome*, they search'd my Portmantua, found 3000 Medals given me by the Holy Congregation, and Cardinal *Portocarero*; they told me, I must pay so much Duty for them. This provok'd and anger'd me; I answer'd, they were given me for Charity, as in truth they were, that I would pay nothing, they might take them if they pleas'd, and I would go complain to Cardinal *Nepos*: With that they let me pass. I was told there, that searching the Wallets of a Religious Man of the Order of *S. John of God*, they found in them a new pair of Shoes; and because all new things pay, they made him pay Duty for them; he went out again within a few days, without having worn the Shoes; they found them, and made him pay the Duty over again. Were this known in *China*, the *Mogol's* Country, or other of those Parts, they would say we were the worst People in the World. I had Company with me, the Boat-men did not fail of playing us Pranks, and we had bad Weather. We came first to *Civita Vecchia*, thence to *Leghorn*, and very leisurely to *Genoa*, where we waited eight days for Shipping. We were there on the Feast of *Corpus Christi*; I admir'd that the Cross of every Brotherhood had its Mark of Distinction; that of the Bakers had Loaves; that of the Fishermen, Fishes; that of the Pastry-Cooks, Saucidges, &c. I saw the Church of *Annunciata*, a beautiful Piece; but he who has seen *S. Peter's* at *Rome*, and the rest of the Churches of that City, admires at none: Every time I went into *S. Peter's* Church, which was often, I was amaz'd at its Beauty and Greatness, and my Heart rejoyc'd in me. I visited the Seven Churches, saw the Holy Places, variety of Relicks, the *Vatican*, some Palaces, *Cavalcatas*, and other things needless to repeat.

13. After 8 days stay at *Genoa*, I went aboard an *English* Pink with some other *Spaniards*. I agreed for my Diet, and a place in the great Cabin at an easy Rate. I liv'd well enough, the Master and the Mate were very civil, they had no more Officers: We sail'd upon our Broad-side five days, the Wind being at North-East; my Companions were wonderful Sea-sick, I have been free from it for some Years. In the Afternoon the Seamen had such ridiculous Sports as made

Spain.

1674.

us almost burst with laughing. The eighth day we landed at *Alicant*; some of us took up in certain Waggon, in which we came leisurely, and indifferent easy. I was amaz'd to see so much Desert-Country, and so bare of Food, we could scarce great Bread. At *Albacete* I paid a Duty for my Portmantua, which was the first time I had done it in all my Travels. I came to *Madrid* upon *Midsummer-day*, in the Year 1674, and there I paid a quarter of a Piece of Eight, and they would have had more, tho I had nothing but Papers, Medals, and two old dirty Shirts. Good God! what People they are, and yet they say the *Chineses* are covetous; they who are strangers to our Proceedings may say so, not they that are acquainted with them.

14. Soon after at *Madrid* I heard News from *China*, by Letters from thence, and from the *Philippine Islands*. I understood that the Missioners were restor'd to their Churches, but upon condition they should not preach the Word of God; and the Natives were forbid to imbrace it, which is a great trouble, but it may mend by degrees, on account of the Mathematicks, but I could wish it were upon some better Motive. I was also inform'd that the *English* have settled a Factory in the Island *Hermosa*, and that the *Chineses* that is Lord of it design'd to have made War upon *Manila*, but desisted at the perswasion of his Mother. The Cause that mov'd him to have thoughts of War, was, that at *Manila* they apprehended a Captain of his, whom they took in the Act of *Sodomy*. The *Chineses* being inform'd of it, writ to the Governor, and sent a Present, desiring he would send him the Criminal, and he would punish him. The Governor answer'd, That it was an Affair which the Court of Justice took cognisance of, and he had nothing to do with, and return'd no Present, which the other highly resented. The *Dutch* offer'd the Governor thirty Ships to assist him against the *Chineses*, and what else he wanted, but he accepted of nothing. He afterwards sent *D. Francis Enriquez de Lofada* his Ambassador to the Island *Hermosa*, and they were made Friends. From thence *D. Francis*, who is my particular Friend, went over to *Macao*: Among other News he carry'd from thence to *Manila*, one piece was, that some Religious Men of the Order of *S. Francis* coming to that City in order to pass over into *China*, certain Churchmen hindred them; to that purpose show'd their Captain-Gen-

ral a Letter of King *Philip* the Second, ordering it so to be done. However the Captain-General would neither see nor hear, and they went over; so that the Laity does not obstruct the Missioners, and Clergymen do. The Letters I receiv'd this Year say, those Religious Men did not get into *China*. *Navarrette.*

15. Granting it be true that *Philip* the Second gave such Orders, since three Popes have afterwards commanded the contrary, what signifies that Letter to *Macao*, which is not now under our Government?

16. *D. Francis* in another Letter of his from *Siam*, among other things has these words: The King did me the favour to show me the white Elephant, and I did not imagine he would have appear'd in such rich Trappings; before him went above 600 Men as his Guard, all with several Weapons; after them the white Elephant under a Canopy of Crimson-Velvet, the Rods that held it up all cover'd with Plates of Gold; the Elephant had all about his Body Diamonds, Pearls, Rubies and Emrauds, they seem'd to be well worth two Millions. He is one of the haughtiest and mightiest Kings, not only in this *Archipelago*, but in the whole World. He calls himself God, none of his Subjects must see, or look at him, upon pain of Death. None that does not see, can believe with how great Pomp he goes abroad. Your Reverence is acquainted with these Affairs, but those who are strangers to them will believe it false.

17. For my part I believe it all. As for the Embassy, *D. Francis* affirms he stood it out, and would not deliver his Message barefoot, as all Nations in *Europe* have done; he went in shod, so that it remains as a Precedent for the *Spaniards*. Formerly it was a Token of Reverence and Servitude to go barefoot, says *ALtipe* in 3 *Exod. v. 5*. For all this King's Pride, we see that for his private Interest and Advantage, he submits to pay an Acknowledgment to the Emperor of *China*, which is very base and mean.

18. He calls himself a *God*, which is not rare among the Kings in those parts, there are many *Nebuchadnezzars*. The King of *Candia*, who is Lord of *Ceylon*, and who has not the 20th part of the Greatness of him of *Siam*, has most lofty Titles and Epithets. But he that outdoes all the rest in this particular, is the great *Mogol*, King of Kings, Lord of Heaven and Earth, Almighty, and many other Titles he assumes; and all their Pains; Dis-

~ Diseases, and Sufferings, cannot unde-
*Nava-*ceive them, as they did vain-glorious *An-*
retie. *tiobus*, nor even Death which they see
 ~ has taken off their Predecessors. But
 how can the Understanding be free from

dismal Darkness, when it wants the su-
 pernatural Light? The *Chinese* ever was,
 and is more modest and humble, tho his
 Subjects extol him above the Moon.

C H A P. XXIX.

A more particular Account of the Tartars Irruption into China.

1. I Have been perswaded by some Per-
 sons to enlarge upon the manner of
 the *Tartars* breaking into and possessing
 himself of *China*, they not thinking what
 I writ concerning it in the First Book
 sufficient, considering how much others
 have made of it. Their Advice being
 friendly, I resolv'd to take this trouble
 upon me, and will add something con-
 cerning the *Chinese* of *Cabello*, who took
 the Island *Hermosa* from the *Dutch*, and
 threatned *Manila*, which will compleat
 the whole Work. Under the Reign of
 the Emperor of *China*, *Vuan Lie* the 13th
 Emperor of the Family *Chu*, of that Stock
 call'd *Ta Ming*, that is, great Light and
 Brightness, which lasted 270 Years; the
Tartars began to try their Valour against
 the Delights of *China*, with various Suc-
 cess. But being always in Arms, they
 gave some Apprehensions to the *Chinese*.
 Hostilities ceased in the Reign of the
 Emperor *Pung Ching*, but their Minds
 were nevertheless estranged.

2. During that time of Peace abroad,
 War broke out at home. Eight Armies
 of Robbers were raised, every one of
 them promis'd himself the Crown and
 Scepter, confiding in the Discord there
 was among the Great ones and *Manda-*
rines. The words of Christ are infalli-
 ble, *Every Kingdom that is divided in it*
self, shall be destroy'd. The Emperor's ex-
 traordinary Covetousness, and continual
 keeping within his Palace, which the *Chi-*
neses have always been blam'd for, for-
 warded his ruin. That happen'd which
 I gave an account of concerning *Leao*
Tung, after which the eight Armies
 fought among themselves, six of them
 were destroy'd, and only two remain'd
 victorious. These betook themselves to
 several Provinces: That Commander
 who went to *Zu Chuen*, whose Name was
Chang Hien Chung, was doubtless more
 cruel than *Nero*, or all the Tyrants that
 ever were; the number of those he caus'd
 to be butcher'd could never be ascer-
 tain'd. He subverted some whole Cities
 without any Provocation given; slew

Children and Women, without sparing
 his own; destroy'd *Bonzes*, the Learned
 Sect, Physicians, Eunuchs, without ex-
 empting Sex or Age. He was an Emblem
 of Hell, bearing down all that stood be-
 fore him with devouring Flames.

3. The other, whose Name was *Li Li Kung*
Kung Zu, came to the Imperial City, *Zu*.
 where he had many private Friends and
 Souldiers. This made his Entrance into
 the City easy, which happen'd one Morn-
 ing in *April* 1644, at the dawn of the
 Day. Who can express the Confusion,
 Noise, Tumult and Slaughter there en-
 su'd? In the midst of that Hurliburly, the
 Rebel trampling upon dead Bodys,
 through Streets running with Blood,
 came to the Palace, where the Emperor
 lay asleep wholly ignorant of that Dis-
 aster. Unhappy and wretched Emperor,
 Do you sleep and rest when the Enemy is
 at your Gate? Where are your Senti-
 nels? where your Guards? where your
 Ministers and Counsellors? Some say he
 in a fury and distraction got a Horseback,
 and rode about the Gardens, seeking
 which way to make his escape: Others,
 that he writ a Paper with his own Blood,
 in which he call'd the great Men Trai-
 tors, declar'd the Commonalty Innocent,
 and begg'd of the Rebel to punish the
 Heads. Some affirm, that he himself
 with his Scimiter slew a Maiden Daugh-
 ter he had, that she might not fall into the
 Enemies Hands; and afterwards with his
 Garters hang'd himself on a stately Palm-
 Tree. What I writ in the first Book
 was told me in the Imperial City; it is
 no easy matter to have all Particulars true.
 This was the end of that Emperor's
 Greatness, Majesty, Pleasures, Delicacy
 and Riches; when Subjects are disloyal,
 all the rest avails but little or nothing.
 A faithful Counsellor, some Concubines,
 Ladys and Eunuchs follow'd their Em-
 peror's Example; so that those delight-
 ful Gardens were converted into dismal
 mournful Groves. What a Spectacle
 was it to see those Trees loaded with the
 Carcases of despairing Wretches? A
 sad

Fung
 Chung.

Chang
 Hien
 Chung.

1644.

fad fight, and miserable Catastrophe of the State, Glory and Honour of so many Great Persons. This dismal accident being nois'd about the City, a great number of Men and Women hang'd themselves, others cast themselves into Lakes, and others poison'd themselves, that they might not fall into the hands of the mighty and treacherous Enemy *Li Kung Zu*.

4. The Traytor enter'd the Palace in Triumph, took upon him the name of Emperor, sat in the Imperial Throne, seiz'd the Government, ordering the dead Body to be cut into small bits. Horrid Barbarity! and two little Sons he had to be put to death. The first vanish'd, and has never yet been heard of, perhaps he cast himself into the River, or into some Lake or Well. He beheaded many *Mandarines*, and order'd his Soldiers to plunder that Populous City. The Cruelties, Barbarities and Obscenities there committed, no Pen can write.

5. Among the rest of the Prisoners he made, one was a Venerable Old Man of the name of *Vu*. His Son *Vu San Kuei*, was General of the mighty Army the Emperor kept against the *Tartars*. He forced the Old Man to write to his Son to submit and join his Army to his Forces. He threaten'd to kill him, if he did not write immediately; he did it, being forced to it by his threats; but the Son, who valued his Loyalty and Fidelity to his Emperor and Country, above the life of any single Man, tho it were his own Father, would not consent, but contriv'd how he might destroy the common Enemy of all the Empire. His design was good, but the method he chose prov'd the utter ruin of all he endeavour'd to retrieve. The intention was good, but the means bad. How much Men are deceiv'd for want of due consideration, or of good Counsellors? True it is, God to punish their sins, sometimes blinds them, and confounds their devices. *Job 12. He leadeth the Counsellors away spoiled, and maketh the Judges fools. He looseth the bond of Kings, and girdeth their loins with a Girdle, &c.*

6. *Vu San Kuei* ill advis'd, sent away an Embassy to the *Tartar*, offering him considerable Advantages, if he would bring an Army to join his, by which means he thought he might easily destroy the Rebel. The *Tartar* who desir'd no better an opportunity to put his designs in execution, came immediately with 80000 Men, most of them Horse. The *Tartar* perswaded the *Chinese* General,

to put his Army into the *Tartar* Garb, the more to terrify the Enemy, that his Army might appear the greater, marching all in a body to the Imperial City. The Usurper had timely notice, and immediately order'd the Treasure which Sixteen Emperors had laid up, to be brought out. Some say they were three, but others with more probability say, eight Days and Nights carrying out Riches upon Camels, Horses, Mules, and on the Backs of an infinite number of People, and yet a great deal remain'd. The Rebel made away with part of his Army, and fled to the Province of *Xen Si*, but the *Tartar* and *Chinese* overtook, fought, and overthrew him. The *Tartars* slew vast numbers, and recover'd the Treasure. The Usurper escap'd, because he had past the Yellow River.

7. *Vu San Kuei* thank'd the *Tartar* for the favour he had done him, perform'd all he had promis'd, and desir'd him to return to his Country; but he delay'd, using deceitful reasons, and pretended necessity, as that the Enemy was still alive, and favour'd by some Provinces, and therefore it was not fit he should withdraw and leave the Empire in danger. In the mean while innumerable *Tartars*, not only of one, but of several Nations, flock'd in daily, even from as far as that they call *Ju Pi*, which lies North of *Japan*. They are call'd by that name, which signifies fish-skin, because their Armour is made of them.

8. The *Tartars* carry'd along with them *Xun Chi*, a Child of six years of age, Son to *Zung Te*, King of the said *Tartars*, who dy'd a natural death at his first coming into *China*. I was told in the Imperial City *Pe King*, that the *Tartar* was desirous to see it, and as he was travelling in order to it, the *Mandarines* came out to meet him. As he was carry'd in his Chair talking with them, he said, may not I be Emperor? They all answer'd, Yes, Sir. For they were all full of fear and dread. He entred the City without the least opposition, went directly to the Palace, where having secur'd all things they declar'd *Xun Chi* Emperor. An Uncle of his govern'd for him some time, and the Nephew some years after apprehended and put him to death, upon some jealousy that he design'd to set up for himself.

9. They gave *Vu San Kuei* the Title of King, but Tributary to them, and bestow'd great Rewards on him; he finding himself weak, accepted of all and held his peace. The *Tartar* has ever been jealous

Narrative.
 lous of him, and he has ever shunn'd coming to Court lest he should be wholly in the Enemies power. In my time they made his Son King, his Father resigning that Dignity, but he excus'd himself from going to Court, whither he was call'd.

10. The news of the new Emperor was soon brought to *Nan King* the Southern Court; as soon as it was confirm'd, they presently crown'd a Cousin-german to the deceas'd *Chinese* Emperor. He took upon him the Government, and considering himself unable to withstand the Power of the *Tartar*, he sent an Embassy to desire him to rest satisfy'd with the Northern Provinces, and they would be Friends and Allies. The *Tartar* lik'd not the Proposal, but haughtily answer'd, He would have all or none. Being thus resolv'd, he advanced to that Noble City, where he found means to maintain Intelligence with a *Chinese* Traytor, who murder'd the General, and put the new Emperor into the power of the *Tartar*. The City and Southern Court being taken, they carry'd the new Emperor to *Pe King*, where they hang'd him over the Battlements, an honourable death in that Country. He had not reign'd a Year. Then follow'd the reducing of other Cities and Provinces; those that submitted were most courteously treated, but all that held out were inevitably devour'd by Fire and Sword. The *Jews* did so, read *Diut.* 20. This struck such a terror into the *Chineses*, that their Hearts fail'd them, if they heard but the name of the *Tartar*; and strong Cities surrendred at the sight of ten or a dozen Soldiers.

11. What had hapned at *Nan King* being nois'd abroad, the Great Men who had retir'd to *Hang Cheu*, the Metropolis of *Che Kiang*, crown'd *Lo Vuang*, who was of the Blood Royal. He was satisfy'd with the Title of King, and kept it but three Days. The *Tartar* belieg'd him, and he taking compallion of so many thousands of Souls as were in that City, did an action that was never parallel'd in the World: He went upon the Wall, and kneeling down in sight of the *Tartar* Commander, said to him, Brave and fortunate General, hear the Prayer and Request of a compullionite and humble King; I beseech you not to exercise your fury and anger on this beautiful Metropolis, nor to let your Sword prey on these innocent Subjects; if you are provok'd, it is I alone that am in fault, let me suffer for it, and not the Subjects who have not offended. As soon as he had spoke these words, he deliver'd himself

up to the *Tartar*. This King in a great measure imitated *Codrus*, but with different success. What an opportunity this was for the *Tartar* to have shown a Noble Soul! How well would the King and his Subjects have come off, had he met with an *Alexander* or a *Cesar*. He lighted among barbarous and cruel People, who were not satisfy'd with destroying the King, but butcher'd all his Army. Those who fled, which were very numerous, were drown'd in the River that washes the Walls, only the unarm'd Multitude was spar'd.

12. The *Chineses* had a Year's breathing, because the *Tartars* found themselves too weak to cross the River of *Hang Cheu*, we mention'd. During this time the *Chineses* set up two Persons, one took the Title of King; another at *Fo Kien*, call'd himself Emperor, but both of them dy'd without doing any thing worth notice. 'Tis impossible to write the Revolts and Calamities of that vast Kingdom. At *Kuang Tung* they set up another Emperor of the Blood Royal. His Wife was a Christian, her name *Helen*, and her Sons name *Constantine*. Many Stories were rais'd and spread abroad about these Persons, and look'd upon as half Revelations, all tending to the establishment of the Church in those parts. Whilst *Jung Lie*'s Fortune was favourable, his Wife and Son *Constantine* had some to assist them; his Lot alter'd, and they were forsaken. After various Accidents *Jung Lie* came to the Province of *Jun Nan*, where he gather'd an Army of 200000 Men (what signify'd the number, if they were not Soldiers?) and 600 Elephants. Here was an Army to conquer the World. The *Tartars* fought, and utter destroy'd it, the Elephants doing more mischief on their own than the Enemy's side. This was in the Year 1659, when I was in *China*. *Jung Lie* escap'd. This unhappy Prince travell'd through several Kingdoms, without finding any to assist him; it is said, he went into the Kingdom of *Pegu*, well known in *India*, and lying betwixt *Bengala* and *Siam*, there the *Tartar* reach'd him, bribing that King. He was carry'd to *China*, and there strangled in the Year 1662. Notice of it was given to all the Empire, tho I heard *Chineses* say, it was a fiction of the *Tartar*, to take away from the People all hopes of being ever restor'd to their own Princes, and so to settle their minds. This Man's Son *Constantine* is said to be about *Siam*, to have sent an Embassy to beg Aid of that King, and to live like a Christian. The Embassadors spoke with some

1659.

1662.

Missi-

Missioners, I wonder these did not advise them to have recourse to the *Europeans*, no more than they did him that was set up at *Fo Kien*. I fancy it was out of an ill policy, they would not advise them to make use of *Manila*, where these Princes might be supported and live in quiet

and hope. *Europeans* cannot see into these things, because they are unacquainted with them. Perhaps God may preserve *Constantine* for his greater Glory; for, Nothing that is violent is lasting; no body ever long held a violent Command, that which is moderate is lasting.

Navarrette.

C H A P. XXX.

An Account of Nicholas Kuon, and his Son Kue Sing.

1. THESE two *Chineses* having been so famous in that part of the World, it will be very convenient to give some account of them. They were both Prodigies of human Fortune, and great examples of its Mutability. She rais'd them from the dirt to a vast height, and cast them down into a most miserable and unhappy condition. *Cicero* said, Fortune was blind, and they are so who will be rul'd by her.

Nicholas
Kuon.

2. *Nicholas* was born in a little Fishing Town, near the Port call'd *Ngan Hai*. Being very poor, he resolv'd to try his Fortune, went over to *Macao*, and was there baptiz'd by the name of *Nicholas*. Thence he sail'd to *Manila*, and in both places follow'd very mean Employments. A desire of rising carry'd him away to *Japan*, where he had an Uncle who was indifferent wealthy. The Uncle perceiving his Nephew was sharp and ingenious, intrusted him with the management of his Trade, and marry'd him to an Infidel *Japonefe* Woman, by whom he had some Children; the Eldest of them is he that is before mention'd, of whom we shall treat hereafter. *Nicholas* gave a good account of all he was intrusted with, which made his Uncle trust him with a Boat loaded with much Plate, and rich Commodities, to go trade in *China*. He finding himself possess'd of so much Wealth, without the least remorse or scruple of Conscience, kept all to himself, and turn'd Pirate. He throve so vastly in this wicked Employment, that he was the terror of all *China*, and the *Chinesse* Emperor *Zung Ching* was forced to take him into his Service, making him his Admiral, and pardoning many heinous Crimes he was guilty of. He accepted of the Employ, and fixing himself in the Port call'd *Ngan Hai*, he settled a Trade with all the Kingdoms in that Archipelago, as *Tunquin*, *Cochinchina*, *Champa*, *Cambosja*, *Siam*, *Macasar*, with us at *Manila*, with the *Portugueses* at

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Macao, and with the *Dutch* at *Jacatra*, and the Island *Hermosa*, to which effect he was Master of above 3000 *Champanes*, (so the *Spaniards* call the *Chinesse* Vessels, and those of *Japan*, *Somas*; they carry the Burden of a good Pink) thus he grew so vastly rich, that he is said to have outdone the Emperor in Wealth.

Champanes.
Somas.

3. He attain'd to have 500 *Catholick* Blacks for his Guard, for he would not trust others; whenever he engag'd, he encourag'd his Blacks, calling upon *S. James* the Apostle, which it is likely he learn'd at *Manila*. When the *Tartar* came down to *Fo Kien*, he would fain have got him into his power, and often invited him, but he had always his Blacks who never lost sight of him: those Blacks were very terrible to the *Tartars*, who at last deceiv'd and got him to Court; and had he been more cautious and betaken himself to his Island, the *Tartar* had never been settled in the Government, or entred *Fo Kien*, if *Nicholas* had oppos'd it. I was told by one of my Order, who then liv'd near the Metropolis, that all Men blam'd *Nicholas*, but he having rose so high, and by such unjust means, must of necessity have a fall, and be made sensible of the inconstancy of Fortune.

4. He was mistaken in going to Court, and tho it was not long before he found his error and repented, it could not be retrieved. Repentance, says *S. Chrysostom*, does not avail in any worldly misfortune, but only against sin. He had his liberty for some time, but liv'd very uneasy, because his Son *Kue Sing* (a Noble Sirname given him by that Emperor, who was proclaim'd at *Fo Kien*) immediately taking up Arms against the *Tartar*, the Emperor was afraid *Nicholas* should make his escape, and join his Son, so that he would send for *Nicholas* by day and by night to be assured he was still about the Court. The Emperor was of a mild temper, and would not offer any violence to him, unless he were found guilty of some

X x 2

Crime.

Narrative. Crime. Therefore the Fathers residing at the Court us'd to say, that had not the Emperor dy'd, *Nicholas* had certainly liv'd; He that preserv'd him dy'd, and they that govern'd for the Infant-heir, put him to death. The Fathers were with him before, and gave him good advice, but to no purpose, and so at one stroke he lost the life of body and soul. This was the miserable end of *Nicholas*.

See Chap. 3. *Kue Sing* was inform'd how the *Tartars* had treated his Father, and betook himself to Sea with one single *Champan*, and only 1000 Ducats. Fortune favour'd him as much, or more than she had done his Father, for he became the Terror of the *Tartars*, and of all those Seas. He came to have an Army of above 100000 Men, and upwards of 20000 great and lesser Vessels, recovering all his Father's Trade. In the Year 1659, the Emperor *Jung Lie* sent a solemn Embassy to him to his Island *Hia Muen*, which is not above two Musket-shots from the Continent of *China*. God has there made a safe Harbour, capable of containing all the Shipping in the World. This Man was resolute, strong, revengeful and cruel, as being half a *Japonese*. He was expert to a Miracle at all sorts of Weapons; so brave and bold, that he was always the first who charg'd the Enemy. No part of his Body was free from Scars of Cuts and Shot. His Friends and Officers afterwards call'd his forwardness. He gain'd great Victories over the *Tartars*, had ever the better of them, except at the Assault he made upon the Southern Court in the Year 1659. Almost 100000 of his Men were kill'd, for he had then a prodigious Army. He was routed and fled, which was no small misfortune. This was the reason that mov'd the *Tartar* to draw the People from the Coast to the Inland, as I mention'd in the first Book; a costly but efficacious remedy. *Kue Sing* finding himself banish'd *China*, resolv'd to make War upon the *Dutch* in the Island *Hermosa*, which he did, and prov'd successful, a notable action. Some he put to death, cut off the Noses of others, and possess'd himself of that Noble Fortrefs, and the rich Ware-houses in it, valu'd at three Millions. The *Dutch* are blam'd for two things, the one that they went out of the Fort to fight, the other that they abandon'd a Hill which commanded the Fort and all about it.

4. During fifteen years that he held the Government, he put to death above 500000 Persons, and some for very small faults. He was so cruel that he sent from

the Island *Hermosa* to have his own Son put to death, because he had to do with the Nurse of the fourth Son. He also condemn'd his first Wife to death, but she made her escape by the help of some Christian Blacks; the Son too escap'd his Father's fury.

5. Turning a Promontory in the Province of *Che Kiang*, a terrible Storm rose, in which he lost 600 *Champanes*, and in them five Sons, and several Wives. A horrible loss! When the news was brought to *Pe King*, that *Kue Sing* was at *Nan King*, the *Tartars* were in such a Consternation, that the Emperor was about flying into his own Country. There is no doubt but if *Kue Sing* would have been advis'd, and had proceeded with deliberation, he had made himself Master of all *China*; he was proud, and that was enough to make him rash in his Undertakings. Upon the rout of the Enemy the *Tartar* recover'd, and took all measures to get rid of him, made up a Fleet of 800 *Champanes*, and attack'd the Enemy, who had 1200. At first the *Tartar* had the best, but the Wind favouring the Enemy, they came on with such fury, that the whole *Tartar* Fleet perish'd. Of the *Tartars* that engag'd ashore not one escap'd; yet afterwards the *Tartar* being assisted by the *Dutch*, whom he rewarded very ill, fought again, routed *Kue Sing*, drove him to the Island *Hermosa*, and brought all *China* under his Dominion. Afterwards when *Kue Sing* aspir'd to the Sovereignty of *Manila*, he sent a Religious Man of our Order with a Letter to the Governour, to this effect:

6. "It has been the practice of all Antiquity, and is so still, that any off-spring of a Foreign Nation pay Tribute and Acknowledgment to renowned Princes chosen by Heaven. The foolish *Hollanders* not understanding the Decrees and Ordinances of Heaven, behav'd themselves without fear or shame, wronging and tyrannizing over my Subjects, and robbing my trading *Champanes*; for which reason I had long since design'd to put out a Fleet to punish their Crimes; but Heaven and Earth having endu'd me with a wonderful Forbearance and Generosity, I continually sent them Friendly advice and admonitions, hoping they would repent for their sins, and mend their faults; but they growing more hardned, more unruly and perverse, took no notice. I being therefore highly provok'd in the Year

"1662,

1662.

“ 1662 [according to our computation]
 “ in the fourth Moon, the fury of my
 “ anger swelling, fet out a Fleet to cha-
 “ rize their Crimes, and coming to their
 “ Forts slew innumerable multitudes of
 “ them [*this is false, for only 600 Dutch*
 “ *were kill'd, and they destroy'd 8000 Chine-*
 “ *ses*] the *Hollanders* having no way left
 “ to fly, or get off, and naked, humbly
 “ beg'd they might be our Subjects.
 “ Their Cities, Forts, Lakes, Ware-
 “ houses, and what they had been many
 “ Years gathering, in a short time be-
 “ came mine [*how proudly he talks of*
 “ *Cities, and there was never a one there*]
 “ and had they, being sensible of their
 “ Faults, come sooner, humbly bowing
 “ their Foreheads to pay Tribute to me,
 “ perhaps I had been pleas'd, and
 “ they would not be now so misera-
 “ ble.

“ 7. Now your little, or mean King-
 “ dom, has wrong'd and oppress'd my
 “ Subjects, and my trading *Champanes*,
 “ not much unlike to the *Hollanders*,
 “ provoking Discord, and encouraging
 “ Revenge, by your present Tyranny.
 “ The Affairs of the Island *Hermosa*,
 “ are all settled to my mind; I have
 “ hundreds of thousands of able Soul-
 “ diers, abundance of Ships of War,
 “ and abundance of *Champanes* of this
 “ Island. The way to your Kingdom by
 “ Water is very short, so that setting
 “ out in the Morning we may come to it
 “ at Night. I thought to have gone to
 “ rights in Person with my Fleet to pu-
 “ nish your Crimes and Presumption
 “ [*God put a stop to him, or he had done*
 “ *much mischief*] but I remember, that
 “ tho your little Kingdom gave the first
 “ Provocation, it having afterwards ex-
 “ press'd some repentance, giving me ad-
 “ vice concerning the first Article of this
 “ Affair, I resolv'd to pardon it. My
 “ Fleet being now in the Island *Hermo-*
 “ *sa*, I send before only the Father
 “ [*it was F. Victorio Riccio a Florentin,*
 “ *that went over in the same Vessel with*
 “ *me, a Man of extraordinary Parts and*
 “ *Worth*] and by him friendly Advice,
 “ that your small Kingdom may submit
 “ to the will of Heaven and acknowledg
 “ its Faults, and come yearly in humble
 “ manner to my Court to pay homage
 “ to me. In case you do so, I order the
 “ Father to return to me with the An-
 “ swer, and I shall give intire credit to
 “ him. I will deal fairly, pardon your
 “ past Faults, assisting and giving you
 “ employments in your Royal Town,
 “ and will order the Merchants to go

“ trade there. And in case you suffer
 “ your selves to be deceiv'd, and are not
 “ sensible of your own good, my Fleet
 “ shall be upon you immediately, and shall
 “ burn and destroy your Forts, Lakes,
 “ Cities, Warehouses, and all other
 “ things; and then tho you beg to be ad-
 “ mitted to pay Tribute, it shall not be
 “ granted you. If so, the Father need
 “ not return. Good and Evil, Loss and
 “ Gain, are now in the Ballance; your
 “ little Kingdom must resolve spec-
 “ dily, and not delay repentance till it
 “ is too late; I only advise, and admo-
 “ nish you friendly. In the 13th Year
 “ of *Jun Lie* [*that is 1662*] the 7th
 “ of the 3d Moon, [*which was in A-*
 “ *pril.*]

8. This Message caus'd much disorder
 among the *Chineses* that were then at
Manila, they mutiny'd and back mur-
 der'd a Religious Man of the Order.
 All things being pacify'd (in account of
 the rest shall be seen in another place)
 it was resolv'd *F. Vitorio* should return
 with the Answer. His Life was expos'd
 to that mole's Tyrant, and it is cer-
 tain, that had not God taken him off,
 he had cruelly tortur'd the poor Reli-
 gious Man. *D. Sabiniano Mawrique de*
Lara governed the Island at that time
 very worthily, and answer'd the Letter
 that has been insert'd above, in this
 manner.

9. *D. Sabiniano Mawrique de Lara*,
 Knight of the Order of *Calatrava*, one
 of the Council of his Catholick Majesty
 our Sovereign Lord King *Philip* the 4th
 the Great Monarch of *Spain*, and of the
East and West-Indies, Islands and Conti-
 nent of the Ocean Sea, his Governour
 and Captain General in the *Philippine*
 Islands, and President of the Royal
 Court, and Chancery, where he presides
 &c.

“ 10. To *Kue Sing*, who rules and go-
 “ verns the Sea Coasts of the Kingdom
 “ of *China*. [*He honour'd him too much*]
 “ No Nation in the World is ignorant,
 “ that the *Spaniards* obey none but their
 “ King, confessing and adoring Almighty
 “ God, the Creator of Heaven and Earth,
 “ Cause of all Causes, without beginning,
 “ middle, or end; and that they live
 “ in his Holy Law, and die for the de-
 “ fence of it, and that their dealings are
 “ fair, just, and always the same, as
 “ has appear'd by those they have had
 “ for several Years with the *Chineses*,
 “ who have brought Commodities worth
 “ many thousands, and have been en-
 “ rich'd and got vast Treasures by their
 “ re-

~~~~~  
*Nava-*  
*rette.*  
 ~~~~~

Navarrette.

“ returns. They have found Faith in our
 “ promises, and had our love and assist-
 “ ance, whilst they have professed them-
 “ selves Friends; and you having continu-
 “ ed the same correspondence, since
 “ *China* was divided by the Wars, we
 “ have continued in amity, protecting
 “ your Vessels, supplying you bountifully
 “ with Commodities and Provisions you
 “ wanted, without any let, wishing you
 “ well, and to know whether you want-
 “ ed any help or comfort in the Variety
 “ of Fortune that has attended you; re-
 “ fusing on the *Tartars* account to expel
 “ the *Chineses* that were among us of
 “ your Province, or Party. You were
 “ thankful for this, gratefully declaring
 “ you would continue your Friendship,
 “ and be unalterable as the incorruptible
 “ Stone. You sent your Embassador,
 “ who was receiv’d, entertain’d, and
 “ dismiss’d with all kindness imaginable.
 “ And yet now contrary to your promise,
 “ and to that publick Faith you ought to
 “ observe, pretending wrongs, you de-
 “ mand Homage and Tribute, without
 “ considering the mischiefs may accrue,
 “ nor the inestimable Benefit you at pre-
 “ sent receive: for tho you should obtain
 “ the Dominion of these Islands,
 “ which is not easy but rather impossible,
 “ you would only lord it over your self,
 “ destroying the Trade, without leav-
 “ ing your self a possibility of gathering
 “ such Treasure any other way as you
 “ yearly transport from hence, en-
 “ riching you, your Allies, and all your
 “ Nation and Kingdom of *China*, no
 “ other Nation about us having such
 “ Conveniences as you have hence.
 “ Look upon the Gods you adore, made
 “ of the Metal you carry from hence;
 “ reflect before you make your Adora-
 “ tion and Submission, and you will find
 “ that this Country is under the Domi-
 “ nion, Jurisdiction and Power of our
 “ Lord the King; you will be sensible
 “ he is a Sovereign upon all accounts;
 “ and yet when you should seek your
 “ own Preservation, you threaten War,
 “ boasting of your Power. Be it as it
 “ will, I have caus’d all the *Sangleyes*
 “ (that is *Chineses*) that were in these
 “ Islands at their ease, and driving their
 “ Trades, to depart freely with their
 “ Goods and Vessels, that you may have
 “ the more to bring you over; without
 “ taking notice of the mutiny rais’d by
 “ some who were jealous they might
 “ lose their Lives for the extravagancy
 “ of your Letter, which they impu-

“ ted to want of sense and understand-
 “ ing; but I us’d Mercy towards them,
 “ because we would not draw our Swords
 “ upon an inconsiderable number, nor
 “ discredit the Valour God has endu’d us
 “ with, which is such, that tho your Pow-
 “ er were double and treble what
 “ you boast of, yet we think it but little
 “ enough to exercise our Courage upon.
 “ Therefore we answer, that it is not in
 “ your power to make Kingdoms larger
 “ or smaller, because your Life and
 “ Duration is but short and insignificant;
 “ for you were born as it were yesterday,
 “ and must die as to morrow, without
 “ leaving the least memory of your Name
 “ in the World; for you know no other
 “ World but *China*: in these Parts the
 “ Air is different, the influences of Hea-
 “ ven not the same, and Colours near at
 “ hand vary from what they appear at a
 “ distance. All the Ports and Passages
 “ are stopt to admit of no body from
 “ you, unless you repent and sue for
 “ Peace, with all necessary Precaution
 “ for preserving the Honour of the Arms
 “ of *Spain*, and for the greater Glory
 “ of our Lord God. And if you perse-
 “ vere, you shall be receiv’d as an Ene-
 “ my, you shall be answerable for the
 “ Lives that are lost, and the dangers
 “ that threaten you; and we will stand
 “ resolutely upon our defence, and de-
 “ fend the universal rights of Nati-
 “ ons: and if you are unwilling to take
 “ so much pains, let us know it, and the
 “ *Spaniards* shall come to you, tho you
 “ will find enough to do with the *Tar-
 “ tars*, and even with those that follow
 “ and hate you, and with the *Hollanders*,
 “ who find you employment, retrieving
 “ their reputation as they well know
 “ how to do it. So that you will have no
 “ place of safety; we still expecting the
 “ good success we shall meet with from
 “ the hand of God, for the Sea, the
 “ Winds, the Fire, the Earth, and all
 “ the whole Creation will conspire a-
 “ gainst you; the Cross we bear in our
 “ Colours, as the mark of our Redemp-
 “ tion, obtaining the Triumph that is
 “ due to it. And that you may not
 “ doubt of the Answer, *F. Vittorio Ric-
 “ cio* your Embassador and mine carries
 “ it, that you may receive him as such,
 “ and cause the Liberties and Immuni-
 “ ties of Embassadors, us’d among
 “ Princes and Sovereigns, to be invio-
 “ lably kept in his Person. God give
 “ you that true Knowledge we wish you,
 “ and that good Neighbourhood we
 “ ob-

“ observe. *Manila*, July 10. 1662.

11. They were satisfy'd at *Manila* that *Kue Sing* would sail thither the next Year with all his Power; therefore the Governor *D. Sabiniانو Manrique* took care to repair and add new Fortifications. He was so intent upon giving a good Example, that he put his hands to the Work; so much was done in a Year, that *F. Victorio* writ to us in *China*, that when he return'd thither in the Year 1663, he did not know *Manila*.

12. The Governor having commanded the *Chineses* to depart *Manila*; the first Champanes that went out carried the news to *Kue Sing* of the Resolution he had taken, adding Lies, as that he had caus'd a great number of *Chineses* to be put to death. That barbarous proud Mungrel in a rage blasphem'd Heaven, and was ready to tear himself in pieces through mere Passion; thus in a few days he ended his wretched Life. *F. Victorio* writ us word, that his Body remain'd so deform'd that no body could endure to look at it, and therefore they presently put it into a Coffin. Other *Chineses* who came afterwards, gave an account how *F. Victorio* had assisted and favour'd them in the Tumult at *Manila*, which made the said Father be well receiv'd, not by *Kue Sing*, whom he did not see even dead, but with his Kindred, with whom he treated about a Peace; which he concluded to the Satisfaction of all the Islands. *Kue Sing's* eldest Son, whom, as has been said, he had order'd to be put to death, succeeded him; he is ill-natur'd, and not so resolute or wise as his Father; therefore I question his making himself Master of any Provinces in *China*, as was reported this Year 1675. The Letters from *Manila* of 1674 inform me, that a Governor of four Provinces in *China* has revolted, and has many Followers; the Letters of 1673 from *China* make no mention of it, which makes me doubt it; nor do I know of any Governor of four Provinces there is, unless it be *Vu San Kuci*; and if he has revolted, the *Tartar* is in danger. (We find since that all this either was not at all, or came to nothing.)

1674.

13. *F. Victorio* found many Christians in the Island *Hermosa*; and perceiving they were not tainted with the Heresy of the *Hollanders*, he inquir'd how it came about; and they told him, That when the *Dutch* took our Fort (for which *D. Sebastian de Corcuera* was to blame) some of them, in the presence of the *Indians*, went into our Church, where one draw-

ing his Sword, hack'd the Crucifix that stood upon the High Altar; and then in the sight of all the Christians, the Heretic turn'd about, and fell down dead. This strange Accident convinced the Christians that those were wicked People, and therefore they would never give ear to what they said. A wonderful Prodigy our Lord was pleas'd to show, to retain those poor Converts in the Purity of the Faith.

Navarrete.

14. *Kue Sing* wanted all the Qualities and Perfections a ruling Prince ought to be adorn'd with, therefore it is no wonder God should punish him with so wretched an End. 1. High Place, Dignity, and Power, is to be dreaded, and not coveted, as *S. Thomas* proves, *Lib. 1. cap. 1. de Erudit. Princ.* *Kue Sing* did not only covet, but tyrannically usurp'd that Greatness he had. 2. For a Man to secure and establish himself in the Government, he stands in need of true Wisdom, as the Saint teaches, *chap. 2.* and of Goodness of Life, attended by solid and not vain Nobility, as he teaches in the following Chapters; all which that Man was void of. How then could he avoid the Precipice? And if Humility preserves Crowns, and Pride destroys them, as was mention'd in the Second Book, and *S. Thomas* writes *cap. 6.* Who was more proud and haughty than *Kue Sing*? A Prince ought to be merciful and mild, not vain, covetous, or addicted to worldly Pleasures, as the Saint proves at large and incomparably well throughout all that Book. *Kue Sing* having been of a quite contrary disposition, he in vain usurp'd all those Titles he made use of.

15. And if we consider the superior Qualifications that ought to adorn the Regal Power, such as the Theological Virtues, fear of God, and others the holy Doctor mentions *Lib. 2.* we shall find that haughty *Chiniese* neither had, nor so much as knew any of them. And tho' it be true that the Emperors of that Nation were defective as to these as well as he, yet many of them, as has been shown, did the Duty of their Office through the means of the natural Virtues they possess, and which *Kue Sing* wanted.

16. Let us see whether he had those *S. Cyprian* sets down in *Lib. de Duodec. Abusjon. Seculi.* *S. Thomas* mentions them *Lib. 2. cap. 13. de Erudit. Princ.* above quoted. 1. That the King must oppress or hurt no Man wrongfully. 2. That he must give equal Judgment, without being sway'd by Love or Hate. 3. That

he must be a Defender of Orphans, Widows, and Strangers. 4. That he must suppress Robberies, and punish Adultery. 5. Not bestow high Places on wicked Men, not encourage Players, and banish impious Persons. 6. Not pardon Murderers; defend the Church, and maintain the Poor. 7. Make good and just Men Governours, and take ancient, wise, and frugal Men for his Counsellors. 8. Let his Anger and Passion go over, defend his Dominion manfully, not be puff'd up with Prosperity, and bear all Adversities with resolution. 9. Have great confidence in God, and be observant in the Catholick Religion. 10. Breed up his Children holily, and have certain hours for Prayer, and not eat but at regular Hours. *These things make a Kingdom happy for the present, and carry a King to Heaven.* Then S. Thomas quotes what S. Augustin and S. Gregory writ upon the same Subject, whereof something has been said in the Second and Third Books. And tho it be true that *Kue Sing* can plead Ignorance, as to what relates to God and his Holy Religion, yet he can-

not in the other Particulars, for as much as all that has been here mention'd out of these Saints, may be found in their Books, as may appear by what has been writ in other places. In short, he neither observ'd the natural Rules a Prince ought to follow, nor the supernatural. It were well for us that they who have been born under greater Ties than that *Chinese*, who rais'd himself so high from so mean a Fortune, would practise and observe them. If to what is written already we should add the rest S. Thomas mentions in his *Opusc.* which they ought always to carry with them whom God has entrusted with Government, it would be enough not only to make a King good and virtuous, but even holy, and a great Saint if he observed it. In *Lib. 6. cap. 7.* the Saint has admirable words, and something concerning those whom Kings ought to have about them. Those that are very near, says he, must be very holy, the next very wise; the first must answer to the Seraphims, who are most familiar with God; the next to the Cherubims.

C H A P. XXXI.

Some things added relating to what has been already writ.

1. AFTER putting an end to my Travels, I have remembred some Passages that will suffice to make up another Chapter; and I doubt not but if I would give my self time to reflect upon what I have seen, I might find matter to dilate further upon.

2. In the first and last Books I spoke something of the Civility, Modesty, and good Behaviour of the *Chinese* Soldiery; and considering the Experience I had of it, I might well have enlarg'd upon the Subject. Methinks the *Chinese* observe what the Emperor *Aurelianus* writ to one of his Lieutenants, *Vopiscus in Aurel.* sets it down; Friend, says he, if you would be a good Commander, and desire to live, keep your Soldiers within bounds: I will not have the Country-man complain, that a Chicken or a Bunch of Grapes is forcibly taken from him; I will call them to account for a Grain of Salt, or drop of Oil, they have unjustly made use of. I will have my Soldiers grow rich with the Spoils of their Enemies, not with the Tears and Sweat of my Subjects. I will have them wear their Riches on their Backs, not lavish

them in Taverns; I will have them chast in their Quarters, and no Complaints come against them. S. *Lewis* King of *France* could not have given better Instructions to those that serv'd in his Armies. No body will have cause to admire what *Marcus Scaurus* writes, that he saw numbers of Soldiers lying under a great Tree loaded with Fruit, and none of them stretch'd out his hand to gather an Apple. Nor will that be thought strange which *Lampridius* writes of *Alexander Severus*, that the Soldiers march'd to the *Persian* War as if they had been Senators, and that the Country people lov'd them as if they had been their Brothers, and honour'd the Emperor as a God. All this I saw in effect practis'd in *China*; when five, or six, or more Companies came into a Town, it is no otherwise than if half a dozen honest known Guests were coming; no Man is disturb'd, no body is in a Consternation, or hides, as we see they do in other parts where they are under greater Ties. Many Men seem to perswade themselves, that the Day they are list'd and appear in Arms, they are to lay aside all Christianity;

nity, this we daily see there is no denying of it.

3. That brave and renowned General *Belisarius* behav'd himself much better, as *Procopius de Bello Vand.* writes: He order'd two Soldiers to be impal'd for some Crimes; and being inform'd that the rest mutter'd, he said to them, Know that I am come to fight with the Arms of Religion and Justice, without which no Victory or Happiness is to be expected. I will have my Souldiers keep their hands clean to kill the Enemy. I will never suffer that Man in my Army whose fingers are stain'd with Blood, tho he be a *Mars* in War. Force without Justice and Equity, is Cowardice not Valour. Read what *Oleaster* observes in *Deut.* 2. *You shall buy Meat of them for Money.* All Catholicks who serve, especially Officers, ought to have these words engrav'd on their Arms. Punishment is very material, every Man trembles when he knows for certain there is no Pardon. The

Discipline.

Chineses make good use of this Method. Complaint was made at *Fo Ngan*, that some Soldiers had stole a Hen; the Captain who liv'd near the Church, inquir'd into the Matter, and gave the Signal that he would sit to try it. I presently went up into a Garret, the Window whereof overlook'd all the Court-yard, and part of the Room where he sat in Judgment; I stood a while to observe what was done, tho somewhat back that I might not be seen: There was no hearing what they said, but the result of it was, that they stretch'd out a Soldier upon his Face in the Court-yard, and laying his Thighs bare, began to bastinado him with thick Cudgels, that I wonder they did not kill him: It made my Heart ake, and I observ'd that after one Blow was given, till the other fell, that Wretches flesh shook so that it was terrible to behold. I went down immediately, having no Heart to see that cruel Execution. Who will dare to offend, seeing such Punishments? But the other was more severe, when as I writ before, a Soldier was beheaded for paying a Half-penny short. *S. Thomas* writes much to this purpose in *Opusc. de Erudit. Princip.* And in his sixth Book he makes a special Chapter of the Mischiefs of War.

Winds.

Tufon.

4. It is usual about the beginning of *August* to have a terrible storm of East-Winds on the Coast of *China*, which the *Portugueses* and others call *Tufon*, a corruption of the *Chinese* name *Tung Fung*, that is, Easterly Wind. The Seamen dread it, and almost endeavour to get

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into Harbour before it comes. It sometimes reaches as far as *Manila*, the *Indians* call it *Bagio*: I have felt it, and indeed it is terrible, and does much hurt among Buildings, Sugar-Canes, and other Product of the Earth. I have read that of late Years they have declin'd, but they know nothing of it in those parts; for I have discours'd *Spaniards* and *Portugueses* about these *Tufons*, and could never find there was any alteration in them. There is no necessity of multiplying Miracles, or attributing them to any body to no purpose.

Narr-
rette.

5. The Kingdom of *Cochinchina* lies *Cochin-*
China. lies betwixt *Tunquin* and *Champa*; the Country is good, and abounds in Silk; they trade from thence to *Manila*, whether they carry Curiosities from *Japan*, those People having a Trade there. They have also sail'd thither from *Manila*; sometimes they have made good Returns, and other times through the private Fancies of some Men have lost all. The Soldiery of this Kingdom is the best in all those Parts, is well-disciplin'd, and most days the King keeps 40000 Men at Court to shoot at a Mark, and those that aim best are rewarded with pieces of Silk. I have several times heard *Spaniards* and *Portugueses* say, they are all excellent Marks-men; and that the words of *Judges* 20. 16. cannot be better applyed to any People in the World than to those of *Cochinchina*. This is the Reason they have always the better in their continual Wars with the King of *Tunquin*, tho this last exceeds the other in all respects, not only in number of Men, but in Wealth, and the multitude of Elephants he carrys to War. They have also many light Galleys, with which they do Wonders in the great River that runs up to the Court. There is no doubt but the *Europeans* have furnish'd that and other powerful Kingdoms, having provided them Fire-Arms, Cannon and Gunners. There is at present in *Cochinchina*, a half-Black of *Portuguese* Breed, who in my time was made Knight of the Order of *Christ*; he is an able Officer, an excellent Founder, and very curious at making Chain-Bullets, and other warlike Instruments.

6. The Kingdom of *Cambixa* lies *Cambixa.*
more to the South in the Latitude of *Manila*, and therefore the People are not so warlike as Authors write; and Experience teaches, they have but little Blood, and are afraid to lose it. That King is not so well guarded as others. *Manila* has always had a Trade with that Country.

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try, which has excellent Timber for Shipping. Some years since the People of *Manila* built one there which was famous, and the memory of the Ship of *Camboxa* lasts to this day. Another was built in my time, but perish'd unfortunately. It has often been argued at *Manila*, whether it be more advantageous to build Shipping in our Islands, or in Foreign Kingdoms, *Camboxa*, *Siam*, &c. I have heard Arguments on both sides, and read printed Memorials upon the Subject at *Madrid*: It is not easy to decide. Those that are for building abroad favour the *Indians*, tho' some will not have it so; certain it is, they that do not groan under the Labour, do not like it; I do not design to concern my self with these Affairs, but it can be no harm to repeat what others say. I often heard it said, by a Person of Judgment and well-meaning, that the best way was to buy Ships of the *English* or *Portugueses* of those Countries, who build good ones and so strong, that they sail them into *Europe*. I must confess I saw an *English* Frigate of 40 Guns at *Malaca*, and was a good while aboard it with some *Portugueses*; it might appear with credit any where, and the Captain did assure me it did not cost full 8000 Pieces of Eight. The Ship, which in the Year 1665 was forced from *Macao* to *Manila*, and so much commended by all Men at the Port of *Cavite* because of its goodness, was taken by the Governor *D. John de Salcedo* to sail to *Acapulco*, had been built at *Goa*, and cost not 7000 Pieces of Eight; I sail'd in it four months, which is enough to know whether it was good: And if every Ship were to cost *Manila* ten or twelve thousand Pieces of Eight, it were too cheap. I did not mention *Camboxa* to this purpose, tho' I am not sorry it came into my mind; my design was to give an account, that sixty Leagues up the River beyond the Court, there are certain beautiful Buildings, with the most curious Workmanship imaginable; the Relation of their Excellency and Perfection which was brought to *Goa*, astonish'd all Men. I sent that which I had from *D. Francis Enriquez de Lofada* into *Spain* as a Rarity, there is no inserting of it in this place. The Work some say is *Mosaick*, others *Roman*: Some will have it to be the Work of *Alexander* the Great, who they fancy went so far, and order'd that stately Palace to be built as a Memorial to Posterity of his being there. It consists of Square Courts and Cloisters, as they are in fashion at present,

but no part is without fine Mouldings and Carvings, it is the King's Pleasure-House. When *D. James de Lofada* went over thither to build the Ship I said was cast away, the King was taking his Pleasure, and therefore the *Spaniards* went up thither and saw this Wonder. Above it is the large Kingdom of the *Laos*, a Country abounding in Musk, Civit, Frankincense, Benjamin and Storax, which Commodities they carry to *Manila*, and thence they are sent into *New Spain*. The Country swarms with People; on the West it borders upon *Siam*, on the North it draws near to the Kingdom of *Tibet*; North-west of it is *Bengala*, and then it stretches a little up to the *Mogol's* Dominions; lower is *Narsinga*, but at a considerable distance.

7. I have writ something concerning the Kingdom of *Siam*; it is certainly very great and powerful, and crossing it by Land you come to *Tanassary*, a famous Port of great Trade; they that take this way need not come within many Leagues of *Malaca* or *Sincapura*, the way is shorter and saves much Sea. They travel in Carts about twenty days Journey, and go in Caravans, but seldom lie in any Town. At night they enclose themselves with their Carts and Blankets, to keep off the many Elephants there are about the Fields. And tho' that Defence would avail but little should any Elephant attack it, yet it serves to scare them so that they do not gather near it; thus Men and Beasts lie in safety. At *Tenassarim* there are always Vessels to go over to *Coromandel*, *Bengala*, and other Parts; this is a convenient way for those that have not much Baggage. The chief thing the *Moors* deal in from that part is Elephants, they are cheaper than those of *Ceylon*, but not so noble.

8. *F. Letona*, cap. 2. n. 26. speaking of the Gulph of *Sincapura*, in his Description of the *Philippine Islands*, says, it is the way to the Gulph of *Goa*, the Court of *India*: A very improper expression, for there is no such thing as a Gulph of *Goa*; Gulphs of *Bengala* and *Ceylon* there are. That City is seated almost in the midst of the Coast of *Malabar*, which stretches out North and South from Cape *Comorè* to *Suratte*. North-west of *Suratte* is the Kingdom of *Cambaya*, Tributary to the *Mogol*, where there is abundance of *Agate*; abundance of it is wrought at *Suratte*, and very cheap, as I observ'd before. At *Macasar* I read in a *Spanish Book* call'd *Prado Espiritual*, written by *F. Santoro*, that the first Velvet ever was seen in

in *Europe*, came from this Kingdom. In the time of the *Roman* Power that King sent a Present, and among other things some Pieces of Velvet up the Gulph of *Persia*, and thence by Land, which was easy enough, the way is well known.

9. As to *Philip* the Second of *Spain's* Letter, which I said was shewn to the Captain General of *Macao*, forbidding any from the *Philippine Islands* to pass that way into *China*; I say they cannot make use of it, for as much as *Pope Urban* the Eighth publish'd his Bull some Years since at *Macao*, forbidding any Person under heavy Censures to hinder Missioners from going into *China* and other Parts, what way soever they could find out. This Bull is Obligatory takes off all dependance on that Letter, if not we must have recourse to the Supreme Judg. I did so, and *Clement* the Tenth, who now governs the Church, confirm'd the said Bull in all its Parts; if this be not enough, we must bear our Neighbours Misfortunes with patience. And to take away all colour of Authority from that Letter, I will here insert what *Philip* the Fourth in his Councils of *Portugal* and *India* decreed, in *January* 1632.

1. That in regard the Right and Duty of preaching and dilating the Gospel is common to all the Faithful, and particularly recommended to religious Men; therefore the Millions of *Japan* and *China* are not to be confin'd to the Fathers of the Society alone, but that all Orders have liberty to go thither, and get in the best they can, particularly those who have been allow'd to go over to the *West-Indies* and have Monasteries there. 2. That they go not only by way of the *East*, but of the *West-Indies*, within whose Limits *Japan* and the *Philippine Islands* are, and which is the most convenient Passage for the Religious of *Castile*. There follow nine other Heads, which in effect *Pope Urban* mentions in his Bull of 1633. So that the prohibition of any others going to *Japan* but the Jesuits, and that by way of the *East-Indies*, is taken off by the Pope, the King and Council of *Portugal*. The same for *China* and other Kingdoms.

10. There are some things to be observ'd in the Description of *Manila*, and other Islands in that Sea, written by *F. Letona*, whom I knew and convers'd with at *Manila*. Tho' this Father was curious in observing and enquiring, yet he never going farther than *Manila*, could not be an Eye-witness of what he says, nor be exact in all things.

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11. He made no mention of the Island *Ambonya*, which abounds in Cloves; nor of that of *Bima* which is near it, and considerable; and so of others towards *Solor* and *Timor*. The *Dutch* are strong at *Ambonya*, and have engros'd to themselves all the Trade of Cloves. It falls on the back of *Macao*. Not long before my coming to *Macao*, the *Sumbane* and Prince *Caroro* had been with 40000 Men to ruin the *Dutch* at *Ambonya*. The Secretary *Francis Mendez* Knight of the Order of *Christ*, a good Christian, and akin to the *Sumbane*, assur'd me, he had made so great a progress, that the *Dutch* had abandon'd their Works, and betaken themselves to their Vessels to go off: But that the *Mahometans* at the last Attack falling to drinking, the *Dutch* took heart, return'd to their Works, and being encourag'd by the Enemies Folly, got the better of them, they returning with shame to *Macao* when they had been at an incredible Charge. The Secretary much lamented the Defeat of that Expedition, which had been very advantageous to the *Mahometan*, and perhaps had prevented his falling into the hands of the *Dutch*, as he did in the Year 1670.

12. *F. Letona*, n. 5. writes, that within the Archbishoprick of *Manila*, there were certain Heathen Blacks. Natives of the Island, unconquer'd, call'd *Zambales*, and very barbarous. I said something of them before, they are most expert Archers; but they deceiv'd him who said they were the same as the *Zambales*, for these *Zambales* are mortal Enemies to the Blacks, and much dreaded of them. There are very good Christians among them; their Towns are on the Skirts of the Mountains, to hinder the Blacks from coming at the Towns of the *Indians*. For these and other Reasons, the *Zambales* are exempt from Contributions and personal Duty; they pay their Taxes in Silver, not in *specie*. The Blacks have friz'd Hair like the *Casres*, the *Zambales* have not. The Blacks are not conquer'd, nor is it possible to subdue them, tho' 100000 Men were gather'd to that purpose. 1. Because the Mountains are inaccessible, and so thick wooded, that unless the Shelter be destroy'd, neither *Spaniards* nor *Indians* can advance a step, and the Blacks run in and out at every hole like Hares. 2. Because they stand behind the Trees with their Arrows, shoot as many as they please without being seen, by reason their Colour cannot be distinguish'd from that of the Tree.

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If the *Indians* and *Zambales* go into the Mountains, they have generally the worst of it, and therefore they endeavour to catch the Blacks in open Fields, but it is no ealie matter. I knew them sometimes at Peace, and sometimes at War with the *Indians*; when they were at Peace, whole Troops of them would come down to the Towns, we gave them Tobacco, Rags and Wine, which pleas'd them very much, and some of them help'd the principal *Indians* in their Tillage. We admir'd to see them so fat, tall and strong, whereas they eat nothing but wild Mountain Roots, some Fruit and raw Flesh, without any Clothing but their Skin, or any other Bed but the Ground.

13. Every one of them has certainly his Bow and Arrows, the Bow is as long as he that uses it, they make them of a Palm-tree as hard as Iron; the String is made of the Barks of Trees, so strong that nothing can out do them. Besides the Bow they use another little Iron Weapon, broader than ones hand, a quarter of a Yard long, the handle very fine; they said they made it of burnt Oysters and Snails; it look'd like delicate Marble. This Weapon serves them near at hand, with it they cut off a Man's Head at the mouth very cleverly. All the People along those Mountains, as far as New *Segovia*, value a Scull mightily to drink out of, so that he who has most Sculls is the bravest and noblest among them; and they go out to cut off Heads only for this honour, without any other prospect. In some places they make use of the Teeth of those Heads they cut off, stringing and making Garlands of them to wear on their Heads; he that has most is best look'd upon. There are a great many People on the Mountains of *Orion*, upon the Bay of *Manila*, but they are peaceable; all the time I was there, they never did the least hurt. I saw some Companies, and particularly an Old Man, whom I made much of rather out of fear than love; I laid my Hand on his Back, and it felt like an Ass, it was so rough and hairy.

14. N. 12. F. *Letona* makes the Mouth of the Bay at the Island call'd *Marivcler*, four Leagues wide, it has two Mouths, but neither of them a League over. The little Mouth is widest, because the Land lying low the Water spreads, but it has not much depth. The great one is very deep, but not above half a League over. All Men complain that a Fort has not been built on that Island, to secure the two Channels against the attempts of

Enemies; if Cannon were planted there, no Ship could escape through without being hit. Those Channels lie open to any Invader to possess himself of *Pampanga*, and other Provinces, without the least let from *Cabite*, or *Manila*; and thence they may cross the Lake, ravage the whole Island, and seize all Provisions. I ask'd a Major, why a thing of that consequence was not minded? He made me the usual answer, that it was because they took no care of the Publick Good.

15. Among some reflections made upon a Memorial presented at *Madrid* some years since, I saw a Note made by some one who had been in the Islands; and having nothing to answer or object to one point, he says, Religious Men think they do nothing, unless they intrude themselves to govern all. This is an excellent method to discredit all they write or propose; and yet who could be more plain and unbiass'd than they in proposing to his Majesty what is for the good of his Subjects? A great Plague has fallen upon the *Indians*, which is, that no notice is taken of what their Spiritual Fathers advise for their good; and no sooner is any thing writ against Religious Men, but it is presently credited, or at least care is taken to enquire whether it be true or not. It hapned in my time at *Manila*, that a Governour was accus'd, and heinous things laid to his charge; however it was resolv'd he should govern out his time, and be accountable when he gave an account of his Office. Complaint was made, I know not for what, of a grave Religious Man of a certain Order, and immediately they sent and seiz'd all he had, took him out of the Monastery, and carry'd him fifty Leagues off; I do not argue whether the Crime objected was great or not; but supposing it to be such, had that Frier no Superiors? The Secular Power presently took it in hand, without granting him a hearing, or finding any Politick excuse to delay the matter, as they did about the Governour, because this they look upon as doing the King good service. So they put a good Clergyman, for whom *D. Sabimiano Manrique de Lara* had a great respect, into Irons, and banish'd him the Islands, in the sight of many Infidels. What Opinions can those Heathens have of a Priest so banish'd by the Laity? I will say no more of it here, because I will not pretend to govern; but I could justly complain of one, who writ scandalously against *F. Victorio Riccio*, to whom those Islands are more beholden than to all that

that are or have been there.

16. F. *Letona*, N. 14. makes a distinction betwixt the going out to Sea at *Marivelez* for *New Spain*, and that for *Terranate*, N. 17. but I can see no reason for it; the season is different, but nothing else. For that reason the Ships that go to *New Spain*, stand out to see towards the Island *Luban*, in order to sail away thence with the Trade wind to the Anchoring-place. This could not be done in going to *Terranate*, because the Winds at that time come off the Land, and therefore they coasted hard upon a Bowling along the shore of *Balagan*, that they might not fall away to Leeward. Nor is *Luban* seventeen Leagues from *Marivelez*, as he says; in my opinion it is not above twelve, for I sail'd it in *December* between Sun-rising and Three in the Afternoon.

17. He mentions other things which happen'd some time after the said Father was gone from *Manila*. He is much in the right as to what he says concerning *D. Sabiniano Manrique de Lara*, and more might have been added. I am of opinion that Noble Gentleman's great respect to the Church and his Ministers was the cause why God bless'd him there, and sent him home safe to his Country. He gave an excellent example in these and many other Particulars.

18. It is to be observ'd, as I have been inform'd from credible Persons, that ever since *D. Sabiniano* landed at *Cavite*, no other Ship from *New Spain* till this time ever could come to an Anchor in that place, which is a great damage to the *Indians*. Who can assign a reason for it? yet certain it is that with regard to God nothing happens by chance, but he permits second Causes to work his designs without interrupting their order. When *D. John de Leon* went Governour, his Ship was left much batter'd near *Palapa*, because one undertook to Pilot it, who ought not to have done it, and perhaps out of covetousness. The whole Cargo was carry'd to *Manila* upon the Backs of *Indians*. I am assur'd by those who were aboard, that above 1000 *Indians* dy'd through the hard labour; and had his Majesty's return, which was but 40000 Ducats, been more, more had dy'd. Let those observe this, who believe the Remittances to *Manila* are very considerable. Before him *D. John de Salcedo* arriv'd at *New Segovia*, and the same Person told me that above 2000 *Indians* dy'd carrying the Goods. Can any thing be more deplorable? Formerly Ships seldom fail'd

arriving safe at *Cavite*, so that all was sav'd without oppressing the Natives, unless the apprehension of meeting Enemies hapned to cause any alteration. *D. James Fajardo* was put into *New Segovia*. Nava-
rette.

19. God may remedy this if we use our endeavours. All Men agree that if the Ships sail from *Acapulco* any time in *February* or beginning of *March*, they will come in good time to put into *Cavite*.

The reason is plain, because the South-west Winds, which are contrary, do not fix till after *Midsummer*; and tho they should start up sooner, they are not lasting, and may be endur'd at Sea either lying by, or tacking as many do, and I saw it practis'd at the *Cape of Good Hope*, where are the greatest Storms in the World. There we were 28 days struggling against the Wind and Waves, sometimes lying up our Head to the Wind, and sometimes traversing from North to South. But in order that they may set out of *Acapulco* at that time, the Ships must sail from *Manila* at *Midsummer*, or sooner; so they sail with fair Weather to *S. Bernardine*, where they take in Wood, Water and Refreshment; and as soon as the South-west starts up, they set out upon their Voyage. Pilots vary in their Opinions as to the Latitude they are to keep to; doubtless every Man follows his own, for they are Men that will not submit to another, as in time of Peace they may safely do, as has been said. A good course of life is very conducing to a good Voyage. I have sail'd with several People of *Europe*, and to say the truth, they are much beyond us.

20. I have receiv'd information concerning the Supplies sent to *Manila* from well-meaning and conscientious Persons; they have found in me an openness of heart and impartiality fit to make it known, it may be want of Interest or Prudence in them to conceal it. The Supply that goes from *Mexico* for the *Philippine* Islands, is sometimes considerable, but is much clipt before it comes thither. The King's Officers belonging to *Manila*, not those of *Mexico*, must give the true estimate of those Supplies. What follows seems incredible. At *Acapulco* they make a sort of Hut or Arbour of Boughs between the Sea and the Governour's door, for the People and Commodities that are to be ship'd. I saw it when there, it consists of a dozen Poles stuck in the Ground, others across them at top, and over all Boughs, Hay, and Leaves of Palm-tree for a covering. Now for this work some years they have placed to his Majesty's

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Majesty's account 8000 pieces of eight expence, and this defray'd out of the Supply sent to the *Philippine* Islands. Can this be parallel'd in the World? There is a Boat they call *Cbata*, which serves to carry Goods and People aboard; when this is mended, they reckon 800 or 1000 Pieces of Eight for a few Nails, Tar, Hemp, and such things; and so in other things, which an honest Minister of State that fears God and is zealous for his King's good may easily compute. Besides, they send the value of many Ducats in Commodities, some of which at *Manila* are superfluous, and others of no Value.

21. An accident very remarkable hapned at *Manila* some Years since, which I have not seen in writing, and think convenient to insert in this place. There was such abundance of Pilchards in the Bay, and so many taken, that it was wonderful; all the Poor and common sort liv'd upon them, and sometimes the great ones eat them as a Dainty; but being extraordinary cheap, they were a great relief to many People. The time came when they banish'd the Bishop, and from that moment they went off and totally vanish'd. This was much taken notice of, and is so to this Day. Another strange passage fell out, which is still fresh in the memory of all Men, which was, that when the good Archbishop was without the Gate of the store Houses where they ship'd him, he shook the dust off his Shoes, and cast some Stones at the City, one of which reach'd *D. Peter de Corcuera* the Governour's Nephew, and hit him on the Shin; and tho' the stroke and hurt was most inconsiderable, it fester'd and he dy'd of it. The Judg *Zapata* dy'd suddenly. *Tenorio* was beheaded. The Archdeacon of the Cathedral dy'd in a small time; these were all Enemies to the Archbishop. But the strangest of all in my poor opinion was, that a Souldier being commanded to lay hold of the Archbishop, who then had the *Ciborium* with the blessed Sacrament in his Hands, or at least lean'd upon the Altar where it was, thinking it an execrable action, excus'd himself and said, I will rather die than do it, and laying his Hand to his Sword, drew it out and fell upon it. God was pleas'd to save his Life, as a reward of the Holy zeal he express'd.

22. Much has been said, and many Arguments have been made about the Royal Chappel *D. Sebastian de Corcuera* built at *Manila*; I would willingly dilate

upon it, and write the Opinion of the People of those Islands, but will confine my self for some reasons I have. Certain it is we must not always condemn the demolishing, or commend the erecting of Churches; for, as we see in the time of *D. James Faxardo*, some noted Churches were demolish'd that the *Dutch* might not fortify themselves in them, and annoy the Islands. Under *D. Sabiniano de Lara* others were thrown down, to prevent the *Chineses* doing the like, and that the Cannon might play freely. This demolishing cannot be condemn'd, no more than the same done in other Places by order of pious Princes. So in case of erecting of Churches, something may occur or intervene that may make it an ill action either in a Moral or Civil sense; because a thing is good when so in all respects, and bad through any one defect. King *Philip* and his Council were not offended at the building the House of the poor *Clares* at *Macao*, because it was a Nunnery or a Church, for both those things are good; but because the place was not convenient for it, being in a Country of Infidels. When a Church is founded or erected, as *David* did, 1 *Chron.*

22. Behold I in my Poverty am preparing the expence of the House of the Lord, this was very praiseworthy. But any Man is much to be blam'd who would raise such Structures out of what belongs to others, and is ill gotten; nor would it please God if one should erect Churches out of that which he ought to apply to the maintenance of the Poor. *S. Chrysoptom*, *Hom.* 45. in *Matth.* says thus: For behold those that adorn Churches seem to do a good work, if the Poor enjoy part of their Goods, who build for the Glory of God. Would you build the House of God? give a living to the faithful Poor, and you will build the House of God. There are two Churches, one of living Stones, which are the Poor, another of dead hewn Stones; it is not lawful, nor convenient to forsake the former for the latter. Read what *S. Thomas* in *Cat. Aur. Matth.* 23. out of *S. Chrysoptom*, writes concerning the Structures of the Pharisees, which is excellent to this purpose.

23. In the 2d place that Chappel is no way necessary at *Manila*, 1. Because it would imply a neglect in so many good Governours as preceded him. 2. Because they have a Cathedral just by, and other Churches where they may hear a few Sermons in Lent.

24. Besides, that Gentleman spent not a Crofs of his own in building that Chappel, but did it out of the Souldiers pay, and that is what maintains it to this day. *No Man is said to be generous who spends out of anothers Purse.* Moreover there are above 8000 pieces of eight yearly spent in that Chappel to defray 12 Chaplains, Musicians, Sacristans, Wax and Wine for the Masses; and there are Frauds enough practis'd about the Wax; and at present there are Souldiers at *Manila*, who go barefoot, and without Swords, and several reform'd Captains and Ensigns who starve. Where then is the good of that Chappel?

25. But allowing there must be a Chappel, why must there be 12 Chaplains, and the Dean have 1000 peices of eight allow'd him, and the Souldiers go naked and starving? Allow four Chaplains, let their Stipends be lessened, and those 8000 pieces of eight be divided among them and the Souldiers, or poor Officers. There is no private Interest I know of in this, but only proposing what is for the publick good.

26. But allowing the erecting of it good in all respects, for so we must judg of the intention, yet the condition of those Islands at present is nothing like what it was then; then they were rich now poor, then there were rich Men who reliev'd many, at present no Man has enough for himself; the Trade was then great, and has ever since decay'd; no wonder then if there be reason to alter those things, tho they were then convenient.

27. The case is fairly stated, if they please there should still be a Chappel and Chappels, be it so in the Name of God; yet the erecting of that cannot be justifi'd upon the opinion of one Man, against the general consent of all the Islands. Another thing very prejudicial to the Kings Revenue is practis'd in those Islands, which is that the Governours who receive the Taxes, sink a great part for their own use. Thus it is, a Governour, for example, receives some thousands in Tributes, he makes up his Accounts to his own mind, and says, So much for my Salary due from his Majesty, so much expended, so much for Fees, so much is due to me; he deducts according to his own reckoning, and if he receiv'd a thousand, sets down 600, which he delivers after paying himself. The ill consequences of this Practice are visible. A considerable Man us'd to say it were better the King should pay these

Men their whole allowance, because they being judges of their own Services and Merits, pay themselves much more than they deserve.

28. A particular thing hapned not long since near the Town call'd *Lilco*, which is upon the Lake of *Bai*; they sow much Corn in those Parts at present (many thousands of Ducats had been sav'd if it had been sow'd sooner) an *Indian* had sow'd a considerable spot of Corn. The Government sent to view what every Man hath sow'd, and accordingly to allot what he was to pay Contribution. They judg'd by eye there might be 50 Bushels upon that spot, so they enter'd it, and directed the *Indian* to carry the said quantity to *Manila*. The *Indian* urg'd there could not be so much Corn upon the Ground, demanded an abatement, but was not allow'd it. He reap'd, and the Corn falling short, bought some Bushels at above 6 Pieces of Eight the Bushel, to make up 50, which he deliver'd, and had not a grain left, and only his Labour for his Pains. This is truth, and I see nothing unlikely in it, no more than in believing that 1000 *Indians* thereabouts ran away to the Mountains, perhaps because they saw such practices; God grant no worse follows. Some *Indians* fly unto the Mountains, others die under their Burdens, others depart *Manila*, as I observ'd before; and I am inform'd of late, there are above 300 at *Jacatra*; how should there be any left? And it were no small comfort, had they any hopes of relief.

29. I have heard notable Circumstances from creditable Persons concerning the Imprisonment of *D. John de Salzedo*; I will not argue its Legality, for it does not belong to me, but it is reported that a Governour of those Islands us'd to say, In *Spain* a Man does not know what he is going about, and as soon as he comes to the Islands, *he finds he is King and Pope.* To speak as it really is he should have said, *He is much greater than King or Pope.* This is really so, and the ill consequence among many others is, that unless the fear of God checks them from giving way to all their Passions, there is no curbing them, nor do the Laity or Clergy dare open their Mouths, or if they do it costs them dear; and what some Men act in the Devils name, they take as Service done the King, and under that Cloke execute all their wicked designs. We have too many examples of it in those Islands, *Peru*, *New Spain*, and other parts. A Loyal Subject of the King's

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King's was wont to say, Father, a Man's Wickedness may be of that nature, so evident and so prejudicial to the Publick, that it may be a good Service done to God and the King, to put a stop to it the best that may be, without waiting for Orders from above, for that may require four Years, and three is too long, for the Islands may be ruin'd in less time. It is only requisite in such cases that the Fact be well examin'd, and then many would be rewarded for having had a hand in it, and not punish'd. A few Years since they carry'd a Viceroy in custody out of India into Portugal, whose Crimes were not so great as those committed such a

Year at *Manila*. The Business was examin'd, the People accounted good Subjects, and the Viceroy condemn'd. I shrug'd my Shoulders because I had not seen what was done, and all Men ought to be heard before we pass Judgment upon them. This may serve to give the Reader some Light into the Affairs of those Parts, which are nothing like to what we see among us. After I had writ this, I read the Copy of the Archbishop of *Manila*, D. *Michael de Poblete*, his Letter to his Majesty's Confessor, wherein are many heinous things concerning that Gentleman.

C H A P. XXXII.

A Short Supplement to what has been handled in these Books:

1. AFTER I had finish'd this Work, I accidentally met with the R. F. *Francis Colin's* History of the Progress, Conversions, and Labours of those of the Holy Society of *Jesus* in the *Philippine Islands*; and being, when I liv'd there, particularly acquainted with this Great Man, and his extraordinary Parts, which I do not extol for fear my Pen should fall short, as *Tacitus* said of his *Agricola*; *It were a wrong to his other Virtues to mention so great a Man's Integrity and Abstinence*; I could not forbear, tho' hastily looking over what he had publish'd; and finding his Authority makes good much of what I say, I cannot forbear making my Advantage of it to confirm what I have writ. In other Particulars he gives some hints at things, to which I must speak my mind, tho' I incur some censure for it, to avoid greater Inconveniences; which is the same *Chrysisippus*, mention'd by *Stobæus*, urg'd, *Serm. 43. For if a Man governs ill, he will displease the Gods; if well, Men.* But since the Reader is to be guided by Reason, and not by Passion or Affection, there is no danger of being shipwrack'd in a calm Sea.

2. *Lib. 1. p. 2.* he endeavours to prove out of *Ptolomy*, that the *Philippine Islands* are the *Maniola*, because of the likeness of that Name and *Manila*; but the ground is so weak, that there is no shadow of Truth in it. If *Manila* had ever been the name of that, or any other Island in those Seas, the Opinion were more tolerable; but it being plain that the Name is deriv'd from the situation of the City, because it is for the most part on a Mo-

rafs, which the *Tagales* call *Mainila*, as I *Tagales* observ'd in the First Book, *Chap. 1.* it follows that nothing to this purpose can be made out by that Name. So that as *Cavit* is the name of the Port of *Cavite*, because of its shape like a Hook; and *Malat*, the name of what we call *Malate*, which signifies a Land of Salt Peter; so *Mainila* is only the name of the Place the City *Manila* stands upon, which the Author ought to have known, as having been Pastor of those People call'd *Tagales*, which he mentions in his History, where he sets down the *Pater-Noster* and *Ave-Maria* in that Language.

3. Nor does he make out his Assertion when he says, That in the Islands they build all their Vessels with wooden Pins because of the Loadstone; and that when out of the Water they set them upon Stocks: First, because he himself owns that is done for want of Iron, and they are set upon the Stocks to keep them from the great damp of the Country, as also because of the Worms. In the next place, because it is not the custom of those Islands alone to make use of Pins, but of all parts within those Seas. The People of *Borneo*, *Mindanas*, *Macassar*, and others use it: And I saw large Vessels at *Macassar* built in that nature, so neat and strong that I could not but admire them; so that if the *Philippine Islands* had been the *Maniola* because of their using wooden Pins, those we have mention'd, and many more, would be so too. Nor did I ever hear that was done, because the Loadstone staid the Vessels that had Iron Pins; for tho' there

there be much of it in some parts, yet it is not all about those Seas, where they sail from one Island to another, sometimes crossing over 20 or 30 Leagues, sometimes coasting 50 or 60. And if any quantity of that Stone be found in any River, it is well known that the *Indians* generally go upon Rivers in Vessels all of one piece, some whereof are so big they can carry twenty or thirty Men, and these need neither wooden nor iron Pins.

4. Chap. 2. p. 6. he says, They travel over the Desarts and Sands of *Lybia* and *Tartary* in Carts, with Rigging like Ships. In my First Book I mention'd that some had writ this was us'd in *China*, which is not so; in great Plains such a thing perhaps might be practicable, where the Ground is hard and dry, but it seems difficult in Sands where the Wheels must sink every moment: Nor can I conceive how those Carts are to be guided, for no Rudder will alter its motion in the Sand. But since I never was in *Lybia* or *Tartary*, I will leave the matter to be try'd by its own probability; but there is no fixing any such thing upon *China*.

5. Chap. 4. p. 16. he treats of the first Planters and Peoplers of those Islands, and says, It was *Tharsis* the Son of *Javan*, and *Ophir*, and *Hevilath* of *India*, whereof *Gen.* 10. makes mention. He assigns that Country very antient Inhabitants: I make no doubt but those Islands might be peopled with great ease, because some of them are very near the Continent. It is well known the Strait of *Sincapura*, which divides the Continent from *Sumatra*, is not a Musket-shot over. When I pass'd that way I observ'd it, and judg'd those Islands were all formerly contiguous as far as *Bantam*, *Java*, and *Sumatra*, as is reported of *Sicily*, and others, and that the Sea wore out those Passages betwixt them. So of consequence when the Land of *Malaca* and *Jor* was peopled, these Islands follow'd; and from thence it is easy to go over to *Amboyna*, *Bima*, *Solor*, *Timor*, and other Southern Parts; and then Northward to *Borneo*, then to *Zamboanga*, *Oton*, and others as far as *Manila*. It is no easy matter to decide who were the first Planters.

6. Pag. 19. he says, The *Chinese* in former times went over and conquer'd the *Philippine Islands*, and were Masters of all those Seas. According to *Barros* they were the first that peopled *Java* (it is more likely they were so of *Manila*) to confirm his Opinion he urges, that at

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Ilocos and *Cagaian*, there were found the Graves of Men larger than the *Indians*, with *Chinese* and *Japonefe* Arms and Accoutrements, who for the sake of the Gold conquer'd and peopled these Countrys.

7. I writ my Opinion as to this Particular in the First Book, and can find no reason to alter my Opinion; and when any can be shown, no Man is oblig'd in Honour to be obstinate. *Seneca*, lib. 4. de *Benef.* cap. 8. says thus, *It is not lightness to quit a known and condemn'd Error, it is no shame to alter ones Opinion.* It is very unlikely they were the first that peopled *Java*; for *Java*, *Bantam*, *Sumatra*, &c. lying so near to *Malaca* and *Jor* which is the Continent, what occasion was there for the *Chinese* undertaking so dangerous a Voyage, and so very long to them? And if it were as the Author will have it, how comes it to pass they left not the least footsteps of their Language in those parts? There is no doubt they sail'd to *Manila*, and that some of them might die at *Ilocos* and *Cagaian*, and consequently some of their Graves and Accoutrements might be found, but that does not make out the other. When I sail'd to *Macassar*, and we were drove from our Course near a great Island not far distant from *Borneo*, we found in a small Isle 40 great Skulls of Men and Women, and much broken *China* Ware, besides other small things; must we therefore conclude the *Chinese* went thither? It is absolutely impossible, they would have been lost forty times before they reach'd it. We must give it for granted, that the *Chinese* neither take the Meridian Altitude, nor know the Latitude, nor have the Instruments to this purpose; how then should they sail where the best *Spanish* and *Portuguese* Pilots are daily lost? At present they go to *Manila* as a great Voyage, and because they have learn'd much experience. In going to *Siam* and *Camboja* they only coast along the Shore. In short, they hit right by chance, for they have no skill.

8. Chap. 13. p. 37. he speaks of the People call'd *Tagales*, whom he makes so courteous and well-bred, that they never use the word *Thou* to one another, but always speak in the third Person; How does my Lord? Whence comes my Master? &c. I was Minister of the *Tagales*, whose Language, tho I have been from thence eighteen Years, I have not forgot. I exercis'd the Mission among them, heard thousands of Confessions, and preach'd some hundreds of times. I do not say

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but several of them, and particularly the best sort, use that manner of speaking the Author mentions; yet I cannot grant it to be universal, they use a thousand *Tricks*, and *be Thous*'s to the Fathers that assist them. They have learn'd some breeding of the *Spaniards* they converse with, and therefore those about *Manila* are more civil than the rest. Discoursing upon this Point upon a time with some *Jesuits*, one of the chief of them then present said, If the *Spaniards* had not come to our Country we had been all mere Brutes, the Light of the Gospel, Religion and Conversation has made us Men. He spoke the Truth, and show'd himself a Man of Sense and Reason; by which it appears the *Tayals* are not of themselves so courteous and well-bred as some will make them.

9. *Chap.* 15 and 16. He sits down the multitude of Idols those People had, that they ador'd the Sun, Moon, Rainbow, Beasts, Trees, Stones, Crocodils; had Idols of the Sea, Mountains, plow'd Lands; ador'd their Ancestors, those that were kill'd by Lightning, and others. I look upon all this to be very likely, and that they were infected with these Errors from the Continent of *Malaca*: But there is no doubt they own'd the Immortality of the rational Soul, which they had been ignorant of, if their first Progenitors had been *Chineses*. Nor had these carry'd them such a multitude of Idols, since they, in the beginning, and before the Sect of *Foe* came thither out of *India*, did not use so many Images, tho they ever ador'd the Sun, Moon, Stars, and Heaven.

Chap. 17. *pag.* 79. he speaks of the Nests I call of Swallows. The Author calls that Bird *Salangan*; it is less than our Swallows, in all other respects they do not differ, and therefore at *Manila* they generally call them Swallows-Nests. He is in the right in saying, that when boil'd they look like large *Macaroni*. He tells us they are sold for their weight in Gold in *China*, but is much deceiv'd in this particular, and no less in saying that the *Portugueses* of *Macao* using them in their Entertainments, are ignorant of their Value; they know it very well, and therefore sell them to the *Chineses*, tho some now and then eat them as a Dainty.

He talks in this place of the Bird call'd *Herron* (Woodpecker) which with its Beak bores Trees to build its Nest in them, and makes it as big as a Hens Nest. I saw that Bird at *Acapulco*, it is as big

as an ordinary Chicken; every day toward night-fall it furiously peck'd a Palm Tree, which was within the Inclosure of the House where I liv'd; I observ'd it carefully, intending to stop up the entrance of the Nest with a Plate of Iron, to try whether it could break it with the Herb they say it knows which has this virtue, and endeavour to discover that Herb; I was there alone, and omitted doing it for want of a Ladder, and help, which I was afterwards sorry for.

Pag. 78. he writes, that the great Bats *Bats.* of which I have seen and heard great numbers, are good Meat, and their Dung good for Salt-peter. Captain D. *John de Montemayor*, a good Souldier and better Christian, presented Memorials in my time to D. *Sabiniano*, for leave to go to the Island *Sito* near *Terranate*, where there are deep Dens these Birds shelter in, to gather a great quantity of their Dung, for the Intent above-mention'd: The Project was good, but the Captain very poor, and could not be at the Charge, so it came to nothing.

10. *Pag.* 79. He assigns Peacocks to the Island *Calamianes*. I have already said, there are abundance in several parts thereabouts. I have seen them at *Narsinga*, *Golconda*, *Siam*, *Malaca*, and even in *Madagascar*; and before observ'd, that it is the Custom in several Kingdoms to make Plumes of them, which the *English* *Fans.* and *Dutch* have made their advantage of, sticking the Quills in Silver, or other Matter plated or wash'd, and the Servants hold them to drive away the Flies when they are at Dinner, or in Company; they are very lightly. Others make them like large round Fans, after the manner of those carry'd at *Rome*, when his Holiness goes abroad in *Pontificalibus*; and I think in *Latin* either of them is call'd *Flabellum*, which was a Fan made of Peacock's Wings, and a very fine Web, with which the Deacon drove the Flies from the Altar, during the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass. The *Greeks* use this Ceremony, which is very mysterious, as may be seen in our *Ximenez* his Ecclesiastical *Lexicon*, *Verb.* *Flabellum*. In some parts of *New Spain* it is usual for the *Acolite* to fan the Gnats *Gnats.* away, whilst Mass is saying, which is very necessary; for there were no saying Mass without it, the Gnats are so numerous and cruel troublesome, as I observ'd above.

11. *Pag.* 8. §. 2. He treats of the Fish *Muller*, and of the Virtue there is in its Teeth and Bones to stop Bleeding. I have writ something of it, and a strange accident

Bleeding. dent that befel an *Indian* with this Fish. I heard much at *Manila* of the strange Virtue there is in those Bones to stop Bleeding, but the Rump-bone is that they say is most valu'd.

Crocodile. What he writes *Pag.* 83. concerning the *Crocodile*, that it voids no Excrement, nor has any passage for it, I had not heard before, nor did it come into my mind to be satisfy'd in it, but I look upon it to be true as the Author says. I writ before, that Skulls, Bones and Pebbles were found in its Belly, and was told it swallows the Pebbles to ballast it self; I saw, and the Author affirms it has four Eyes. I allow as the general Opinion that it has no Tongue; and I have read that the *Egyptians* us'd the Figure of a *Crocodile*, to represent after their manner the ineffable Greatness of God, which was to denote, that as that Creature had no Tongue, so no Tongue was sufficient to express that Supreme and Infinite Greatness; it might be consider'd and reflected on, but no Tongue in the Universe could give an account of it.

I writ before that the Female *Crocodile* devours all her young she can; the difference betwixt us is, that the Author says, she swallows them as they come into the water; I said it was down the current, as I was told several times, and it may be reconcil'd by allowing her to lay the Eggs upon Land near the Current; so the main substance be the same, it matters not if there be some difference, as to any particular accident. I also said, that two Bags of pure Musk had been found where the two short Forelegs join to the Body, the Author says under the Gills. Neither is this very material. He adds, that the Female only goes out upon Land, and not the Male; but I never came near enough to examine whether they were Males, or Females.

12. *Num.* 143. the Author speaks of the manner how, and from whence Buffaloes, Horses and Goats were carry'd into those Islands. I had been really very glad he had set down what became of *Leitona's* Ass, that was carry'd from *New Spain* to cover Mares, for it would be no small diversion to the Reader. I will not insert it in this place, because I am not well satisfy'd in all its circumstances.

Monkeys. P. 8. He sets down the manner how the *Indians* catch Monkeys, whereof there are vast multitudes in those Islands, and close by *Manila*; it is a thing not to be question'd.

In the following Pages he writes of the Fruit call'd *Nanca*, I writ the same *Nanca* the Author does. He also treats of the *rette*. Tree call'd *Amot*, in the Trunk whereof most excellent Water is found, which is a great refreshment to Passengers. To me that is more wonderful which drops from the *Bejuco*, some are large and twine about the Trees, the end hangs downwards, some of them higher, some lower; the Traveller cuts off the Nib, and presently a spout of Water runs from it, as clear as Crystal, enough and to spare for six or eight Men. I have drank to my satisfaction of it, found it cool and sweet, and would drink it as often as it were in my way. It must be allow'd to be a Juice and not natural water, but I believe any Man would lick his Lips after it. This is the common relief of the Herdsmen when they are looking for the Cattel about the Mountains; when they are thirsty they lay hold of the *Bejuco*, as they sit a Horse-back, and drink their fill.

13. *Pag.* 95. He speaks of the *Plantan*; whether it differ from the *Plane*, I am satisfy'd there is no resemblance between them; I have said what I knew to this matter. Certain it is they are near Rivers and running Waters, this agrees with those we call *Plantans*, and not with the *Planes* which are vast large Trees.

Pag. 96. He urges from *Brocardus* and *Selorgus*, that the forbidden Fruit our first Parents eat in Paradise was the *Plantan*, which the *Portugueses* to this day call a Fig, the Natives of *Manila*, *Saguin*, and other Nations by several Names. I should easily agree to it, if it were not said, *Gen.* 3. 6. to be *Beautiful to the eyes, and pleasant to the sight*; which if apply'd to the Fruit, does not agree with that of the *Plantan*, but suits much better with several other sorts, and particularly the *Chiqueyes* of *China*. If these words be meant of the Tree, because it is said before, *The Woman saw that the Tree was good, &c.* it can fit no Plant in the world better than the *Plantan*, tho in strictness it cannot be call'd a Tree, the colour of it is Leaves, its stateliness and beauty is the greatest in the World, when stir'd by a little Wind, it is very agreeable. Nor is there any Plant so convenient for *Adam* and *Eve* to clothe themselves with the Leaves. Only two Leaves sew'd together will make a Frock to cover a tall Man from the Neck to near the Ankles. Every Man may give his Opinion touching this point, without incurring any Church-censure.

14. *Pag.* 97. He speaks of the *Camo-tis*, *Fuis*, *Tiguis*, *Gaves*, and *Xicamas*; there is abundance of them all, and very much *Guiger*. There are *Xicamas* in *China*, but I have not seen them in any other part; they are good raw, boil'd, preserv'd, or any way; no *Cardoon* is like them with Oil and Vinegar. There are many things in those Countries, which are a relief to the Poor, and we want. Then he treats of several Medicinal Plants and Herbs, it affords all sorts, and God has furnish'd Man with all things according to every Climate and Country.

Chap. 18. *p.* 107. He speaks of *Batachina*, and supposes the *Chineses* subdu'd it. I spoke my mind about it in the first Book.

Then he talks of *Cawipa* and other small Kingdoms, these are adjoining to *Micafar*. Concerning the Cloves he says, *p.* 113. It attracts moisture to it very much, suffers no Grass to grow near it, but allows of Trees, as I my self saw with my eyes, tho' some will deny it. The Author says, I have often heard it told, that Sailers lying upon Chests or Bales of Cloves insensibly dry'd away so fast, that they would doubtless have perish'd, had they not chang'd their Bed. So strongly does it draw the moisture of any thing that is near it, which plainly appears when it is sold, for they sprinkle it with water to make it weigh the heavier, and the Cheat cannot be perceiv'd.

15. In his second Book he gives an account how *F. Alonso Sanchez* went to *Macao*, to endeavour to bring that City under our King's Obedience, and he compass'd it.

In my time *Manila* sent another Father to that City upon the same account, who succeeded not. When I went afterwards, Clergy and Laymen told me, Such a one did his own business very well, and gather'd abundance of good things, but took no care of the main thing he came about; for had he gone about it, he had certainly compass'd it: such a one should have come and not he, who only minded his private Interest. I inquir'd into the whole matter, and concluded that Man was pitch'd upon to do nothing; yet I believe they design'd well who sent him. It is necessary upon such occasions to make use of one, that does not study his own or his Family's Interest; for if it be inconsistent with the publick business he has in hand, he leaves this last, and only minds his own affair. The more a Man has of avarice and selfishness, the less will he stir in the Publick Service. *S. Jerome*

observes that when *Nebuchadnezzar* would have Divine Worship given to his Golden Statue, the first he sent for were the Greatest Men of his Kingdom, *Dan.* 3.2. The Saint assigns the reason thus: *The Princes are call'd to adore the Statue, because powerful men fearing to want the riches they possess, are more easily supplanted.* That wicked King understood it, and made a good observation for compassing his design. They, who ought to have been the first in opposing that abomination, were the first that submitted for Interest. It is not so with him that has no private Interest to mind: He speaks boldly, opposes what is ill, pleads for what is good, and breaks his rest to attend the Publick. The wicked King *Achab*, *3 Reg.* 18. 17. complain'd against Holy *Elias*, sends for and says to him, *It is you that trouble Israel.* How usual a thing is it in the World, and particularly in *India*, to say and write that blameless Prelates disturb the Peace, and make uproars in Kingdoms and Provinces, and this because they reprove the Crimes they see publickly committed without any shame? And they that are concern'd seeking at any rate to satisfy their own avarice, they find ways and means, as was done against Christ, to represent things as they please, so that they seem credible to those who through a criminal negligence do not dive to the bottom of those affairs. It is you *Elias* that disturb my Kingdom and Subjects; I know not how to deal with you, nor can I live in peace and quiet. *Elias* answer'd, *Not I but you, and your Father's house.* It is not I but your ill Government and Ministers that breed this disturbance. How many might this answer be given to at present? *Abulensis* admires at the Prophet's answer, and says, *He a man of great resolution, is not afraid to speak harshly to the King.* He valued no private Interest, had nothing to lose, and therefore spoke his mind freely. So ought all good Ministers to do; but where shall we find such? I mention'd no small number among the *Chineses* in my former Books. *Who think ye, is the faithful and prudent servant?* faith Christ, *Mat.* 24. *Hugo* and *Albertus* say that, *Who, signifies the rarity;* that there are few in the World. *S. Thomas*, *And if there be few faithful, there are fewer prudent.* I understand it, that there are but few prudent and wise for the publick good, but they are all sharp and sagacious for their own affairs, and that to excess, they leave no stone unturn'd for their benefit; they shroud their own busi-

business under the Cloak of the King's Service, the honour of his Crown, the good of his Subjects; they give it one name to day, and another to morrow, and at last it all ends in private Interest, and for the most part with prejudice to others. *The Children of this world are wiser than the children of light.* F. Alonso Sanchez like a worthy Religious Man as he was, only regarded the Service of his King, he desir'd nothing for himself, and therefore manag'd that business with zeal, and came off with honour. Had the other follow'd his example, he might have done the same; he minded private affairs, and therefore must of necessity fail in the publick.

16. *Pag. 179.* The Author owns that the *Portugueses* in *China* are look'd upon as Subjects of that Kingdom. In the third Chapter of this second Book, he says the same, wherein he agrees with what I writ, *Chap. 17.*

Chap. 4. p. 186. he says, The *Chineses* are mistrustful, as being Cowards, but not the *Tartars*, who are not jealous of Foreign Nations.

F. Colin is much deceiv'd, he went not over into *China*, nor saw the violent Storm rais'd there against all *Europeans*, nor the Practices against *Macao*, they are more fearful and jealous than the *Chineses* themselves; they care for no Strangers, nor do they desire to know there are any in the World. They turn'd out the *Dutch*, and forbid those of *Macao* trading by Sea; wherein then consists their Security of Mind?

Chap. 5. p. 190. he says, The first that brought the Faith into *China*, were the Fathers *Matthew Riccius* and *Pantoja*. I have prov'd it was not so in the second Tome: I will here briefly set down what I observ'd and took notice of in *China*, and I think it deserves some Reflection. I heard F. *Gouvea*, who was Superior of his Mission, and the eldest of it, affirm, That *Portugal* even when united to our Crown, would never permit any *Spanish* Priest to pass that way, either to *Japan*, *China*, or any other Mission; and that there were extraordinary Difficulties made about F. *Pantoja* of *Toledo*, who was the only one that pass'd: So that they gave free passage to *Germans*, *Flemings*, *French*, *Savoyards*, *Romans*, *Genoveses*, *Neapolitans*, *Sicilians*, and yet none to *Spaniards*; and we are so good that we suffer *Portugueses* and other Nations to go over to *America* and the *Philippine Islands* without any need, tho we have found inconveniences from those People (I am not certain whe-

ther any *French* Religious Men have gone over, but of all the rest I am) I said without any need, because our Kings have enough Ministers of the Gospel to serve all their Kingdoms. One of good experience in these affairs was wont to say, that he lik'd it well, and thought it a holy thing, that as well Religious Men, as others of the Clergy should employ themselves in Preaching the Gospel, teaching and gaining Souls to God, which is the end for which God came into the World; but that he thought it convenient every one should attend that which lay next to him, the *Poles* to *Tartary* and *Muscovy*, the *Germans* to abundance of Hereticks there are in the Empire, and Schismatics near it; the *Flemings*, *French*, and others have enough to do at home, the *Italians* in *Turky*. The *Spaniards* who have no work in their own Country, because it is clear, through the Goodness of God, may go over to *America*, and since there are enough of them, discover new Colonies in *Asia* and other parts. But he could not conceive why the *German* who has so much work at home, should go to find out that in *China*, through so many difficulties, and at so great an expence.

17. *Chap. 9. pag. 206.* he writes, that the *Chineses* are suspicious of *Manila* and the *Spaniards*, because of the ill example of *Mexico*, and their talking of Conquests.

In this particular the good Father *Colin* agrees with F. *Alonso Sanchez Morales*, and the rest of their Society. I have writ much to this point, and in my opinion made out that it is fall'e. F. *Alonso Sanchez* his experience in the affairs of *China*, tho he made two Voyages thither, is no way convincing; for he that knows not the Language, and reads not their Books, nor converses with those People, cannot be well acquainted with Particulars. I have already prov'd that the *Chineses* do not look upon us as Conquerors; or People that talk of such matters; it is enough in this place to say that the Quarrel the *Chineses* and *Tartars* have is against *Macao*, not against *Manila*. None of the Persecutions those of the Society have suffer'd, has been caus'd by *Manila*. It is their Reverences that talk of Conquests, those of the Society have carry'd Fire-Arms, cast Great Guns, and been *Mandarines* of the Warlike Stores. All this and much more I plainly make out in my second Tome, and something was said concerning it in the foregoing 15. and 16. Chapters.

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18. *Chap.* 11. p. 211. he inferts F. *Alonso Sanchez* his excellent Doctrine, which is this: By Natural Right, and the Law of Nations, any People may go to strange and new Countries, and make use of all that is common, as Seas, Rivers, Coasts, Food, Wood, Game, and other things which are not peculiar and appropriated; and take Lands, build Houses, Towns and Forts for their defence; and they may give and sell what they carry, and receive and buy what they have, and oblige the Heads and Princes to permit their Subjects to trade and converse with their Guests. The Author adds, And this may be better done by Divine Right, if those that go will preach and teach them the Laws and Custom of the Christian Faith.

I now admit of the Doctrin, and do not dispute it, but only observe that it is not very proper for *China*, or cannot be apply'd, for as much as in all that vast extent of Land, there is not a foot of Land but what is appropriated to some particular Person; and consequently no Stranger can raise House, Town, or Fort in any part of it, because none can build upon another Man's Ground, especially when the Owner opposes it.

Nor do I conceive that any King has right to come to the Coast of *Andaluzia*, or any other, and there build Towns and Forts; for if he has a natural Right according to the Laws of Nations, it will follow that the King of *Spain* opposing him, breaks those two Laws which are the Bands that tie up the hands of Princes to keep within their own Kingdoms, and live in Peace with others, which would be of very ill consequence.

But leaving the Decision of these Difficulties to abler Pens, from the Doctrin above I infer, *a fortiori*, that all religious and secular Churchmen may go to all Millions in Pagan Countries, tho there be other Missioners there; and that if these obstruct the coming of the others, or their erecting Churches, or Preaching, they will transgress the Divine and Natural Law. I am of opinion this is a good Inference, and if so we may freely practise it; and if the first there oppose it, as they do now at *Alaca*, they doubtless commit a grievous Sin.

Mission.
19. *Chap.* 13. he treats at large of Preaching with Arms and Soldiers, and goes on upon the same, *Chap.* 14. This is a weighty Point, has been several times disputed, and our good Bishop *Casus* some Years since argu'd it at *Valladolid*; his Propositions and the Answers of Doctor

Sepulveda, are preserv'd in the Archives of the College of S. *Gregory*; I read part of them in my younger Years. I here admit many things, and will only add what I have seen and observ'd. The Author corroborates his Opinion with the ill success of those four hundred who went with the Lord *Casas* to the *Indies*, who were slain by that barbarous People. In his sixth Reason, *Chap.* 14. to F. *John Bolante*, p. 229. he says, That neither in *Brazil*, *Peru*, *Mexico*, *Florida*, the *Philippine* and *Maluco* Islands, there has been any conversion or propagating of Christianity, without the assistance of the secular Power. *Pag.* 305. he repeats, That no advance has been made any where without Force of Arms; and before that says, that even those of the contrary Opinion have of late follow'd his, which doubtless is meant of ours of *Manila*, who went with Soldiers to the Conversion of *Itui*. All that has been said seems to make out his Opinion, which S. *Francis Xavier* held, and those of his Institute in *China* said; and therefore they told it in my presence, that the Saint us'd to say, That there would be no good Christians till they were under Command, which seems to be prov'd by the Event, since we see all the Missions that great Apostle of *India* founded and labour'd in, are all lost.

20. My opinion is, that it is no easy matter to convince all Men, and a very difficult matter to dissuade any Man from that which he has fix'd in his Mind as Truth. But if we must be led by Examples, I believe we don't want some to evince the contrary Opinion. I pass by the Method Christ took in preaching, was follow'd by his Disciples, and left us in the Gospel; there is no doubt but he that follows it is far enough from any danger of erring; for it is a Presumption, if not a Crime to say, that our Saviour did not leave general Rules for all Men to preach in all parts, as one answer'd discourting of this Subject. Let us come to later Examples; The Conversion of *England* under S. *Gregory* was perform'd, and continu'd without Force of Arms. Thirty Kingdoms, Histories tell us, were converted by the Sons of S. *Benedict*, but were no way kept in awe by Catholick Arms. Those of *Poland*, and others later, were perform'd by the Mendicant Orders after the same manner. But you'll say, many for want of a Power have fail'd, which might have been supported by it. I answer in the first place, that we neither can nor ought to judg of
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future Contingences according to our Fancy. 20. That if Christianity ceas'd there, it was perhaps because the number of the Predestinate there was compleat; and if not, as his Divine Majesty order'd and dispos'd the planting of the Faith there, without the noise of Arms, he will cause it to be restor'd by the same means, sending Missioners thither like to those ancient ones who founded those Millions.

21. Nor is it altogether true, that no Conversion has been made of late Ages; without the assistance of Arms we know ours have converted at *Vera paz.*, and they continue to this day. And now at this very time *F. Francis* of the Rosary of my Order has entred the great *Paititi*, where he has thousands of Christians, without any protection or assistance but God's; and the Natives beg that Dominican Friars may be sent them, but no Soldiers. I am well inform'd of this particular, and of the goodness of that Country, which is fruitful, populous, and pleasant. Persons of Credit assure me, that there are above three thousand of the Trade in the Goldsmiths Street at the Court. So in *Japan* there was a great increase of Christianity without Force of Arms; and if it fell to nothing, it was not for want of Soldiers, but by reason of other things that might have been well avoided. The two great and general Persecutions in *China*, proceeded from other causes. I find there is something amiss everywhere. The Fathers of the Society carrying Soldiers into *Ethiopia*, were expell'd without hopes of ever returning. In *Tunquin*, *Cochinchina*, and *China*, they were look'd upon as Spies, this is not so bad as the other.

Itui.

22. Nor does our going from *Manila* to *Itui* with Soldiers make out any thing; it was the particular Opinion of one Man, disapprov'd by others, and the ill success foretold. Whilst there were only three Fathers in that Province they made some Advance, and preach'd in Peace and Quietness: as soon as ever the Soldiers came, the Natives were alarm'd, ran to Arms, burnt, kill'd and wounded, and all was lost. What happen'd in the Islands call'd *Marianas* is well known, so that there is no ascertaining any thing in this Matter.

23. Another Difficulty occurs to me, which is, that if Millions must be carry'd on under the protection of arm'd Force, there will be very few; therefore they must either be left off, or continu'd in the same manner the Apostles follow'd

hem. For whence shall we have a Force to shelter those that preach in *China*, *Japan*, and the *Mogol's* Country? I only mention these, without speaking of many other vast Kingdoms. Now if all the Soldiers in the Church will not suffice for three Places, how must we relieve the rest? I am perswaded one Christian converted and instructed peaceably, is worth twenty made with the shew of Force. They who here talk of the protection of Christian Forces, will imagine the Soldiers will do nothing but aid and protect; they will do more mischief with their Lewdness in one Day, than 20 religious Men can repair in a Year. But if there be no Soldiers, they will kill the religious Men before they have done any good. Let them kill, Christ himself and his Apostles were kill'd; and it is enough done to sprinkle that Country with Blood, that it may afterwards yield a more plentiful Harvest. He says, no Miracles are wrought now-adays, and therefore the Method must be chang'd. I say, *S. Francis Xaverius* wrought many in the *East* and *South*, and *S. Lewis Bertrandus* in the *West-Indies*; the Author mentions many in his History, and those of his Society speak of others. In the next place I say, as *F. Lubeli* of the Society was wont to inculcate to me, Let us preach as we ought to do, and God will work Miracles; but how should there be Miracles whilst we preach so and so? I have also given an Account, that the Holy Congregation *de Propaganda Fidei* has condemn'd the Method of spreading the Gospel by force of Arms.

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24. *F. Colin*, Chap. 13. writes, That those of his Society live very poor and Apostolically in *China* upon the Alms sent them from *Europe*, and the Labour of their Hands and Ingenuity, as *S. Paul* did; and yet the Conversion does not go forwards, nor does it take such root as it should do. Experience, he says, has show'd it in *Japan*, where so great an addition as was made to Christendom, fell off for want of being supported by Arms. With respect to so great a Man, I say he is deceiv'd in these Points, some body sent him such Intelligence from *China*. If what has been said above were true, I doubt not but Heaven would grant a more plentiful Harvest, as *F. Lubeli* and others of his Brethren said in my hearing, bewailing the Abuses that are crept into that Mission, whereof I treat at large in my second Tome, where the curious Reader may see it. I answer'd above to what relates to *Japan*, and have done

done it more copiously in the 2d Tome. It is requisite in such Millions to proceed with Caution and Discretion, any security is blameable; and for that very reason if religious Men are alone without any Force to protect them, they are to be the more provident and cautious, forbearing all that the *Infidels* may think amiss in us, as the building of great Churches and stately Palaces, which did us much harm in *China*, in the opinion of the same Fathers. How can this agree with what the Author says, that they live in a poor and Apostolical manner, and on the work of their Hands, as *S. Paul* did? Some things are so false they are unufferable. My last Letters from *China* inform me, that the Fathers *Enriquez* and *Grimaldo* spent 400 Ducats Plate in their Journey from *Canton* to the Imperial City, whither they went as Mathematicians, tho they are none; now what Poverty is this? They by word of Mouth in Writing maintain, that it is convenient they should behave themselves with State and Gravity, wear Silk Clothes, make great Presents, go in Sedans or Palankines on Mens shoulders, attended by Servants, &c. this they say the Country requires. Then another writes that they live poorly like the Apostles, on the labour of their Hands, as *S. Paul* did. To what purpose is this? *F. Augeri* tells us we must behave ourselves as if we were Marquisses. *F. James Fabre* is carry'd in an open Palankine by four Men. *F. Verbieft* dislikes his Brethrens proceedings, how shall we reconcile these matters?

25. Pag. 235. n. 97. he writes thus. *F. Alonjo Sanchez* intending to put *F. John Bolante* by his design of going into *China*, us'd this Argument. Which way would your Reverence go? Through *Chincheo*? no, for the *Chineses* have never permitted it. Nor through *Macao*, because the *Portugueses* will not allow of it, nor the Religious there much less. This he enlarges upon, deducing in his opinion mighty Inferences. I answer in short, that those of our Order, and the *Franciscans* have gone several times by the way of *Chincheo*. I went through *Macao*, and others might have done the same, had not some Men obstructed it, as still they do: when God does not obstruct our ways, it is not fit Men should restrain his Providence. The *Franciscans*, *Augustinians* and *Dominicans* of *Macao* never went about to preach the Gospel in *China*; would to God they had, and that the Kingdom being sufficiently stock'd, there

were no room for *Spaniards*. Those religious Men I have nam'd never design'd to hinder the *Spaniards*, the Laity much less; so that neither the *Infidels* of *Chincheo*, nor Christians of *Macao* have obstructed the *Spaniards*. The mischief sprung from another place; so that it may well be said, *Death in the Pot*, 4 Reg. 4. v. 40. for where the Missioners ought to have found assistance and protection, there they have met with Troubles, Ruin, and Persecution. Death sprung from the place where Life was expected; the words of the Canticles fute well in this place, *The Children of my Mother fought against me*, &c.

26. Pag. 249. §. 10. he writes that religious Men, who go to other Countries without Orders for it, disturb and scandalize them, being look'd upon as Spies, which makes the *Infidels* fortify themselves, as has hapned in *China*; and that disorder is the cause our Holy Faith is slighted.

Let us ask the Author, what he means by going to other Countries without Orders? I would know further, who it was that scandaliz'd *Japan*, and disturb'd *China*? The Reader will find it in my second Tome, where I have it at large. In that particular of being taken for Spies, we are all alike, tho in truth those of the Society outdo us, for only they and no others have been esteem'd such in *Ethiopia*, *Tunquin*, and *Cochinchina*. The *Infidels* fortify, as they have done in *China*. The worst of it is, that Religious Men serve as Engineers for raising of Walls and Fortifications, and as such serve the *Infidels*, and furnish them with Cannon. In *China* they have been fortified by those of *Macao* and others, not by those of *Manila*, or the *Spaniards*. The contempt of our Holy Faith proceeds chiefly from other Monstrous proceedings. These disorders, tho those that cause them go with Orders to the Mission, cause much mischief. I would know further by what Order the Apostles went among the Gentiles? The same of *S. Francis Xavierius*, and those that went into *Ethiopia*.

27. Pag. 250. he with good reason blames the false accounts sent into *Europe*, of the Conversion of *China* and other Kingdoms. This I agree to, it futes with what *F. John Adamus* was wont to say. I have set down abundance of *Chimeras* that have been writ into *Europe* concerning *China* and other parts. I have many more in my second Tome, where the Reader may see them, and may

receive light, not to be deluded by such accounts.

28. Chap. 25. p. 315. he shows at large, how God at several times has made use of several means for the Conversion of Souls. At the first beginning of the Church, he made choice of the Apostles, whom he endow'd with several Graces, and granted them many Privileges. Now in these times, God does not make choice of them, nor give them such a great Power, nor the gift of Tongues, nor working of Miracles. That at first all civiliz'd Nations admitted Preachers without any opposition, &c.

Here the Author hints at several Particulars, to which I cannot now speak so fully as I would; but think what I have in my second Tome may suffice. My opinion is, that the Method of Christ and his Apostles us'd in Preaching is still in the Gospel. *Matth. 10. v. 9, 10. leg. Sylveira hic, & Tom. 6. cap. 10. q. 1, 2. n. 8. & q. 3.* And there is no doubt it was left there for others to imitate it. I find not any other in Holy Writ, and this is it which the Holy Congregation *de Propaganda Fide* has confirm'd and propos'd to its Missioners, for them to follow and observe, as appears by the Instructions *pro Missionariis*, printed at Rome Anno 1669. If several Methods have been taken, it has been because the Missioners have taken them up of their own accord, forsaking that way which the Author of it instituted and follow'd. Nor must we imagine the Divine Providence can forsake its Ministers in all that shall be requisite, unless they render themselves unworthy of its protection. *S. Vincent Fererius, S. Antony of Padua, S. Francis Xaverius, and S. Luis Bertrandus* wrought wonderful Prodigies, as I said before. Nor is the World at present destitute of some that endeavour to imitate them; one poor French Clergyman alone, and destitute of all human help, baptiz'd 60 Persons in one day in the Kingdom of *Camboxa*, Anno 1668. what can be a greater wonder? He shin'd among those *Infidels* by means of his holy Life, like the Sun among the Stars. Great Miracles are told of the Bishop of *Beritus*, who is now at *Siam*; and his Life being such as I know it to be, I look upon them to be very likely. Let us preach as we ought to do, said *F. Lubeli*, and God will work Miracles.

These following words are in the dedication of the Instructions before mention'd to Pope Clement IX. *Very grave Au-*
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thors, and chiefly Joseph Acoſta (in libris *de procuranda Indorum salute*, Lib. 1. c. 11, 12. lib. 2. c. 1. & sequentibus, lib. 4. c. 4, 15. lib. 6. c. 2.) plainly make it appear, that the ruin of the most flourishing, or at least very hopeful Missions proceeded, either from the not altogether commendable manners of some of the Labourers, or from the manner of propagating the Gospel, which was contrary to the Gospel it self, &c. It is certain then the form and method for Preachers continues to this day; and if they follow any other, it is invented by themselves, not by Christ.

Chap. 3. art. 3. he mentions, how the holy Congregation *de propaganda fide* condemns the method of planting the Faith by force of Arms, as was done in *America*, which is enough to condemn the opinion of the Author and his Followers. They also oppose what some say, and I have often heard, that *China* is a different Nation from others, and the People singular, and therefore it is requisite the manner of preaching to them be different from that us'd to other Nations. This I say is nothing but self-love, and our own Fancy. *F. Errmanuel George* was wont to say to me; Father, when I see my self finely clad in Silk, and that a *Mandarine* pays me great respect in the presence of many People, it pleases me and I rejoice; but there is nothing in it that tends to God, it is all human and worldly, these things stick to our Body. This I look upon to be all true, and would those Fathers, if they were poorly clad, and liv'd upon the labour of their Hands, be visited with *Mandarines*? I may be allow'd to speak of these things, because I have seen, and had sufficient experience of them.

26. Pag. 315. n. 166. and in those following, he endeavours to prove by examples how necessary Force is towards converting. I have writ my opinion upon it, and it will be proper to consider what great inconveniencies have, and do still follow such courses, and how much other Nations abhor them. Much has been said upon the Subject, the business is of weight and moment. *C. Mamartin*, in *Gratiar. Act. pro Consul. ad Julian. August. cap. 4.* But the mending of Manners, and correcting of Judgments, is a difficult strife, and a business full of danger. When the End is so sublime and divine, the Means must also of necessity not be human or earthly, but sublime; they must be sutable, and tend to the erecting of the heavenly *Jerusalem*, to unite the Souls to the living Foundation-stone of this

Structure, which is Christ: Why then do we use methods that tend only to separate and destroy all that Preachers with much Labour and Sweat erect? These things ought to be conceiv'd by Ideas lifted up far above all that is Clay and Earth, and not be adapted to our own fancies, which perhaps flow from our private satisfaction, tho' shrowded under the outward pretences of God's Glory, and the good of Souls. Read *S. Thomas* in 10 *Muth.* upon the words, *like Sheep*, &c. which answers my design, and is contrary to the Author's.

27. *Lib. 3. c. 6. p. 354. n. 35.* the Author owns his Society obtain'd a Bull of his Holiness *Gregory* the 13th, forbidding religious Men of other Orders going to *Japan*. Neither I nor others doubted of this matter, therefore I was surpriz'd, and admir'd that *F. Joseph Morales* in his Treatises should defend, that the said Bull was not granted at the request of the Society; which he endeavours to make out several ways. But the Author plainly and ingenuously owns the truth in the place above mention'd, which he so wise, so antient, and so well read a Man could not be ignorant of. I have already taken notice how that Prohibition ceas'd by virtue of a special Bull of *Pope Urban* the 8th, *Anno 1633*, which was confirm'd again in the Year 1674 by his Holiness *Clement* the 10th; so that any Churchman either Religious or Secular may freely at present go to those Missions, which way he shall think fit. It appears by the Bull, which shall be insert'd at the end of this Volume. The reasons which mov'd the Society to procure that Bull are set down in the second Tome.

Pag. 357. n. 40. he speaks of the Tempests and Storms the Devil by means of the *Infidels* rais'd against the tender Plants of the Church of *Japan*, and its Labourers. I refer to what I have writ in my second Tome.

In the Year 1594, he says, his Society had in *Japan* 200000 Christians, 200 Churches, and 130 Religious Men. Would to God those Labourers had converted those Islands, that we might all bless God, and extol the Labour of his Ministers! What I have to say now, is that the number he speaks of, does not agree with that I heard from *F. Gouvea* in *China*. I have writ how much they vary in this particular.

28. *Pag. 358.* he speaks of the prudence of his Society in *Japan*, in corresponding with his Majesty and Holiness,

and receiving their Bulls and Orders to hinder other Orders at that time from going to *Japan*. Time has made it appear; God grant it may give them some Caution for *China*, *Tartary*, the *Mogols* Country and other civiliz'd Nations of *Asia*. They are all the Author's own words.

Since the Society had with so much prudence procur'd that Bull, as has been mention'd, I do not find it was any thing praiseworthy in them to accept it, with the King's Letter to the same purpose: there is little merit in Obedience, where we comply with those things we are pleas'd with and desire; Obedience is perfect, when it has nothing of our selves, and the more difficult the thing is that is commanded. *S. Thomas opusc. 2. c. 227.* says, *Obedience is so much the more commendable, by how much those things are more difficult which a Man obeys.* See *Sylveira* to this point, *Tom. 6. p. 119. n. 4. verb. obedientia.* We very well know, that when in the Year 1648 the Decree of *Innocent* the 10th was made known to the Missioners in *China*, they took no notice of, nor thought themselves oblig'd to observe it, which the Author was not ignorant of. This was a time for Prudence and Obedience to appear, submitting the understanding to the command of the Head of the Church. *S. Bernard de præcep. & dispens. cap. 12.* says thus; *Whatever Man commands in the Name of God, so it be not certainly displeasing to God, must be receiv'd no otherwise, than if God himself gave command.* And afterwards; *We must therefore hear him, whom we have in the place of God, as we would God in those things which are not directly against God.* Time, says he, has shown it. He that show'd it me in all its minute circumstances, was *Francis Caron*, General Director of the *French East-India Company* at *Surat*, *Anno 1671.* as I have set it down in my Controversies. God grant he goes on, this may give them some caution for *China*, &c. The Missioners of *China* might have taken warning by the example of *Japan*, those of *Tunquin*, *Cochinchina*, and *Ethiopia*, and even by that of *China* it self at this time, and in the Year 1618, besides many others they have had, that might suffice to make an impression even upon Stone and Brass. When the Persecution in *China* began, some talk'd of altering those things that had caus'd Troubles and Calamities. I forwarded it, but was soon convinced it would come to nothing. Men use to take warning by other Men, which is certainly

tainly very good and holy, *Felix quem faciunt aliena pericula cantum.* Hugo in *Pfal.* 49. But even brute Beasts grow cautious by their own sufferings. He who stumbles in a place, takes care the next time he comes that way; which makes me wonder at what I have been a witness to. The effects are furable, tho some pretend to mend them. An exact account of every thing is given in the second Tome.

29. *Pag.* 359. He says, that in the Year 1597. there was a Persecution in *Japan*, because a Ship of *Manila* was put in there; and the Emperor said, it went to conquer the Country, as they had done *Mexico*, and that the *Franciscan* Friars were Spies.

I answer that nothing can be made out or urg'd either *pro* or *con*, upon a mere accident and casualty, and there is no doubt but the Emperor must be void of reason in supposing one single Ship went to conquer that Island. It was also unreasonable that he should look upon the *Franciscans* as Spies, only upon that account. And supposing it were so, I have already writ what hapned to the Fathers of the Society in *Ethiopia*, which their Historian *Telles* mentions, and what befel to them in *Tunquin* and *Cochinchina*; and it were fit that some of them making their advantage of so many examples, should look at home, and not neglecting this altogether, bend their whole thoughts upon things at a distance, and mere possibilities. *Tacit.* in vit. Agric. *Beginning by himself and his, he first order'd his own House, which is no less difficult to most men, than to govern a Province.* *Castiodorus* lib. 10. Var. *Epist.* 5. *We will begin to flem good Government in our Family, that the rest may be absham'd to do amifs, when it is known we allow not our own People the liberty of transgressing.* Nor do I like the Ministers of the Gospel should entertain so many fears, since it is a thing so despicable in a worthy Soldier. We ought to proceed with more liberty and assurance; and since the business we have in hand is so immediately God's, and tending to his Glory, it is not reasonable we should be faint hearted, or believe we can want his special Protection and Providence over us. *Fear is a token of Infidelity,* says *S. Basil* of *Seleucia*, *Orat.* 22. I have often consider'd who he or they were that made it known in *Japan* and *China* that the Catholick King had conquer'd *China*, and what their design could be in so doing. As to my self, I believe I am not out in my judgment, I

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think there needs not much better Grounds to speak it out; I only require some little pious affection in the Reader, to be satisfy'd in all he shall find in my Controversies. *Nava-rette.*

30. *Pag.* 360. He speaks of the Martyrdom of the Religious Men of the Order of our Father *S. Francis* and others. We know that Pope *Urban* the Eighth declar'd them Martyrs, so that there is no room left for Catholicks to make a doubt of it. Therefore I always look'd upon what a Clergy-man said publicly at *Macao* as a presumption, to wit, that they dy'd Excommunicate. Others have said the same upon no other Ground, but because they will have it they went to *Japan* contrary to the command of Pope *Gregory* the 13th. Something might be said to this point; let it suffice to know, that notwithstanding that came to the Ears of his Holiness *Urban* the Eighth, and the Sacred Congregation of Rites, yet those Religious Men were solemnly declar'd Martyrs. This being so, it was a great impudence to utter such words, when the Feast of their Martyrdom had been celebrated in several places, to the honour and glory of God.

31. *F. Michael de Cardenas*, who approv'd this History, gives it for granted that the Apostle *S. Thomas* never went to *China*, *Japan*, or the *Philippine Islands*, which confirms my opinion set down in the first Book, and I find it favour'd by *F. Silveira* Tom. 6. in *Evang.* lib. 9. cap. 10. p. 796. v. 58. He speaks of *America*, *Brasil*, and *Angola*, where he says, no footstep of Christian Religion was found. And when I thought this point was clear'd and agreed upon, I see new difficulties start up. *F. Cyprian de Herrera*, in the Life of that worthy Archbishop of *Lima*, *Toribio Alfonso Mograbexo*, about whose Beatification some measures are now taken at *Rome*, *Chap.* 22. says, that in the Province of the *Chachapuyas*, some tokens were found of the Holy Apostle's having been in that Country, and that the Holy Archbishop own'd and worship'd him as such. *Portugueses* write that the same footsteps have been found in *Brasil*, to which they add Traditions of the Natives. If this be so, it is likely he went along from *Coromandel* through all those Kingdoms between it and *China*, whence he might go over to *Japan*, and so to all the Islands in that Sea, visit the *Mogol's* and *Malabar's* Country, cross over to the Cape of *Good Hope*, and other Kingdoms thereabouts; for all these Countries lying nearer the holy Apostle, it is not

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rette.* likely he should forsake them, and go to others so remote as *America*. And if any Man shall say he was first in *Brazil* and *Peru*, and thence went over into *India*, I answer, I am of opinion the Saint would not have left that New World cut off from the rest to go away into *Asia*, and those Countries contiguous to *Persia*, and nearer to us. Every Man may believe what he pleases, but I am apt to suspect that if the *Terra Australis Incognita* be discover'd, there will presently be other footsteps of *St. Thomas* found there, and there will not want reasons and probabilities to make it out. Thus I will put an end to what I design in this Supplement.

32. But because it is *Cbina* that all my thoughts are bent upon, I cannot chuse but return to it, tho at present it shall be very briefly. I think what is said of the Land of Promise in *Deut. 8. 7.* may with good reason be apply'd to that Kingdom. *For the Lord thy God bringeth thee into a good Land, a Land of Brooks of Water, of Fountains, and depths that spring out of Valleys and Hills: A Land of Wheat, and Barley, and Vines, and Fig-trees, and Pomgranates, a Land of Oil and Honey: A Land wherein thou shalt eat Bread without scarceness, thou shalt not lack anything in it, a Land whose stones are iron, and out of whose Hills thou mayst dig Brass, &c.*

*Vineyards.
Olive-
Trees.*

That Country has much more than all this, and tho it have neither Olive-trees nor Vineyards, it abounds in several sorts of Oil, and has plenty of Grapes, and thousands of things we do not know among us; innumerable Rivers, Brooks, and Fountains, Corn, Rice, Honey, Fruit, Metals, &c. Where is there any Country that can match it?

Sacrifices.

I writ in another place, what notable care those People take in preparing and disposing themselves to sacrifice to their Dead, and be present at these Sacrifices. They fast three days, Marry'd Men are separated from their Wives seven days; they all retire upon the Eve, keep silence, make themselves clean outwardly, wash themselves to go into the Temple, and all this only in order to recollect themselves inwardly, and assist devoutly and decently at those Sacrilegious Ceremonies; and this not once in their Life, but several times in a year. If we Catholicks took example by those Heathens against saying Mass, and receiving the Blessed Sacrament, we should receive much more benefit by it. *S. Basil of Seleucia, Orat. 19.* says, *Be a Disciple of the Gentiles; that you may believe follow the Unbelievers.* Much liberty is taken among

Marry'd Men about receiving, some Rules have been assign'd in Canons touching this matter, which is only by way of advice, but no precept. *B. Humbertus de Romanis, lib. 4. de Erudit. Religios. cap. 13.* reflecting on the death of *Oza* for touching the Ark, *2 Reg. 6.* says, *The Hebrews say the cause of it was, because he had lain the foregoing night with his own Wife; if God so punish'd that presumption, what punishment are they worthy of who come to receive the Lord's Body without respect?* &c. *Achimeleck's answer to David, 1 Reg. 21. 4.* is to the purpose, *I have no Lay-Loaves at hand, but only holy Bread, if the young men are clean, particularly from Women.* *David answer'd, If you talk of Women, we have abstain'd yesterday and the day before.* Certain it is he who was represented exceeds the Figure, or Representative. The Ark and that Holy Bread were Types of the Eucharist; and if those requir'd so much reverence, more is requisite for him that was represented. *Oleas. in 19 Exod.* explicating these words, *Sanctifie them, &c.* says thus, *You see what purity is requir'd to converse with God, much more to deal familiarly with him.* *S. Thomas* has the same, *Opusc. 58: cap. 16.* And no doubt it requires a Purity infinitely greater to receive him every day. This Doctor a little lower speaks more to the purpose upon the words, *Do not approach to your Wives*, he says thus, *There are in these times many (I wish it be not only in name) holy marry'd men, who rarely or never abstain from their Wives Bed and Embraces, and yet frequently communicate, and often presume to be familiar with God, believing Conjugal Embraces to be no obstruction to Piety; to whom this Place should be often inculcated, that they might learn to treat the most holy things with more reverence, and might know that even corporal Uncleaness is offensive to the Divine Purity, and understand that not only the Heart, but the Body, Clothes, and all things are to be made clean, when we are to approach to God. Whence I suppose the custom came among the Jews of washing their Hands and Garments, when they went to Prayer, &c. and tho the Lord in the New Law require rather an inward than outward Cleaness, yet he does not altogether neglect the corporal.* Read *Corn. 2 Lap. and S. Thom. 3. p. q. 83. art. 4. and cap. 15, & 16. Opusc. 58. and S. Basil Interrog. 23. Reg. Brev. And if S. Paul, 1 Cor. 7. advises marry'd People to abstain only to pray, something more is requir'd for receiving the Supreme Majesty of God.* *S. Thomas* quotes the *3. Chap.*

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of the Holy Ghost to the same purpose as S. Paul, *There is a time of embracing, and a time of removing far from embraces.* These words can be no way so well apply'd as to the Holy Communion; for no case so positively requires such a disposition. This that has been said, and the Opinions of Grave Doctors, has brought up the custom in the *Philippine Islands, China,* and other parts of the East, for Marry'd People to part Beds the night before they receive, which they strictly observe. Read S. Thomas, *Opusc. ut sup. cap. 16.* where he speaks to this purpose. Nor is this condemning the frequenting the Sacrament, but blaming them that do not approach to it with due reverence, decency and other dispositions. Nor is it enough, as some Men urge, that Man is in a state of Grace, to justify the receiving as every Man fancies. It is well known that tho a Man be in a state of Grace, he may commit so many indecencies, and irreverences, as may be an obstacle to the due honour due to, and consequently the effect of that august Sacrament. Many examples might be brought here, but I omit them because the matter is plain, tho I shall give some hints, when I speak of Converts, and those newly Baptiz'd.

I always dislike'd one thing in Penitents, which is, when they will needs receive, contrary to their Confessor's advice and opinion; I believe such Persons rather displease than please God. What Patient does not follow his Physician's prescription? He knows what may do good and harm, and a good Medicine without a proper disposition may be hurtful. To this read S. Thomas, *Opusc. 58. c. 18.* where he has very plain instances. On the contrary I like those, who even when ask'd, Whether they dare receive our Lord, submit themselves to the direction of their Confessor; for this shows humility, knowledge of their unworthiness and fear, which is a good disposition. The Doctrine of S. Augustin, quoted by Cajetan, 3. p. q. 38. is good and proper for all Men, *Live so, that you may daily deserve to receive.* If a Man feeds on the best and thrives not, it is a sign there is some defect in the natural heat. If a Plant be cultivated and water'd, and yet grows not, it shows there is something amiss in the Root; so if a Man often feeds on the Bread of Angels, and finds no change of Life, and increase of Virtue, it is most certain the fault is on his side, and that we do not eat it with the due Preparation. Nor is it allow'd in those

parts, that the Penitent as soon as he rises from the Feet of his Confessor go immediately to receive the Communion; they are instructed to perform the Sacramental Satisfaction first, if they can, and if not that they give God thanks for the benefit receiv'd, and dispose themselves anew for a greater; for those two Sacraments being distinct, the dispositions ought to be so, and Man ought to stir up devotion, and much love in himself, &c.

33. I have writ several Sentences us'd by those Gentiles, and could add more in this place, but that I would not tire the Reader. I have set down one which I afterwards found to a Letter in S. Chrysostomus, *Serm. 3. de Fil. Prod. Love sees no faults.* And another in Tertul. c. 14. in *Apolog. A word of Piety is more grateful than a word of Compassion.* It would be too tedious to translate all the Documents of that Nation, which are much admir'd by Europeans; but that which S. Jerome writes *lib. 2. comm. in 13. Mat. is infallibly true, thus it is, The preaching of the Gospel is the least of all Doctrines. Compare it with the instructions of Philosophers, and their Books, the splendor of their Eloquence, and regularity of speech, and you will see how much the Seed of the Gospel is less than other Seeds. But these when they grow up, have nothing that is sharp, sprightly and lively, but is all fading, soft and flabby, growing up to Weeds and Grass, which soon withers and falls. But this preaching which at first seem'd little, or when it came into the soul of the Believer, &c. grows up to a Tree, so that the fowls of Heaven come and build nests on its boughs.* Christians daily own this truth, and show it by their change of life, whereas Infidels draw no profit from their Doctrines, which we see produce no other fruit but pride, vanity and hypocrisy.

34. The Tartar, as has been writ, possess'd himself of all that Empire, and laid a foundation to perpetuate himself in it, doing by the Imperial Family as Zambri and Jehu did by those of Baasa, and Achab, 3 Reg. c. 16. v. 11. & 4 Reg. c. 10. v. 10. *He left not one of it to piss against a wall, &c.* True, it is that precaution settled not Zambri above seven days, Tyranny is never lasting. What may avail the Tartar, is his great caution and circumspection in managing the Government, and his extraordinary care in cutting off Heads, without regarding the Popular hatred, according to the Doctrine of Seneca in Oedipus, *Odia qui nimis uni timet regnare seculi.* He knows how

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how to rule who is too much afraid of being hated. But he ought to observe the words of *Justus Lipsius*, 3 Polit. *There is often the greatest danger, where it is least fear'd.* I have writ much concerning that Mission in my Controversies; I hope in the Divine Goodness, that if God opens a way for the Bishops his Holiness has sent to get in, that Church will daily increase, tho' it meet with never so many Oppositions, especially by ordaining Priests of the Natives, as the Holy Congregation *de Propaganda Fide* ordains. Had this Method been us'd 40 Years ago, no doubt that Mission had been better advanced.

I put those who write in mind of *Cicero's* words, *Tuscul. 3. It is a folly to see the Vices of others, and forget our own.* And what *Seneca* writes, *Lib. 1. de Morib. For nothing is baser, than to object to another that which may be objected to a Man's own self.* *S. Augustine* says it, *cap. 10. de Confess. A curious sort of People, to pry into other mens Lives, stubful to mend their own.* *Seneca* too, if I forget not, said, *The way is short by Example, tedious by Words.*

The Misfortune of it lies in our miserable State, our Self-love and Passions. *S. Chrysostom* Homil. 3. *sup. cap. 1. 1 ad Cor. That there is nothing at all so holy, and so well ordain'd, which human Malice cannot abuse to its own ruin.* It finds Faults

in all things; If we preach in a poor manner, the Method is not proper; if we wear mean Clothes, they are not decent for such Men; if we discover Christ Crucify'd, it is indiscretion; if we do not visit *Mandarines*, and present them, we cannot secure Christianity; if we teach the Mathematicks, they banish us; if we teach none, there is no admittance. Good God, how many Scarecrows they set before us upon all occasions! God order all for his greater Glory, and grant Unity and Concord among the Missioners, which, I think, is the main Point: I have writ something to this purpose in the second Tome. See *S. Thom. in Apoc. cap. 8. v. 6, 7. explicating those words, They prepar'd themselves to sound the Trumpet.* Having taken notice that in the second Verse it is said, that a Trumpet was given to every one of the seven Spirits, and what *Richardus Victor* observes upon the 9th Chap. v. 19. *I heard one Voice from the four Horns, &c. One Voice, that is, the Agreement of the Universal Doctrine, from the four Horns of the Golden Altar, that is, from all the Preachers of Christ, preaching the four Gospels through the four Parts of the World.* Thus the Heavenly and Divine Seed will certainly bring forth Fruit. Otherwise we shall say, *In vain do we labour and run.* See *Sylveir. Tom. 6. cap. 4. q. 1.*

C H A P. XXXIII.

Notes upon F. Martin Martinez his Treatise de Bello Tartarico.

1. I Know not whether I got the better of Sloth, which hindred me from reading the little Book *de Bello Tartarico*, publish'd by the R. F. Martinez, or whether Curiosity overcame me; I took it up accidentally, thinking it had been *Aristotle's* Problems, and resolv'd to look it over: I made some Remarks, tho' not very weighty ones, and will insert them in this place. *Seneca*, *Epist. 45. says, The Words of Truth are plain, and therefore must not be intangled, &c.* To be zealous for Truth in all respects, implies Sincerity of Mind, not a Spirit of Contradiction, as some incurious and troublesome Persons imagine. *S. Gregory* says, *With the true Worshippers of God, even those Wars are sinful which are not made through Ambition or Cruelty, but for the sake of Peace,* Cap. apud veros 23. q. 1. Among God's Servants nothing is to be attributed to Discord or Dissension, but to a de-

fire of clearing the Truth, the knowledge whereof is delightful and covered by all Men, says *S. Thom. 2. 2. q. 15. Art. 1. ad 3. S. Augustin, Conf. 10. cap. 23. says, All Men love to know clear Truth.*

2. In his Preface to the Reader, *Pag. 16.* he excuses his Latin if it prove not so polite and elegant as may be expected, with his being taken up with the study of the *Chinese* Tongue, &c. This were more proper for others, and for those who for above twelve Years handled none but *Chinese* Books, and spent some more in the *Philippine* Islands upon the Languages of the Natives there. *F. Martinez* was not there full six Years, it may be his Humility.

3. *Pag. 21.* I see he holds the Opinion I mention'd in the First Book, that *Tamerlan* never conquer'd *China*, as the History I there spoke of tells us. The Computation

putation by Chronology I do not insist on; it is enough I confirm my Opinion by what has been said. This also makes out what I writ against *F. de Angelis a Portuguese*, that they were the *Western Tartars* who formerly conquer'd *China*, not those who now possess it.

4. *Pag. 23.* he says, That he who made head against those *Tartars*, was a Servant to the *Bonzos*. The common Vogue in *China* is, that he was a very brave and resolute *Bonzo*. He was the first Emperor of the reigning Family before this call'd *Lai Ming*.

Pag. 26. he confirms what I writ in the first Book, that the *Chineses* had a Million of Men to guard the Wall; I said some added half a Million more. The Charge was doubtless prodigious, and wonderful how they carry'd Provisions and Necessaries for such a multitude, and defended them from the cold, which is very sharp there in Winter, they must stand in need of many things. To me who know that Country, the supplying all these Wants seems more easy, than to relieve two hundred Soldiers from *Madrid* if they were but at *Pardo*. This is no Hyperbole, but a known Truth.

5. *Pag. 28.* he tells how ill the *Chineses* treated the Merchants that went to *Leao Tung*, which cannot be deny'd; but neither *Leao Tung*, nor *Leao Jang*, was or is either of them a Metropolis; nor did it then, or does it now belong to the Province of *Xan Tung*, the Metropolis whereof is call'd *Zi Nung*.

Pag. 29. he mentions the Great *Lamase*, by whose means the *Tartars* sent their Complaints to the *Chinese* Emperor. I said he was the Pope of the *Bonzos* in those Parts, and lived in the Kingdom of *Tibet*. I was often told in *China*, that as well the Eastern as the Western *Tartars* put a great value upon the Herb *Cha* or *Te*, whereof the most usual Drink in that Kingdom is made; and not being allow'd to carry it out, they use this Contrivance to get it: They first treat with the *Chineses* that sell it, agree about the Price, and appoint a day to carry it away. This done, they take as many Horses as they think will carry the Burden, and keep them three or four days without a mouthful of Food; then they come in with them, and give them as much as ever they are able to eat of that Herb; immediately they mount them, and with all speed get out of the Bounds of *China*: As soon as they are within their own they alight, kill the Horses, rip

open their Bellies, and take out all the *Cha* they eat, dry it, and so carry it about to sell and make Drink of it.

6. *Pag. 31.* He writes of the barbarous Custom of the *Tartars* at the Death of Noble-men, that they burn their Wives, some Servants, Horses, and other things to go serve the Dead. In *India* this Custom is in some measure practis'd, but he says they left it off when they came into *China*; Being reprov'd by the *Chineses* themselves. I mention'd that they had not left it off till the Year 1668, when the present Emperor forbid it.

7. From *Page 34* forwards, he relates the Persecution his Society endur'd there in the Year 1618, and says, some remain'd hid, perhaps he means *F. Longobardo*. He adds, That some were cruelly bastinado'd by the *Magistrates*. It might be so, but he does not set down the Causes of the Persecution, but only that a *Mandarine*, who was an Enemy to the Law of God, promoted it. He attributes the Mischief the *Tartars* did in *China* to this Persecution, tho he affirms the Faith was advanced by it. *But the Faith increas'd, as it is wont to do by Persecution, &c.* Which further confirms what I writ concerning this Matter, in the first Book of my second Tome. I writ, that when the *Tartar* possess'd himself of the Imperial City, about the Year 41 or 42, there were on the Walls of *Pe King* 7000 Pieces of Cannon; so I was told when I was in that City. But before that, when they attempted to break in, and durst not, *F. Martinez* says there was in the Imperial City, *An infinite number of Cannon*; these words imply more than the determinate number of 7000.

8. As for what he writes *Page 42.* of the *Portuguese* Succours, I already took notice that the Soldiers of *Macao* never came to Court, whereof there is a credible Witness at *Madrid* in the Service of the Lady Marchioness *de los Velez*, who then was in Arms, and went with those Men from *Macao*; only five or six Gunners went up to the Court. I do not look upon it as probable, that the Law of God was then, and till those times publicly preach'd with the Emperor's Consent.

9. What he says, *Pag. 45.* that the *Tartars* even pull out all their Beard by the Roots, is contrary to what we have seen thousands of times. They use Whiskers like the *Turks*, and larger. Nor do I agree to what he writes, *Pag. 47.* *But they are handsome enough in Body and Face, and much delighted with Strangers.* This is not

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not at all proper; I have heard so much of the Cruelties and Inhumanities of the *Tartars*, that all he writes concerning them is credible. *Pag.* 56. he says, the *Portuguese* Gunners that went to Court were seven, which differs not much from what was said before.

10. Then he gives an Account of the Rebellion of the *Chinese* Robbers, and the destruction of the Metropolis of the Province of *Ho Nan*, where the good *F. Figueredo* had his Church; he might well have sav'd his Life, but like a good Shepherd would not leave or forsake his Flock; he attended them living, and bore them company in death. *F. Figueredo* was an excellent Missioner, and writ extraordinary good Books in the *Chinese* Character. I read some of them, and they pleas'd me to the height; therefore I wondred that those of his Society forbid them to their Brethren, since he printed them with leave. True it is, the Prohibition did not reach to us, or the native Christians.

S. Paul, 2 *Cor.* 6. sets down the Qualifications of Missioners in these words; *In much Patience, in Tribulations, in Wants, in Afflictions, in Stripes, in Prisons, in Seditions.* *Cajetan* adds, *which are rais'd against us in Cities, &c.* It is fit the whole be read, with the Expositions of *S. Thomas* and *Cajetan*. It were no hard matter to apply every Particular to this Reverend Father: But one I cannot make out of him, which is, that whereas the Fathers of the Society in *China* underwent so many Persecutions, which I mention'd in the first Book of my second Tome; yet I never heard that *F. Figueredo* suffer'd in any of them, notwithstanding he was against the practice of his own Order, and follow'd that which the *Dominicans* and *Franciscans* always observ'd, in relation to the Worship the *Chinese* give to their Dead, their Boards, *Confucius*, and other Particulars. This to me is a Mystery that requires much Reflection.

11. *Pag.* 79. He corroborates my Opinion, wherein I agree with the Fathers, *Longobardo*, *Gouvea*, and other grave Men of the Society: *For they believe*, says he, *that Crowns are given by Heaven; nor do they think they ought to be seiz'd by Human Arts or Force.* How come others to contend that the *Chinese* know God, when they themselves say the contrary? The God they acknowledg is Heaven, and not any other thing distinct from it.

12. From *Pag.* 87. forward, he gives

a relation of the Rebels breaking into the Imperial City and Palace, and the *Chinese* Emperor's unhappy End; he agrees he hang'd himself, and says, he kill'd a Daughter he had that was marriageable: It was reported in *Peking* as I writ it.

13. *Pag.* 94. He speaks of the Imprisonment of the Father of *U San Kuei* the *Chinese* General, and the Letter he writ to his Son, with the Answer he sent to it; it is worth every Man's knowledg, and that makes me insert it here. The Rebel press'd him to write to his Son, to submit himself and all his Army to him, and obey his Orders. The good old Man took the Pencil, and writ thus; "Son, the Changes we see, are the Effects of Heaven and Fate, the Rule *Ta Ming* is ended, our Emperor perish'd, Heaven has deliver'd up the Crown and Scepter to this Robber *Li-Kung*; we must fute our selves to the Times, and make a Virtue of Necessity to escape his Tyranny and a cruel Death. He promises to make you a King, provided you and your Men will acknowledg him Emperor. My Life depends on your Answer, consider what you owe to him that begot you.

U San Kuei read his old Father's Letter; no doubt it forced Tears from him, and fatherly Love strove in his Breast, with the Duty he owed as a Loyal Subject to his Emperor. The latter prevail'd, and he generously answer'd his Father in a few words, thus; "I will not have him be my Father who is not true and loyal to the Emperor; if you, Sir, forget the Fidelity you owe to the Emperor, no body will think it strange I should forget the Duty I owe to such a Father; I will rather die than serve a Robber. He sent this Loyal and Resolute Answer to his Father, and presently sent to crave Aid of the *Tartar*. He acted inconsiderately and rashly; this was the occasion of the mighty Havock he saw soon after. He call'd in Lions to drive out Dogs.

14. *P.* 97. He confirms what I was told *Treasure*, in *China*, and mention'd in the First Book, that they were employ'd eight days carrying Riches out at four Gates of the Palace, upon Carts, Horses, Camels, and Mens shoulders. I do not agree to what he says *Page* 105 and 106, that the *Tartars* took from *U San Kuei* the Command of the Army; he was desirous so to do, but never durst provoke him. He kept that Post till my time; and if it were

were not so, what ground was there for the Hopes the *Chineses* had conceiv'd of this Man?

What he writes Page 125. concerning the petty King, who went over to the small island near to the City and Port of *Ning Po*, and made himself King of it, was not of any continuance. The Governor of *Kin Hoa*, a great Friend to *F. Martinez*, was beheaded in my time at *Pe King*.

15. Pag. 126. He relates how he was taken by the *Tartars*, but after another manner than really it was. *F. Martinez* was then with *Liu Chung Zao* in the Quality of *Mandarine* of the Ammunition, a Title his Brethren did not approve of, he had scarce time to cut off his Hair; he own'd himself a near Kinsman of *F. Adamus*, and that sav'd him.

Pag. 38 and 39. He gives an account of the Baptism of *Constantine* his Mother, &c. I have writ somewhat concerning this Particular, and refer my self to it. Some things might have been spar'd in this Point; and in the Cut he inserts in this place, they who are vers'd in these Affairs will understand it.

Army. 16. Pag. 167. He says, all the *Tartar* and *Chinesse* Troops are rang'd under eight Colours: In the First Book I said it was under 24; I was often told so in *China*.

Food. Pag. 168. He mentions the *Tartars* eating Horses and Camels, which has been set down before. I often heard, that these People had a custom, as soon as they kill'd one of them, to take out its Heart and eat it raw.

17. Pag. 178. He writes that *Amavandus* the *Tartar* in three days threw up a Trench ten Leagues in length, with several Forts upon it. This will seem incredible in these Parts, but is not so to me, who have seen the vast numbers of People that can be gather'd to furnish such a Work; tho' it be very much if it had been but six or seven Leagues, and it would take up a great multitude to man it.

Canton. From Pag. 176 forwards, he describes the taking of *Canton*; it cost dear. That which most terrify'd the *Chineses* was, a wooden Castle the *Tartars* built, which overtopped the Walls whence they play'd their Guns, and then the *Chineses* began to abandon the Wall. *Peter Carvalho* a Mongrel got by a *Portuguese*, who seeing himself left alone upon the Wall, fled hastily, told me, that if only 2 hundred Men had kept their Post with Fire-

Arms, they had certainly repulsed the *Tartars*, and disappointed their Designs. *Nava-*
The Fathers, *Alvaro Semedo*, and *Felicia-*
no Pacheco, both *Portugueses*, were then in *Nava-*
that Metropolis; the latter, as he told *rette.*
us several times, got out, tho' with much
difficulty, with his Musket upon his
Shoulder. The *Tartars* took the former,
and from him a great Sum of Money,
as *F. Antony Gouvea* told us in that Ci-
ty.

18. Pag. 180. He says, almost all the *Tartars* love, honour, and respect those of his Society; this appears by our Sufferings. He adds, *Et non pauci ex illis jam fidem amiserunt nostram*. I understand it not; if by *amiserunt* he means they have receiv'd, he is much deceiv'd; here and there one it may be, and this seems to be the Author's meaning.

19. From Pag. 182 forwards, he speaks of the cruel Actions of the second Rebel, or Robber; I look upon them all to be true. The Fathers *Magallanes* and *Bullo* suffer'd very much under this Man. *F. Gouvea* said it was their own Fault, because they were very headstrong.

20. Pag. 193 and 194. he says, That *Literati.*
Robber call'd together the Learned to be examin'd, and that above 18000 met; *All whom, as the custom is, he put into the College of the City, as it were, to be examin'd,* and put them all barbarously to death. *F. Martinez* here gives it for granted, that in every Metropolis there is a College for Examinations, and that large enough to contain the number above-mention'd. Why then did he give out at *Rome*, that the Examinations were made, and Degrees taken in the Chappel dedicated to *Confucius*, which cannot hold fifty Men standing? There is no answering this Point.

21. Pag. 207. in *Appendice*, he says *Worship.*
in the Margin; "The religious Wor-
"ship of the *Chineses* towards the
"Dead. And in the body of the Page,
"No Punishment is more heinous a-
"mong the *Chineses* than that sort of
"Execution; for by reason of the Re-
"ligion ingrafted in their Minds, they
"pay a supreme Veneration to the Se-
"pulchers of the Dead. Hence it fol-
"lows that all the *Chineses* do towards
their Dead, is not a Civil Worship. This is certainly a necessary Consequence, else it would not be a Religious Worship of the *Chineses* towards the Dead, nor would the extraordinary Veneration they have for their Tombs

be an Effect of the Religion ingrafted in their Minds. It were well for the Father if this were not contrary to what he himself propos'd at Rome. From what is here writ I also infer, that what I said in another place is true. that the *Chineses* look upon the place of their Sepulchers as holy, and not profane, as well as other Nations.

To confirm what I alledg in another place out of F. Suarez, *contra Reg. Ang.* to prove that the Worship of the *Chineses* towards their Dead, is not only Civil and Political, but Ceremonious and Religious: I here add what F. *John de Sancto Thoma* says, 2. 2. q. 87. *Disp.* 27. *Art.* 4. "A Worship is call'd Holy and Religious, not because it is Divine, but because it is above the Civil Degree; that is, it is given to Persons near to God, and above humane Conversation: And, because those Persons to whom it is given, are above the Civil Rank. No Man who has been in *China*, can reasonably defend, that the Ceremonies wherewith that Nation honours their Philosophers, Emperors, and Progenitors departed, are not far superior to those they use to honour the living. *Card. Lug. de Incarnat. Disp.* 35. *Sett.* 1. n. 1. says, "That is call'd Civil Worship, which usually Men give to one another. And it is certainly very different from that the *Chineses* give to their Dead. This Matter shall be handled at large in the second Tome; for the present it suffices that F. *Martinez* calls that the *Chineses* practice, a Religious Worship towards the Dead.

22. *Pag.* 210. he says, He knows not what was the End of *Jun Lie*, I set it down in the Fifth Book. He adds, That F. *Andrew Xavier* follow'd him, his Wife and Son. I have given an Account how they abandon'd and forsook him; F. *Vittorio Riccio* was told it by the Eunuch, who went to crave Succours in the Island *Hia Muen*; and because the King, Queen, and other Christians had never a Priest, he press'd to have the said Father go with him; who would have gone, had he been furnish'd with a Companion to whom he might commit the Charge of his Christians.

23. *Pag.* 215. and last, He tells the News he receiv'd at *Bruxels* of the *Anglians*, *Tartars* kindness to the Millioners, that

they gave full liberty to preach the Gospel, that they allow'd the erecting of new Churches, and contributed towards them. The last I neither do, nor for the World can agree to: The first part I grant, and was an Eye-witness to it: But that mighty Liberty and Toleration lasted not long, because it was all built upon Sand. F. *Martinez*, as I was often told, was of opinion, that the *Tartar* was lawfully possess'd of the *Chinesse* Empire. I always thought he would have prov'd his Title in this little Book; but nothing can be gather'd out of all he writes to make this out, or prove his Assertion, so that I am left more at liberty to go on in my own Opinion.

24. A Learned and Judicious Man thinks nothing impossible. S. *Thomas*, 1 p. 4. 94. *Art.* 4. "Nothing is incredible to a wise Man; Children and Fools are surpriz'd at every thing as strange. He will not therefore make a doubt of what has been hitherto said, or shall be added in the second Tome. Some Persons are amaz'd to hear that many new Christians turn Apostates, without regarding that many of our own People do the same among the *Mabometans*, of which sort there are enough at *Tunis*, *Algier*, and in other parts. We know, that according to S. *Augustin*, *lib.* 1. *cont. Julian.* c. 3. whom *A Lapide* quotes and follows in *Gen.* 3. 5. *Adam* lost his Faith when he sinn'd: So S. *Peter*. What S. *Thomas* did we all know. Besides, *Himeneus* and *Alexander* fell back, 2 *Tim.* 4. What wonder is it the *Chineses* and other Nations should do the same? What we ought to admire is, that there should be any who forsaking so many Idolatries in which they were bred from their Infancy, come over and embrace our Holy Law, without seeing any Miracles as the Antients did. And whosoever reflects upon the inconsistency of the *Jews*, who saw so many Prodigies as God perform'd among them, and for them, will less wonder at what many *Chineses* have done: I see more to admire at among Christians. One of my Order exhorted an *Alcade* of *Manila* to moderate himself in some Particulars, he put him in mind of the Account he was to give to God; and he answer'd, Let me but come off well when I am call'd to account here, for that in the other World does not much trouble me. No *Chinesse* would

would have utter'd such an extravagancy. This Man had not read that which all we who have Faith ought to know. Let him that has the curiosity read *Oleaster* in 6 *Levit. ad mores*. I call'd to mind a while since an extraordinary Passage, which is in the Clallick *Chinese* Authors. They write of one who being altogether ignorant, one morning awak'd so learned, that he repeated all the *Chinese* Doctrines by heart. They praise this Man very

much; what I understand of it is, that only God, and none else can infuse habitual Knowledge. This is an agreed Point of Divinity, which *A Lapidé* follows in *Gen. 11. 7*. The Devil may infuse actual Knowledge, either suggesting, or speaking himself, and perhaps it is most likely he did so in this case we have mention'd. Other Stories and Accidents, which might be added in this place, are inserted in the second Tome.

*Nava-
rette.*

The End of the Sixth Book.

Navarrette.

BOOK VII.

Decrees and Propositions resolv'd at Rome, by order of the Holy Congregation of the Inquisition.

Questions propos'd to the Holy Congregation, *de Propaganda Fide*, by the Missioners of *China*. With the Answers to them, approved by Decree of the said Holy Congregation.

The following Propositions transmitted by the Holy Congregation *de Propaganda Fide*, to the Inquisition, were resolv'd as follows, by the Fathers Qualificators of the said Inquisition.

1. **W**HETHER the Chinese Christians are oblig'd to the observance of the positive Precepts of the Church, as to Fasting, Confessing, and Receiving once a Year, keeping of Holy Days, in the same manner as the Indians in New Spain and the Philippine Islands are oblig'd, by the Decree of Pope Paul the 3d for the Western and Southern Indians.

Fasting.

They are of opinion, that the Positive Laws of the Church for Fasting bind the Chinese Christians, and that the Missioners are to notify it to them. But considering the nature of Countries, and Persons, his Holiness if he pleases may grant the same Dispensation Paul the 3d of happy Memory granted to the Indians; which being obtain'd, let the Missioners endeavour to make known to them the Goodness of our Holy Mother the Church, who favours them in remitting a great part of what she has decreed for the whole World.

Confession.

They also judg the aforesaid Chinese are oblig'd to Sacramental Confession once a Year, and the Missioners are to make them sensible of this Duty.

Communion.

The same they judg as to receiving the Holy Communion once a Year. But as for the performing of it at the time appointed, *viz.* at *Easter*, that is to be understood, unless there be some impediment, or any great danger threaten. However care is to be taken, that they receive within 2 or 3 Months next before or after *Easter*, as far as may be done

without danger, or at least within the space of a Year beginning from *Easter*.

Lastly, they judg the Chinese who are converted to the Faith are absolutely oblig'd to keep Holy-days, and the Missioners are bound to let them understand as much. Yet, if his Holiness please, he may limit the number of Holy-days according to the Privilege granted the Indians by Paul the 3d.

2. Whether the Ministers of the Gospel in the said Kingdom may, for the present at least, forbear giving Women the Holy Oil of Catechumens, the putting Spittle in their Ears, and Salt in their Mouths: As also administering the Sacrament of Extreme Unction to Women. The cause of putting the Question is, for that the Chinese are very jealous of their Wives, Daughters and other Women, and will be scandaliz'd at such Actions.

They judg the Sacramental Rites ought to be us'd in baptizing of Women, and the Extreme Unction to be given them; and that the cause they alledg for their doubt is not sufficient for the Missioners (as far as lies in their power) to omit these things. Therefore care is to be taken, that such wholesome Rites and Ceremonies be introduced and observ'd, and the Missioners must administer them with such Circumspection, and give the Men such instructions, that they may be void of all thoughts of any indecency.

3. It is establish'd by Law in the said Kingdom, that 30 per Cent. Interest

be

be taken for Money lent, without any regard to Gain otherwise failing, or Loss accruing. The Question is, Whether it be lawful for the said Chineses to receive the said 30 per Cent. the Rate establish'd by Law in that Kingdom, tho their Profit cease not in another place, nor Loss accrue. The cause of the doubt is, for that the Principal runs some hazard, to wit, that he who borrows may run away, or delay Payment, or force the Creditor to recover it by Law, or the like.

They judg nothing above the Principal ought to be taken immediately and directly for the Loan. But if they receive any thing on account of the danger may probably happen, as in this case, they are not to be molested, so regard be had to the nature of the danger and the likelihood of it, and there be a proportion betwixt the greatness of the danger and what is receiv'd.

4. It is frequent throughout all China to have publick Houses assign'd for Usury, where publick Usurers put out their Money to use upon Pawns, deducting the Interest, and yet to receive so much per Month for every Ducat; and in case the owner of the Pawns within a certain number of Years does not redeem them, paying the Principal and Interest, he loses all his Right and Title to those Pawns. Now these Houses are useful to the Publick; and tho the Usurers themselves would desist from that Trade of Usury, yet they are compell'd to follow it by the Magistrates. The Question is, Whether if these Usurers should desire to be converted to the Faith, they may be baptiz'd tho they continue in their course of Usury, for the reason above mention'd, or what is to be done in that case?

They judg that the Chineses who continue in the Practice of Usury cannot be baptiz'd. But if they be compell'd by a Magistrate to lend their own Money, then they may take something above the Principal, tho they have a Pawn, both because of the trouble forced upon them, and for their care in keeping the Pawns, as also of the Profit they might make another way, and of the present Loss they are at. But if at the time appointed, there shall remain upon selling the Pawn any thing above the Principal and Lawful Interest accruing, for the reasons abovemention'd they shall restore it to the Owner.

5. Whether the Sons of the aforesaid Usurers, being Christians when they inherit their Fathers Wealth, be oblig'd to make restitution of what their Parents got by Usury either in the whole or in part, according to the excessive extortion. And in case such

Sons of Usurers, now become Christians, be compelled by the Government, or Magistrate to open and keep up their Parents publick Houses of Usury; what then the Ministers of the Gospel are to do in this case for the ease of their Consciences.

They judg, that the Heirs of Usurers are obliged to make restitution of what their Parents have unlawfully got by Usury, to the true Owners, if any such can be found; if not, according to the rules assign'd by Doctors. But the actual restitution must be directed by Learned, Pious, and Discreet Men. As for the second part of the Question, it is answer'd in the next above it.

6. It is the Custom among the People, and in the Cities of that Kingdom to lay certain Impositions, which are exacted from the neighbouring People, to be spent at the Feast of the new Year, in Sacrifices and Idolatries of their Devils, in Invitations and Banquets prepar'd in their Temples, as also in Festivals, and other indifferent shows for the Peoples Diversion. Quære, whether it be lawful for Christians, and their Ministers (of whom it is demanded as of Neighbours) at least for the present, to contribute towards these things? For in case the Christians would not contribute to it, some Tumult will be rais'd against them by the Gentiles.

They judg the Christians may contribute Money, provided they do not design by such Contributions to join in those Idolatrous, or Superstitious acts; supposing that cause for it, which is propos'd but doubtfully: Especially entring their Protestation, if it may be done with Conveniency, that they pay those Contributions only for the diversion of the People, and indifferent actions, or at least such as are not opposite to the Worship of the Christian Religion.

7. In all the Cities and Towns of that Kingdom, there are Temples erected and dedicated to a certain Idol call'd Chim Ho-am, which the Chineses pretend to be the Ruler, Protector, and Guardian of the City; and it is an establish'd Law of the Kingdom, that all Governours of Towns and Cities, whom they call Mandarines, when they enter upon the Government, and twice a Month throughout the Year, upon pain of forfeiting their Employment, shall repair to the said Temples, and there prostrating themselves before the Altar of the said Idol, kneeling, and bowing their Head down to the very Ground, adore and worship the said Idol, and offer in Sacrifice to it Candles, Perfumes, Flowers, Flesh, and Wine. And when they take possession of their Government, they take an

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 Quid before the aforesaid Idol, that they will govern uprightly; and in case they fail, submit themselves to be punished by the Idol; and also they beg of him a Rule and Method to govern well, and other things to this purpose. Quære, whether considering the Frailty of that Nation, it may be allow'd for the present, that such Governours being Christians carry some Cross, which they may conceal among the Flowers on the Idol's Altar, or in their own hands; and directing their intention not to the Idol, but to the Cross, perform all these Genuflexions, Bowings, and Adorations before that Altar outwardly and feignedly, directing all the Worship inwardly in their Heart to the Cross? For if such Governours be oblig'd to desist from doing this, they will sooner revolt from the Faith than lose their Commands.

They judg, it is no way lawful for Christians to perform these publick Acts of Worship and Honour to an Idol, upon pretence, or intentionally to a Cross they have in their Hand, or hid among Flowers on the Altar.

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 H. of Confucius.
 8. In the aforesaid Kingdom of China there was a learned Master in Moral Philosophy, long since dead, whose Name was KUM FUCU, so much admir'd throughout the Kingdom for his Doctrine, Rules, and Instructions, that as well the Kings as all other Persons of what Degree or Quality soever, propose him to themselves as an example to be imitated and follow'd, at least in the speculative part, and extol and worship him as a Saint; and there are Temples erected in Honour of the said Master in every City and Town. Governours are oblig'd to offer a Solemn Sacrifice twice a Year in his Temple, they themselves doing the Duty of a Priest, (they repair thither without Solemnity twice a Month throughout the Year) with them go some of the Literati, or Learned, to assist them in the offering of that Sacrifice, which consists of a whole dead Swine, a whole Goat, Candles, Wine, Flowers, Sweets, &c. Also all the Learned, when they take a Degree, are oblig'd to go to this Master's Temple, to kneel before his Altar, and offer on it Candles and Sweets. All this Worship, Sacrifice and Honour, according to the formal intention of all those Gentiles, is design'd as a Thanksgiving for the good Instructions left by him in his Doctrine, and that they may obtain of him, through the Merit of his excellent Wit, the Blessing of Wisdom and Understanding. Quære, whether such Governours as are or shall be Christians, or the Learned call'd and forc'd, may repair to the said Temple, offer such Sacrifice, or assist at it, or make any Genuflexions

before that Altar, or receive any Part of those Idol Offerings; chiefly, because those Gentiles believe, that he who eats of those Idol Offerings will make a great Progress in Learning, and advance in Degrees; and whether they may lawfully do this, carrying a Cross in their Hands, as was mention'd in the last foregoing doubt, because if this be forbidden them, the People will mutiny, the Ministers of the Gospel will be banish'd, and the Conversion of Souls will be hinder'd, and cease.

They judg, that what is contain'd in the Question propos'd cannot be allow'd the Christians upon any pretence whatsoever.

9. 'Tis a Custom inviolably observ'd among the Chinese, as a Doctrine deliver'd by the said Master KUM FUCU, to have ^{Worship of Progenitors.} Temples in all Towns of the Kingdom, dedicated to their Grandfathers and Progenitors; and all that are of the Family meet twice a Year in every one of them, to offer solemn Sacrifices to their aforesaid Progenitors, with abundance of Ceremonies; and they place the Image of their deceas'd Parent or Grandfather on an Altar adorn'd with many Candles, Flowers, and Sweets; and in this Sacrifice there is one that plays the part of the Priest, who with his assistance, offers Flesh, Wine, Sweets, Goats Heads, &c. Now this Sacrifice, according to the common intention of that Nation, is design'd as a Thanksgiving to their aforesaid Progenitors, an Honour and Respect paid them for all Benefits already receiv'd, and which they hope to receive from them. Therefore, prostrating before the Altar, they offer many Prayers, begging Health, long Life, a plentiful Harvest, many Children, much Prosperity, and to be deliver'd from all Adversity. Which Sacrifice is also perform'd in their Houses and at the Tombs of the dead, but with less Solemnity. Quære, whether Christians may feignedly, and only in outward show, as was propos'd above, be present at this Sacrifice, or exercise any part of it jointly with the Infidels, either in the Temple at home, or at the Tomb publickly, or privately, or how it may be allow'd Christians? lest if they be absolutely forbid doing it, they lose the Faith, or rather forsake the outward actions of Christians.

They judg, it is no way lawful for the Chinese Christians to be present at the Sacrifices to their Progenitors, or at their Prayers, or at any superstitious Rites whatsoever the Gentiles use towards them, tho it be without any intention of joining with them, or only for outward form; and much less can they be permitted to exercise any Function relating to those matters.

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10. The Chinese Christians do affirm, that by the aforesaid Offerings they design no other Honour to their Progenitors, than if made whilst they were yet living, and that is only in memory and as an acknowledgment of the Being receiv'd from them; and were they living, they would offer them the same things to feed on; and they offer them without any other intention, or hope in their Prayers, knowing they are dead, and their Souls bury'd in Hell. Quære, whether if these things were done among Christians only without the Company of Infidels in the Temples, or Houses, or at the Tombs, placing some Cross on the Altar of the aforesaid dead, and directing their intention to it, provided they attribute nothing to their Progenitors but a Filial Respect, which (if they were still living) they would have paid, by presenting them Eatables, and Sweets; that so they may please the People: The question is therefore, whether this may be tolerated for the present to avoid other inconveniences?

They judg, consequently to what has been said above, that the aforesaid Points cannot be salv'd, either by the Application of a Cross, or the absence of Gentiles, or by the intention of the Actions, in themselves unlawful and superstitious, in the Worship of the true God.

11. Moreover the Chinese, to put them in mind of their Ancestors, make use of certain Tablets on which the Names of their Progenitors are writ, which they call the Seats of the Souls, believing the Souls of the dead come to rest upon those Tablets, to receive Sacrifices and Offerings; and the aforesaid Tablets are plac'd on Altars peculiar to that purpose, with Roses, Candles, Lamps, and Sweets about them; and they kneel, pray and offer up their Devotions before the said Tablets, and expect those dead Persons shall relieve them in their Troubles and Adversities. Quære, whether it be lawful for Christians, laying aside all Heathen Superstitions and Errors, to make use for the present of the said Tablets, and to place them among the Images of our Lord and the Saints on the same Altar, or on another apart, adorn'd as aforesaid, for the Satisfaction of the Gentiles; or whether they may offer the aforesaid Prayers, and sacrifice with the intention aforesaid?

They judg, it is absolutely unlawful to keep those Tablets on a true Altar, and peculiarly dedicated to their Ancestors, much less to offer Prayers and Sacrifice to them, tho it be done with a private and counterfeit intention.

12. When any Person happens to die in that Kingdom, whether he be a Christian, or a Gentile, it is observ'd as an inviolable

Custom, to set up an Altar in the House of the Party deceas'd, and to place on it his or *Nava-ber Image*, or else the Tablet aforesaid *rette*, adorn'd with Sweets, Flowers and Candles, and to set the Carcase in the Coffin behind it. All they who come to those Houses to condole, make 3 or 4 Genuflections before the Altar and Image of the Person deceas'd, prostrating themselves on the Ground, with their Heads touching it, bringing with them some Candles and Sweets, to be consum'd and burnt on the Altar before the Image of the dead Person. Quære, whether it be lawful for Christians, and chiefly for the Ministers of the Holy Gospel, to do these things, especially when the Persons deceas'd are of the greatest Quality?

They judg, that provided the Tablet set up be only in the nature of a Board, and not a true and exact Altar, if all other particulars be within the bounds of a Civil and Political Worship, they may be tolerated.

13. Quære, whether the Ministers of the Gospel are oblig'd to declare to, and particularly to instruct the Catechumens ready for Baptism, that their Sacrifices and all things above mention'd are unlawful, tho there ensue many inconveniences of so doing, as their forbearing to receive Baptism, the Persecution, Death, or Banishment of the Ministers of the Gospel?

They judg, the Ministers of the Gospel are oblig'd to teach that all Sacrifices but those of the true God are unlawful, that the Worship of Devils and Idols is to be laid aside, and that all things relating to that Worship are false, and repugnant to the Christian Faith: But that they are to descend to Particulars, according as they find the readiness of wit, or dulness of the Catechumens shall require, and with respect to other Circumstances, Customs, and Dangers.

14. In the Chinese Language this word *XING* signifies Holy; and in the Books of Christian Doctrine printed by some Ministers of the Holy Gospel, this word *XING* is made use of in naming the most blessed Trinity, Christ our Lord, the blessed Virgin, and the rest of the Saints. Quære, whether when in the said Books there is occasion for naming the Chinese Master *CUM FU CU*, or the King of China's Order, or other Kings, who are generally reputed Holy in that Kingdom, tho they are Infidels and Idolaters, it be lawful for us the Ministers of Christ to call the aforesaid Persons by this name *XING*?

They judg, no positive resolution can be given concerning this Word, or the use of it, unless they first had a know-
ledg

Narrative. ledg of the Language, and of its true and genuine signification. But if that word in *China* has a latitude, the Ministers may make use of it; if it be confin'd to signify a true and perfect Sanctity, then they may not upon any account.

Worship of their Emperors. 15. In many Temples of that Kingdom there is a Gilt Tablet placed on a Table, or Altar, and set out with all sorts of Ornaments, as Candles, Flowers and Sweets, on which Tablet the following Letters or Characters are writ: HOAM TY UAN SUY VAN VAN SUY. That is, *May the King of China live many thousands of Years. And it is the custom of those Idolaters twice or thrice a Year to sacrifice before that Tablet, and make Genuslections in honour of it.*

Quære, *Whether the Ministers of the Gospel may place such an Altar and Table in their Churches in manner aforesaid, and this before the Altar on which the Priests of God offer up the unspotted Offering?*

They judg that excluding the Sacrifices, and Altar properly so call'd, the other parts, which seem to imply only a Civil Worship, or can be reduced to it, may be permitted.

Stat. for Idolaters. 16. Q. *Whether it will be lawful in that Kingdom for the Christians to pray and offer the true Sacrifice to our Lord God for their*

Dead who depart this life in their infidelity?

They judg it is utterly unlawful, if they depart this life in their infidelity.

17. Q. *Whether we Preachers of the Gospel are oblig'd in that Kingdom to preach on. Christ crucify'd, and to show his most holy Image, especially in our Churches? The cause of making this doubt, is because the Gentiles are scandaliz'd at such preaching and showing, and look upon it as the greatest folly.*

They judg that the Doctrine of Christ's Passion is on no pretence or policy whatsoever to be delaid till after Baptism, but of necessity to precede it. But tho the Ministers of the Gospel are not oblig'd to the actual preaching of Christ Crucify'd in every Sermon, but to deliver the Word of God and Divine Mysteries discreetly, and according as opportunity serves, and to expound them according to the capacity of the *Catechumens*, yet they are not to forbear preaching upon the Passion of our Lord, for that reason, because the Gentiles are scandaliz'd at it, or think it a folly.

They also judg it convenient, that there be Images of Christ Crucify'd in the Churches, and therefore care is to be taken, that they be expos'd to view, as much as conveniently may be.

The Decree of the Holy Congregation de Propaganda Fide held the 12th of September, 1645.

Decree of the Pope, 1645. “ THE most Eminent Lord Cardinal *Ginette*, having reported the above-written Questions, with the Answers and Resolutions of the Congregation of Divines particularly appointed to examine the said Questions; the Holy Congregation of the most Eminent Lords Cardinals *de Propaganda Fide*, approv'd the aforesaid Answers and Resolutions; and upon the humble application of the same Congregation, our most Holy Father for preserving of Unity in Preaching, and the practice of it, has strictly commanded all and every the Missioners, of what Order, Rule, or Institute soever, even those of the Society of *Jesus*, who at present are or shall be in the Kingdom of *China*, upon pain of incurring *ipso facto* an Excommunication, reserv'd only to be taken off by his Holiness, and the Sec Apostolick, that they carefully observe the aforesaid Answers and Resolutions, and practise them, and cause them to be observ'd and

“ practis'd by others, whom it shall concern, till such time as his Holiness, or the Holy Sec Apostolick shall order the contrary. Printed at *Rome* in the Printing-House of the Holy Congregation *de Propaganda Fide*, 1645. with Permission of Superiors.

This Decree was set forth at the instance of *F. John Baptist de Morales*, a Religious Man of our Province of the *Rosary* in the *Philippine Islands*, bred in the Monastery of *S. Paul*, in the City *Ezija*, a great Missioner in *China*, of known Virtue, and very zealous for the good of Souls. He having preach'd the Gospel some years in that Empire, and together with the Religious of the Order of our Holy Father *S. Francis*, who preach'd our holy Faith there, observ'd some considerable Points, which they could not resolve themselves; by express Command from his Superiors, he sail'd from *Macao* to *Persia*, whence he travel'd by Land, and came to *Rome*, where he fairly propos'd the Doubts mention'd in this Paper, which

which his Holiness, Pope Urban the 8th, had by another way before receiv'd an account of, as he plainly told the said Father, when he kiss'd his foot, ordering those Doubts to be laid before the Congregation of the Holy Inquisition. They were finally resolv'd and deliver'd, when Pope Innocent the 10th of happy Memory sat in S. Peter's Chair. In the Year 1646, when I went over to the *Philippine Islands* with F. John, we carry'd along with us a great number of Authentick Copies; some, tho' but few, were left in *Europe*. When we came to *Manila*, a Packet sent by *Monsenhor Ingoli* Secretary to the Congregation de *Propaganda Fide*, was deliver'd to the Chapter, the See being then Vacant, and with it an Authentick Copy of the Decree, with Orders from that Holy Congregation to publish and make it known to all Religious Orders, which was punctually perform'd. He sent another Packet and Copy to the same effect, to the Metropolitan of *Goa*, the Court of the *East-Indies*, which was no less punctually obey'd. The same was done in the City *Macao*, inhabited by *Portugueses*, and seated in the Dominions of *China*. In the Year 1649 F. John went over again into *China*, and by express Order from the Holy Congregation, according to form, intimated the aforesaid Decree to the F. Vice-Provincial of the Society then in *China*; to which his Reverence, and others of his Brethren answer'd, They had further matter to lay before his Holiness.

The most Reverend and most Learned F. Thomas Hurtado, afterwards writ in *Spain* upon this Decree, p. 1. *resol. Moral. trac. 3. cb. 1. resol. 40.* The most Illustri-

ous Lord D. F. Peter de Tapia, Archbishop of *Sevil*, quotes it in his *Caten. Moral. Princip. tom. 2. lib. 1. quæst. 3. art. 9. n. 20.* he refers to the Author above, who speaks of it in his *resol. orthod. Moral. de vero Mart. Fidei tract. ult. F. Henao* of the Society mentions it too, *de Divin. Sacrif. disp. 29. sect. 17.* where he raises some Doubts, which I will answer fairly and distinctly in the second Tome. F. Angelo Maria of the Regular Clergy writ at large in *Italy* upon the same Subject, with much sincerity and good Doctrine. Some without any reason for it, as I shall make appear in my second Tome, say that that our Decree was annull'd and vacated by that which pass'd in the Year 1646, at the instance of the R. F. Martin Martinez, which shall be mention'd hereafter. For this reason the Lord Bishop D. F. John de Polanco, my Companion in that Mission, ask'd of the Congregation of the Holy Inquisition, whether it was so or not. Their answer was, that they confirm'd it anew, as the Reader may see immediately.

Thus much may suffice till my second Tome comes abroad, only adding, that the faithful printed Memorial, which was presented some Years since to his Majesty King Philip the Fourth, mention'd by the most Reverend F. Hurtado, and several times by F. Henao, was compos'd by F. James Collado, above spok'd of; this is a matter well known, and I cannot imagin how it comes to pass that Grave and Learned Author should not have heard of it all this while. What he says, *Long Ways long Lies*, I have sufficiently observ'd on account of several Passages in my second Tome, and some in this.

Answers of the Holy Congregation of the Universal Inquisition, approv'd by our most Holy Father Alexander the Seventh, to the Questions propos'd by the Missioners of the Society of Jesus in China, Ann. 1656.

THE underwritten Questions, and many others were propos'd to the Holy Congregation de *Propaganda Fide*, by some Missioners of *China*, in the Year 1645. which being by his Holiness's Order transmitted to the Holy Congregation of the Supreme and Universal Inquisition, each of them was examin'd by the Divines Qualificators, and the Answer annex'd to every one, in the same manner as follows.

1. *Whether the Chinese Christians be oblig'd to observe the positive Ecclesiastical*
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Law, as to Fasting, Confessing, and Recceiving once a Year, keeping of Holy Days in such manner as the Indians in New Spain and the Philippine Islands are oblig'd, according to the appointment of Pope Paul the Third, for the Western and Southern Indians?

They judg the positive Ecclesiastical Law for Fasting absolutely binds the Chinese Christians, and that the Missioners are to declare it to them. But with regard had to the nature of the Countries and People, if his Holiness please,

he may grant them the Dispensation, which was formerly granted to the *Indians* by Pope *Paul* the Third of Happy Memory; which being obtain'd, let the Missioners endeavour to make them sensible of our Holy Mother the Church's Goodness to them, whom it eases of a great part of what is laid upon all the World.

They also judg the aforefaid *Chineses* are oblig'd to Sacramental Confession once a Year, and the Missioners are to make them sensible of this duty.

The same they judg as to Receiving the Holy Communion once a Year. But as for the performing it at the time appointed, *viz.* at *Easter*, that is to be understood unless there be some impediment, or any great danger threaten. However care is to be taken that they receive within two or three Months next before or after *Easter*, as far as may be done without danger, or at least within the space of a Year, beginning from *Easter*.

Lastly, they judg, the *Chineses* who are converted to the Faith, are absolutely oblig'd to keep Holidays, and the Missioners are bound to let them understand as much. Yet, if his Holiness please, he may limit the number of the Holidays, according to the Privilege granted to the *Indians* by Pope *Paul* the Third.

2. *Whether the Ministers of the Gospel in the said Kingdom may for the present at least, forbear giving Women the Holy Oil of Catechumens, the putting Spittle in their Ears, and Salt in their Mouths; as also administering the Sacrament of Extreme Unction to Women? The cause of putting the question is, for that the Chineses are very jealous of their Wives, Daughters, and other Women, and will be scandaliz'd at such actions.*

They judg the Sacramental Rites ought be us'd in Baptizing of Women, and the Extreme Unction to be given them; and that the cause they alledg for their doubt, is not sufficient for the Missioners (as far as lies in their power) to omit these things. Therefore care is to be taken that such wholesom Rites and Ceremonies be introduced, and observ'd, and the Missioners must administer them with such circumspection, and give the Men such Instructions, that they may be free from all thoughts of any indecency.

3. In the foresaid Kingdom of *China*, there was a Learned Master in Moral Philosophy, long since dead, whose name was *KUM FU ZU*, so much admir'd

throughout the Kingdom for his Doctrine, Rules and Instructions, that as well the King, as all other Persons of what degree or quality soever, propos'd him to themselves as an example to be imitated and follow'd, at least in the Speculative part, and extol and worship him as a Saint; and there are Temples erected in honour of the said Master in every City and Town. Governours are oblig'd to offer a solemn Sacrifice twice a Year in his Temple, they themselves doing the duty of a Priest (they repair thither without Solemnity twice a Month throughout the Year) with them go some of the *Literati*, or Learned, to assist them in the offering of that Sacrifice, which consists of a whole dead Swine, a whole Goat, Candles, Wine, Flowers, Sweets, &c. Also all the Learned, when they take a Degree are oblig'd to go to this Master's Temple to kneel before his Altar, and offer on it Candles and Sweets. All this Worship, Sacrifice and Honour, according to the formal intention of all those Gentiles, is design'd as a Thanksgiving, for the good Instructions left by him in his Doctrine, and that they may obtain of him through the merit of his Wit, the blessing of Understanding.

Quære, Whether such Governours as are or shall be Christians, or the Learned call'd and forced, may repair to the said Temple, offer such Sacrifice, or assist at it, or make any Genuflexions before that Altar, or receive any part of those Idol-offerings; chiefly because those Gentiles believe, that he who eats of those Idol-offerings, will make a great progress in Learning, and advance in Degrees? And whether they may lawfully do this, carrying a Cross in their hands, as was mention'd in the last foregoing doubt, because if this be forbidden them, the People will mutiny, the Ministers of the Gospel will be banish'd, and the conversion of Souls will be hinder'd and cease?

They judg that what is contain'd in the Question propos'd cannot be allow'd the Christians upon any pretence whatsoever.

4. 'Tis a Custom inviolably observ'd among the *Chineses*, as a Doctrine deliver'd by the said Master *KUM FU ZU*, to have Temples in all Towns of the Kingdom, dedicated to their Grandfathers and Progenitors; and all that are of the Family meet twice a Year in every one of them, to offer solemn Sacrifices to their aforefaid Progenitors, with abundance of Ceremonies; and they place the Image of their deceas'd Parent or Grandfather, on an Altar adorn'd with many

many Candles, Flowers, and Sweets; and in this Sacrifice there is one that plays the part of the Priest, with his Assistants, who offer Wine, Flesh, Sweets, Goats-Heads, &c. Now this Sacrifice according to the common intention of that Nation, is design'd as a Thanksgiving to their aforesaid Progenitors, and Honour and Respect paid them for all benefits already receiv'd, and which they hope to receive from them. Therefore prostrating before the Altar, they offer many Prayers, begging Health, long Life, a plentiful Harvest, many Children, much Prosperity, and to be deliver'd from all Adversity. Which Sacrifice is also perform'd in their Houses, and at the Tombs of the Dead, but with less Solemnity.

Quære, Whether Christians may feignedly and only in outward show, as was propos'd above, be present at this Sacrifice, or exercise any part of it jointly with the Infidels, either in the Temple at home, or at the Tomb, publicly or privately, or how it may be allow'd Christians? lest if they be absolutely forbid doing it, they lose the Faith, or rather forsake the outward actions of Christians.

They judg it is no way lawful for the Chinese Christians to be present at the Sacrifices to their Progenitors, or at their Prayers, or at any Superstitious Rites whatsoever the Gentiles use towards them, tho it be without any intention of joining with them, or only for outward form; and much less can they be permitted to exercise any function relating to those matters.

But whereas the Missioners of the Society of Jesus in the aforesaid Kingdom were not heard at that time, after the Year 1655 they propos'd the aforesaid four Questions to the same holy Congregation de Propaganda Fide, with the diversity of Circumstances, which is adjoin'd to each Question, &c. The matter was by Order of our most Holy Father remitted to the Holy Congregation of the Supreme and Holy Inquisition. The said Holy Congregation having heard the Opinions of the Qualificators, answer'd as follows.

1. *Quære, Whether the Missioners are oblig'd to signify to the new Christians, when first baptiz'd, the Ecclesiastical positive Law as binding under mortal Sin, in relation to Fasting and Confessing, and Receiving once a Year.*

Fasting.

The reason of making a doubt about Fasting is, because the Chinese are us'd from their Infancy to eat three times a Day, which the lightness of their Diet obliges them to. This would oblige Ma-

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gistrates to go to their Courts fasting where they continue from Eight in the Morning till Two Afternoon, which they could not possibly do.

Nava-rette.

Holidays.

The reason of making the doubt concerning Holidays, Confession, and Communion, is because most of the Christians must work for their Living, and the Christians are often forced by Infidel Magistrates to do several sorts of Work upon Holidays. And the Christian Magistrates themselves must keep their Courts upon Days, which among us are kept Holy, upon pain of forfeiting their Employments.

The Missioners are but few in number, the Kingdom of a vast extent, and therefore many Christians cannot hear Mass upon Holidays, and Receive and Confess once a Year.

Confessi.

The Holy Congregation, according to what has been above propos'd, judges, That the positive Ecclesiastical Law relating to Fasting, keeping of Holidays, Sacramental Confession and Communion once a Year, is to be made known to the Christian Chinese by the Missioners, as obliging under mortal Sin; but that they may at the same time declare the causes which excuse the Faithful from the observing of those Precepts, and if his Holiness pleases, Power may be granted the Missioners to grant Dispensations as they think fit, only in particular cases.

2. *Quære, Whether all the Sacramentals are to be applied in the baptizing of Females at Womens estate? Again, Whether it be sufficient to administer the Sacrament of Extreme Unction only to such Women as desire it?*

Extreme Uncti.

Again, Whether it may be refus'd even them that ask it upon a prudent foresight of inconveniences and dangers that may ensue to all Christians?

The occasion of making this Doubt, is the incredible modesty of the Chinese Women, their reserv'dness, and their commendable avoiding, not only the conversation of Men, but even the sight of them; in which particular, unless the Missioners be extraordinary cautious, a mighty Scandal will be given the Chinese, and the whole Body of Christians there may be expos'd to imminent Danger.

Modesty.

The Holy Congregation, in order to what has been above propos'd, judges, That on account of a prelling proportionable necessity, some Sacramentals may be omitted in baptizing of Women, and that the Sacrament of Extreme Unction may be also forborn.

Quer. 3. *Whether the Christian Literati, or Learned Chineses, may perform the Ceremony of taking the Degrees, which is done in Confucius his Hall? For no Sacrificing of ficer, or Minister of the Idolatrous Sect is concern'd there; nothing is perform'd that has been instituted by Idolaters, but only the Scholars and Philosophers meet, acknowledging Confucius as their Master, with only Civil and Political Rites instituted from their very Original for mere Civil Worship.*

For all that are to take their Degrees go together into *Confucius his Hall*, where the Chancellors, Doctors, and Examiners expect them; there they altogether, without offering any thing, perform those Ceremonies and Inclinations after the *Chinese* fashion, which all Scholars do to their Masters whilst living: and thus having acknowledg'd *Confucius* the Philosopher for their Master, they take their Degrees from the Chancellors, and depart. Besides, that Hall of *Confucius* is an Academy, and not properly a Temple, for it is shut to all but Scholars.

The Holy Congregation judges, according to what has been above propos'd, that the aforesaid Ceremonies may be allow'd the *Chineses*, because the Worship seems to be merely Civil and Political.

Quer. 4. *Whether the Ceremonies paid to the Dead, according to the Rules set by Philosophers, may be allow'd among Christians, forbidding all the superstitious part which has been added?*

Again, *Whether the Christians may perform those lawful Ceremonies in company with their Pagan Kindred?*

Again, *Whether Christians may be present, especially after making a Protestation of Faith, when the Infidels perform the ceremonious part, they not joining with, or encouraging them, only because it would be a great reflection if they were then absent, and it would cause Enmity and Hatred? The Chineses assign no Divinity to the Souls of the Dead, they neither hope nor ask any thing of them.*

There are three several ways they honour their Dead.

First, When any one dies, whether he be Christian or Heathen, it is an inviolable Custom to erect an Altar in the House of the Party deceas'd, and to place his or her Image on a Tablet, containing the Person's Name on it, set out with sweets, Flowers, and Candles, and to lay the Body in the Coffin behind it. All Persons that come into those Houses to condole, kneel three or four times before the aforesaid Tablet, or Image,

prostrating themselves, and touching the ground with their Heads, bringing some Candles and Sweets along with them, to be consum'd or burnt on that Altar or Board before the Image of the Party deceas'd.

The second way is, that they perform twice a Year, in their Ancestors or Progenitors Halls, so the *Chineses* call them, not Temples, for that is the meaning of T S U T A N G, which are Memorials or Monuments of Families; only the great Men have them, or the richest Families: no dead Body is bury'd in them but in the Mountains. Within there is only the Image of the noblest of their Progenitors; then upon steps one above another, there are little Boards or Tablets about a span in length, on which are written the Names of all the Family, their Quality, Honour, Sex, and Age, and the day of their Death, even to Infants of both Sexes. In this Hall all the Kindred meet twice a Year; the richest of them offer Flesh, Wine, Candles, Sweets. The poorer sort who cannot have such Halls, keep the Tablets of their Ancestors at home, in some particular place, or else upon the Altar on which are the Images of their Holy Men, which cannot have another place allow'd them because of the smallness of the House; yet they do not worship nor offer any thing to them, but they are there for want of another place: for the aforesaid Ceremonies are not perform'd by the *Chineses* any where but in the Hall of the Dead; and if they have none, they are omitted.

The third is that performed at the Tombs of the Dead, which are all without the Walls on Mountains, according to the Laws of the Kingdom: To these the Children or Relations repair, at least once a Year, about the beginning of *May*; they pull up by the Roots the Weeds and Grass that is grown about the Tombs, cleanse them, weep, then shriek out, make several genuflexions, as was mention'd in the first Way, lay out Meat dress'd, and Wine; then their Tears ceasing, they eat and drink.

The Holy Congregation, according to what has been above propos'd, judges, That the converted *Chineses* may be permitted to perform the said Ceremonies towards their Dead, even among the Infidels, so that such as are superstitious be forbore. That they may be only present among the Infidels when they perform the superstitious part, especially after making a Protestation of their Faith, and there being no danger of their being

perverted; and this, if Enmity and Hatred cannot be otherwise avoided. *Thursday, March 23. 1656.*

In the General Congregation of the Holy Roman and Universal Inquisition, held in the Apostolick Palace at S. Peter's before our most Holy Lord Alexander the Seventh, by Divine Providence Pope, and the most Eminent and Reverend Lords Cardinals of the Holy Roman Church, especially deputed by the Holy See Apostolick General Inquisitors against Heretical Pravity throughout the whole Commonweal of Christendom.

Decree of Inquisition, 1656. The aforesaid Questions, together with the Answers and Resolutions of the Holy Congregation, being there reported, our most Holy Lord Pope Alexander the Seventh aforesaid approv'd the said Answers and Resolutions. Instead of ✠ a Seal. John Lupus Not. to the Holy Roman and Universal Inquisition, &c. Printed at Rome in the Printing-House of the Holy Congregation de Propaganda Fide, 1656. By permission of Superiors.

In my second Tome I spoke something in relation to this Decree: F. Henao mentions it *Sett. 17. Disp. 29. de divino Missæ Sacrificio, num. 226.* He seems to blame the most Illustrious Lord Tapia, and most

R. F. Thomas Hurtado, as if they had designedly omitted to make mention of this Decree, which he has not the least reason for. If those of his Society will not publish it at *Macao*, nor even in *China*; if some of his own Brethren in that Mission had not seen it in my time, nor any Person has as yet seen it sufficiently authoriz'd: If F. Martin Martinez, who by his Proposition obtain'd it, would not show it: If the Fathers, John Adamus, Ignatius de Acoſta, Antony Gouvea, and others, did not like it: If the Fathers of the Society themselves had made no account of it in *China*, as F. Emmanuel George plainly own'd; how, or which way should those Authors have knowledg of it? I said already, I would answer the rest of F. Henao's Objections in my second Tome. I also reserve for that place some Observations I have already made and set down, upon the brief Relation publish'd at *Rome* in the *Tuscan* Language, by F. Prosper Intorceta a *Sicilian* Missioner in *China*, and my Companion in the Persecution and Banishment. I was very desirous to have found him at *Rome*, and am of opinion that he having notice of my going to that Court, set out immediately for *France* to carry Missioners to that Mission. I will clear all things, without leaving the least thing unanswer'd.

Reflections on the Propositions made at Rome by F. Martin Martinez,
Anno Dom. 1656.

i. **W**HAT F. Martin Martinez propos'd at *Rome*, being positively disapproved of by F. John Adamus, and the Fathers Anthony Gouvea, and Ignatius de Acoſta, both Prelates of their Mission in *China*, and F. Emmanuel George, all of them of the Society, and that it was very displeasing to those of the two Religious Orders: I made it my business at *Rome* to prevail with the Holy Congregation to recal and annul what had been decreed upon the four Questions above-mention'd, making it appear by what shall be here set down, that the said Father had not legally stated the Matter of Fact, which he was to propose and explain to that Holy Assembly. It is the custom of the Church, says S. Bernard, *Ep. 180. ad Innocent. 2. Pap.* to revoke things of this nature; *The See Apostolick is usually careful in this Point, not to be backward in recalling whatsoever it finds has been fraudulently drawn from it, and not merited*

by Truth. The words of S. Augustin, *lib. 2. de Btptism. c. 3.* are much to this purpose, they are these; *Former great Councils are often corrected by the latter, when Experience lays open that which was shut, and makes known what was hid.* Which, as Cabassueius *Nov. Concil. pag. nubi 450.* well observes it to be understood, *Not in Definitions of Faith, these being immutable in the Church, but in things that concern Discipline, Matter of Fact, or Persons.* Nor can or ought it therefore to be said, that the Head of the Church, or any of his Congregations err'd in the first Decree they granted, but that his Holiness, or the Holy Congregation was misinform'd. The Confessor is not in the wrong, or errs, who gives Absolution to a Penitent ill-dispos'd, who conceals and hides his unworthiness and ill disposition: We say he was impos'd upon. The most eminent Lord Cardinal Otobono taught me this Simily upon this Subject; and I

take what Cardinal Bellarmine says, *Lib. de Rom. Pontif. c. 2.* in this sense; *That the Pope with his Congregation of Counsellors, or with a General Council may err in private Controversies of Matter of Fact, which depend on the Informations and Testimonies of Men.* Which is no more than to say, that the Pope, Council, and Holy Congregations may be impos'd upon by those who give them information.

2. The same Cardinal says, "That the Pope as a private Doctor may err, &c. and that through ignorance, as it sometimes happens to other Doctors. But here *Cabassucius*, p. 259. makes this note, "Nevertheless, whosoever should on this pretence make a Schism in the Church, or obstinately condemn the Pope himself, or a Synod, to whom respect is ever due from the Faithful on account of their Dignity, those Persons would doubtless offend God, and give scandal to the Faithful. This comes pat to the Answer one made in my hearing; being ask'd, Whether Bishops could declare the Forms of Sacraments? He said with a stately tone, much emphasis, and haughtiness: If the Bishops be as ours, who have always been most Learned and Eminent Men, they may. Many Popes may not, because they are rais'd to it, being but ignorant Men. This said a private Missioner, with such respect and reverence did he speak of those the Holy Ghost makes choice of to steer *S. Peter's Boat.* This Doctrine will make it no difficult matter to him to disobey the Apostolical Decrees. What censure such an expression deserves will appear by the Answers given to the Questions I propos'd. And tho at *Rome* they agreed to the Reflections I made and presented touching the information given by *F. Martinez* in his four Questions offer'd to the Holy Congregation, yet they thought not that a sufficient ground to proceed to the aforesaid Revocation of that Decree, because there wanted some one of the adverse Party at that Court, to argue the Matter; wherefore it was put off till further inquiry, which was order'd to be made. And tho the main Reflections may be found in several parts of the second Tome, yet I thought fit to insert them here altogether, this being their proper place: and because it is convenient the Reader should be immediately satisfy'd, as to the principal Grounds of the Controversies that have been between the three Orders, I give it for granted that *F. Martinez*, and the rest that were assisting with their Ac-

counts to forward his Propositions, meant well, and had a good Intention; and tho what shall be writ may cause some suspicion that it was not so, yet it shall proceed from strength of Argument, not of Design, to thwart theirs which I look upon as blameless. *Cabassucius*, p. 457. proves this Matter elegantly; and because it is a general Case, and may serve upon other occasions, I will here insert his words: "But that it may appear of how great consequence it is, whether a Man acts out of a good or bad Design, *Lewis Allemannus* Cardinal and Bishop of *Arles*, who relying on the Judgment of the gravest Divines and Canonists of that time, had conceiv'd a most deep Notion of the Authority of Councils above the Pope, and who otherwise was extreme zealous for restoring Ecclesiastical Discipline, which he positively believ'd to have been long since deprav'd and corrupted by the *Roman Court*; and grounded himself besides on the Declaration of the General Council of *Constance*, Sess. 4. which defines, That a General Council lawfully assembled, has such Authority as binds the Pope himself, and can force him to obedience, and can no way be infring'd, annull'd or alter'd by the Pope. Upon this he most inflexibly oppos'd the Commands of *Eugenius*, and stood stiff for the Assembly at *Basil*. Moreover, *Lewis Allemannus* insisted on the approbation of Pope *Martin* the Fifth, who confirm'd that Council, as far as all its Acts were made in the due course of a Council, as he calls it. Those at *Basil* in their first Sessions, reviv'd that Decree of the Council of *Constance*: Which was the cause that *Eugenius* the Fourth dissolv'd the Council; but they not obeying, and rather desiring to chuse a new Pope, then *Eugenius* to secure the Unity of the Church, recall'd his Dissolution, and again sent his Ambassadors to the Council. Then the Fathers at *Basil* repeated the said Decree, Sess. 18, &c. And he that on this account (had not his sincere Design and upright Intention, supported by the Judgment of grave and pious Doctors, interpos'd) might have been thought an impious Shismatick, and under an Anathema, which *Eugenius* had denounced upon him and his Followers; nevertheless, because he was not guided in this Affair by any human Affection, but by a good Intention, back'd by the Advice of the

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“ wife Men of that time, the false Synod soon after breaking up, he not long after made such an End, that after his Death he was renowned for Miracles, and his Tomb at this day is held in great veneration at *Ayles*. Then he compares him to *Pascasius* Deacon of the Holy Roman Church; “ Who having supported the Schism of *Laurentius* out of a sincere Intention, as ought to be believ’d, was famous for Miracles after his Death. He confirms it with the comparison of *S. Cyprian*, and others; and concludes, that *Clement* the Seventh beatify’d the said Cardinal *Ludovicus*. So that their Sincerity and good Intention fav’d all these Persons, even in matters of such concern, and so nice. The same might be the case of *F. Martinez* in his Propositions, and of others in other Matters mention’d in the Controversies.

Med.

3. In the first Query, to excuse the Converts from fasting, he alligns as the Reason of his doubt, that *The lightness of their Diet obliges them to eat thrice a day*. And that *Magistrates must repair to their Courts fasting, where they continue from eight in Morning till two in the Afternoon, so that it would be altogether impossible for them to do it*. Observe in the first place, that *China* is one of the plentifullest Countries in the World for Provisions, they are all cheap, and as good as the best in *Europe*. There is great abundance of Beef, Pork all the Year about, Mutton, Goats-flesh, Hens, Capons, Geese, Pheasants, tame and wild Ducks, Pigeons, Turtle-Doves, small Birds, and all very good; there is no want of Horse-flesh: Dogs-flesh is look’d upon as a dainty, and that of the Ass as still better. Certain it is, these things mention’d cannot be call’d *Light Diet*. For Fasting-days there is Sea-fish all along the Coast, and all over *China* fresh Water; Fish enough in Rivers and Ponds: We saw all sorts of Fish eaten among us very plentifully and cheap in *China*. There are infinite quantities of Hen and Goose-Eggs, which latter the *Chineses* are fond of. In some Places there is Milk and little Cheeses, excellent Salmon, choice Olives, Eels, Trouts, Oysters, and Salt-fish; a thousand sorts of Varieties for Collations; many sorts of Cakes, great variety of Greens, Beans, infinite Vetches; abundance of excellent Fruit, Rice, Wheat, *French-Wheat*, and a thousand other odd sorts of Food. All which positively makes against the *lightness of Diet*, mention’d as a Reason of the doubt; nor

is that it which obliges them to eat three times a day, but only the custom of eating a Breakfast as is us’d in *Europe*, where People do it because they have been bred so to nourish the Body, and be the better able to go about their business; so that the *Chineses* breakfast as the *Europeans* do. The Quality and Quantity is also small and distinct from what is eaten at Noon. The Wine, tho not made of Grapes in some parts, is good, in others better.

Nava-rette.

Wine.

4. 2d Reflection. If the Reason of making the Doubt were true, methinks we Missioners might for the same cause be excus’d from fasting, and with better reason than the *Chineses*, because those light Meats are natural to them, and we us’d to others more solid and nourishing, which is not so at all. So if the *Europeans* in *America* and the *Philippine Islands*, did eat nothing but as the *Indians* do, they would certainly enjoy the same Privilege as the others; for the ground of granting it was their eating so small a quantity, and their Food having so little nourishment, for they are really light and slender. Nor does this Argument hold in the *Philippine Islands*; the *Indians* eat but twice a day, therefore their Diet is strong and nourishing; consequently it does not hold in *China*, or *Europe* to say, they eat three times, therefore the Meat is light and not nourishing. Both these Differences proceed from other Causes, which are either the Peoples being stronger, or more laborious, or the Country’s being hotter or colder. Cold Countries require more Sustenance than the hot: according as the heat or cold increases, more or less Food is requisite; which is most certain, and Experience shows it better than Speculation. How is it possible a *Chiniese*, *Spaniard*, *Frenchman*, and much less a *German*, should subsist upon what an *Indian* of *Macasar* or *Bornco* lives on? All one of them eats in a day, is not equivalent to a quarter of a pound of Bread, and a little Water, yet they are as strong, lusty and plump as any *Europeans*.

Abstinence.

5. If the Diet of *China* be light and slender, how comes it we see infinite numbers of People that fast there, and in all Countries even to *India*? and these People abstain from Flesh, Fish, White-meats and Wine all their whole lives, yet they are sound and healthy, and strong enough to labour, some at Tillage, others in Boats, and others at mechanick handicraft Trades; and the Women work at home, and breed their Children. So that the

the Lightness of the Diet, even excluding Fish, Flesh, &c. will not prevail with them to leave their devilish Fasts; and yet it shall be of force tho they eat Fish, and Whitemeats, and drink Wine, &c. to excuse them from the Fasts of the Church. Only one Objection can be made against this Argument, which is, that those *Chineses* only keep abstinence from those things mention'd; and therefore eat Breakfast and Supper of such meats as are allow'd them; but the Christians, tho they eat Fish and Whitemeats, &c. must eat no Breakfast, which is what they cannot endure, because they are otherwise us'd. The Answer is, that this proceeds not from the Lightness of the meat, which was the cause of the doubt. Besides, among Labouring People, what is us'd here may be us'd there; for Scholars, as a small quantity is tolerated among us, so it may among them, which F. Brancato has already assign'd to be 2 Ounces, upon which a Scholar may well hold out till Noon, and we see many Men and Women fast very well without it.

6. Nor are ours the most rigid Fasts in the World. The 50th Canon of the Council of *Laodicea* commands, that Christians in Lent keep *Xerophagia*. *Tertullian lib. 1. advers. Psychicos*, says, we keep the *Xerophagia*, which is, abstinence from all Flesh and Broth, and all freshest Fruits, that we may neither eat nor drink any thing of Wine. And this we see was in the Intancy of the Church. *Cabassucius pag. 148.* adds: The Greeks to this day observe such a *Xerophagia* in their Fasts; and *Balsamon* tells us, abstinence from Fish is much us'd among them, which *Tertullian* includes under the denomination of all sorts of Flesh. Also the *Armenian Christians*, the *Eutychians* and *Schismaticks*, do not only abstain from earthly Flesh, Whitemeats, and Eggs, but also from Fish, Wine, and Oil, as many write, who have travel'd those Countries in our time. And *Balsamon ad Apost. can. 69.* tells us that the Greeks observe the *Xenographia*, throughout the whole Year, upon *Wednesdays* and *Fridays*, so far that neither upon these Days, nor the Fasts of Lent, they never dispense with sick People, tho in danger of Death, any farther than to eat Fish. It goes yet further with the *Chineses*, and others who keep the *Xenographia* all their Life time, without ever dispensing with it; tho they be in danger of Death, they do not allow of Fish, Whitemeats, or Eggs. What wonder the *Carthusians* should not dispense with Flesh?

7. It is also to be observ'd that the *Chineses* make great account of Fasts; and therefore we find the first Question they put, when they discourse concerning our Holy Faith, is what Fasts we have: and when we make them easy, saying there are but few, as believing this makes it more grateful to them, they rather dislike it, for they do not approve it should oblige them to so few Fasts. For which reason I often said in *China*, that if it were in my power, I would not dispense with one fasting Day. I conclude this point, according to the intention of it, which was to show that the reason alledg'd for excusing the *Chinese* Convert from the Duty of fasting, viz. the lightness of the Diet, has not the least shadow of Truth.

8. As to what he alledges to excuse the *Mandarines* from fasting, I declare there is no Truth in it. For the better understanding whereof, it must be understood, that the greater the *Mandarines* are, the seldomer, and the less time they sit in Court, which is in their own Houses, except those at Court (therefore the *Chineses* do not say the *Mandarine* goes to, or comes from his Court, but that he comes out to, or withdraws from it, because it is a Room in his House; so he comes out of his own Apartment, where no body goes in about business, to a publick Hall where he hears Causes, and from this to another yet more publick: by which it appears that the word *Alive*, which is to go to, can only be verify'd of the *Mandarines* at Court, and no others throughout the whole Empire.) So the supreme *Mandarine* or Governour usually residing in a Metropolis, goes to his Court but 2 or 3 times a Month. The *Viceroy*s do the same, the Governours of *Cities* or *T A O S*, somewhat oftner. The Judges and their Assistants are they that follow it most, and they have no fix'd time to come out, or to sit, as is usual in *Spain*; but they come out when they please, and so withdraw. This indeed is observ'd, that as soon as the Judg, for example, comes out to his Court, immediately his Deputies come out to theirs; and as soon as he withdraws, they do so too: but to say any *Mandarine* sits in Court from 8 in the Morning till two in the Afternoon, is a mere *Chimera*. And if this ever hapned, yet it ought not to be represented as a constant, settled, and general Practice. And tho it were really so, yet there was no necessity of representing it at *Rome*, because this is one among the many other Cafes

Cafes fet down by Divines, that excuse a Man from fasting. Besides, the *Chinese Mandarines* whilst they sit in Court, publickly and very freely eat and drink whatsoever they fancy; and therefore any of them who should be a Christian might be advis'd to take some refreshment there, if he found himself faint, which he might do without the least reflection. In short, the reason alledg'd for making the doubt is altogether groundless.

9. To excuse them from keeping of Holy days he gives this following reason: *Because most of the Christians must work for their Living, and the Christians are often forced by the Infidel Magistrates to undergo several sorts of Labour; the Christian Magistrates themselves must keep their Courts, even upon our Holy days, on pain of forfeiting their Employments.* I answer, that when a Man must of necessity work to maintain himself, his Wife and Children, &c. there is no need of going further about it, or putting the question; for it is a plain case, that a superior Law exempts him from the Precept: nor is it proper to endeavour that all Men should be excus'd on account of this sort of People, when there are others not under those Circumstances. Besides, where there are Tradesmen in a City who know that Mass is said at such an Hour, the hearing of it will not obstruct their working for their living, especially according to that erroneous opinion some Men hold, that the Church does not oblige to forbear work, but only to hear Mass. So that this Argument will clear the latter, but not the others; and it will be only accidentally, and when that necessity presses, and that reason stands good. So those Labourers, whom the *Mandarines* command to work upon Holy days, are discharg'd from the Precept of the Church, which is not obligatory when any considerable damage may accrue to the Christian from it. Yet I am of opinion that will happen but seldom, for there are so many of every Trade in *China*, that there is no necessity of forcing the Christians to do any sort of work. Therefore I look upon that Proposition as Chimerical, when he says, *And the Christians are often forced by the Infidel Magistrates, &c.* For which reason when this point was argu'd at *Canton*, no Man made use of this Argument. As to what concerns the *Mandarines*, I declare I never heard there was any such Penalty for those who omit frequenting their Courts. I have already said, the greatest of them do not much appear in their

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Courts; but certain it is, supposing such a Law, that if they cannot conveniently hear Mass before, they are discharg'd of the Duty. But if they go to the Court at 8 of the Clock, why may not they hear Mass at 7? and if the *Mandarines* go from their Courts a visiting, and receive them, go to Plays, Entertainments, and other Festivals they have on their Tablets, without forfeiting their Employments, why might not they hear Mass on Sundays, and great Holy days? This is only a pumping for Reasons to stand out in their opinion, as they us'd to say at *Rome*.

10. To excuse the *Chineses* from yearly Confession, and from Communion, he proposes, That the *Missioners* are few, the Kingdom of a vast extent, and therefore many Christians cannot hear Mass upon Holidays, nor confess and receive once a Year. I allow there is no Precept that obliges those, who cannot hear Mass, or confess and receive either in *China*, or any where else. We know there are Visitations, particularly in *America* and the *Philippine* Islands, where they do not see a Priest in a Year or two, but they meet upon Holy days in the Church to pray and humble themselves before God, and yet they are oblig'd to hear Mass, confess, &c. The same then must be allow'd in *China*, tho in *China* it is easier to visit the Christians, than in some parts of the *Philippine* Islands, where we must go several Leagues by Sea, and in danger of Enemies; and if we go by Land, the ways are so bad that they are almost impassable, without any thing to eat, or any Houses to rest, as I know by experience. Besides, if there are so few Missioners that they cannot assist the Christians, why will they not suffer other religious Men to help them? And if when the Christians call them, they go to them, why do the Fathers of the Society complain of us and the *Franciscans*, as F. *Martinez* actually did complain of F. *John Baptist de Morales*, because he went with a Companion to the City NING PO, when he was courted and invited by the Licentiate CHU Cosmus? Or why shall not the Missioner labour and travel, in visiting his Flock, to teach, instruct and feed their Souls, as F. *Antony* of S. *Mary* used to say of F. *John Francis Ferrari* did? Therefore I say all the reasons alledg'd for the Doubts, are not according to the General Opinion of the Society, but F. *Martinez* his own, and fram'd by one or two more, and have nothing in them.

11. The Holy Congregation answers, *The aforesaid positive Precept is to be made known*

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by the Missioners, as obliging under mortal Necessity, &c. It must be here observ'd, that tho' his Holiness Innocent the 10th ordain'd and commanded the same, and his Decree, as is order'd in it, was notify'd to those of the Society, nevertheless they took no notice of it, alledging they had further matter to lay before his Holiness; they made their information by F. Martinez, and had the same answer, and yet they did not notify to the Christians what the Holy Congregation commands. Therefore the stress does not lie upon the Court of Rome's being well or ill inform'd, there must be something more in it. So that till F. Ignatius d' Acoſta entred upon the Government of his Mission in China, there was no talk of notifying the positive Ecclesiastical Law to those People; and the said Father commanded it to be notify'd, many of his Brethren opposing it, and it had not been done by another, as I my self heard it said. And still some contend that the Chinese are not yet capable of this duty, whereas the Indians of America and the Philippine Islands were subject to it from their first Conversion. Before the Church had declar'd it self as to this point, there might be some plausible reasons, or pretences, to think the contrary lawful. But since the Church has pronounced judgment, it is a crime even to doubt of it, says Cabassucius, p. 153. upon another case.

1. The second Question is concerning administering the Sacramentals to Females at Womens estate. He drove the reasons of the doubt as far as possible, saying, Unless the Missioners be extremely cautious, a mighty scandal will be given to the Chinese, and all the state of Christianity there may be expos'd to most imminent danger. Notwithstanding this rigid and exorbitant Proposition the Holy Congregation decided, as appears in the Decree. F. Joseph de Morales writ largely upon this Subject, in his Treatises, pag. 294. but immodestly, and mixing with the Truth what is not so. I writ in the second Tome what hapned in Canton, when this Point was argu'd. Here I must observe that F. Trigancius mentions the Baptism of some Women, perform'd with all the Ceremonies of the Church, which prov'd very edifying. And F. Morales brings an example of another baptiz'd by one of theirs, who was not well vers'd there, which gave some scandal. What can we say to this? If they on account of the second Precedent omit the Sacramentals, we on account of the first and of many which we have both before and after, of which no inconveniency has follow'd, tho' they were on Persons of Note, will con-

tinue to practise them. And since they who have power so to do, order it to be put in execution, even when they have receiv'd information from the Society, those of the Society are oblig'd to perform the same, without opposing the Decree, which they cannot do but they must commit a great crime, and give scandal. I refer the Reader to the Resolutions taken at Canton, which will satisfy him as to all that concerns this Point, and he will there find enough to answer F. Morales.

2. Here I must observe two things, supposing the Sacramentals to be a matter of great moment in the Church. The first is, what is ordain'd by the first Canon of the Council of Orange: *If any Person in case of necessity have not receiv'd the Holy Oil in Baptism, let the Bishop be advertis'd of it, when he comes to be Confirm'd, that he may in the first place anoint him in the Crown of the Head, which should have been done in Baptism, then on the Forehead for the Sacrament of Confirmation, that both the Anointings may be look'd upon as necessary.* Caballucius, p. 225. says thus upon this Canon: *This Canon teaches us many things: First, That he who is baptiz'd, is to be anointed with Holy Oil on the Crown of the Head, by any Priest administering Baptism, &c. Fifthly, That both Anointings are necessary.* So that it is not so trivial a matter, that every Man may omit it of his own head. This Ceremony, says Amularius Fortunatus, lib. 1. de Eccles. Offic. cap. 27. had its beginning under Pope S. Silvester.

My second and chief Reflection I take from Cabassucius, pag. 146. where, speaking of the Oil of Catechumens, he says thus: *But the anointing with Oil of Catechumens, which preceded Baptism, was us'd among the Latins upon the Head and Breast of the Person that was to be Baptiz'd, as Pamela out of S. Ambrose observes on Tertullian of Baptism, in the beginning of the Book; and also on the Breast and Shoulders, &c. But among the Greeks the Anointing was perform'd by the Priest all over the Body of the Person to be Baptiz'd; for so it is Learnedly deliver'd by Dionysius, Eccles. Hier. cap. 2. Cyril, Chryostom. A little lower: For this reason, Reinaldus Theophilus in his Treatise of the Prohibition of Clergymen conversing with Women, is fully perswaded that Women us'd formerly to be anointed all over the Body, as well as Men, upon the bare skin, but that the temptation of the Eyes was prevented by some Linen-cloth spread before them, &c.* If this Ceremony were still in use, there is no doubt but it would be attended with all the inconveniences F. Martinez proposes, should it be

be practis'd in *China*; but it is easier to introduce those us'd by the *Roman* Church, administering them as ought to be, than it is to give the Communion to Women, and hear their Confessions. Which notwithstanding, a Viceroy said to F. *Sambiasi*, If you deal with Women, there's no more to be said. Yet I say, notwithstanding this, and other difficulties that attend these actions, they are all overcome, and the Fathers of the Society have taken no notice of them, therefore there is the less occasion here to desist on it.

1. As to the third Question it is to be observ'd, the better to judg of the Proposition, That there never was any Dispute in *China*, whether it was lawful or not to receive the Degrees of Bachelor, Licentiate and Doctor: and it was so far from being argu'd, that no body ever had a thought of making a doubt of it. Therefore it was nothing to the purpose, an unnecessary and idle action to propose this matter, in regard that nothing but what is difficult and doubtful ought to be propos'd and ask'd. But it being true that *Deep calleth unto Deep*; when he had committed this error, and fallen into such a fault, he tumbled headlong by degrees into many others of greater consequence. He sets it down in the Question as granted, that the Degrees are taken in the Hall (so he terms the Temple) of *Confucius*. Nothing in the World can be more unreasonable, or untrue; it is set down in its proper place how and where the Degrees are confer'd, and how impossible it is to do it in that place, if they would. If F. *Martinez* propos'd such things as those, most certain it is, the Answer given upon them, tho not revok'd, does not make against us.

Another stumble is this, he says, *No Sacrificer, or Minister of the Idolatrous Sect, is present*. No Man in *China* ever imagin'd any such thing, taking the words as they sound, and as he and we distinguish between the Sect of the Learned, and that of the Idols, which went out of *India* into *China*. In this sense we all agree, that none of the Idolatrous Sect have to do either at the conferring of Degrees, or any other Ceremony of the Learned, nor would they allow it on any account whatsoever. Therefore the proposing of it was only to trick the Holy Congregation; and since no body has made a doubt of it, it follows there was some further fetch in proposing it after that manner. He says further, *Nothing at all is done that has been instituted by Idolaters*; this includes the

same double meaning, which is easily taken way, if it be granted, as to the Sect that went out of *India*, and denying it as to that of the Learned. He goes on telling, that the Learned own *Confucius* as their Master, performing to him Civil and Political Ceremonies, from their first Institution directed to mere Civil Worship. I say in the first place, that it is most false, that they give any Worship either *Political or Religious* to *Confucius* at the time of taking their Degrees; the Veneration they pay to him is some days after receiving the Degree, as all that vast Kingdom well knows. Therefore he has err'd again in proposing this, and has committed a great error as to the Rites with which the Learned honour their *Confucius*, be it at this or any other time: for the difficulty being whether the said Rites are Religious or Civil, he ought to explain them, that it might be judg'd and determin'd of which sort they were; and not to give that for granted which was his duty to prove, and which we the *Franciscans*, and many of his own Society have always deny'd. We of the two Religious Orders never went about to abolish any thing that is Civil and Political in *China*, nor is it reasonable we should; we cut off what is Religious in a false Religion, and we prove it to be such, not only by Arguments, but by the Authority of the Gravest Missioners of the Society. Therefore to suppose them to be Civil Rites, is to suppose what ought to be prov'd; so that all the difficulty would be, Whether it is lawful to give a Political Worship to *Confucius*, which no body ever yet deny'd.

2. As for those Rites being from their very original instituted as a mere Civil Worship, he ought not to assert, but to prove it, and to lay down the first Institution, that it might be judg'd, whether it was Religious or Political. F. *Martinez*, and some of his Brethren would maintain against the sense of other very Learned Men of the Society, that of the Learned Sect, which *Becanus in Analog. Vet. & Nov. Testam. cap. 11. q. 3.* writes of the Pharisees, *The Sect of the Pharisees in its first Original and Institution was most certain, according to that of Act. 16. 5. according to the most certain Sect of our Religion.* *Becanus* does not suppose but proves this, and so ought F. *Martinez* to do. Then he says, *That Vices afterwards crept in, and thus it err'd in many particulars.* The said Fathers would make out the same of *Confucius* his Sect, viz. that in its beginning it was holy, spotless and

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good, all Political and courteous, and agreeable to Reason; but that afterwards by degrees it was corrupted and defil'd; so that at present we are not to regard what is ill that has clung to it, but endeavour to cut it off, and look only on that which is properly its own, and very good. How true this is appears by the fifth Book, and by another in my second Tome, and it will be proper to read what *à Lapide* writes in *Numb.* 21. 8. speaking of the Brazen Serpent, *Q.* 4. and what has been already quoted out of *Becanus*; and he adds, *But afterwards, as it usually happens, there sprung up Superstitions and false Doctrines, with which the latter Pharisees in the time of Christ were infected, and therefore severely rebuk'd by him, not that all, but most of them were such; for it appears some were clear from those vices, as Nicodemus, Gamaliel, and Paul.* Here it may be observ'd, first, that our Saviour reprov'd the *Pharisees*, not regarding the Origin of the Sect, whereof he makes no mention, but looking upon the condition it was then in. Therefore supposing, but not granting, that the Learned Sect was good in its first Institution, we must consider whether it afterwards alter'd, and embraced new Doctrines, not look to its beginning, which is past and came not near these times. 2. That notwithstanding there were some who follow'd that Sect according to its first Institution, as those above nam'd; yet Christ several times severely reprov'd the other Sectaries, who had degenerated from that first state; whence we may infer, that had the Sect been corrupted in all its Individuals, our Lord's reproof had been still more sharp, as only looking upon their present ill state, without looking back on the past, whose goodness is no justification of the depravedness it had fallen into through the malice of Men. Now since the Learned Sect is at this time wholly and in all its members corrupt, perverted and degenerated, there is no reason why lying aside its present condition we should only regard what it was formerly. To go about to persuade that the Followers of other Sects have intruded Superstitions into that of the Learned, is a Chimerical undertaking, since all men know what care the Learned have always taken to shun all others. The case is, that Sect was always bad, as the Fathers *Longobardus* and *Gougea* prove.

3. *F. Martinez* goes on and says, that all who are to take their Degree enter *Confucius his Hall together*. Here he proposes two things which had nothing of truth

in them. The one, that they go into that place before they take their Degree, which is not so. The other, that they can all go in, or be contain'd there; both which Particulars are false, and falsely grounded, that is, that they are examin'd and take their Degrees there; whence it follows, that *the Chancellors, Doctors, and Examiners expelling them there*, and the rest that follows, is also false. For, as has been said, in that Place, or Hall, there is no Examination nor Degrees given or taken, nor is any act of Learning perform'd; and it is afterwards, not before, that the Scholars go thither to worship that Philosopher.

As to the last part, that the said Hall is an Academy, and not a Temple, properly so call'd, because it is shut to all, we will answer it at large in another place.

4. The Holy Congregation, according to what had been propos'd, answer'd, That the said Ceremonies be tolerated, because the said Worship seems to be merely Political and Civil; of which Answer no doubt is to be made, because being sutable to the Proposition, which represents nothing that may cause any suspicion of Superstition, it follows that it must be good and justifiable.

It is well worth observing, that *F. Martinez* knowing all the Points wherein the doubt and difficulty consisted, did not propose, or make known any one of them at *Rome*, but only mention'd that whereof there never was any Controverfie, except the calling *Confucius* his Temple a Hall, or College. Nevertheless the said Father, and others of his Brethren gave out in *China*, that this Decree had revok'd all that had been order'd by that of *Innocent* the Tenth: whence I infer, what others said before, that he had no further regard than to procure a Sugar-plum for his own Palat.

If he had desir'd to know the truth, he ought to have propos'd and stated the question thus: Most Eminent Lords, when they are to offer Sacrifice to *Confucius*, the *Chineses* try the Beasts by pouring hot Wine into their Ears; if they move their Heads, they are accepted for the Sacrifice, if not, they are laid aside. Is this Ceremony Political, or Superstitious? The reason of making the doubt is, because such like Acts and Rites are condemn'd as Superstitious in other Gentiles; for instance, our *Torre* 2. 2. q. 85. art. 1. disp. 3. says that, *Mighty care and industry was us'd in chusing of Victims, for the fattest were chosen out of the flock, such as were not lame, or sick, or any other way faulty,*

Literati.

Worship of Confucius.

faulty; but if the Victim in coming to the Altar struggled very much, or came as it were unwillingly to the Altar, or if it fled or groan'd when struck, &c. it was put away from the Altar, as being judged no way acceptable to the Gods.

The Greeks try'd the worthiness of their Victims by laying Food before them; for if the Beasts would not eat it, they thought that Sacrifice was not acceptable to the Gods. The greater Victims were also us'd to go with gilt Horns, but the lesser crown'd with Boughs. Now all this being superstitious, I put the Question to your Eminencies, Whether what has been propos'd be so too? As also their offering to the Dead Goats-heads adorn'd with Flowers and Boughs.

He should further put the Question. In order to perform their Ceremonies to Confucius and the Dead, there is a washing of Hands; and for the departed Abstinence, Fasts, and separation from the Marriage-bed for the space of seven days; and a Master of Ceremonies prescribes what is to be done, and other things mention'd in this Book. The Question is, Whether this be political, or not? The reason of making the Doubt is, because these same Actions are condemned as Superstitious, and irreligious Worship in other Gentiles. Torre above quoted says thus, *Num. 12. The Priest first purify'd himself by washing his Hands: He abstain'd from many things, to wit, from Flesh, and Wine, and from all venereal Acts, &c. He wore a most pure Garment, and a Crier who proclaim'd Silence, said at the same time, Do this you are about, &c.* All this was Religious, and not Political Worship, and consequently it must be so in China.

Thus these Points must be propos'd, not giving it for granted they are political Rites, and then putting the question, Whether they may be allow'd? this is down-right ridiculous. Nor is it to the purpose to alledg, that washing of Hands, putting on clean Clothes, Fasting, abstaining from venereal Acts, &c. are things indifferent; for, tho it is true that in themselves they are so, like kneeling, taking off the Hat, &c. yet they are decided to be Political or Religious, according to Time and Place, by the Intention, Object, and other Circumstances. Many Instances of this sort are brought in the proper place, here I will only insert what our Torre writes, *Num. 12. ut sup. That the Priests of Cybele did cut off their Privy Members, or else destroy'd the Genital Power by the use of certain Herbs.* Which most certainly in them was no

Political, but a Religious Act; and the same Action in the People of Cochinchina, and the Bonzos of China, (some of whom to live at ease, cut a small String belonging to the Private Parts) is no Religion, but Barbarity. The same Argument may be urg'd in all other cases, except for the Sacrifice and Temple, which are, at least by the Law of Nations, dedicated to God.

1. *Quer. 2.* There are Reflections enough to be made here: In the first place he sets it down as a Rule, that whatsoever there is superstitious in the Ceremonies perform'd to the Dead in China, is added to what the Learned instituted: And whereas the contrary appears by the testimony of most grave Fathers of the Society, and by the Classick Authors of the Learned Sect, he ought not, nor in reason could take such a thing for granted.

He asks further, Whether the Christians may perform the same Ceremonies among the Infidels? If he gives it for granted, that the proper Ceremonies of the Learned are not superstitious, and cuts off the superstitious part, that has crept in from abroad, there is no doubt but they may perform them, nay there is no need of putting the Question. The Church has always taken care that Christians should not imitate the Actions of the Infidels, lest it should be a ground to believe they agree in the same Errors. On this account it was order'd, that no Bread, or other eatable things should be put upon the Graves of the Faithful departed at *Macao*, as shall be said hereafter. This it was the Council of *Illebris* or *Granada* had regard to, when it said, *Can. 34. It has been thought fit that Candles be not lighted in the day-time in the Church-yard, for the Souls of the Holy are not to be disturb'd.* Cabassucius on this place, *Pag. 19.* "This Prohibition, which broachers of Novelties abuse, contrary to the pious use of Catholics, was proper in those times when Christians liv'd among Pagans, lest the former should be infected with Superstition; for the Heathens were perswaded that the Souls of the Dead wanted Meat and Light, to dispel hunger and darkness, and therefore they carry'd Food, Milk and Wine to the Graves, as *Plutarch* testifies at the beginning of *Romulus* his Life; and so other Antients, as *Homer*, &c. The reason why the Faithful use Torches and Candles at Funerals is altogether mystical, to signify Light Everlasting, &c. But the

"word

“ word *disfubing* which the Canon
 “ makes use of, signifies a displeasure the
 “ Saints conceive after this Life at the
 “ Superstition of those that are living.
 “ But when Gentilism declining, Chri-
 “ stian Religion lifted up its head, then
 “ at last the Faithful having banish’d all
 “ fear, or suspicion of approving or imi-
 “ tating the profane Rites of the Hea-
 “ thens, follow’d the Funerals of Chri-
 “ stians with lighted Candles. *Card. Lu-
 go de Incarn. disp. 37. sect. 2. num. 20.*
 mentions the aforesaid Canon, tho’ to a-
 nother purpose, which he solves five several
 ways, see it there. The same is to be
 done in *China*, in relation to laying Meat
 before the Images or Tablets of the Dead,
 or on their Tombs for the same reason.

The difficulty is, Whether the Ceremonies
 which are taken from the *Doctrine of the
 Philosophers*, are political, or belong to a
 false religious Worship; and therefore it
 was his duty to propose them as they are
 in themselves, that such Sentence might
 pass upon them as they deserv’d.

2. He goes on with the Question, *Whether
 Christians may be present, particularly
 after making a Protestation of the Faith,
 whilst the Infidels perform the Superstitious
 part, not joining with, or authorizing them,
 but because it would be much taken notice of,
 if the Kindred were then absent, and it would
 cause hatred and enmity?* In confirmation
 of the Protestation of Faith, we may add
 what *Morales* mentions pag. 159. he says,
 That one *D. Peter* and *Lady Mary*, being
 present at one of the Anniversaries they
 perform to the Dead, when all the Ceremonies
 of the Learned Sect were perform’d, and
 those of the Sect of the Idols came on,
D. Peter with a loud Voice declar’d, He
 had perform’d the first because they were
 good, but could not as a Christian perform
 those of the Idols, as being wicked, and so
 went away with his Wife. Thus that
 Father pleases himself, and thinks every
 body will be satisfy’d with this Story. In
 the first place, this shows how little he
 is acquainted with *China*, since he calls
 that Christian a Gentleman, and by the
 Title of *D. Peter*, and his Wife *Donna*,
 whereas it is notorious that we never
 give any body in that Country the stile
 of *Don*, nor do we call them Gentlemen,
 because there is no Gentility there but
 what every Man acquires, excepting very
 few, of whom I spoke in another place.
 And tho’ this be not to our purpose, yet
 it shows his mistake in meddling with
 what he does not understand. I should make

no difficulty to say *D. Peter*, and the *Lady
 Mary* are counterfeit and imaginary; but
 that it may not be said I do it to shun
 the difficulty I allow of the Passage as true
 and real, and deny what *Morales* just before
 much extols, saying, That the *Chinese* Chri-
 stians are very obedient and strict obser-
 vers of what the Missioners say and teach
 them. But to the purpose, I do not deny but
 there may be some, especially of the
 Learned, if they are good Christians,
 who will not perform or be present at the
 Ceremonies of the Sect call’d of the Idols.
 But the difficulty lies not in this, since we
 all agree that these are bad, as the Learned
 Infidels themselves confess, tho’ they
 perform them among the rest. The
 Question is, Whether the Ceremonies pecu-
 liar to the Learned are Superstitious, and
 whether the Christians may perform or
 be present at them, when they are con-
 demned as such? and yet as to these,
 there is no Man who will protest he is a
 Christian, and forbear performing them;
 and if any do protest, there will ensue
 Enmity, Hatred, and Quarrels among
 the Kindred, unless he who does so be a
 Person in great Authority, whom they
 highly honour and respect.

3. In the second place I maintain, That
 the Christians by their presence at those
 Ceremonies, cannot but cooperate and
 authorize the Act, or else Enmity and
 Hatred must ensue, which is what *F. Martinez*
 would prevent. The reason is plain,
 because all there present compose one
 Body in order to those Ceremonies, for
 every one stands in his place assign’d
 him, and acts the part allotted him,
 kneels and rises with the rest, upon a
 word given by the Master of the Ceremonies;
 so that there is not the least difference
 in outward appearance betwixt Christians
 and Infidels as to all that is done there:
 So that if the Christian might be there
 apart from the rest, for instance in a
 corner, only looking on, as *Tertullian* said,
 he would be present *materialiter*, and not
 cooperating or authorizing; as when a
 Catholick goes into a Church of Here-
 ticks out of curiosity, or with a design
 to oppose what he sees or hears there:
 but if he be there in that manner as has
 been said, he is present *formaliter*, and
 as a part of that Body. Whence I draw
 this conclusion, that *F. Martinez* gave
 in his Information, only to the end
 abovementioned.

4. Those Propositions, *The Chinese
 assign no Divinity to the Souls departed,
 they expect nothing, nor ask nothing of
 them,* are all opposite to what his own
 Brethren

thren own, and to what F. *Martinez* himself confess'd in *China*, as shall appear in the second Tome.

5. In the first way or manner. *The first is*, &c. he pass'd by some things of no small moment. It is not to be admir'd that F. *John Baptist* should omit something, neither he nor others of those times could see throughly into all things; but those of the Society must of necessity in so many Years have discover'd more, as appears in their Works which shall be quoted. In the first place he omitted the Letters on that Tablet or Tabernacle, which they say is the Seat of the Person departed's Soul; he also pass'd by the others which mention, that Children offer Sacrifice to their Parents. He further forbore to make it known, that the *Chineses* believe the airy Souls of their Friends departed come to those Tabernacles, and are maintain'd by the steam of the Meat laid before them. And to conclude, he speaks not of the Chair and Bed of the Soul where they place its Figure. All this is to be found in the Ritual of the Learned, with which other Sects have had nothing to do, nor have insert'd nothing into it.

Souls.

6. *The second way is*, &c. In this too he was short, first in calling the Temples of the Dead SCU TANG, concealing the word MIAO, which is more frequent and proper to a Temple, tho' the first be so too, but for those that are less than the MIAO's, which Emperors, petty Kings, and Persons of Note have. This Point shall be treated of at large in its place.

We have already observ'd what he forbore to make known as to the Tablets, and many Sacrifices and Ceremonies perform'd in those Temples, as shall be said. In the last he was very much out, saying, *Which nevertheless they do not worship*; whereas the contrary is well known to all Men, and that there is no new or full Moon through the Year but they light Candles before them, burn Perfumes, place Meat, and make genuflexions. It also appears by the Ritual, that many who have no Temples, perform their Ceremonies at home, in the same manner as those that have.

7. *The third way is*, &c. Here he omitted one thing very material, which is, that at every Tomb there is a little Chapel dedicated to the Tutelar Spirit of the dead Person there bury'd, to whom they offer Sacrifice in Thanksgiving, for his care in guarding the said Party deceas'd, and whom they intreat to protect, and

look to him for the future.

By what has been said in these Reflections, the Reader may easily gather, whether F. *Martinez* his Proposition was legal, sincere, and true, or not; and he will be the better enabled with more ease to satisfy himself in those Points which are handled in the second Tome.

As for what concerns the Answer of the Holy Congregation, to which I give all imaginable Honour, it is to be observ'd that it never allows of any superstitious Act, as F. *Prosper Intorceta* publicly declar'd at *Canton*; which, besides that it is otherwise most certain, the most eminent Lord Cardinal *Ottoboni* confirm'd to me with his own Mouth. It is to be observ'd in the second place, that by those words, *They may only be present*, it only allows of a Material Prefence, not the formal, cooperative, or authoritative.

8. Concerning the other Point, which F. *John Baptista de Morales* propos'd in the Year 1646, F. *Martinez* made no mention, the reason of it is not to be guess'd; nor did he touch upon that about Christ crucify'd, tho' the Fathers of the Society were much concern'd at it, as thinking we had done them much wrong. I write what I know, and make out in another place. F. *Joseph de Morales* enlarg'd much upon this Subject, with his usual Modesty and Piety; he treats of it from *Pag. 342*, to *Pag. 473*. he shall be fully answer'd, God willing. I will here only insert what he quotes *Pag. 470*. out of the Council of *Iberis*, or *Granada*, *Can. 36*. which is thus, "It has been thought fit that there should be no Pictures in Churches, lest that which is honour'd and worship'd be painted on the Walls. He sets down two Reasons for it, one taken from *Alanus*, *cap. Dial. cap. 16*. *Sanderus lib. 2. de Adorat. Imag. p. 4*. and of F. *Turrianus*; and *Cabassucius* follows it, *pag. 20*. and says, "For the understanding the Design of the Council, the time is to be consider'd when the Persecution of the Gentiles rag'd against the Christians; for this Canon is in favour of Holy Images, which it therefore forbids being painted on the Walls, lest they be scoff'd at by the Gentiles. Which Inconveniency did not attend those painted on Cloth, Paper, or Board, because they could be remov'd and hid. Hence *Morales* would infer, that the Image of Christ crucify'd, is not to be expos'd to the danger of being insulted by the Gentiles: But this does not answer, nor is it to the purpose of the Matter

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Nava-rette. Matter in controversy, especially because what he alledges to make good his Design is groundleis.

The second Reason is taken from *Vasquez lib. 2. de Adorat. disp. 5. cap. 2. n. 133.* who is follow'd by *Ayala*, our *Torre 2. 2. q. 94. art. 1. disp. 6. dub. 2.* and others. The Council thought it inconvenient and indecent, that Holy Images should be painted on the Walls, because the dampness and other accidents defaced them, and so they rather mov'd laughter than devotion; and because in times of War Churches are polluted, and all respect to Holy Images is lost; which makes nothing at all to what our Adversary aims at, unless apply'd through many Consequences, in which great Difficulties occur. Cardinal *Lugo de Incarn. disp. 36. Sect. 1. num. 10.* follows both Reasons, and concludes, that the Precept is repeal'd. *Torre, Cano*, and others, give a truer Solution, which is, that it was a Provincial Synod, held without any Authority of the Pope; and as it err'd in other things, so it did in this. I will add a fourth, which *Cabassucius* assigns. "Besides, says he, *Baronius* not without reason suspects " that this Canon was counterfeited and " forg'd by the *Iconoclasts* who formerly " inhabited *Spain*. His reason is, because " tho it be set down by *Ivo*, *lib. 3.* yet

" it is not mention'd by those that com-
" pil'd the Canons before him, as *Ferdinand*
" the Deacon, *Dionysius Exiguus*,
" *Cresconius*; as also because none of the
" *Spanish* old *Iconoclasts*, tho they us'd
" all possible care to draw Arguments
" from any part whatsoever against Ho-
" ly Images, ever produced any Canon
" of the Council of *Iberis* which was
" held in *Spain*. Nor did *Vigilantius*, and
" *Claudius* Bishop of *Turin*, who were
" both well acquainted with *Spain*, and
" oppos'd Holy Images.

What Consequence can be deduced from an Antecedent so uncertain, to make use of it against the exposing the Image of Christ crucified? I must also observe in this place, that when the Persecution in *China* began, some of us endeavour'd to secure the Holy Images, for the Reasons above-mention'd, and others did not take them up

S. Hierom, Epist. 14. to *S. Augustin*, writes thus; " If I write any thing in my " defence, the fault is yours that pro- " vok'd me, not mine, because I am ob- " lig'd to answer. I might say the same to *F. Martin Martinez* if he were alive, and should blame or complain of me; but I believe he would take no notice of it, because he would be satisfy'd I had right and reason on my side.

Queries propos'd to the Holy General Congregation of the Holy Roman and Universal Inquisition; and by its leave and direction transmitted to the most Reverend Fathers, F. Laurence Brancato de Lauræa of the Order of the Friars Minors of S. Francis, Consultor of the Holy Congregations of the Holy Inquisition, Rites and Indulgences, Examiner of Bishops, and the Publick Divines of the Sapientia at Rome.

And F. John Bona Abbot of the Congregation of S. Bernard de Fulco, Consultor of the Holy Inquisition, Rites and Indulgences; but now Cardinal of the Holy Roman Church.

1. **W** Hereas the blind Gentiles do on several accounts highly extol and commend several Infidels long since dead, and have added them to the number of their vain Deities or Gods, or else do honour and worship them as Saints. *Quære*; Whether (laying aside that vain belief) it be lawful for Christians who live among Infidels, first making a Protestation of their Faith, or without it, to honour those dead Men with Ceremonies of External Worship, such as Kneeling, Prostrations, Offerings, and the like, either in company with the said Gentiles, or elsewhere apart, when those things either according to the Intention

of the Gentiles, or by Use, and Custom, or Law, are directed to a superstitious Worship?

2. Whereas the same Gentiles do honour and worship their principal Master *Confucius*, who dy'd in Infidelity, as a Saint; and perform many things, as making Offerings, Genuflexions, Prostrations, burning of Perfumes, praying and begging of Assistance, Graces, and Benefits, before a small Tablet, with this Inscription; *The Throne, or honourable Seat of the Spirit, or Soul of the most holy and principal Master.* *Quære*; Whether it be lawful for Christians to light Candles, and burn Sweets before the said Tablet, or together with the

the Gentiles, or apart, to kneel, prostrate themselves, burn Perfumes, the said Christians omitting the Prayers and Invocation ?

3. Whereas the Gentiles believe, that the Souls of their Ancestors departed dwell on certain little Tablets, on which these words are written, *The Throne or Seat of the Soul of N, or N* ; and that they attend to receive the Offerings and Sacrifices the Gentiles make to them, imploring and expecting their Assistance in their Necessities. *Quære* ; Whether the Christians may keep such Tablets, either in the Temples, or their private Houses ; at least if they raze that Inscription, *the Throne or Seat of the Soul*, and lay aside that false Belief of the Soul's residing on them ; whether in such case they may have them in their Houses, or any other places, and there either with the Gentiles, or apart, may honour them with offering Fruits of the Earth, and Sweets, or at least by Prostrations by way of Gratitude, and celebrating their Memory ?

4. In all Towns and Citys of *China* there is a Temple dedicated to the Idol CHING HOANG ; which is look'd upon and believ'd to be the Guardian and Ruler of that place. Governors, when they enter upon their Employments, and twice a month, are oblig'd, under the Penalty of forfeiting their Government, to go to that Temple, and there to worship, falling down before the Idol, and to offer to it Sacrifice of Wine, Flesh, Flowers, Candles, and Sweets ; and they swear before it, that they will govern uprightly and justly ; and if they should do the contrary, they submit themselves to the Punishment the Idol shall inflict on them, and ask of him a Rule and Assistance that they may govern well. *Quære* 1. Whether Christian Governors may perform these things, or must quit their Employments ? 2. Whether they may be tolerated to do it for the present, in case they erect in the middle of the Temple where the Idols are, an Eminency apart from the Idol-Altar, and place on it a Cross, or the Picture of our Saviour not hid, but visible to all the Gentiles ; and prostrate themselves before it, and take their Oath of Fidelity, and make their Offerings, either after a Protestation of their Faith, or without it, and direct their Worship to the true God represented in the Image of Christ ; or at least, whether the said Christian Governors may worship the Cross, or Image of Christ so placed in the Temple on the afore said Days appointed by Law, omitting Genuflexions, Prostrations, and

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the Offerings ?

5. And forasmuch as there is a Court, *Nava-* or Royal Council of Mathematicians, or *rette.* Astrologers, whose Business it is, and chiefly the Presidents, every Year to *Alm.* make, publish, subscribe, and put his *Tabls.* Seal to an Ephemeris or Diary, in which many vain and superstitious things are contain'd, and Fortunate days are set down ; some for repairing to the Idol-Temples to offer up their Prayers there, offer Sacrifices, to visit the Temples of their Forefathers departed, to worship and honour them, and beg their Assistance ; others for Marrying, for trying of Causes, driving Bargains, buying and selling, and so forth. *Quære*, Whether it be lawful for any Christian to be President, or a Member of the said Council, to order the said Ephemeris or Prediction, or any other Affairs relating to that College, to command the printing or using of it, to set Hand or Seal to authorize it ; or at least to permit, consent, and allow, that the President's Subscription and Seal be put to the said Prediction or Ephemeris, so contriv'd with those superstitious Observations, and irreligious Rules, by the other Counsellors, and so to be publish'd, subscrib'd with his and the other Names ? And whether he be not rather oblig'd to refuse the Office of President, or a Member of that Council, tho the King offer to press it upon him, and if he be in possession, to resign it, lest he any way be concern'd in the superstitious Practices above-mention'd, or seem by his Seal to give them any Authority ?

6. Whether it be lawful for Priests *Funerals.* and Ministers of the Gospel, or other Christians, to be present among the Gentiles, and Idol Priests, at the Funeral and solemn Interment of Gentiles ; or to follow the Corps particularly of such Noblemen who during their Lifetime were Friends, Protectors and Benefactors of the Ministers of the Gospel, and Christians, or else are Kindred and Relations of some Catholick or Christian Family, in regard that several superstitious Rites are us'd and practis'd by the Gentiles and Idol-Priests attending such Funerals ? And if the Christians, or Ministers of the Gospel refuse to be present, it may cause Railing and Enmity against the Christians and Priests of God.

7. Whether it be lawful for Christians, or Ministers of the Gospel, either to express their Friendship ; or on account of any dead Person's Dignity, Worth or Quality, or for any other respect, either towards the dead Person, or his Family,

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Heirs or Kindred, to set out Meat and Drink before their Houses, or in the Road where the Bier is to pass, in case the antient Custom continue, which has been establish'd by long practice, of setting out Tables cover'd with Meat, prepar'd by the Gentiles on the day of the burial, in the way to the Tomb, whereas the Gentiles believe the Souls of the Dead take that Meat as Provision for their Journey, and feed on it?

8. Whether poor Christians, by profession Pipers, or the like, who live by their Labour, may for the Gain that is offer'd when call'd, or compell'd, play on their Instruments at the Funerals of Gentiles, carry the Bier, or perform any other Employment among the other Superstitions, in the presence of the Gentiles and Idol-Priests, who do several superstitious Acts?

9. Whether Christian Artificers, such as Carpenters, Masons, or Architects, or the like, who are freely hir'd for their Pay; or being constrain'd by the Magistrates, or most powerful Men, may lawfully contribute with their Labour

towards the building, or repairing of Idol-Temples, or only about laying the Foundations, making or mending the Roofs, or cleaning the Walls and Pavements, or clearing the Altars, or opening and shutting the Gates of Temples, and such-like Employments? The reason of making the Doubt is, because some *Chinese* Christians have not yet a true vigour and fortitude of Spirit in the Christian Religion they have embraced, and are terrify'd when any trouble, danger, or hardship threatens from the Magistrates, or great Ones, if they refuse to obey their Commands?

10. Lastly, In case some Acts may be tolerated, or lawful for Christians making a Protestation of their Faith; *Quære*, How and when it ought to be made; whether before the Gentiles, before, after, or at the very time the Ceremonies are acting? or whether it be sufficient to make it before Christians only, whether many or few? as to which it is desir'd the number may be ascertain'd, for the better and fairer proceeding in a Matter of such great moment.

We whose Names are under written, being consulted about the aforesaid Doubts, having God's Honour before our Eyes, that we may provide for the Salvation of Souls, do judg the following Answers should be given to each of the Questions propos'd.

1. **T**HAT it is not lawful for the Christians living among Gentiles to worship dead Gentiles, whom those Infidels honour as Saints, with those Rites of exterior Worship mention'd in the Question; neither with the Gentiles, nor elsewhere apart, without making a publick Protestation of their Faith; and those that shall do it, will commit a heinous Sin, and Idolatry.

2. As to the Worship of *Confucius* before the Tablet, call'd *The Throne of the Soul*, &c. We answer, That it is not lawful for Christians, either in company of the Infidels, or apart, to perform those Genuflexions, Prostrations, or other things mention'd in the Question, tho the said Christians omit the Prayers and Applications.

3. Concerning the Tablets on which the Gentiles imagine the Souls departed assist to receive Offerings, &c. as is contain'd in the Question propos'd: We say it is unlawful for Christians to keep the said Tablets, either in Temples or their private Houses, either with that Inscrip-

tion, *The Throne, or Seat of the Soul*, or without it; and that it is also unlawful to worship them, either among the Gentiles, or apart, or to make any Offering to them, even excluding the false belief of the Soul's residing in them.

4. Concerning the Temple of the Idol *CHING HOANG*. In answer to the first part of the Question, we say, It is unlawful for Governors, either upon taking possession of their Employments, or on any other account whatsoever, to worship that Idol, or perform any part of what is contain'd in the Question propos'd, but are rather bound to quit their Employment, than perform it. To the second part of the Question we answer, That it is not lawful for any Christians, even Governors, to place a Cross, or Image of Christ in the Idol-Temple, tho apart from the Idol-Altar; and that nothing of what is propos'd in the Question can be tolerated, tho the Worship be directed to the true God, and Image of Christ, as is propos'd.

5. As to the College of Mathematicians, &c. We say, it is not lawful for a Christian to hold the Place of President, or Counsellor in it, if he is bound by his place to subscribe, or put his Seal to those Superstitious Edicts, Observations, or Predictions, much less to publish them by his Authority; but he is rather oblig'd to quit that Post. Nor can he approve of, or have a hand in contriving them.

6. Touching the Burial of the Dead. If the Christians do not joyn in the Superstitious Acts, but do it merely out of Civil respect, it is Lawful, otherwise it is not.

7. For the setting out of Meat upon Tables, as the dead Body is carry'd, we say it is not lawful without making a publick protestation of their Faith.

8. Concerning Minstrels and other acts usually perform'd at Funerals, with a mixture of Superstitious practices, as in the Question: We think it unlawful to play on Instruments after this manner, and to perform the other acts spoken of.

9. As to Labour in building, repairing, or cleansing of Temples, and the rest contain'd in the Question: We say, it is no way lawful for Christians, nor to be tolerated upon any account or pretence whatsoever.

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10. We say, that in case a Protestation of Faith is to be made on account of any Toleration, it must be in publick before the Gentiles and Christians, who are present at that Function so tolerated. November the 27th 1669.

I F. Laurence de Laurea of the Fryars Minors, Consultor of the Holy Inquisition, &c. am of this Opinion.

I D. John Bona, Abbot of S. Bernard, hold the same.

It is here to be observ'd, that the second Doubt, and those that follow, except the 6th and 7th, were solv'd many Years since, in the same manner as they are here, by the Millioners of the Society of Jesus, at a Meeting they had in the Province of NANKING, as will appear in the second Book of the second Tome.

The Decree of the Sacred Congregation of the Holy Roman and Universal Inquisition. Wednesday November the 13th 1669.

“ IN the General Congregation of
“ the Holy Roman and Universal
“ Inquisition held in the Monastery of
“ S. Mary super Minervam, before the
“ most Eminent and most Reverend
“ Lords Cardinals, especially deputed
“ by the See Apostolick General Inqui-
“ sitors against Heretical Pravity over
“ all the Christian Commonweal.

“ The Memorial presented by F. John
“ Polanco, of the Order of Preachers,
“ and Apostolick Missioner in China,
“ and other Missioners of the same Or-
“ der, there labouring with him in
“ preaching the Gospel, being read; in
“ which he beseeched the Holy Con-
“ gregation would be pleas'd to declare,
“ whether the Precept and Command be
“ still in full Force and Vigour, under
“ pain of actual excommunication incur'd
“ ipso facto, to be absolv'd only by his Ho-
“ linefs and the See Apostolick, for ob-
“ serving and keeping of the Answers
“ and Resolutions of the 12th of Sep-
“ tember 1645 in the Holy Congregation
“ de Propaganda Fide, which at the re-
“ quest of the same Congregation were
“ approv'd by Pope Innocent the 10th
Vol. I.

“ of blessed Memory. And whether all
“ things are in practice to be carefull
“ observ'd (according to what is deliv-
“ ver'd upon those Doubts) by all and
“ every the Millioners, of what Order,
“ Rule or Institution soever, even of the
“ Society of Jesus, who are or shall be
“ in the Kingdom of China; till such
“ time as his Holiness, or the Holy See
“ Apostolick shall order the contrary;
“ notwithstanding another Decree set
“ forth by the sacred Congregation of
“ the Holy Inquisition, March the 23d
“ 1656, on account of some Questions
“ propos'd by the Fathers Missioners
“ of the Society of Jesus in China,
“ which were express'd after another
“ manner, and with different Circum-
“ stances. The most eminent Fathers
“ declar'd, that the Decree of the Ho-
“ ly Congregation de Propaganda Fide,
“ pass'd the 12th of September 1645, ac-
“ cording to what is there made out in
“ the Doubts, is in full force, and not
“ in the least invalidated by the Decree
“ of the Sacred Congregation of the
“ Holy Inquisition, pass'd the 23d day
“ of March 1656, but ought to be fully
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Navarette. " observ'd as it lies, according to the
 " Questions, Circumstances, and all
 " things mention'd in the said Doubts.
 " The Decree of the Sacred Congre-
 " gation of the Holy Inquisition pass'd
 " the 23d of March 1656, declar'd it
 " should be observ'd, according to the
 " Questions, Circumstances, and all
 " particulars mention'd in them.
 " Wednesday the 20th of the aforesaid
 " Month of November, 1669, the most
 " Illustrious, and most Reverend Lord
 " Jerome Casanate, a Member of the
 " Holy Inquisition, having made his Re-
 " port to our most Holy Father Clement
 " the 9th by the Divine Providence
 " Pope, his Holiness approv'd of it.

F. Martin Martinez his Decree being brought into *China*, some Persons gave out, that all whatsoever was contain'd in the first Decree was by this revok'd and made void, tho they did not notify, or publish it in that Mission. Which plainly appears to be false by what the Sacred Congregation of the Universal Inquisition at *Rome* declares in this place.

In the Year 1673, by reason of new 1673. difficulties arising in the Mission of *China*, the Author of this Book had recourse to *Rome*, and lay'd the following Doubts before the Holy Congregation. The Answer that was deliver'd to him runs thus.

Doubts of the Chineses propos'd Anno 1674 by the R. F. F. Dominick Navarette of the Order of Preachers, and Missioner in China, to the Sacred General Congregation of the Holy Roman and Universal Inquisition, and by its Authority transmitted to the most Reverend Fathers, F. Laurence Brancato de Lauraa, of the Order of Friars Minors of S. Francis, Consultor of the Sacred Congregation of the Holy Inquisition, Rites and Indulgences, Examiner of Bishops, and the Publick Divines of the Sapiencia at Rome. And to the most Reverend F. Cajetan Miraballo, of the Regular Clergy, and Qualificator of the Holy Inquisition.

Concerning the Chinese Magistrates or Mandarines, 25 Doubts.

Eclipse. 1. **W**HETHER it be lawful for Mandarines, when they have once embraced the Catholick Faith, to be present at the festival Acclamations the Chineses are us'd to make with great Noise and Shouts to the Sun and Moon during the time of an Eclipse?

To the first, the Answer is, That it is not Lawful.

I ask'd of antient Missioners, what Allowance, or Toleration might be given in this case; and they having given me no answer, I resolv'd to propose this and other Doubts at *Rome*. In the 2d Tome, I write all I have heard and understood concerning these Doubts. In this place, I with much Brevity touch upon what is most material; tho in this particular, as more singular to *Europeans*, it is convenient I should dilate somewhat more. It is an inviolable custom in *China*, to send advice from Court throughout the whole Empire of the Day and Hour when any Eclipse of the Sun or Moon is to happen. When the *Mandarines* have notice of it, two or three days before it comes they pass up their Orders in all publick places

of Cities and Towns, to this effect: Such a day, at such an hour, there is an Eclipse of the Sun or Moon, let all those whose Duty it is come to perform and be present at the usual Ceremonies, to deliver the Planet from that trouble. At the time appointed the *Mandarines*, other Persons of note, and a great many *Bonzes* meet; when the *Eclipse* commences, they begin to make Genuflections, and Prostrations, shout and hollow, beat upon Basons; the *Bonzes* pray, and all of them cry out in a hideous manner, till the Eclipse is over: this they call delivering and rescuing the Sun or Moon from the Trouble they are then in. This Ceremony is of great Antiquity in that Kingdom. Their Ritual, *Tom.* 4. pag. 13. makes mention of it, and ordains that the Kings attend the Emperor to assist, or succour the Sun or Moon in that distress; and to this purpose orders them to come with Drums, and Souldiers adorn'd with those Colours, which answer to the four parts of the World. This is enough for the understanding of the Doubt propos'd; and tho it is a barbarous Ceremony, let no
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Man think strange that the *Chineses* should perform it, since it has been practis'd by *Europeans*, in the time of those great Doctors of the Church, *S. Ambrose*, and *S. Augustin*. *Spondanus* mentions it *Anno 377. n. 5.* *S. Ambrose* says, *He absolutely took away the Acclamations that us'd to be made upon the Eclipse of the Sun.* *S. Augustin* *Serm. 1. Dom. 10. post Trin.* speaks thus: *If you know any that shout, when the Moon is darkned, admonish them of it, giving them to understand, that they commit a grievous Sin; for as much as they sacrilegiously presume to conceit that they can defend the Moon from Witchcraft, when by God's Command it is darkned at certain times.*

Thus the *European* and *Asiatick* Ceremony is condemn'd, and it appears to have been more Criminal among *Christians* than among *Gentiles*.

And if any Man shall say (tho I know not that any body has said so) that the *Christian Mandarines*, as believing in nothing that is done there, may be present without any scruple of Conscience, to avoid some inconveniences that may follow their absenting themselves: I answer, *How shall it appear to thee, to us, or to the Church, that they do not inwardly believe what they outwardly profess? What avails it not to believe inwardly, if they approve of the aforesaid Superstitions by their outward presence?*

Nor can the Emperor's Command excuse them. *S. Ignatius the Martyr ad Antioch.* said: *We are to be obedient to Cæsar in those things in which there is no danger of the Soul.* And *Tertul. lib. de Idolol. c. 15.* *As far as to separation from Idolatry, and within the bounds of Discipline.* Thus far at most extends Obedience and Submission. The Substance of my Proposition consists in what has been written, which is enough for the present.

2. *Whether the Christian Officers, or Souldiers may lawfully be present at the Prostrations, Gemusifications, or other Ceremonies, wherewith at certain times the Military Men worship their great Commander, whom they call KI TO?*

The Answer to the Second Question, That it is not Lawful.

I observ'd in another place, that the *Chinese* Souldiery have their God *Mars*, as other Nations had. That they acknowledg in him a true Deity, or something of a Deity, is plain matter of fact. When they have any Military Expedition in hand, the following Ceremony is perform'd in the Field. They cover a

Table with variety of Meats, and Dainties; over it they spread the Standard, or Colours, then take it off, and the Souldiers and Officers kneel and prostrate themselves before it. Then the Commander in chief repairs to the Temple dedicated to him, whose Soul they say is in the Standard; there he kneels and makes Offerings, all to the end he may be successful in War. This was made out to me in *China*. F. *John Garcia* an antient Missioner of my Order told me, that he once saw a *Mahometan* Captain refuse to be present, when the said Ceremony was perform'd. F. *Antony* of *S. Mary* a *Franciscan* told me, that the *Christian Souldiers* in the Province of *XAN TUNG* went to it as frequently as the *Gentiles*. I propos'd the matter at *Rome* for the satisfaction of all Persons, and the more security in a thing of such moment, not that I was ignorant of the Truth.

3. *It often happens that the lawful Kings being expel'd, Tyrants intrude. Quære, Whether these be oblig'd before they are baptiz'd to depart from their Rebellion, and peaceably to restore the Kingdoms they have usurp'd to the right Owner?*

To the 3d, They are to be advis'd to restore what they have wrongfully taken; and if they promise so to do, Baptism is not to be deny'd them.

4. *The Chineses unanimously agree that the Tartar now reigning is a Tyrant. Quære, Whether we may admit the Souldiers and Magistrates, who serve him for pay in Civil and Military Employments, to Baptism, and when baptiz'd administer other Sacraments to them; and baptize the Emperor himself, whilst he wrongfully holds the Kingdom? Item, what answer we are to give the Chineses, and what advice concerning the Government of the Tartars, when they ask our opinion touching the said Tartar's Right?*

To the 4th, Concerning the Emperor, as in the 3d Question: As for those that serve them, if they desire to be baptiz'd, Baptism must not be deny'd them on this account, if they promise, that when the Prince asks it they will give good and just advice; and so other Sacraments may be afterwards administr'd to them, if they are well dispos'd.

In my Controversies I write all that was said concerning these Points, in the meetings we had at *Canton*. *Tertul. in Apolog. cap. 39.* says: *For as much as Christians*

Navarrette.

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Christians are never to take part with Tyrants.

Discouraging about baptizing the Emperor of *China*, one of the Company said, I find no doubt in this particular. For *Constantine* tyrannically usurp'd the Empire, and yet *S. Silvester* baptiz'd him: But Historians tell us how far this is from Truth, something out of them I writ in the place already cited, and the Reader may see *Ribadenegra* on the Feast of *S. Silvester*.

5. Whether Souldiers and Officers marry'd in France, going over into New France may there marry again?

To the 5th. If they can prove that they are free (that is, from their first Wives by Death) and that they have no other Canonical impediments, they may marry Catholics. The proof must be legal.

A certain Missioner would have it, that *French* Souldiers who were marry'd at Home, might marry again when they went over into *New France*, and had not their Wives along with them, by reason of the great danger of Incontinency: this he said the Divines at *Paris* asserted, and had given it under their Hands. Others with much reason condemn'd this Doctrine, for according to it a *French* Christian (and consequently any other) leaving his Wife in *France* might take another in *New France*, another in the Island *Guadalupe*, if he went thither; another at *Martinico*, another at *Madagascar*, and another in *India*, because in all parts there is danger of Incontinency. Nor can I imagine the Divines of *Paris* ever gave such an opinion (as infallibly they never did) yet because all the reasons that can be urg'd against it, tho' very forcible and perswasive, cannot convince that Party, it was requisite to use other methods, as having recourse to *Rome* to undeceive him.

6. The Chinese worship all the Spirits, which they imagine to be employ'd in guarding of Cities and Kingdoms, in the single Idol, CHING HOANG; yet they confess they were real Men, born and bred in that Kingdom. Quere, Whether Christians may lawfully give them the name of Angel Guardian?

To the 6th they answer, That it is not Lawful.

I have already taken notice, that the Doubts propos'd at *Rome* concerning CHING HOANG, have been solv'd by the Missioners of the Society, tho' there has been some Controversy

about this point in *China*. But the reason why I gave in that the Idols CHING HOANG, to whom some have given the name of Guardian Angels, were Men, known to the *Chinese* as such, whose Names, Surnames, and Native Countries are notorious to all Men, was because I had throughly examin'd into and made out the matter in that Country; and if so, it is plain they can be no Guardian Angels. This is the method the *Franciscans* and we *Dominicans* have taken, following the example of the Fathers, *Hurtado*, *Julio*, *Alemi*, *Gouvea*, and other antient Men of the Society.

7. Whether Mandarines upon pressing necessities may conceal the true Religion, and outwardly feign themselves Idolaters, tho' the rest of the Christians be scandaliz'd at these exterior Shows?

The answer to the 7th is, That they may not.

The Holy Congregation gave the same Decision upon another occasion, as *F. Escob* says in *sum. fol. 585. n. 68.* but there was a reason for proposing it over again.

8. Whether the Sacrifices offer'd by the Chinese to the Idol CHING HOANG, be opposite to true Christian Religion?

Answer to the 8th. That they are opposite.

It was said a Metaphysician maintain'd the contrary, urging that the said Idol was instituted before the coming of God upon Earth. Idolatry being a Sin against the Law of Nature, it is most certain, it was ever opposite to the Law of God, which ever was and is one and the same, tho' in different States: so that this and other Sins, which are so of themselves and in their own nature, have a Malice and Deformity of their own, from which they can never be separated, nor any way excus'd.

9. Whether Christian Mandarines may among the Gentiles in outward Show fall down before the Chinese Idols, directing all those Ceremonies with an inward Humiliation of their Heart to the true God, and to a Cross placed on the Idol Altar?

Answer to the 9th. That they may not.

There is some Body that asserts the affirmative, urging the words of *Tertulian*, but not quoted fairly as they are in his Works. What this Author writ, is as follows: If plainly call'd to the Priesthood, and Sacrifice, I will not go, because

because it is the proper Service of the Idol. Neither will I be concern'd in the like by my Advice, or Charge. If being call'd to the Sacrifice I am present, I shall partake in the Idolatry; if any other cause obliges me to be with him that sacrifices, I shall only be a Spectator of the Sacrifice. Tertullian only allows of the mere material presence, and nothing more, which all Men allow.

10. Item, Whether they may, in the same place, perform the Sacrifices and Prayers usually offer'd for the good success of the Government, with other Ceremonies according to the Chinese Ritual; provided they inwardly in their Hearts despise the Idol, and direct all these Actions to the true God?

Answer to the 10th. That they may not.

Tho it be perform'd in that manner and with that intention, it cannot but be outward Idolatry.

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11. Whether it may be permitted the Japonese, who are converted to the Faith, to make those Bonfires the Gentiles every Year use to make as a false Commemoration of the Souls of their Friends departed, confounding the Civil with many Heathenish Rites?

Answer to the 11th. That it may not be permitted.

Morales pag. 291 instances this particular in these words. In Japan the Christians are tolerated in the making of Illuminations, or Bonfires to rejoice the People, when the Gentiles keep that Feast for the Souls departed, and think they come to their Houses; tho the Japonese mix Heathen Ceremonies among the Political Rites: and yet nevertheless their Divines of India determin'd, that the Christians might perform both. I propos'd the Point so at Rome, and the Answer was in the Negative.

12. Whether the Mandarines or Magistrates may be lawfully admitted to Baptism? Item, Whether Mandarines once Baptiz'd may lawfully accept of the said Employments; and whether the Missioners may admit those who have once accepted of such Dignity, to the Sacraments of the Church?

Answer to the 12th. They cannot unless they quit those Employments.

I had brought my Doubts to this Head, but was not yet fully resolv'd. I spoke with F. Claudius Motet of the Society; he told me plainly, the Mandarines were incapable of Holy Baptism. F. Stanislaus Torrente affirm'd the same. The principal reasons are: 1. Because

by their place they are oblig'd to perform the Ceremonies to the Idol CHING HOANG, and when they enter upon their Employment to beg his Aid and Assistance that they may govern well. 2. Because in time of great Drought, or too much Rain, they repair to the Temples of the Idols to beg fair Weather, or Rain, or at least to the Mountains and Valleys, and Idol LUNG VUANG, who is the God of Waters. 3. Because they must attend upon the Eclipses of the Sun and Moon, and because of the Ceremonies they perform upon taking possession of their Employments, and at other times to Confucius. These were the Reasons I gave, and had the Answer as above. It shall be all spoke of at large in its place, and other reasons alludg'd.

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13. Whether Christians who are Masters in publick Schools, who are vulgarly call'd HIO KUON, may be lawfully admitted to the Sacraments, and whether they may lawfully accept of such publick Employments? The reason of making the doubt is, because it is the duty of these Places to be present at all the Ceremonies which are perform'd to Confucius.

Ans. to 13. As was answer'd elsewhere, that if those Honours paid to Confucius are absolutely Political, they may be permitted; if Religious, not.

The Masters who live in Houses within the Universities are call'd HIO KUON, the Scholars that are upon Register are subject to them. I propos'd the reason for the doubt, which I mention in my Controversies. By the answer given concerning the Ceremonies perform'd to Confucius, it will appear, whether they are Political or Religious.

I must here take notice, that the Military Mandarines are free from the Impediments propos'd in these two Doubts and Solutions; so that if they are under no others, they may well be admitted to Baptism.

14. Whether to avoid Persecution from the Infidels, the Chinese of the Learned Sect are to be let alone in their simplicity, or their Ignorance concerning the Sacrifices of Confucius and other Ceremonies; or whether the Missioners are not rather oblig'd to advise and instruct them, and to drive from their minds the darkness of ignorance by the Doctrine of Christ?

Answer to the 14th. The Missioners are oblig'd to teach the Chinese the Truth, and lay open their Errors.

It will appear by the second Book of *Navarrette* Controversies, what motive I had to put this Question, and who it was that writ the contrary to the Answer given at *Rome*.

15. *Whether it be lawful to baptize Mandarines, or others, unless they first turn their Concubines out of doors?*

Ans. to 15. *They cannot be baptiz'd, unless they turn out their Concubines.*

The Missioners of *China* cannot deny but that some Persons have baptiz'd *Chineses*, whilst they had their Concubines yet in the House; and that it may in some case be verifi'd that they are expell'd *Formaliter*, tho not *Materialiter*. I grant, and believe those that are acquainted with the affairs of *China* will own as much, to them it belongs to weigh the circumstances duly.

I writ in another place, whether those we call Concubines in *China* are so in a strict sense; or whether we may give them the name of Wives, and say the *Chineses* have several Wives, as the *Jews* had, or only one Wife, and Concubines? I said before that it was likely God's dispensation to his People to have many Wives extended to the Gentiles as well. For clearing this doubt, I add to what has been already said, that in the first Council of *Toledo*, *Can. 17*, she is call'd a Concubine, *Who was taken to cohabit with a Man, without a Dower, and all other Solemnities*. So *Gratianus* expounds it *C. is qui dist. 34*. and it appears by *S. Augustin*, *lib. de bon. conjug.* whose Authority the same *Gratianus* alledges *C. Concub. &c. Soler. 32. q. 2.* *Justinian* is of the same opinion, as may be seen in *Cabassucius*, *p. 219*. According to this rule, I say, that those in *China*, tho we give them the name of Concubines, are in reality Wives, and all the difference is in the Solemnity us'd at the Marriage of the first Wife.

16. *It is establish'd by a Law publish'd at PE KING, that all Persons who pass before an Idol-Temple on Horse-back, shall alight in honour and respect to it. Quære, Whether the Missioners, or other Christians, may with safety obey this Law?*

Ans. to 16. *That they cannot.*

This case was put by one of those that came from Court to another residing at *Cañon*, when we were confin'd there: the latter desiring to know my opinion, I writ the best I understood to the point, proving it was not lawful for a Catholic to alight from his Horse, as he pass before such a Temple. *Tertull. de Idol.* says that *All worship given to an Idol is*

forbidden. He did not approve of my judgment: for the more satisfaction I propos'd it at *Rome*, where I had the Answer as above. What Arguments pass between us are brought in their place.

17. *Whether a Heathen King or his Ministers, in hatred to the Faith commanding the pulling down of Churches, Missioners, or other Christians may obey such a Law?*

Ans. to 17. *That they may not.*

It seems, something of this nature was taken notice of in two Missioners, wherein they were govern'd by reasons that were something plausible, the rest did not approve of the action. Some were of opinion there lay an Excommunication against it. It is well known, that we cannot in time of Persecution deliver Books, Pictures, Vestments, &c. to Gentiles, nor discover those that have them, tho it cost us our lives; and certainly it is a greater offence to throw down Churches.

18. *Whether the Chinese Christians may pay respect to an Idol, not as it is the false representative of a Deity, but as it is valu'd and much belov'd by a Heathen, who is a friend?*

Ans. to 18. *That they cannot.*

This case was put to me; I answer'd in the Negative, as I was answer'd at *Rome*, and gave the reasons, which are in the Controversies. He that put the case to me persisted in the contrary opinion, and I believe will do so still. Among other reasons I urg'd, one was, That exterior actions of Honour and Worship, and the like, are not abstractive from Formalities, as those of the Understanding are; and therefore, tho those us'd to the Idol were separable, yet that did not appertain to exterior actions. Nor was it any thing to the purpose, tho the Idol was a precious thing my Friend had a great esteem for, because even among Christians such an action would be look'd upon as very mean. Would it be proper, that in *Italy* where they place so great a value upon fine Statues, I should bow or pay an Honour to them to flatter the Owner? The Statue, or Idol has no relation to the Owner, but to the Thing represented; and if a motion to an Image is the same as to the thing imagin'd, the Corporal motion with which I worship the Statue must be of the same nature.

19. *When a white Elephant is dead, which White Beast is by all Persons look'd upon as a presage of good fortune, the multitude flocks together, and with them the false Heathen Priests, who as the Elephant's Carcase is carry'd through the City with mournful Pomp,*
when

when it passes before them kneel, and making a barbarous lamentation, worship its Bones. Quere, Whether Christians may lawfully be present at this Funeral Pomp, bearing the Gentiles company in those same Genuflexions?

Anf. to 19. That they may not.

I have writ the History of the White Elephant, so highly valued by the Kings of India. It is well known that whilst he lives he is serv'd with as much respect as the King himself, when dead he is bury'd with Royal Pomp. They carry the Carcase in Procession, many Idolatrous Priests attend it; as it passes through the Streets all Persons there present kneel and touch the Ground with their Foreheads. The case is, whether Catholick Priests and other Christians, who accidentally or designedly see that sight, may lawfully make those Genuflexions among the Gentiles, and as they do them, or by themselves, being in a place where no Gentile is.

I always held the Negative, which I maintain'd the best I could against one, who obstinately defended the contrary opinion, reducing it to a Civil and Political Worship. Brute Beasts are incapable even of this sort of Worship, as S. Thomas teaches, 2. 2. q. art. So that no Excellency appears in the Object to claim this Civil Respect, much less any above it, as in all appearance, according to the circumstances, that which the Gentiles pay seems to be.

20. Whether in case the King expressly commands all Christians to attend the Bier, and perform the Funeral Rites, and Prostrations, we may obey?

Anf. to 20. As elsewhere, if there be any Apostatical or Superstitious acts in attending the Bier, and the Funeral, they may not; if they be only Civil, they may.

The determination, Whether that Worship be Civil or Religious, is left to those who are there, so that the difficulty is not fully solv'd. Tho I am satisfy'd it is more than probable, that the Worship on the part of the Gentiles is more than Civil; for there is no doubt but that the whole Kingdoms bewailing the death of the Elephant, putting on Mourning, a vast number of Priests meeting at the Funeral, and all People lamenting as it were some great Loss and Disaster befallen the Kingdom, must have something of a great mystery among those Gentiles, especially for as much as that Beast is look'd upon as a presage of happiness and success in those Countries, where they have not the Light of the Gospel.

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When this hapned, the King did not command all Persons to come to worship the Carcase of the Elephant, but that all who were present as it pass'd by should pay him the honour and respect above mentioned. To save doubts, and cut off difficulties, what occasion was there for Priests and Christians to go see that monstrous Solemnity? were it not better to have spar'd that curiosity, to avoid an action never done in the Church? In my Controversies I mention the Instances that may be urg'd against me, and answer them.

21. Whether it be lawful for Mandarines, or other Christians before their Feasts to spill a little Wine on the ground? The reason of making the doubt is, because the said Ceremony is prescrib'd by the Rituals under the denomination of a Sacrifice.

Anf. to 21. That it is not lawful.

This Ceremony is of great Antiquity in China, and is kept up to this day. For the better understanding of it, I here insert what F. Prosper Intorceta writes in his *Sapientia Sincia*, p. 73. §. 4. translating the Chinese Text into Latin. It speaks of Confucius, and says, *Tho he sed on the coarsh Rice, yet pouring one part upon the ground, he sacrificed to those dead Persons, who in former ages had taught the manner of tilling the Earth, dressing Meat, &c. And this was the custom of the Antients in token of Gratitude; and he perform'd these things with much gravity and reverence.* The Commentator *CHANG KO LAO* expounds thus: *Confucius took his Food, not to nourish the Body, but for to increase in Virtue.* Other words yet plainer shall be set down in another place. Thus it appears that the shedding any part of Meat or Drink on the ground, is in China call'd a Sacrifice, and is no Civil or Political action.

22. Whether we be oblig'd to take away the Bills and Scroles which are set up by order of the Magistrates to defame our Faith, against our Houses and Churches, or to confirm the Faith by a publick confession of it before the Magistrates?

Anf. to the 22. They are oblig'd to take them away; and if being accus'd before the Judges they are examin'd to the matter of Fact, they are oblig'd to make a Profession of the true Faith.

The thing hapned in China in the Year 1665. it was argued, and there was no small variety of Opinions. The Fathers *Grelon* and *Gaviani* of the Society, adher'd stilly to the Resolution above written, I follow'd their Sentiment. Some years before F. Francis Diaz of my Order, with

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Nava-rette. his own hand tore the Edicts set up at *FO NGAN* by order of a *Mandarine* against our Holy Faith. True it is, he was most cruelly bastinado'd for it, but exercis'd a great deal of Patience under it; and tho' some body has condemn'd the action, I insert it here as Heroical and Glorious. F. *John Baptist de Morales* and his Companions had resolv'd to do the same at *FO CHEU*, it was not their fault that it was not done. S. *Justin Martyr* in former ages did the same, and was cruelly tormented for it. This is grounded on the Doctrine of S. *Thomas*, generally receiv'd by all Men, 2. 2. q. 3. art. 2. where he says, that when God's Honour and the good of our Neighbour requires it, the outward confession of Faith becomes of precept.

23. Whether when the Infidels publish Books and Pamphlets reflecting on our Faith, and falsely aspersing the Missioners, we are oblig'd by publick Writing to defend the Faith, and clear our selves from Slanders; or whether we may give way to the prevailing party, and with timorous silence bear with our unjust Slanderers?

Ans. to the 23. If there be no imminent danger of a sharper Persecution, they may confute them by words and writing; if there be danger, let them bear for a while, and carry themselves upon the Negative.

I have writ some things concerning this point, which seem to make out more than is here determin'd; however, it is a plain case we are to stand by this Resolution. We know that formerly several Persons stood up, and writ Apologies in defence of our Holy Faith; and *Spondanus*, *Ann.* 172, 277, 278, & 301. tells it

us of *Justinus*, *Miletus*, *Apollinaris*, and others; and it is certain they did as we ought to do.

24. Whether when a Tyrant commands Missioners, or other Christians to deliver up the Books of the Holy Faith, as was done in the Year 1665, it be lawful to deliver them? 1665.

Ans. to the 24. That it is not lawful.

This Point was determin'd in the 13th *Can.* of the Council of *Arles*, where are these words, *It expels them from the Clergy who shall deliver up Sacred Books or Vessels to the Gentiles, or give in the Names of the Faithful.*

The Martyrology on the 2d of *February* mentions several who suffer'd Glorious Martyrdom for refusing to deliver up the Holy Books. And they who through fear of Torments deliver'd them, were look'd upon as publick Traytors.

In *November* also is Celebrated the Feast of S. *Valerianus*, who suffer'd for refusing to deliver up the Sacred Vestments. Read the Martyrology on the first of *February*.

25. Whether Christians may lawfully give Pictures of Saints to the Infidels their Friends? For on the one side, their affections are gain'd by those Pictures in which they very much delight, and the way is made easier for instructing them. But on the other side, they lying in the profound sleep of Gentility, experience has shown that they do not honour them as Pictures of Saints, but as Idols of the Europeans.

Ans. to the 15. If there be no danger of their abusing them, they may, to the intent to secure peace with them, and allure them to the Faith.

Doubts concerning the Worship given to Confucius.

1. Whether F. *Martin Martinez* did fully and truly lay before the Holy Congregation the whole matter of *Faſſ*, in relation to the Ceremonies perform'd to *Confucius* by the Learned?

2. Whether the Decree of the Holy Congregation, as to the third Question propos'd by F. *Martinez*, be grounded on a very probable opinion, or on the Proposition made by the said F. *Martinez*?

3. Whether the Structures dedicated to the Worship of *Confucius* be Temples or not?

These three Points were answer'd in another place.

The Notes upon the Decree granted in favour of F. *Martinez*, which were set down before, sit this place, as do other things I have in my Controversies. In relation to the third Point, I must observe and declare in this place briefly, that all the Dictionaries the Fathers of the Society have writ in *China*, call that which is dedicated to *Confucius* a Temple, as shall appear more plainly in the place above-mention'd, and it is properly express'd by the *Chinese* word *MIA O*. Observe further, that the Difficulties there have been in these times concerning the Philosopher *Confucius*, tho' they were made

made known by the *Dominican* and *Franciscan* Millioners, yet they were not the Authors of them, as shall be made out in the second Book of Controversies, where those are set down which were several Years before among those of the Society.

4. *Whether to kneel before the Statue of Confucius, or his Tablet, to burn Perfumes, light Candles, and the like, be mere political Worship?*

Answer to the 4th, That these things are not lawful.

That is as much as to say, that these Actions are not merely Political.

5. *Whether the Ceremony of chusing Beasts to be offer'd to Confucius, be only Political and Civil?*

To the 5th no Answer is given, because the Matter of Fact does not appear.

I propos'd the Matter of Fact, to my thinking, as plain as possible could be, which made me admire at the Answer.

Sacrifice to Confucius. I will repeat it here briefly: The day before Sacrifice is offer'd to *Confucius*, they chuse the Beasts thus; they pour hot Wine into the Ears of the Swine (those of the Society say it is a sort of Liquor like Oil) if the Swine moves its Head, it is accepted of as fit for Sacrifice; if not, it is rejected. Other antient Gentiles us'd such like trials, as is mention'd in the second Tome. When the Beast is accepted of, the *Mandarine* makes it a low bow, and when kill'd another. Let any Man judg whether this can be a Civil political Action.

6. *Whether the offering of Hogs-Blood and Bristles to Confucius, be political; the same is ask'd concerning the Ceremony of burying the Bristles and Blood above-mention'd?*

Answer to the 6th; Be it as it will, it is not lawful.

When the Swine are kill'd, they keep some of their Hair, or Bristles and Blood, which they offer the next day before *Confucius* his Image, or Tablet; and afterwards bury it very solemnly, as is more particularly set down in another place. Some contend this Action is political; the Fathers *Gouvea*, *Gaviniani*, and others, were of another opinion.

7. *Whether the Ceremony upon a Figure of a Man made of Straw, which was instituted according to the Ritual, to call upon the Spirits that they may be present at the Sacrifices, be Religious or Political?*

Answer to the 7th, That it is not lawful.

This Ceremony is us'd in their Offer-

ings or Sacrifices they make to the Dead. They lay under the Tables there cover'd, a Figure of a Man, on which they pour a little Wine. This is all explicated at large in the second Tome of Controversies; I can find no way to make it Political.

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8. *Whether the Action of washing his Hands, which is perform'd by the Magistrate, as a Preparatory to make the Offerings to Confucius, be Political or Ceremonial?*

Answer to the 8th; That it is not lawful.

It plainly appears, that the Argument some People make use of, which is to say, that these Actions are indifferent, and therefore may be tolerated, is of no force. To wash Hands, is in it self indifferent; but in this case, and upon such Circumstances, it becomes Ceremonious and Religious. The Priests washing at the Altar after the Offertory, neither is, nor can be call'd a Civil or Political Action, but Ceremonious and very Religious.

9. *Whether Confucius his Tablet, which the Chineses think to be the Seat of the Soul, be a thing appertaining to political Worship? For they believe the airy Spirit of Confucius comes to it to receive the Offerings.*

Answer to the 9th; That it is not lawful.

I find many Millioners of *China* divid-ed about this and other Points. I took the Doubt above propos'd from the Dispute that was some Years since among the Society. The Resolution they then came to is the very same as that above-written: That the Learned *Chineses* believe the Soul of their Master comes to the Tablets, is own'd by themselves, and the Characters on it fully express as much. That some deny it, is rather the effect of their obstinate Will, than of Reason or Understanding.

10. *The Magistrates offer to Confucius pieces of white Silk, which after the Offering they cast into the Fire, and with it a Vessel of Wine, saying some Collects. Quære, Whether these things belong to mere civil Worship?*

Answer to the 10th; That it is not lawful.

Among the other Ceremonies they perform to this Philosopher twice a Year, besides other things they offer him nine pieces of white Sattin, every one with a Collect, they may not be any more: After the Offering they tie them to long Staves like Pikes, and burn them. Some say it is done in token of rejoicing; and

that as it is a political and civil Action to offer them to Persons living, so it may be to the Statue or Tablet of Confucius.

11. *The Magistrate with both hands twice lifts up on high some Wine, which they call blessed Wine, and then drinks it; in like manner he lifts up a portion of Meat, which he receives from one attending, and offers it to Confucius. The Offering being ended, some Collects are read, which express Confucius his presence, and invite him to drink of the Wine that is offer'd him; and the Gentiles believe they shall receive Honour, Advancement, and Happiness, as the consequence of these Offerings. Quære, Whether the aforesaid Offerings are in the nature of Sacrifice?*

Answer to the 11th; That they are not lawful.

The main thing we desire to know, is, Whether such Ceremonies be lawful or not? It signifies little to me, whether they may be reputed as Sacrifices, or not. But by reading the Reasons alledg'd in the second Tome, every Man may decide what the Consequence of them is. In this Proposition I did not deviate a tittle from what I was told by Learned Christians, who are they that best understand these Affairs; nor from what is writ in the second Book of the second Tome.

12. *Whether the Statue of Confucius be an Idol, or false Sanctity be attributed to it by the Chineses?*

Answer to the 12th; It was said in another place not to be lawful.

I could have wish'd the Answer had been plainer, and suitable to the Reasons I propos'd for making the Doubt; I bring them in the place above-mention'd. The Fathers Semedo, Kircher, and other grave Men, all of the Society of Jesus, are for me, whose Opinion agrees with the Sentiments of our Fathers and the Franciscans.

13. *Whether the Ceremony of accompanying the Spirit of Confucius be Civil and Political?*

Answer to the 13th; That the Matter of Fact does not appear.

Among the Ceremonies the Chineses perform to their Master, and Forefathers departed, there is bringing down of Spirits, dismissing and receiving, others call it accompanying of them; be it as it will all is bad, it is set down in the second Tome.

14. *Whether the Table set up before the Statue or Tablet of Confucius be an Altar?*

Answer to the 14th; That it is not lawful.

According to the Question this implies, that it is not lawful to place a Table before the Statue or Tablet of Confucius, as the Chineses use it, with Candlesticks, Antependium, and other Formalities, nothing differing from the Idol-Altars.

15. *Whether the Ceremony of chusing a Day for making of the said Offerings, can be reckon'd a mere Act of Civil and Political Worship?*

Answer to the 15th; If the Worship be religious, neither is it nor the choice lawful.

The Offerings and other Actions explain'd in the foregoing Questions, are adjudg'd a Religious, not a Civil Worship; therefore it is so often repeated, *That it is not lawful*: consequently it must be so to chuse a Day to perform any of those Acts. It is not as in our Parts; Days are fix'd for several sorts of business that occurs, or for Bull-feasts, Rejoicings, or undertaking a Journey, &c. wherein regard is had to some corporal Conveniencies, as the People being more at leisure, less likelihood of Rain, a more temperate Season, &c. It is far otherwise in China, they observe whether the Days be lucky or unlucky; whether they shall succeed to day, or miscarry to morrow. That Nation believes in gross Errors, and therefore we all look upon these Chioces as superstitious, they using generally Lots in them. And this not only to chuse days, but to find a fortunate Hour for what they are to do.

16. *Supposing the Books of Confucius, and the Learned Sect contain many, and those visible Errors; Quære, Whether Christians may undertake the Employment of Masters, and teach, expound, and maintain such false Doctrines? The reason of making the Doubt is, because if they do so, they approve of those Doctrines, and spread abroad their Errors. On the other side, if this be forbid them, several who have no other livelihood will doubtless leave our Religion.*

Answer to the 16th; That they may not.

The Fathers of the Society some Years since argu'd this Point: He that decided it, supposes Confucius and his Sect are full of many Errors. The Reasons of making a Doubt on both sides were sufficiently laid open; they are explain'd in what has been writ, and yet the Resolution was in the Negative. All will be made plainer in the second Tome.

17. *Supposing the aforesaid Errors; Quære, Whether Christians may lawfully enter upon Examinations? For very often Errors against Faith are propos'd in them, which those*

those who are to be examin'd, are oblig'd to justify, commend, explain, and maintain, in so much that it is not lawful for any Man to vary one jot from the Doctrine of the Classick Authors; but the forbidding of this will certainly be the shutting up the Way of Salvation to many of them.

Answer to the 17th; That they cannot enter upon those Examinations, unless they do it with a design to oppose false Doctrines.

I was always at a stand about these two Points; but being young in the Mission, I divid'd into the Matter, and observ'd what others did. Afterwards finding them controverted by the Fathers of the Society, my Doubt increas'd. Hitherto it was look'd upon as a great Inconveniency to hinder the Learned from performing the Ceremonies to their Master and Philosopher; that which follows upon this Resolution, if not greater, is at least more universal, as affecting many more. The inconveniences are already mention'd, and notwithstanding them, the aforesaid resolution was given. I don't question but it will surprize some in China, but it will not appear so strange to those who have read the Arguments that pass among those of the Society upon this and other Points in the Year 1628. What they decreed is set down in the second Tome. I have ever declar'd, that if an action be bad in it self, it neither is, nor can be justify'd on account of the inconveniences that may ensue of not practising it. Read Cajetan in 3. ad Rom. where he handles this Point acutely.

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18. Whether the Wine and Flesh offer'd to Confucius, are to be reputed as Idol-Offerings?

Answer to the 18th; The Matter of Fact does not appear; if the Offering be a Sacrifice, it is unlawful, and the thing offer'd an Idol-Offering.

The said Offerings have been condemn'd above as unlawful, tho it be not decided whether they are Sacrifices. In the Treatise of the Missioners of the Society, they are allow'd as Sacrifices; and it seems to be sufficiently made out by the Reasons I urg'd in a particular Treatise on this Subject. The Chinese Dictionaries made by the Europeans, agree in the same.

19. Supposing that Confucius never own'd a God, nor Angels, nor the Immortality of the Soul, nor any Reward or Punishment after this Life; Quære, Whether Christians being ask'd by Infidels concerning his Salvation, and State in the other World, may, or

ought to affirm that he obtain'd Life Everlasting? For we have not the least ground to say *Nava-* so, and to answer the contrary, may cause *rette.* many Inconveniences.

Answer to the 19th; Upon that Supposition it cannot be affirm'd that Confucius is sav'd.

Much to this purpose is said in the second Tome. There has been variety of Opinions concerning the Supposition, even among those of the Society, and they are afoot to this day: There is not the least difficulty in the Resolution given to me and others, who are very certain that Man never had any knowledge of God. Others may pry further into the Matter, to resolve what Answer they shall give. The Answer which has been often given, is with the rest in the place above-mention'd.

20. Whether it be lawful to maintain that Confucius out did Solomon in Morals?

Answer to the 20th; It does not become a Christian to make such Comparisons, and give such Judgment.

In the second Tome I mention, how a Missioner was guilty of this failing; whereas others agree that this Philosopher was not equal to *Seneca*, *Cicero*, or other antient Europeans. Such Expressions cannot be oppos'd, but by laying them before those that have Power to decide them. There is no better way to stop the Mouths of Talkers. Read *S. Jerome in 3 ad Ephes. Christost. Hom. 15. in Gen. and S. Greg. in 1 Reg. 1. Corn. & Lap. in Proem. ad Pent. vid. Sylveir. Tom. 2. c. 4. in Luc. q. 2. & 6. pag. 376. n. 20.*

21. The Missioners of the Society have an Order for their Mission, which expressly forbids them by any means to affirm, that our Holy Law agrees with the Sect of Confucius in the whole, or in any part: the Holy Congregation may, if it pleases, order the same upon this Point. For such an Order is very material for the honour of the Evangelical Law.

Answer to the 21st; All Missioners are oblig'd to say the same concerning the Law of Confucius, that was prescribed the Jesuits, as is instanced by the Holy Congregation.

F. John Balat upon several occasions acquainted me with this Order, and in my presence stop'd the Mouths of some impertinent Persons with it; but he did not inform me whether it came from the Holy Congregation. Since it did, there is no doubt but it obliges all Persons, and that more strictly than if it came from some particular Superior. Certainly he that

that mov'd for it, gave very good Reasons for what he did. And since no Application has been made to recal it, all

the reason in the World it should be observ'd, and that we all observe it.

Eight Doubts concerning the Sacraments.

1. **W**hether the Form of Baptism in the Chinese Language be valid; it is thus, NGO SI VI., or NI IN FU, KIE ZU, KIE XING XIN MING CHE. May deny it, and urge, that the Chineses do not know either a true Spirit, or true Sanctity; nor do the words XING XIN in their first Institution signify the Holy Ghost: Nor is the Unity of Essence, Power, or Virtue express'd.

Ansiv. to 1. No other Answer can be given, but that they must use a Form, or words that express the Action of Baptizing, and the Unity of Essence, together with the Trinity of Persons; or else use the Latin words as in the Western-Church.

We had a great Disputation upon this Subject at Canton. The greater part were of opinion it was valid: I and some others oppos'd it as much as possible, and could not be satisfy'd in a Point of such great Consequence. I sent Advice to those of my Order who were absconded, never to make use of that Form, or suffer it to be us'd by the Christians. If it be valid, I do not question but that which Authors reject out of Cajetan is much more so. Some time after I saw it rejected, and declar'd invalid in a Treatise of the Fathers of the Society. In the second Tome I set down the Arguments us'd on both sides. And tho' I declar'd the principal Substance of it at Rome, being it depends on a strange Language whereof they have no knowledg, they do not think convenient to resolve according to it, when there is but one by who understands it.

2. *Whether it be convenient to add to the Form of Baptism the Chinese Christians commonly use, viz. NGO SI VI., &c. the word IE, that the word MING which signifies the Name, may be confin'd to the singular number? For so and no otherwise is the Unity of Essence or Virtue signify'd.*

Ansiv. to 2. as to the first.

It is an essential Point in Baptism to express the Unity of Essence, as was said to the first Doubt. In all the form set down about it, there is no Word or Particle to confine the word MING to the singular Number; and of it self, and as it

there stands, it serves indifferently for the Singular or Plural; but rather for the latter in this place, because three Persons go before. In Latin and Spanish we place In the Name before the Persons, and the Chineses according to their Grammar place it at last. The more I have study'd this Business, the greater the Difficulty appears. Those of my Order add the aforesaid word.

Item, *Whether absolutely speaking it be lawful to baptize the Children of Infidels, Hereticks and Apostates, leaving them under the care of their Parents? The Missioners vary, and so do Authors; but the Council of Toledo speaking of the Jews, gives it in the Negative. The Infidels bearing Converts say, that Baptism delivers from the Devil, and is a wholesome Medicine to this and other Purposes, they beg their sick or possess'd Children may be baptiz'd. Quære, Whether it be lawful to baptize them upon the foresaid Motives?*

Ansiv. It is not lawful to baptize them, if they are to be left after Baptism in the power of Infidels.

Answer to the other part; That it is not lawful to baptize upon those Motives alone.

I have seen both Cases, and variety of Opinions among the Missioners. The Council of Toledo 4. c. 59. & refertur cap. Judæor. 16. quæst. 1. speaks thus; *That the Children of Jews which are baptized, be separated from the company of their Parents, lest they be led by them into Error and Prevarication.* The same reason stands good in the case of Gentiles and Hereticks. The Resolution set down, is the Doctrine of Master Banez upon the Subject of Baptism, and others. Some Moderns, and among them Diana speak otherwise as to the Children of Hereticks. Read *Leander tract. 2. de Bapt. disp. 5. quæst. 8.*

Authors speak variously as to the second Case. Our most Reverend Passerinus has it *in terminis*, and resolves as above. In the second Tome I speak enough to the purpose.

3. *The Missioners are unanimously of opinion, that it is very expedient, for avoiding the Calumnies of the Gentiles, to give Females at Womens estate the Sacramentals with*

with a Pencil, and not with the Finger. However it is desir'd to know the will of our most Holy Lord.

Ans. to 3. It was answer'd elsewhere, that the common practice of the Church is to be observ'd.

I suppose it may be done as was propos'd, and that this Opinion is general among Doctors, therefore I was perswaded the Answer would have been favourable. But they always taking care, and that with good reason, not to open away to depart from the general use and practice of the Church, they did not consent to what I desir'd, tho in *China* we all agreed to it. And if they will not dispense with a Ceremony so easily to be dispens'd with in appearance, how should they dispense with not administering of the Sacraments?

4. *Whether on account of any one singular case it be lawful absolutely and universally to abstain from administering the Oil of Catechumens to Females at Womens estate? For it seems to be against the Decree of the Holy Congregation.*

Ans. to 4. That it is not lawful.

In the second Tome I set down all that was alledg'd in the Disputation at *Canon* upon this Point.

5. *The Holy Congregation may be pleas'd to order, that all Missioners administer the Sacrament of Baptism in the same form.*

Ans. to 5. It was order'd before, that all should observe Uniformity in Holy Rites.

There has been no small variety in this particular, as shall appear in its place.

6. *His Holiness's pleasure is also desir'd, for the Bishops using some sort of instrument in administering Confirmation, to anoint Women grown with the Holy Chrism, and to give the stroke on the Cheek. His pleasure is likewise desir'd for omitting the anointing of Feet in administering extreme Unction to Women.*

Answer to 6. It has been answer'd before, that the Custom of the Church is to be observ'd in administering these Sacraments.

It is plain the point concerning Confirmation is more difficult than what was propos'd, *num. 3.* for grave Authors say, it is an essential part of this Sacrament, that the Bishop lay on the Chrism with his own Fingers. And according to this opinion, the *Pope* cannot dispense for doing it with any other instrument. There is another opinion that holds the contrary.

As to the second part the difficulty was less, since all Doctors agree with *S. Tho-*

mas, that the anointing of the Feet is no essential part of that Sacrament. Nevertheless it is not allow'd for the reason above assign'd. *Baronius* says, *The Church is most tenacious of Antiquity.* It will not allow any to depart from its ancient and universal Custom. We think in *China* it is a commendable Zeal that moves us to attempt these and the like things, to make the access to our Religion the more easie and pleasing, and I don't doubt but at *Rome* their Zeal is as great and as hot as ours, and yet we see they oppose our opinions. These Resolutions by Order of the Holy Congregation were laid before the Cardinals *Boni* and *Casinate*, of whose Learning, Zeal, and Virtue, none can make any question no more than of the most Reverend Fathers Consultors who sign'd them. We writ to *Manila* upon this very Subject, and the most *R. F. Francis de Paula*, then the second time Provincial of our Province, Commissary of the Inquisition, and Bishop Elect of *New Caeceres*, answer'd us, That we must not omit the anointing of the Feet; and in case we could not do it, we should forbear administering the Sacrament. The Answer seem'd to us rigid, and I find it was agreeable to the Resolution at *Rome*.

The following case is part of that which went before.

6. *The Chineses when they Marry are Marriage-wont to kneel to Heaven and Earth, to repair to the Idol-Temples, where many of them place the Images of their Ancestors departed, or else their Tablets, and kneel to them. Quære, Whether it be lawful to tolerate the aforesaid Ceremonies, or connive at them, leaving the Christians in their ignorance, or simplicity.*

Ans. to 6. Concerning Marriages, and the Superstitions us'd at them, the Answer is, they are not lawful.

This Point is handled in the second Book of the second Tome.

7. *Experience teaches that of 100 Women which are gain'd to the Church, whilst they are Marry'd to Heathen Husbands, at least Fourscore fall back. But for Maid-servants who appear good Christians whilst they are under the yoke of Servitude, when marry'd to Infidels, not one of them perseveres; what remedy can the Missioners find against such misfortunes?*

Ans. to 7. The remedy is, and most absolutely necessary, that the Faithful do not marry Infidels, because the Marriage is not valid; other Remedies are to be ask'd of God.

Nette.
 F. Francis Brancato had much experience of the first part, he said not twenty in a hundred persever'd. Of the second I know not how it has been found in other parts, but in ours we are sure no Woman have ever continu'd a Christian after she was marry'd to an Infidel. Read *Oleasf. in 7. Deut. v. 1. ad Mores.* Diana writes, such Marriages were tolerated in those Countries, because there were hopes the Infidel Husband would be converted by the Christian Wife, or *è contra*; he was little vers'd in these affairs. The reason is, because the Missioners cannot hinder it. In the Resolution above those Marriages are declar'd void, by reason of the *Impedimentum dirimens* there is in them; and the same Impediment lasting as long as they live together, it is in effect living in Fornication, and consequently either the Husband or Wife that is a Christian cannot be absolv'd till they part. There is no doubt but this will give great trouble to the Missioners, and those Christians who are so marry'd. As long as positive Church-laws were not publish'd, this might be conniv'd at, but at present it cannot; therefore recourse must be had to God: we must govern our selves as we are directed, and not rely on our own knowledg, fancy and opinion. Thus shall we go on safely; and tho we imagin we shall advance little this way, perhaps we may prevail the more, and God whose Cause it is may favour, protect and assist us. And tho there be fewer Christians, a few good are better than a great many bad ones. Our *Nider* in his Treatise *de Reform. Relig.* speaks of an Emperor who was us'd to say, He had rather have ten good Horses in his Stable than an hundred bad ones; and he was in the right.

F. Adrian Grelon urg'd this very same in a Meeting at Canton, let us look for the Grain and leave the Chaff.

8. *There is no small variety of Opinions* Divorce among the Missioners concerning the Marriages of those Countries, whether they are valid or not; as for the Chinese Marriages some hold the Affirmative, some the Negative. The Philosopher Confucius assign'd five Impediments which dissolve Matrimony, to be observ'd by his School. 1. If a Woman be Talkative. 2. If she fall into the Leprosy. 3. If she be Barren. 4. If she happens to steal from her Husband. 5. If she prove disobedient to her Father and Mother-in-law. Upon any of these accounts a Man has full liberty to dissolve the Marriage, and the Woman has leave to marry another. *Quære, Whether the aforesaid Impediments do any way prejudice the indissolubility of Matrimony?*

Ans. to 8. Those Impediments mention'd do not dissolve Matrimony.

We had several Disputes at Canton concerning these Points. In the second Tome I set down what both Parties alledg'd. F. M. Ferre argues, Whether the Marriages of *Tunquin* be valid, or not, and largely proves the Affirmative. I do not question but it is a favourable opinion for Missioners, if they will follow it. The greatest difficulty lies in this, whether, if the matter of Fact be propos'd as in reality it is, and as I can testify in this particular by what I have heard, I then judg it to be as the aforesaid Author writes. The great opinion all Men have of his extraordinary Knowledg, makes his Doctrin the more practicable, as do the Reasons he gives for his opinion, and the Answers to all Arguments that can be urg'd against him.

Twenty five Doubts concerning the Worship the Chineses give to their Dead.

1. **W** Hether other Missioners are to stick to the information given into the Holy Congregation by F. Martin Martinez touching the business of the Dead here propos'd, and are oblig'd to obey the Decree granted him by the said Holy Congregation? The reason of making the doubt is, because it was disapprov'd by very grave Fathers of the Society.

Ans. to 1. It has been answer'd before, and Missioners are to act according to the Resolutions of the Holy Congregation.

In the second Tome I give an account, how F. Martinez his Propositions were dislik'd by the Fathers John Adamus, Antony de Gouvea, and Ignatius d' Acoſta, the antientest and gravest Missioners of these times, nor did F. Emanuel George approve of it. For these four I have it of my own knowledg, and guess the same of others. The Reflections above on these Propositions, clear this Point.

2. *The Chinese Rituals ordain, That Dead, when any Person dies another takes his Garment, and standing on the top of the House towards the North with the dead Body's Garment*

ment call the Soul three times. He is to call towards Heaven, then towards Earth, and lastly through the middle Region: which done, folding up the dead Person's Garment, he goes down towards the South, and stretching it out upon the Body, they thus expect the return of the Soul and Resurrection of the Body three Days. If the Person was taken away by a violent death, the same Ceremonies are perform'd without the City. Quære, Whether the aforesaid Ceremonies may be tolerated in Christians, for the comfort of their Relations?

Ans. to 2. That it is not lawful.

I thought no Man would have spoken a good word for this Ceremony, which is still practis'd in China, because it plainly appears of it self to be bad. Since I found some contend it is only Civil and Political. What has been said about it is mention'd in its proper place.

Funerals.

3. When the Body is laid into the Tomb, the Chineses are wont to put Wheat, Rice, and other sorts of Grain, as also Gold, Silver and Jewels, according to the quality of the Party deceas'd, into his mouth. And gathering the parings of the Nails into little Bags, together with the Scizors that cut them off, they place them in the four corners of the Coffin. Quære, Whether it be lawful to allow these things to Christians, and to connive at their simplicity?

For these things seem to be done, that the Dead may make use of what is bury'd with them, which appears by that, before the Tartars put out the Edict for cutting off the Hair, they were wont to put the Hair and a Comb into the Coffin, which they do not now since they don't wear long Hair.

Ans. to 3. That the Missioners are oblig'd to make known those errors to such as are converted, and to admonish them to leave them.

It is easy to guess that a Nation so full of Superstitions, and so remote from the Light of the Gospel, must at every step stumble and fall. What has been mention'd can no way be excus'd from being a vain custom. We do not speak here of the Ceremony abundance of Chineses use, of putting a piece of Money into the mouth of the dead Person, which is to serve the Soul as a Viaticum into India; no Man doubts but this is plainly Superstitious.

4. Whether it may be allow'd Christians to place a Corporeal Representation of the Soul near the dead Body, to secure and protect it?

Ans. to 4. That it is not lawful.

The Chinese Ritual directs, when any Person dies, to make of pieces of Silk

the Image and Representation of the Soul, with its Face, Eyes, and other Limbs, in the resemblance of a Child in Swadling Bands, as they are usually dress'd in Spain. They place it near to the dead Body, to cherish and protect it. The Cut of it is in the Ritual. It is plain, this is contrary to the Law of God.

Navarrette.

5. Concerning the Chinese TIA O, *Condolance* in Spanish call'd Pefame, in English Condoling; Quære, whether it may be tolerated in Christians? The reason of making the Doubt is, because the Chinese Ritual ordains, that the aforesaid Ceremonies of Condoling are to be perform'd before the Bed on which the Image of the Soul lies, and they offer Candles and Perfumes to that Figure or Image; which not having been propos'd in the Year 1645, therefore now the Decision of the Holy Congregation is desir'd.

Answer 5. As elsewhere in the Negative.

There has been no little disagreement about this particular in China. True it is, I never saw the case set down by any Missioner, so formally as I propos'd it; but the Holy Congregation forbid it without all that, much more when all the Particulars above are express'd. F. Antony Gouvea several times told me, he did not like it; and if what the Ritual says, whence I took the Proposition, be observ'd, I believe no Man will like it.

6. It is the Custom of the Chineses at every 30 Foot the Bier is carry'd, to scatter a certain quantity of ruddy Earth. Quære, Whether it be lawful for Christians to do it, forasmuch as it seems to tend to no good end?

Answer 6th. That it is not Lawful.

At every 30 Foot or thereabouts, as the Bier passes, they thrown down a basket of ruddy Clay: I own I am not satisfy'd of the end or design of it, but it appears this Action can have no good meaning. The graver sort use it. I must observe that all that is said in this place belongs to the Learned Sect.

7. Quære, Whether F. Martinez his Proposition, viz. The Chineses attribute no Divinity to their Souls departed, they neither ask, nor hope any thing of them, be tolerable? Forasmuch as the Gravest Missioners, and almost all that are now in China, maintain the contrary; and F. Martinez himself affirm'd the contrary in China.

Answer 7th. As was answer'd elsewhere, that it is not Lawful.

I could have wish'd the Solution of this Doubt had been plain, I write much

Soul.

about it in the 2d Tome. F. Antony of S. Navarrete. *Mary a Franciscan* writ enough against the Proposition. The same may be gather'd from the writings of the Fathers *Matthew Eccius, Julius Aleni, and Pantoja*; the Fathers *Acofta* and *Fabre* are of the same opinion in exprefs Terms, and F. *Joba Bili* assur'd me the same of the rest. F. *Alvaro Semedo* publish'd it in print, pag. 125 of his *Chinese Empire*, and 119. F. *Gouvea* writes the same in his Manuscript History, which has had the Approbation of the Fathers *Acuna* the Visitor, *Amaya* the Vice-provincial, and *Canavari* a very antient Missioner; it is in the 6 Chap. fol. 26. In the meetings those of the Society had in the Years 28 and 44, they conclude upon the same. So does F. *Intorceta* in his *Sapientia Sinica*, pag. 39. The Infidels maintain it, Christians own it, and *Martinez* himself confess'd in *China* that it was true for 300 Years last part. He propos'd the contrary at *Rome*, and methinks ought to have exprefs'd what has been said, tho' he had not thought it to be so from the Original institution of the *Chineses*. It shall be explain'd at large in the place above mention'd.

8. *Whether it be Lawful to leave the Christians who sacrifice to their Dead and to Confucius, in their ignorance and simplicity, and to connive at these their Sacrifices? For the Chineses are wont to choose certain days to perform the aforesaid Sacrifices, and to consult Heaven, whether the Day so chosen be fit for those Ceremonies.*

Answer 8th. That they are oblig'd to admonish them of the aforesaid errors.

I use the word Sacrifices, because in my opinion, and of others, they are really such, and because all the Missioners of the Society call them so in their Writings, and among others it may be seen in F. *Intorceta's Sapientia Sinica*. And it is not likely, or credible that so many Learned Men, and so well vers'd in the Language and Books of the *Chineses*, should not have divid'd into the sense of the words, and had the sense to distinguish betwixt an Offering and a Sacrifice. A further account is given of it in its place.

9. *Whether the Chineses previous three days Fast, and abstaining from the Marriage-bed for 7 Days, to dispose them for the aforesaid Sacrifices, be a Political preparatory cleansing, or rather Religious, and may be lawfully allow'd the Christians?*

Answer 9. That the aforesaid Preparation is unlawful.

I could never conceive these were Political and Civil acts, whereas the End to which they are directed is not such; whether it be a Sacrifice in the strictest, or in the largest sense, but no honourable Offering. For it is a receiv'd Maxim, that Actions take their denomination from the End they tend to, concerning which see S. *Tom.* 1. 2. q. 18. art 2. and 4.

10. *Whether that treble crying out in the Dead, nature of sighing may be allow'd the Christians? The Chinese Ritual directs, that as they go into the Temples of the dead, some Persons cry out three times after the nature of sighing, to awake the Souls that dwell within with the noise.*

Answer 10th. That it is not Lawful.

This Ceremony is not perform'd every time they go into those Temples, but at such time as other Ceremonies are to be perform'd there. It is to the purpose whether the Voice be in the nature of a Sigh, Hoarse, or after any other material manner. Read a *Lapide* in 6 *Bar.* v. 31.

11. *Whether the Ceremonies and Worship perform'd by the Chineses to the dead be real Sacrifices? whereas nothing seems to be wanting to make them so: As also because they are call'd by the Chineses KUNG JANG, as the Worship of the Idols is call'd.*

Answer 11th. That they are unlawful.

I said above, it signify'd little to us whether they are Sacrifices or not, the matter is to know whether those Ceremonies are lawful. The reason of putting the Question whether they are true Sacrifices was taken from Cardinal *Lugo*, who teaches that Sacrifice is equally so call'd, whether true or Idolatrous, and that the latter is also truly so on account of the reality of the sign. As *Vasquez* and others, taking it from S. *Thomas*, say that, *Adoration is equally so call'd, whether it be that of the true Deity or Idolatrous*. This point is handled at large in the 2d Tome often mention'd.

12. *Whether the Houses of the dead be Temples, or Halls? The aforesaid Houses have three several Names, SCU TANG, MIA O, and NI; all which, according to the Chinese Books, the common way of talking, the Ceremonies perform'd in them, and the end for which they are erected, belong to Temples, not to Halls.*

Answer 12th. No answer can be given, because the matter of Fact is not plainly made out. The

The proofs I brought were in themselves very sufficient: but the recalling of the Decree granted to F. *Martinez*, depending on this point, it was thought necessary there should have been some body who was well vers'd in the *Chinese* Language to speak for him. F. *Martin Martinez* was the first of all the Missioners that ever were in *China*, who invented the name of Halls for the aforesaid Structures; and so it appears by all the Dictionaries the Fathers of the Society had put out in *China*: the Fathers *Alvaro Semedo* and *Intorceta*, which last writ after F. *Martinez* had made his Proposition, unanimously call them Temples. They plainly are made out to be so by the *Chinese* Books, by their shape and form, being in all respects equal to the Idol Temples. The use and end they are built for is well known, which is no other than to perform Ceremonies to and worship their Dead, to petition and pray to them. In short, they are no dwelling places or habitation for living People, nor built to that purpose; have Pictures, and Altars with Candlesticks, and other Ornaments; and many of them have a Bell: the *Chineses* look upon them as Temples, what matter is it if others call them Halls? H. O. B. This being a material point, and upon which much variance has been, it was requisite to insert in the 2d Tome all that was said to it at *Canton*, or writ upon the Subject.

13. *Whether it be lawful for Christians to be present in the aforesaid places, together with the Infidels, at the Prayers, Sacrifices and other Ceremonies, not giving an inward consent, but only in outward presence, directing all those things in their mind to God, which the others direct to their Dead?*

Ans. to 13. That it is not lawful.

F. *Antony* of S. *Mary* and I enquir'd concerning this Point of some Christians, and particularly of one whose name was *Paul*, and another call *CHANG Mark*, a Batchelor; who told us, it was an establish'd Custom in *China*, to pray to their Progenitors, decess'd Emperors, and *Confucius* the Philosopher; and that they and other Christians were present at it, as well as the Infidels; only with this difference, that when the Prayers were read directed to the Dead, they as Christians directed them in their intention to God. Other matters to this purpose are handled in the second Tome.

14. *Whether the Tablets of the Dead are absolutely to be call'd Superstitious?*

Ans. to 14. That they are Superstitious. ~
Nava-
rette.
~
Tablets

This is a very material Point in that Mission. At first they call'd them little Boards, or Tablets; they ought to call them Tabernacles, as in effect they are. One of them was carry'd to *Rome*, the most Eminent Lords Cardinals of the Holy Congregation saw it; the Letters and Mysteries contain'd in the form, figure, length, breadth and depth, were explicated to them, with other Particulars necessary towards their making a Judgment of them. They have been condemn'd three times. F. *Antony de Gouvea* us'd to tell me he did not like the Letters that were in those Tabernacles. Brother *Antony Fernandez*, Temporal Coadjutor to the Society, a *Chinese* by Birth, and other Christians, assur'd me it was very common in that Kingdom to believe that the Souls of the Dead come to those Boards, and reside in them. The same appears by the *Chinese* Books, and the two Meetings of the Society above mention'd. All shall be set down in the place above written.

15. *Whether Christians, laying aside the Souls; Errors concerning the steam of the Meat feeding the Souls of the dead, and of their residing in those Boards, may lawfully pay the other ceremonious Worship to the Boards, and offer Meat before them?*

Answer 15th. That it is not Lawful.

These two points were discuss'd in the two meetings aforesaid; and they agree, that the *Chineses* imagine the Souls feed upon the steam and smell of the Meat they offer before the Boards, or Tablets.

16. *At Sepulchers the Chineses offer Sacrifice. Sacrifice to the peculiar Spirits of those Places, to whom they also return thanks for the Benefits they have bestow'd on the dead Bodies, and pray that they will always assist them. Which being given for granted; Quære, Whether F. Martinez ought to have express'd this Ceremony in his Proposition? Item, Whether Christians omitting the aforesaid Ceremony, may lawfully perform the rest? For their Ritual commanding the observation of all these Ceremonies, the Chineses seeing some of them perform'd by the Christians, will believe they observe all the rest.*

Answer 16th. That the Faithful cannot join in those Superstitutions.

This point has been handled in the reflections upon F. *Martinez* his Propositions. More shall be said in another place.

17. *The Chinese Ritual allows Sons lawfully begotten to offer Sacrifice to the Dead, which it absolutely forbids the Illegitimate.*

Quære, Whether it be lawful for Christians to take upon them and perform this Office and Employment?

Answ. to 17. That it is not lawful.

Since even the Sons of Concubines, who, according to what has been said above, cannot be altogether call'd Illegitimate, are excluded from those Offerings as incapable and irregular, it is a visible Consequence, that what is there offer'd is not an indifferent Oblation to the living and dead, as some would make it, because no Person is incapable or excluded from offering Meat or other things to the living; therefore it is most certain there is something more peculiar and mysterious in this Action, as there is in erecting Temples to the Dead, which all Persons may not do: and it is most undoubted, that all Persons whatsoever may build as many Houses, Habitations, and Halls as they please, there being no determinate number for them, as there is for Temples, which the Emperor himself cannot exceed or increase, whereas he is under no confinement as to Palaces and Halls. These reasons were ever of great force with me as to what has been said; others shall be alledg'd in due time in confirmation of this Subject.

Ceremonies in the East.

18. *Whether it be lawful for Christians to give an Account before the Boards or Tables, in the Temples of their departed Ancestors, of their Marriages or Contracts, to offer Meat with the usual Genuflexions, shedding Wine upon the Image of a Man made of Straw? Item, Whether it be lawful to perform the same Ceremony, and burn Perfumes when they undertake any Business, enter upon Employments, go abroad, and return home?*

Answ. to 18. That it is not lawful.

I spoke of some Ceremonies the Chinese use at their Marriages in the second Book of this Volume. As for the rest that concern the Chinese Nation, I was always of opinion the Holy Ghost spoke to it, *Wisd. 13.* where he says, "Then maketh he Prayer for his Goods, for his Wife and Children, and is not ashamed to speak to that which hath no Life. For Health, he calleth upon that which is weak; for Life, prayeth to that which is dead; for Aid, humbly beseecheth that which hath least means to help; and for a good Journey, he asketh of that which cannot set a foot forward." And for gaining and get-

ting, and for good success of his hands, asketh Ability to do of him that is most unable to do any thing.

19. *When the Structure of the Temple of the Dead is finish'd, the Crevices that remain are to be fill'd up with the Blood of Beasts, according to the great Chinese Ritual, which is, it says, to worship the Habitation of Spirits. Quære, Whether Christians may lawfully perform the aforesaid Ceremony?*

Answ. to 19. That it cannot be lawfully done or practis'd.

It is a plain case, this Ceremony is not perform'd in China in Halls, or other dwelling-places.

20. *Whether it be lawful to celebrate publick Obsequies with the Mass for Heathens, who dy'd in their Infidelity, for the Comfort of Christians, tho' the Sacrifice of the Mass be not apply'd for the Infidels departed? Item, Whether it be lawful to say Masses for the Dead, that God may ease their Pains?*

Answ. to 20. That it is not lawful.

A Missioner practis'd the first part, as he himself publickly own'd to all the rest of us that were there assembled together, but only he approv'd of it: The same Person maintain'd the second. What was urg'd about it on both sides, is set down in the second Tome. As to the second part, see *S. Thom. in 4. d. 45. q. 2. art. 2.* and *Suarez de vit. Christ. d. 43. sect. 3. & tom. 4. in 3 part. M. S. Thom. 2. 2. q. 83. d. 27. art. 6.* and *Lugo de Incarn. disp. 5. sect. 5. num. 108.*

21. *Whether Gentiles who do not live loosely, but in some measure modestly, be punish'd with eternal Sufferings? Some Missioners defend the Negative.*

Answ. to 21. Those who teach that such Gentiles are not punish'd with Everlasting Pains, contradict the Gospel.

Methinks this may suffice to stop their Mouths. What was said on this Subject shall be set down. Some say, that if any one dy'd in only original and venial Sin, he would be damn'd, much more those we have spoken of. Read *Wisd. 13.*

22. *Whether there be a distinct place to be assign'd in the other World for the Souls of the aforesaid Gentiles besides Hell, Purgatory, and Limbus? Some maintain it.*

Answ. to 22. The Question is impertinent, and the Assertion false, which says there is any other place besides those nam'd in Holy Writ.

Some Mens extravagant Opinions, force the asking of impertinent Questions; but there being no other way to reduce

reduce them to the right way, this must be follow'd. Three or four who defended the Proposition next before it, maintain'd this too. On the one side, they excluded those Souls from the Hell of the Damn'd; they could find no means to bring them into Purgatory, or *Limbus*, much less into Heaven, where they own'd they could not be; wherefore they had no way left but to find or allign another place. It shall be further explain'd in the Controversies. See the Divines in 4. d. 45. where they assign only four places; and *S. Thom.* 2. 2. q. 83. d. 27. art. 6.

23. *Whether it may without judging rashly be affirm'd of an Infidel notoriously wicked, who hangs himself, that he is damn'd? Some deny it, on account that God at the last moment of Life might enlighten his understanding, and give him such Grace, that being converted he might make an Act of Contrition.*

Answ. to 23. Missioners are not to argue about these Possibilities, but are oblig'd to teach, that Infidels who do not receive Baptism, either actually, or in their wishes, are damn'd, much more if they kill themselves.

Much was said to this Point, and the two foregoing Cases were set down on account of this.

24. *Whether Infidels who transgress the Laws of Nature deserve eternal Punishment? Some deny it, alledging they are excus'd from such grievous pains by their not knowing God, and the Law-maker.*

Answ. to 24. That they are damn'd.

Here the Argument began, Whether the Sins of the Infidels, tho against the Laws of Nature, are to be look'd upon only in a Civil, and not in a Theological Sense, with other Particulars which I shall mention in due time; it is enough now to give a hint of them.

25. *It is express in the three Catechisms printed in the Chinese Language, by the Missioners of the three Religious Orders,*

That the Law-giver of the idolatrous Sect FOE by name, was damn'd. In the time of the Persecution, some of the Counsellors of the Court of Rites examining certain Missioners as to this saying; they answer'd, It was not to be understood so absolutely, but conditionally, viz. If he did not know God, and keep his Commandments. Quære, Whether the Answer was good and proper? For Books do not speak conditionally, but absolutely. Besides, the Faithful and others, by these conditional Expressions, will judg we flinch for fear.

Answ. to 25. If it is notorious that he was the Law-giver of that Sect, and equally notorious that he had not the Knowledge of God, it is to be answer'd, That he was damn'd.

There are some who, upon pretence of Charity, deny it can be absolutely affirm'd, that this or that Man was damn'd, whether he dy'd a Heretick or Infidel; they presently allege that God might assist them at the last Moment of their Life, and move their Hearts to true sorrow and contrition. And consequently they maintain, it can only be affirm'd of *Judas*, and the rest the Scripture makes appear were damn'd, because this Truth is there reveal'd: But that it cannot be said of *Arius*, *Calvin*, *Luther*, and others. Yet we certainly know that one is set down in the *Roman Martyrology* as a Martyr, who was slain at *Damascus* by the *Mahometans*, for saying that *Mahomet* was in Hell, notwithstanding he had the knowledg of God. How much better may it be said of FOE, who liv'd seven hundred Years before the coming of Christ, there being not the least sign that he had any knowledg of God; and having been the Founder of a Sect, which has sent twenty times more Souls to Hell than that of *Mahomet* has done? I spoke of this Sectary and his Sect in the second Book.

Four Doubts concerning Fasts.

Fasts.

i. **A**LL the Antient and Modern Missioners, except two or three, agree in this particular, that the superstitious observers of the Chinese Fasts are not to be admitted to Baptism, unless they first actually break those Fasts. Whereupon the Holy Congregation is intreated to enjoin this Practice by their positive Command, that the Ministers of the Gospel may act uniformly in a

Matter of great consequence, if otherwise carry'd.

Answ. to i. All the Superstitions of the Gentiles in relation to Fasting, which are laid before those that are to be baptiz'd, must absolutely be abrogated.

Much was said and writ to this Point; among others the Fathers *Bala:* and *Gre-*

Nava-rette. I can writ two very learned Treatises, which I was mightily pleas'd with. The substance of them I will insert in the second Tome.

2. *Whether those who keep these superstitious Fasts may continue them for fear of the Devil, and of the Mischiefs he can do them?*

Ans. to 2. That they are not to be kept or observ'd.

Those above nam'd writ to this Point, and exhorted me to do the same. One was positive in defending the contrary to the Resolution above. The principal Matter he had to say was, God's Judgments are secret and inscrutable; his Divine Majesty may permit the Devil to punish a *Chinese* for having left the superstitious Fasts, wherewith before he honoured this common Enemy; why then may not this *Chinese*, after receiving Baptism, continue his Fasts, to free himself from the Harms and Mischiefs the Devil does him? Thus much, as delivering ones self from the Mischiefs and Harms the Devil may do, is good *ex parte objecti*; and consequently it is so to continue the Fasts. The reason I alledg against it is this, making use of the same Antecedent, then may he for the same Cause and Motive continue the Adoration of the Idols he ador'd before Baptism. The Parity holds good all along, without the least shadow of Disparity in my Opinion. It shall be all made out.

3. *His Holiness is intreated, that as his most Holy Predecessors dispens'd with the West-Indies about Fasting, so his Holiness will be pleas'd to grant the same Liberty to the Chinese Christians, not only from fasting, but from abstinence from Flesh. Many are of opinion that it is convenient, and*

there are Motives enough to perswade the doing of it.

Ans. to 3. As for abstinence from Fasting, and other Particulars of the positive Ecclesiastical Law, an Answer was given in the Year 1656.

I ask'd more than that, the Resolution there given seem'd somewhat dark to those of the Society, and therefore they took up with the Resolution in the Year 1646. In my time we made use of a Decision of *Innocent* the Tenth; some made a Doubt of it, and therefore I desir'd this Point should be further explain'd.

4. *His Holiness may be pleas'd to dispense, that the Christian Chineses may not be oblig'd to fast upon their Birth-days (which all of them keep with great solemnity) if they should fall out on fasting-days.*

Ans. to 4. as to the third.

I have already mention'd the most universal Custom of *China*, for all Men to celebrate their Birth-days with the greatest Solemnity they possibly can. Every one of these Days to the *Chineses* is a mighty Festival; the Kindred, Friends, and Acquaintance meet, and together with the Family, celebrate the Master of the House his Nativity, and the main Diverfion is Feasting. I was of opinion if their Birth-day fell in *Lent*, on Eves or Fridays, there was occasion enough for dispensing, not only with the Fast, but even with the abstinence from Flesh, especially since there is such a Dispensation for the Eve of their New Year, and the two days following, tho they fall upon *Ash-wednesday*, or a Friday in *Lent*, as sometimes it happens.

Sixteen Doubts relating to the same Mission.

1645. 1. **W**hether the Answers of the Holy Congregation to the Questions propos'd in the Year 1645, may be said to have been given without hearing the Parties concern'd?

1656. 2. *Whether it may be said, that the Holy Congregation, when in the Year 1656 it judg'd that the Ceremonies of Confucius then specify'd, might be allow'd the Christian Chineses, gave that Judgment, supposing some of them to be bad?*

The two first Questions were sufficiently answer'd in the Years 1645, and 1656.

I desir'd a fuller Answer, but it was not given me; they are govern'd at *Rome* by more elevated Causes, and I do not question but they are just and righteous, tho neither I nor some others comprehend them; but it becomes us always, and is our duty to respect and honour their Commands with the greatest submission and obedience, and to execute them. There are some Men who let fly, without ever considering what they are to say, contrary to the Advice the Holy Ghost gives us in this particular. To maintain that the aforesaid Decree, and Answers annexed

annexed to it, were given without having heard the Parties concern'd, is downright condemning his Holiness, and the Holy Congregation, as corrupt Judges and Persons, who know not how to decree what is convenient. What Judg is there, tho he be but a Country Bailiff, but knows that Judgment cannot be given against a Party not heard? Those Questions were propos'd, without mentioning any Person whatsoever that held a contrary Opinion, as a Man would propose a Doubt or a Case of Conscience, in which no body is concern'd but he that proposes or asks.

As for *Confucius* his Ceremonies, some are of opinion they are good, politically; others, that they are bad. These last said, the Holy Congregation did not approve of them, because an Approbation must be of a good thing; but that it tolerated them tho bad, as the Civil Government tolerates leud Women. And to express thus much, the words of the Decree are, *They may be tolerated*. The most eminent Lord Cardinal *Ottoboni*, when I discours'd his Eminency upon this Point, plainly told me this was never the Intention of the Holy Congregation; and he being a Member of it, and having been so when that Decree pass'd, could not but understand the whole Affair. And tho it were so, how could we absolve the *Chineses* who perform'd those evil Ceremonies unless they forsook them, and if they had no purpose to amend? The Government's toleration of leud Women, tho it remits the Penalty due according to the Laws of the Kingdom to their Crimes, yet it takes not off the Guilt, nor does it authorize Confessors to absolve them whilst they continue in that bad state of Life. The case is the same.

3. *What Censure that Proposition deserves, which asserts, that all Popes have not the Authority of declaring which are the Forms of Sacraments?*

Ans. to 3. They who maintain it are to be impeach'd by Name, that they may be punish'd.

A Missioner publickly spoke what is contain'd in the Proposition; the reason he gave for it was set down before; I lik'd it very ill. The most eminent Lord Cardinal *Bona* condemn'd it, and the reason given for it very much.

4. *Whether it may be said, that the Church does not yet define the Mystery of the Immaculate Conception, only because it fears lest the Fathers Preachers should not submit?*

Ans. to 4. That such trifling Matters

ters do not concern the Mission.

The Answer is very good; it is odd they should in *China*, and in time of Persecution, think to govern all the World. They threw this in my Dish; and tho it be meritorious to suppress and wink at personal defects, it is detestable to bear with those which are so great a Blemish to the whole Order, especially when it has so many positive Acts in matter of Obedience, even to bare Orders of the See Apostolick. It were easy to mention some in this place, and instance many more.

5. This concerns *Confucius*, and has been set down already.

6. *Supposing that the Infidel Chineses ask Dead Assistance of their Emperors departed, and of their Forefathers who died in Infidelity; Whether it be lawful for Christians to perform such Ceremonies with them, directing the intention of their Petitions to God?*

Ans. to 6. It was answer'd before, That it is not lawful.

7. *Whether it be lawful for Christians to honour the Images of their Ancestors departed who died in Infidelity, with Perfumes and lighted Candles?*

Ans. to 7. That it is not lawful.

This Worship is Religious, not Political, whatsoever others may say of it. Read Cardinal *Lugo de Incarn. disp. 37. sect. 2. num. 21.*

8. *Supposing it be the Opinion of the Chinese Infidels, that the Spirits or airy Souls of the Dead are refresh'd with the Steam of Eatables offer'd, and that their Posterity living fare the better for it: Whether nevertheless it be lawful for Christians to make such Feasts for their Dead?*

Ans. to 8. It is not lawful.

Which is to be understood, tho the Christian do not believe that Error. These Points are handled in the second Book of the second Tome.

9. *Supposing it to be the Opinion of the Chinese Infidels, that many Felicities accrue to Posterity, by chusing a place for a Tomb according to the Ritual of the Learned Sect; Whether it be lawful for Christians to chuse a Burying-place according to the said Ritual?*

Ans. to 9. That it is not lawful upon that Motive.

In its place I set down the Ceremony the Learned use upon this account, which tho it be very different from those of other Sectaries, yet they will always have it, that the good Fortune of their Posterity proceeds from the good situation of the Tomb.

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10. Whether it be lawful for Christians to fast in honour of their Emperors departed, or other notable Men, or of their Ancestors?

Ans. to 10. That it is not lawful.

Fasting was never a Political action.

11. Whether Youths, who fast in honour of their Mothers, that they may restore the Blood lost at their Birth, may be admitted to Baptism, as long as they refuse to forbear from that Fast?

Ans. to 11. That they cannot be admitted to Baptism, till they lay aside all Superstitions.

12. Whether it be lawful for Christians either of their own accord, or when commanded, to build Idol-Temples, or rebuild those that are destroy'd? The same is ask'd concerning the little vaulted Chappels or Boxes of Idols.

Ans. to 12. That it is not lawful.

F. Julius Aleni set down this Decision some Years ago in a Book of Confession he printed in the *Chinese* Character, but all Missioners do not consent to it. And I find F. Morales holds the contrary in his Treatises, *lib. 2. cap. 6. §. 3. num. 10. pag. mibi 290.* his words are these: A Christian Painter or Carver, who has a Picture or Statue of an Idol bespoke, does not sin in painting or carving, and delivering it to him he knows desires it to commit Idolatry, if he cannot without considerable prejudice to himself avoid doing of it. He quotes F. Hurtado, to corroborate his opinion. But his Brethren in *China* would not agree to it by any means, when this Point was argu'd, but condemn'd the opinion, one only excepted, who always lov'd to be singular. Morales adds, and says the same for those who upon the like occasion build Idol-Temples, Jews Synagogues, or Mahometan Mosques. F. Gabriel Vasquez gave the same resolution, when ask'd by our F. General Claudius, on account of *Japan*, on the 4th of April 1595; and the Fathers Azor, Michael Vasquez, and Mucius de Angelis asserted it at *Rome* in the General Congregation of the Universal Inquisition in *Palat. App.* on Mount *Quirinalis*, before our most Holy Lord Clem. 8. on the second of June 1602. Had I known what has been here set down, when I was at *Rome*, there is no doubt but I had propos'd it as a reason of making the doubt. I had before read something concerning the matter, but not having those Treatises at hand, rather than omit it, I propos'd the question absolutely; and it is strange, that some Months passing before the Answer was given me, and those Ministers being so well vers'd in the Resolutions that have been given at that

Court, they should make no mention of this, which is so much in favour of the Millioners, who desire these affairs may be delay'd as much as possible. I also observe that F. Morales, tho he sets down what those grave Fathers affirm'd before his Holiness, yet he does not tell us, whether that Opinion was approv'd of there or not, and that alters the case very much. In short, since I ask'd how we ought to proceed, and what we ought to do in *China*, we will act according to the Answer given me, as long as we have no other Orders, and others may do as they think best. The sentence of S. Thomas and his Scholars 2. 2. *Quæst.* 169. is well known.

13. Whether it be lawful for Christians to contribute to the building or repairing of Idol-Temples?

Ans. to 13. That it is not lawful.

It cannot be deny'd but that he who contributes to the building of an Idol-Temple, is accessory at a greater distance to the sin of Idolatry, than he that makes the Idol, or builds the Temple: and consequently if it is not lawful to contribute, *à fortiori* it must be own'd to be unlawful to make Idols and build Temples. By which it appears how far they are at *Rome* from justifying the making of Idols, and building their Temples. F. Morales writes much to the contrary, but the Resolution mention'd suffices to secure us from erring.

14. Whether Missioners or other Christians are oblig'd to give Alms, unless in case of extreme necessity, to Idol-Priests, who will not work?

Ans. 14. If it be given for mercy sake, it is lawful.

I own I was the rigidest in this Point, when we disputed it: First because Alms is not to be given to those who want through laziness, and because they will not work. It is the Doctrine of Soto, and many more quoted and follow'd by Leander *tr. 5. de Eleemosina disp. 5. q. 4.* Secondly, tho Alms is to be given to wicked Men and Infidels, yet it must not be when they are cherish'd in their sins by the benefit; and to give it to Bonzo's seems to encourage them the further in their Hellish state. 3dly, Tho we are to give Alms to Enemies, as Christ commands *Mat. 5.* yet it must not be in case *That were the means to support those enemies in their malice against us, and would make them more able to oppress us.* 4thly, Because even in case of extreme necessity Alms are not to be given to the Enemies of the Commonweal. Read Leander *q. 6, 7, & 8.* why then should it be given

given to *Bonzo's* who are mortal Enemies of Christ's Commonwealth? What are these but Soldiers of Hell, who continually have their Weapons in their Hands to make War upon the Church and its Members, and can never make peace or truce with them? We are bound to stand by what is resolv'd.

15. *Whether a Chalice that is bless'd and remains whole, is to be thought to have lost its blessing or consecration, because it was only put to a profane use by Hereticks, for instance to drink out of it at Table?*

Ans. to 15. That it remains accur'd.

That the Reader may be satisfy'd in this particular, I will here set down the matter of fact. The *Dutch* in *India* do by the Chalices they have rob'd the Churches of, as King *Belshazzar* did by the Holy Vessels *Nebuchadnezzar* had carry'd from *Jerusalem*, *Dan. 5. 3, 4.* only with this difference, that the *Dutch* every Year commit the Sacrilege that King did but once, because it has not pleas'd God to punish them, as he did him.

Their custom, or rather Sacrilegious abuse is, that at great Feasts, or when they celebrate the Anniversary of taking such Towns, they place the Chalices on the Side-boards, and make use of them to drink Healths about. It hapned at *Jacatra* that two Priests and a Lay-man, a good Christian, whom I know very well, were invited. They drank in one of the Chalices to the Elder of the Priests, who without regarding or making the least scruple drank out of it. The other Priest, as I remember, told me he rose from Table, abhorring what he had seen his Companion do. The Lay-man was in a great disorder and scandaliz'd; I cannot be positive, whether he rose too. When afterwards they represented the heinousness of the action to that Priest, he us'd to answer, That those Chalices had lost their Consecration, as being profan'd by Hereticks. Notwithstanding this Answer, which did not please all Men, the action was ill look'd upon, and much talk'd of. Discoursing on this Subject at *Madagascar*, with the Lord Bishop of *Hiopolis*, he told me; To show what great difference there is betwixt the actions of Men, your Reverence must understand, that the same Year the *Dutch* took *Cochin*, they carry'd some Chalices and other Holy Things to *Suratte*, where they made a plentiful Feast. Among the Guests was an *Englishman* of great Note, they gave him a Chalice to drink out of, and he refus'd it, saying before all the Company, Tho I am not of the *Roman* Religion,

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yet this and other Vessels there were dedicated to the Service of our God, and this is enough to make me have a respect for them, and not to presume to drink out of them; Gentlemen, you must excuse me, for I cannot comply with you in this particular. I was astonish'd when I heard it. Granting that Chalice was profan'd by Hereticks, and had lost its Consecration, yet he who drank out of it did ill, because of the scandal that follow'd, and because the Hereticks might reflect on it. And since he went upon that ground, he ought to have declar'd it, and made it out before he drank to prevent what follow'd, and has been related; as also because of the famous Maxim in the Canon Law, *Semel. 51. de Reg. Jur. in 6. ibid.* *What is once dedicated to God must not be any more turn'd to human uses.* He acted contrary to this rule.

In relation to the Answer given observe that the word *Excorare* (translated by me in the Answer *accus'd*) according to *Silv. verb. calic. §. 2. Serr. 3. p. 9. 83. pag. mibi 625.* and others, signifies to lose the Consecration, and that it requires to be consecrated anew, so that the *aforsaid Chalice loses the first Consecration it receiv'd*; as when the Cup breaks off from the foot, according to the common opinion of Authors. Whence it follows that Priest was in the right, in saying that Chalice was not then consecrated.

What Authors usually say, is of no small force against this, *viz.* that *A thing once consecrated loses not its Consecration as long as it remains whole and the same.* So says *S. Thomas 2. 2. Quæst. 88. art. 11. in corp. & 3. part. Quæst. 83. art. 3. ad 3.* See the same *S. Thom. 2. 2. Quæst. 88. art. 19. in confirm. ult. arg.* *Serra* quoted above, and *Leand. tract. 5. par. 5. disp. 2. Quæst. 42.* where he has these words, *Consecration is indelible, whilst the thing it self & suppositum remains.* He quotes *S. Antonine, Silvester Paludanus,* and others.

But the case here spoken of being so singular, there must be something more in it. That it requires some blessing or Ceremony, as a Church that is polluted, seems to be plain. Read *Leander, part 2. tract. 8. disp. 3. Quæst. 4. & Quæst. 31.*

16. *Whether it does not seem convenient that the Holy Congregation command all Missioners in China to abstain from building Sumptuous Churches, from wearing costly Apparel, and making great Presents without necessity; in regard these things are insupportable to some Missioners, and gave occasion for the Persecution?*

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To the 16th, nothing is to be answered.

I and many more thought it requisite to assign some limitation in the matters propos'd. Something shall be said upon the subject in its place. Several Opinions have been in *China* concerning the silk Garments, many Millions wear. The antient ones blame the younger; these justify them, and defend they are very convenient in that Mission. The Fathers *Gouvea*, *Acosti*, *Lubeli*, and *Torrente* abhor them, and *F. Balat* much detests the Presents that have been given without any benefit to the Church.

F. Augeri and others look upon it as most certain, that the Clothing, and Buildings contributed much towards the Persecution that was rais'd. The same hapned in *Japan*. But what *F. Antony* of *S. Mary* most lamented, and I am concern'd at, is, that if the Presents go on, neither the two Religious Orders, nor any others that shall go thither will be able to support that Custom and Practice, whereupon they will be oblig'd to withdraw, unless it shall please God to order some other means. His holy Will be done.

Twenty other special Difficulties.

1. **W**HETHER among the Mysteries propos'd to Catechumens to believe, it is lawful or convenient to add, that the Blessed Virgin was conceiv'd without Original Sin?

2. Whether it be lawful in New Missions to write concerning the said Mystery in such manner, that Converts may believe the affirmative is absolutely defin'd as Catholick Faith?

Answer to these two Doubts. That the Constitutions of *Sixtus* the 4th, *Paul* the 5th, *Gregory* the 15th, and *Alexander* the 7th, are to be read and observ'd.

I would not have meddled with these points, had not others taken notice of them in *China*, it is a Duty to obey Apostolical Constitutions. The first Case is printed in the Chinese Language.

3. Whether it be convenient to give out among Converts that the Blessed Virgin plainly beheld the Divine Essence from the first moment of her Conception, and so continu'd through the whole course of her Life, as is unanimously believ'd of Christ our Lord?

Answer 3d. The Missioners are to forbear such useles Arguments.

This is a very good answer. I knew him who first set that saying afoot, and how it took root among some Persons; the occasion was very inconsiderable for a matter of such moment, nor was the Wisdom or Authority of the Author sufficient to give it any reputation. No body lik'd it in *China*, and it being no way necessary for the Salvation of the *Chineses*, it is a useles argument for them. Nay did those Christians, or others put

the Question, we ought to answer, not to what they propos'd, but to the purpose that most concern'd them to know, after the example of Christ. One ask'd him, *Luc. 15. Lord whether are there but few sav'd?* He answered, *Do ye strive to get in at the narrow Gate.* Lord, that is not the Question, answer directly to what is ask'd. *S. Cyril* in *Catena Aurea*; *But it must be said, that it was the Custom of our Saviour, not to answer those that ask'd according to their mind, when they ask'd useles Questions, but with regard to what was beneficial to the hearers. But what benefit were it to the hearers to know whether many or few are sav'd? But it was more necessary to know the means through which a Man may attain Salvation.* This same I say as to the Proposition.

4. Whether invincible Ignorance may be allow'd in the Converts touching self-murder? Some maintain the affirmative, but we are perswaded it cannot be so in it self and regularly, because before Baptism they are sufficiently instructed in the Commandments.

Answer 4th. That they are bound to teach them the Truth, that they may lay aside Errors.

In the Year 1665 it hapned at the 1665. Court of PE KING, that a Christian, as soon as he had confess'd and communicated, went home and hang'd himself, and was bury'd like other Christians. Upon this the Doubt here propos'd was started, and several opinions were given: mine always was, that such ignorance could not be allow'd of; first because this Sin is specify'd in the Catechism printed there, and in the next place, because if in *China* there can-
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not be invincible ignorance allow'd in case of killing another, much less can it be for killing ones self. Nor is that Nation, or others in those parts, so void of sense, as to follow the errors other barbarous People do, as to the Law of Nature. Our *Capicque* Master of the sacred Palace does not allow this ignorance in any Man, as I shall show in another place. See *S. Thomas* 2. 2. q. 64. art. 5. and his Disciples.

5. *Whether it be Lawful for Converts to bear Mafs cover'd, and to receive the Communion in the same manner? The greater and antienter number of Missioners answer in the affirmative, according to the ancient and general practice among them all, except here and there one, which is grounded on the Dispensation granted to Missioners by Paul the 5th to say Mafs cover'd, because in that Country it is a sign of Respect.*

Answer 5th. That the Decrees of Popes are to be observ'd, where there are any, as is allerdg'd in the case propos'd.

This Question was started by some few, after it had been many Years practis'd without opposition. I writ a Treatise somewhat copious upon the Subject, which pleas'd all that were of my opinion; something shall be brought out of it in the 2d Tome. One of the reasons I urg'd was, that since we Priests say Mafs in *China* cover'd, and *Paul* the 5th dispens'd with it in regard to the way of paying respect and civility in that Kingdom, which is opposite to ours in this particular, for the same reason, and *a fortiori*, the same ought to be understood of the Natives. For to do the contrary look'd preposterous, that the *European* should worship God with the *Chinese* Ceremony, which in the Church is irreverence; and that the *Chinese* should worship him with the *European* Ceremony, which to them and their Kingdom is a great disrespect.

6. *Whether Missioners being ask'd by a Tyrant whether they will stay in his Kingdom, upon promise made that they will not diffuse the Gospel, may lawfully consent, promise, and accept of such a condition? The Missioners no way agreed about deciding this case, when it press'd upon them.*

Answer 6th. That they cannot make such a promise.

Tho this took not effect, yet we were all perswaded it would, so that we argu'd long about it, without agreeing in any point. On the one hand the Christians lamented, for if we answer'd in

the Negative, they were for ever depriv'd of Priests, and their Tears were very moving. Therefore a considerable number of us Missioners were of opinion it was lawful to make such a promise, and that it was no evil or scandalous condition which was required of us. Every Man writ down his Sentiments, but when we thought the Trial was at hand, all were left at liberty to make their minds known. Something of what was writ upon the Subject shall be inserted in its place. See *S. Thom.* 2. 2. *quæst.* 88. d. 29. art. 7.

7. *Whether it be Lawful for Missioners, or other Christians without necessity to go to the Idol Temples, and to say the Office there kneeling, even where they may be seen by the Faithful and Infidels? Some maintain it.*

Answer 7th. That it is not Lawful.

F. Morales writes something to this purpose, and *F. Gouvea* told me it might very well be done. Others dislike it, and I thought it fit to put the Question, that one fallie Antecedent may not produce other Consequences. I writ upon the Subject, as shall appear in another place.

8. *Whether any could attain to Life everlasting, without the knowledge of God the Supernatural Being, and without the knowledge of the Immortality of our Soul, and of Reward and Punishment after this Life? Some maintain the affirmative, speaking both of the Jews and Gentiles.*

Answer 8th. That the affirmative can neither be defended, nor taught.

The Fathers *Fabre* and *Coplet* were guilty of this weakness, there was noise enough about it. The Fathers *Batar*, *Grelon*, and I positively maintain'd the contrary, and brought reasons enough for it, which shall be inserted in the 2d Tome. See *S. Thom.* 2. 2. q. 1. *disp.* 4. art. 1. *Ferre*, *Serra*, *Leander*; and others.

9. *Whether the Friars Minors, and Dominicans may and ought to follow some Opinions, which they think improbable, because others affirm they may be put in practice, and that they have sufficient reasons for them? For it seems too hard to follow the Footsteps of others blindfold.*

Answer 9th. That no Man can act contrary to his Conscience in a known improbability.

In the Second Tome I write what has been done in this case. Nevertheless I am of opinion, that if all those in *Chi-*

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10. *Whether all those, who were directly concern'd in the banishment of Doctor Brindeau an Apostolick Missioner from the City Macao, incur'd the Censure laid upon those that hinder Missioners, by his Holiness Urban the 8th in his Bull pass'd in the Year 1633? The affirmative seems to be true.*

Answer 10th. No answer can be given, the Party is not heard.

The matter of fact and all Circumstances are set down, as may be seen in its place.

11. *Whether they who within the Mission drive Missioners from one Province to another, incur the aforesaid Censure? For such Persons truly hinder Missioners in their Business and Duty.*

Answer 11th. That the words of the Decree are to be maturely consider'd, in order to give an answer upon any fact.

Some particular Canon Laws, alledg'd by Authors in the like cases, sute with this point.

12. *Whether he who directly or indirectly endeavours to turn Missioners out of their Missions, tho it does not take effect, incurs the aforesaid Censure? For tho it does not take effect, they are in appearance, and actually Obstructors, especially because by troubling and molesting them, they are the immediate cause that they cannot conveniently perform the Duty they have in hand.*

Answer 12th. As to the last.

In like Cases like Judgment, *cap. 2. de transf. Episc.* It is well known that in these cases regard must be had to the Intention of the Law-maker, and to the Motive he had for making such a Law. From these principles we must descend to particular cases, and consider whether they are comprehended under it, or not.

13. *Whether it be lawful for Regulars Mendicants, especially Missioners, and others who by the Pope's particular Order exercise the Function of Curates in India, to take upon them to be Godfathers in the Sacraments of Baptism and Confirmation? Some Authors defend the affirmative; and whereas spiritual advantages may accrue from their*

undertaking it, it is most humbly prayed that his Holiness will dispense in this case.

Answer 13th. That it is not Lawful.

The affirmative is frequently enough to be found among modern Divines, you may see *Leander Tract. 2. de Baptism. disp. 7. q. 16.* tho our *Serra* does not follow it *3. p. q. 67. art. 6.* only in case there be no Lay Person to be had, and with his Superiors leave. *Quintaducnnas* has writ upon the Subject. There was within these few Years a great contest on this account in the Kingdom of *Siam*, and a *French* Bishop who resided there highly condemn'd this Opinion, wherein I was always of opinion he exceeded. He might very well refuse to admit of the Religious Man as Godfather, without condemning *Quintaducnnas* for allowing and teaching that Opinion. It is no new thing to say, that when any thing is forbid the Monks in the Canon Law, the Mendicants are not taken under the denomination of Monks, their Circumstances being different from those of the others. Much less ought it to be understood of Missioners, and other Regulars who perform the function of Curates. The Resolution given has settled the business for the future.

14. *Whether any Missioners of the Kingdom of Cochinchina had the Power to dispense with a Convert to marry two Sisters successively? (observe that they were his own Sisters.)*

Answer 14th. No answer can be given without hearing the Missioners, who affirm they have this Authority, but without it they cannot.

The greatest difficulty is, whether this matter be capable of a Dispensation or no. The case was argu'd at *Madrid* in the Reign of *K. Philip the 2d*, our Master *Orellana* and others maintain'd the Negative. The Lord *Araujo in stat. Eccles.* follows this Opinion, and sufficiently makes it out, against *Basilius* who quotes *Leander* for the contrary opinion, and others. The Resolution here mention makes out the contrary. More shall be said in another place. Allowing it to be capable of a Dispensation, it might be a sufficient motive to grant it, if the King of *Siam* and the Queen his Sister were converted to our Holy Faith; but certainly it is too much to make use of it for a *Japonesse* Shopkeeper, and two Sisters successively. I mention'd in another place that *Corn. a Lap.* follows *Orellana's* opinion.

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15. Whether it be lawful for Missioners to carry warlike Ammunition into Countries of Infidels, upon pretence of opening, or keeping open the way to plant or diffuse the Word of God? For such Infidels, tho' during some time they show the Christians some Tokens of Friendship, yet they soon turn Tail, as present experience has taught.

Answer 15th. That it is not Lawful.

16. Whether Christian Merchants may lawfully do the same upon pretence of securing their Trade? The Bull de Cœna Domini against those that do so was publickly read in the City Macao some Years since.

Answer 16th. That it is not Lawful.

Something is writ concerning both cases in the 2d Tome.

17. Whether any Missioners had any particular privilege not to make the Chinese Converts acquainted with the duty of observing the positive Ecclesiastical Precepts?

Answer 17th. This was answer'd in the Years 1645, and 1656.

F. Morales writ upon this Subject, he quotes the Fathers *Hurtado* and *Emanuel Diaz*, who affirm'd it, tho' they own, they cannot tell what Pope it was that granted it.

18. Whether it be Lawful for Churchmen, or Seculars, to cast great Guns in Countries of Infidels, and to teach them those Arts, and to be Engineers for raising of Forts, and other works?

Answer 18th. Church-men may not concern themselves in such Affairs.

I expected the Answer in relation to Seculars, who follow this business in those parts; and methinks it may be made out of that which was given to the 16th Doubt.

19. Whether a Confessor may lawfully allow Penitents half Confessions, upon pretence that all may gain the Jubilee, which they could not do, if they were to confess entirely, because the time of the Jubilee is not sufficient to hear all out? Some body there is that maintains the affirmative. Yet when there are several other Confessors upon the spot, to whom the Penitents may have recourse, it seems, that Confessions are dock'd unreasonably.

Answer 19th. That it cannot be done upon any account.

Ever since in the Year 1659 I read this opinion at Macasar I mislik'd it, and much more the practice of it which has follow'd in some parts, where there was plenty of Confessors; and I am sa-

tisfy'd that all who have heard of this opinion, are of my mind.

20. An Oath among the Chineses is taken, as follows, according to their Ritual. First they dig a square Pit in the Ground, over which they slaughter a Beast, and cut off its left Ear, which they lay in a Dish with Jewels; in another they have the Blood adorn'd in the same manner: they write the Oath upon a Paper with that Blood, and anoint their Lips: having read the Paper, the Beast is thrown into the Pit, and the Paper being laid on its back is cover'd with the Earth. Quære, Whether it be Lawful for Christians to observe this form of Swearing, or be present when this Ceremony is perform'd?

Answer 20th. That it is not Lawful.

We whose Names are underwritten, to whom the Solution of these Doubts was committed by the Sacred Congregation of the Holy Inquisition, thought fit to return the Answers above mention'd. April the 22d, 1674.

I F. Laurence de Laureca of the Order of Friars Minors, Consultor and Qualificator of the Holy Inquisition, sign'd with my own Hand.

I Cajetan Miroballas of the Regular Clergy, Qualificator of the Holy Inquisition, sign'd with my own Hand.

I had some more Doubts to propose, but forbore, because I would not be too troublesome to those most Reverend Fathers, and because I was my self indispos'd: I set them down in the 2d Tome, where I have set down what Doctors have said upon them. We have Light to follow, and a plain Way to tread with safety, which I do not doubt is the same to others.

21. On account of what was said in the eighth Doubt concerning the Sacraments, I have one thing to observe, not unlike what happen'd about the same time in Europe. The same influence of the Stars it is likely prevail'd in both places. There are certain Books in China call'd KIA IU, that is, *Family Discourses*, or *Household Doctrine*. There are six Volumes, I read them all; *Confucius* the Philosopher was the Author of them, and his Name is in the Title Page. The Learned Sect, and their School, agree they are his; the said Books are quoted in the Works of that Sect, and particularly in the great Philosophy. Notwithstanding all this, and that *Confucius* has been above these two thousand Years quietly possess'd of the Title of Author

Navarrette.

of these Books, in my time a few Missioners took in hand positively to maintain they were no Work of his. Is it possible there should be a stranger Undertaking in the World? That *Europeans* should go into *China* to argue that *Confucius* is not the Author of those Books, unjustly outing him of a Possession he has enjoy'd so many Years, without any better Authority than that they find in them some Doctrine opposite to what has been practis'd of late Years? Hereticks deny the Books of *Macchabees* are Canonical, because they oppose their Tenets, without any other reason. Others for the same reason deny *S. Thomas* the Honour of a great part of his Works; and so in time they may deny what *S. Augustin* and others writ. *Truth is at this time so odious, that it finds not Hearers, but Persecutors,* said *Hugo* in 8 *Joan. v. 40.*

I must also observe, that some call that of the Learned in *China* a Political Sect; and I doubt not but it is so, as that of the *Pharisees* was. *Cajetan ad Philip. 3.* says thus, *For it was the principal Political Sect among the Jews; I say Political, to distinguish it from that of the Essenes, because that was not Political, as being without Matrimony like Monks.* Even so is the Learned Sect of *China* Political. But this does not take away its being Religious, as the Fathers *Matthew Riccius, Longobardo, Gourvea,* and others plainly declare.

22. Lastly I observe, that *Oleaster* in 7 *Gen.* argues, whether there are any Creatures unclean by the Law or Dictates of Nature? He defines and proves there are none, and says, *But it is very strange, we see some Birds and Beasts which no body will eat to this day, as the Ass, Horse, Camel, Lion, and others. And among Birds we see no body eats the Kite, nor other Birds of prey, nor the Jackdaw, nor the Pie, nor others. Against eating of which almost all of us have a certain abhorrence, as it were natural.* To resolve this Point, I say it is requisite to know several Nations. In *Spain* we abhor Asses, Dogs, Horse flesh, &c. consequently they do so in other Countries; that is no good Inference. I have said before, that throughout all *China* Asses-flesh is valu'd more than any other, tho there are Capons, Partridges, and excellent Pheasants; Dogs-flesh is the next in esteem, Horse-flesh is extraordinary good, and I always lik'd wild Mice. In the *Philippine Islands* Bats are good Meat, Jackdaws are eaten in other parts: In short, God created them all for Man, and they

are all good, so says the 9th *Chap.* of *Gen.* and *S. Paul* confirms it *Rom. 14.* See *S. Thomas Lect. 3.* The Uncleaness of the Law mention'd *Levit. 11.* is of another nature. Read also *S. Paul ad Tim. 1.* and *S. Thomas Lect. 1. All Creatures are good, and none to be rejected, &c.*

Oleaster treats of this Subject again on *Chap. 9. v. 3.* where he has these words; *I can by no means grant that Noah was allow'd to eat all living Creatures, or all that move, viz. that it should be lawful to him to eat Snakes, Moles, Mice, and the like.* I said before it was requisite to see much of the World to solve such Doubts. On the 7th *Chap.* above-quoted, he places the Camel among the unclean Beasts, and we see it is not so to the *Tartars* who have entred *China.* In this 9th *Chap.* he names the Mice, and I know they are eaten in *China,* and not only the wild ones bred in Fields, but those that breed in Houses, tho I would never eat of these last. He also excludes Snakes; the *Iguana* which in *New-Spain* and the *Philippine Islands* is a dainty Dish, is certainly a Species of Serpent or Snake. The Crocodile is also a very deform'd and frightful Serpent, yet the *Indians* eat it. Snakes are eaten in *China;* and so the Toad I said in another place is call'd X E I U, which is uglier to look at than our Toads, is an excellent Bit in that Country and fit for a Prince, I ate it several times. As for Shell-fish I have seen and eaten many very loathsome to look at. Since so many things which *Europeans* abhor are eaten in those parts, what may we not believe is eaten in *Africk* among the Blacks, and in other Countries through the World? The same I say in regard of several sorts of Grain which they eat there, with such Herbs as no Man in these parts would eat. Besides, how many are there among us who could not endure to eat Snails or Frogs, and yet in other parts they are valued? In *China* a pound of Frogs is worth double the price of any other Fish whatsoever.

To the Bishops and Vicars Apostolick in the Eastern Parts, The Confirmation and Amplification of the Constitution of Urban VIII. concerning the Liberty of going into those Parts by any other way than by Portugal.

Clement X. Pope.

“ AD futuram rei memoriam. The
 “ Duty of the Pastoral Function
 “ Heaven has bestow'd upon us, requires
 “ that

“ that we endeavour to alter those things
 “ which were providently ordain’d by
 “ the Popes our Predecessors, according
 “ to the Exigencies of Times, as we
 “ shall judg in our Lord convenient for
 “ the propagation of the Faith, and Sal-
 “ vation of Souls; if we discover that
 “ the Circumstances of Things being
 “ chang’d, they are an obstruction to the
 “ end they piously design’d. It is long
 “ since Pope *Clement* the Eighth, of blef-
 “ sed memory, our Predecessor, by cer-
 “ tain Letters of his granted, among o-
 “ ther things, to all and every the Mas-
 “ ters and Generals of the *Mendicant*
 “ Orders, then being and to come, that
 “ as necessity requir’d they might send
 “ over any religious Men of their Order,
 “ who were Persons of known Piety and
 “ Learning, and whom they should judg
 “ fit in our Lord for the Office and Em-
 “ ployment of preaching the Gospel,
 “ teaching the Christian Doctrine, admin-
 “ istring the Sacraments, and perform-
 “ ing other Ecclesiastical Functions, thro
 “ *Portugal* only, and thence by Sea into
 “ *India*, and the City *Goa*, and to the
 “ Superiors of Orders residing in those
 “ Parts; and that as well those who
 “ should be sent over as other religious
 “ Men of the aforesaid Orders residing
 “ in *India*, and chosn and approved of
 “ for this Employment by their Masters,
 “ Ministers, Generals, or other Superi-
 “ ors, might repair as well to *Japan*, as
 “ to the other neighbouring and adjacent
 “ Islands, Countries and Provinces of
 “ *China*, the next Kingdoms, the Conti-
 “ nent and *India*. And of later times
 “ Pope *Paul* the Fifth, our Predecessor,
 “ also understanding it was found by ex-
 “ perience, that the Prohibition against
 “ going over to *India* and the City *Goa*,
 “ by any other way than through *Portu-
 “ gal*, had neither produc’d the Fruit
 “ that was hop’d for, nor been any way
 “ advantageous to the propagation of
 “ the Catholick Faith; he therefore de-
 “ siring to provide that so great a Work
 “ of God, all obstacles being remov’d,
 “ might be freely perform’d; did also
 “ grant by Letters of his to all and every
 “ the Masters, Ministers, Priors-Gener-
 “ als, and all other Heads of *Mendicant*
 “ Orders, by what Name soever distin-
 “ guish’d, for the time being and to
 “ come, that as necessity requir’d they
 “ might send over to *Japan*, and the ad-
 “ jacent and neighbouring Islands, Pro-
 “ vinces and Regions aforesaid, and to
 “ the Superiors residing in those parts,
 “ any religious Men of their Order, of

“ known Piety and Learning, whom they
 “ should judg in our Lord fit and proper
 “ for the aforesaid Duties and Functions,
 “ by any other way besides *Portugal*; still
 “ the Form of the said Predecessor *Cle-
 “ ment*, in other Particulars being ob-
 “ serv’d in all and to all Points, and not
 “ otherwise. In like manner our Prede-
 “ cessor Pope *Urban* the Eighth of blessed
 “ memory, considering it appear’d by
 “ many years experience, that the Di-
 “ rections given in those Letters were
 “ not sufficient, and that they wanted
 “ some amendment, that the Holy
 “ Gospel of Christ might be more suc-
 “ cessfully and easily preach’d and propa-
 “ ted in the aforesaid Islands and Regi-
 “ ons; after mature deliberation had
 “ with the Cardinals of the Holy *Roman*
 “ Church, who have the charge of propa-
 “ gating the Faith throughout the
 “ World, adhering to the Letters of
 “ the aforesaid *Paul* his Predecessor, he
 “ gave and granted Apostolical Autho-
 “ rity to all the Masters, Ministers,
 “ Priors-Generals, or other Heads of
 “ *Mendicant* Orders, by what Name
 “ soever distinguish’d, and even of the
 “ Society of *Jesus* then being and to
 “ come, that when they should think con-
 “ venient they might freely and lawfully
 “ send by other ways besides *Portugal*,
 “ any religious Men of their Orders, or
 “ institute whom they should judg fit
 “ for Missions by their Age, Life, Man-
 “ ners and Learning, to the aforesaid
 “ Islands, Provinces, Regions, and King-
 “ doms of *East-India*; observing the
 “ Form of the said Letters of his Prede-
 “ cessor *Clement* as to other Points, in all
 “ and to all Particulars. And he also,
 “ *ipso facto*, excommunicated all Persons
 “ whatsoever, who should obstruct Cler-
 “ gy and Religious Men, of what Order
 “ or Institute soever, as well *Mendi-
 “ cants*, as of the Society of *Jesus*, and
 “ the Lay-brothers of the Religious,
 “ to be sent as aforesaid, from coming
 “ freely to the above-mention’d Islands,
 “ Provinces, Regions and Kingdoms.
 “ And he ordain’d many other things, as
 “ is express’d more at large in the said
 “ *Urban* our Predecessor’s Letters upon
 “ this Matter, and in this like Form of
 “ Brief *February* 23. 1633. The Tenor
 “ whereof, as also the Tenor of the
 “ aforesaid Letters of our Predecessors
 “ *Clement* and *Paul*, we will have to be
 “ taken as if fully and sufficiently ex-
 “ press’d and inserted in these our Let-
 “ ters. But whereas our venerable Bro-
 “ thers the Bishops and Vicars Aposto-
 “ lick,

~~~~~  
*Nava-  
 rette.*  
 ~~~~~

Narrate.
 lick, deputed by Apostolick Authority, and residing in the Eastern parts, have caus'd it to be made known to us, that to take their way through *Portugal* to the *East-Indies* and *China* is no less difficult to them, and to the Secular Clergy sent, and to be sent into those parts, than to the Religious Persons aforesaid, and utterly useless to the propagation of the Gospel, and that there are other ways much easier and shorter; and have therefore caus'd us to be humbly intreated, that we would be pleas'd in our Apostolick Goodness, to provide for them opportunely in the aforesaid Particulars, and dispense as follows. We therefore being willing to grant a special Favour to the Bishops and Vicars Apostolick, and by these Presents absolving every their Persons from any Ecclesiastical Sentence, Censure, or pains of Excommunication, Suspension and Interdict denounced *ipso facto*, or by any Man upon any occasion or cause, if they have incurr'd any such, and deemed them absolv'd; and being favourably inclin'd to grant such Requests, by the special Advice of the Congregation of our venerable Brethren the Cardinals of the Holy *Roman Church* appointed over the Affairs of propagating the Faith, do by these Presents, and Apostolick Authority, confirm, approve, and renew the aforesaid Letters of our Predecessor *Urban*: And we do extend and enlarge the same Letters to the said Bishops and Vicars Apostolick, and also to Secular Priests and Laymen, as well those already sent, as to be sent hereafter into *China*, *Cochinchina*, *Tunkin*, *Siam*, and other Places, Islands, Provinces, Regions and Kingdoms of *India*, and other Eastern Parts; so that they, and any of them, may freely and lawfully go thither any other way whatsoever they shall think fit, besides the way of *Portugal*, and shall no way be oblig'd to pass through *Portugal*, or to take shipping there; in other things still observing the Form, Authority and Tenor of the aforesaid Predecessors of *Clement*. And we do actually, without further denouncing, accordingly excommunicate any Ecclesiasticks and Religious Men, of any Order or Institute, as well not *Mendicants* as *Mendicants*, even of the Society of *Jesus*, and Seculars, who any way whatsoever obstruct the going of Bishops and Vicars Apostolick, as

also of Secular Priests and Laymen, as well those already sent, as those to be sent hereafter into *China*, *Cochinchina*, *Tunkin*, *Siam*, and other places, Islands, Provinces, Regions, and Kingdoms of *India*, and other Eastern parts. Decreeing the said Letters shall remain and continue in full force and vigour, and have their full and entire effect; and that those whom it does, or may at any time concern, do in all respects give full submission to them, and do respectively observe 'em punctually and inviolably, and that so it ought to be defin'd and adjudg'd by any ordinary Judges and Delegates whatsoever, even the Judges of Causes in the Apostolick Palace, and any others, whatsoever Preheminence or Authority they do or may exercise, any Power or Authority of judging or interpreting otherwise being taken from them, and every of them; and that it shall be void and of no effect, if any Person shall attempt any thing to the contrary of what is here mention'd, upon any Authority, knowingly or ignorantly. Therefore we command all and every the Patriarchs, Archbishops, Bishops, and other Prelates of Churches and Places, even of Regulars, throughout all the World, that they cause these Letters to be inviolably observ'd by all Persons in their respective Provinces, Cities, Diocesses, Chapters and Jurisdictions; and cause them to be solemnly publish'd, as often as they shall be requir'd so to do by the aforesaid Bishops and Vicars Apostolick; as also by Secular Priests and Laymen, as well those already sent, as that shall be sent as before, or any of them: Notwithstanding the Apostolick Constitutions and Ordinations, and all those things, and every of them, which the aforesaid our Predecessor, in his aforesaid Letters, would have to be no Obstruction, and all things else whatsoever to the contrary. But our Will is, that the same credit be given in all places to the Copies of these Letters, even tho they be printed; or when subscrib'd by some publick Notary, and seal'd by any Person constituted in an Ecclesiastical Dignity, as would be given to these Presents if they were produced and shown.

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